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The Function and Typology of the *Padmasana Tiga* Architecture in Besakih Temple, Bali Indonesia

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Abstract

Padmasana architecture is part of traditional Balinese architecture, it is a sacred building that functions as God's *sthana* (place/position). The existence of symbols as religious expressions is very thick coloring the realization of *padmasana* architecture, a very diverse typology, and there are still many meanings that need to be expressed. *Padmasana tiga* is one of the most important types of *padmasana* buildings, manifested from *three Padmasana*, standing tall on a rectangular base. Its unique shape, different from other *padmasana* buildings, gives rise to diverse interpretations, thereby increasing the attractiveness of this building for research. *Padmasana tiga* is located in the main and largest temple in Bali, *Besakih Temple*, on the slopes of Mount Agung, Karangasem Regency, Bali Province. The purpose of this study is to reveal the *padmasana tiga* functions and their typology which are closely related to the teachings of *Shiva Siddhanta*, so that they can be better understood by the Hindu community in Bali and the wider community. In order to express its function and typology, a descriptive qualitative method was used, by observing, documenting and interviewing Hindu priests, intellectuals who understood the *Shiva Siddhanta* concept, and *undagi* (traditional Balinese craftsman). *Padmasana tiga* is the embodiment of the great soul of the universe, a vertical representation of God, a God in three different realms called '*Tri Purusa*'. Judging from its layout which is in the middle of the *mandala* (zone) facing the entrance and at its peak there are 3 *rongs* (empty throne), this *padmasana* belongs to the type of *padmasana kurung* (brackets). Judging from the number of *rongs* and the number of *palih* (level), which amounted to 7, *padmasana tiga* including the type of *padmasana anglayang*.

Keywords: Traditional Balinese Architecture, Padmasana Tiga, Function and Typology

INTRODUCTION

Padmasana is a sacred building as the seat of *Brahman* (God), which transcends all concepts, which represents all worshiped gods, as an embodiment of the entire universe, is the main building found in sacred places (temples) in Bali. This holy building has been widely applied, not only in the main shrines, but also applied to shrines found in office buildings, educational centers, trade, hospitals, and other buildings that accommodate

public activities. *Padmasana* has a variety of typologies, rich in the use of decoration, filled with symbols that contain religious meaning.

Padmasana tiga is one of *padmasana* architectural typologies, manifested from three *Padmasana* that stand tall on a rectangular base. The form is different from other *padmasana*, inviting diverse interpretations, besides that many Balinese Hindus do not understand the function and typology of *Padmasana* architecture, especially *Padmasana Tiga*. According to Mirsa, *et al* (1986); Agastya, *et al* (2002), the existence of this sacred building is closely related to a priest named *Dang Hyang Nirartha* who has had a significant impact on the development of Hinduism in Bali. Stuart-Fox (2010). Subagiasta (2006) explains the characters inherent in *Padmasana* architecture are closely related to the teachings of *Shiva Siddhanta*. This sacred building is located in the largest and main temple in Bali, Besakih Temple which stands firmly on the slopes of Mount Agung in Karangasem Regency, Bali Province.

In tracing its function, it is bridged with Hindu concepts related to Shiva's teachings, namely "*Tri Purusa*" (the concept of God in three different dimensions) and "*Tri Murti*" (God's duty in the world of His creation). In the typology associated with the ejection of '*Catur Winasa Sari*' which contains the typology of *padmasana* based on the layout of the *pengider-ider* (eight corners of the compass), related to the concept of '*padma bhuwana*' (lotus flower as a picture of the universe). The *padmasana* typology is also related to the number of *rongs* (empty throne) at the top of the *padmasana*, and is related to the number of *palih* (levels) on the *padmasana* body. By bridging the past through in-depth documentation and interviews, the functions and typologies of *Padmasana tiga* can be clearly expressed, and typologies based on layout, number of *rongs*, and number of *palih* can be represented.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Padmasana Architecture

Based on the traditional script of "*Catur Wariga Winasa Sari*", the layout of the *padmasana* is based on *pengider-ider* (9 positions of the gods in the direction of the wind), divided into 9 types of *padmasana*: a) *padma kencana*, in the east facing west; b) *padmasana*, in the south facing north; c) *padmasari*, in the west facing east; d) *padma lingga*, in the north facing south; e) *padma asta sedhana*, in the southeast, facing northwest; f) *padma noja*, in the southwest facing northeast; g) *padma karo*, in the northwest facing southeast; h) *padma saji*, northeast facing southwest; and i) *padma kurung*, in the middle of the temple, has 3 *rongs* (empty thrones) on the top of *padmasana* facing the *pemedal* (entrance and exit) (Anonymous, tt-b).

Padmasana is divided into three parts, consisting of *tepas* (base), *batur* (body), and *sari* (peak). *Tepas* is the basis of *padmasana* supported by a variety of decoration '*Bedawang Nala*' which is twisted by a dragon, can amount to one dragon with the *Naga Basuki* symbol and can also be two dragons as *Naga Basuki* and *Anantabhoga* symbols. *Batur* is a *padmasana* body which has an odd number of levels (*pepalihan*), from 5, 7, to 9. In this section there are also decorations oh *garuda* (eagle), *angsa* (swan), and there is a *dikpalaka* statues (Gods in the eight directions of the wind). *Sari* is the top of a throne-shaped *padmasana*, which consists of *ulon* (backrest towering high), *tabing* (backrest on the left and right), and *badan dara* (base of the throne/empty space). *Ulon* can be filled with tangible form *Hyang Acintya* (Anonymous, 2000).

The concept of Shiva Siddhanta

Saiva Siddhanta consists of two strands of meaning, '*Saiva*' means connected with *Sive*, and '*Siddhanta*' means conclusion (Pillai, 1952). In "*Rigveda*", "*Vajasaiieyi-samhita*" from the holy book "*Yajur-veda*" and in "*Atharvana-veda*", the word *Siva* means beneficial, as the axis of *Rudra* (Rao-Gopinatha, 1916). *Siddhanta* etymologically means sacred teachings (Mardiarsito, 1990). In the Sanskrit dictionary, *Siddhanta* implies definite decisions, fixed teachings (Subagiasta, 2006). *Siddhanta* contains three forms, *Si* (*sikara*) is *Rudra*. With some of these descriptions, *Shiva Siddhanta* can be interpreted as sacred teachings, definite teachings from *Shiva*, which guide people from darkness to enlightenment.

Tripurusa

Consciousness has three strict forms, referred to as '*Tripurusa*', namely *Parama Shiva*, *Sada Shiva*, and *Shiva*. *Parama Shiva* is an immeasurable, inconceivable and unimaginable God, everywhere, everlasting. Quiet, calm, and inactive, He is the ruler of the universe, He is *Lord Parama Shiva*. Then He began to be active, enlighten, begin to form an element of consciousness, He permeated all beings and all forms. He arranged from one life to another, that is *Lord Sada Shiva*, his seat is the *padmasana*, and the *padmasana* is his magic. He began to assemble and support the world and the entire contents of nature, possessing it, seeping into it like butter in milk into a unified whole, that is *Lord Shiva* (Anonymous, 1988).

Trimurti

In the traditional script of "*Bhuwana Kosa*" *Lord Shiva* stated when creating *bhuwana* (universe) as *Lord Brahma*, while maintaining this *bhuwana* (*pangraksa jagat*) God is *Vishnu*, and when he merges (*mrelayaken rat*) called *Rudra*. *Sanghyang Rudra* united with *Sanghyang Shiva* becomes the essence of nature entirely (Gautama, 2009). *Lord Shiva* symbolizes aspects of absolute reality, continuously in the cycle of the process of creation, preservation, and fusion. This cycle is three manifestations related to the function of the cosmic. *Brahma* symbolizes creation, *Vishnu* as the preserver, and *Shiva* as the fuser needed for the re-creation process (Pandit, 2005).

RESEARCH METHODS

The relationship between the manifestation of its architecture and the underlying factors is difficult to describe quantitatively, so we need an approach that is better able to capture the meaning contained in the visible form. A qualitative approach is used on the basis of consideration of research on the function and typology of *Padmasana* three more related to socio-cultural values and heterogeneous values.

This research was conducted with descriptive qualitative method. The research was carried out in Besakih Temple, especially in the main complex, Penataran Agung Besakih Temple. The initial step is to do with selected and focused observations, starting from the location of the existence of *padmasana tiga*, data collection on its layout, taking the manifestation of its shape and parts from various points of view, then redrawing it to get a plan and appearance that approaches the scale corresponding to the object of research.

The next step is to study documentation, broaden horizons by bridging objects with the past, connecting objects with the characters inherent in them, namely the *Shiva Siddhanta* concept. The dialogue between objects and the past is deepened again with interview techniques. In-depth interview techniques were carried out with Hindu priests and scientists who studied Hindu teachings, especially the *Shiva Siddhanta* concept. Interviews were also conducted with *undagi* (traditional Balinese builders) to find out the relationship between typology and *palih* (level) and the variety of decoration on the *padmasana* building. Analysis takes place from the beginning of data collection, analysis is open, adaptive to changes, and improvements made based on new data found.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Position of *Padmasana Tiga* in Besakih Temple

Besakih Temple consists of 18 temple complexes, Penataran Agung Besakih Temple is the most important part of the temple, divided into seven *mandalas* (zones) (Figure 1). Starting from empty, namely the seventh *mandala*, called the universe *sunia* (empty) is a symbol of God in the '*Nirguna Brahman*' (God without Activity). In the sixth *mandala*, there are two twin buildings '*Gedong Ratu Bukit Kiwa*' and '*Gedong Ratu Bukit Tengen*', as an illustration of God in the form of *Ardha Nareswari* (negative and positive elements), God began to carry out creative activities. Furthermore, from the fifth to the third *mandala* is the nature created by God. The second *mandala* is 'Great Penataran', there is a main building, *padmasana tiga*, facing the *bale gajah* or *bale pawedan*, located in the middle of the *mandala* facing the *kori agung* (main door). At the very front of this temple is the first *mandala*, reached by going through a ladder of 52 steps, past statues depicting the story of Ramayana and Mahabrata (Figure 2).

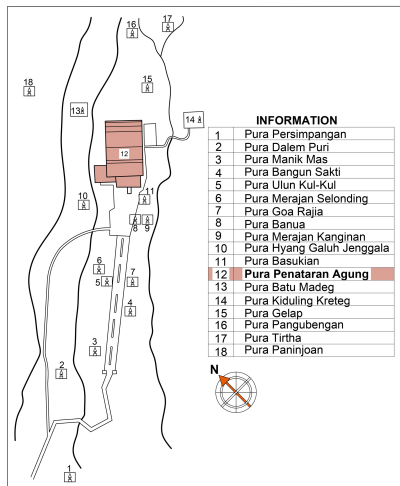


Figure 1. Besakih Temple Complex
Source: Modifications from Stuart-Fox (1982)

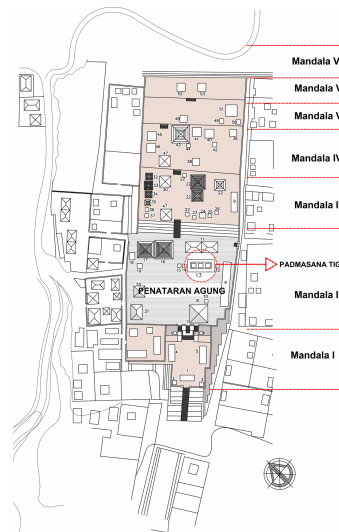


Figure 2. Penataran Agung Besakih
Source: Modification from Bappeda Bali (1999)

Padmasana Tiga Functions and Typology

Function of Padmasana Tiga

Padmasana Tiga consists of three of the same Padmasana, standing tall on a long rectangular base. Divided into three palih (levels): tepas (bottom), batur (body parts), and sari (peak) (Figure 3). Based on the "Decision of the Unity Interpretation Seminar on Aspects of Hinduism" The sacred building of Padmasana is a symbol of the universe, as sthana (place, position) of Lord Shiva Aditya (God who gives light to life) (Anonymous, 2000). According to Agastya (2010) padmasana tiga as stana the Sanghyang Tri Purusa. Padmasana tiga is the essence of Padma Bhuana (a universe with eight strands of lotus flowers/eight directions of the wind) that radiates holiness in all directions. Parama Shiva (animating swah) is in kana. Sada Siwa (animating the spirit world) is in the middle. Shiva (animating nature) is on the left, is a symbol of the existence of God in a state of krida (doing activities).

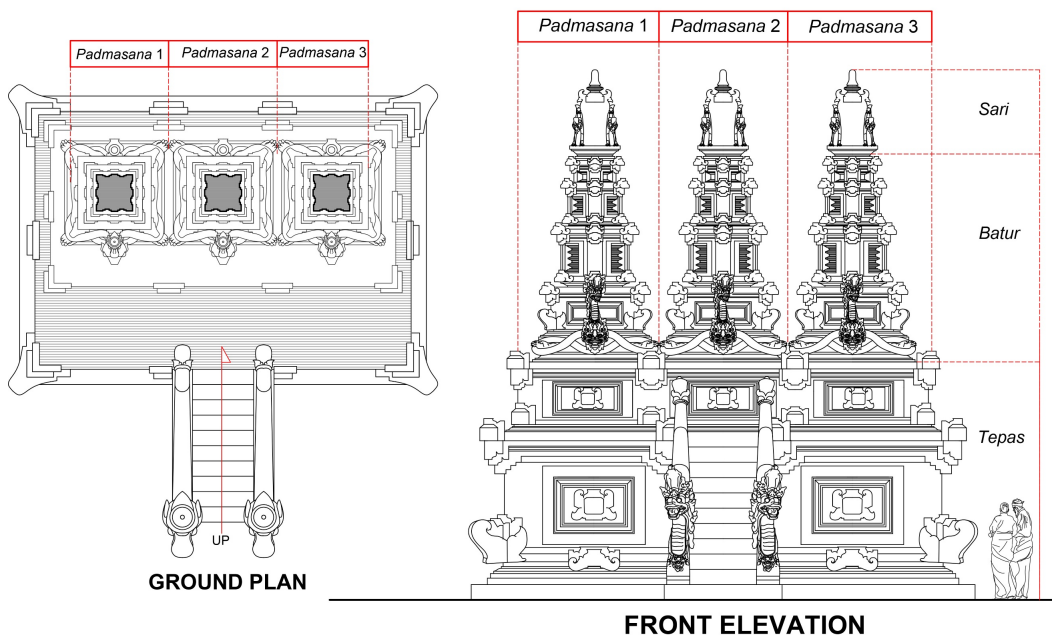


Figure 3. Padmasana Tiga
Source: author (2019)

In padmasana three there are three *padmasana*, describing the three manifestations of *Shiva*. Referring to the traditional script of "*Wrhaspati Tattwa*" *Three Shiva* is worship of God in the vertical direction consisting of: a) *Parama Shiva*, God without activity, eternal, unthinkable and unimaginable; b) *Sada Shiva*, God begins to be active, forms an element of consciousness, permeates all beings and all forms; c) *Shiva*, God begins to assemble and support the world and the entire contents of nature, possessing it and seeping into it (Anonymous, 1988). Shiva's image in the universe is described as *Shiva Aditya* (Anonymous, 2000), which means Shiva as the sun, which provides the light of life for all beings in the universe. The existence of God in the world of creation (Shiva) is described in the traditional script "*Tutur Bhuana Kosa*" (Gautama, 2009), God in the universe performs three main activities including: a) creation (Brahma); b) maintenance (Vishnu); c) fusion (Shiva) (Fig. 4).

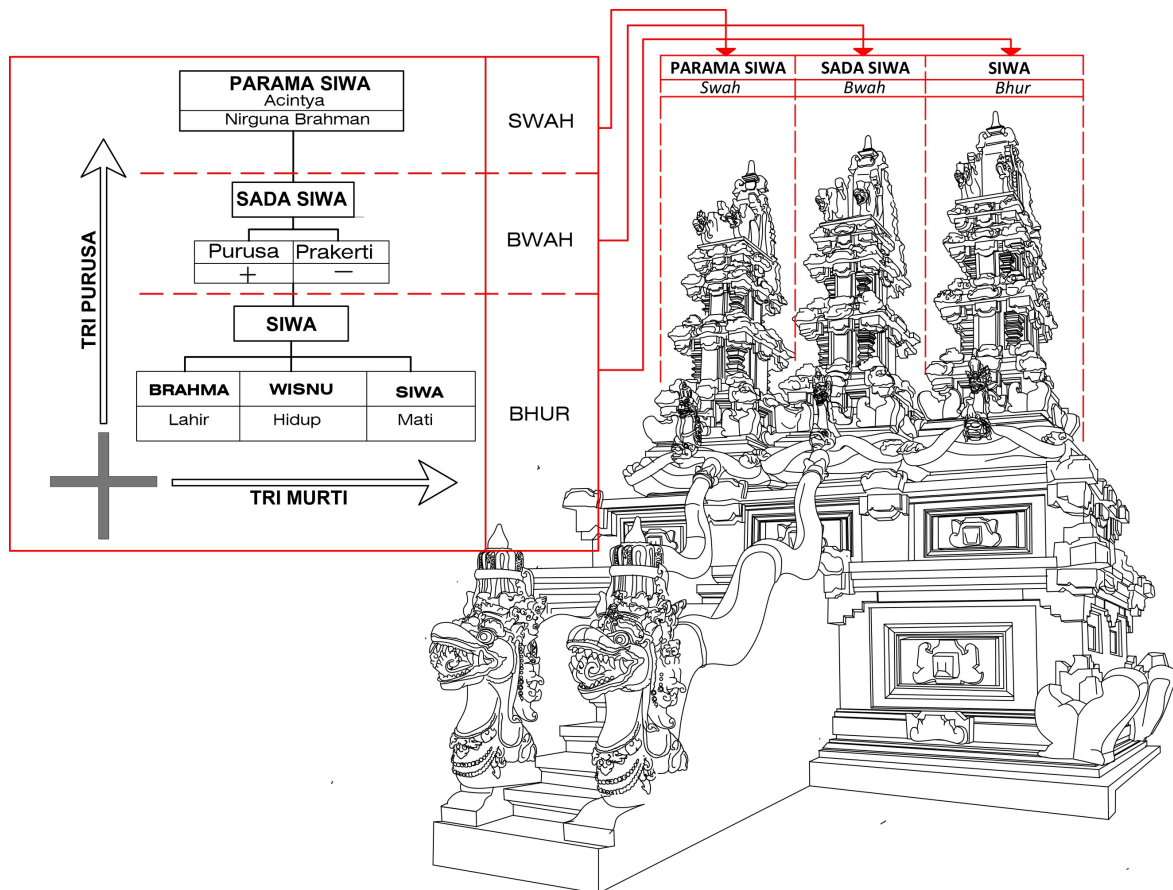


Figure 4. The Concept of *Tri Purusa* on *Padmasana Tiga*

Source: Author (2019)

This image of God in three different worlds is represented in the form of *padmasana tiga*, so that the function of *padmasana tiga* is as a *sthana* of God who is in three different realms. Lord Parama Shiva, the Supreme God is in very rare strata, represented by the rightmost *padmasana* of the *padmasana tiga*. He descended to the level of *karma sadakhya* (the cause of the material nature of the universe) to become *Lord Sada Shiva*, represented by *padmasana* who was in the middle. Subsequently descend again and be and merge with this universe, called *Lord Shiva*. He as the sun of the life of all His creation, is called *Shiva Aditya*.

Typology of Padmasana Tiga

Based on Layout

Padmasana tiga is located in the second *mandala* (zone) of Penataran Agung Besakih Temple, its position in the middle facing the main entrance (*kori agung*) (Figure 2). Covarrubias (1937) states that the most important thing in the temple is the *padmasana*, a stone throne with its back directed always towards *Mount Agung*. According to (Stuart-Fox, 2010), this holy building appeared later, after the temple existed, was the only sacred building that did not follow the orientation of the temple.

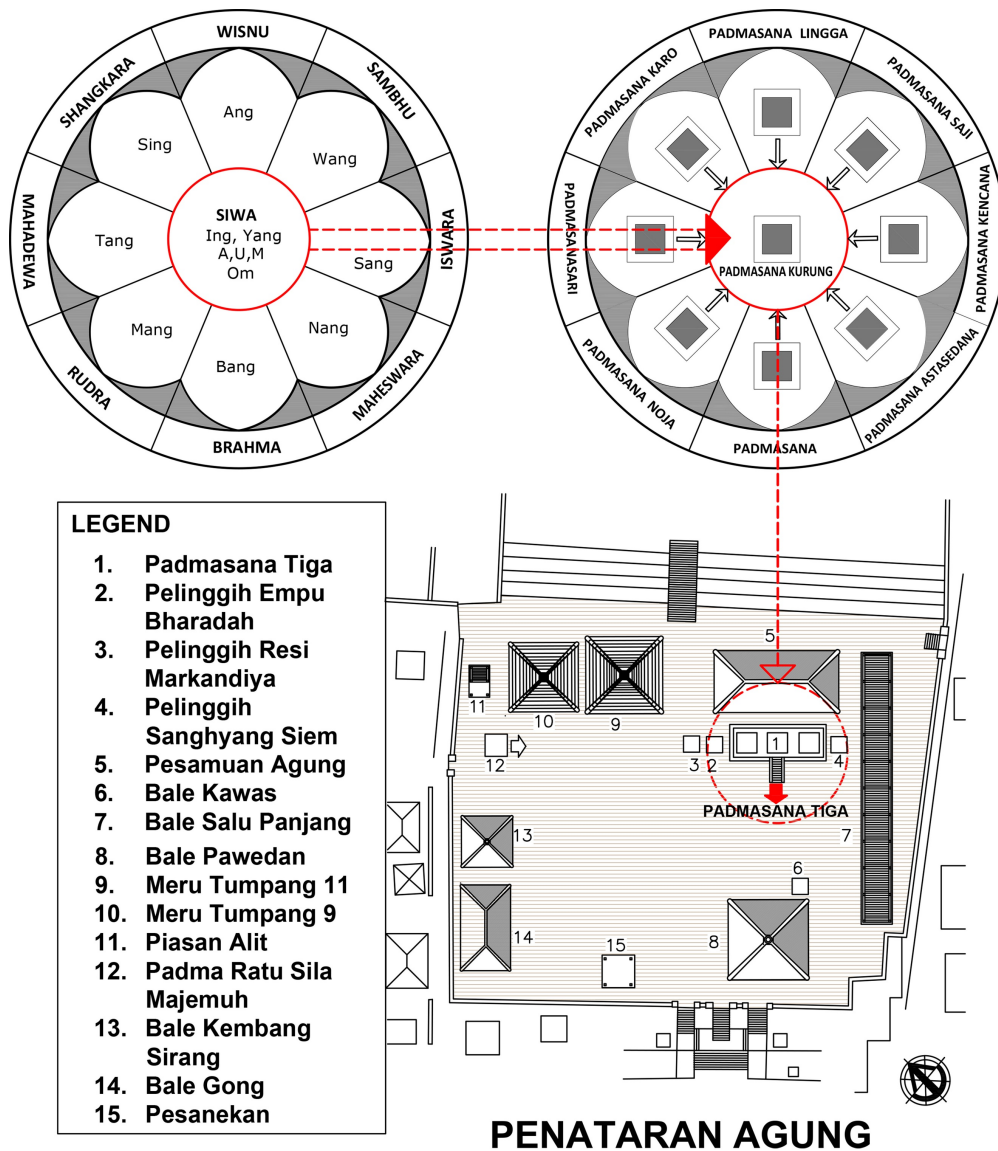


Figure 5. *Padma Asta Dala*, Type of Padmasana, and Position of *Padmasana Tiga* on the Mandala of the Penataran Agung Besakih Temple.

Source: Author (2019)

In the lontar "Bhuana Kosa" (Gautama, 2009) and "Lontar Padma Buana" (Mertha, 1996), it can be seen that God everywhere is described in nine positions, called 'dewata nawa sangga' are gods aspects of Shiva which supports the nine cardinal points, with Shiva domiciled at the midpoint. These nine positions form padma

bhuana, or called *padma asta dala* (*padma* flower with eight strands of flower petals). This position is used as a guideline in determining the orientation of *padmasana*.

The depiction of the position of the eight corners of the aspect of *Shiva* is manifested into 9 types of *padmasana* with *Shiva* as the core of the lotus flower (Figure 3). Referring to traditional script of "*Catur Winasa Sari*" (Anonymous, tt-b) and "Unity of Interpretation of Aspects of Hinduism" (Anonymous, 2000), *padmasana* with the number of *rong* 3, its position in the middle facing the entrance, included in *padmasana kurung* type. Seeing the existence of these *padmasana tiga* and the number of *rongs*, this *padmasana* belongs to the type of *padmasana kurung*.

Based on Number of Rong (empty throne at the peak of Padmasana) and number of Palih (level)

In the traditional script of "*Raja Purana Besakih*" on page 4a (Anonymous, tt-a) it is stated: "*dewa lila jnyana ngarining padmasana, padma layang ngaraning Gunung Agung*" (Anonymous, tt-a). The meaning of this traditional script is; "*A clean mind is symbolized by padmasana, padma layang is the name of Mount Agung*". In this traditional script does not reveal anymore about the relationship of *padma layang* with *padmasana tiga* in Besakih. In the Unity of Interpretation of Hindu Aspects of Religion (Anonymous, 2000), *padmasana* with *palih* (level) amounts to 5 and is equipped with 1 *rong* (empty throne on top of *padmasana*) is called *padmasana*, if 5 *palih* with 2 *rong* is called *padmasana agung*, and if the sum the *palih* 7 with 3 *rongs* is called *padmasana anglayang* (Table 1).

Table 1
The Typology of the *Padmasana* holy building is based on *Rong* and *Palih*

Type	Name	<i>Rong</i> (empty throne)	<i>Palih</i> (step/level)	Ornamen <i>Bedawang Nala</i>
<i>Padmasana</i>	<i>Padmasana anglayang</i>	3	7	✓
	<i>Padma agung</i>	2	5	✓
	<i>Padmasana</i>	1	5	✓

Source: Author, modified from the Unity of Interpretation of Aspects of Hinduism (*Kesatuan Tafsir Aspek-aspek Agama Hindu*) (2000).

With the above discussion based on *palih* and *rong*, this *padmasana* can be included in 5 *palih*, with the number of *rongs* being 3. The complete ornamentation of *Bedawang Nala* is at the bottom (Figure 6). The number of levels on the *padmasana* body is only 5, but if calculated as a whole (added to the bottom/*tepas*), the number of levels is 7. Thus this *padmasana tiga* can be entered as a type of *padmasana anglayang*.

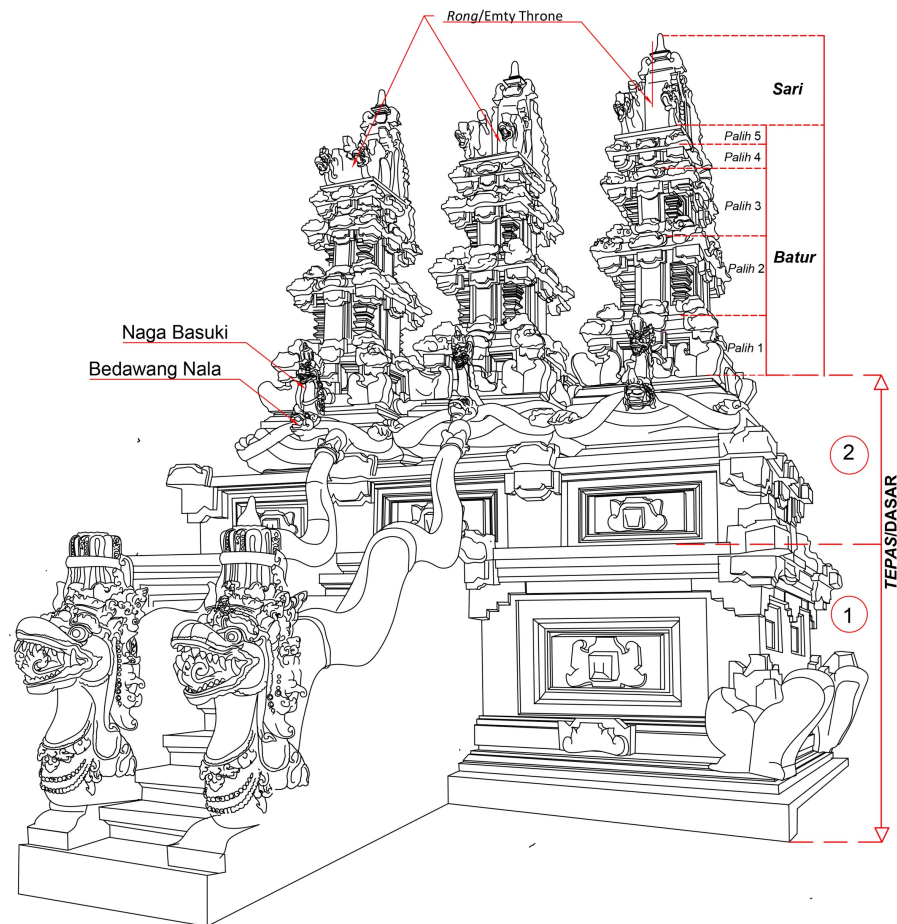


Figure 6. *Palih* (level) and *Bedawang Nala*'s decoration on *Padmasana Tiga*
Source: Author (2019)

CONCLUSION

Architectural functions of *padmasana tiga* are as worship of God from the concept of *Tripurusa*, worship of *Lord Shiva* vertically, *Parama Shiva* on the right hand side, *Sada Shiva* in the middle, and *Shiva* on the left side. *Parama Shiva* is the highest consciousness, permeates the entire cosmos, has not been affected by cyberspace, exists in strata which are very rare from pure cyberspace, because it cannot be directly involved with the astral and physical realms. God is not yet active is called '*Nirguna Brahman*'. Then God descended to the level of *karma sadakhya* (material cause of the universe), to carry out cosmic activities in the pure virtual world. He does this through the form of his Lord *Sadasiwa*, God has begun to move, called '*Saguna Brahman*'. Furthermore, God descended again into the realm of His creation, in the form of his Lord as *Shiva* who carries the task of creation, nurturing, and fusion, called '*Tri Murti*'.

When viewed from its layout which is at the center or middle of the *mandala*, its orientation faces the entrance, *padmasana tiga*, including the type of *padmasana kurung*. It is a picture of the essence of the lotus flower as the center of the entire universe. *Padmasana tiga* has three *rongs* at its peak, as well as five levels on its body, if counted to the bottom it has seven levels, thus *padmasana tiga* can be entered into the type of *padmasana anglayang*.

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The Peasant Movements of Ancient World and Their Basic Traits With Nature: A Retrospective Discourse

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Abstract

While we deal with the nature and basic traits of the peasant movements of the ancient world; we come across several instances that project the nature and character of various peasant movements of the world. This research-based paper is an endeavor to present a brief picturesque of peasant movements of various parts of the ancient world along-with their traits and nature

Keywords: Insurrection, Encompass Ed, Ecclesiastical, Manorial, Pastures, Escalated, Assertive, Arable, Scarce, Pillaged, Destitution, Vagrant, Villeins, Falsity, Extorted, Retarded, Tillers, Morale, Profit-Mongering, Samurais

The year of 579, saw a major peasant insurrection which was directed against the rule of Chilperich, the Merovingian king, in the course of which many peasants in the vicinity of Limoges left their holdings to escape excessive tax burdens. Tax collectors were threatened with death by the infuriated mob. So, in the end, military force was used to stop the rebellion. The biggest peasant rebellion in Carolingian times occurred in 841, when the peasants of Stellinga in Saxony protested against the Frankish type of feudal rule. In Saxony which had only recently been subjugated by the Frankish rulers, the process of feudalization was much slower than in the other provinces of the Frankish empire. Therefore, the conventional social structure of nobles, freemen and half-free survived longer in Saxony than elsewhere in the empire. The position of freemen and half-free who had fought most persistently against the Frankish conquerors, had deteriorated markedly with the invasion of the Franks and the introduction of their rule. Encouraged by open dissent among the sons of King Louis 'the pious', the Saxon freemen and half-free arose in a big rebellious movement between 841 and 843. This Stellinga movement encompassed both dependent and free peasant groups, and was primarily directed against lay and ecclesiastical manorial lords whose position had improved since the Frankish conquest to the detriment of the peasantry. It took King Louis and the Saxon nobility several extremely violent campaigns to suppress the insurrection, which had spread over large parts of Saxony.

The resistance of the peasants against the heavy demands of the manorial lords grew in the medieval period with the rise of the urban centre and the intensive development of landed resources. The frequent disputes of peasants with their lords concerning rights to woodlands and pastures lasted for several years. In 1210, a conflict was, finally settled concerning the use of the woodlands between the monastery of Salem and the peasants of Oberzell, a village to the north of Lake Constance which had lasted for several years. It had escalated

particularly in 1198 when the inhabitants of Oberzell devastated a farm of the monastery at Adelsreute, an action for which they were sentenced to heavy punishment. A conflict which was also related to the use of the Commons was recorded between the abbey of Himmerode and a number of its villages. It was above all the peasants of Dudeldorf, Pickliessem and Gindorf who felt defrauded of their traditional right to use a large stretch of woodland, as a result of which they attacked a farm belonging to the monastery, seized its cattle and threw stones at the lay servants of the monastery. It was only after the inhabitants of the villages concerned faced with the possibility of being excommunicated; a compromise between the conflicting parties was reached in 1228, which put an end to the aggression on both sides. Similar struggles between assertive peasant communities and manorial lords, who tried to restrict their rights to the Commons, were also recorded in many other regions during the 13th century. The number of conflicts grew as arable land became scarce with the intensified development of land resources, a trend which incited many feudal lords to try and raise their revenues by limiting peasant rights to the Commons.

In the 13th and 14th centuries, peasant communities clashed with ambitious rulers, especially, in the Alpine provinces and along the coastlines of the North Sea where the rural population had fought hard to obtain a relatively independent social position and far reaching autonomy in communal matters. In the 13th century, the peasant insurrections and even the long peasant wars shook particularly such regions as Drente, West and East Frisia, the Stedingerland and Dithmarschen. The insurrection of Stedingers was one of the most impressive peasant revolts of the medieval ages. The Stedinger communities in the lower Weser area waged a major war against the archbishops of Bremen and the counts of Oldenburg in an effort to preserve their freedom. Yet although they fought for years; they were not as successful and the Frisians and eventually lost against the combined forces of their enemies.

The Flemish revolt lasted for several years from 1323 to 1328. The principal targets of this revolt were lay manorial lords and administrative abuses by tax collectors and administrative officials. The centers of the revolt were the coastal areas of Flanders where the peasants had won considerable independence in the high middle ages. It started in the vicinity of Bruges during the winter of 1323, and was, at first directed against the excesses of the judicial authorities who charged taxes and court fees in an arbitrary manner. The struggle against these individual abuses soon developed into a universal protest of assertive peasant communities who held much more far-reaching goals. In their rage, the rebels launched their assaults, mainly, on the castles of the nobility, which were often pillaged and destroyed in the course of the revolt. Without meeting any serious opposition, the revolt soon affected the entire province and found the support of all towns except Ghent. The office-holders of the courts were replaced by representatives from the peasant estate, who maintained the normal administration for years. The decisive blow against the rebels, eventually, came from an army sent by the King of France at the request of the Count of Flanders. After a big battle near Cassel in 1328, the Flemish peasant army was forced to surrender to the French Knights and 'this defeat marked the final collapse of the insurrection.

The Jacquerie of 1358, which was essentially a revolt caused by peasant destitution, was unique because of its surprising geographical spread over a very small time span. Heavy tax demands, the vast devastation of the country as a result of the hundred years war and innumerable lootings by impoverished mercenaries had driven the defenseless peasantry to despair. Faced with the wretchedness and insecurity of their condition, the peasants were allowed to form their own defense units to repulse the assaults of vagrant mercenary gangs. In the last days of May, 1358, an open insurrection started in the Beauvais region which soon spread into Picardy and other neighboring areas. In many places, the rebellious peasant troops, which for the most part operated independent of each other, forced procrastinating individuals to join them. Great bitterness was felt towards nobility which only pursued its own interests and often participated in pillaging the countryside rather than protecting the peasants and their villages. Hence, the peasants answered with destruction of many castles and mansions, often driving away the owners. Most towns, however, were undecided and only a few of them were active supporters of the revolt. It was soon plain that the insurrection was highly spontaneous in character and lacked a political perspective, for it collapsed after a few months despite its vast geographical extent.

The German peasant revolts in the late middle age became much more frequent in the late 14th and 15th centuries, and had a much greater political impetus than their forerunners. In the 14th century, only 4 major peasant revolts were recorded while this number increased to 15 in the first half and then to 25 in the second half of the 15th century. These revolts mainly occurred in the south of Germany.

In south-west Germany, the grave consequences of the agrarian crisis induced many lords to strengthen the ties of personal lordship over their peasants so as to prevent them from moving elsewhere as well as to compensate for losses in income by charging higher dues. But around the year 1370, a serious conflict developed between the monastery at Hauenstein and its peasants concerning the terms of serfdom which finally, culminated in an insurrection. The peasants had sought to escape from monastery by moving into towns and refusing to pay the dues connected with their status as bondsmen. After years of conflict, a legal agreement was reached in 1383 which permitted the peasants to move into those towns which acknowledged that it was legitimate for the monastery to demand the payment of heriot. In cases where a bondsman failed to obey this rule, the monastery was entitled to confiscate both his movable and immovable property.

There was scarcity of labour following the depopulation after the Black-Death in England. The land-owners had a lot of land in their hands which required tilling. Many land-owners had to take recourse to hired-labour where as they relied on the manorial villeins before the plague. Hired laborers were not abundant at that time which put them in a very commanding position. The landlords found it difficult to cope with the situation and therefore, they appealed to parliament to eradicate the problem through some form of legislation. 'The Statute of Labourer' passed by the parliament in 1351, sought to offer remedies in the event of the situation precipitated by the Black-Death, but in reality, it was an indirect attempt to give the land-owners control over labourers even in the changed conditions. Indeed, the Statute was highly impractical in the context of the situation that existed after the plague. In the course of the implementation of the Statute, there was a strong ignition as it forced the labourers to be tied to the land. Once again, labourers who fled their employers were branded as falsity. The Statute of Labourer was one of the instruments that provoked the peasants to revolt against the oppressive working standards. Such provocation touched its pinnacle when another oppressive poll tax was imposed on the peasants. The rising originated from an unpopular poll tax. Its oppressive and corrupt administration caused local revolts in Essex and Kent which became the signal for a national rebellion.

In 1377, the parliament imposed a poll tax of a *groat* or four-pence on all English people above 14 years, except beggars. Two years later in 1379, there was an enhancement to the tax which was now increased on the wealthier nobility while a peasant was required to pay a *groat* as earlier. In 1380, however, the matters became worse when a new tax of three *groats* was imposed on all persons above fifteen, irrespective of their condition. The peasantry was incensed by this tyrannical poll tax and within months there was a consolidation of the public against it. The first outbreak of the revolt took place in Kent when one Wat Tyler murdered a tax collector and marched to Canterbury. He headed a large group of protestors who destroyed many manorial records that came to their way. According to Trevelyan, 'the revels invaded the manor houses and abbeys, extorted the right they claimed and burnt obnoxious charters and manor rolls.

Spontaneous revolt took place in Hertfordshire and Essex. Riots started entire England and the basic demands of the rioters were the abolition of the institutions of villeinage, freedom to the peasants and access to markets. One of the drawbacks of the revolt was that it took place in the towns. The Archbishop of Canterbury was murdered; the tower of London was looted and countless justices and manorial heads were assaulted and manhandled. Such violence did not help the peasants to arrive at their objects. The murder of Wat Tyler by London's Mayor caused the spark for the revolt to run-out. Soon, Richard II, the king of England was able to quell the revolt within three weeks of Tyler's death. The king and the nobility did not keep the promises that they made and the abolition of villeinage was pushed further into the future.

According to Trevelyan, the rebellion had been a great incident and its history throws a flood of light on the English folk of that day. Historian cannot decide whether it helped or retarded the movement for the abolition of freedom, which continued at much the same pace after 1381 as before. But, the spirit that had prompted the

rising was one of the chief reasons why serfdom died out in England as it did not die out on the continent of Europe.

The Knight revolt of 1523 was followed by a peasant revolt in Germany. Leopold Von Ranke called the peasant war of 1525 as 'the outstanding natural phenomenon in German history.'

The peasant class in Germany had been fully exploited and the clergy too had a share in this. The peasants had social and economic grievances and finally, the religious ferment added fuel to the fire on it. As a result of which, the movement assumed serious proportions. Headed by fanatics, various groups of peasants freely indulged in ghastly acts of crimes. Martin Luther saw in this revolt the possibility of a danger to the reform movement and so, it was put-down. The peasants did not like the Protestants as they suppressed their revolt with the help of the princes of German states. The medieval peasant was not a tenant in the modern sense of the term; rather he was dependent on or subject to his lord in a variety of ways. A powerful factor of peasant existence in medieval feudal society was the bondage to the feudal lord. Until German peasants were emancipated in the 19th century, the majority of them dependent on feudal lords who were entitled to various tributes and services. Taxes had to be paid upon marriage and death; on St. George's and St. Martin's Day; and in spring and autumn. Pathetically, little remained for the peasants in years of bad harvests and even in normal years, the remaining supplies only allowed for a modest livelihood.

G. Franz regards each and every peasant revolt of the 14th and 15th centuries 'as a precursor of the peasants' war of 1525.' Even, Peter Blickle, the author of the most recent comprehensive study of this event has also endorsed this view.

Predominantly, during the Tokugawa period, Japan was an agricultural country. More than 80 % of the total population accepted agriculture as their principal profession. The government revenue was mainly collected from the poor peasants to maintain the government and support the idle *samurais*. This led to a chronic economic distress in the country which ultimately culminated in peasant uprisings. The economic growth of the merchants was highly responsible for the deterioration of the peasants' economy. The stability of a society depends mainly upon its sound economic system. But the history of Tokugawa period was a stay of growing dissatisfaction with economic conditions. It gradually undermined the era of stability inaugurated by the early Tokugawas. With the emergence of township and merchant community, the peasant economy met a great setback. This economic discontent found their expression in numerous peasant uprisings in Japan. These peasant uprisings, gradually gained momentum during the time of floods, drought and adverse price of commodities. No provision was made 'for import of food grains from other countries to relieve the starving millions at that time of the failure of crops' which culminated their anger.

Abolition of feudalism in 1871 in Japan directly affected the farmers. The peasants were now freed from the feudal obligations and became free holders. There was also a drastic change in the system of revenue collection. During the feudal regime, taxes were collected in kind according to the value of the crops; and the peasants were left with no more than just enough to live on. Thus, the feudal lords were the real care-takers of the peasants in the sense that in the time of need, they used to help the peasants under their jurisdiction. But under the new government after the abolition of feudalism, the taxes were collected in cash according to the value of the land. Moreover, the peasants were not forced to stick to their land. They were at liberty either to remain on their land or sell it out and leave for the city.

The Agricultural conflicts popularly known as 'Swing Riots' took place in England in 1830-31. The production of agriculture came down heavily following the Napoleonic wars and even after that. The matter was far from improving. Poor harvests and increasing prices bitterly affected the British economy which led to labour unrest creating a complicated and difficult situation. Unemployed numbers had risen and a collective dissatisfaction found manifestation in the agricultural disorders, the first of which began in Kent in 1830. The unrest speedily spread to other areas of England. The name 'Swing' associated with the riots was derived from Captain Swing, who led the rioters by writing anonymous letters. Loss of property and the destruction of equipments were

common. About 2000 of the protesters were arrested and 19 were hanged. Though the riot was quickly curbed but despite that, it brought some issues relating to agricultural and working conditions into sharp focus and was influential in bringing the Reform Act of 1832. The Swing Riots also highlighted other social discrepancies by involving the general population in the affected areas.

The economic condition of China during the Manchu rule was, partially responsible for the outbreak of Tai-Ping rebellion in China which continued from 1851 to 1864 under the leadership of Hung Hsiu-Chuan. It was basically a peasant movement. There was economic dislocation due to the accumulation of land in large holdings. There was no equal distribution of land; and the poor peasants, the real tillers of the soil, were put to the mercy of the landlords for a piece of land. The situation was further aggravated by the profit-mongering merchants who used to hoard food-grains in huge quantities until the price was raised abnormally. The situation was worst confounded by the increase of population. The increase of population without a corresponding increase of arable land caused acute food-shortage which affected the poorer section of the people most. Large scale importation of finished foreign goods also shattered the rural economy of China. It affected cottage industries which were subsidiary to the agriculture of the local craftsmen and small traders. Another economic factor which was especially injurious to the taxpayers was the sudden increase in the value of silver in comparison to copper. As the agricultural tax was calculated in silver but paid in copper, the tax burden of the peasants increased heavily. Thus, the economic mal-adjustment in the country infuriated millions of poor and unprivileged who were out to join the rebellion.

The economic distress was further worsened by floods and famine in South China. The people of Kwantung and Hunaor provinces suffered a lot due to recurring floods which caused the constant failure of crops. Finally, starvation and malnutrition broke the morale of the people. The corrupt government machinery failed to tackle the situation to redress the minimum grievances of the hungry millions. The people came out to join the rebels in a large number out of utter dejection. It made the confusion more confounded. This revolt was, practically, a crusade against feudalism; and its aims and objects were to redistribute land among the Chinese, taking into consideration its productivity. The rebels attempted to dissolve the big land-holdings for improving the condition of the poor peasants but failed miserably.

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Relationship Failure and Divorce Among Nigerian Couples: A Case of Poor Conflict Resolution

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Abstract

This study aims to find out the causes of poor conflict resolution which can determine the rate of marriage failure and divorce. It is a descriptive research that lays emphasis on survey method. Purposive sampling procedure has been employed to cover the area of study with data obtained from 386 married respondents. Findings reveal that relationship failure and divorce is high. The study identifies that the absence of positive and supportive communication, lack of close interpersonal communication, absence of interest, affection, gratitude and apologies communication, lack of dialogic communication and lack of communality of differences are causes of poor conflict resolution in relationships. The results of the two hypotheses tested reveal that there is a significant relationship between poor conflict resolution with relationship failure and divorce. Also, effective interpersonal communication is significantly related to conflict resolution. In conclusion, the inevitability of conflicts in any form of marriage has been established. Thus, the factors to determine effective conflict resolution among couples are; active use of communication to build a constructive relationship, acceptance and confirming partner's view, affirming and asserting yourself as a partner in a relationship, respect for diversity in relationship and reason rationally then adoption of constructive criticism; embracing dialogic communication, positive and supportive communication, interpersonal communication, and then upholding interest, affection, gratitude and apologies communication are means to amicably resolve conflict in an intimate relationship.

Keywords: Relationship Failure, Divorce, Interpersonal Communication and Conflict Resolution Constructive Communication

Introduction

Marriage did not just come to be, it is as old as the creation of man and woman. Marriage is a union of man and woman, basically on an agreement to plan and live together. Munroe (2013) opines that marriage is a religious duty and is consequently a moral safeguard as well as social necessity. It is as a result of an individual needs actualization that prompts the couple's agreement for marriage. Marriage is a sacred bond, based on

communication, trust, understanding, commitment, sacrifice, togetherness, oneness, sincerity and the likes. It is considered an important event in the life of every man. Societies all over the world recognize that a man and a woman can be regarded as a couple only when they are in an institution called marriage.

Nigeria is a country with a diverse ethnic and cultural differences; traditions differ, so are the people with different principles, views opinions, expectations, values and needs being joined together as couples. Relationship in Nigeria cannot be compared to other parts of the world, because of the difference in tradition, views, religion, and society. Irrespective of different socio-cultural, political views and make-up in Nigerian society, many factors could be responsible for relationship failure and divorce, the world at large. According to Esere and Idowo (2002), a good marriage does not just happen; it is deliberately built. In other words, the parties involved in marriage need to make their marriage work (it is a dual role). Different personality traits and background inherent in individuals may play a little or major role in the success and the failure of a happy marital relationship, but lack of understanding between both parties will pave way for poor communication gap capable of bridging a wider gap that lead could to divorce. Looking at the world at large, the percentages of divorced couples are predominantly high, which is obviously not good for a healthy society (Munroe, 2014; Tolorunleke, 2014; Wood, 2010).

Marriage should be viewed like travelers on a tour, guided by a tour guard; the communication between the traveler and the travel tour guard will cost the traveler an easy and fun-filled journey. Hence, communication is very vital among couples. It is through interaction; people come to understand their differences and similarities and foster personal growth (Wood 2010). The relationship between couples needs to be strengthened by bridging the communication gap between them; couples who do not engage in constant dialogue and interaction have great chances of experiencing marital conflict. Although, a marriage isn't a smooth ride, the argument may ensure, remarks, irritation, etc, while things are not properly managed, they cause friction and tension between couples that widens over the years.

In an interpersonal communication, people attach meanings to spoken words; hence couples need to understand their partners and flow in line with the feeling and level of communication. Most couples fail to keep their relationship on bay, when they lack communication skills; these lacks, breeds lies, malice, cheating, gossip, etc capable of inducing marital conflict. Communication play a key role in the cause of divorce, so are some vices such as cheat, jealousy, childlessness, and third parties involvement that all come to be as a result of poor communication among couples, which breads disdain.

There is no relationship free of conflict, but the manner or attitude which it's being resolved determines the success of every marital relationship. Most conflicts arise from attitudes and manners being communicated to their spouses; common among couples are verbal; abuses, insults, irritation, languages, third party interference, gossiping, vulgar languages, etc. All these can be resolved through understanding and dialogue. When a marital relationship is on the edge of collapse, the couple could possibly seek the help of the counselor, who is vast in the affairs and knowledge of marriage. When relationship in marriage suffers from poor conflict resolution, it degenerates to divorce, in returns affects the whole family; in a situation where kids are involved they suffer; both psychologically and social wise. A failed marriage and a broken home is a fragment of a broken society.

Marital conflicts in Nigeria are most times poorly handled, going by the prevalence of marital conflicts which sometimes degenerate to marriage failure or even divorce, this study seeks to investigate the implications of poor conflict resolution on the aforementioned marital problems among Nigerian couples.

Research Questions

- i. What is the rate of relationship failure in Nigeria?
- ii. What are the causes of poor conflict resolution among couples in Nigeria?
- iii. What are the factors to consider for effective conflict resolution among couples in Nigeria?

Research Hypothesis

H₁- Effective interpersonal communication is significantly related to conflict resolution among Nigerian couples.
H₂ – Poor conflict resolution is related to relationship failure and divorce among Nigerian couples

Literature Review

Relationship Failure and Divorce

Failed marriage and divorce is gradually becoming a phenomenon, deeply rooted in the Nigerian society. It is obvious that the rate of divorce in the society is becoming alarming and basically will have an obvious effect in the community. Adegoke (2015) explains that the divorce rate has been increased dramatically during the past several decades globally and in Nigeria in particular, and resulting in crisis for family members.

Marriage is considered a sacred bond between a man and a woman signified by a contract signed by the state. Encyclopaedia Britannica (2019) defines marriage as a legally and socially sanctioned union, usually between a man and a woman, that is regulated by laws, rules, customs, beliefs and attitudes that prescribe the rights and duties of the partners and accord status to their offspring (if any). Despite the availability of knowledge, conflicts still arise. Tolorunleke (2014), asserts that conflicts in marriage are inevitable but can be managed; why they occur or prevented in resulting in a partial or total collapse of homes, which largely depend on couples' mutual understanding. Thus couples need effective communication to overcome marital challenges that threaten the relationship.

According to Diehl (2012), marriages fail because of the stress of life from the outer side overwhelms the weakness on the inside. Adding that marriages fail for predictable reasons: selfishness, brokenness, and ignorance. When individuals hide things from their partners, they find it hard to interact and as such create a crisis.

Couples need to maintain close interpersonal communication which brings about openness, the sincerity that helps to resolve conflict. Just as Esere (2008) explains, sincere communication, open and sympathetic relationship, conveying one's feelings and needs serves as solution to marital relationship problems. The ability to communicate effectively is regarded as central to the establishment of good marital relationship (Esere, 2000).

Couple's inability to maintain a healthy relationship cannot be farfetched from the following: inability to communicate effectively, difference in belief, lack of openness, childlessness and infertility, unfulfilled expectations, unfaithfulness in marriage, age differences, when such crisis creeps in, certain factors such as lack of intimacy, lack of communication, marital infidelity, incompatibility, sexual incompatibility, all give way to relationship failure, separation then divorce.

Divorce seems to be gaining acceptance in the society. This increased tolerance has resulted from relaxation of negative attitude towards divorce among various religious dominations (Adeniran, 2015) this seen as unfortunate, and no longer treated as sin by most religious leaders (Gerstel, 1987 cited in Adeniran, 2015).

Conflict Resolution in Marriage

No marriage is free of misunderstandings and conflicts; every married couple has more experience to share and how their ability to resolve conflict, and prevent divorce made possible. Conflict happens between two people when their views, opinions and goals differ, and inability to find a common ground as well. According to Wood (2010), conflict exists only if disagreement or tensions are expressed. There is no conflict when a feeling is suppressed or anger and disagreement are not identified. In marriage, couples opinions about issues may differ, and reactions showing anger; these might ignite to a level that such issues cannot be resolved, but this doesn't mean that it cannot be resolved completely.

Some couples repeat their mistakes over and over again; this can be annoying and irritating. Conflict is good in a marital relationship, but must always be resolved in a peaceful manner. It is obvious that some couples who are doing well engage in conflict differently than those who eventually are separated. This is because they have learned to understand and respond to their conflicts in a positive manner.

Couples must learn to imbibe the habit of communication in their relationship; there should be a dialogue between couples, these will reduce the level of conflicts in their home. Communication is very important in marriage, while ineffective communication in marriages has affected the growth and development of many homes (Esere, Yeyeodu & Oladun, 2014). When couples interact properly and regularly they build a good and healthy relationship. These are some of the attitudes used to maintain positive and effective relation:

- i. Interest: Couples must be interested in each other's affairs. Give a listening ear to their partner, makes signals, eye contacts and signs to show you are paying attention and accept one another's perspectives.
- ii. Affection: Always show affection in what you do. Most partners like their spouse to express affection like, holding hands, kisses, embrace. During conflict displaying physical or verbal affection reduces the tension or friction between couples.
- iii. Show Gratitude: always be appreciative of your partners, little things do matter in a relationship. Show your gratitude either verbally or with gestures, so that when your relationship is in conflict, it will be easy to engage him/her in positive interactions.
- iv. Apologies: learning to say sorry when need arises, is not much of a big deal. Accept you are wrong, settle the conflict without a fuss.

According to Berscheid and Peplau (1983) effective communication in marriage relationship can be hindered by ineffective interaction. For communication to be complete there must be the willingness to exchange ideas in an open and loving manner. These are a major challenge capable of hindrance resolution.

Adeniran (2015) explains that, the most factors in the increase in divorce throughout the twentieth century have been the greater social acceptance of divorce. The society has accepted divorce as the last resort and so couples do not try to resolve conflict through understanding, rather they embrace divorce.

Not every couple is matured enough to resolve their differences, while some third parties engaged in settling conflict in relationships end up making the issue irresolvable. Also, there are professionally trained both mentally and otherwise, who knows how to resolve conflicts in relationships, especially among couples such as the guidance and counseling officer or a psychologist. According to Esere, Yeyeodu and Olaolu (2014), counselors need to enlighten communities especially the parents about relationship with their children on communication styles in order to bring about a desirable relationship.

Theoretical framework

This study adopts the Relational Dialectics Theory (RDT), propounded by Leslie Baxter and Babara Montgomery in 1988. RDT is an interpersonal communication theory; which posits communication and dialogue as the central components of relational and cultural identity and how speakers express opposing, irresolvable tensions in relationship. The theory focuses on tension and struggles between individuals in a relationship.

This theory is of two types: internal and external- the one that concerns this study is the external; it is the tension between couples and societies.

RDT explains that couples with different cultural identity and background are prone to have different views, opinions, belief about life and as such have opposing ideas of an issue, which possibly develops into or create tensions and struggles between couples.

In a relationship, couples need to maintain a good interpersonal communication, this will help them understand each other better, and be able to reason with one another when there is an opposing view, this, helps to resolve the conflict in their relationship.

Methodology

This study is on poor conflict resolution and marriage failure among couples in Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja Nigeria. The descriptive survey design was used to establish the relationship between poor conflict resolution and marriage failure and also consider the rate of divorce among couples in the study area. The participants for the study were drawn from married couples in the area of study, a sample size of 386 respondents were selected; using purposive sampling method. Structured questionnaire divided into five sections (A-E) was used for data collection. The instrument was found to be valid and had reliability co-efficient of 0.86. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 21.0) was used in analysing the data collected in this study. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were utilised in analysing the data collected.

Data Analysis and Results

A total of 386 questionnaires were filled by respondents out of which 380 were valid. Gender of respondents were almost evenly distributed as male (53.7%) and female (46.3%). The bulk of the respondents' age range from 20 to 45 (73.1%) and 46 to 70 (16.3%). 7.7% and 2.9% of the respondents were less than 20 years and 71 years and above respectively. About half of the respondents (57.8%) are graduates, 21% of respondents possess NCE/OND or its equivalent, 11.5% have only SSC/GII education and those with CPE and below or without any formal education constitutes 9.7%. The implication here is that most of the couples sampled are well educated and qualified to respond to the researchers' enquiries.

Table 1: Rates of Relationship Failure and Divorce in Nigeria

Relationship Failure and Divorce	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Very Low	21	5.5
Low	56	14.7
Neutral	48	12.6
High	203	53.4
Very High	52	13.7
Total	380	100%

Source: Researchers fieldwork 2019

*Scale: 1=Very low, (1-20%) 2= Low, (21-40%) 3=Slightly High, (41-60%) 4=High, (61-80%) 5=Very High (81-100%)

Table 1 clearly showed that relationship failure and divorce in Nigeria contemporary society is alarming as over half of the respondents (53.4%) agreed that the rate of marriage failure and divorce in the country is high. This finding corroborates Adegoke (2015) postulations that the divorce rate has increased dramatically during the past several decades in Nigeria. That divorce results in a crisis for family members. For adults, divorce signifies the loss of an intimate relationship that also brought security and support. It also signifies a loss of hopes and dreams as well as feelings of failure.

Table 2: Causes of Poor Conflict Resolution among Nigerian Couples

Perceived Causes of Poor Conflict Resolution	Level of Agreement					M	SD	Over all %
	1	2	3	4	5			
Lack of close interpersonal communication	5.6	10.8	23.1	36.2	24.3	3.63	1.92	72.6
Lack of dialogic communication	7.5	11.6	22.0	44.8	14.2	3.47	1.10	69.4
Lack of communality of differences	5.6	10.5	22.9	39.1	21.8	3.61	1.11	72.2
Absence of positive and supportive communication	4.9	6.0	12.3	54.5	22.4	3.84	1.00	76.8
Absence of interest, affection, gratitude and apologies communication	6.3	6.7	27.3	39.0	20.6	3.61	1.08	72.2

Openness relationship	27.5	42.5	10.4	9.2	10.5	1.83	2.37	36.6
Total						3.29	1.43	66.6

Source: Researchers fieldwork 2019

*Scale: 1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Slightly Agree, 4=Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
(1-20%) (21-40%) (41-60%) (61-80%) (81-100%)

Table 2 shows that marital conflict resolution in Nigeria is faced with a couple of challenges amongst which are; absence of positive and supportive communication (M=3.84, SD=1.00), lack of close interpersonal communication (M=3.63, SD=1.92), absence of interest, affection, gratitude and apologies communication (M=3.61, SD=1.08), lack of dialogic communication (M=3.47, SD=1.10) and lack of communality of differences (M=3.61, SD=1.11). The study equally found that openness relationship does not affect poor conflict resolution (M= 1.83, SD=2.37). It, therefore, means that poor conflict resolution is a major challenge to relationship failure and divorce among Nigerian couples.

As Tolorunleke (2014), notes in her conclusion on the causes of marriage conflicts in Nigeria, the inevitability of conflicts in any form of marriage was established. To prevent or manage crisis, therefore, will depend largely on the mutual understanding of couples involved. Who recommended that adequate provision be made for both preventive, remedial and rehabilitative counselling, interventions through different bodies such as government and non-governmental organizations (NGO's) for the married and prospective couples to enhance marital stability in our societies. However, this study noticed the important of effective communication among couples in conflict resolution.

Table 3: Factors for Effective Conflict Resolution among Nigerian Couples

Factors for Poor Conflict Resolution	Level of Agreement					M	SD	Over all %
	1	2	3	4	5			
Active use of communication to build confirming relationship	5.7	9.4	34.0	35.8	15.1	3.45	1.04	69.0
Acceptance and confirming partner's view	4.1	6.4	25.1	50.2	14.2	3.64	0.95	72.8
Affirming and asserting yourself as partner in relationship	14.9	13.8	29.1	34.3	7.8	3.06	1.18	61.2
Respect for diversity in relationship	8.6	14.2	34.1	31.8	11.2	3.23	1.10	64.6
Reason rationally and constructively to criticism	9.3	11.2	27.2	34.0	18.3	3.41	1.18	68.2
Practicing close and disconfirming relationship	30.6	30.4	21.5	9.4	8.1	2.34	1.23	46.8
Total						3.19	1.11	63.77

Source: Researchers field work 2019

*Scale: 1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Slightly Agree, 4=Agree, 5=Strongly Agree
(1-20%) (21-40%) (41-60%) (61-80%) (81-100%)

Table 3 tested some factors that scholars such as Wood (2010) have enumerated can determine effective conflict resolution among couples. Therefore, these factors are; active use of communication to build confirming relationship (M=3.45, SD=1.04), acceptance and confirming partner's view (M=3.64, SD=0.95), affirming and asserting yourself as partner in relationship (M=3.06, SD=1.18), respect for diversity in relationship (M=3.23, SD=1.10) and reason rationally then adoption of constructive criticism. Thus, embracing dialogic communication, positive and supportive communication, interpersonal communication, and then upholding interest, affection, gratitude and apologies are means to amicably resolve conflict in intimate relationship.

HYPOTHESIS TESTING

H₁- Effective interpersonal communication is significantly related to conflict resolution among Nigerian couples.

Table 5: Pearson correlation of the relationship between effective interpersonal communication and conflict resolution

Variables	Mean	Std.Dev	N	R	P
Effective Interpersonal Communication and Conflict Resolution	4.3091	.74219	300	.809	≤ 0.01
Relationship Conflict Resolution	4.4182	.62925			

Source: Researcher's field work 2019

The result shows that there is a significant relationship between effective interpersonal communication and organizational conflict resolution among couples ($r = .809$, $N=300$, $P \leq 0.01$). That is, effective communication is significantly important in conflict resolution among couples in Nigeria.

H₂ – Poor conflict resolution is related to relationship failure and divorce among Nigerian couples

Table 4: Chi-Square Tests the relationship between poor conflict resolution with relationship failure and divorce

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	141.133 ^a	120	.091
Likelihood Ratio	83.840	120	.995
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.296	1	.002
N of Valid Cases	300		

a. 143 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .03.

Data in this study showed a significant conformity ($X^2 = 0.002$, Alpha level $\alpha = 0.05$) between poor conflict resolution with relationship failure and divorce. This shows that poor conflict resolution is very much related to relationship failure and divorce in Nigeria. Therefore, null hypothesis is accepted.

Conclusion

Conclusively, this study found that the rate of relationship failure and divorce in Nigeria is high. This signals the failure in conflict resolution among couples. It is obvious there is no relationship that is free of conflict, but the manner it is being resolved determine the success of such marital relationship.

It is very important to know the barriers to a successful conflict resolution so as to have a better understanding of succeeding. The study has identified that the absence of positive and supportive communication, lack of close interpersonal communication, absence of interest, affection, gratitude and apologies communication, lack of dialogic communication and lack of communality of differences are causes of poor conflict resolution in relationships.

Constructive interpersonal communication during conflict creates a supportive, positive environment that increases the possibility of resolving differences without harming the relationship (Wood, 2010). Thus, the foundation of constructive management of relationship conflict is established long before a specific disagreement is aired. Climate should be seen is the foundation both of conflict and of the overall relationship, sets the tone for communication during conflict.

Therefore, to establish a good climate among couples, they have to confirm each other by recognizing and acknowledging each other's concerns and feelings. Agenda building is a means at which partners stay focused on issues that need to be resolved. However, when partners keep communication on target, kitchen-sinking is unlikely to derail discussion. Side issues may come up, as they do in unproductive conflict, but partners who have learned to communicate effectively control digressions and stay with their agenda. Wood (2010) identified *bracketing* as a useful technique which is noting that an issue arising in the course of conflict should be discussed later. Bracketing allows partners to confirm each other's concerns by agreeing to deal with them later. Parties in conflict continue to recognize and acknowledge each other's point of view. Rather than cross-complaining, they acknowledge each other's feelings, thoughts, and concerns. This doesn't mean they don't put their own concerns on the table. Constructive conflict includes asserting our own feelings and needs as part of an honest dialogue. Honoring both others and ourselves is central to good interpersonal communication.

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The Sub-National Politics of Setting Health Development Agenda: An Insight Into Yobe Health Development Plan

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Abstract

Democratic regimes have always been confronted with political, social and economic factors in making decisions in their health development policies. Despite its importance, the health development plans made at sub-national levels are often neglected in most political discourse. In Yobe state, North Eastern region of Nigeria where health indices are poor and financial resource inadequate, the relevance of the health policy agenda setting remains an important starting point. This study influenced by Kingdon's stream theory provides the health development agenda (HDA) of Governor Gaidam regime from 2009-2015 through the perceptions of health stakeholders in Yobe state. The qualitative study involved 28 interviews with informants and review of policy documents that underscores what, why and how the regime's HDA was developed. The study highlighted the power play through the regime's responsibilities, mandates, strategic objectives and priority agenda setting in achieving health development in the state. Furthermore, through the political lenses of agenda setting in the state, the emphasis was laid on the process, content and context of the regime's HDA. Although the HDA were home-driven, the motivations comes from local health problems related to health goals advocated by international development partners aimed to reduce IMR, UMR, MMR and other diseases all by 2015. Although the SSHDP provided 8 priority areas of key interventions in documents, in practice only 5 priority areas were prominent. Finally, the targets identified will serve as the justification to assess the regime's accountability since its intentions and goals could be judged from the extent of its performance.

Keywords: Health, Politics, Policy, Agenda Setting, Yobe State, Nigeria

1. Introduction

There has been a growing consensus among scholars that public health policymaking nationally and internationally should be more inclusive (Yang and Qian, 2016). This approach ensures proactive participation of all stakeholders and equitable access to health care for the target population considered to be evidence-based. While it may be achieved, one challenge that affects its success is the provision of a public good that requires large resource inputs that are most challenging for governments in low and middle-income countries (LMICs)

(Yang and Qian, 2016). The key contention is that in developing nations, available resources are scarce and that health situations are poor, hence the urgency for agenda setting. This revelation is not surprising as there are variations in health situations between developed and developing nations. For instance, across the globe, every year, almost 3 million newborn and 265000 mothers lost their lives due to childbirth complications with Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) accounting for more than half of such deaths (WHO, 2014). This means that although there has been progressing in addressing these health challenges across the globe, WHO (2014) and Liu et al. (2015) revealed that a large proportion of the current deaths of women and children occur in developing nations, especially in SSA region. This explains the reasons Under 5 children and pregnant women in developing nations are more likely to die when compared to those in the developed nations.

It was as a result of this increasing health challenge evident in many countries that in 2000, the United Nation (UN) member states initiated the 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In fact, the 3 health's related MDGs 4, 5 & 6 emphasised the need for improved health access, quality and coverage to reduce child mortality, improve maternal health and combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases respectively (UN, 2001). In Nigeria, beyond this political declaration at the global level, the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) had equally adopted MDGs at the national level. In fact, Nigeria's National Strategic Health Development Plan (NSHDP) adopted from the Global Health Initiative (GHI) like the health-related MDGs have emphasised reduction of child mortality, improvement in maternal health and efforts to combat communicable and non-communicable diseases by 2015 (Oyibocho et al., 2014). Similarly, Nigeria's National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) had equally captured health development as one core pillar. Although previous and current national efforts to combat public health concerns in Nigeria through health policy developments have not yielded the desired outcomes in some parts of the country (Kayode et al., 2012; Oyibocho et al., 2014; Ataguba et al., 2016; Umar & Bawa, 2016), certain plans are much to be desired.

With regards to the disparity in health situations in Nigeria's six geopolitical zones, the North East showed the worst health indices over the years (MDG, 2015; NPC and ICF Macro, 2008; UNDP, 2015). More worrisome is that in the 6 states in North East region, the situation in Yobe state poses a more serious concern with the state having far worse than the national average for maternal and child health indicators (MDG, 2015; NPC and ICF Macro, 2008; UNDP, 2015). In the year 2007 alone, National Immunisation Coverage Survey (NICS) showed that the proportion of under1 children immunised against measles was only 22.9% in Yobe state which was below the national average of 85% (NPI, 2007). Only about 12% and 4% of women and men (15-49 years) respectively had a comprehensive knowledge of HIV-AIDS (NPC and ICF Macro, 2008). Also, only about 12% and 32% of women and men (15-49 years) respectively were literates (NPC and ICF Macro, 2008) with an overall 80% of its population living under the poverty line (NBS, 2010). By any standard, these socio-economic indicators in Yobe state are much higher than the national or regional average and thus considered unacceptable that must be addressed by any serious democratic regime.

In 2009, when Governor Gaidam was sworn in, he promised to initiate and implement priority health development goals towards addressing those health deficiencies in Yobe state. Addressing these health challenges, Ataguba et al. (2016:1213) argued that these issues are major challenges to health system strengthening that continue to retard socio-economic development. Importantly, since the return of democracy in 1999, health development remains on the concurrent legislative list of Nigeria's constitution. Hence, the search for solutions for a health problem in Nigeria calls for specific concern due to the diversity of the nation that must be investigated (Kayode et al., 2012). Again, despite having national policies, there is "an ongoing social catastrophe of poor performance in maternal health coupled with an unacceptably high number of maternal deaths in Nigeria" (Rai et al., 2012:407). This means that previous policies might have failed to produce the desired result due to prescriptive, generalised, and not area specific and evidence-based that took into consideration the local context of sub-nationalities. This point captured why NPC and ICF Macro (2008) showed that among the challenge to achieving the desired reduction in infant and maternal mortality is associated with population, declining resources and geographic variations in the political and health agenda at sub-national levels.

Of recent, Walter et al. (2008) made a case that there is less attention given to how do policy analysis, research design, theories or methods best inform what policy analysis. This advancement is particularly important as health policy analysis remains a multidisciplinary approach that aims to uncover interactions between institutions, interests and ideas in the policy process. Based on this Walter et al. (2008) advanced that it is useful both retrospectively and prospectively to understand past policy failures and successes to plan for future policy implementation which this study aims to achieve. In this study, we defined public policy as “the principles, guidelines or orientations adopted by a government body in guiding the affairs of people in a given polity” (Dlakwa, 2008:2). Public health policy in will therefore, remain an attempt by the government to address public health issues of concern through the adoption and implementation of desired goals and objectives which could include actions or inactions of a regime that affects relationships of institutions, organisations, service delivery, funding arrangements and the overall health system in a given society.

It is interesting to note that while policy frameworks are categorised in to four phases: agenda setting, formulation, implementation, and evaluation (Dlakwa, 2008; Sapru, 2008; Walter et al., 2008), policy agenda setting remains an important starting point where a number of societal problems are identified and given attention by policy makers. However, as policy makers and politicians are faced with numerous public health issues among other socio-economic challenges in Low and Middle-Income Countries (LMICs), how such decisions are made are often limited and challenging (Yang and Qian, 2016). To advance this key argument, we pose the question: what persuades policy makers to select certain public health priorities from competing for policy issues particularly in LMICs like Nigeria and Yobe state in particular? This is important as although there are various regional and national studies on HDA, the current literature simply ignored the roles of sub-national governments where in most cases such responsibilities lie with them (Seshadri et al.; Umar and Bawa, 2016). Similarly, McCollum et al. (2016) have argued that the while the global and national goals remain similar, the performance at sub-national national may depict different scenario with discrepancies that may bring about the potential for prioritisation in terms of goals in achieving health development in a particular place.

In addition, previous quantitative research does not provide better insights on what, why, when and how Yobe state is lagging behind in health development which might be attributed to the fact that health decision making is complex associated heterogeneous values and cultures of policy makers (Font et al., 2016). Hence, what remains largely unknown are the perceptions and experiences of end users, health care providers and health policy makers on the reasons behind the abysmal performance despite huge investments by the government. Also related, is that since health development is unevenly characterised by different patterns, magnitudes, and factors that influence the choice democratic regime make in achieving health development, it requires additional insights to explain such nature of performance. Overall, since the politics of setting HDA at sub-national levels are not much understood or analysed, this qualitative study thus provides the perception and experience of health informants and stakeholders in identified thematic areas.

2. Methodology

2.1 Study setting: the study was conducted in Yobe described as one of the states with the worst health indices in Nigeria (NPC and ICF Macro, 2008). The Governor Gaidam’s regime from 2009-2015 served as the case in point. Located in North Eastern region of Nigeria, Yobe state was created on 27th August 1991. According to the 2006 national population census, the state has a population of 2,321,339 people made up of 52% male and 48% female (NBS, 2010). Projection indicates that Yobe’s current population is about 3.5 million with children under 5 constituting about 20% (YBSG, 2010). Yobe state has 70% rural population with 12% and 32% literacy rate between female and male respectively. The state has 17 Local Government Areas (LGAs) with 178 political wards (YBSG, 2010). Islam is the predominant religion of the people. Kanuri, Fulani, Hausa, Bade, Ngizim, Kare-Kare, Bolewa and Ngamo are the major ethnic groups in Yobe state. Farming and commerce are the main occupations of the populace.

2.2 Yobe health situation: like in most states in Nigeria, Yobe operates a pluralistic health care delivery system with orthodox and traditional systems served by 528 health facilities (508 public and 20 private) fairly

distributed across the state (YBSG, 2010). As reported in the proceeding of Yobe economic summit, the major health problems afflicting the population of Yobe state were malaria, diarrhoea, respiratory tract infections such as tuberculosis and anaemia, malnutrition, hypertension and HIV/AIDS (Ngama et al., 2009). This poor health situation was further aggravated by the high number of infant, Under 5 and maternal mortality rates mostly associated with poor health service delivery (YBSG, 2010). Table 1 below provides key health indicators in Yobe state as at 2008.

Table 1: Key health indicators in Yobe State, Nigeria

S/N	INDICATOR	National Average	N. East	Yobe st.
1	Total fertility rate (TFR)	5.7%	7.2%	7.5%
2	Use of family planning modern methods by married women (15-49)	23.7%	3.5%	2%
3	Ante Natal Care (ANC) provided by a skilled health worker	58%	43%	36%
4	Skilled health attendant at birth	39%	15.5%	9%
5	Pregnant women delivery in a health facility	35%	12.8%	6%

Source: National Population Commission (2008) and ICF Macro, NDHS 2008 report

These key health challenges were aggravated by an inadequate supply of essential drugs and medical supplies, decaying infrastructure, an inadequate and inequitable mix of professional health workers leading to low morale, weak referral systems and poor coverage across the state (YBSG, 2010). In order to reverse this scenario, the state government organised its first ever State Economic Summit in 2008 which revealed that underlying this negative situation was the general lack of or poor management and weak institutional arrangement that led to the duplication of public health functions, service delivery, poor coordination and inadequate funding (Ngama et al., 2009). With these key public health concerns, Yobe state over the years is therefore not considered to be on the right track in achieving MDGs 4, 5, and 6 which continue to undermine its health development that must be addressed through policy matters.

2.3 Study design: the study utilised qualitative research approaches because agenda setting for health policy is influenced by social, economic and cultural factors (Font et al., 2016). Hence, the qualitative approach offered an in-depth view of informant and stakeholders in their real-life context (Yin, 2011). The qualitative approach is considered appropriate to assess the insights of stakeholders on the various aspects covered in the regime's response to health care development in Yobe state.

2.4 Selection of informants: members of relevant institutions and health stakeholders in Yobe state were included in the study. Purposive sampling was employed to choose 28 key informants from 6 categories of informants. The first categories were politicians (commissioners, legislators and gubernatorial candidates). Second category comprised of top government bureaucrats, executive secretaries and Directors. The third categories were health workers (medical doctors, nurses, midwives and health assistants). Fourth, the civil society involved representatives of health labour unions and observers. They included Nigeria Medical Association (NMA), National Association of Nigeria Nurses and Midwives (NANNM), Joint Health Sector Union (JHSU), and the National Union of Journalists (NUJ). Fifth, the representative of development partners included Maternal, Newborn, and Child Health (MNCH), United Nations Children's Education Fund (UNICEF) and Women 4 Health (W4H). Similarly, community leaders (traditional, religious and gender) were also involved. These stakeholders who have participated in health policy development in the state particularly under Gaidam's regime from 2009-2015 were therefore involved in the study as summarised in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Categories of Key Stakeholders

Category	Number of informants	Description of informants
Politicians	5	Ruling party & opposition members
Health administrators	6	Appointed & career
Health workers	6	Professionals & non-professionals
Health civil society	5	Professionals & non-professionals

Health development partners	3	Internationals
Community leaders	3	Traditional, Religious & Gender
Total	28	Key Stakeholders

2.5 Sources/methods of data collection: in-depth interview and review of health documents served as the main source of data for the study. The interviews were carried out in English (which is the official language of the state and the country) by the first author in Yobe state over a period of six months between May and September 2016. The interviews which lasted between 25-80 minutes were mostly conducted at the informant's offices or their convenient places. The semi-structured interview guides were used to understand what, how and why the regime's health priority agenda and targets were developed from 2009-2015 in the state. Specifically, the aspects covered in the interview were what were the regime's health development objectives? what prompted the initiation of the development objectives? were these development objectives in line with the citizen's needs and demands? and how relevant were the development objectives in the democratic process? In essence, areas related to how health agenda sets were prepared, the relationships between and among stakeholders and interest groups, how health problems were identified, formulated and agenda set, how the substance of such problems exerts influence on the agenda-setting were covered.

The interview sessions were audio-taped with a digital recorder and notes were also taken as back up and to record non-verbal expressions. The audio recording during the interview was to ensure the correct statements (verbatim) and the accuracy of the data generated (Merriam, 2014). The follow-up interviews were later followed by several emails and phone conversations for member checks. The information from the in-depth interview was triangulated with those obtained from document reviews. The documents reviewed include national and state health guidelines to give a broad view of the health system and agenda setting in Nigeria and Yobe state in particular as obtained in Table 3 below:

Table 3: Key Documents Reviewed

Author	Year Available	Title of Document
Federal Ministry of Health	2010	National Strategic Health Development Plan (NSHDP)
Yobe State Government	2010	State Strategic Health Development Plan (SSHDP)
Yobe State Government	2008	Yobe Socio-Economic Reform Agenda 2008-2011 (YOSERA II)
Yobe State Government	2011	Yobe Socio-Economic Reform Agenda 2011-2015 (YOSERA III)
Yobe State Government	2011	Policy Document for the Implementation of Programmes and Projects (2011-2015)
Governor Ibrahim Gaidam	2009-2015	Speeches of Governor Gaidam related to Health Sector 2009-2015

2.6 Data analysis: the thematic analysis approach to qualitative research was deployed. Hence, after careful and critical analysis of the raw data from the interviews, meanings were attributed to each statement, comment and description of informants. This is achieved by categorising the textual data into clusters of similar entities or conceptual categories. The categories in the transcript of the informants were collated either through the chronology of events, themes and or its interconnectivity. In addition, sub-themes that emerged within each category were analysed. Through this gradual process, the researcher had through such practical orientations of qualitative research learnt the rigours of inductive reasoning where data were manually sorted, categorised and clustered into abstracts and specific themes. While there are various computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) programmes such as ATLAS/ti, Nvivo, etc for qualitative studies, the analysis of data for this study was done and achieved manually. The advantage of the manual coding enabled the researcher being the research instrument to be immersed in the data.

To achieve a systematic credence, the study utilised the Kingdon's stream theory to frame the findings in a theoretical context. The theory advances that health policy is made through the convergence of three streams which includes problem, politics and policy. The Kingdon's framework as is mostly suitable for agenda setting

(Walter et al., 2008), that is a highly complex process which according to Fischer and Strandberg-Larsen (2016:357) requires “substantive evidence, support, timing and political will in order for an issue to be recognised as ‘important enough’ to be on the agenda.”

2.7 Ethical considerations: the study protocol was approved by the Ethics Committee of Universiti Putra Malaysia on 25th May 2016 with reference number UPM/TNCPI/RMC/1.4.18.2 (JKEUPM). Permission was also sought and granted from Yobe state government which provided access to top government officials and the release of important documents for the research. Prior to conducting the interview, the consent form was first presented to informants indicating the purpose of this study, assurance of their privacy and confidentiality, right to voluntary participation and or withdrawal.

3. Results and Discussions

Responsibilities, rights and mandates in health policy making in Yobe state

Informants interviewed revealed that the health system in Yobe state involves all groups and institutions responsible for health care services through regulation and financing health programmes right from national to household level. Their opinion was influenced by their knowledge on the objective of the nation’s health policy to attain universal health access by 2015 (Oyibocha et al., 2014). It is on this view that informants advanced that the state government, therefore, functions through its mandated authorities. In essence, the State Ministry of Health (SMoH) through key engagements with the State House of Assembly (SHoA) and other stakeholders is responsible for the formulation and implementation of health policy in the state. It should, however, be noted that while the state government through various bodies remains the major player, various organisations have supported the state government on situational analysis, setting targets and milestone, choice of delivery strategies, and monitoring and evaluation of health policies and programs.

In discharging this responsibility, most informants, argued the constitutional duties and responsibilities of the state government with regards to the rights of citizens in the provision of health care services are considered paramount. This opinion was also captured in the state health care objective founded on the principles of justice, equality and freedom as captured in chapter 2 section 17d of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria. It requires that state government shall provide “adequate medical and health facilities for all persons.” In addition, the constitution broadly provides that state shall:

promote social welfare and security towards the citizens as one of its primary purposes; provide adequate social facilities, goods and services that will improve the general well-being of all citizens; provide adequate shelter, food, water, sanitation and health facilities to all citizens, including those with special needs.

This constitutional provision is not surprising as health is now considered and promoted at the centre stage of national and international development as a fundamental human right (Pieterse, 2016: UN, 2001). It is expected of any democratic regime to deliver. This, for instance, relates to the activities and advocacies by the WHO through the UN due to agreements and conventions that led to the introduction of the health-related Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which were recently replaced by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These declarations include the Universal Declaration on human rights; international convention on rights of children; international covenant on civil and political rights; international covenant on economic, social and cultural rights; and convention rights of people living with disabilities, etc.

With these declarations similarly adopted at national and sub-national levels including in Yobe state, the informants argued it shows that international policy makers and stakeholders exert an important influence on how health care programme is designed, adopted and implemented just as advanced by Mukanu et al. (2017). These scholars further buttressed that this was the reason for the emergence of MDGs (Mukanu et al., 2017) which tasked the UN signatory nations to adopt and implement similar policies and programmes in their respective countries (McCollum et al., 2016; Mukanu et al, 2017).

Relating to this international framework, it means that the goals and declarations are expected to be domesticated as national and sub-national health policies. Relating to this context in Yobe state, a politician with work experience in the health sector explains.

It is not surprising to find out that the health policies in Yobe state as in the case of most Nigerian states are lifted from the international health policies earlier provided by WHO and UN through the MDGs. They were the same policies and goals imported to Nigeria's national socio-economic development agenda such as NEEDS and NSHDP. In Yobe state, they are largely adopted although with slight changes to conform to our local and peculiar challenges in the health care service delivery.

Within the broader perspective, this indicates that since Nigeria is a UN member state, the influence of international health development goals like the GHI which prescribed how health funding, functioning and functionalities were to be achieved at the lower levels of government (Seshadri et al, 2016) is similarly felt in the country and in Yobe state. In fact, Nigeria's NSHDP adopted from the GHI like the health-related MDGs have emphasised reduction of child mortality, improvement in maternal health and efforts to combat communicable and non-communicable diseases by 2015 (Oyibocho et al., 2014). Overall, the goal for Nigeria's NSHDP emphasised efforts towards the attainment of universal health care access by 2015 through the involvement of all stakeholders in assuring high-quality health care service delivery that is considered accessible, affordable, sustainable, properly managed and controlled" (Oyibocho et al., 2014:29).

However, while at the national level, the federal governments have developed broad visions, missions, programmes, strategies and interventions towards reducing public health challenges (Oyibocho et al., 2014; Mukanu et al., 2017) the literature largely ignored the sub-national levels such as Yobe state. This means that the previous methodology applied in most cases neglected how, where and why certain health policies are developed (Mukanu et al., 2017) in specific communities. Based on the decentralisation argument, the provision of health care by the state government is generally seen as an element that underscores sub-national government effort towards achieving universal health coverage (Awosusiet al., 2015) through social justice and fairness which advocates affirmative action especially for the most vulnerable groups in the society.

In Yobe state, opinions indicated that the state government has made wide consultations with various stakeholders at community and district levels in order to enhance ownership, commitment and oversight functions. This approach took into consideration local contextual cultural, economic or political issues that are known to influence population health outcomes of health policies and programs in the state. Such an approach thus addresses what Bezruchka (2012) described as the disparity of the felt need and optimal demand for specific health services due to socio-cultural, economic, and health policy environment. This ultimately affects the health outcome among different population settings. Thus, to address the issues of coverage and equity to health care services to all citizens including in Yobe state, policy makers and implementers must therefore provide a policy framework that ensures equal access health promotion, specific protective measures, early diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitative services to all citizens (American College of Physicians, 2008).

While emphasising decentralisation in health development agenda McCollum et al. (2016) had earlier argued that although the overall global and national health agenda mostly remain similar, the sub-national national may depict different scenario with potential for prioritisation in terms of goals and targets. Importantly, in the current federal system in Nigeria, democratic regimes at the state government level are expected to improve their health systems by initiating its respective HDA in conformity with the nation's health development agenda based on their social, political and economic and cultural environments (Constitution of Nigeria, 1999). While mirroring sub-national context in Nigeria to indicate decentralisation efforts of HDA, the remark of Governor Gaidam is worth sharing in full:

... As we are all aware, infant and maternal mortality rates are extremely high in the Northeast sub-region. This issue has been a thing of serious concern to all well-meaning Nigerians and that everything humanly possible should be done to arrest the situation. It is in the realization of this that Yobe state government, perturbed by the situation, introduced various measures aimed at curtailing the situation through free medical care for pregnant mothers and children under the age of five. This is in conformity with MDG (Millennium Development Goals) set a target of reducing mortality rates among children under the age of five by two-third through the year 2015 and maternal mortality by three-quarter through 2015. (Address by H.E, Executive Governor of Yobe state, Alhaji Ibrahim Gaidam on the Occasion of the Summit of Yobe state Council on Health on 27th January 2010).

Although there have been efforts by previous democratic regimes in Yobe state to address health challenges over the years, this remark seems to show that since the inception of this regime in 2009, the health sector in Yobe state needed urgent attention. For most informants, since Yobe state government is the second tier of government, it is therefore constitutionally and politically mandated to plan and develop its overall health systems for the benefit of its citizens. Hence, this standpoint reflects the regime's political commitment and determination in Yobe's interest in gradually developing its health care system through mutual collaborations and partnership with other national levels and all stakeholders. This demonstrates that health care is contextually and culturally contingent activity that must be clearly understood beyond current international and national levels in order to address their unique and peculiar challenges.

Strategic health objectives and priority agenda setting

Although previous effort has been done to address health challenges in Yobe state, over the years, its health service delivery was not considered to be on the right track in achieving its MDGs 4, 5, and 6 thereby impeding its development and socio-economic growth. Hence, when this regime came into power, it was perturbed by the poor health situation in the state. To address the gap, the regime came up with its first ever health strategic development plan with the following vision and missions respectively:

To reduce the morbidity and mortality rates due to communicable diseases to the barest minimum; reverse the increasing prevalence of non-communicable diseases; meet global targets on the elimination and eradication of diseases; and significantly increase the life expectancy and quality of life of the people of Yobe state (YBSG, 2010:9).

To develop and implement appropriate policies and programmes as well as undertake other necessary actions that will strengthen the Yobe State Health System (YBSHS) to be able to deliver effectively, quality and affordable health (YBSG, 2010:9).

Beyond the policy document, most informants argued that the regime's overall aim was to provide affordable health care for all citizens with specific emphasis on welfare, prevention, improved access, and quality. To put it clearly, the regime's emphasis was to provide health care within the context of social welfare as 80% of citizens in the state are poor (NBS, 2010). Additionally, with 98% and 97% of women and men respectively without health insurance coverage in Nigeria including Yobe state (NPC & ICF Macro, 2008), most citizens as advanced by the informants in Yobe state cannot be able to afford health care without the government's intervention. Their opinion seems to portray the motivation that regimes in a democracy set up like Nigeria can only be maintained if it is responsive to the welfare of its citizens where health remains an important element of socio-economic development (Ojatorotu and Allen, 2009).

Furthermore, it has been reported that there is a mutual benefit between welfare to citizens and regime performance as it improves the sustenance of democracy in developing countries like Nigeria (Ojatorotu and Allen, 2009). In fact, in Yobe state, where there is a high level of poverty, unemployment and illiteracy (NPC & ICF Micro, 2008) coupled with growing number of widows and orphans due to Boko Haram terrorist activities,

such social welfare approach to health is considered paramount and important. The expectation of most informants is that the regime's welfare policy will salvage vulnerable children and women from losing health care for their current and future wellbeing. Although such social welfare programme may be costly for the regime to run as advanced by some few informants, it may, however, distinguishes it from previous democratic and non-democratic regimes in the state and or even in the nation at large.

With regards to health priority agenda setting, although the SSHDP (2010-2015) like Nigeria's NSHDP provides 8 priority areas, in practice only five agenda were considered reoccurring among informants. Firstly, in line with the regime's social welfare approach to health care, on 26th May 2009, it introduced its first-ever free maternal, newborn and child health (MNCH) and the victims of accidents. Since its introduction in 2009, the free MNCH policy has remained a health priority intervention of this regime with focus on achieving MDG goals numbers 4 and 5 expected to show greater pathway towards reducing maternal and neonatal deaths (Lunze et al., 2015; Ntambue et al., 2016; Yeji et al., 2015). Through this special intervention targeting 2015, the goals were to reduce infant mortality rates by 90%, child mortality rates by 90%, maternal mortality rates by 60%, under-nutrition among children by 30% and prevalence of communicable diseases (polio, malaria, Tuberculosis, etc) by 75% (YBSG, 2010:24-43; YOSERA III:69).

Secondly, the regime's intention was to improve financial allocation to the health sector towards meeting the "Abuja declaration." The declaration envisaged 15% budgetary allocation in the state's allocation to the health sector. Informants shared that since Yobe state has continued to be with poor health indices the regime's resolve to allocate more financial resources towards meeting the Abuja declaration was not only imminent but strategic. This seems plausible as achieving the funding requirement, improved allocation, and enhanced releases in the health sector will improve health outcome. Although improved public health expenditure is significant for overall health development in most developing societies including Nigeria, Arthur (2016) specifically cautioned that most budgets in developing societies are merely considered as paperwork designed and presented to satisfy status quo. In Yobe state like in other states in Nigeria, this challenge is added by the lack of a reliable source of revenue other than from the monthly federal allocations. Its general implication is that any drop in revenue base or poor allocation of financial resources to the health sector may, therefore, affect the financial performance of the state government in its health development agenda.

Thirdly, enhancing leadership and governance were identified as another priority health policy development agenda of the regime. Evidence has shown that poor health system occasioned by lack of defined roles; responsibilities and clear strategic direction have made healthcare functions and systems inefficient and ineffective over the years in Yobe state (YBSG, 2010). To address this challenge, the state Strategic Health Development Plan (SHDP) was for the first time initiated and approved in the state in 2010. Also, to reposition the involvement of key actors and institutions in making decisions at the local levels, the establishment of Primary Health Care Management Board (PHCMB) in 2010 was achieved aimed at providing clear mandate in the plan and implementation of basic health service delivery based on Ward Minimum Health Care Package (WMHCP). In fact, this new approach has been advocated by the GHI through NSHDP in Nigeria (Oyibocho et al, 2014). Similarly, Newman and Leep (2016) cited in Santinha (2016) have earlier advanced that local health officials contribute to establishing health care priorities, budget approval and supervising public health rules and regulations at local levels. Hence, even in Yobe state, the recent reforms indicate the willingness of the higher level of government to provide more powers to sub-national levels.

Another health policy development issue in the state related to leadership and governance is the declaration of "state of emergency" in the health sector by May 2013. It was reported that the decision to declare "state of emergency" in the health sector came into being after an official visit to various health facilities by Governor Gaidam who observed first-hand the facilities were generally performing sub-optimally (Ager et al., 2015). This declaration of "state of emergency" by the Gaidam's regime which was equally shared by most informants is therefore seen as a significant decision that sought to redefine and reshape the regime's current health development agenda over the years.

Fourthly, to develop human resource for health, the regime's aim was to achieve an equitable distribution, right mix and quality/quantity, gender sensitive and mid-level health workers that were needed in Yobe state (YBSG, 2010; YOSERA III). This was imminent because when the Gaidam's regime assumed power in 2009, records indicated that in Yobe state including all 17 LGAs, only 60 Medical Doctors and 40 Nurses and Midwives were available (YBSG, 2010). This means that with a total population of 2.3 million, each doctor and Nurse/Midwife is supposed to cater for 38,400 and 57,500 population respectively which invariably will affect the quality of service rendered due to high workload. Although health facilities continue to suffer shortages of health care workforce even in the United states of America (Yeager et al., 2016), in Nigeria, these challenges are eminent which Yobe state is not an exception. To address this challenge, the regime, therefore, targeted to recruit 40% of health manpower gap by 2015 (YBSG, 2010).

To make it work in practice, the first approach was lifting an existing employment embargo by this regime instilled by the immediate past governor in the state. However, the embargo lifting was seen as a short-term measure towards addressing the health manpower shortage as the medium and long-term plans were detailed in its SSHDP (YBSG, 2010). Also, recently, the regime with the help of stakeholders has in recent time developed and approved its first ever State Human Resource for Health Policy (HRFHP) in 2014. It contains updated plans and procedures on how to sponsor the state indigenes for medical and health courses both within and outside the country and how to make further amends towards strengthening the capacity of the state health training institutions (HTIs) to produce health personnel.

Fifthly, the regime planned to upgrade the state-owned health infrastructures and facilities and provide new ones in order to enhance access and expand the capacity of health facilities to cope with increased health care demands in Yobe state. This became necessary as when this regime came on board in 2009, the key health infrastructure and facilities were either overstretched or dilapidated and therefore not conducive for good health care service delivery. This priority agenda was not surprising as one major problem facing the healthcare system in Nigeria is the limited access to healthcare facilities by the people mostly occasioned by poor access and distribution of health facilities associated with growth in population, increase in poverty and inadequate resources (Nwakeze and Kandala, 2011; Ujoh and Kwaghsende, 2014). Hence, in Nigeria and by extension in Yobe state, health accessibility means creating the ease at which potential health seeker get access to health care facilities where good services are provided or delivered (Ujoh & Kwaghsende, 2014).

In Yobe state, in order to address this prevalence of non-functional health facilities, a target was set to rebuild health facilities by 50% by 2015 (YBSG, 2010; YOSERA III). To indicate its relevance in healthcare provision, Hota and Rout (2015) advanced that infrastructure remains an essential component for determining the nature of health output and its quality which governments must address. Cetorelli and Shabila (2014) also advanced that strengthening of health infrastructure increases overall access to health care services which in turn facilitates the legitimacy of the government.

Based on the preceding explanations, figure 1 below provides the strategic framework for improving health outcome through the proposed HDA in Yobe state.

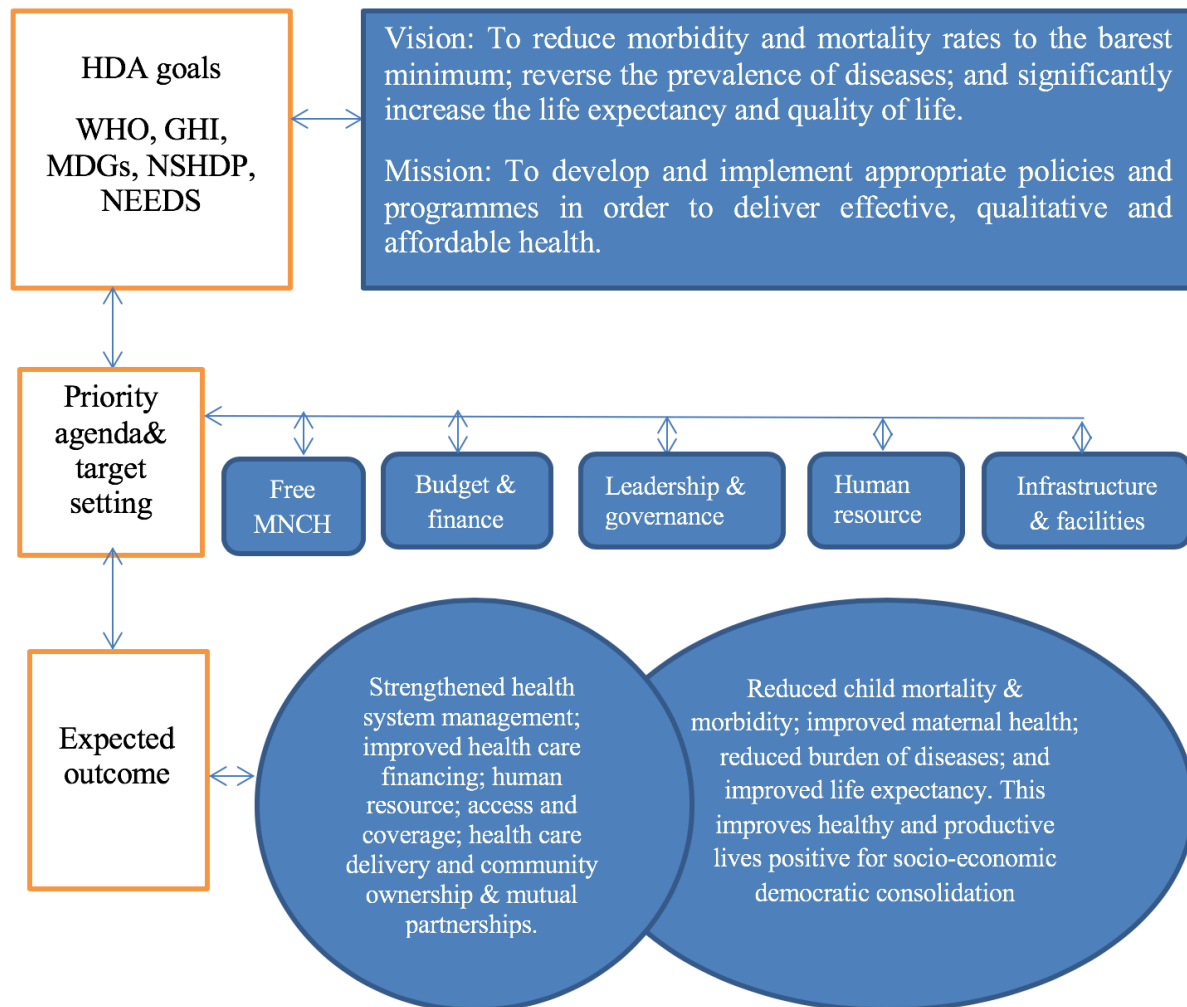


Figure 1: Strategic framework for improving health outcome through proposed HDA in Yobe state

While the regime's HDA was optimistic in content, there were criticisms shared by some informants. One such criticism is the unrealistic high target setting (90%, 75%) considered overambitious to be achieved within 6 years (2009-2015) just within the primary responsibilities of SMoH. For instance, such reduction of mortality (infant, childhood and maternal) by 90%, may possibly require strong policies, programs and funding to improve female literacy, women empowerment and autonomy, safe disposal of human waste and refuse; food security through zero tolerance to hunger and abject poverty. It will also require access to potable water (within 200 meters from each household) and vaccination coverage, good obstetric, prenatal and neonatal services (WHO, 1985). Similarly, there are concerns about the reliability of data used to set the health targets in Yobe state. Some informants argued that no research was conducted prior to setting these health targets and that the Health Management Information System (HMIS) in the state was weak and therefore lacking the capacity to set the baseline data. One development partner like most others shares this concern.

First of all, I do not believe any research was conducted to get the baseline of this target or even ask Yobe citizens what their real health problems are? To me, this will serve as citizen's input in setting the health development agenda and target. Secondly, while in Yobe state, we have a director of planning, research and statistics in the SMoH, there has been a lack of accurate and reliable data from the ministry. Data from different sources in the ministry contradicts itself; hence there is a need for an updated HMIS.

Further, a review proves this suspicion. There is for instance lack of clarity or consistency on some agenda and targets set by the regime. For example, the percentages captured in the health targets may be misunderstood as it was not clearly defined or explained. This may, therefore, pose challenges while making efforts to measure the regime's performance or impact on health development. Similarly, in terms of target setting, while YOSERA III, for instance, proposed certain percentages as its target, another major health policy document of this same regime (SSHDP) on the contrary, proposed yet another percentage. In fact, in most cases, inconsistencies were observed in the regime's most acclaimed health care policy document (SSHDP) if compared with specific health agenda as captured in other documents. Overall, based on the opinion of informants only five priority areas (free MNCH, budget and finance, leadership and governance, human resource and infrastructure and facilities) were emphasised therefore neglecting other key issues.

The power play of the key health stakeholders

Although the officials of the SMOH are the engine room for initiation and realisation of health objectives in Yobe state, under this regime the contributions of other health stakeholders while developing its HDA were considered. In fact, the emphasis was made on a mutual partnership with private sector, non-governmental organisations, communities and development partners and other political, social and economic sectors to meet the health needs on a sustainable basis in Yobe state. To advance this position, a director in the SMOH shared that "for the first time at least you find that, stakeholder are communicating and interacting freely through sharing of fruitful ideas." To add to this earlier point, a development partner similarly provided an example such collaboration in practice.

The establishment of the Stakeholders Committee on Health (SCH) headed by the Honourable Commissioner for Health to deliberate on related health interventions at a higher level through meetings scheduled monthly (but not held regular due to security challenges) is quite encouraging to us.

In Yobe state, although, the regime's HDA was developed through collaborations with stakeholders, the emphasis was however made on the contribution of international development partners. The major contributors over the years included World Health Organisation (WHO), United Nation Children Fund (UNICEF), Department for International Development (DFID), Partnership for Reviving Routine Immunisation in Northern Nigeria (PRRINN), Maternal, Newborn and Child Health (MNCH), HIV//AIDS Programme Development Project (HPDP), and Women for Health (W4H) among others. This entails that several international development partners have somewhat dominated the agenda-setting of the HDA.

It should, however, be noted that while there appear to be indications of engagement of health stakeholders at higher levels in Yobe state in identifying and planning health care initiatives, some informants reveal lack of engagements of critical stakeholders especially at the lower levels. To validate this claim, one leader of the health union workers reveals a lack of engagement of operational members of staff in making key health policy decisions.

In policy formulation, nobody is an island of knowledge. This means that all stakeholders in the health sector in Yobe state need to be carried along. At the moment, only higher-level officials and development partners are being engaged. In truth, the Governor has to equally create a way of getting information from people in the field and clinical sites as the information provided by top executives to the Governor are not enough (Health civil society member).

The lack of involvement of key stakeholders especially at the lower levels may lead to the absence of vital information that may be useful for a robust and well articulated HDA in Yobe state. In addition, the implementation may likely become a challenge since it is mostly the operational and clinical members of staff that do the real job on the ground. Beyond the indication of low engagement of local and operational stakeholders, this opinion seems to encourage principle of democratic participation that is now considered

relevant in promoting health ownership as community involvement in the development of health care policies is at the top of the agenda in many places (Font et al., 2016). In addition, the partnerships between health care providers and community-based organisations through data collection and assessment are associated with exceptional maternal and child health outcomes (Kleiman et al., 2016) that must be emphasised even in Yobe state. This means that the participation of stakeholders in policy formulation instead of working in isolation is expected to be promoted by democratic regimes such as under Gaidam's regime in Yobe state. Santinha (2016) had earlier advanced that, key health actors and institutions must work through mutual collaborations in order to strengthen cross-sectoral and symbiotic relations and engagements for better health service deliveries.

Overall, this new approach of the involvement of key stakeholders from every sector at every level must entail consultation, participation, and involvement through the mobilisation of various key actors so that objectives and goals of public health can be achieved (Santinha, 2016). To further buttress the contribution of stakeholders in developing public health care objectives in current democratic set up such as in Yobe state like elsewhere, Newman and Leep (2016) had advanced that, local health officials serve important roles in the public health care system as they contribute to the establishment of health care priorities, budget approval and supervising public health rules and regulations. It is therefore only proper and appropriate that even in Yobe state if these health partnerships are to be properly harnessed, it is expected to provide mutual collaborative efforts towards improving health systems that involve all for the benefit of all.

4. Conclusions

The purpose of this article was to provide the description and analysis of HDA of Gaidam's regime from 2009-2015 through the perceptions and experiences of health stakeholders. Evidenced from the opinion of stakeholders showed that, although the HDA were home-driven, the motivations majorly comes from local health problems mostly related to health goals significantly advocated by WHO, HDI, MDGs, and the nation's NSHDP. The informants advanced that the HDA overall aimed to reduce IMR, UMR, MMR, malnutrition, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases all by 2015 through salient policies and programmes that will provide affordable health care for all in the state. To achieve this key objective, it was revealed that the regime's priority agenda included plans to provide free MNCH; strengthen health leadership and governance; increase health sector budget and finance; recruit, develop and retain health workers; and upgrade existing and provide new health infrastructure and facilities. Hence, with emphasis to improve health access, quality and coverage, the expectation is that the regime's crafted HDA will affect its overall health outcome. Although the SSHDP like Nigeria's NSHDP provided 8 priority areas of key interventions in documents, in practice only 5 priority areas were prominent as revealed by the stakeholders. This indicates that the regime paid less emphasis on health partnership, health management information system, research for health and health ownership and community participation in its HDA despite their importance. Similarly, some of the targets and indicators set by the regime are ambiguous, flawed and inconsistent. Although these challenges are imminent, this study provides a baseline, through which health development goals in Yobe state and elsewhere could be further evaluated, measured and reformed. The targets identified in this study will also serve as the justification to assess the regime's accountability since its intentions and goals could be judged from the extent of its performance. The contribution of this study lies in the premise that previous studies in developing societies do not produce local health issues and priorities thereby exposing the information gap in health care policy and practice. Since, this study using the Kingdon's framework has mapped out the responsibilities, mandates, strategic objectives, priority agenda setting and the power play by a key stakeholder in this regime, future studies could assess these declarations against their performance in health outcomes.

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Lifelong Agony Among People with Albinism (PWA): Tales From Lake Zone in Tanzania

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Abstract

A qualitative study conducted in the northern regions surrounding Lake Victoria in Tanzania, reveals that, People with Albinism (PWA) have been harshly treated for long. Mothers were required to terminate lives of their abnormally born infants (like albino infants). Besides lifelong challenges due to albinism condition, people searched for their body parts even after “being hidden” in unmarked graves after their deaths. Beliefs fuelling such ill-treatment on PWA are deep rooted and intertwined among peoples’ mind under influence of cultural beliefs existing for several decades. Proper approach should be designed for permanent solution of the long existed inhumane practices against People with Albinism.

Keywords: Lifelong Agony, Alinism, PWA, Tanzania

1. Introduction

Burke *et al.*, (2014) defines albinism as a group of rare inherited conditions which affects the pigments in eyes, hair and skin of people throughout the world including Africa. Albinism in Africa is accompanied with a number of myths and stereotypes regarding albinism (Phatoli *et al.*, 2015). This paper presents explanations and experiences from People with Albinism (PWA). Some tales from people living with albinism in areas most hit by the inhumane practices against them are explained in this paper. Tales on inhumane practices which compelled people with albinism of all ages to demand police protection with some of such people taking refuge in places considered to be safe (Bucaro, 2010; Mushi, 2009; Natukunda and Ngatya, 2008).

Albinism like other kinds of disabilities in most part of Africa is associated with a sense of worthlessness or uselessness (Bucaro, 2010). Deal (2007) narrates that, negative beliefs and attitudes surrounding people with disabilities, make people with albinism feel devalued and insecure. Mysterious abduction and killing of persons with albinism evoke feelings of uneasiness and insecurity in their communities. In some cases attacks go unreported and undocumented due to the code of silence surrounding such crimes as well as the vulnerability of the targeted population (United Nations Human Rights Council Advisory Committee (2014) Cited by Mswela, 2017).

According to Witchcraft and Human Rights Information Network (2016), murders of People with Albinism (PWA) is part of a larger global problem where violence is perpetuated due to beliefs in witchcraft, *juju*, *muti* or spirit possession. It is almost always that, the most vulnerable groups are children, women, the elderly and disabled who are the most targeted. The Guardians (2019), elaborate that, myths and misperceptions surrounding albinism in Tanzania are too numerous to count. This paper presents tales from informants on beliefs and practices related to people with albinism in the study regions.

2. Methodology

This study aimed at exploring and understanding more on beliefs and practices related to people with albinism. Due to sensitivity of the study, qualitative methods were used in data collection. Interviews with key informants were conducted. This study was in search of in-depth knowledge and experiences on a sensitive issue. The methods enabled the study to learn a lot from interviewees concerning their views and knowledge on albinism.

Key informants interviews aimed at creating comfortable environment for them to talk openly and freely than if they had been in a group due to sensitivity of the issue studied. Selection of key informants for interviews depended on the quality of respondents selected. Collected data were interpreted and organized into themes considering words, meanings, and messages that were communicated.

3. Tales on Practices and Beliefs Related to PWA

From interviews conducted, below are narrated issues concerning the fate of People with Albinism.

3. Uncelebrated births of Children with Albinism

According to Van Beek (2002), birth is both a biological experience and a cultural construct. It is the event through which societies do celebrate the rebirth of their future. However, births of children with albinism were unwelcomed in most African culture (Barnes, 1985). Taylor *et al.*, 2019, elaborate that:-

Babies born with the inherited condition (albinism), resulting in reduced melanin pigment in their hair, skin and eyes, are vulnerable in multiple ways in Africa: as children, as visually impaired, as socially ostracised, isolated and excluded, and as potential victims of witchcraft-related violence targeted for their body parts for use in 'lucky' charms thought to bring good fortune.

Children born with abnormality were seen as threats to the wellbeing of the respective community. It was believed that such children were evil or carriers of misfortunes. If such children were left to live, the society members expected drought or fierce stormy rain accompanied with thunderstorms until “*something urgent*” was done. A key informant insisted that:

“Parents of children with albinism knew what they were supposed to do immediately after birth of such child in order to save the community from angry gods. Therefore, once the child was missing in the concerned household, the whole community knew what had actually had happened...”

According to UNICEF (2010), in many African societies, the birth of twins, as well as other births considered "abnormal" (like in case of breech birth or birth of an albinos child), were generally surrounded by complex system of representations and rituals. Unwelcomed children were thrown away from families in some areas specified for such occasions. Barnes (1985) elaborates that, this practice was common in many African societies and it is through it many unfortunate infants were killed secretly and mercilessly. While mothers often refused to breastfeed albino babies and in most cases having an albino children resulted into separation of parents and

breakage of marriage (Obsevers, 2009). According to Kromberg (2018) as cited by Taylor, (2019), babies born with albinism in Africa, were faced by societies that demonized, marginalized, stigmatized and discriminated those who had albinism.

In some areas mothers were required to bury their newborns alive in secret places. A key informant elaborated that:

“Mothers who gave birth to children who were not wanted in the community took their children secretly early in the morning to bury them alive where they thought it was convenient...”

Parents who could not bury their babies alive, poisoned them and left them to die silently on their beds. It was narrated that:-

“In our areas “Ugolo” (snuff tobacco) was a common poison which was commonly available and used to kill newborns thought to be unfit to remain alive for the wellbeing of the community”.

According to Taylor *et al.*, (2019), in the case of children (children with albinism), their murders often took place shortly after birth or at the hands of family members. Lives of PWA were snuffed out of them quietly, and the community went on with their businesses as if nothing has happened. Albino babies were not allowed to survive the next day after birth (Bello, 2017). Debrah (2017) further elaborates that, twins and albinos were seen as bad luck within these communities and they were not allowed to live.

3.2 Denied to access education

According to Mesaki (2008), majority of albinos are semi-literate many of them do not reach beyond primary school education. Makulilo (2010) narrates that, PWA do not have equal access to education and when they get an educational opportunity, it is very difficult for them to attend because of low security. In fact, most African Governments has not taken proper measures to provide education for those children (Nzagi, 2009). Franklin *et al.*, (2018), narrate that, parents fear sending their children to school due to fear for their safety while walking to school and lack confidence in teachers' abilities to keep them safe. According to Human Rights Watch (2019), Children with albinism face numerous obstacles at school, including bullying by students and sometimes teachers, little to no reasonable accommodation for their low vision, and requirements to participate in physical education classes outside without proper protection from the sun.

Unstable PWA's families were reported as another challenge for attainment of education among children with albinism. A Key respondent told how she could not go beyond standard three in her primary education due to family disputes, which rose after her birth as a fifth child with albinism in her family. She further narrated:-

“Upon separation of my parents, I could no longer live with any of my parents who actually did not need to see a child with albinism in the family. As a result I could not go on schooling”.

Schools in most cases put students with albinism under the same conditions as other students without taking into account the visual impairment associated with albinism (Thuku, 2011). Poor vision among students with albinism may cause students with albinism to be slow learners either due to the inability to see the black board clearly or the inability to read books and other learning materials. Such unfriendly environment may have contributed to poor academic performances and low education levels for persons with albinism. Most parents seem to be unable and sometimes unwilling to send their children to high levels of education, thus primary level of education is the highest level the majority can reach because it is compulsory and provided free in public schools. According to Chege (Undated) many people mistakenly think that albinos are mentally retarded and

discourage their parents from taking them to school thinking that it is wastage of money. In most cases their presence is still felt by societies to be a financial burden (Alghazo, 2002).

3.3 Denied Parental Care

Studies suggest that, most of African children with albinism are raised by single mothers, with subsequent financial difficulties impacting on education and health (Bucaro, 2010, Cited by Taylor, 2019). According to Chege (2012), almost 90% of albinos living in most African regions are raised by single mothers, because the fathers believe their wives had affairs out of the marriages which lead to having children with albinism. According to Baker *et al.*, (2010), the web of beliefs associated with albinism has a profound influence on the lives of people with this condition, from the moment of their birth until their death, interfering with access to education, employment and marriage.

In the study regions, children had been attacked most, while women were attacked in few cases as opposed to adult men with albinism who were rarely attacked. A key informant explained that:-

“Children with albinism are attacked most. May be, it is because it is easier to get them, it requires less effort compared to adults”.

In the late 2000s, the Government of Tanzania set forth measures designed to ensure the physical safety of children with albinism, such measures included establishing temporary holding shelters, special boarding schools dedicated to the protection and education of children with albinism. Such measures had negative impact on their rights to family life, an adequate standard of living and inclusive education (Human Rights Watch, 2016).

3.4 Denied To Form Families

The web of beliefs associated with albinism has a profound influence on the lives of people with this condition, from the moment of their birth until their death, interfering with access to education, employment and marriage (Baker *et al.*, 2010). Persons with albinism are routinely forced to lead their lives single because no one wants to be married to them (Small, 1998). It is obvious that while males with albinism struggle to get wives, female people with albinism also struggle to get husbands but in vain (Magobe, 2008).

In an interview with a single mother with albinism (also a mother to three children with albinism), narrated how her parents divorced few months after her birth. She got three children with albinism whose fathers were not recognized traditionally because she got them out of wedlock. She had no hope of getting married due to her condition. This suggests that she got the children from a fellow person with albinism or from normal looking persons but being a carrier of albinism gene. According to Gaigher *et al.* (2000), the choice of a marriage partner is a serious dilemma for people with albinism.

Findings from a study by Kiprono *et al.* (2012) found that albinism was a reason for divorce in 50% of those who were divorced. Cultural beliefs and lack of awareness on the genetic transmission of albinism make it difficult for people with albinism to establish and maintain relationships. Thus, almost 90% of albinos living in most African regions are raised by single mothers, because the fathers believe their wives have affairs out of the marriages which lead to having children with albinism (Chege, 2012).

3.5 Economically Challenged Life

In some cases PWA decide live lonely life after leaving their households in rural areas taking refuge in towns. In most cases, stigmas attached to PWA affect them in several aspects. In an interview with a person with albinism who lost her job due to being with albinism claimed that:-

“I was terminated from work because my boss thought he was not safe anymore by staying in his home with a person with albinism”

She later started working as a food vendor but she further claims that:-

“I worked as a “house maid” for several years in which I could cook nice foods, but when I started “mamalishhe” (food vendor) business, I never got clients because of albinism! Finally I closed the business”.

Several challenges confront people living with albinism’s wellbeing. People with albinism are classified among the vulnerable groups of society, who include people living with various kinds of physical disabilities. PWA don’t enjoy significant level of attention, security and support from the government. PWA don’t get special requirements for PWA which include special healthcare for PWA, advocacy and social awareness education, social inclusion, academic education, economic empowerment, and socio-political protection from various forms of societal abuse and discrimination which are still experienced among people with albinism. Poverty and lack of education suffered by people with albinism result from discrimination, social exclusion and stigma, and in some cases the human rights abuse due to living with albinism.

3.7 Beliefs on Immortality of PWA

Concerning the belief that PWA never dies, all informants did not share the belief that there is any human being who is immortal. These were said to be simple answers to the secrecy surrounded beliefs and practices which were observed upon the death of a person with albinism. A key informant elaborated that:

"They actually die as other human beings, but due to the secrecy of where and how they were buried, majority in the community were made to believe that persons with albinism do not die but simply vanish once they finish their missions..."

Current changes in development accompanied by the adoption of new religions force many people to change their perceptions towards people with albinism. In villages where some houses are modern and built with concrete floors and mostly overcrowded it is not possible to carryout in-house secret burials. Graves for people with albinism are no longer a secret affair to be contained only for few family members, this is said to be among the reasons why some graves for PWA are exhumed.

3.8 PWAs’ Grave Robbery

In many parts in the study regions, currently, those who violate the tradition and bury PWA openly in public cemetery for whatever reasons, they find the graves of their deceased dug open and desecrated. A key informant explained that:

“Grave robbing is not a new phenomenon in this area that is why albinos were strictly buried secretly...In 1980s I attended a funeral for our fellow Christian in one of the major towns in Lake Zone

who was buried in our church cemetery. The dead body was secretly stolen overnight by unknown people”

For fear of grave robbers, PWA is currently buried in a cement-sealed grave to protect such graves against grave robbers who often dug open the graves to steal body parts of the dead on witchcraft grounds. Besides being expensive, cement-sealed graves for albinos give a different picture in the society where such graves are uncommon. Such graves confirm the myth that PWA's bodies are extremely valuable such that they should be highly protected.

3.9 Believed Power in PWA's Body Parts

Most powerful “*medicines*” for significant effects are believed to be prepared from most valuable or expensive ingredients. It was mentioned and believed that in order for one to prosper must offer a certain sacrifice. Therefore, witchdoctors in such cases use parts of person with albinism believing that they possess powerful magical power. While people with albinism faced discrimination for many years, their situation has become far more dangerous in recent years due to being targeted by those who kill them for their body organs to be used in luck medicine by people seeking wealth and good fortune in business, professional circles and politics.

3.9.1 PWA's Hairs for Successful Fishing

Concerning use of hairs from persons with albinism in various practices of witchdoctors, all informants agreed that the practice is common in the area. Some witchdoctors were said to require from their clients portions of hairs from PWA as an ingredient in preparation of “*medicine*”. A key informant said that:

“Fishing is a tiresome work. They meet many challenges in the lake; they must consult witchdoctors for safety and success in their daily activities”.

Use of mixtures of PWA's hairs with other ingredients woven into fishing nets to increase the catch for some fishermen is therefore common. Witchdoctors are said to demand PWA's hair from their clients in order to prepare the mixture. Together with the “*medicine*” woven on their nets, fishermen wear amulets mostly made from albino's crushed bones. It is then a practice that people with albinism shave their hair and dispose their hair with caution.

3.9.2 PWA's Bones for Fruitful Gold Mines

Use of “*medicine*” from witchdoctors is common in small scale mining. In fact it is very difficult to separate witchcraft beliefs from small scale miners. In most cases accidents which lead to deaths in small scale mines are believed to be sacrifices to gods; therefore, people expect to get more gold after such occasions. Informants said that some miners therefore believe that by burying parts of a PWA's body at one's mining site, the next step is hammering the gold reef. A key informant informed that:

“The bones (from limbs) of an albino attract more gold to the site. After directives (from a witchdoctor), crushed or part of the bone is buried at the site”.

According to Ackley (2010), the belief in the efficacy of albino body parts for creating success and wealth is so strong that sometimes dead albino bodies are exhumed in order for people to seize any remaining organs on the body. Any “*medicine*” is believed to be ineffective if it will be missing the “*active part*”. Various parts of PWA are used in preparations of the “*active part*” for medicines of specific purposes

3.9.3 PWA's Nails for Wealth Protection

In the study region, people who believe in magical power from PWA's body parts, consider the parts being very important making one successful various aspects. They also, believe that money obtained in businesses need to be protected. This is because money obtained can be lost miraculously as how it was earned through believing and practising witchcraft under assistance of witchdoctors. People still consult witchdoctors to safeguard money from being stolen or lost miraculously. Albino nails are believed to be effective in protecting money from devils or demons who are believed to be agents in stealing money from people. A key informant said:

“Medicine made from albino nails can bring good luck and hold/protect money/wealth from being grabbed by bad people”

4.0 Conclusions and Recommendations

4.1 Conclusions

Beliefs related to PWA killings, attacks and discriminations are reinforced by witchcraft beliefs which regard PWA as abnormal beings. Old beliefs regarding people with albinism still exist in the study area. A number of myths and superstitions still surround PWA in which it is believed that their body parts can make solutions against bad luck, poverty, witchcraft and politically in winning in elections. As a result, people with albinism are for long are buried secretly indoors because their body parts are highly demanded. Results also imply that witchcraft belief is still believed to influence people in their daily activities. This implies that culture, being the way of life of a people, is usually very difficult to change it overnight

4.2 Recommendations

It is recommended that, a policy for a long time solution should be formulated to insist on awareness of young generation on albinism. Being marginalized and denied opportunities for employment, people with albinism have very limited marketable skills and trainings. It is recommended therefore that, Local Government Authorities should assist them through capacitating them with entrepreneurship skills. Entrepreneurship skills will provide an alternative way for them and offer increased opportunities to accommodate their challenges and maximize their strengths and skills.

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System Context and Drivers Contributing to Collaborative Governance in Coping with HIV/AIDS in Surakarta Indonesia

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Abstract

Collaborative governance in coping with HIV/AIDS has been ineffective, thus HIV/AIDS case increases in number continuously. This research aimed to analyze system context and drivers contributing to collaborative governance in coping with HIV/AIDS in Surakarta Indonesia. The target groups of this explorative research were government, non-government, and community contributing to HIV/AIDS management in Surakarta. Observation, in-depth interview and documentation techniques were used to collect primary and secondary data, and then data validity and reliability were tested using source and method triangulations. Data analysis was conducted using an interactive model of analysis with Parsons' functional structural theory. The result of research showed ineffective collaborative governance between Surakarta AIDS Commission, Work Group, Health Office, NGO, and Citizens Caring about AIDS, because of stakeholders' less optimal commitment and participation in coping with HIV/AIDS, poor coordination between stakeholders, communication, information, and education of HIV/AIDS still limited to and not reaching entire community, and inadequate non-transparent budget still dependent on donor institution in conducting activities. These both inhibit and encourage dynamic collaboration. Collaborative governance of HIV/AIDS management can develop in optimal resource context, clear legal framework and deal with political dynamic and inter-actor conflict issues, community-government relation, conducive social-economic network and condition.

Keywords: AIDS Management, Collaborative Governance, System Context, Drivers

1. Introduction

In 2018, about 36.7 million people with HIV/AIDS (PWHAs) and 1,8 million people are newly infected with HIV (UNAIDS, Global HIV, and A. I. D. S. Statistics, 2019). It gets serious attention at international, national, regional, and local levels, including Surakarta Government. To suppress the transmission of HIV/AIDS and to improve PWHAs' quality of life, government needs to involve non-government, public, and other related sectors. HIV/AIDS management program requires cross-sectoral participation, including work groups in charge of helping develop HIV/AIDS management program and activity as needed, activate stakeholders in implementing

local policy, conduct mentoring, motivation, advocacy, facilitation, and supervision, and report the activity to Local AIDS Commission (KPAD) periodically.

HIV/AIDS management is conducted in integrative manner by a variety of community elements. KPAD involves Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) in reaching the key population as the most at risk populations (MRAPs) to be infected with HIV/AIDS. The presence of NGO involvement in coping with HIV/AIDS can be seen from its contribution to service providing, advocacy, and education within community, particularly in promotion and preventing activity in key population (Layzell and McCarthy, 1992; Asthana and Oostvogels, 1996; Pötsönen and Kontula, 1999; Campbell et al, 2009; Moszynski, 2011). The attempt of coping with HIV/AIDS is intended to touch social and societal factors. Referring to the National AIDS Commission's policy, the strategy of preventing and coping with HIV/AIDS within the community, Citizen Caring about AIDS (CCA) is established. CCA is a community group consisting of many components of community environment reaching kelurahan level. CCA serves as the activator of community to participate directly in the attempt of preventing HIV/AIDS within community environment (National AIDS Commission, 2010' Herawati, 2017). The financing of HIV/AIDS coping activity derives from grant budget coming from both homes, particularly Regional Income and Expense budget, and abroad.

Structural functional approach stated that the community is integrated based on the consensus among its members on certain society values. General agreement has an ability of dealing with dissenting opinions and different interests among members of society. Society, as a social system, is integrated functionally into equilibrium (Parsons, 2017). HIV/AIDS is identical with health problems, but it is also inseparable from social-economic and cultural condition, and other factors, thereby the institutional structure is interrelated to each other. In HIV/AIDS management scope, political dynamic can affect collaboration process (Emerson and Nabatachi, 2015). In addition, inter-actor conflict and confidence can encourage or affect the collaboration process. It is indicated with conflict or disagreement in organizing policy or program implementing program, thereby can inhibit or facilitate the collaborative governance (Newman et al, 2004; Gray and Purdy, 2014). The objective of research is to find out and to analyze system context and drivers contributing to collaborative governance in coping with HIV/AIDS in Surakarta Indonesia.

2. Collaborative Governance Principles

HIV/AIDS management needs stakeholders' participation, and thereby requires the collaboration between government, NGO, and community. Collaboration process represents in detail the component creating dynamic collaborative around all components and affecting each other. Collaborative governance is a process and structure of public policy decision making and management involving actors constructively in public institutions, government and community, private and civil border to implement the public interest that cannot be achieved if it is conducted by one party only. It can be defined as governance multipartner, the one that can involve partnership between state, private, and civil society and community, and join governance and is hybrid in nature, such as public-private and private-social partnership. It also includes some community-based collaborative action involved in joint resource management and intergovernmental collaborative structure. Collaborative governance framework has such dimensions as system context, Collaborative Governance Regime (CGR), and collaborative dynamic (Boerma and Weir, 2005; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015).

In public policy making system, there is cross-sectoral collaboration representing the behavior and activity-related pattern. Framework of collaborative governance is multilevel in nature concerning public policy structure and process, decision making involving cross-border community, governmental institution, and/or public, private and public space constructively in the attempt of achieving the public objective. Collaborative governance starts with and develops in a system in which there are political, legal, social-economic, and environmental effects. This external context creates opportunity and threat, and affects the progress of CGR. However, the effect of collaborative action in CGR possibly affects the context. System context is not an original condition but a three-dimension space; it is because external conditions (economic crisis or new regulation) can affect dynamic and

collaborative work occurring not only in the beginning, but also any time during CGR process (Melkote et al, 2000).

Collaborative dynamic and collaborative action creates the overall quality of CGR, thereby can run effectively. The collaborative process consists of principal engagement, shared motivation, and capacity for joint action. These three components work together in interactively and repetitively to provide collaborative action or measures taken in the attempt of implementing the common objective. This action in CGR can exert internal and external effect on CGR. Principled engagement is something occurring with the time, likely through in-person dialog, general meeting, inter-organization relationship or other different settings. Actors with different backgrounds can cooperate to solve problem or to create some values. Principled engagement is an open inclusive communication occurring with the time through four basic processes: discovery, definition, deliberation, and determination. Through this process, the collaboration can run and encourage motivation and joint action to achieve the goal (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015).

Collaboration aims to achieve the result wanted jointly and not solvable separately. Collaboration is engaged in common activity to improve the quality of capacity in achieving the common objective. Capacity to take joint action is the dynamic of collaboration as the result of principle engagement and joint motivation. The capacity to take joint action consists of such elements as procedural and institutional arrangements, leadership, knowledge, and resources (Bevir, 2008; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015). This system context, in this case, is the presence of resource conditions needing improvement, legal frame, failure to solve problem, political dynamic, relationship between community and government, degree of relationship between networks, inter-actor conflict, and social-economic condition. The legal framework underlies the presence of coordinative, integrative, and collaborative management of HIV/AIDS (Pfeiffer et al, 2010; Borrini-Feyerabend et al, 2013; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015). Dependency is a condition in which individual or organization cannot solve its own problem constituting a precondition encouraging collaborative action (Emerson et al, 2012, Gray and Purdy, 2014; Thomson and Miller, 2014). Consequential incentive refers to internal (problem, need for resource, and opportunity) and external issues (the condition needing collaboration, threat, or opportunity) as an incentive to collaborative action, but not all incentives are negative in nature, for example, the availability of grant fund leading to the development of collaborative incentive (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015).

Leadership is a collaborative incentive factor referring to the presence of leader identified to be on the position initiating meeting and encouraging the collaborative governance regime through resource owned. The leader should be committed to solving collaborative problem, neutral, and impartial (Selin et al, 2000; Crosby and Bryson, 2010; Emerson et al, 2012). Leader should be ready to initiate collaborative attempt, for example, by providing human resource, technology, and other resources that can reinforce collaborative dynamic (Emerson et al, 2012; Schneider et al, 2015).

3. Methods

This study was a descriptive qualitative research. This research was conducted in Surakarta, because the number of HIV/AIDS case is the second highest one in Central Java. Data collection was carried out through observation and in-depth interview with some informants, stakeholders related to HIV/AIDS management. Informants consisted of government, NGO, and community elements, including Secretary of Surakarta AIDS Management Commission, Chairperson of Surakarta Health Office, NGO caring about AIDS including Program Manager of Spek HAM NGO, Director of Mitra Alam Foundation, Chairperson of Gaya Mahardhika Foundation, Manager of Lentera Haven (Rumah Singgah Lentera), Chairperson of Solo Transsexual association, and Chairperson and 2 members of CCA Jebres, Surakarta. In addition, it also interviewed the head of Health Promotion Team of Muhammadiyah General Health Center Hospital of Surakarta and Counselor of Voluntary Counseling Test (VCT) Puskesmas Banyuanyar, Surakarta. Informants were selected purposively with the following criteria: those considered as representative as there is a relevance of knowledge and information the informant has to system context and driver contributing to collaborative governance in HIV/AIDS management in Surakarta, Indonesia. Interview was conducted using recorder, note, and literature review or document related to the study

Gabrielian, 1999). Data validation technique was conducted using triangulation, by crosschecking the confidence interval, dependency, and data certainty obtained in the field (Creswell and Poth, 2016).

4. Results

The HIV/AIDS management program in Surakarta builds on Mayor of Surakarta's Decision Number: 443.24/48.4/1/2016 about the establishment of Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome Commission and Work Group of Surakarta City's AIDS Commission. This legal foundation clearly governs the participation of Regional AIDS Commission and all stakeholders related to HIV/aids management including promotion, prevention, medication, and treatment, and support. It underlies the collaborative governance involving government, NGO, and community elements.

Surakarta AIDS Commission is a non-structural institution under and responsible to the Mayor. HIV/AIDS coping attempt is taken intensively, comprehensively, in coordinated and integrated manner to protect people and to prevent transmission. Surakarta AIDS Commission serves to develop Local Strategy and Action Plan, policy and program for Coping with HIV/AIDS, to implement cooperation with related sector in the attempt of coping with HIV/AIDS, to coordinate, to monitor, to control, and to facilitate HIV/AIDS coping activity. Surakarta AIDS Commission serves as coordinator, facilitator, and advocate in relation to HIV/AIDS management through preventive and grant fund conferral program to workgroups in order to implement the preventive program corresponding to its main duty and function. Local AIDS Commission conducts coordinating meeting routinely along with workgroups, NGO, and people (community).

Before the establishment of Surakarta AIDS Commission, HIV/AIDS coping activity is conducted by Surakarta Health Office as the leading sector. In addition, such NGOs as Spek HAM, Mitra Alam Foundation, Gaya Mahardika Foundation, Lentera Haven, and Solo Transsexual Association have conducted the related activity. People also become an important partner in this collaboration, because to intervene with the key population, peer support group is required through making CCA the facilitator to surrounding people. For instance, Local AIDS Commission cooperates with NGO to distribute condom for free as the attempt of preventing HIV transmission to key population such as Female Sexual Workers (FSWs), transsexuals, Men Sex with Men (MSM), and other key populations.

Government, NGO, and people play their own role synergizing with each other in the attempt of coping with HIV/AIDS in Surakarta. Health Office, as the leading sector in health and HIV/AIDS prevention area, has some programs corresponding to its main duty and function: VCT service, Harm Reduction program through Sterile Injection Service, and Mobile Physician program. Socialization and Communication, Information, and Education usually are conducted along with the programs. VCT program, in addition to involving Puskesmas (Public Health Center) as healthcare service provider, also involves NGO and people to reach the target. NGO and people need Regional AIDS Commission's contribution as they do not have power to run the program independently, and they need collaboration within it. The presence of institution integrating collaboration process, in this case Regional AIDS Commission, contributes to the collaboration process to run, reaching, and intervention of preventive program in peer support group.

HIV/AIDS coping activity conducted by NGO is still limited to the program with foreign donations such as Global Fund, thereby affecting collaboration dynamic when the grant ceases. NGO reaches, assists, and socializes HIV prevention to key population, as the important target of HIV/AIDS prevention. NGO facilitates Health Office, Regional AIDS Commission and related institutions in the attempt of intervening with the program in key population, e.g. in VCT facilitation and Sterile Injection service, and gives social support to the facilitated groups. Members of Community can educate others to behave healthily, encourage all people at high risk of being infected with HIV to follow VCT, and prevent stigma and discrimination against PWHAs. People's participation in CCA still has some limitations, because its role is still limited to be the cadre in its environment rather than being involved in policy making program. CCA's main duty is to activate the people to participate directly in the attempt of preventing and coping with HIV/AIDS and cooperating with government and NGO.

In annual routine meeting, called Regional Work Meeting, the Surakarta AIDS Commission invites such sectors as NGO Caring about AIDS, representative of religious leader and community leader, workgroup, and other institutions. This meeting is intended to be a means of formal meeting, Focus Group Discussion (FGD), to receive input from participants concerning HIV/AIDS preventing program, and to yield an agreement, by entering into a collective agreement. Principled engagement is defined as obedience, communication, and inclusiveness. The meetings held are a means of delivering information, critique, and suggestion to HIV/AIDS coping programs in the future. Routine meeting can be held not only in-person, but also using such technology as email or chatting application like WhatsApp.

Shared motivation is demonstrated by Spek HAM Foundation, Mitra Alam NGO, Gaya Mahardika Foundation, and HIWASO in Surakarta AIDS Commission through involving foundation and people. For example, key population mapping program conducted by Surakarta AIDS Commission through involving NGOs is intended to map and to analyze the area within which the key populations live. The output is Key Population Mapping Report annually in Surakarta. Trust can result from the joint meeting held by Surakarta AIDS commission, in addition to program implementation and activity evaluation, and decision making. Trust emerges in one actor and another through collective meeting, because the trust can benefit the collaboration between actors, for example, government needs NGO and people to reach the key population and public (general society); NGO also needs legitimacy to get government's aid. The feeling of trust between actors will result in shared understanding feeling. From the information acquired, it can be found out that joint motivation has been created concerning HIV/AIDS prevention. Joint motivation will be achieved through mutual trust, shared understanding, internal legitimacy and commitment. However, the elements of shared understanding and commitment have not been distributed evenly in all actors; some workgroups conduct HIV preventing activities if only budget is provided through grant funds of Surakarta Regional AIDS Commission, and workgroups do not allocate budget to such activity in their own institution. Meanwhile, NGOs caring about AIDS and CCA remain to hold the HIV/AIDS preventing activity with target populations like key populations and public. It will affect the next stage of collaborative dynamics, the capacity to take joint action.

Currently, Surakarta AIDS Commission has conduct leadership succession. It indicates that political dynamics affects the sustainability of non-structural institutions. In relation to the history of cooperation in HIV/AIDS prevention, it can be found that NGOs have cooperated with governmental institutions several times, i.e. Health Office and Social Office; in addition there has been no inter-actor conflict affecting the collaborative process until today. Many policies and strategies have been taken as the part of HIV/AIDS coping attempt in Surakarta: Harm Reduction program to reduce HIV transmission through injection; Prevention Sexually Transmission; Reinforcing Mother-to-Child Transmission; Developing Sustainable Comprehensive Service at Puskesmas level; and Strategic use of ARV (SUFA). Those strategies involve people (community) as non-medical personnel like NGOs, Facilitating Group, and community in the attempt of coping with HIV/AIDS. It means there is actor interdependence in the term of HIV/AIDS management.

In conducting HIV/AIDS coping activity, budget is required to implement the program. In previous years, Surakarta AIDS Commission has some budget for prevention activities such as socialization and communication, information and education programmed by the Regional AIDS Commission's Prevention Division; additionally, each of workgroups obtains budget through grant fund to hold the activities corresponding to main duty and function of respective institutions. Meanwhile, NGOs obtain a budget to hold the HIV preventing activity through donor fund.

5. Discussion

HIV/AIDS is a dynamical complex problem needing inter-actor collaboration to solve it based on their main duty and function. HIV/AIDS is a disease not only needing healthcare service role but also involving educational, social, cultural, religious, and other aspects. HIV/AIDS is identical with not only one aspect, health. Through collaborative governance of HIV/AIDS management coordinated with Regional AIDS Commission,

HIV problem constituting an uncertainty becomes shared problem requiring cross-sectoral contribution to address and to encourage the actor interdependence, thereby affecting collaborative dynamic (Mayer and Hank, 2009; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015).

Regional AIDS Commission's Procedure and agreement are established in the presence of networking structure and self-managed system (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015). HIV/AIDS management needs stakeholders' participation. It indicates that the presence of social-cultural, economic, and health issues in the system context affect the collaborative process of coping with HIV/AIDS in Surakarta. Referring to the context of collaborative governance to cope with HIV/AIDS, there is inter-actor relation pattern, particularly the relationship between government and non-government (NGOs and public). Inter-actor network connection can both encourage and inhibit collaborative processes (Parsons, 2017).

This network connection is indicated with the inter-actor cooperation and the actors with shared vision. Inter-actor cooperation is established most strongly within community, including public or NGOs in Health Office, in this case Puskesmas. Meanwhile, the weak inter-actor cooperation can be seen in between-workgroups relation. Thus, the collaboration has run between Health Office, and NGOs caring about AIDS and CCA. It is confirmed with MoU between Puskesmas and NGOs to cooperate in coping with HIV among keys populations. The characteristic elements of network refer to the history of cooperation or the institutional structure with organizational interdependence. The strong relation pattern is found in the relationship between Regional AIDS Commission, and NGO and community (public), thereby encouraging collaborative initiative. Specifically, each of elements in the collaborative scope of HIV/AIDS in Surakarta management are interdependent, for instance, government is dependent on community element and vice versa. However, the weak relation pattern is found in that between workgroups, and Regional AIDS Commission and community element.

When a collaborative institution has been established, a collaborative leadership concept is required. Leadership is a capability of encouraging the direction of shared vision, in which a leader is an individual helping another to achieve its objective (Kreitner and Kinicki, 2014). Regional AIDS Commission is a collaborative leader functioning to be coordinator. But, each of members is a leader in conducting HIV/AIDS management program. The leadership can encourage the collaboration, the main element in the collaboration itself, and the significant growth of collaboration. Included into it is the role of leader as sponsor, facilitator, mediator, representative of organization, advocacy, and other roles. In collaboration process, knowledge is distributed widely through joint meetings. The meeting contains the delivery of gain outcomes conducted by actors, to be the material of discussion later. This process can construct knowledge of each actor (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Fauzi and Rahayu, 2018).

In collaborative governance of HIV/AIDS management, the role of leadership is played by the Secretary of Surakarta AIDS Commission to coordinate the actors of HIV/AIDS management to collaborate in the attempt of achieving the objective specified. The secretary of Surakarta AIDS Commission serves to advocate the stakeholders beyond the collaboration running to participate in coping with HIV/AIDS. In collaborative governance of HIV/AIDS management, the problem occurring is the poor participation of actors in coping with HIV/AIDS, despite the establishment of workgroup. To be a leader who can encourage the collaborative governance, an ability of analyzing problem is needed to master the substance of problem, and to solve the problem. The unavailability of budget for Workgroup also affects the HIV preventing program in Surakarta, and it becomes the Secretary of AIDS Commission's responsibility for reporting it to the mayor as the Chairperson of AIDS Commission.

Each of actors has different characteristics of knowledge, for example, Health Office through PWhA reporting system from each of Puskesmas and healthcare service providers, NGOs with key population mapping reports, and workgroups reporting the program and its scope in their own institutions. However, this knowledge distribution is inhibited, among others, by the changing representatives of actors, particularly in workgroups or institutions due to mutation or other factors, so that the actors attending the collaborative meeting are not always the same (Zadek and Radovich, 2006; Agbodzakey, 2012; Parsons, 2017).

The capacity of taking joint action has been implemented through the collective activity with common procedure and agreement, but there are some problems occurring particularly related to funding resource affecting the preventing activity in workgroups but not affecting NGOs and people (community) because they have independent fund source, unlike workgroups whose activities are funded by Regional AIDS Commission's grant fund. The joint action capacity is highly affected by principled engagement and shared motivation, in which there is a weakness in the shared understanding element in the workgroups not allocating budget to the activity through their institutions and relying on only Regional AIDS Commission's grant fund. The running of dynamic is determined by the activation of shared principles, shared motivation, and capacity to take joint action. Collaborative dynamics is a cycle containing components affecting the process of collaboration (Hanefeld, 2014; Richter et al, 2014; Bridge et al, 2016).

6. Conclusion

Collaborative governance of HIV/AIDS in Surakarta involves government, NGOs, and people, and complies with Collaborative Governance Regime procedure. However, some constraints are still found in shared motivation element, the weak shared commitment among workgroups. It is indicated with no HIV/AIDS coping activity inherent to the budget of workgroup institution. The weak shared motivation affects the capacity to take joint action. Surakarta AIDS Commission as a coordinator institution has conducted its duty corresponding to its main duty and function, despite less maximal use of authority to ensure that each collaborative actor has implemented the mission as the procedure specifies. Incentive consequential factor affects collaborative dynamic is indicated with the inhibited HIV/AIDS preventing activity in workgroup because there is no budget allocated to the activities, deriving from both Regional AIDS Commission's fund grant and budget inherent to the main duty and function of workgroup institutions. Surakarta AIDS Commission needs to assist and to advocate each of institutions/workgroups, so that the same commitment will be established to cope with HIV/AIDS corresponding to respective main duty and function. The community's commitment to participate in policy making should be improved, particularly through Regional AIDS Commission, because the people serves only as the cadre in their neighborhood so far, and the government should help NGOs access the funding resource for HIV/AIDS prevention through grant fund from Local Government, so that the HIV/AIDS preventing program can be conducted sustainably.

7. Recommendation

Collaborative governance of HIV/AIDS that involves government, NGOs, and people, and complies with Collaborative Governance Regime procedure, can develop in optimal resource context, clear legal framework and deal with political dynamic and inter-actor conflict issues, community-government relation, conducive social-economic network and condition in coping with HIV/AIDS.

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The Effect of Inclusive Character Shaping in Religion Based-Dormitory (A Case Study on Catholic Dormitory of SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono Indonesia)

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Abstract

This research aimed to find out and to explain, to analyze the effect of Inclusive Character shaping in Religion-Based Dormitory in SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono. This study was a qualitative research with case study approach. The informants were selected using purposive sampling technique. Four (4) main informants were employed in this study, coming from 4 11th and 12th male and female graders of SMA Sedes Sapientie (Sedes Sapientie Senior High School). Meanwhile, key informants consisted of 2 informants: dormitory founder and manager of SMA Sedes Sapientie, and 15 supporting informants: 1 headmaster, 2 teachers, 5 consultants, 1 alumnus of SMA Sedes Sapientie, 2 representatives of student's parents, and 4 community leaders. The methods of collecting data used were observation, interview and documentation study. Technique of analyzing data involved three stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. Data verification was conducted using source and time triangulations from the result of observation and the in-depth collection of field data. The result of research showed that 1) the establishment of inclusive character in SMA Sedes's dormitory can be the students' vehicle to realize an ideal character based on spiritual values. Such education model can result in opened character, egalitarianism, high-humanity spirit, ability of appreciating the difference within society and 2) the effect of inclusive character shaping brings out positive change to the students themselves, parents, and surrounding people.

Keywords: Dormitory, Inclusive Character, Effect

1. Introduction

The model of dormitory-school organization is actually not new in education realm in homeland. In Indonesian education history, dormitory model has been known for its varying names since a long time ago, such as

internaat, perguruan (institution) or *Pondok Pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School). Through this model, the organization of education is conducted and undertaken by students living in school complex for 24 hours. Through dormitory-school model, education service is given to students comprehensively and integrated into all aspects of service, from students' personality establishment, character, knowledge, creativity, skill, to behavior. This model is chosen to create the graduates with good character and high competency based on spiritual values. Generally, the dormitory school in the world was originally affected by religious values, so that the dormitory school established in early times is the religious dormitory one. It develops with time. Currently, not all dormitory schools are affiliated with religious environment and their learning method has changed fundamentally as well. Most dormitory schools provide full-time education comprehensively now (Wawan, Setiawan, et.al.: 2018).

Dormitory education model is implemented widely by education institutions and some of it is based on religious tenet, one of which is Catholic religion. In Catholic religion, dormitory education model has been existing since a long time ago, even before Indonesia's independence. Catholic religion dormitory school appeared firstly in Mendut, Magelang. In 1908, Dutch Van Heythuysen OSF (Ordo Santo Fransiskus) Sisters (Nuns) responded to the need for education service by establishing female-specific school in Mendut Magelang (Een Zuster Franciskanen, 1925). Mendut is a place for female students to shape disciplined self and personality comprehensively, providing fundamental experience to be able to reform life. Mendut is a formal school and dormitory with curriculum corresponding to Dutch Colonial government regulation at that time. Mendut women were educated in modesty, independency, intelligence, responsibility, and high spirituality (Deus Providebit, 1995). These Female Teacher School and Mendut Dormitory were intended to educate dependable nation female cadres and to make them militant persons, with sturdy and integral creed, smart thinking, care about others moreover the poor, and skillful hands to do anything (Hastrini, 2012). Mendut dormitory school affected considerably the wide society not only in Mendut Magelang but also in the archipelago. Ex-Mendut female graduates were always expected to continue their studies and to work for humanity. Many ex-Mendut female graduates become successful evangelists, help education and health in many remote areas (Widyosuyono, A 2000).

Society development and growth give new faces and create a change, among others, in education line. Information and technology development, in fact, provides another side to the growth of adolescent generation, particularly school-age children. Free social intercourse occurs prevalently among adolescents. Character education taught at school cannot be internalized well into students.

Marsudirini Foundation, as an education institution established in 1954, attempts to make some reforms in management or regulation, through religion-based dormitory education system. SMA Sedes Sapientie (Sedes Sapientie Senior High School) as one of education institutions under Marsudirini Foundation contributes to creating students with good character through dormitory education, thereby can improve human resource quality in Indonesia. In the attempt of creating character, SMA Sedes Sapientie as an education institution at formal level attempts to make some innovations to apply the development of character shaping with an integrated education through religion-based dormitory education system, expectedly to produce students and school graduates with inclusive character. The creation of inclusive character is expected to exert positive effect on self, parents, and society.

Character shaping through dormitory school program is responded to positively by some studies. Chatarina Dewi Anggraeni has ever conducted a similar study, the finding of which focused more on discussing students' discipline level in Stella Duce Samirono dormitory of Yogyakarta in relation to the school dormitory's order. In addition, Andri Septilinda Susiyani conducted a similar study emphasizing on boarding school's education and its relevance to the objective of Islamic education in Modern Muhammadiyah Boarding School (MBS) of Yogyakarta. Therefore, this research studies more in-depth the effect of inclusive character shaping in religion-based dormitory school in SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono, Indonesia.

2. Literature Review

Dormitory school is a school model with higher demand than the regular school (Vembriarto, 1993). Such the demand can exert either a positive or negative effect on its students. The positive effect of dormitory school is that it creates an adequate and intensive learning room for students. In addition, dormitory school also educates the students to be more independent and accustomed to interacting with friends with different backgrounds enabling them to understand and know the diversity better. Education in dormitory schools is known to have a tight and disciplined standard. Dormitory school or so-called boarding School is an institution in charge of socializing values and norms living within society. In boarding school, there are many activities, in which an individual is led to an understanding of his/her environment culture.

This study employs Nobert's Figuration (processual perspective) theory. This perspective recognizes that a society's current condition is a momentary phase in a long flow of mankind's history development coming from the past, damaging the present, and pushed to various contingencies in the future. Society is put appropriately in historical time: "Each community existing today grows from the previous one and contains the seed of various potential changes in the future" (Elias in Sztompka, 2010).

This changing process is largely unplanned, although it sometimes occurs more briefly or longer than what is imagined originally. No automatism or inevitable quality of change; its process is activated by human being in a variety of complex interrelation, interdependence called "Figuration" by Elias. This process activator can be individual, group, or even state actor. Figuration is the grids stretching the tension, and even increasing and decreasing the tension harming the balance can be a power balancer, formerly moving from one ascending side then to the descending side (Elias in Sztompka, 2010). Such relation network (connecting and confronting people, activating cooperation and generating conflict all at once) is always unstable, ever changing, and encounters all types of permutations. The relation network is an arbitrary pattern or longer or shorter movement pattern. People existing in the "figuration" pattern are a single agent of historical change.

For that reason, the figuration theory's explanation suggested by Nobert Elias is relevant to the problem studied, particularly inter-individual relation interacting and interdependent between students and teachers, students and dormitory administrator, school and dormitory, parent and alumni and school, and school and surrounding people. The effect of inclusive character shaping in Catholic school dormitory of SMA Sedes Sapientie is expected to be an education institution shaping the inclusive character, producing the best graduates and exerting positive effect on the society life.

3. Method

This research took place in Sedes Sapientie Bedono of Semarang Regency for 4 months, from November to February 2020. Type of research employed was the qualitative one with case study approach. Sampling technique employed was purposive sampling; the sample consisted of the 11th and 12th graders of SMA Sedes Sapientie living in school dormitory, dormitory founder, dormitory manager, school dormitory administrator and manger, teacher and headmaster, representative of students' parents and alumni of SMA Sedes Sapientie, and representative of society. Four main informants were employed coming from 4 (four) 11th and 12th male and female graders of SMA Sedes Sapientie. Meanwhile, key informants consisted of 2 persons: dormitory founder and school manager of SMA Sedes Sapientie and 15 supporting informants consisted of 1 headmaster, 2 teachers, 5 consultants, 1 alumnus of SMA Sedes Sapientie, 2 representatives of students' parents, and 4 leaders of Sedes Sapientie community selected to be the informants of research.

Techniques of collecting data used were observation, interview, and documentation. Observation and in-depth interview activities were conducted with informants in dormitory school of SMA Sedes Sapientie, Bedono, Semarang Regency. In addition, the author employed documentation study to complement the process of collecting research data. The author used source triangulation technique to validate the data with data credibility test through observation and interview conducting during the data collection process in the field. This research

employed Miles Haberman's interactive analysis involving field data collection through observation and interview, data reduction in the form of data simplification into important finding points relevant to the concept discussed, concerning the role of institution filtered corresponding to the author's need in doing the research (Djunaidi Ghony and Fauzan Al Manshur, 2014).

Data collected in this study included the effect of inclusive character shaping experienced by the students living in school dormitory of SMA Sedes Sapientie on the students themselves, their parents, and community. The data as displayed in the form of narration and table to facilitate the readers understanding the finding of research. Verification and conclusion drawing included the review on recording and data related to the role of school institution as the inclusive character shaping institution in Sedes Sapientie dormitory, Bedono of Semarang Regency, obtained from the field data. The data was then reinterpreted using the author's view and a conclusion was drawn based on Nobert Elias' figuration theory. From the result of verification, the valid data can be obtained.

4. Results

4.1 The implementation of Inclusive Character Shaping in Dormitory of SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono-Jambu-Semarang Regency

SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono is one of Senior High Schools in Indonesia organizing education using dormitory system with the spirit to develop Christian creed, hope and love without overriding nationality values originating from Pancasila, UUD 1945 (1945 Constitution), *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) and NKRI. The implementation of inclusive character shaping in the Dormitory of SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono has begun since this school's establishment in 1989 and this dormitory was initiated in 1994. This establishment of dormitory-school was inspired by a School Dormitory in Mendut, Magelang, successfully educating students with good character, moreover inclusive character. It can be said that dormitory of SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono represents Mendut School dormitory at that time, creating good habits with daily life dynamics that will be children's character later. Sedes Bedono Dormitory continues vision-mission of Mendut school dormitory held by OSF sisters from the Netherland. It is confirmed by Mr. G.S, one of teachers pioneering the dormitory school and mentoring the dormitory when it began and now serving as the deputy of Headmaster for Curriculum area. He said that:

The inclusive character shaping has been actually conducted since a long time ago, following the vision and mission of Mendut Dormitory School in the past. The predecessor sisters have initiated by organizing students with varying existing dynamics to create a habit that will be the students' character later". And this inclusive character shaping in Sedes Sapientie dormitory is inspired by the presence of Mendut Dormitory in Dutch Colonial Time. For Sedes, the school has been established in 1989 and the dormitory was initiated in 1994 (GS/22/11/2019).

The statement is confirmed by SA, as the Headmaster of SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono, saying "The inclusive character shaping in Sedes Senior High School Dormitory has been existing since a long time ago, following the sisters' vision and mission during Dutch time because this school continued the mission of its predecessor sisters, and then applied it to SMA Bedono dormitory. It departed from the apprehension to address the time challenge. Dormitory school has pattern different from other school, so that dormitory is not only the children's residence but also the place to educate and to shape their character from waking up in the morning to waking up again in the following morning (SA16/11/2019).

Marsudirini Foundation established the school with dormitory to integrated education into dormitory in order to create a life habit for students and in turn will make it a good character, one of which is inclusive character. This inclusive character shaping is attempted through daily life by means of a 100-day-living-in dormitory program for new students: Vision and Mission of Dormitory, technical instruction of living in dormitory, daily habit should begin and be practiced: Waking up in early morning (arranging the bed), taking a morning bath (habit of taking band, put the bathing equipment), early prayer (guided early prayer), breakfast, learning at school, lunch

(togetherness in having breakfast is the expression of fraternity), personal need (washing clothes, ironing, cleaning the environment), evening learning, recreation (adjusting the use of cellular phone and laptop), night learning, introspective journaling, night prayer (Complitarium). Learning strategy: how to make summary, how to make concept map, reading comprehension technique, Natural Science learning is different from Social Science learning. Time Management: Managing daily life, Having personal life program, target to be achieved. Introducing Surrounding Environment: Position of *RT/RW* (Neighborhood Association/Citizen Association), Church Environment, Parochialism, Foster Parents, environment prayer, living environment choir duty, environmental community service. Self-Development: Aptitude and talent, formulating life goal, determining priority scale, managing personal finance. Collective Living Art: Moral and ethic of living together, decorum, health dating. Pastoral: Liturgical Order: adorning altar, choir, reading Holy Book, reading congregation prayer, Service in Church and Service in Community. Scheduled Personal Counseling and Guiding. After the 100-day building program has been completed, it is followed with ongoing formation, by Introducing St. Franciscus Assisi and Madam Magdalena Daemen's Spirituality, Catholicity, Dormitory Tutorial: scheduled and routine, dormitory self-development (the typical characteristics of dormitory), Basic Leadership Training for dormitory administrators, rotation of daily chores in dormitory, social action, spiritual pilgrimage, community gathering (sharing forum).

It is in line with the Manager of Sedes Sapientie Bedono dormitory, Mr. RK, saying "In this SMA Sedes dormitory, the building program starts with the 100-day program by introducing vision and mission of dormitory, practical technical instruction of rule in the dormitory, daily habit beginning to be practiced, learning strategy, time management, introduction of surrounding environment, self-development, collective living art, pastoral, scheduled personal counseling and guiding. Then, it is followed with ongoing formation by Introducing St. Franciscus Assisi and Madam Magdalena Daemen's Spirituality, Catholicity, Dormitory Tutorial: scheduled and routine, dormitory self-development (typical characteristics of dormitory), Basic Leadership Training for dormitory administrators, rotation of daily chores in dormitory, social action, spiritual pilgrimage, community gathering. The elements to be achieved during living in dormitory are: spirituality, personality, personal-interpersonal relation, talent development, academic potency (RK/18/11/2019).

The 100-day program, as the beginning or an entrance into dormitory, becomes an important opportunity and phase. It is in line with Mrs. T.R, the consultant of Female Dormitory, stating "It contains MPLA (Dormitory Environment Orientation Period. In this program a committee is established, consisting of the senior students that will teach their juniors. The new students will be welcomed by staff sorting, and etc up to 100 days. The seniors help the juniors in the early orientation joyfully and voluntarily, by organizing them for 100 days. Therefore, it can be said that this inclusive character shaping has occurred since the time they come into this school and dormitory. Living in dormitory means entering into "*kawah candradimuka* (candradimuka cauldron)", to be forged and shaped through life and daily routine schedule. Living together with others having diverse cultures, races, languages, and religion give them an opportunity of uniting and building NKRI (Republic of Indonesia Unitary State) NKRI". (TR/16/11/2019).

It is also confirmed by Mr. S.S, as the consultant of male dormitory, stating "It begins at 10th grade with a 100-day program, processed with daily life. It is oriented not only to the children but also to parents; there is a peak of event. The 100-day program will effectively introduce vision-mission, technical instruction, environment introduction and etc, and 3 (three) days will not be enough to deliver these materials. The 10th graders are disorganized. Daily life practices are begun in this 100-day program. In this program, children are trained to live separately from their family and from outside world, without cellular phone, without laptop, and etc. It is a habituation and adaptation system. This 10th grade should have stronger foundation, because it is the time to adapt to the learning in school and dormitory. Before entering into this dormitory, parents have been informed about the presence of 100-day program intended to cultivate character, to habituate the children, and to make them focus on this dormitory without intervention from the outside world (SS/18/11/2019).

The 100-day program, as the beginning of character shaping for the dwellers of SMA Sedes Dormitory, introduces the students to vision and mission of dormitory and to learn to interpret the routine daily life. It is a

way of creating an inclusive character: daily prayer/service, environmental prayer, liturgical duty and other spiritual activity. Personality development is conducted through implementing daily life and participating in social activity, developing academic potency, implementing daily learning through learning group, tutorial and practice. Non-academic potency development is conducted through self-development corresponding to the dormitory children's talent and interest. Social development is carried out through family visit, spiritual foster parents, social service, empathy, participation in environmental and social activity. Physical development is conducted through daily life implementation, community service and physical exercises. The statement is justified by RK as the manager of SMA Sedes Bedono dormitory, stating "To shape the children's character and to identify their potency, outboard program. The prospect administrators will be tested using outboard and Basic Technical Training. To see their potency, a test will be held to see whether or not they have initiative and etc. The character shaping is explored through the caretaker building program in 10th grade, live in program in the 11th grade, and retreat program in the 12th grade. There is a diagonal forum between them and consultant (there is a term *ngudoroso* or sharing some problems or grievances). They also participate in social activity through environmental prayer. There must be confession of sin during advent and pre-Easter times. The Christians do not confess their sin but are given opportunity of consulting personally with Romo, sharing anything they have experienced. Independence process is practiced through daily schedule provided. There is rolling system. Bedrooms are mixed when they were on the 11th and 12th grades in big rooms (RK/18/11/2019).

In its implementation, the inclusive character-shaping in Senior High School Dormitory is conducted in an integrated manner through many activity programs in school and dormitory. Considering the result of research observation, students conduct self-development activity in a scheduled manner and routinely in living daily in the dormitory, through a daily picket of learning to cater on fellow friends in dormitory, community service activity, duties in Parochial Church, live in program or the program of living in Buddhist house to experience and to feel the life in Buddhist house replete with rule and life modesty and to learn living with routine and tight prayer. Children think that during living in dormitory, they learn so many things about living together and how they are created to have strong character, one of which inclusive character practiced by means of supporting daily life in dormitory with diverse cultures, languages, characters, and religions, as suggested by AA, one of 12th graders.

In this dormitory, they are trained to build high solidarity feeling by living along with other students having diverse races. They learn to understand the character of their friends each other, thereby can interact with and adapt to them. They also realize that they live in Java and should adapt to this Javanese styles. In the dormitory, I can interact with friends and get many experiences from being surprised with their new friends' character, duration of adaptation, learning their mindset, adapting to their language, to the wish of not losing my identity. Fifty percents (50%) of my friends come from Jakarta, Depok, and etc. I study each of the areas, to find out others' cultures and learn to be more open in order to adapt and socialize more easily. There is rolling program for bedroom use, the 10th graders are assigned in their own room, and the 11th graders are assigned in mixed room. The 2nd semester of 12th graders is assigned in one room. It becomes a training to live along with others without borders. Thus, living in dormitory becomes joyful gradually, because many things are here (AA/20/11/2019).

Similarly, Y C, one of 12th graders said "The routine activity program in dormitory makes me recognizing myself and my friends. In the dormitory, I see people from waking up in the morning to going to bed. We recognize each of individuals' character and gradually are accustomed with how to greet or to express something to each of different persons. We know the characters of people better. In this dormitory, the use of cellular phone is limited to one hour a day, thereby compelling us to be acquainted with, to interact with, and to know each other, so that we can actually know our friends' character. We become like siblings later who are opened to each other in sorrow and happiness, and share life experience (YC/19/11/2019). AD as one of 11th graders said similarly "In this dormitory, there are diverse cultures, religions, characters, and languages. We learn to how to receive openly anything occurring in togetherness. We also learn to know each person with diverse characters and behavior, learn a lot of knowledge, and understand the character of each area. Here I can appreciate others' cultures and character. The limitation of cellular phone use enables me to communicate with fellow students

more intensely and to know each other's character better. Gradually I can enjoy living in the dormitory (AD/19/11/2019).

Considering the observation on document of dormitory building program in SMA Sapientie Bedono, it can be seen that the inclusive character shaping is conducted not only through a variety of activities as aforementioned but also in some stages from 10th, 11th, to 12th grades through Christianity, Routine Weekly, and Annually activities. Sister ANN said "The inclusive character shaping starts with the activities programmed by dormitory prepared gradually from the 10th to 12th grades (ANN19/11/2019). Considering the statement above, the implementation of inclusive character shaping in dormitory school in SMA Sedes Sapiente Bedono, Jambu, Semarang Regency can be seen in the table below.

Table 1. The Implementation of Inclusive Character Shaping in SMA Sedes Sapientie:

No	Building Program	Notes
1	100-day Program (the beginning of entering into 10 th grade)	<p>Introduction of dormitory's vision and mission</p> <p>Technical Instruction of Living in Dormitory</p> <p>Daily habits begin to and must be practiced:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Waking up early (arranging the bedroom) b. Morning bath (bathing habit, putting bathing equipment) c. Morning Prayer (guided morning prayer) d. Morning Learning (Learning is no longer an obligation but it is a need) e. Breakfast (being grateful for the livelihood, being grateful for the ability of eating...) f. Learning in school g. Lunch (.....being grateful for the food provided, togetherness in eating expresses the fraternity) h. Personal utilities: Washing clothes, ironing, cleaning the environment i. Evening learning j. Recreation (adjustment of Cellular phone and laptop handling) k. Night Learning l. Introspective journaling m. Complitarium <p>Learning Strategy:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. How to make summary b. How to make concept map c. Reading comprehension technique d. Natural Science Learning is different from Social Science Learning <p>Time Management</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Managing daily life b. Having personal life program c. Having target to be achieved <p>Introduction of Surrounding Environment</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Position of <i>RT/RW</i>, Church Environment, Parochialism b. Foster Parent c. Environment Prayer, environment choir duty, environment community service <p>Self-Development</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Aptitude and talent b. Formulating life objective, determining priority scale c. Personal financial management

		Collective living art
		a. Moral and ethic of living together
		b. Decorum
		c. healthy dating
		Pastoral
		a. Liturgical Order: Adorning altar, choir, reading holy book, reading community prayer)
		b. Service in Church and Service in Community
		Scheduled personal counseling and guiding
2	Ongoing formation	a. Introducing St. Fransiskus Asissi and Mrs. Magdalena Daemen's spirituality
		b. Catholicity
		c. Dormitory Tutorial: Scheduled and routine
		d. Dormitory Self-Development (typical characteristic of dormitory)
		e. Basic Leadership Training for dormitory administrators
		f. Rotation of daily chores in dormitory
		g. Social action
		h. Spiritual pilgrimage
		i. Community gathering (sharing forum)
3	Spiritual Facilitation Program	Daily prayer /service, environmental prayer, liturgical duty and other spiritual activity
4	Personality Development Program	Implementation of daily life and participation in social activity
5	Academic Potency Development Program	Implementation of daily learning through learning group, tutorial, and practice
6	Non-Academic Potency Development Program	Self development corresponding to dormitory children's talent and interest
7	Social Development Program	Family visit, spiritual foster parent, social service, empathy, participation in environmental and social activity
8	Physical Development Program	Implementation of daily life, community service, and physical exercise
9	Dormitory Rule or Regulation	a. <i>Silentium</i> (creating silent/quiet circumstance: in bedroom, in studying room, etc
		b. Rule and order in bedroom
		c. Having meal together: dormitory children obligatorily have meal together
		d. Picket: daily, weekly, and monthly
		e. Stipulation of dressing
		f. Rule of learning
		g. Talent Development/recreation
		h. Rule of Licensing
		i. The use of bathroom, toilet, and surrounding
		j. The use of Cellular Phone and laptop
		k. The use of money: pocket money
		l. Guest and family visit
		m. Health
		n. Permission to get out of dormitory
		o. Timeliness (discipline)
		p. Spiritual life
		q. Cleanliness, tidiness, and beauty
		r. Social life: polite life
		s. Private property
		t. Physical exercise (sport)
		u. Illicit stuff
		v. Violence
		w. Amoral action

x. Holiday

Source: Primary Data, processed on March 2020

4.2 Effect of Catholic-dormitory school Implementation in creating inclusive character in SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono Dormitory

In SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono dormitory, there is an interactive relationship between one individual and another, so that there is interdependence and transformation or change occurs. Positive change occurring in every individual affects the society positively. Thus, a society with positive character is created, one of which is inclusive character. The positive effect of inclusive character shaping in SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono dormitory can be felt by either individual or parents and society. For example, AA, one of 12th graders said "The change occurs when I go home; formerly I should be waken up by my mom but now I can wake up myself, it is as if there is an alarm in my body, so that I should have waken up at 4.00 o'clock in the morning, and then I take a bath and help My Mom cooking. I show the change to My Mom. There is a progress. I also practice to receive a fair amount of pocket money, to eat whatever is available, to have unpretentious place, the place supporting not to go to mall (AA/19/11/2019).

Similarly, TA, one of 11th graders said "I experience some changes compared with before I entered into a dormitory; when I was in Junior High School, I could not have organized myself, was lazy and just played my cellular phone continuously, and I was organized difficultly. But now I live more independently. I have changed my bad habit into the good one. I am no longer dependent on my parents and can organize and solve my own problem. I learn to be more independent" (TA/19/11/2019)

Another experience is suggested by YC, the 12th grader, feeling "enjoy living in dormitory and happy after a sufficiently long process" (YC/18/11/2019).

Students have some changes during living in dormitory; it is confirmed by the consultant of female dormitory, Mrs. TR/16, saying "Students who have been graduated and continued their study to college feel to be facilitated in writing paper. They are trained to manage their time well, so that they will not delay their job and task and make priority in their life. Many of them have been civil servants. And even some of them still think of reflection (TR/16/11/2019)

It is in line with the consultant of male dormitory, Mr. S S, saying "There are many testimonies from students who have been graduated and then bring their relatives, elder or little brother/sister, or neighbor here; it means that this school becomes more well-known to the community and many youths prefer to be enrolled here. In other words, the building program in Sedes dormitory can affect their life positively, change their life way and lifestyle after attending the building process for 3 years (SS/10/11-2019).

Mr. WN, as the school marketing of SMA Sedes, said that this SMA Sedes develops and becomes well-known for good testimony from the parents of students who have been graduated. Some alumni become governmental officials and successful ones. This school marketing method is the testimony of students and parents. The students having been graduated from this school largely prepare their future life more easily. Dormitory becomes an important part of SMA Sedes school growth (WN/19/11/2019).

It is also confirmed by Mr. G.S, as the deputy of headmaster and founder of dormitory school in Sedes Sapientie in Bedono, stating "The effect of the building program implemented in Sedes dormitory school has been studied scientifically but according to many testimonies, many parents come to find progress for their children, and dormitory is something acceptable to students. Therefore, they eventually prove it by enrolling their children in SMA Sedes. They feel enjoying this output of SMA Sedes. Some of SMA Sedes' graduates become Romo, Sisters, and influential officials contributing well to the society (GS/20/11/2019).

SA, as the headmaster of SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono, has similar experience with the effect of the building program for students of SMA Sedes who live and experience a fairly long process. But those having persistence and strong creed, and learn persistently will find no difficulty when they should socialize with many people, and they can deal with life problems and difficulty. The successful alumni become beneficial people, have good job, and can be role model for their fellows. The progress of school and dormitory can be seen, among others, from the testimony of Sedes Sapientie alumni who have experienced and felt the effect of dormitory's building programs. Generally, students are enrolled in this Sedes dormitory because of their family and surrounding people's testimony. They say positive matters about it, thereby make others interested in coming to SMA Sedes. It is just like a precise marketing strategy. Additionally, when the ones coming to SMA Sedes are alumni's parents or relatives of alumni, their testimony is pure and not artificial (SA16/11/2019).

The testimonies of headmaster, teachers, consultants, and dormitory children are confirmed by RH, an alumnus, whose house is located geographically near the Sedes Sapientie dormitory, saying that: "The impressive effect of character shaping is self discipline in self organization. Self discipline will lead to life harmony. The life value has been clear. Sisters, teachers, and dormitory consultants clearly inculcate the values that should be cultivated later, for example, religiosity value, being spiritual person, being the person who wants to develop affection accompanied with the person recognizing academic talents, and being a person opened to others. Many alumni feel being good person. Majority of them are still impressed with what has been inculcated. Overall, more than 80% of students become good persons. They become integral, strong, inclusive, not-fanatic persons with good character (RH16/11/2029).

The building program implemented in SMA Sedes affects positively not only the students but also their parents. Parents recognize and feel the effect of dormitory building. It is experienced by Mrs. MD, a parent of a student living in dormitory, saying "when my child has not lived yet in dormitory, he is very spoiled and not independent. All of his activities should be helped by parents; clothes and meals should be prepared. Originally it is very hard for me and my child, because the dormitory's rule is very tight. As time goes by, having lived in dormitory, my child becomes more independent and can think maturely in making decision. I am proud of my child as he can be independent and not dependent on others (MD/05/01/20). It is also experienced by Mr. TS, the parent of a student living in dormitory, saying that before living in dormitory, my child tends to be spoiled, but after he has lived in SMA Sedes dormitory, the habit can be disappeared and he tends to be independent, and even he, formerly lazy, becomes hard worker and persistent now (TS/12/01/20).

The community's life is dynamic and characterized with social process. People are not immobile but develop (new) social relations different from those previously. Similarly, people surrounding SMA Sedes Bedono dormitory develop and change from them previously, both economically and religiously, due to the presence of SMA Sedes' students. It is in line with Mr. GS., as the deputy of headmaster, saying "The presence of SMA Sedes improve community economy because many people trade around SMA Sedes. (20/11/2029). It is also confirmed by Mr. LA, as the deputy of headmaster for Students and an alumnus whose houses are located near the Dormitory of SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono, stating "According to surrounding people (my neighbor and friend) say that the students living in dormitory are elite, having money, ignorant, but knowing etiquette. Sedes people said that formerly they worry that the presence of Sedes will be Christian cadre, but in its journey their worry is not proved (LA/19/11/2019).

Sedes people, particularly the Village apparatuses, admitted that the presence of SMA (Senior High School) and dormitory in Sedes affect them positively and even blesses the people surrounding. It is confirmed by Mr. To as the Chief of Hamlet where the Female Dormitory is located:

Wiwit kolo rumiyen, sawek SMA sedes enggal, wargo meniko matur nuwun sanget, bilih dusun Wawar mriki lan kelurahan Bedono wonten pendidikan ingkang langkung inggil meniko sanget matur nuwun. Rikolo semanten wonten gangguan-gangguan kathah. Wonten ingkang badhe ngrusuhi sedes meniko. Kulo padosi sinten meniko, nanging ternyata saking tiyang njawi kampung mriki, tembok-tembok sekolah dipun pelok ngantos reget. Kulo nggih nderek ngamati lan njogo keamanan Sedes. Majeng-mejeng SMA sedes majeng kathi sae. Sedes ugi

mundut tanah saking tiyang kampung mriki, ing sakmeniko dados asrama putri meniko. Kulo piyambak njih nderek pados pegawai bangunan, lajeng kulo ugi nderek mbangun asrama Sedes. Sawek mbangun asrama wonten alangan saking sederek ingkang mboten remen wontenipun asrama Sedes, kelompok agama tertentu [Since the establishment of SMA Sedes, Sedes people were very grateful, as it provides higher level of education. At that time some disturbances occurred, the wall of the school was vandalized, but the actors come from outside village, while the villagers observed that condition and help secure Sedes. This school develops rapidly and can buy the land from Sedes people to build the female dormitory, despite some constraints from a certain religion group who do not like the presence of Sedes dormitory] (TO/28/02/20).

Similarly Mr. AB as the closest neighbor of Male Dormitory said “This school gives Bedono good reputation, because those living in Sedes are students coming from far areas, so this village becomes famous. Bedono becomes well-known for the presence of Sedes students. There are usually pros-cons within society, but because it employs the people surrounding, the employees can be the bridge for the surrounding people. It suggests that Sedes is good (AB/28/02/20). Mr. CR as the Chief of RT 09 said “To me, the existence of Sedes Dormitory has added value. That is, Bedono becomes well-known, because many people from many cities and Islands come to Sedes. Therefore outsiders automatically know the life in Bedono and surrounding and they will tell it to other people when they go home. At least Bedono, coming from the word bedho (failed or failed village), has positive value finally. In principle people view this presence of SMA Sedes Bedono dormitory positively (CR/28/02/20). It is in line with, Mr. S.H. as chief of RT, generally people who are invited to Sedes will be very glad, at that time healthcare service is provided for free, groceries are given for free to people surrounding and they were very glad. During Eid al Fitr, Sedes always take a part in distributing groceries simply to the local people. The distribution is always conducted through RT and RW. People have been accustomed with and known the schedules of Sedes dormitory’s students, for example, what time they get out of dormitory, study, and do recreation. They understand and accept it. If dormitory holds some events, it will always cooperate with the chief of Hamlet, to ask for both security help and approval (SH/28/02/20).

Generally, surrounding people view very positively the presence of Sedes now, as it affects positively the community life. SMA Sedes can also adapt to the environment and is willing to be acquainted and present within the society. Therefore, a good relationship is established between it and members of society. It is suggested by Mr. TO, as the chief of hamlet where the female dormitory is located, stating “Hubungan dusun kaliyan sedes meniko bagus [Sedes has good relationship with the hamlet (village). The students coming from anywhere, moreover those coming from the city to the hamlet are polite as well]. The less supple ones are teachers coming from far area. People in this hamlet have diverse religions, with Islam and Catholic being the majority. If the hamlet holds such events as merti dusun or kadeso, people pray together, and dormitory students participate and are obliged to participate there until today. This hamlet is opened to diversity, and respects the concord between religious communities. There is a fraternity bond. The new dormitory students are expected to be invited to walk around the village to know the village environment. Since its inception, the people express their gratitude to Sedes for the charity (alms) (Islam: sedekah) given to the local people regardless their religion. Sedes often gives alms to the people, for which the people very grateful. Local people invited to Sedes will come there very enthusiastically. The people are very grateful when Sedes holds a fair. They support the existence of Sedes. A meeting should be held between dormitory consultants and local people or RT/RW apparatuses (TO/28/02/20). Mr. AB, a neighbor of Male Dormitory, admitted that “any time Sedes holds an activity it will always invite the people to participate in it, and Sedes students have participated in community activities. Furthermore, Sedes participates in voluntary activity, and even send more students to participate in it (AB/28/02/20).

This experience is confirmed by Mr. SH as the chief of RT stating “Sisters always attempt to be present in social events such as village cleaning, visit of condolence, and etc. Dormitory always attends the invitation to participate in the community activity, such as merti Desa, Independence Day celebration (17an) event, etc. And people welcome the Sedes Dormitory’s students warmly. Sedes contributes financially to the events conducted within society (SH/28/02/20). In addition, to giving Bedono the good reputation and building good relationship between SMA Sedes dormitory’s citizens and community, in fact the presence of SMA Sedes, and moreover its dormitory affects the economy of people surrounding Bedono village positively. It is in line with Mr. SH, as the

chief of *RW* in Male dormitory, saying “Before the presence of Sedes no stall or small store is there. After the presence of Sedes, food stall, coffee shop, ice shop, stationery shop, and photocopy counter emerge there. Bedono Market is very crowded on Sunday due to the presence of Sedes dormitory dwellers shopping there. The sellers’ impression with Sedes students are that they are great, they can buy all products from all sellers, so that the sellers usually have vacation on Sunday remain to open their kiosk to anticipate the coming of Sedes students. The ones going to Bedono Market come from many places and they have known that they are Sedes Dormitory students. Sedes students are rich, so they can buy all products from all sellers, despite in small number. The presence of Sedes also benefits the people, particularly in the term of land price formerly less than one million rupiah increasing to more than one million rupiahs (AB/28/02/20).

The positive economic effect is also confirmed repeatedly by Mr. CR as the chief of RT, saying “Economically it affects positively on culinary sector. Minimarket emerges for children to buy bathing equipments and etc. Bedono is enlivened by Sedes dormitory students. It can also be seen in the market. On Sunday, Sedes dormitory students often hang out with their friends in bakso, bakmi, and gorengan (fried food) kiosk, etc and buy their products. It makes the owner of kiosk happy, and peaceful. There is no longer segmentation since they come to shop in the market. It affects positively the sellers’ economy. Students are willing to shop there without discrimination (CR/28/02/20). The presence of SMA Sedes, particularly dormitory, colors the life of community around Bedono Village. Beautiful and cool nature makes Bedono village’s circumstance chicer because there is a concordance between religious communities and market development in Bedono, moreover on Sunday. In addition, the building program for Sedes students particularly those living in dormitory also affects positively the community. It is admitted by Mr. CR as the chief of RT:

Generally, dormitory dwellers are still on good corridor. From ethical side, Sedes dormitory dwellers (students) are kind, and know etiquette, gratitude, and how to position themselves. Spirituality art is fairly good as indicated with their participation in joint prayer, service in church, and etc” (CR/28/02/20). It is also confirmed by Mr. SH, stating “It departs from the character, making these dormitory dwellers friendly with anyone. This presence of luxurious grand school makes Bedono people and surrounding proud. Sedes gives their village good reputation (SH/28/02/20). Similarly, Mr. TO (Chief of *RW*) stated: *anak-anak asrama meniko ramah, tahu sopan, supel, tahu unggah-ungguh, sinaoso lare kota. Purun srawung kaliyan tiyang ndusun. Pembinaan asrama meniko sae sanget* [dormitory dwellers are friendly, polite, and supple, and know etiquette, although they come from the city. They are willing to interact with rural people. The construction of dormitory brings goodness. I hear that this year at least 90% of students become good people. (TO/28/02/20).

Overall, the construction of SMA Sedes Bedono dormitory affects positively the students themselves, family, and surrounding people. Even it affects positively the community economy around Bedono village. It can be seen from the real and clear testimonies given by students, headmaster, deputy of headmaster, teacher, dormitory consultant, parent, and surrounding people.

Considering the statement above, the inclusive character shaping affects positively themselves, parents, and surrounding people, as shown in the table below.

Table 2. The Effect of Catholic-Dormitory School Organization on the inclusive character shaping among students in dormitory of SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono, their parents, and community

No	Effect	Notes
1	Students	The positive effect of such change concerns the improved personality (character) (being independent, opened to others, and accepting anything just the way it is, appreciating others’ culture, race, language, and religion, making decision bravely, unsurprised and more readily entering outside world including study place, workplace, and other professions). This inclusive character shaping affects the life of those who are willing to be opened to establish fraternity with anyone; there is

		fraternity power among the alumni. They become egalitarian persons. Over 80% of students become better persons. They become integral, strong, inclusive, and non-fanatic persons with good character. They also become mature persons readily developing their talent and competency for the sake of nation and state's advance. They become a true creed witness.
2	Parents	It affects positively the parents, admitting that their children are more independent and can think maturely to make decision, are not dependent on others, become hard worker, and persistent
3	Community	Its give Bedono village the good reputation. The output of building program in Sedes dormitory dwellers can be felt by the community, because the students are friendly, know etiquette (politeness) and how to position themselves, and are willing to interact with surrounding people and anyone. Students interact with anyone without discrimination, for example, they can interact with anyone in the market, regardless their religion and race. The presence of foster parent in community warms the fraternity within them. Moreover, Bedono people are known as diverse community emphasizing on togetherness embracing any classes, races, religions, and cultures and dormitory dwellers can enter into the community situation. Additionally, the effect of character shaping makes students charitable (willing to share with local people, participate in community service as the form of care and contribution to living within society). In addition, the presence of SMA Sedes also affects the community economy. Some stalls or small shops emerge around the dormitory that can improve the community's economic level.

Source: Primary Data processed on March 2020

5. Discussion

The inclusive character shaping in SMA Bedes Bendono dormitory is attempted through daily life and starts with the 100-day program for new students: Vision and Mission of Dormitory, technical instruction of living in dormitory, daily habit should begin and be practiced: Waking up in early morning (arranging the bed), taking a morning bath (habit of taking band, put the bathing equipment), early prayer (guided early prayer), breakfast, learning at school, lunch (togetherness in having breakfast is the expression of fraternity), personal need (washing clothes, ironing, cleaning the environment), evening learning, recreation (adjusting the use of cellular phone and laptop), night learning, introspective journaling, night prayer (Complitarium). Learning strategy: how to make summary, how to make concept map, reading comprehension technique, Natural Science learning is different from Social Science learning. Time Management: Managing daily life, Having personal life program, target to be achieved. Introducing Surrounding Environment: Position of *RT/RW* (Neighborhood Association/Citizen Association), Church Environment, Parochialism, Foster Parents, environment prayer, living environment choir duty, environmental community service. Self-Development: Aptitude and talent, formulating life goal, determining priority scale, managing personal finance. Collective Living Art: Moral and ethic of living together, decorum, health dating. Pastoral: Liturgical Order: adorning altar, choir, reading Holy Book, reading congregation prayer, Service in Church and Service in Community. Scheduled Personal Counseling and Guiding.

After the 100-day building program has been completed, it is followed with ongoing formation, by Introducing St. Francis Assisi and Madam Magdalena Daemen's Spirituality, Catholicity, Dormitory Tutorial: scheduled and routine, dormitory self-development (the typical characteristics of dormitory), Basic Leadership Training for

dormitory administrators, rotation of daily chores in dormitory, social action, spiritual pilgrimage, community gathering (sharing forum).

It is a self development training starting from the simple and programmed one. The inclusive character shaping is practiced through living together along with others with diverse cultures, races, ethnics, economic strata, character, tastes, religions, languages, and habits through the programs above. Such the training and habituation can change every individual living and willing to pass through the process in Sedes Bedono Dormitory. In Figuration theory, Elias states that “Personality is habituated so deeply and strongly, so that it seems to be natural or inherent to themselves, and Elias calls it habitus. It is this habitus that becomes the guidelines of human behavior, but the habitus itself is created and molded continuously in social situations, becoming the part of wider and ever-changing social structure. It is just like what is experienced by students living in SMA Sedes dormitory, in which practices or habituations create good character. Practicing to be a part of fraternity and living together in dormitory educate the students to be the opened person who want to interact with everyone with different background.

Inclusive character is reflected on the attitude to accept, appreciate, respect, and to interact socially with fellows with different racial, cultural, and language background. The output of inclusive character shaping in the dormitory of SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono is recognized and felt by the people seeing the character of dormitory students who are willing to fuse into the society, opened to community environment, mutual cooperation within community, and tolerance to the community.

The dormitory of SMA Sedes Sapientie has developed various character values becoming typical characteristics of school, one of which is inclusive character. The inclusive character shaping has been developed in Sedes Sapientie dormitory by means of cultivating daily routine even in the dormitory and the programs planned in dormitory. There are some dimensions contributing to students’ successful self-character development.

In Figuration theory, Norbert Elias argues that community is put appropriately into historical time: “every member of community existing currently grows from previous community and contains a seed of potential changes in the future” (Elias in Sztompka, 2010: 243).

Community life is identified from two sides: community life constitutes structured social relations (social order). From this aspect, it is assumed that in community life there is a group of people establishing social relationship to meet a variety of needs or interests. They have objective and develop certain strategy through collective agreement and power to remind everyone in order not to deny easily. On the other hand, Elias views community life as dynamic one, characterized with social process. People are not immobile but develop (new) social relations different from those previously.

People are not only silent and submitted to accepting the condition and to social life framing it, but also it develops the opportunity of accepting their wish and belief. Through this opportunity, the people can change the wish and belief along with the shift of distribution and the power relation, affected by social condition occurring in the past, in the present, and the consequence in the future.

All factors determining it becomes a belief that social transformation does not occur suddenly and immediately but due to a variety of social factors. Secondly, the shift of collective attitude and action in social transformation occurs repeatedly and regularly. Such the shift is acceptable to the community as something common or reasonable as it becomes collective desire.

In relation to the figuration theory above, a positive encounter in SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono dormitory results in an interactive relationship between one individual and another, leading to interdependence and transformation among them. Positive transformation in each individual will affect the community positively. Thus, a community with positive character, one of which is inclusive character, is created. The positive effect of inclusive character

shaping in SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono dormitory is felt strongly by individual students, parents and community.

Generally, the character development in SMA Sedes Sapientie Bedono dormitory conducted by consultant in facilitating students to approach personally the students and to give special direction to the children to create and to have good character, particularly inclusive character. Nevertheless, this shaping process is also helped with teachers, parents and surrounding people. Viewed from social behavior, having lived in dormitory and passed through the process, students experience significant change generally and affect themselves, family, and community environment. It can be seen from the testimony of students who experience behavioral change into the better one. Students tend to be more sensitive to social environment existing surrounding, supple, accepting difference, accepting their fellow friends just the way they are, more independent, the self bravely, opened to different culture, religion, race, class, wealth, and character during living in dormitory. There is a strong fraternity bond between friends.

It applies commonness system and loves social environment and bravery to express their opinion and themselves in the activity existing in the dormitory. In addition, some of students' behavior is common, not indicating the change of behavior into the better one, for example, some students do not want to comply with the dormitory's order, are lazy, and less happy, etc.

The effect of building in Sedes dormitory is also recognized by the parents of students, whose children live in dormitory. They said that the effect of Sedes dormitory construction changes students' behavior into the better one, so that they can think critically, make their own decision (not dependent on parent and environment), are disciplined, establish brotherhood/sisterhood with everyone, are more opened to diversity, and accept the life just the way it is (living simply).

The building and development of inclusive character among the students of Sedes Bedono dormitory is highly affected by Bedono villagers' inclusive character (living adjacently with other with different religions peacefully). This positive contribution affects positively the surrounding people. People admit that 90% of graduates or output of Sedes education become good persons, with good character (friendly, knowing etiquette despite urban people, adapting to the village situation during living in the village, having high solidarity, opened to the community, and willing to interact with the citizen, and participating in societal events) despite less comprehensively. People (community) admit that the presence of Sedes affects very positively the surrounding people; at least it gives Bedono Village good reputation. The presence of Sedes can benefit the people, as it exerts economic effect. Some stalls or small shops emerge around it due to the presence of SMA Sedes, particularly its dormitory. The dwellers of Sedes dormitory are shopping in surrounding stalls and in market. The significant change occurs in Bedono market, as it is visited by Sedes students, moreover on Sunday.

The result of character building in SMA Sedes dormitory affects considerably the surrounding people. The people trading around it admit that Sedes students are shopping without discrimination and they come to all sellers and buy their products. There is fraternity, happy, and peaceful circumstance in Bedono market due to Sedes students' straightforwardness and sincerity who want to greet and to interact with anyone. The presence of Sedes students is considered as making the market peaceful, while it is formerly segmented and it makes the market inclusive and opened to anyone's presence.

The inclusive character shaping in religion-based dormitory in SMA Sedes Sapientie affects socially students, parents, and all members of society not only in Bedono and surrounding but throughout Indonesia.

All students having ever studied in Bedono Dormitory come from many areas, either Java or out of Java Island such as Sumatera, NTT, Papua, and Ambon. Social effect resulting is the fulfilled need for personnel readily catering on all areas.

6. Conclusion

Considering the problem and objective specified in this study connected to the finding of research and discussion, overall it can be concluded that the implementation of inclusive character shaping in SMA Sedes Bedono dormitory involves many things designed and implemented in both school and dormitory in integrative learning in school through National Curriculum and Special Curriculum constituting the Curriculum of Development to create life habit to students. This inclusive character shaping is attempted through daily life by means of 100-day program to new students (10th grade) in the first 100-days in dormitory. After the 100-day building program has been completed, it is followed with ongoing formation, by Introducing St. Franciscus Assisi and Madam Magdalena Daemen's Spirituality, Catholicity, Dormitory Tutorial: scheduled and routine, dormitory self-development (the typical characteristics of dormitory), Basic Leadership Training for dormitory administrators, rotation of daily chores in dormitory, social action, spiritual pilgrimage, community gathering.

Overall, the inclusive character shaping in SMA Sedes Sapientie dormitory, conducted either personally or communally, affects students, parents, and community significantly. It can be seen from the testimony of students experiencing behavioral change into the better one. The effect of building in Sedes dormitory is also recognized by the parents of students, whose children live in dormitory. They said that the effect of Sedes dormitory construction changes students' behavior into the better one, so that they can think critically, make their own decision (not dependent on parent and environment), are disciplined, establish brotherhood/sisterhood with everyone, are more opened to diversity, and accept the life just the way it is (living simply). The building and development of inclusive character among the students of Sedes Bedono dormitory is highly affected by Bedono villagers' inclusive character (living adjacently with other with different religions peacefully). This positive contribution affects positively the surrounding people. People admit that 90% of graduates or output of Sedes education become good persons, with good character (friendly, knowing etiquette despite urban people, adapting to the village situation during living in the village, having high solidarity, opened to the community, and willing to interact with the citizen, and participating in societal events) despite less comprehensively. People (community) admit that the presence of Sedes affects very positively the surrounding people; at least it gives Bedono Village good reputation. The result of character building in SMA Sedes dormitory affects considerably the surrounding people. The presence of Sedes students seems to make the market formerly segmented more peaceful and to create an inclusive market circumstance, opened to the presence of anyone, despite some of them not accepting the presence of Sedes students.

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Where is the Church in the Time of COVID-19 Pandemic: Preferring the Poor via G. Gutierrez’ “Liberation” and the Catholic Church’s Social Teaching in the Philippine Setting

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Abstract

In a world where everything seems to be measured in reference to money and economic progress, the problem of poverty becomes an increasingly urgent concern. The experience of poverty is even becoming problematic when the world seemed to be unprepared for times of pandemic. COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in the suffering of the poor more than just a health risk, especially in the Philippine setting. In such a situation, people wonder, where is the church? Most critics of the Catholic Church in the Philippines utilized the social media platform in crying out their denunciation to Catholic Church leaders. It is in this context that the paper explores the ‘Liberation Theology’ of Gustavo Gutiérrez in relation to the Catholic Church’s Social Teaching, whether the experience of poverty and crisis is part of the socio-spiritual responsibility of the church. To do this, the paper utilized the exploratory method of textual analysis. Through examining the text of extant literature on Gustavo Gutiérrez’s Liberation Theology and the Social Teachings of the Catholic Church, the paper constructed a holistic understanding of “Preferential Option for the Poor.” The arguments presented in this paper could serve as the basis for current praxis of the different catholic congregations in the Philippines in mitigating the experience of crisis among Filipino poor amid COVID-19 pandemic.

Keywords: Preferential Option for the Poor, Liberation Theology, Catholic Church, Philippines, COVID-19

1. Introduction

In a world where everything seems to be measured in reference to money and economic progress, the problem of poverty becomes an increasingly urgent concern. Money seems to become the sole impetus for economic activity, and financial gain appears to be the lone goal of continued efforts for industrial efficiency and development. In itself, progress is not inadequate; on the contrary, it is most commendable and must be fostered vigorously. However, the experience of poverty is even becoming problematic when the world seemed to be unprepared for times of pandemic (cf. Denkey, 2015; Lakoff, 2017; Madhav et al., 2017; Sikich, 2018; Arbeláez-Campillo & Rojas-Bahamon, 2020). As reported by World Health Organization (as cited by Sohrabi et al., 2020), the world

experienced another health-related crisis of a spreading virus which treatment is yet to be discovered, the COVID-19 pandemic. COVID-19 was first identified in China last December of 2019 and has contaminated many countries around the globe since then (cf. Lu et al., 2020; Wu & McGoogan, 2020; Zhou et al., 2020). Indeed, the world's nations are grappling with the global health emergency threatening people of all ages and status quo (Casella et al., 2020). Albeit most likely older people as well as those with underlying medical conditions (cf. Guo et al., 2020; Mizumoto et al., 2020; Remuzzi & Remuzzi, 2020; Roser et al., 2020).

COVID-19 also resulted in the suffering of the poor more than just a health risk (cf. Aljazeera, 2020, March; United Nations, 2020, March; United Nations Development Programme, 2020, March; Wright & Harman, 2020, March). Wright & Harman (2020, March) purported that with the health measures needed to contain the pandemic, vulnerable members of the communities are socially and economically affected. Just like in the Philippine setting, after having confirmed the cases of the disease on January 30, 2020, President Rodrigo Duterte signed the Proclamation 922, which placed the entire country under the state of a public health emergency (Philippine News Agency, 2020, March). Health measures are adapted such as but not limited to community quarantine, social distancing and limiting the movement of people including banning of mass transportation, 'work from home' arrangement, and worst, closure of establishment thereby affecting most of the country's working class (cf. Mahusay, 2020; Parmet, 2020; Remuzzi & Remuzzi, 2020; Wilder-Smith & Freedman, 2020; Wu & McGoogan, 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic inevitably slows down the economy as purported by the Secretary of Budget and Finance (as cited by Philippine News Agency, 2020, March). The Department of Labor and Employment (as cited by Philippine News Agency, 2020, March) added that workers who belong to the informal sectors are the most affected members of the society. The problem of poverty coupled with the health crisis rose to an international scale and has become an immediate global concern, affecting not merely individuals but entire nations (cf. Heymann, 2015; Smith, 2015; World Health Organization, 2015; Eriksen, 2018). The so-called "Third World Countries," which are mostly found in Asia and Africa, have become the core of international attention. The clamor for financial aid and economic assistance is louder than ever (World Health Organization, 2015). The problem of poverty and health crisis did not emerge overnight, nor appeared by itself without due cause (Heymann, 2015). Although all entities in all rungs of society have and still decry poverty, it remains an incontrovertible fact that it affects the majority of the world (Eriksen, 2018). Because of this prevalent social disparity, it becomes more imperative that the interests of those who are most affected by this economic imbalance must be given the highest priority (Smith, 2015).

In such a situation, people wonder, where is the church? This statement hurdled over social media like Facebook and Twitter. Most critics of the Catholic Church in the Philippines utilized the social media platform in crying out their denunciation to Catholic Church leaders (Manila Times, March, 2020). It is in this context that the paper explores the 'Liberation Theology' of Gustavo Gutiérrez in relation to the Catholic Church's Social Teaching, whether the experience of poverty and crisis is part of the socio-spiritual responsibility of the church. Moreover, this paper relates these teachings to the current praxis of the Catholic Church's different congregations in the Philippine setting to mitigate the experience of crisis among Filipino poor.

It is the aim of both Gustavo Gutiérrez and the Social Teachings of the Catholic Church to unfetter man with the onerous and humiliating burden of poverty and crisis. The poor and underprivileged cannot fulfill this process of "Liberation" by themselves. The inability of the poor and disadvantaged to improve their social condition placed an unwavering role of the church to assist the poor in their struggle for "Liberation." This "duty" is neither a mere prescription of religion nor a simple appeal to emotion. It is, first and foremost, an intrinsic ethical obligation. Driven by the Christian call to charity, the necessity for a "Preferential Option for the Poor" is thus created. It is the poor who are the most in need of "Liberation," and yet they are the least capable of effecting this; it becomes necessary to assist them in their aim. Saint John Paul II, in his encyclical *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, mentions the necessity of taking the poor into account in the creation of decisions that affect society and the appropriation of goods. Thus, this paper would establish that the Catholic Church in the Philippines decried the experience of poverty and crisis as trying situations since these experiences demean the dignity of the human person. This

“unfettering” of the heavy chains of poverty and crisis has been effectively called “Liberation.” In this regard, Gutiérrez says that liberation is not merely economic freedom and financial stability. Still, most of all, it is “liberation from all that limits or keeps man from self-fulfillment, liberation from all impediments to the exercise of his freedom.”

2. Method

The paper utilized the exploratory method of textual analysis. Through examining the text of extant literature on Gustavo Gutiérrez’s Liberation Theology and the Social Teachings of the Catholic Church, the paper constructed a holistic understanding of “Preferential Option for the Poor.” The arguments presented in this paper could serve as the basis for current praxis of the different catholic congregations in the Philippines in mitigating the experience of crisis among Filipino poor amid COVID-19 pandemic.

3. Preferring the Poor and G. Gutiérrez’ Liberation Theology

It must be noted that the concept of the “Preferential Option of the Poor” cannot be clearly extricated from Gustavo Gutiérrez’ Theology of Liberation (cf. Buffel, 2015; Robeck; Vellem, 2017; Richard, 2018). First and foremost, the entire theological and philosophical work of Gutiérrez is geared towards a full “Liberation” of the poor. Holden et al. (2017) purported that Liberation Theology caters to the needs of the poor and acknowledges the eminence and priority of the poor in the scheme of socio-economic development. In other words, the “Preferential Option for the Poor” is subsumed in the encompassing idea of “Liberation.”

Gutiérrez (as cited by Tibur, 2016) draws an eloquent analogy that defines the nationhood of the Israelites, God’s chosen people, and by extension, the identity of the Christian believer. Gutiérrez opined that Christian people are the theological successors to the Israelite nation of the Old Testament (Tibur, 2016). Since the new covenant instituted by Jesus Christ during his Passion and death effectively supersedes the old covenant instituted by God with the Israelites through Abraham (Tibur, 2016).

Moe (2016) added that Gutiérrez believed that God Himself has always had a loving preference for the poor. Gutiérrez (as cited by Wiryadinata, 2018) claimed that Yahweh is the protector of the poor...defense of the poor is the ineradicable seal that permanently marks the covenant. The “Preferential Option for the Poor” is the affirmation of the Christian identity and the bond which links the Divine to man. God’s preference for the poor does not only mean a passive love for them but more importantly, God Himself intervenes in the course of history to liberate the poor (Corrin, 2017). For Gutiérrez (as cited by Gounopoulos, 2017), God commits himself to the people; therefore, God intervenes in history as their liberator and avenger, in order to establish justice and righteousness.

“Liberation Theology” has always taken upon itself the duty to voice out the cries of the parched throats of the poor, dying and miserable of the society (Wiryadinata, 2018). Gutiérrez (as cited by Wiryadinata, 2018) believed that the perspective of the theology of liberation spoke the language of subjugated peoples, of exploited classes, and of despised races and marginalized cultures. More than anything else, the “Preferential Option for the Poor” is a positive discrimination for and towards the poor. Gutiérrez takes time to explain the term “Preferential Option for the Poor” in relation to the emerging social awareness. Gutiérrez (as cited by Buffel, 2015; Jorgenson, 2019; Kotzé, 2019) said that the expression ‘preferential option for the poor’ emerged from within Christian communities. At the same time it is also a concretization of the tripartite nature of “Liberation” (Corrin, 2017). On one hand, ‘poor’, refers to victims of material poverty. On the other hand, ‘preferential’ is inspired by the notion of spiritual childhood or the capacity to accept the will of God in our lives. While, ‘option’ relates to the idea of commitment that means solidarity with the poor and rejection of poverty as something contrary to the will of God.

The Christian idea of “Preferential Option for the Poor” is not something foreign to the consciousness and theology of the Catholic Church. Gustavo Gutiérrez, acknowledges the fact that the “Preferential Option for the Poor” is pivotal to Catholic Social thought, it is a perspective which is widely accepted in the teaching of the universal

Church (cf. Buffel, 2015; Jorgenson, 2019; Kotzé, 2019). Gutiérrez, in his quest to reinvent and re-contextualize this deep-rooted idea, touches on the fundamental aspect of solidarity with the poor and the underprivileged. Gutiérrez extensively discusses the Church's role as a more authentic and radical witness of poverty (cf. Kleeb, 2015; Walatka, 2015; Shannahan, 2019). In Biblical Exegeses, poverty has become a faithful way of imitating the poor Christ. Similar to the Franciscan movement, which aimed for a more truthful expression and emulation of Christ's teachings, the call for poverty and solidarity with the poor has had found its own expression reflecting the spirit of a particular day and age.

For Gutiérrez (as cited by Comber, 2015; Hesselms & Teubner, 2017; Mong, 2017), poverty encompasses economic, social, and political dimensions. It is certainly more than all that, poverty means death, an unjust death, and the premature death of the poor. The *prima facie* manifestation of poverty is, of course, material and economic; but despite this seemingly purely materialistic and limited conception of poverty, there are deeper and more important things at stake. What is ultimately at stake is life itself. Gutiérrez, meanwhile, describes "preference" as an implication of "the universality of God's love, which excludes no one (Hesselms & Teubner, 2017). Contrary to the initial impression it makes, God's "preference" is not a bias nor is it an exclusivist form of particularism (Comber, 2015). One must never forget that the love of God is always universal. Gutiérrez offers a clarification of his use of the word "preference". Senander (2015), quoting Gutiérrez, said that God's love has two dimensions, the universal and the particular; and while there is a tension between the two, there is no contradiction. God's love excludes no one. Nevertheless, God demonstrates a special predilection toward those who have been excluded from the banquet of life. The word '*preference*' recalls the other dimension of the gratuitous love of God—the universality.

In this context, Gutiérrez' philosophy, the "Preferential Option for the Poor" entails a genesis of human consciousness and the gradual liberation of man (Hesselman & Teubner, 2017). This particular form of "Option for the Poor" is a praxis-oriented human struggle for "Liberation." The poor in society – those who are most in need of "Liberation," are at the same time incapacitated by the unjust burden of poverty which society imposes upon them. This why there must be a more decided and direct thrust in favor of the oppressed, encouraging them to break with their present situation and take control of their own destiny (Hesselman & Teubner, 2017). The poor must be given a chance, aided by society and the Christian community to emerge from the depths of abysmal wretchedness and ascend into the vast horizon of teleological fulfillment and human equality (cf. Buffel, 2015; Jorgenson, 2019; Kotzé, 2019).

The concrete expression of the Preferential Option for the Poor" is encapsulated by Gutiérrez (as cited by Comber, 2015): "It is not enough to say that love of God is inseparable from the love of one's neighbor. It must be added love for God is unavoidably expressed *through* love for one's neighbor." Similar to the Augustinian (as cited by White, 2015; Russell, 2018) maxim "Love, and do what thou wilt," Gutiérrez intimates that a real and sincere love of God undeniably and inescapably manifests itself. Through which the love for one's neighbors, especially the poor, to whom Christ has a close and enduring affinity. Finally, the "Preferential Option for the Poor" fulfills an Evangelical and an Eschatological function. The "Preferential Option for the Poor" announces a "Gospel of Liberation," a realization of the Kingdom in history, and as such an announcement of the fullness of the Kingdom which is beyond history (cf. Puggioni, 2016; Boer, 2017; Jorgenson, 2019).

4. Preferring the Poor and the Social Teaching of the Catholic Church

The "Preferential Option for the Poor" is not a foreign concept in Catholic Social Thought (cf. Thompson, 2015; O'Brien & Shannon, 2016; Schlag, 2017; McKenna, 2019). In a statement given by Pope John Paul II (as cited by Twomey, 2017) to the Workers of Ecuador, he says that "[t]he problem of frequent injustice and the exploitation of work has long been a concern of the Catholic Church... as an integral part of her mission, she can and must always proclaim the moral, human, and Christian principles and values of social life." One may argue that these social issues are first and foremost under the purview of sociology, politics, and economics. The Catholic Church, being the Mother and Teacher of all peoples identify with the suffering and the hardships of all men, especially

the poor. As Pope John XXIII (as cited by Sison et al., 2016) says, “the Apostolic See had come out strongly in defense of the earthly interests of the poor.”

It has always been an enduring duty of the Catholic Church to speak out for and on behalf of the poor. John Paul II aptly defined the modern role and contemporary social mission of the Catholic Church (Sánchez & Polga-Hecimovich, 2019). The Pope, the Church, and her hierarchy want to continue to act on behalf of the poor, their dignity, their elevation, their rights as persons, and their aspirations to a social justice that can no longer be delayed (McKenna, 2019). The Catholic Church recognizes the role of the Church *for* the Poor. The document released by the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, under Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger (Benedict XVI) entitled “*Libertatis Nuntius*,” which is commonly cited as one of the greatest critiques of the more liberal strains of “Liberation Theology,” does not deny the importance of the cause of “Liberation Theology.” On the contrary, the document underlines the mission of the Church to combat injustice and oppression in any form, not merely economic. Ratzinger (as cited by Spieker & Lutz, 2018) said that the Church intends to condemn abuses, injustices, and attacks against freedom, wherever they occur and whoever commits those. The Church intends to struggle, by her own means, for the defense and advancement of the rights of humankind, especially of the poor (Spieker & Lutz, 2018).

The Catholic Church’s unwavering solidarity and defense of the poor are visible in the history of Social Teachings. Leo XIII’s *Rerum Novarum* extensively treats the problems of labor, wages, private property and human dignity, all in the context of the poor working man (Waterman, 2016). The succeeding encyclicals of subsequent popes have always dealt with these topics and more in the context of the age and time it was written. Paul VI, in his encyclical *Populorum Progressio* calls for coordinated international measures to relieve not merely single populations but entire nations of the problem of poverty (Heidt, 2017). The present collective feeling of apathy and indifference has been condemned by Paul VI as the ‘sickness of the world’ (cf. Aina, 2017; Heidt, 2017; Pfeil, 2018; Mengès-Le Pape, 2019). Paul VI (as cited by Heidt, 2017) said that the world is sick with illness consists less in the unproductive monopolization of resources by a small number of men than in the lack of brotherhood among individuals and peoples. Mengès-Le Pape (2019) opined that there must be a reawakening of the Christian sense of compassion and empathy with the poor. It is not enough to merely acknowledge the fact and existence of poverty, but more importantly to act for its eradication. In order to realize this, the society must have a sense of justice and an understanding of what is due to the human individual (Aina, 2017).

For Saint Thomas Aquinas (as cited by Fastiggi, 2019) defined justice as the constant and firm will to give what is due to God and neighbor. Poverty is an unjust and immoral state for a human being to be in (Fastiggi, 2019). Man must live in accordance to his dignity and status as a being “created in the image and likeness of God.” It is necessary therefore to accord to man what is *justly* due to him. Saint Augustine (as cited by Cort, 2020) added that the superfluities of the rich are the necessities of the poor... when you possess superfluities, you possess what belongs to others. Charity, therefore, is not so much as an option but an obligation (cf. Knowles & Servátka, 2015; Taylor, 2015; Pummer, 2016; Goodin, 2017; Moran, 2017). When someone gives alms to the poor they are not simply practicing Christian charity, but more importantly, they are rehabilitating to the poor what is rightly theirs (Pope, 2015). When we attend to the needs of those in want, we give them what is theirs, not ours. More than performing works of mercy, we are paying a debt of justice (cf. Brady, 2018; Lucas, 2018; Matthews, 2019; Regan, 2019). The Vatican Council II document *Apostolicam Actuositatem* (as cited by Nagei, 2019) claimed that what is already due in justice is not to be offered as a gift of charity. This notion of justice and charity underlies the solidarity of the Church with the poor (Nagei, 2019). Society does not owe it to the poor to be charitable, but instead, society owes it to itself to fulfill its just obligation. As pronounced by St. John Paul II (as cited by Sanders & Communism, 2017), “love for others, and in the first place love for the poor, in whom the Church sees Christ himself, is made concrete in the promotion of justice.”

The Second Vatican Council also recognizes the role of the Church as being a Church not merely *for* the poor, but also for a Church *of* the poor. It must be noted that the term “Church” is used in its broadest and most fundamental sense. “Church” here does not only refer to the hierarchy, but also the entire faithful community. The Catholic Church does not only recognize the abstract economic, sociological, philosophical and theological concept of

poverty in the intellectual level. More importantly, the Catholic Church knows and feels the suffering of the poor in their daily struggle for existence. The Catholic Church does not merely sympathize with the poor; but also identifies with the poor and is among the poor. Albeit, this does not imply that the hierarchy and the clergy are to be exempt from the commitment of poverty shared by the lay faithful. On the contrary, it means the poverty of the clergy themselves. The clergy, in their role as evangelizers of peoples, must preach not only by words, but more importantly by example.

In church document, *Presbyterorum Ordinis* (as cited by De Mey, 2018), the clergy are invited to embrace voluntary poverty to become more clearly conformed to Christ. Furthermore, the Catholic Church warns against abusing the ecclesiastical office for personal gains. Clergies are not to regard the ecclesiastical office as a source of profit and are not to spend the income accruing from it to increase their private fortunes (*Presbyterorum Ordinis*, as cited by De Mey, 2018). It is very important to note that the Catholic Church is one of the heavily criticized religious institutions in terms of wealth acquisition (cf. Rose, 2015; Mich, 2016; McLoughlin, 2017). In a document of the Second Episcopal Conference of Latin America (as cited by Luciani, 2018), the notion that the Hierarchical Church is rich is due to misunderstanding and sensationalizing by media-propaganda rather than a genuine understanding of the structure and workings of the Catholic Church. Many causes have contributed to creating this impression of a rich hierarchical church. The great buildings, the rectories, and religious houses that are better than those of the neighbors, the often luxurious vehicles, the attire, inherited from other eras, have been some of those causes. All this has helped substantiate the argument that the church is rich (Luciani, 2018).

The misunderstanding of the Catholic Church's richness is a misleading pointer that leads people to assume that the Catholic Church is living a life of hypocrisy and contradiction. But a further investigation and a more holistic approach to this issue will banish these presuppositions and create a more evenhanded comprehension of the truth behind the perceived grandeur of the Catholic Church. There is also a prevailing sentiment among the poor that the bishops and the clergy are not wholly fully aware and cognizant of the truth and pain of poverty because they have the necessities of life and a certain security (Luciani, 2018) which the poor do not have. This further contributes to the increasing alienation of the poor faithful to the seemingly elite clergy. The Catholic clergy and the whole Catholic Church must bear a genuine witness to the poverty of Christ and to live their vows of obedience, chastity and poverty in a more concrete way (Luciani, 2018). The poverty of the church ought to be a sign and a commitment of the inestimable value of the poor in the eyes of God, and obligation of solidarity with those who suffer (Luciani, 2018). In order to fully understand the suffering of the poor, the Church and the clergy must "make theirs the problems of the poor" (Luciani, 2018). Moreover, the document of Second Episcopal Conference of Latin America (as cited by Luciani, 2018) exhorted that the religious communities; that in consonance with their respective charisms, ought to witness to the poverty of Christ. We encourage those who feel themselves called to form from among their members small communities, truly incarnated in the poor environment. The Church, carrying on the work of Christ, 'who made himself poor for us, being rich in order to enrich us with his poverty,' will present before the world a clear and unmistakable sign of the poverty of her Lord (Luciani, 2018).

In the decree *Optatam Totius* (as cited Manea, 2016), Catholic clergies are expected to bear witness in a concrete way. Embracing unity which draws man to Christ by taking the likeness of Christ and forming the habit of drawing close to him in every detail of one's life (Manea, 2016). Furthermore, *Optatam Totius* decrees that the priests should focus their ministry and activity especially among the poor, little children, the weak, sinners and unbelievers (Manea, 2016). The call and commitment of the Church to poverty are always misunderstood and carried to unparalleled extremes. Some people assert that the Church should be completely destitute and totally pauperized. What they miss is that they are focusing merely on the external and vestigial manifestation of poverty rather than the greatest and most important form of poverty of all – Spiritual Poverty. Similar to that fact that some Liberation Theologians (although not Gutiérrez) focus excessively on emancipation from material and economic poverty, without considering the greatest chain which incarcerates humanity – sin.

5. The Praxis of Preferential Option for the Poor in the time of COVID-19 in the Philippine Setting

It is not difficult to see the underlying and fundamental *teleological* similarities of Gutiérrez’s “Liberation Theology” and the Catholic Church’s “Social Teachings.” Both ideas aim to free humanity from the unjust and unnatural bondage imposed upon them by unfair and immoral circumstances. Indeed, both views speak of “Liberation” as the ultimate reflection of the “Preferential Option for the Poor.” Preferring the poor is the most critical and far-reaching similarity that binds the two ideological positions together. ‘Theology of Liberation’ refers first of all to a special concern for the poor and the victims of oppression, which in turn begets a commitment to justice (Pulido, 2016). When corporate social responsibility moved all types of institutions to halt the spread of COVID-19 virus, a patchwork of effort by different religious congregations, parishes of different dioceses, non-profit foundations of the Catholic Church in the Philippines to combat the havoc of the pandemic. COVID-19 pandemic threatens to break the frayed fabric of distressed and impoverished families and communities in the country. From this perspective, the pandemic seemed to be another oppressor of the poor. With the COVID-19, the poor and the elderly are the most vulnerable. Such a trying time, called the church to move by doing concrete acts of charity by sharing resources with those who need it the most. In the report of Inquirer (2020, March), parishes within the Archdiocese of Manila have pledged to offer the use of their facilities and transportation services to help health workers fighting the pandemic. Catholic churches and schools are opened to homeless while a number of religious congregations are organizing donations to help the government provide the basic commodities to the ‘least, last and lost’ in society (see Figure 1 to 6).



Figure 1. Sisters of Charity of St. Charles Borromeo cut their food allowance to aid to poor households in Tagaytay City, Philippines. Photo retrieved from Facebook.



Figure 2. A Camillian brother bringing food relief for the affected impoverished family in Quezon City, Philippines. Photo retrieved from Facebook.



Figure 3. Bishop Jose Dialogo of Sorsogon, Philippines bakes bread for frontliners. Photo retrieved from Facebook.



Figure 4. Caritas Manila volunteers help packing food bags to poor families affected by the enhanced community quarantine in Metro Manila. Photo retrieved from Facebook.



Figure 5. A Franciscan priest gives a grocery voucher from Caritas Manila to a family in Sampaloc, Manila. Photo retrieved from Facebook.



Figure 6. A Catholic school serves as temporary shelter for homeless and frontliners. Photo retrieved from Facebook.

As opined by Bishop Raul Dael of Tandag, Philippines, “what is happening all around is a unique moment in our history as a Church. The pandemic crisis is an opportunity to serve the Church in a more creative manner. To serve without counting the cost and to give without expecting for a reward.” The clergy are spurred to social action and involvement and the laity is called to create a more just and equitable social arrangement, which caters to the needs of the poor, the sick and the dying. In consonance with this mission to preach the “Gospel of Liberation,” Gutiérrez and the Catholic Church talks of the importance of assisting the poor in the quest of their own “Liberation.” Those subject to “Liberation,” i.e. the poor, should not be passive bystanders, but active participants in the “Liberating” process. The lay people are called to participate although following some healthy measures like social distancing and wearing face mask. They participate by showing acts of charity and solidarity including selfless service as medical personnel, provider of basic services, law enforcement personnel and agents of pastoral care (Vatican News, 2020, April). These acts of charity and solidarity are exemplary to Catholic of how ordinary lay people, outside the church hierarchy, put their faith into action and live as missionary disciples.

Moreover, Gutiérrez’ “Theology of Liberation” and Catholic Social Teachings also similarly espouse a Church which is not only *for* the poor, but more substantially, a Church *of* the poor. To be able to more effectively bear an authentic witness to the poverty of Christ, the Church and its hierarchy are encouraged to voluntarily embrace a life of poverty, both economic and spiritual (cf. Hesselmanns & Teubner, 2017; De Mey, 2018; Wiryadinata, 2018). Unlike the form of economic poverty spoken of earlier, which is an outrageous and manifest sin, the economic poverty which the Church calls for is living a simple life, with enough material resources for a decent lifestyle befitting the clerical state. The second form of poverty, which Gutiérrez and the Church ask of the Catholic clergy, is “Spiritual Poverty.” This form of poverty entails a child-like surrender of one’s self and trusting fully in the benevolence of the Lord. Both the Church and Gutiérrez do not undermine and ignore the virtue of poverty, especially among the clergy. Once again, the challenge to put this teaching into praxis amid pandemic is enormous. The church hierarchy of clergies must stand as servant-leaders. As Cardinal Luis Antonio Tagle (as cited Union of Catholic Asian News, 2018, July) puts it, “to always live with the poor.” More than remaining as prayer warriors, there are religious congregations which members served as medical frontliners and opened the doors of the Parishes and Catholic Schools to homeless. Archbishop Socrates Villegas (as cited by Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines [CBCP] News, 2020a, March) of Lingayen-Dagupan, Philippines, pronounced that those who care for the sick have become the face of Jesus to them. As directed by Bishop Broderick Pabillo, Apostolic Administrator of the Archdiocese of Manila, Philippines, in his pastoral letter, (CBCP News, 2020b, March) “to take care of the sick in our families and communities... for they are weak and vulnerable for infection. Let us remember the words of Jesus: ‘I was sick and you take care of me’ (Mt. 25:36)”.

The COVID-19 pandemic has tested the ability of the church to put its social teaching into practice. As uttered by John Carr, a moral test that requires valuing human life and dignity when the scale of suffering, death, tension, division, and isolation examines who we are, what we believe, and what type of society we are becoming (Crux, 2020, March). Thus, the COVID-19 pandemic becomes an opportunity for the church to renew its vocation to serve.

6. Conclusion

When they ask, “where is the church in the time of pandemic?” they are actually looking for God. The Church in the trying times of COVID-19 pandemic struggles to renew its calling as a servant-leader. Through putting its social teaching into practice, the Church is not only *for* the poor but more substantially, a Church *of* the poor. By preferring the poor, the Church strengthens the whole community by assisting those who are the most vulnerable. Indeed, the underlying and fundamental *teleological* similarities of Gutiérrez’ “Liberation Theology” and the Catholic Church’s “Social Teachings” is anchored on love to the hungry, the needy, the homeless, and those without hope amid the COVID-19 pandemic.

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European & American Think Tanks and the Reality of US-China Trade War: An NPF Application

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Abstract

NPF probes into a policy narrative and answers questions about who are the heroes, villains and victims? How does the narrative deploy plot, causal mechanisms and symbolic languages to register meaning and reflect policy realities? Applying NPF to explore four Western European and American think tanks' narratives about US-China trade war in 2018, this study aims to construct the reality of this trade war through making comparison of the different narrative elements, strategies and underlying belief systems used in their narratives. This study finds that their divergent casting of heroes and victims, their differences in the employment of plot, causal mechanism and symbolic languages reflect the divergence of their economic and diplomatic interests, as well as different interpretations of the nature of this trade war. This study also shows think tanks' narratives are valuable policy inputs and desirable to conduct NPF analysis.

Keywords: Narrative Policy Framework, Think Tanks, Trade War, Tariff, Multilateral Rule-Based System

Introduction

In complex foreign policy context, narratives are deployed to legitimize or analyze policy moves. NPF provides theoretical means to disaggregate the component elements of policy narratives, examine how they vary, identify patterns, and reveal the deep-structures behind the narratives. Think tanks are unique forces in policy making arena, serving as “bridge between the academic and policymaking communities.” (McGann, 2007) They have increasingly become “fixtures of the national policy-making scene.” (Medvetz, 2012) This research explores how four Western European and American think tanks' policy experts and U.S.-China relation specialists employ their narratives to discuss and examine Trump Administration's trade policy with China and how they view its consequences.

With \$250 billion worth of US imports from China and \$110 billion worth of US exports to China being subject to tariffs initiated in 2018 (USCC, 2018), it is easy to ignore the fact that the United States and China have been top trading partners for years. It is easy to forget that while trade relations between the two economies have not been always smooth, they have not only managed to withstand the ebb and flow but also act as anchors when politics made them drift apart. 2018 and 2019 were bumpy for U.S.-China trade relations. Fortunately, after these

on-and-off negotiations, the US China phase one Economic and Trade Agreement went into force on Feb. 14, 2020. However, “average US tariffs on imports from China will remain elevated at 19.3 percent. These tariffs are more than 6 times high than before the trade war began in 2018.” (Bown, 2019) So, what happened? What was the reality full of sound and fury, signifying something?

Policy Issue: U.S.-China Trade War

In speech after speech during his campaign and later as president-elect, President Trump was recklessly bashing China and scapegoating China (Schell, 2015; Prasad 2017). He argued that China was “raping” the U.S. economy through unfair practices and accused China of manipulating its currency to gain an advantage in its exports even if his accusations were “disconnected from reality and not supported by the facts.” (Prasad, 2017) He claimed he would slap a big tariff on Chinese exports to America. “He singled out China as a trade scofflaw, and the prospects of a trade war are higher than ever.” (Kennedy, 2016) He also filled his trade team with China hawks: Robert Lighthizer, the Deputy USTR under President Reagan and a long-time critic of China’s trade practices; Peter Navarro, who “closely shaped Trump’s strident rhetoric on China” during his campaign, and who is the author of *Death by China* and *Crouching Tiger*, which have used hyperbolic language and demagogic images to arouse “media attention and sought political fame” (Chan, 2017), also whose views about China “is not just simplistic, it is wrong and dangerous” (Davidson, 2016); and Wilbur Ross who went to war against Chinese steelmakers in the early 2000s. “The core combination of Lighthizer, Navarro, and Ross view trade as being a zero-sum game about winners and losers,” said Joshua Meltzer (2017), a senior fellow at the Brookings Institute. The hawkish appointment signals “a return to the Reagan era of unilateral trade policy,” Sharyn O’Halloran (2017), a political economics professor at Columbia University, told *Business Insider* (Smith, 2017). *New Yorker’s* Adam Davidson believes “Navarro takes commonly held views about China into radical terrain.” (2016) The report “Trade, Regulatory & Energy Policy Impacts” co-authored by Peter Navarro and Wilbur Ross was mocked by the economists on the left and right. Harvard economist Greg Mankiw said the analysis was really disappointing and he wrote in his blog: “it misunderstood things even a freshman at the end of ec10 knows” (Davidson, 2016).

As President, Trump backpedaled on much of his anti-China rhetoric during his campaign and followed a much conventional way of dealing with U.S.-China relations. But in August 2017, President Trump directed the United States Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer to decide whether to investigate China’s practices and actions that may be harming American intellectual property, innovation and technology development and On Aug. 18, 2017 the USTR officially initiated an investigation of the People’s Republic of China regarding intellectual property rights and technology transfer under Section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974, which past administrations have not used liberally for fear of retaliations against U.S. trade.

Subsequently, on December 18, 2017, the Trump administration published its National Security Strategy (NSS), within which China was characterized as “strategic rival” and “revisionist power” that not only “challenges American power, influence and interests,” but also “attempts to erode American security and prosperity.” The NSS believes China-U.S. rivalry extends to every geographic region, from the Indo-Pacific, the Atlantic to Africa, and each common domain from outer space to cyberspace. (2017) The NSS’s “China complex” also focused on the nature of Beijing and Washington’s competition, which said: “China seeks to displace the United States in Indo-Pacific region, expand the reaches of its state-driven economic model.” (2017) Brookings Institute’s Daniel Drezner warned about its mercantilist tendency when he wrote in a *Washington Post* article “the foreign economic policy side of the NSS sounds very Trumpian, with its mercantilist warnings of economic aggression and repeated pronouncements that it is a competitive world out there.” (2017) On the trade front, the “American first bilateralism” on the basis of “cost-benefit calculation as to how each relationship works in America’s perceived economic or political interest” signals that 2018 would be difficult for America’s trade partners especially China because trade was mentioned 45 times and competition/competitor 58 times in the NSS. (Stokes, 2018) Brookings’s Joshua Meltzer wrote for *The Hill*, “Political considerations that stayed Trump’s hand on trade no longer exist, in particular the focus on repealing the Affordable Care Act and passing corporate tax cuts; there is a growing political imperative for Trump to show more aggressive trade action.” (2018)

The first major trade action against China came at the beginning of the year 2018, when the US announced a 30% tariff on imported solar panels—most of which come from China—and taxes on large residential washing machines starting at 20%.

On March 9, 2018, Trump followed through on the tariffs recommended by the Commerce Department on the basis of Section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 to address the perceived threat to national security, taxing steel imports at 25% and imported aluminum at 10%. Among countries not exempted from the tariffs, China is the top supplier of aluminum, though the steel supply only accounts for 3.5% of total U.S. imports.

On April 3, 2018, in response to the August 2017 investigation into Chinese intellectual property practices, the US Trade Representative proposed a 25% tax on close to 1,334 Chinese goods from the aerospace, machinery and medical industries.

On July 6, 2018, the US Customs and Border Protection (CBP) began collecting a 25 percent tariff on 818 imported Chinese products (List 1) valued at US\$34 billion—giving effect to the first round of tariffs, which were revised and announced on 15 June 2018. Meanwhile, the second round of tariffs discussed in List 2 is under review, which proposed implementing a 25 percent tariff on 284 Chinese products (worth US\$16 billion). Commodities targeted in this round of tariffs included: iron or steel products, electrical machinery, railway products, instruments and apparatus.

On July 10, 2018, the USTR released a third list of tariffs (List 3) of over 6,000 commodities originating in China (worth US\$200 billion), which would be subject to a 10 percent tariff. On August 2, 2018, the USTR, under the direction of Trump, considered a 25 percent tariff rather than a 10 percent one on List 3, which was originally announced on 10 July 2018. The list targeted approximately US\$200 billion worth of goods and included categories such as: consumer products, chemical and construction materials, textiles, tools, food and agricultural products, commercial electronic equipment and vehicle/automotive parts.

On August 23, 2018, US implemented a 25 percent tariff on 279 goods originating from China (worth US\$16 billion). Goods targeted include semiconductors, chemicals, plastics, motorbikes and electric scooters.

On Sept. 17, 2018, U.S. announced 10 percent tariff on \$200 billion of Chinese exports effective Sept. 24 until the end of 2018, to rise to 25 percent afterward. Thus, the U.S. had already put tariffs on \$250 billion in Chinese goods — and had threatened duties on double that value of products. Beijing had responded with tariffs on \$110 billion in U.S. goods targeting politically important industries such as agriculture.¹

The U.S. business groups had already felt the pressure. On Sept. 13, 2018, “the largest U.S. business groups in China pleaded with Trump to cease fire.” Nearly two-thirds of more than 430 U.S. companies in China said the Trump tariffs had damaged their business according to a survey conducted by the American Chamber of Commerce in Beijing and Shanghai while President Trump insisted “he was under no pressure to make a deal with China.” (Lynch, 2018)

On Dec. 2, 2018, the US and China agreed to a temporary truce to de-escalate trade tensions, following a summit working dinner at sideline of the G20 Summit in Buenos Aires on 1 December, 2018. According to the agreement, both the US and China would refrain from increasing tariffs or imposing new tariffs for 90 days (until 1 March 2019), as the two sides worked towards a trade deal, and on Feb. 14, 2019, the deadline was extended by the US.

On May 10, 2019, President Trump hiked tariffs on \$200 billion worth of Chinese products from 10% to 25%. At the same time, the president threatened to impose 25% tariffs on \$325 billion in Chinese goods that remain untaxed.

On Aug. 1, 2019, the US announced it would implement a 10% tariff on the remaining USD \$300 billion worth of Chinese goods. Effective immediately in September. On Sept. 1, 2019, US placed tariffs on USD \$125 billion worth of Chinese imports as promised. On Dec. 13, 2019, the US delayed tariffs scheduled on Dec. 15, 2019

affecting \$ 160 billion worth of imports from China and cut tariffs from 15% to 7.5% on tariffs enacted on Sept. 1, 2019.

On Jan. 15, 2020, the US and China signed phase one Economic and Trade Agreement, which went into force on Feb. 14, 2020.

Methodology

NPF

This study uses Narrative Policy Framework to examine American and European think tanks' perception of U.S.-China trade war. The purpose of this study is to uncover the true face of this trade confrontation by conducting qualitative content analysis of four American and European think tanks' narratives based on the analytical framework of NPF.

NPF is a theoretical framework in the field of public policy analysis and NPF scholars believe that narratives matter for public policy and play important role in constructing policy reality promoted by policy actors. (Jones, Shanahan and McBeth, 2014) NPF can be applied across different policy context and it defines three component parts of a policy narrative: narrative elements, narrative strategies and narrative beliefs. Narrative elements are narrative structures including plot, causal mechanism, characters, setting, moral, and evidence. The setting situates the policy problem in a specific context. NPF operationalizes the characters in a policy narrative as heroes, potential fixers of a policy problem; villains, those who are causing the problem; and victims those who are harmed by the problem. Moral refers to the solution offered by the policy narrative. (Jones, Shanahan and McBeth, 2014; Shanahan et al., 2013) NPF uses Deborah Stone's framework to analyze plots and causal mechanism. Stone identifies two basic plots that are widespread in policy narratives: stories of change and stories of power (each include several nuanced plot types). (Stone, 2012) To define policy problems, Stone also identifies causal mechanism as intentional, mechanical, inadvertent and accidental and intersects them with guided (purposeful) and unguided (not purposeful) actions (Stone, 2012). "Policy beliefs are akin to the moral compass embedded within the narrative" (Shanahan et al., 2013) Narratives operate at three levels: micro-individual, meso (policy subsystem) and macro level of culture and institutions. At meso level, NPF concerns itself with the role of policy narratives in a policy system (subsystem or policy regime) aiming at analyzing policy narrative generated by subsystem and the groups and individuals within that system. (O'Bryan, Dunlop, and Radaelli, 2014) Shanahan et al once pointed out "media are important players in policy subsystems that have been neglected in the study of public policy." (2013) In that spirit, this study proposes that think tanks can also be important contributors to public policy process, especially foreign policy making.

Why Think Tanks?

In order to provide an in-depth exploration of think tanks' narratives on U.S.-China trade war, this study limited its analysis to four American and Western European think tanks: Peterson Institute for International Economics (PIIE United States), French Institute of International Relations (IFRI France), Bruegel (Belgium), and Chatham House (United Kingdom). It conducted content analysis of these four think tanks' narratives concerning US-China trade war from Oct. 2016 to April 2019. PIIE is selected because it is ranked as NO. one think tank among "Top International Economics Policy Think Tanks" and IFRI, Bruegel and Chatham House are ranked top three among "Top Think Tanks in Western Europe", according to McGann's "Global Go-To Think Tanks Index". (McGann, 2019)

As public policy research institutions and largely Anglo-Saxon tradition, think tanks have shaped the global engagement of western countries for more than 100 years (Haas 2002; Stone and Denham, 2004). Although President Trump ran as an economic populist and has been widely known for his anti-intellectual and anti-establishment stance, American think tanks are still actively taking part in policy debates. Think tanks' experts still frequently testify before Congressional committees and subcommittees; assume responsibilities in

government offices; issue reports and policy briefs; publish articles in newspapers and journals; and speak as news media pundits. As to Trump Administration's "trade war" with China, they are still a very visible and active force. For instance, experts from PIIE testified before House Committee on Financial Services, Subcommittee on Monetary Policy and Trade, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific and Terrorism, Nonproliferation and Trade, U.S.-China Economics and Security Review Commission and Section 301 Committee Office of the United States Trade Representative. They published articles on *Foreign Affairs*, *Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *Project Syndicate*, *The Hill*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Harvard Business Review*, *The Economist*, and etc. Their publications, which include research reports, policy briefs, podcast discussions, interviews and commentaries, are also widely cited by various media. On 25 Sept. 2018, PIIE's leading experts on China briefed Senate and House of Representatives committee staff members on Capitol Hill on the escalating US-China trade war.

As the principal institution for independent research and debate in France, IFRI is dedicated to illuminating international issues and putting them in perspective. The World Policy Conference organized by the institution is ranked as the third "Best Think Tank Conference." Bruegel is the leading European think tank specializes on economics. The institution hosts events, podcasts and publishes policy briefs, policy contributions, working papers and blueprints. Bruegel experts regularly testify before the European Parliament and various national Parliaments. Chatham House, also The Royal Institute of International Affairs, is committed to informing debate, providing independent analysis, new policy ideas and outreach to the audience. The Institute's reports, research papers, books and other publications are vital resources for British leaders, and public policy-makers in government, private sector and civil society. The Institute's journals, *International Affairs* and *The World Today*, are Britain's leading journals of international relations as well as authoritative analysis and up-to-date commentary on current topics.

"Think tanks had become ubiquitous actors in the global production of policy knowledge." (Stone, 1996) Therefore, this study explores the narratives of these high-profile think tanks' policy experts because they are either renowned U.S.-China relation specialists or economists focusing on U.S.-China trade issues. So far, NPF studies are mostly concerned with domestic wicked and contesting policy issues, especially environmental issues but NPF scholars believe this theoretical method is generalizable to any subsystem in such policy areas as economic development, energy, crime and foreign policy (McBeth et al., 2007) In addition, NPF has an advantage to measure socially constructed reality: "the strategic, the unstructured and even the manipulated policy narratives of policy stakeholders who use policy narrative to construct a political reality." (McBeth, Jones and Shanahan, 2014) This research will answer two questions: 1. How do think tanks' experts view US-China trade war? 2. Are there differences in narrative elements, narrative strategies and policy belief used by Western European think tanks and American think tank?

The constructed reality is uncovered through content analysis and a consistent coding system, which is developed by drawing on the previous coding frames of Shanahan et al. (Appendix A). The NPF defines a policy narrative as having at least one character and referring to the public policy of interest. (Shanahan, Jones and McBeth, 2017) According to the criteria, this research collected and coded 49 narratives found on the websites of the four think tanks as well as articles published on newspapers, academic journals and congressional hearing testimony. The narratives are content analyzed for policy narrative elements (plot, policy solution, and characters) and narrative strategies (causal mechanism and use of symbols).

Results and Discussion

1. *The Cast of Characters: Heroes, Villains and Victims*

Characters add drama and bring narrative to life. (Stone, 2012) Heroes as fixers of the policy problem, are missing in most of the narratives except four from PIIE and four from their European counterparts. Two European narratives describe European countries as heroes because they think Europe can take advantage of this trade war. For example, in his article published by *Caixin*, *Die Zeit*, *Nikkei* and *Politico*, Wolff from Bruegel believes, "this provides the EU with an important opportunity it must not waste—under pressure from the U.S., Beijing is set to

be more open to make new allies.” (2018) And largely due to their European perspective and identifying the “structural feature this US-led trade war” (Gracia-Herrero, 2018), other two European narratives regard President Xi and China as heroes. For instance, in her article published in *Brink*, Alicia Garcia-Herrero wrote, “China has shifted from a tit-for-tat tactic based on retaliatory measures on trade to a three-pole strategy: sustaining domestic growth at any cost, finding alliances externally, and accelerating China’s upgrade of its technology capacity.” (2018) In the article published in *The Diplomat*, Kerry Brown from Chatham House also points out the “maverick, chaotic nature of the Trump presidency” (2018), and “China needs to change but that doesn’t mean returning to a neatly marked box put there for others for it to occupy.” He also emphasizes that President “Xi needs to get a grip on the US issue.” (2018)

Three PIIE narratives also depicts China as heroes but for different rationales. Nicholas Lardy’s article believes China’s liberalization of its foreign investment has occurred in some service sectors and the wholly foreign-owned firms and this trend continues, so the USTR should work with this new dynamic rather than continue to villainize China (2018). Peter A. Petri and Michael G. Plummer’s Policy Brief and Petri’s article published in *South China Morning Post* also characterize China as hero and they propose that if China joins CPTPP, China will “have a chance to shape the global innovation economy while signaling clear commitment to outward-oriented reforms and global norms.” (2019) And China’s CPTPP membership will offer “essential support for a rule-based trading system, at a time when US seems to be walking away from it.” (Petri, 2019) In similar vein, C. Fred Bergsten’s narrative makes China as hero, and in his Policy Brief he proposes the following road map for China to fix the problem:

1. China should join the US-EU and US-EU-Japan initiatives to reform the rules of the WTO in a plurilateral and thus less charged political context;
2. China should indicate interest in joining the CPTPP which would probably induce US to rejoin so both could then use the negotiation to reduce barriers and write new regional rules in some of these areas;
3. Both China and the US should support major reforms of the IMF. (2018)

This explains American experts and their European counterparts’ disappointment with the Trump administration’s unilateral and illegitimate self-initiated investigation and tariff imposition (Bown, 2018a; Brown, 2018) and the affirmative expectations they have placed on China’s positive responses to the trade war. (Gracia-Herrero, 2018; Bergsten, 2018)

The framing of characters for the four think tanks is similar for the villains: of 17 western European narratives, 16 of them cast President Trump’s vision of free trade, trade policy, and tariffs as villain, while 25 of 32 PIIE narratives portray Trump administration’s trade policy and tariffs as villains as well as other 6 villainizing USTR, President Trump’s focus on trade deficit with China, the administration’s 301 investigation and Candidate Trump’s destructive, and protectionist rhetoric in presidential debate, Sino-US systemic competition and both China and Trump’s policies.

The primary difference of these transatlantic think tanks is the use of victims in their narratives. The prominent victims for Western European think tanks are global economy, multilateral system, collateral damage to companies in third countries, the economy of China and Non-US G7 countries and European exports to China. In the meanwhile, three of them victimizing American economy, and other two narratives depict the Republican Party’s Mid-Term election and the Trump administration’s aim to contain China as victims. Similarly, 5 PIIE narratives also victimize global economy, multi-lateral mechanism especially WTO and rule-based approach and global trading system but most of them cast American economy including American consumers, workers, job losses, businesses, supply chains for American multinationals, farm belt especially soybean farmers, Republican seats in the Mid-Term election and manufacturing industries as victims. The rest depicts American’s image, global leadership, foreign policy, American alliance relationship, and American competitiveness as victims.

2. Interpreting the Plot: Decline and Control

Plots links the characters with intentions and solutions. The story of decline spins a tale of how conditions will get worse if a specific action is taken. In contrast, the control storyline offers hope by implying that certain actions can allow one to reach previously unattainable goals. Two more variants this research codes are change is an illusion and helplessness and control. Change is an illusion shows progress or decline is an illusion when you think it would get better or worse; whereas the latter emphasizes seemingly out-of-control situation actually is possible to get under control. Significant differences have been found between the four think tanks across the Atlantic in the use of plots. The European think tanks embed helplessness and control and change is an illusion almost evenly throughout their narratives, while most of the American narratives (43 of them) embed story of decline with four helplessness and control and one change is only an illusion as exceptions. Therefore, these differences reveal that their economic and strategic interests are not compatible when European think tanks think it is window of opportunity to export more agricultural products to China and press China to open up its market to more sectors (Wolff, 2018), their American counterparts find the bleak future of farmers' interests harmed, supply chains disrupted, job losses, consumers' paying higher prices for their daily consumptions, let alone alliance relationship, leadership credibility and rule-based multilateral trading system. What's more revealing is that 3 of PIIE's helplessness and control storylines use China as heroes and this is in synch with 2 Bruegel and 1 Chatham narratives. Stone explains that "stories of control offer hope, just as stories of decline foster anxiety and despair." (2012) These narratives share the similar controlling development: China's actions may fix the problem. For example, Bergsten, Petri and Plummer all think China's membership in CPTPP will foster healthy environment to solve contentious trade issues. (2018; 2019) And Bruegel's Alicia Gracia-Herrero thinks China has realized the structural nature of this US-led trade war and taken three-pronged actions. Chatham's Brown believes President Xi needs to act but not the roadmap dictated by others. (2018; 2019)

3. Moral: Divergent Solutions

American and European think tanks have proposed divergent solutions. American think tanks proposed the following solutions: China's positive actions count; returning to multilateral rule-based approach is the right track; constructive discussion; making investment at home and shifting away from unilateral actions; binding together with its allies to make new rules or force China to change; and carefully targeted sanctions should be imposed on the Chinese entities involved in technology misappropriations.

In contrast, European think tanks find the solutions lie in that the European countries take advantage of this trade war in their economic or strategic interests. Also, they believe Trump needs to take allies and the strategic assets they represent seriously. One narrative emphasizes China's efforts to deal with it. Still one narrative examining the trade war from China's point of view, thinks the dynamic has changed when China realized the structural nature of the US-led trade war and take three-pronged actions, so the moral is China will give a "more strategic, rather than tactical, response to the U.S. containment push." (Gracia-Herrero, 2018)

4. Narrative Strategies: Causal Mechanism and Symbols

While narrative elements are building blocks of a policy narrative, "narrative strategies are another way narrators shape policy realities." (Shanahan, Jones and McBeth, 2017) NPF also assumes variation in the interpretations of policy reality is not random but is bounded by belief systems and strategies. Thus, this research links the interpretation of narrative strategies with narrators' belief systems and value orientations.

Causal Mechanism: Who Is to Blame

Causal stories are created to describe harms and difficulties as well as to attribute them to actions of other individuals and organizations to invoke change. This research codes four types of causal links: intentionality, mechanical, inadvertence, and accidental.

Stone proposes that causal mechanism are strategically embedded in narratives to convince the public and policy officials of who or what is to blame for the policy problem (2012). The primary causal mechanism embedded in the 32 American narratives can be identified as inadvertence, which suggests harmful unintended consequences of Trump administration's purposeful policy of imposing tariffs on China. Think tanks' narratives using this "help-is-harmful" (Stone, 2012) causal link obviously criticize Trump's trade policy with China for missing the target. To make it worse, it actually hurts American economy, interrupts the supply chain of multinational corporation and multilateral trading system, and etc. For example, Bown's article in *Harvard Business Review* emphasizes:

One out of every five tariffs that he selected involved a product with the word "parts" in its description. Most were so technical that even trade experts had no idea what they were, except to know that businesses and workers rely on those "parts" from China to remain competitive in the global marketplace. (Bown 2018 b)

In the meanwhile, Mary E. Lovely attributes the failure of Trump policy to the Administration's ignorance of the interdependence of global economy. Take her article published at *New York Times* as example, it says "if jobs and wealth are the metric for "winning the trade war," China, not America, will emerge the victor." (2018). She further explains:

First, about 60 percent of China's exports to the United States are produced at factories owned by non-Chinese companies. Many of them produce customized inputs for American manufacturers, such as computer routers, LED fixtures and boat motors. That means the tariffs imposed by the Trump administration that are directed at China actually affect many American (and European) companies that own factories in China..... Moreover, much of what the United States imports from China contains value created in other locations, including America. (2018)

Besides, Lovely also blames the tariff policy based on illegitimate reasoning thus it leads to unintended harmful consequences for American economy, when she points out that "Made in China 2025 remains an aspiration, not a reflection of current manufacturing prowess. It is impossible to hit tomorrow's exports with today's tariffs." (Lovey and Liang, 2018)

Likewise, Bown (2018 a) and Lawrence also criticize the administration's lack of consistent causal reasoning. For example, Lawrence explains:

Trump's ill-considered trade war is not intended to achieve fair trade through negotiation or change Chinese behavior. Rather the aim is to erect stiff trade barriers that remain in place for many years, blocking or curbing all Chinese imports and discouraging US firms from ever outsourcing operations on Chinese territory. (2018)

In contrast, European narratives either do not have obvious casual mechanism or use mechanical and accidental causal mechanisms because they think the European governments or the EU would let this chance slip out of their hands if they adopt wrong policy, also because they think that the EU will not stand a chance to take advantage of this US-led trade war. For example, Wolff thinks, "whatever the economic spillover of the U.S.-China trade war, there is diplomatic advantage to be gained. It's up to Europe's leaders to formulate a unified strategic position and explore the opportunity." (2018) Besides, Alicia Garcia-Herrero's article published in *The Corner* points out "While there is no clear winner from the US-China trade tensions, the way in which the negotiations between the US and China are shaping up does not bode well for the European Union (Herrero, 2019)."

Symbols: belief systems and value orientations

This research also analyzes use of symbols like metaphors, colorful languages and condensation symbols. While former NPF studies focus on using symbolic languages to reduce or shrink complicated policy issues into simple and memorable forms to expand the scope of conflict (McBeth et al., 2007), this study interprets them as correlated

to narrators' belief systems and value orientations. Jones and Baumgartner believe that "every public policy problem is usually understood, even by the politically sophisticated, in simplified and symbolic terms." (1993) Stone asserts in her seminal book for policy analysis, *Policy Paradox* that "symbolic representation is the essence of problem definition in politics." (2012) This research argues that policy experts use symbols to define the policy issues and to characterize heroes and villains, and these symbols used also reflect their underlying beliefs about rule-based multilateral system vs. Trump administration's unilateral, self-initiated approaches; the influence of the "new globalization or Richard Baldwin's "great unbundling" (Lovely and Liang, 2018); Trump administration's shift from viewing China as "awkward counterpart to strategic competition" (Niblett, 2018); and the structural nature of this US-led trade war.(Gracia-Herrero, 2018)

All European narratives use symbols and war symbols are used 9 times, among which four specifically used the symbolic language of "US-led, or Trump-led trade war", as well as one compared the trade war to a "new political economic trade cold war." Others use the colorful languages of "turning the clock back," "new strategic stand-off," "spill over," "chess game," and "beating the war drums of trade across the globe." Still others use such descriptions as "windows of opportunities for China," and "neatly marked box."

Firstly, some war symbols are used to criticize the unilateral and protectionist approaches as well as the zero-sum vision and cold war mentality of the Trump administration. For example, one IFRI report is titled "Trump-Led Trade War with China: Energy Dominance Self-Destructed?" (Gandolphe and Boittin, 2018), and another IFRI article published in *Politique Etrangere*, titled "Trump's Trade wars: The Outcry Against Multilateralism" (Siroen, 2018) points out Donald Trump is stepping up protectionist measures and seeking to reduce the power of the WTO to zero. The results of the current trade war are far from known. (Siroen, 2018) And one Chatham article published in the *Diplomat* thinks that US allies will not jump on the US bandwagon when "Washington itself has taken steps to undermine US partners' interests in a robust, rules-based, liberal international order," and emphasizes "US allies do not entirely share the same zero-sum vision of relations with China as portrayed by the new US strategy." (Gill, 2018) Another Chatham article also argues that "they (European countries) do not share the Trump administration's determination to stem China's rise; and they do not want to find themselves trapped on one side of a new political-economic cold war," because "under an 'America first' slogan, the Trump administration is demanding more direct benefits from international cooperation while tolerating fewer rewards for others." (Wang, 2018) According to IFRI trade expert, John Seaman, "Washington's incessant beating on the war drums of trade across the globe and the broader unilateralist stance taken by the Trump administration on questions such as climate change or Iran (JCPOA) have severely undercut efforts to confront global challenges in a constructive manner." (2018) Bruegel's Jean Pisani-Ferry also says:

Many in his administration regard the World Trade Organization's principles and procedures as an obstacle to bilateral negotiations. They would prefer to clinch deals with partners one by one, without being bound by the obligation to apply liberalisation measures across the board and without being forced to abide by the rulings of the WTO's dispute settlement mechanism. Their aim is to restructure the trade relationships along a hub-and-spoke model, with the US at the centre. (2018)

Secondly, Other symbolic languages like "number one threat", Trump's "hawkish" trade team, "new strategic stand-off", and "tussle" are used to underline that the trade war is the result of Trump administration's strategy of viewing China as a threat and strategic competitor. For example, Chatham House's Niblett says, "the Trump administration has made clear that it sees China as the number one threat to US interests and its longstanding global pre-eminence." (2018) In another Chatham article titled "Tariff Dispute Is Just One Tussle in Longer US-China Struggle", the author argues that "President Trump and his hawkish allies in the White House concern that the Sino-US economic competition dynamic is changing in favour of China and threatening the US high-tech sectors." (Wang, 2018)

In addition, symbolic descriptions like "neatly marked box", "strategic assets" and "windows of opportunities for China" are used to discuss China's response when it has realized the structural nature of this trade war and European countries' complaints about Trump's administration's neglecting European friends. For instance,

Chatham's Kerry Brown thinks "China definitely needs to change, that's true. But that doesn't mean returning to a neatly marked box put there by others for it to occupy." (2018) And another Chatham expert points out that "US strategy needs to take allies and the tremendous strategic asset they represent seriously, not just in words, but in deeds. Until it does, expect China to continue taking advantage of a remarkable window of opportunity." (Gill, 2018) At the same time Bruegel China expert, Alicia Gracia-Herrero thinks "China's recognition of the much more structural features of the U.S.-led war" has propelled China to act strategically instead of tactically. (2018)

In contrast, American think tank uses war symbols 8 times and other symbols like "hobgoblin of little minds", "the sequel of Regan's economic policy," "head-on collision", "trade tiff", "trade spat", "sneak attack", "stealthy trade policy", "rogue behavior", "tyrant", "bully" and "own goal" are used 13 times.

In the first place, war symbols are first used by PIIE experts in their policy briefs as early as Sept. 2016 when Marcus Noland and other PIIE experts analyzed and warned the dangerous trade stance of candidate Trump which might lead to "trade war and would be horribly destructive" (2016) if materialized. Candidate Trump's "stated approach to the global economy of waging trade war and protecting uncompetitive special interests would be disastrous for American economic well-being and national security." (Noland et al, 2016) Later, Chad Bown, Robert Z. Lawrence, Gary Clyde Hufbauer and other PIIE experts also use war symbols to emphasize the destructive consequences of Trump's unilateral imposition of tariffs on China. For example, in their article published in *Washington Post*, Bown and Irwin use war symbols to make comments on Trump's remarks "trade wars are good and easy to win," and to discuss the infamous Smoot Hawley tariffs' implications for today (2018). In the meanwhile, in her article published in *New York Times* Mary E. Lovely points out that "China will win the trade war because it is playing the game more skillfully" even if the Trump administration wants to inflict more pain on China. (Lovely 2018) Besides, Lovely also use the "own goal" metaphor to comment on the administration's trade policy with China is "taxes on manufacturing in America", (Lovely and Liang, 2018) and the administration's ignorance of the importance of knowledge flow and production fragmentation to 21st century supply chains.

President Trump's Section 301 tariffs are a prime example of 20th century tools aimed at the knowledge embodying trade flows of the 21st century. Tariffs and quotas are ineffective at stemming knowledge flows between innovative countries and developing nations. Beyond the immediate damage to American competitiveness, trade restrictions push high-technology firms to locate elsewhere in the future. Tariffs can diminish trade flows, but ideas are easily relocated. American workers would bear the burden if high-value activity moves offshore due to the ill-conceived tariffs of the Trump administration. (Lovely and Liang, 2018)

In the second place, American think tank also uses character symbols like "rogue behavior, bully, tyrant and hobgoblin of little minds" to portray Trump and its trade team.

Conclusion

NPF emphasizes the important role of narratives in policy process and believes narrative constructs meaning and meaning reflects the understanding of reality. Think tanks' policy research constitutes their interpretation of the policy reality of US-China trade war. Think tank expert Kent Weaver once said, "one of the tasks commonly associated with think tanks is the exploration and popularization of ideas that may not be politically feasible in the short term, but gradually gained acceptance among policy makers and eventually found enough champion that they can be enacted."(1989) Therefore, applying NPF to analyze American and European think tanks' narratives about US-China trade war illuminates the structural aspects of the trade war, as well as its implications for US-China bilateral relations, and the world economy at large.

NPF framework goes deeper and explores questions about who are the heroes, villains and victims? How does the narrative deploy plot, causal mechanisms and symbolic languages to register meaning and reflect policy realities? In terms of characterization, European think tanks cast European countries and China as heroes because they think

European countries should take advantage of this window of opportunity and China need to deal with it. Conversely, American think tank casts China as hero because they are frustrated by the chaotic and unilateral nature of Trump policy and place high expectations on China's positive response. As to villain, the common consensus is Trump tariff and Trump trade policy. The European and American think tanks diverged substantially concerning victim of the trade war: European think tanks identify multilateral system, global economy and European exports to China as victims whereas American PIIE mainly casts American economy, consumers, workers, farmers, multinationals as well as American corporations' competitiveness, American leadership and credibility as victims. Plot, which has a beginning, middle and end, connect characters to one another and to the policy setting (Jones, Shanahan and McBeth, 2014). While the European think tanks embed helplessness and control and change is an illusion in their narratives, their American counterpart mainly uses story of decline. The differences shed light on their different interpretations of this trade war: for European think tanks, they see this trade war as opportunities accompanying challenges; for American think tank, condition is getting worse and the best shot is for China to give a positive response. The solutions proposed are also divergent: European experts focus on making best use of this opportunity, Trump taking allies seriously and China's strategic response; American researchers emphasize domestic investment, shifting away from unilateral actions, working together with allies and constructive discussions. Their differences in using causal mechanism are more revealing. Compared with European think tanks' obvious lack of causal mechanism to identify the villains, American think tank use inadvertence to attribute a series of unintended harmful consequences to Trump administration's purposeful tariff policy. Like causal mechanism embedding in their narratives, tying symbols to belief system and value orientation reflects where American think tank and their European counterparts converge and depart from each other. Their convergence lies in they all use war symbols most frequently, which represents their understanding of the unilateral and zero-sum nature of Trump's trade policy with China but European experts' specific use of US-led or Trump-led trade war signifies the disaffection for Trump administration's American first principle. European experts use "number one threat", "hawkish" team, "neatly marked box", and "tussle" to comment on Trump administration's viewing China as a competitor whereas American experts use "tyrant, bully, hobgoblin of little minds and rogue behavior" to describe the illegitimacy of Trump's trade policy. Besides, American think tank also uses "sneak attack, stealthy policy and own goal" to depict the inconsistent, chaotic nature of Trump administration's trade policy with China as well as its ignorance of the influence of "new globalization" on US-China trade reality which leads to its literally taxing manufacturing America and meaningless intention of hitting tomorrow's exports capacity and technology prowess with today's tariff. (Lovely and Liang, 2018)

Finally, this study shows NPF can also be used to analyze the narratives of think tanks who are active forces in the policy making arena and whose policy inputs and expertise contribute to understanding complex policy issues and providing "contextual intelligence" (Nye, 2011) for the policy making community.

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Unprioritizing Maternal Health: Lack of Regulation on Maternity Waiting Home Implementation in Wonogiri

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Abstract

Maternity waiting home is one of the services that can be used to improve the health of pregnant women in order to reduce maternal mortality. The role of various stakeholders is needed so that this facility can be implemented properly. Stakeholders in the implementation are the government as policymakers and communities, especially pregnant women who are users of services and third parties who support the service of this service such as non-governmental organizations. This study examines regulation barriers in the implementation of maternity waiting homes in Wonogiri. Data collection is done by interviews and focuses on group discussions. The implementation of maternity waiting homes in the Wonogiri Regency has many obstacles, especially in terms of lack of regulation at the regional level. Support from various parties, especially strong political products in the form of a regulation in the regional area are important for the good implementation of the maternity waiting home in Wonogiri Regency.

Keywords: Regulation, Maternity Waiting Home, Maternal Health

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduce the Problem

Access to health workers is still a problem in parts of Indonesia, due to limited infrastructure, transportation, geographical conditions. Wonogiri with an area that is mostly in the form of limestone mountains, influences the lack of health workers. This relatively difficult geographical access factor is the reason why health services especially the health of pregnant women in emergencies are important to consider. Maternity waiting home facilities need to be used to bridge the gap in health services in geographic locations that tend to be difficult to access.

The condition of the vast area with uneven topography makes the Wonogiri Regency government demanded to provide facilities to facilitate public access, such as transportation, telecommunications, and also facilities which are quite important are health facilities (Pujihartati et al., 2020). The availability of health facilities and infrastructure for the community is certainly expected to improve the health status of the surrounding community.

The level of public health is influenced by four main factors namely behavior, environment, health services, and genetic factors. Therefore, development in the health sector is closely related and influenced by various aspects such as education, culture, physical and biological environment, and other aspects.

1.2 Explore the Importance of the Problem

Maternity waiting home has an important, preventive and curative role in the health services of pregnant women. The facility has the main function in preventing the occurrence of death of pregnant women in critical conditions, especially in the days before delivery. WHO (1996) states that maternity waiting home is a health facility that can be used to treat critical conditions of pregnancy.

Many countries, especially developing countries, such as the African continent, are implementing maternity waiting homes to reduce maternal mortality by making this facility the first health facility for pregnant women, especially during emergencies. Among the countries that have implemented maternity waiting home facilities are Eritrea (Ande-michael et al., 2009), Zimbabwe (Millard et al., 1991; Chandra-mohan et al., 1994, 1995; Tumwine et al., 1996; Spaans et al., 1998; Feresu et al. 2003), Peru (Fraser, 2008), Ethiopia (Poovan et al., 1990; Kelly et al., 2010; Dadi et al., 2018), Liberia (Lori et al., 2014), Zambia (Scott et al., 2018), Malawi (Singh et al., 2016), and many more.

1.3 Describe Relevant Scholarship

Implement the Maternity waiting home program to begin in 2017 in Wonogiri District. Maternity waiting home is placed near health facilities that are used as temporary shelter for pregnant women and their companions for several days before delivery and a few days after giving birth. Maternity waiting home have a primary goal for areas with difficult access and high-risk factors (Pujihartati et. al., 2019a, 2019b). Based on research in Indonesia, there are some studies about maternity waiting homes, such as in Semarang (Sujana et al., 2018) and Maluku (Sukoco and Suparmi, 2017). This paper focuses on a lack of regulation support of maternity waiting home especially in Wonogiri.

1.4 State Hypotheses and Their Correspondence to Research Design

This study attempts to analyze the barriers to implementing maternity waiting home services in Wonogiri District, which focus on the lack of regulation support from the regional government, especially at the district level. This study uses functionalism analysis in explaining the obstacles that occur in the implementation of maternity waiting home.

The functionalism perspective in question is related to the functioning of a social institution in society. This perspective sees that a social institution in the community exists because it is functionally useful and will be destroyed or not function if it is deemed not functional. The establishment of a social institution cannot stand alone in society but the need for a harmonious reciprocal relationship between one social institution and another. This article seeks to explore how health institutions manifested through maternity waiting home have obstacles in their implementation due to the lack of regulations from local governments.

2. Method

2.1 Study design and area

This study attempts to analyze the barriers to implementing maternity waiting home services in Wonogiri District, which focus on the lack of regulation support from the regional government, especially at the district level.

2.2 Data Sources

Primary data in this study consists of several informants that were selected by purposive sampling.

Secondary data was taken from a document obtained from the health department and the relevant literature to this study.

2.3 The Technique of Collecting Data

The process of collecting data are through interviews and focus group discussions. The informants in this study were informants who were stakeholders in the implementation of maternity waiting home in Wonogiri District. The sampling method used was purposive sampling.

2.4 Data Validity and Reliability

This study uses a source triangulation model, namely by clarifying data based on different sources of information (Carter et al., 2014).

2.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis was performed using interactive qualitative data analysis methods (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Data analysis was carried out by exploring the results of the research and elaborating on the theories that became the references in this study. The theory used as a reference in this research is the theory of functionalism.

2.6 Research Ethics

Researcher has confirmed that the collection of data with related informants done consciously and approval participation.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Maternity waiting home implementation in Wonogiri

Wonogiri Regency has maternity waiting home facilities in five regions or districts, namely Pracimantoro, Purwantoro, Wonogiri, Wuryantoro, and Baturetno. The location of maternity waiting home in Wonogiri Regency is strategically located and not far from the inpatient health center. Maternity waiting home is a government program to reduce maternal mortality due to being far from health facilities. Maternity waiting home can be used by underprivileged women who have a Maternity Guarantee or Jampersal. For those who use this facility, it will not be charged at all, all borne by the Wonogiri district government.

In every maternity waiting home some administrators are responsible for the day-to-day implementation of the facility. These administrators are usually taken from midwives who are still actively working in inpatient health centers that are located not far from maternity waiting home. All maternity waiting home management in the sub-district under the auspices of the Wonogiri District Health Office in carrying out their duties.

Facilities and infrastructure owned by maternity waiting home in Wonogiri Regency include rooms or a decent house that is rented by the Wonogiri Regency Government with a fee that has been determined to support the existing facilities. In addition to physical facilities (buildings and ambulances), maternity waiting home is also supported by experts, the intention here is the presence of midwives and nurses in the waiting house. Not only that but the mothers who will give birth and want to stop in this Maternity waiting home, will also get food facilities for two people.

3.2 Lack of Regulation

The implementation of Maternity waiting home in Wonogiri Regency cannot be separated from the role of stakeholders to run well. The stakeholders are midwives, health offices, district governments, and the community itself. The relationship between one another or the relationship between stakeholders is expected to improve the quality of travel Maternity waiting home in Wonogiri district.

One of the stakeholders involved in implementing maternity waiting home is the district government. The absence of regulations governing maternity waiting home at the district level is an obstacle to the implementation of these services.

According to Dwi Cahyo, regulations governing maternity waiting home in the form of regent regulations are not yet available. Clear regulations are needed for better implementation of Maternity waiting home. The lack of regulation in implementing maternity waiting home in Wonogiri district reflects that the health program is not one

of the priority health programs in the area. In contrast to Wonogiri, several regions in Indonesia that implement maternity waiting home already have regulations at the district and city levels. This regulation is important so that in its implementation there are no obstacles at the structural or administrative level.

In terms of regulation of birth-waiting programs at the district/city level, Wonogiri District is lagging with many other regions in Indonesia that have implemented the same program. Regencies or cities in Indonesia that have issued regulations related to maternity waiting home on Java Island are Probolinggo, East Java (2016); Bondowoso, East Java (2017); Bandung, West Java (2017); Sidoarjo, East Java (2019); Magelang, Central Java (2018); Cilacap, Central Java (2018); Jepara, Central Java (2018); Lumajang, East Java (2018); Karanganyar, Central Java (2018); Tasikmalaya, West Java (2018); Cianjur, West Java (2019); and Batang, Central Java (2016). Whereas Regencies or cities in Indonesia that have issued regulations related to maternity waiting home outside Java are Bireuen, Aceh (2019); Anambas Islands, Riau Islands (2018); Karo, North Sumatra (2018); Majene, West Sulawesi (2017); Indragiri Hulu, Riau (2019); Polewali Mandar, West Sulawesi (2017); Aceh Selatan, Aceh (2017); Simeulue (2017); Toli-toli, Central Sulawesi (2016); West Lampung, Lampung (2018); East Lampung, Lampung (2018); Sangihe, North Sulawesi (2017); Paser, East Kalimantan (2017); and Wakatobi, Southeast Sulawesi (2016). Most of the regulations are relating to the allocation of funds for childbirth guarantees which in their implementation are used for the maternity waiting home program.

The district government has an important role in the success or failure of implementing maternity waiting home as a stakeholder. According to information from the health department, it was explained that Maternity waiting home in Wonogiri had not been maximized. For the Pracimantoro area itself, there is no such thing now, there is in the Wonogiri part of the city because people are more comfortable being treated at home than in Maternity waiting home because they can gather with family. The change is due to technical instructions that vary each year. By using the perspective of functionalism, it can be analyzed that when an institution is not going well, it will affect other social institutions. In sociology, what is meant by social institutions is a set of rules or norms that govern an important function in society. When health institutions, in this case, the maternity waiting home program, are not supported by structural institutions, in this case, policies in the form of regulations at the regional level, the implementation can certainly be less than optimal. This can be seen in the implementation of maternity waiting home in Wonogiri district.

Conclusion

This study concludes that the absence of regulations at the district level in Wonogiri is an obstacle to implementing maternity waiting home in the area. This shows that the maternity waiting home program is not a government priority. The regulation is important to support the implementation of maternity waiting home.

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Why is it Better to Suffer and Not to Die through Euthanasia?

A Multi-perspective Analysis

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Abstract

The paper underpins the argument that the experience of suffering cannot be a basis for the practice of euthanasia. Albeit, the advocates of euthanasia believed that the personal experience of suffering as sufficient motivation and justification to terminate life. The paper counter-argues through multi-perspective views on pain and suffering, which highlight the 'instrumental value' of pain and suffering to attain the genuine essence of happiness. Multi-perspective views include John Stuart Mill's Utilitarianism, the different religions understanding, and luminary writers such as Viktor Frankl and Philip Yancey. An evaluation of the value of human suffering using Aristotle's understanding of the ultimate good completes the discussion. By seeing the importance and value of human suffering, one can adequately prepare for an indeed 'good death,' the root word of the misused term: Euthanasia.

Keywords: Euthanasia, Pain, and Suffering, Instrumental Value, Ultimate Good

1. Introduction

The debate over euthanasia is becoming more strident mainly because of the confusion about the terminology describing the care of the end of life. Etymologically speaking, euthanasia originally means 'a good death' (*euthanatos*). Unfortunately, modern society shifts its meaning to the medical procedure of freeing a person from anxiety and pain through an eventual death (Black, 2018). The brand name of euthanasia, which is commonly known today, is 'mercy killing' that is an intentional ending of a person's life to cut-off the experience of suffering (cf. Seal 2018; Ariyaratne & Hulathduwa, 2019; May, 2019; Tagi, 2019).

Euthanasia is quite a controversial issue as far as morality is concerned. It has been a moral issue in philosophy. There are opposing views on the rightness and wrongness of this act. The morality of euthanasia is anchored on the problem of the existence of pain and suffering. Literatures agreed that in a near-to-death experience, there is

nothing quite as personal as the physical and psychological suffering of an individual (cf. Zimbardo, 2017; Coulehan, 2018; Greenwood et al., 2018; Rodrigues et al., 2018; Schlieter, 2018; Sellers, 2019). The personal experience of suffering, thus, is the main projected reason why euthanasia is practiced and advocated by many individuals who find their lives useless and worthless. Peter Singer (2000) states in his book, *Writing on an Ethical Life*, that medical personnel (e.g., Doctor of Medicine) relieved an individual from pain or distress from an incurable illness through euthanasia. Thus ironically risking a murder charge against the requesting patient. The legalization of euthanasia has generated controversies around the globe (cf. Kondaurav et al., 2017; Mazloom et al., 2017; Stolberg, 2017; Hovhannisyann, 2018; Keown, 2018; Tao et al., 2018).

The problem of euthanasia has been aggravated in our age that is characterized by advancement in medicine. Later studies of Wingham et al. (2017), Pillet et al. (2018a), (2018b), Tada (2018), and Bovero et al. (2019) purported that advocates of euthanasia project the suffering of a terminally ill patient as a meaningless feeling of futile and agonizing experience that will only worsen the situation of the individual. However, this doesn't mean that the existence of human suffering, of any kind, can give moral justification to the acceptance of euthanasia.

Brief Historical Review

The practice of euthanasia had been a controversy even in ancient times (Montaguti et al., 2018). Michael Manning (1998), in his book entitled, *Euthanasia And Physician-Assisted Suicide: Killing or Caring?* wrote about the account of euthanasia. Three different eras are presented, namely: euthanasia in Greece and Rome, the post-classical period, and eighteenth century enlightenment and beyond. In classical Greek antiquity and into the Christian era of the Roman Empire, the term euthanasia did not have a narrow and technical meaning (Manning, 1998). Rather, the focus was on what manner one dies and not the death itself (Manning, 1998).

Moreover, ancient accounts of 'euthanasia' practice testified that such exercise had been applied to desperate individuals experiencing terrible suffering. For instance, the Assyrian and Indian physicians would suggest that irredeemable patients were drowned in the rivers of Euphrates and Ganges, respectively (cf. Manning, 1998; Garrett, 2018; Montaguti et al., 2018). The Greek physicians would put an end to the extreme suffering of patients by giving medicine that could instantly kill the later (Manning, 1998). Suetonius (as cited by Garrett, 2018) provided the oldest record of the usage of the term 'euthanasia' in Greek history. Suetonius described the death of Augustus Ceasar. He wrote that

"...while he was asking some newcomers from the city about the daughter of Drusus, who was ill, he suddenly passed away as he was kissing Livia, uttering these last words, Live mindful of our wedlock, Livia, and farewell, thus blessed with an easy death (euthanasia) and such a one as he had always longed for."

In the Post-Classical Period in Europe, Christian teaching opposed euthanasia for the same reason as Judaism (cf. Manning, 1998; Garrett, 2018; Montaguti et al., 2018). Christianity emphasized the value of respect to human life and that humanity has no right to take away its life (Manning, 1998). No serious discussion of euthanasia was accounted in Christian Europe until the eighteenth century Enlightenment (Manning 1998). In this time, the church was attacked by its dogmatic teaching, which includes its view regarding euthanasia and suicide. David Hume (as cited by Shneidman, 2018), in his book, *On Suicide*, wrote boldly that,

"...suicide and painless death may often be consistent with interest and with our duty to ourselves, no one can question, who allows that age, sickness, or misfortune, may render a burden, and make it worse even than annihilation."

The practice of euthanasia in the nineteenth century was regarded as "a peaceful death" (cf. Manning, 1998; Garrett, 2018; Montaguti et al., 2018). The social circumstances of the time fundamentally drove the active practice of euthanasia in the nineteenth century (cf. Manning, 1998; Garrett, 2018; Montaguti et al., 2018). For instance, Samuel Williams (as cited by Vangouver, 2019) wrote a conceptual implication of 'medicalized' euthanasia. William specified that

"... in all cases it should be the duty of the medical attendant, whenever so desired by the patient, to administer chloroform, or any other such anesthetics as may by and by superseding chloroform, to destroy consciousness at once, and put the sufferer at once to a quick and painless death; precautions being adopted to prevent any possible abuse of such duty; and means being taken to establish beyond any possibility of doubt or question, that the remedy was applied at the express wish of the patient."

The idea of William established thoughtful consideration in medical journals and at scientific meetings. Albeit, alleviating the experience of pain and not to advance death (Vangouver, 2019; Vulcănescu, 2019). The dispute over euthanasia forwards to the twentieth century. In America, for instance, issues on suicide and mercy killing were fueled by the rise of cases of depression and the eventual economic crisis (cf. Manning, 1998; Vangouver, 2019; Vulcănescu, 2019). While in Europe, the British House of Lords debated over the legalization of euthanasia (Vangouver, 2019).

Until now, the debate has not yet closed. Advocates of euthanasia believed that the act of killing the suffering person is justifiable and a practical exhibition of 'compassion.' The contention of non-importance of life due to the experience of pain and suffering seemed to become a pragmatic reason for justifying the acceptability of euthanasia. As contended by Keowen (2018), Faneye (2019) and Wee (2019), euthanasia is an action or an omission which of itself or by intention causes death, so that all suffering may in this way be eliminated. Thus, advocates of euthanasia see that the personal experience of suffering as sufficient motivation and justification to terminate life.

Main Objective of the Paper

Euthanasia is one of the most significant ethical issues of our times (cf. Knesl et al., 2017; Paterson, 2017; Goligher et al., 2017; Kipperman et al., 2018; Miller et al., 2019). With the extension of human life expectancy and the rapid development of medical technology, the issue of euthanasia has become more and more complex. The dilemma to choose between enduring and ending up one's excruciating experience of pain and suffering is at hand. This paper argued that the primordial query is not whether euthanasia is ethical or not. Instead, it asked how the society, in general, looks at the reality of pain and suffering since pain and suffering become the primary factor why euthanasia is strongly favored by many. Hence, this paper highlights the necessity of presenting the value of pain and suffering as a mean to enlighten those who are enduring excruciating pain and not to resort to euthanasia as the only way out.

2. Methodology and Limitation

The paper collects different notions of pain and suffering from different points of view. The multi-perspectives of pain and suffering comprise 1.) John Stuart Mill's Utilitarianism, emphasizing the utilization of suffering in attaining happiness; 2.) The different religions understanding; and 3.) Other luminary authors, such as Viktor Frankl and Philip Yancey. A separate part is provided to evaluate the value of human suffering using Aristotle's understanding of the ultimate good by which the experience of suffering can be an 'instrument' in attaining it. The paper concludes with understanding a preferable alternative to euthanasia, as argued by different references that help create a more robust and acceptable argument.

It is necessary to point out that this work limits its idea of pain and suffering from the works cited above. This paper would be relatively acceptable to those who believe in the importance of human life and see its value as 'sacred.' Thus, life should be respected and honored.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Notions of Pain and Suffering

In exposing euthanasia's history, it cannot be denied the fact that it is a problem concerning understanding the experience of pain and suffering that makes such an act acceptable despite its being unethical. It is the negative

outlook of the experience of pain and suffering that leads to thinking that life has become useless and futile. The following perspectives hereon provide different positive notions of pain and suffering in lieu of evaluating the practice of euthanasia.

3.1.1. John Stuart Mill's Concept of Pain

One of the fundamental principles in understanding the notions of pain and suffering is John Stuart Mill's Utilitarianism. We have to make a clear distinction between the latter's principle and that of Jeremy Bentham. Although it is clear that it was Bentham who made the first step to use this principle and that Mill was an aspirant of such thought, who started with the same general ideas as Bentham, however, Mill took a different approach, which made his work varied and unique.

Nevertheless, this principle is believed to be an offspring of the ancient Hedonists, and Epicurean approaches of things as far as usefulness is concerned (Oleś & Jankowski, 2018). Moreover, Utilitarianism is also confused with Pragmatism, which mainly interprets truth in terms of its practical effects (Kellogg, 2019). Defining Mill's Utilitarianism like that of Epicureanism and Pragmatism would only mislead those who tried to practice this kind of morality. What they do not know is that Mill's theory has more to speak of other than exerting greater emphasis on pleasure and avoidance of pain (cf. Ebenstein, 2018; Forder et al., 2018; Compton & Hoffman, 2019; Biswas, 2020).

It is true that Utilitarianism, at least, that of Mill, is founded on the morals of Utility, or the Greatest Happiness Principle. But this doesn't mean that it promotes pleasure by preventing pain since. In the first place, it doesn't define pleasure as the greatest happiness man can ever achieve but as one of the sources which man can utilize to attain happiness (cf. Ebenstein, 2018; Forder et al., 2018; Compton & Hoffman, 2019; Biswas, 2020). Thus, presumably, it doesn't eliminate pain also as a possible vehicle, so to speak, in arriving not just to happiness but also to 'value-making,' which for Mill is the highest form of happiness (Biswas, 2020).

Thus, as far as happiness is concerned, pain and suffering could also be utilized by man to achieve it. Pleasure may not always be the only way to safeguard oneself from harm, but by managing one's negative side, which shows one's imperfections (Balint, 2018; Robertson & Long, 2018). Thus part of that which brought pain and suffering will help a person in finding the real value of life which is the greatest happiness a person could ever achieve. Hence, for Mill (as cited by Ebenstein, 2018), it is better to be a human being dissatisfied because of the many pains one has to endure than a pig satisfied because one has contented its appetite yet still remains a brute. Mill's Utilitarianism, therefore, is not a principle that promotes pleasure that degrades one's humanity by merely indulging oneself to one's lower appetite like that of the idea of Epicureanism (Ogan, 2018). Pain and suffering will help to seek for the real meaning of one's dignity as one loses one's aspirations due to the loss of intellectual taste and are brought by indulgence to inferior pleasures (cf. Coulehan, 2018; Habermas, 2018; Roberts, 2018; Edkins, 2019; Svenaeus, 2019). Mill's Utilitarianism, hence, is directed to attain an end, which is the cultivation of nobleness of character, which could also be realized through enduring and finding the meaning of one's pain and suffering.

3.1.2. Religions Understanding of Pain and Suffering

Sorrow and suffering, death, and devastation are an inevitable part of human existence. For most religions, this fact is crucial. Indeed, the human response to suffering and the reality of evil around us may be critical elements to defining how religions function in human life (cf. Peterson, 2018; Rouzati, 2018; Whale, 2018; Clack & Clack, 2019). As observed, religions look beyond the world in a variety of ways to seek out the so-called 'Holy,' or what in philosophy is called the 'Absolute.' As a result, stories and myths are developed and became the source to make sense of life by imagining how things came about and how they continued to depend upon that reality which is beyond life including the connection between religions and suffering (cf. Peterson, 2018; Rouzati, 2018; Whale, 2018; Clack & Clack, 2019). Sorrows, disappointments, diseases, and death are the facts of human existence that need explanations (Peterson, 2018).

When people ask why there is suffering or why the experience of pain occurred, they are not looking for scientific explanations but for the religious account, which offers 'meaning-beyond' (Clack & Clack, 2019). Religions' answers on the inevitability of suffering vary as much as religions have differences. The differences of religious beliefs, however, do not reject the value which suffering itself entails. Moreover, this proves that despite the disparity of personal views, there is still a commonality that human suffering implies.

Religion provides a 'sense of meaning within chaos,' which is equivalent to giving meaning to human suffering (cf. Captari et al., 2019; Keefe-Perry & Moon, 2019; Pederzini, 2019). Peter Berger (as cited by Teslia, 2019) suggests that

"... it is precisely the chaos of life, especially disaster and suffering, that inspires the social construction of religious worlds which leads society to come together to construct an explanation through which religion is born. Thus, making a theodicy of making an effort of explaining philosophically why God or the gods create or allow the suffering of their beloved humans."

Moreover, monotheistic religions, like Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, viewed suffering concerning human responsibility (cf. Kent, 2005; Black, 2018; Rouzati, 2018). Kent (2005), in his book *Understanding Religion in a Global Society*, wrote that

"... one important explanation in Judaism maintains that human suffering is a punishment for violating the covenant with God.... This is due to the belief of the fall of Adam and Eve as they disobeyed the commandment of God in the Garden of Eden... for Christianity and Muslim, the emphasis seems to be a bit different.... Muslims may interpret suffering as a test of whether or not one will continue to submit to Allah... Christianity describes suffering as an opportunity to grow in virtue and faith. By doing so, suffering may be seen as a promise for a great eternal reward."

The Christian tradition emphasized a redemptive characteristic of the value of suffering. This spirituality-connected value of suffering corresponded to the Christian belief on the concept of salvation. For Christians, human suffering is viewed as a trial to be sustained. John Paul II (as cited by Cataldo, 2019) wrote in *Salvifici Doloris* that

"... suffering as it were contains a special call to the virtue which man must exercise on his own part. And this is the virtue of perseverance in bearing whatever disturbs and causes harm. In doing this, the individual unleashes hope, which maintains in him the conviction that suffering will not get the better of him, that it will not deprive him of his dignity as a human being, a dignity linked to awareness of the meaning of life."

The experience of suffering doesn't only promote virtue to the person who experiences the suffering but also those who witness it. John Paul II (as cited by Cataldo, 2019) continued in saying that

"... when this body is gravely ill, totally incapacitated, and the person is almost incapable of living and acting, all the more do interior maturity. Spiritual greatness becomes evident, constituting a touching lesson to those who are healthy and normal."

Even then, other polytheistic religions also interpret suffering in their traditional practices. Hinduism, a religion that teaches reincarnation, accepts the idea of "Karma" as a way to explain suffering. Reincarnation may help to explain suffering by giving people the sense of ultimate fairness and justice. Buddhism, on the other hand, believes in the first noble truth, which sees life as a 'suffering *dukkha*' (cf. Kent, 2005; Captari et al., 2019; Keefe-Perry & Moon, 2019; Pederzini, 2019). For Buddhists, then, life is not a struggle against a sea of suffering but an acceptance of reality, which includes the recognition of suffering to one's life (Keefe-Perry & Moon, 2019). Such acceptance of suffering in Buddhism found resonance in the teachings of Taoism in China. For the Taoist, like the Buddhist, taught that suffering and illness are, after all, simply part of life (Pederzini, 2019).

To some extent, eastern and western religions supply an understanding of suffering, but they vary significantly on how to react to suffering. Each religion offers a distinct explanation that implies a solution to suffering. The most reasonable acceptance of suffering is found in those religions which taught suffering as part of life. At its most extreme, suffering may be seen to have a positive or purgative value; that is, in some religions, physical suffering is intentionally taken on because it purifies the body from the so-called sin" (Captari et al., 2019). Hence, suffering gives us good reason to fight against and to rage the evils in life.

3.1.3. Other Perspectives of Pain and Suffering

Humanity never stops in finding the real value of human life, which includes even the most incredible experience that accompanies him/her now and then. Such becomes the reason why the search for the meaning of life has still been the interest of some thinkers. Viktor Frankl, a survivor of the holocaust and Philip Yancey, a writer who wrote the experience of Dr. Paul D. Brand with the leprosy victims, explains the importance of suffering in our life.

3.1.3.1. Meaning of Suffering

Viktor E. Frankl offered an alternative insight of the experience of suffering and pain rooted from his personal experience as a survivor of the Second World War (cf. Ritchie et al., 2018; Uemura, 2018; Von Devivere, 2018a; 2018b; Edwards & Van Tongeren, 2019). Frankl's experience led him to discover his understanding of the nature of human beings, which turned out to be a new psychological paradigm away from that of Freud and Adler (Ritchie et al., 2018). Frankl called this as "Logotherapy" based on the Greek term 'logos', indicating 'meaning.' Based on Nietzsche's aphorism, "...he who has a why to live can bear with almost any how," Frankl conveyed the significance of finding the meaning of life. Thus, a person who can see the purpose of one's existence can certainly overcome eventual circumstances, no matter hard and painful these would be (Von Devivere, 2018a). Frankl observed this 'meaning-finding' approach back in his experience in a Nazi concentration camp (Edwards & Van Tongeren 2019). He posited three triads of meaning-finding: (1) by creating a work or doing a deed; (2) by experiencing something or encountering someone; and (3) by the attitude we take toward unavoidable suffering (cf. Ritchie et al., 2018; Uemura, 2018; Von Devivere, 2018a; 2018b; Edwards & Van Tongeren, 2019).

Moreover, Frankl also found the irrevocable unity between the meaning of life and suffering. As part of human existence, suffering is a glaring, undeniable element of life. The challenge it posits, however, is the ability to metamorphose suffering to an event that will help a person find one's value. In so doing, a conversion of mere experience of suffering to a purposeful avenue to appreciate life itself (Edwards & Van Tongeren, 2019). However, Frankl warned that the inability to find meaning amid suffering could lead to 'existential frustration' (cf. Ritchie et al., 2018; Uemura, 2018; Von Devivere, 2018a; 2018b; Edwards & Van Tongeren, 2019). This condition, which results from the dearth of characters, initiatives, and values to direct one's conduct, gives rise to an 'existential vacuum.' The existential vacuum is essentially exhibited in states of dullness, indifference, tenacious hunts of corporeal desires, and unchallenged conventionality to the supreme central communal leanings.

Frankl added that logotherapy could help a person overcome the existential despondency over the seemingly meaninglessness of life (Von Devivere, 2018b). However, logotherapy does not aim at providing the individual with a ready-made meaning. Instead, it facilitates the discovery of meaning by the individual who lacks it. Thus, meaning-finding remained to be necessarily a prime responsibility of a person (Uemura, 2018). Lastly, the message that is prevalent in the writings of Viktor Frankl is that no matter what type of suffering a person endures, as long as one holds to his or her faith that everything happens for a reason, he or she can survive. By doing so, individuals can combat the storms of their lives with the strength and determination to overcome the trials of life.

3.1.3.2. The Gift of Pain

Philip Yancey (2000), wrote his celebrated book, *The Gift of Pain*, about the investigation of Dr. Paul Brand on the mystery of pain. Dr. Brand is renowned for being a medical surgeon of leprosy victims in India (Yancey, 2000).

Yancey (2000) accounts mainly focused on “*enabling people with leprosy to live healthy and productive lives.*”

Dr. Brand discovered that lepers lost the ability to feel pain (Yancey, 2000). Lepers lived as if they unnoticed pain, which could eventually harm themselves, especially when they cut a part of their body. Although leprosy is not a contagious disease, the loss of ability to feel any untoward feeling leads leper to develop ‘bad flesh.’ Thus, the absence of pain is the greatest enemy of the lepers (Yancey, 2000). Throughout the book, Dr. Brand reiterates that because lepers cannot feel pain, they are without the body’s most basic protective mechanism (Yancey, 2000). Such experience leads Dr. Brand to discover the gift of physical pain. He claimed that because leprosy damaged the awareness of pain in the affected parts of the body, victims harmed themselves without them noticing it. From this clinical finding of Dr. Brand, the need for pain is inevitable (Yancey, 2000).

Pain is an essential aspect of human health. It is an indicator that tells us something is wrong. It has a value that becomes clearest in its absence (Yancey, 2000). Pain could act as a warning that will help prevent further injury. As opined by Brand (as cited by Yancey, 2000),

“...the pain signal begins with an alarm which goes off when nerve endings sense danger. The pain signal can be blocked before it reaches the brain. The spinal cord and base of the brain act as a gate to sort out which of the many millions of signals from different parts of the body deserve to be forwarded to the brain. There the prescreened messages are sorted, and the brain decides on a response. Pain doesn’t exist until the entire cycle of the signal, message, and the response has been completed.”

Pain offers with a caution which we have to listen to (Yancey, 2000). We need to ‘befriend’ pain despite being an ‘unwanted’ gift. Pain is the method our body tells us that noteworthy modification is stirring in the human body. It is the very unpleasantness of pain that makes it so effective at protecting humankind (Yancey, 2000). Pain is not the enemy, but the loyal scout that announced the enemy (Yancey, 2000). Thus, pain truly is the gift which, unfortunately, nobody wants.

3.2. Pain and Suffering as Sources of Happiness

Human suffering can be meaningful, depending on how we deal with it. Kapoor et al. (2018) purported that of all the goods that human beings seek, happiness would seem to qualify as the ultimate aim. From such stand point, this paper inquires whether pain and suffering can somehow help us in finding real happiness. How can my suffering help me attain happiness? This question becomes very interesting since the idea of happiness is equated to pleasure. Thus, the problem of defining happiness is not just an abstract, theoretical problem but a practical issue that confronts humanity from time to time.

3.2.1. Happiness in the Context of Pain and Suffering

Happiness is a summary judgment about the way the episodes in the life of individual extract values from the situations in which one finds oneself (cf. Cassol et al., 2018; Kewalramani & Ahirwar, 2018). It is not, therefore, fulfilling an ideal life that is free from any painful experience and only seeking for what is pleasurable but is, instead, about responding to what has value in our situation. This view explains why people of ordinary ability or some disability often reported being happy even under dire conditions. And why people with rapidly rising expectations under conditions of plenty, as well as enormously successful people, can nevertheless be unhappy, for they have not yet learned to grasp what is genuine value in their circumstances (cf. Compton & Hoffman, 2019; Binder, 2019).

All things in the universe have ‘a purpose or end,’ according to Aristotle (cf. Dahlbeck, 2018; Wladika, 2019). For Aristotle, in achieving happiness, ‘virtues’ must be developed through an optimistic outlook of life (Çifçi, 2019). Hence, for Aristotle, it is through cultivation of virtues, which a person acquires, through a constant disposition of oneself towards the proper good that is genuine happiness. An adequate theory of happiness must explain why it is more than simply feeling good about life. Aristotle proposes a definition that will help us better understand what

it means of being truly happy (cf. Dahlbeck, 2018; Wladika, 2019). Happiness is a pattern of activity and judgment through which one finds meaning, through the use of reasoning, in each of the many different experiences that a person has. By so doing, one acquires virtues that will enable the person to seek the 'purpose of one's existence.' Aristotle (as cited by Wladika, 2019) wrote that

"...living life according to reason is our purpose and living a remarkable life is to reason well and act accordingly. To achieve such a life is to achieve happiness. It is our ultimate purpose, the end to which all other goals are subordinate."

Just like any other experience, the experience of suffering is directed to an end. If a person wants to be happy, one must respond to any experiences in ways that produce the dispositions and attitudes associated with happiness (Çifçi, 2019). Thus, one fails to be genuinely happy if one cannot deal with any experiences positively. The vulnerability of experience makes them valuable (Çifçi, 2019). Happiness does not arise from making oneself invulnerable by evading unbearable suffering but by acknowledging vulnerability and by having successfully cope with it through developing the 'attitude of care' (Çifçi, 2019). So that, through recognizing the value and vulnerability, one understands the importance of human suffering as an essential part of the fragility of life that will help a person in the cultivation of virtues and attainment of the real purpose of one's life which is to be truly happy (Çifçi, 2019).

3.2.2. *The Instrumental Value of Pain and Suffering*

The discussion above pointed to the reality of pain and suffering as an experience that helps a person to cultivate virtue, which directs a person to achieve happiness. The 'instrumentality' of pain paves a way to discover the value of human life. Immanuel Kant, for instance, (as cited by Eberl, 2018a, 2019b, 2019c) proposed a moral theory on happiness that valued proprietorship as owning. Albeit, euthanasia advocates, see the action-itself as a defining behavior to alleviate and regulate the destiny of a suffering person (cf. Tada, 2018; May, 2019; Miller et al., 2019; Taqi, 2019). What they fail to know is that an individual could be more positive in one's action by 'redefining' one's fate through looking for the meaning and value of the experienced rather than merely rejecting it.

The cultivation of virtue and exercise of autonomy of an individual does not only focus on a superficial finding of the value of the experience of suffering. Rather it holistically defines interrelatedness of lives between the suffering individual and persons surrounding the former (Eberl, 2018a, 2019b, 2019c). Fowler (1996) contends that

"... we do define ourselves in suffering both as individuals and as participants in the shared human condition. It is in suffering that we profoundly sense that our afflictedness at once is both intensely private and isolative, and yet held in common with all humanity. Our creatureliness, our lack of control, our consanguinity, our individuality, and our co-humanity confront us in suffering. Suffering is not ours to control in terms of how we respond to it individually and collectively."

Here, autonomy is not merely an exercise of controlling the experience of suffering, which would be very unlikely to happen since the excruciating experience of pain is undeniable, but, more importantly, by responding to suffering positively. Such positive responding could be done if the whole community supports an individual who is suffering. By this, we argue that the instrumental value of pain and suffering is defined by the proper understanding of real autonomy that is collective and holistic. The whole community exercises the universality of response by appreciating the instrumental value of pain and suffering. Such could be done by allowing the spirit of solidarity between the person suffering and the surrounding community.

Solidarity is a gesture that actively and positively transforms the anguishing experience of suffering and pain of an individual through the help and encouragement of the community. Ebert (2019c) opined that *"...when community supplies solidarity and purpose, suffering becomes an avenue to find the real essence of happiness."*

When the whole community showed solidarity and encouragement to the person who experiences pain and

suffering, one would grow in his or her interpersonal experiences with others. The person in pain could sense unity and respect to the dignity of self by seeing genuine care from those who surrounded him/her. One could spirituality grow, which made him/her psychologically and physically strong to some degree to fight for life. The opportunity to develop and to express the virtuous character, in exercising the duty to serve, and experience mutual love and respect, can increase the sense of self-esteem and overall self-fulfillment, which will eventually lead to the cultivation of virtue and achievement of the true meaning of happiness.

4. Conclusion

In summary, even if the practice of euthanasia were to be confined to those who voluntarily request an end to their lives, no physician could, in good conscience, participate in such act. To decide directly to cause the death of a patient is to abandon a cardinal principle – to do no harm to one's patient. The relief of suffering does not extend to an act. That presupposes that the life of a patient who is suffering is not worthy of being lived. Such would also mean that not even the patient, who is dying, cannot justifiably and unilaterally universalize the principle by which a dying life would be declared to be worthless.

The passive acceptance of suffering and inevitable death can lead to a patient's powerless defeat that will ultimately lead to the loss of control over one's destiny. While euthanasia offers some level of control to the patient or other persons who are to decide the fate of the patient, yet it includes resignation to suffering, a sense of surrendering one's will and power, by being in the act of escaping from it.

The recognition of the instrumental value of pain and suffering takes power and control over pain and suffering, thereby putting them in the hands of the patient and medical persons around him or her. Such becomes a profound exercise of one's autonomy and self-fulfillment for one to promote the value of pain and suffering rather than to allow suffering to devalue the patient by quickly taking its life.

To understand one's experience of pain and suffering, one must learn to accept that these experiences can have instrumental value for oneself and others as well. People who are surrounding the terminally ill patient are called to recognize that a suffering patient is a person in need of respect and love and is not like a broken machine that only requires a repair. They must assist the patient in realizing that one does not suffer and face death alone. The patients' pain and suffering are not vainly there but a way by which one can see the importance of life and how one's approach to suffering can be fulfilling to one's part and others through the cultivation of virtues. When the patient could recognize the instrumental value of suffering, one may gain a sense of right autonomous control over one's experience. Such that he or she can accept suffering as a friend or tame it as a pet, rather than wasting one's energy in fighting it as an enemy or escaping it as a predator. Thus, by seeing the importance and value of human suffering, surely one can adequately prepare oneself for one and indeed 'good death,' the root word of the misused term: Euthanasia.

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The "Playfulness" Meeting Place of Children's Art with Modern and Postmodern Art

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Abstract

In this article, we will seek to interpret the playful content of modern art, to identify those characteristics that enhance its playful character, its relationship with children's art and the extent to which the characteristics these still affect postmodern art. The writing of the article was based on study of literature, works of art as well as on observation (diary) and study of children's works due to the teaching in experience of the course of visual arts in primary education. The main findings are summarized in the fact that playful is a meeting place for children's art and adult art, since artistic creation is governed by the principles and norms applicable to the play. It was found that children's art is a source of inspiration for contemporary artists. That the element of playful features particularly the artists of the period of modern art. While the period of postmodern art is a reference to the oldest art, which was appropriated with a superficial approach without any internal process. Art during the period of postmodernism is not interested in covering the vital human needs, it does not use metaphysical language in the representation of the world, it is indifferent to authenticity, it is closer to the market, to consumption and to media culture. A culture that rejects the purity and dominance of the structure that is more playful, ironic and eclectic in style. Due to the fact that this issue has not been thoroughly studied, our findings may be a benchmark for future research and study. Therefore, it is considered interesting to investigate this particular question.

Keywords: Playfulness, Play, Creative Process, Modern Art, Children's Art, Postmodern Art

1. Introduction

The element of playful in art is a necessity. It frees artists from conventions and rules of the past and helps them to express themselves authentically. Many elements that exist in the process of the play exist in the creative process. There is a causal link between play and creativity (Bateson & Martin, 2013; Huizinga, 1989). Many artists such as: Kandinsky, Klee, Matis, Picasso incorporated in their work elements contained in the game as well as elements of children's art. These artists considered that the perception of a child who was free from the boundaries of common sense and the adult world was ideal for the artist. They considered infancy as the golden age of visual perception (Savoie, 2017). The present study examines the necessity of playful spirit in the artistic process as well as the quest for playmaking in the works of artists during the period of modern and postmodern art. He also studies

the general influence of children's art in contemporary art. The examination of this topic through the examination of works of modern and postmodern art we consider to be an important offer in modern literature. Further and more thorough study of the issue is needed in the future. In particular, the period of postmodernism needs to be explored in greater detail, whether the playful element and the characteristics that exist in the process of the play are found in the works of the artists of postmodernism.

The aim of this study is to highlight the importance of the playful spirit in artistic creation, especially today that the development of technology and media tend to make art a commodity. Art in its deepest essence was always a paradox even when it was clear in terms of its forms and content. Truth together and lie, reflection of reality but also its undoing or art is a play with its own rules of creation where players are the artists themselves. As Sniderman (1999: 480) argues, "All play activities exist in a real-world context, so to play the game is to immerse yourself in that context, whether you want to or not. In fact, it is impossible to determine where the "game" ends and the "real life" begins. The innovative Duchamp touches the ultimate of randomness, believing that art is nothing, but a small game among the people of all times. Art critic Tomkins (1965), referring to the art of Duchamp, said that Duchamp suggested that art could be a form of play, a play between the artists and the onlooker. For the remaining years of his lives, he sought opportunities to combine his love of art with his love of chess. Duchamp in chess game not interested in winning or losing at chess, but emphasizes the similar feeling he has playing the game in the creating art. Bradley Bailey's essay, "Passionate Pastimes: Duchamp, Chess, and the Large Glass", demonstrates that Duchamp's identity as a chess player is so thoroughly inter fused with his work as an artist that the two activities are aesthetically and conceptually inseparable (Naumann, Bailey & Shahade, 2009). When in the creative process there is the concept of playful, the process that is free from respect and submission to rules and principles then the expressive freedom defines the concept of artwork. Many creative people are extremely playful (Bateson & Nettle, 2014: 219).

Paul Klee is a typical example of an artist for whom the purpose of art is to uncover the truth through an original artistic creation that does not obey in rules, and which challenges the already existing rules of the time that cured. In his works he attempts an endoscopic idiosyncratic approach. He penetrates the area of the unconscious maintaining lucid consciousness and expressive purity. True art does not obey rules, but shapes each time its own rules, transforms existing ones into a climate of freedom and spontaneity. The artist, free from contracts, hints, and bans, is called to give the battle with his material, to organize his space and to express himself. The canvas becomes thus the arena in which painting develops as a part of the artist's life, the place of expression of the emotional world. In this battle the result will be judged by the degree of freedom of the creator. When, the creator senses there are all the elements that exist in the process of play then the outcome is successful. The playful spirit, the perpetual childlike spirit, is what opens the portal of creation. Winnicott (1971) taught us that only by playing are the child and the adults free, to be creative. According to Schechner (2017:89) play is a mood, an activity, a spontaneous eruption therefore it is difficult to give it a definition.

In this study, the concept of the play is characterized by the ability according to Pieron (2003) to emerge from the current reality and to participate in a stance of free thought. The game is defined as a free act that is felt as imaginary and is found outside the daily life (Huizinga, 1989). The game is surrounded by mystery and weirdness it is voluntary, entertaining, out of the ordinary, focused on rules (Eberle, 2014:215; Savoie, 2019). It is characterized by expectation, surprise, enjoyment, strength, balance, understanding (Eberle, 2014:222). Features that we encounter in art, as pointed out by Huizinga (1989) art and creation emerge and develop as a game. The Schiller, it says that where there is aesthetic freedom, there is always the instinct of the game. Sicart (2014) believes that the enthusiasm, motivation and willingness to engage, which characterize playfulness, are more important than the game itself. Dewey (2010) considered playful as more important than play because one may play without being really playful.

Many scholars agree that playful is a personality predisposition that makes the person more likely to get involved in a situation or environment to make it more enjoyable or fun (Barnett 2007; Glynn and Webster 1992; Trevlas, Grammatikopoulos, Tsigilis & Zachopoulou, 2003). Glynn and Webster (1992) uncovered that playful adults are spontaneous, expressive, fun, creative, and silly. The similarity in playfulness factors for children and adults suggests that playful remains, in many ways, consistent across age. The benefits of playfulness are common for

children and adults, including enhanced creativity, humor, motivation, and positive affect (Barnett 2007; Glynn and Webster 1992; Guitard, Ferland, and Dutil 2005; Tegano 1990). Huizinga (1989) considered that humans are *Homo ludens*, an inherently playful species. In this study, "playful" is used to describe that state of mind in which a person can think flexibly, take risks and allow emergence creative thoughts (Youell, 2008). In the first section, the introduction of this study is a reference to the objective of the study, a brief presentation of its modules, as well as a general reference to the concept of playfulness, play and creative process.

The second section of the study analyses in theory the necessity of the playful spirit in the creative process. Initially reference is made to the concept of playful and its characteristics. The effect of children's art is examined in the works of great artists of the period of modernism. Then reference is made to the playful character of artistic creation. The third section examines the concept of play work through works and artists of the period of modernism, becomes a more specific reference in the decades of 60 and 70. The fourth section approaches the period of postmodern art and its basic characteristics. Reference is made to the concept of playful spirit during the period of postmodernism while at the same time investigating its effect on works of art during that period. At the same time, art is examined during the digital revolution. A combination of literature, artwork and calendar was used for the purpose of the implementation of this study. The collection of data was carried out through the study of the bibliography and through the recording in a diary of personal observations of the author during his teaching as a teacher of visual arts in primary education and as Artist.

2. Playfulness is essential to art and creativity

In the painting work of many artists of the 20th century becomes evident the need of the artist to find through his art the virtues of childhood. Miro claims that he managed to paint well when he "unlearned the technique and entered the space where mind and hand move freely". Miro's work is distinguished by poetry, childhood, imagination, humor and the spontaneity of the play. His works are scattered by organic forms and shapes that constitute his personal semantics. A semiology that, while codifying and "refining" his rash feelings, never stands in the way of the innate "childhood" and the spontaneity that distinguish his writing. Humorous, imaginative and seemingly at least childish-naïve shapes seem to hover in an enigmatic space. Miro and many other spiritual people have urged liberation from the bonds of rebirth and neoclassicism, going back to the roots of civilization, prehistory, the child, the subconscious. Miro borrowed evidence from these roots, but he himself was a great child, a modern primitive, creating images of timeless and global scope. Miro is the best example of *Homo Ludens*, the man who plays, the term invented by the Dutch philosopher Huizinga (1989). With his book *Homo Ludens*, Huizinga (1989) introduced the game as a fundamental element of civilization, which permeates the basic activities of society. Huizinga (1989:237) believes that all human activities, which produce meaning and meaning, have the structure game. Miro, with his spontaneous and perfect, innocent and infallible technique, proves in a society that the less he generates the more he produces, that if it is too much trouble, the creation is a free activity.

2.1. The children's painting inspiration for the artists

If we look at child painting and see it free from rules and conventions, then we may feel its power. We need to learn from child painting if we want a true art. For the child, the image is not a communication desire. It is the visible part of a personal, private and internal energy that acquires meaning only in the area of his personal effort to face reality. Child painting is a vector of a tremendous unconscious power according to Kandinsky where in his teaching in Bauhaus, he used very often children's paintings (Argan, 1998:486-489; Worgwag, 1998:71). The expressionist of the movement of the "Blue Rider" poetic and undercover based on an instinctive primitivism that emphasizes the abstract forms, the psychological and symbolic aspects of the, line and the color, studies and leverages the children's Painting as a source of inspiration. For children painting is not an activity separate from the rest but a need as natural or imperative as the need to eat or play.

Lack of photo shading, molding, transparency, lack of perspective and three-dimensional performance of space, vivid colors, emotionally charged proportions, coarse contours, explosive lines and colors elements found in Children's painting influenced many artists such as Kandinsky, Klee, Miro, Calder, Dubuffet, Chaisac, Tinguely,

Niki de Saint-Phalle, Dufy, Picasso. All these artists recognized the artistic effort of the child as a genuine form of art and admired it for its characteristics that differentiate it from the art of adults. This recognition had already contributed from the late 19th early 20th century studies on children's designs of E. Cooke, G. Kerschen steiner, G. Luquet, the development of pediatric psychology Morgenstern, Piaget, the art historian Corrado Ricci who acknowledged the Children's drawings as an art form, large exhibitions with children's designs in galleries of Europe and Russia, the theory of significant form, the theory of Gestalts, and the writings of Freud.

All, of these artists approached children's art consciously to borrow those elements that would help them release their work by abandoning conventions and rules that restrict the authenticity of expression. Today more than ever we need simplicity, immediacy, and sincerity of children's art. But to assimilate all these elements and to integrate them creatively into our work, to become the common of children's art, it is necessary to descend into the world of kids, a world in which painting is needed both natural and imperative and the Game."The game is the child's first initiation into art, or rather the first tangible specimen of art", said Baudelaire (1996:33, 36). Artistic creation is an adventure that continues until the completion of the project. The children experience this adventure through the unknown that unfolds before them, ignoring the result, for completion, for the finished imaging of the work. It is necessary to rediscover the child in us, to discover or rather to recognize our living space, and our ability to play. The vital space for the adult is a place of internal personal experience and experimentation. It is the space where lack and emptiness is recognized and symbolized by creativity, as symbolized in the small child with the intermediate object, namely with the game. The world that manufactures the child in the game is in the measure of his ego, which causes him relief and emotional balance (Tsiantzi, 1996).

2.2. The playful character of artistic creation

I find the child in my means that I can to dream, to admire, to be surprised and to risk the characteristics that we encounter in every genuine form of art. Let us not forget that rational thinking does not take us too far and that language, poetry, music, art, science is rooted in the myth created in the childhood of mankind. Let us open ourselves to the spirit of childhood, let us surrender to it, only then will we feel and live the words of Rillke (1996:71) "oh how thou my soul in the wooden horse, you grabbed someone and carry him over there into the realm of the nonstop heroic, where one is fiery and glorious with the most terrible stirring in his hair". When the artist begins the battle with the canvas, a battle with his self tries and struggles to reach the opposite shore without always clearly is clear of its boundaries. The artist in this battle becomes creative only when he could internalize and exploit the psychic potential of all the previous stages of his lives. Mamford (1997) argues that "the artwork is the visible fountain of drinking water, with which people share their deep hidden experiences. Art comes from the need for man to create for himself, beyond all the demands of simple animal survival, a world full of meaning and value from his need to be thoughtful, to reinforce and to promote to more permanent forms those precious Pieces of his experience, which would otherwise be avoided too quickly or would sink too deep into his unconscious and would be impossible to recover". In this battle, the artist discovers every time a new road as soon as possible and again without end. Really who is the one who defines the end, the work itself is what sets the boundaries of the artist simply follow. There is no end to the creative process a sequel governs the Painting Act, since it arises from a need undefined that cannot be harnessed, this need is as compelling and natural as the game. When in this process there is the playful spirit then its result is genuine and true, element necessary in every work of art. The ability to play is ubiquitous, in every creation, in every work of art, in how we live the everyday life. Schiller (2006) wrote "man only plays when in the full meaning of the word he is a man, and he is only completely a man when he plays".

The play involving creative seeds are not a mere memory of experiences, but a creative re-creation, a process in which the child combines the data of his experience with each other to build a new reality, which responds to its curiosity and needs. The creative function of a fiction is a function essential to the birth of artwork not only to the child but to the adult. The play is a free activity that moves within its own boundaries regarding space and time, according to rules freely accepted. It is an activity which is not related to any necessity, utility or material interest. The game is outside the logic of everyday life, has nothing to do with duty or truth. The action is accompanied by a sense of exacerbation and intensity, to follow the jubilation and relaxation. It is difficult for anyone to deny that

these qualities apply equally to artistic creation. The playful character of artistic creation is so evident that it hardly needs to be explained by examples. The play as well as artistic creative activity is a free activity we play only if we want whenever we want and for as long as want. This freedom, this margin granted to the action of the player, artist is an essential element of game as well as of the creative process and partly explains the pleasure it causes. The result is uncertain, and there is up to the end doubt as to the outcome.

Art does not obey logic, or theories, which it constantly denies, has its own logic and is not interpreted in words (Barron, 1969). The artist as the child often does not know whether what he did is good or bad. He simply feels the need through his work to express and announce to others his attitude towards a situation, an experience, a feeling (Fisher, 1972: 8). The child designs for himself and not for others, he designs what he knows and not what he sees, he plans to better understand what he partially knows. He wants to make his mark we would say to express his identity, the fact that he is a special person. In the play, there is the possibility of improvisation many times imperative and necessary. In the play, there are rules, not fixed or strict, rules that suspend normal laws, which temporarily create a new law, rules that, are voluntarily respected and that even the player can break. The rules of the play offer security so the player has a greater scope for freedom of action. If we look back on the art history, we will see that the same is true there.

In painting, for example, the laws of perspective are largely conventions, creating a common recognizable style. These rules have a something arbitrary each artist has the right to reject them and paint without them, namely, to compose his work beyond the established conventions. Especially after the First World War, and under the influence of the Armory Show the new trends in art showed that the artist could turn his creative energies into the subconscious, explore the pure visual forms and structures, and transform the sense of time, a space and movement, art could no longer be defined solely based of Virtualization, Renaissance perspective and classical proportions. The way of representation of space is not common in all seasons and cultures. According to Panofsky (1991) the representation of space is not an objective, but a symbolic form that responds to the general worldview of various cultures. Each artist expresses a different aspect of the infinite reality through forms symbolic and proportional to the level of consciousness that he has conquered. So, a simple theme acquires various levels of meaning. Various ways of artistic expression-according to Chapman (1993) can be considered as different ways of understanding life, and human experience.

Kandinsky, in the catalogs of the "Blue Rider" exhibitions at Glot 2 Gallery, announced in 1912 the purpose of the movement we do not promote any specific form, we only want to illustrate through the variety of presented forms the Different expression of the internal necessity of each artist (Kandinsky, 1977; Kandinsky, Marc & Lankheit, 1989). Himself in the "first abstract watercolor" project approaches the world of forms with color spots and linear shapes that grow freely on the painting surface as if he was a small child who faces for the first world (Selz, 1957: 127,132). The expressionist of the "Blue Rider" which emphasizes the abstract forms, the psychological and symbolic aspects of the line and the color, studies and utilizes children's art as a source of inspiration. Painting can be the effortless expression of the artist's temper, such as the writing and mumbling s of a child who dives his fingers into the paint. But the artist proceeds beyond self-expression, the automatic projection of morphological elements that come from the subconscious (archetypal forms). The artist begins with a mysterious and amorphous substrate which in the second phase begins to delineate so that the lines determine the form.

2.3. The artistic process as well as the play progresses through contrasts

Modern art does not hesitate many times to abolish the nice as aesthetic value, and replace it by expressive ugliness or distortion. Art is not always beautiful the expectation for a pleasant and impressive result restricts the artistic process. The artistic process cannot be based on strict discipline and adherence to certain standard rules. At this point, modern art meets the children's paintings and the play. According to Gaillois (2001) the game is a free activity which ceases to exist once it takes the character of obligation or joins a productive feasibility. It resembles the artwork because although it seems unpredictable in its evolution, this does not mean that it is unregulated, but that it depends on the artist's freedom to invent solutions for the formulation of his work. Here you can see the

relationship of both the play and the artistic process with the fantasy world, which places both the play, and the artwork in a peculiar realm of space and time which varies from reality. And as the logic of a play is not characterized by a harmony of continuity but is built on internal contrasts that have an important role in its evolution, so the artistic process progresses through contrasts (Wallon, 2012). Contact with art for children is a pleasant, open and free activity. Children when they create-play feel satisfaction by participating in a process free from the meaning of what is right, and what is wrong. They express in their own way that it matters to them. They are not constrained by the expectation for an obvious and striking result, but most of all they feel that they have fun. According to the view of many educators, the game is an expression of the relationship of the child with the whole of life Lowenfeld (1991) considers art as a form of play, while we consider the play to be an art form.

3. Playful in modern art

At this point we will try through movements and artists to see where modern art meets the game. The effect of children's art on modern art as we have already mentioned was decisive. Many artists of the 20th century in their effort to liberate themselves from the bonds of Renaissance and Neoclassicism went back to the roots of civilization, prehistory, the child, the subconscious. Among these artists Miro borrowed elements from these roots to create a visual language that codifies and refines his emotions without ever standing on the way of the innate childhood and the spontaneity of scripture. Miro paintings are also distinguished for their imagination, humor, poetry, and lyricism characteristics that we often encounter in children's works. The art of Miro proves in a society that the more it produces, the less it creates, that if producing it is trouble to create is a free activity. Klee is resorting to the primary way of expressing children to create a code of visual communication beyond the visual reality. The paintings of the Klee with the playful rhythm of color patterns combined with the curious hieroglyphically shapes create the impression that they will begin to dance. His compositions are characterized by the "children's design", the imaginary element, the paradoxical titles and the sense of humor.

Another great artist of the 20th century Matisse (1999:326) had told Andre Verdet in 1952 that "we need to know to preserve the freshness of childhood in the contact we have with things to preserve this naivety. One must be a child in all his life, while being a man and drawing his power through the existence of things-and not weakening his imagination because of the existence of things". We must see things as if we were seeing them for the first time and like when we are children, the loss of this possibility removes from the artist and the ability to express them in an original and personal way. A typical example is the Dada that has been playful since birth. The challenge of Tzara, who argued that "art is not serious" (Caws, 2001:304). The Dada said that art is freedom from any obligation and therefore art is like a game that opposes every utilitarian act. The overthrow of every logical order and the apotheosis of the absurd paved the way for surrealism and metaphysical painting. The common place of play and surrealist are found in dreams and in games with roles, surrealistic games where the miraculous sprung from the random (Rosenberg, 1952; Stefanidis, 2002:420).

The element of playful is still in the works of German Expressionists. Their art may be a protest each apparent order, against beautifying and Aestheticism. The color itself forms the shape, and it seems to come from a vivid imagination here the color can become the message, which can allow the viewer to participate in the spontaneous knowhow of the creative person. Jean Dubuffet (1901-1985) one of the most important post-war French artists, considers art beyond fashion and gallery, is where you don't expect it, to those who paint like children, obeying their inner world. Action painting in its first stage was characterized by randomness and spontaneity. This randomness was associated with the gestural expressiveness of dripping in the works of Pollock, Mathieu and others. The play of free movement of the hand on canvas, the physical spontaneity of the dripping as genuine playful, was based on an anti-narrative and proverbial stage in relation to the playful of surrealism. According to Rosenberg (1952) the canvas was more like an arena on which the artist could act, rather than a space on which he would recreate, re-plot, analyze, or express an object real or imaginary. What would register in the crate was not an image, but an event.

3.1. Modern art in the decade of 60 and 70

In the decades of 60 and 70 with traps, environments and events, public participation was decisive for the uncontrollable effect of "Art play ". Many artists in the period of modernism had proceeded to an example of experimental action that appreciates improvisation, exploration and danger. These artists questioned the tyranny of the gallery walls and other institutional arrangements that isolate art from everyday life. During 70 the artists of the Fluxus movement (Joseph Beuys, Wolf Vostell etc.) open the boundaries of artistic institutions and destabilize any effort that marks a clear boundary between art and serious life, for example the performances of Kaprow (1993) and other members of the Fluxus group. These artists discovered an essential element of the children's play its vague and fluid boundaries (Rodriguez, 2006). These movements expressed the Dionysian and "festive" act of art which is indifferent to the outcome of the acts, definitively reintroducing the function of randomness and unpredictable. In these happenings the artists created an environment outside the canvas, and in the very life that was named "Theatre of the Painter". With happenings the artwork asks for the participation of the viewer to be completed. The happenings offered the experimental theatre the reappearance of pantomime. The reborn the interest in improvisation, released the movement to the dance and dropped the strict border between the professionals and amateur dancer. The basis of happenings was the theory of Cage based on Zen that theater art as "pointless game" or as an "action for the purpose of erasing the distinction between art and life".

The playful played a decisive role especially in the evolution of art in America. The Pop Art with the decorative use of the image for the criticism of consumerism and its apotheosis Pop Art will use a new visual vocabulary to criticize consumerism, technological optimism, "joyful society" and its apotheosis. It is a reaction of mocking, ironic and critical.

The kinetic art and the Op-Art are akin to playing through their love for randomness (Wind, 1963:98). The works of Op-Art create a visual game, (dizzying visual effects), the illusion that the colors in the works vibrate, the shapes move, and the patterns change one moment to positive and the other to negative (Arnason, 2013: 699-711). They cause the impression of a continuous movement since the movement is never real but is related to visual perception (Bridget Riley, Y. Agam, Carlos Cruz-Piez, Jesus Rafael Soto and Larry Poons). As the viewer moves from one end of the project to the other, the colors and shapes are appropriately positioned alongside each other, and with strict geometry they seem to change creating a visual game. In kinetic art instead the movement is real. The works are either self-propelled, or powered by the viewer, either by mechanical energy, electricity, electromagnetism (Jean Tinguely, Takis, Daniel, Young, Giorgio's Zongolopoulos, Rockne Krebs, Otto Piene, Xenakis, Vasilis Geros, Tanimanides), and either from the currents of the air, random movement (mobiles of A. Galder, Julio de Parc, Rickey). This creates a "new art" that seems to compose the speed, the sense of the play, the technique, and the joy. Typically, Tinguely (1960) with his self-propelled humanized machines, where they stagger, bounce, sound, break bottles, and paint with Surrealism's "automatic" writing, satiates our industrial era. He wants to exorcise the agony of the industrial universe by humanizing the machines. Marangou in 1995 wrote about the work of Takis in the exhibition, Fields of power, Hayward Gallery, London. "Takis's proposal is clear and straightforward. Art can be a game, and the game can be fun". It is easy to trace a point of contact between the Galder game, and that of Miro. But while Galder's forms operate simply as mobiles, without any further meaning and reading, the play in Miro's overalls is a game of ingenuity. In Miro according to Argan (1998: 537) "once the thin frozen surface of the logic is crushed immediately blooms the capriccio flora of the unconscious".

After 1965 they appear in the field of art, works which belong to an intermediate space – between the figurative and abstract art that we could characterize as an area of counter fort. In this area, there are trends such as: Post Minimal, Process Art, Conceptual Art, Land Art, Body Art, Art Povera, Fluxus. These tendencies dominate the decade of 70 and have a perception of the art that sometimes is related to the Dada perception of anti-art (seeking to release the art from its urban, contractual boundaries) and sometimes related to the perception The "Art as Concept" of Duchamp, enriched with ecological, experiential and communicative perceptions that came from the new life conditions of the post-industrial society (Naumann, 1999). Especially in the decade of 70 art forms such as mail-Art with the postal works of art to unsuspecting citizens through the post office, the copy-art of the copy,

the games with the photocopiers and the game of traces of graffiti, have not only playful character but they are pure games. In the late '70, the visual actions had begun to be accepted by the art world. The idealism of the '60 and the early '70 had been rejected and his position took realism and professionalism. In '80 the artistic scene in New York and not only, influenced by the spread of liberalism, urban ideals, conservative governments and dominance of the media, placed particular emphasis on the projection, and trade of art. The generation of these artists although they were familiar with the idea of the relationship of consumerism and the media surpassed the basic command of the conceptual art of the "idea over the product" and turned to painting and even with the traditional way.

4. The necessity of playfulness in postmodern art

In our time, cinema, advertising, television, video, e-mail, computers, the Internet and magazines impose a barrage of ready-made images (Asimov, 2004: 634). This makes it even more difficult for the artist to express himself in a personal way, as if he was seeing things for the first time. The full prevalence of urbanization and consumerism has gradually imposed uniformity and standardization on the social life and behavior of people, shaping the "mass culture". The media forms and digitally imposed "mass culture" at a fast pace in almost all society. Industrialization, urbanization, mass media have led to the consolidation of a commercialized mass and triviality culture. In the late 20th century despite the mobility that is observed in the Art field, art is an art mediated by the image of TV, mixes and mimics older forms and techniques (Fischer, 1981). The art movements of the second half of the 20th century do not present anything groundbreaking modernist, but they standardize the radical content of the movement's art of the first half of the 20th century. Duchamp himself, the leading figure of Dada, blames the newlyweds for uncritical transformation of the challenge into simple aesthetic value (Richter, 1966: 207, 208). Fischer considers as a symptom of this crisis the divorce of art from society which makes art a spectacle and a commodity (Debord, 2012). The art is disassociated from its social role where now the most advanced form of product is the image and not any specific product. An image recognizable, massive, lie, kitsch and understood by a large audience, who sees it in museums and buys it in the galleries. The term kitsch observes the author Milan Kundera defines the attitude of the one who wants to like it at all cost, and in the greatest possible number. Today the public is called to consume objects and fashions instead of visions. The subject is no longer at the heart of the world, autonomous and free to do, but is heterogeneous, both of himself and his social surroundings. The competitive disposition of the play, the challenge, the randomness has elapsed for the sake of "cooler" postmodern logic. The shift of sensitivity to the object and the cold art is perfectly correlated with the dominance of television and the P/C, "cold" cool objects according to McLuhan (1964) with which the generation of the 60 was raised. In 1969 Seth Siegel Laub organized an art exhibition with photocopies, the Xerox Book Project (photocopy book). In fact, they didn't need an exhibition space. The exhibition was the list and the works could be reproduced, shared, sent.

4.1. Art at the time of the digital revolution

Technological development has decisively influenced the art that it wanted to experiment and to express itself with the new media. Digital media enabled it to experiment. Very quickly the experimental creations acquired an "expressive dimension" and "digital art" was established in museums and galleries. Art, technology and technical relations are now becoming more and more intimate. In an era of digital revolution, the artwork becomes public domain. Copies of it may be circulated in cyberspace where if there is no interference on the part of users are all identical. Now the artwork is not interested in covering vital human needs, it does not use metaphysical language in the representation of the world. He is interested in the quantitative reproduction of art. Postmodern art is indifferent to authenticity it is interested in the quantitative reproduction of art. McLuhan & Gordon (1964) theory is confirmed where he underlines the catalytic role of mass media in shaping culture. The medium is identical to the message. That is, digital reproduction is identical to the artwork. Postmodernism seems to seek the fragmentary, the ephemeral, the discontinuity, preferring the difference from uniformity. Pluralism is the great opportunity and the big problem of postmodern art because it creates confusion and stress which instead of leading to the widening of optics often leads to the path of stereotyping, typical form of mass culture. Today art is a reference to the oldest art, which is appropriated with a superficial approach without any internal process. A new

more popular culture emerges, a culture that is closer to the market, to consumption and to the culture of the media. A culture that rejects the purity and dominance of the structure that is more playful, ironic and eclectic in style. As Cauquelin (2007) says in her book, *Contemporary Art* "The concentration of tradition and innovation, modern forms of presentation and look that is pointed to the past, characterizes what is called, conventional, postmodern." The Jameson (1991:54, 55) emphasizes the "shallow" and the preoccupation of modern civilization with the superficial appearance. While the culture of modernity could be judged based on certain fundamental criteria, hence, the distinction between high culture or low or popular or which could be even confrontational or provocative, postmodern culture is commercialized and judged by what gives immediate satisfaction and brings profits. He stresses that postmodernism has been enchanted by the "degraded" landscape of sloppy and the (kitsch), the culture of television series, and the reader's, the advertising and the motels, the post-midnight television programs and the B-movies of Hollywood, the so-called "literature" of the romantic vipers and thriller, the popular biography and the detective novels of mystery and science fiction. The essential content of genre art is emptiness and silence. It's "The open place of disappointment" by B. Oliva and "The Lost Country" of the T.S. Eliot. Today the work of an art is becoming more and more the form of an experiment, betraying the charm that the artists of the 20th century media have in its science and developments. In a technologically advanced society, where information and telecommunications technologies influence and penetrate all human activities, individual and social, and create what is called the information society and knowledge society, the role of the artist becomes, however, progressively more and more undefined.

As revealed by the study of literature, the existence and necessity of playful during the artistic creative process has not been studied in detail. The majority of research concerns the relationship of play in general with creativity. Due to this fact the findings of this study may be a benchmark for future research. It is therefore considered interesting to study this issue.

5. Findings – Discussion

The notes in the diary during the teaching of the visual lesson in Primary Education and the study of the literature showed that:

Art is a paradox, it has its own rules of creation but many times as the play does not obey rules but it overthrows the already existing rules. In the play there is the possibility of improvisation, there are rules voluntarily respected, not firm or strict where the player can break. Artists during the creative process are free to either follow or overthrow the rules as for example the period of modernism, especially after the First World War where artists ignore the rules of Renaissance perspective and classical proportions.

Art is a play between artists and the viewer (Tomkins, 1965). The decades of 60 and 70 with the traps, the environments the happenings, with the artists of the Fluxus movement (Joseph Beuys, Wolf Vostell etc.) public participation was decisive in the uncontrolled outcome of the "game of art". These movements expressed the Dionysian and "festive" act of art which is indifferent to the outcome of the acts, definitively reintroducing the function of randomness and unpredictable. In these happenings the artists created an environment outside the canvas, and in the very life that was named "Theatre of the Painter". With happenings the artwork asks for the participation of the viewer to be completed.

There were artists such as Marcel Duchamp where in their work the two activities of the play and creation are aesthetically and conceptually inseparable (Naumann, Bailey & Shahade, 2009).

The skill of the play is present in every creation, in any artwork (Winnicott, 1971). The playful character of artistic creation is so evident that it can hardly be explained by examples. Bateson and Martin (2013: 110) believe that many creative people are extremely playful. His research (Nettle, 2007) showed that people who are playful are also creative. There is obviously a causal link between the play, the playfulness and the creativity (Bateson & Martin, 2013). The research suggested that playfulness can facilitate creativity (Baird, Smolwood, & Schooler, 2011; Batey & Furnham, 2006).

The play as well as artistic creative activity is a free activity. We only play if we want whenever we want and for as long as we want. This freedom, the margin provided to the player's action as well as the artist is an essential element of the play as well as the creative process and partly explains the pleasure it causes. The result is uncertain and there is up to the end doubt as to the outcome. The artist as well as a child often does not know whether what he did was good or bad. He just feels the need through his work, like the child through the game to express and announce to others his attitude towards a situation, an experience, a feeling (Fisher, 1972).

It seemed that humor has common characteristics with the play such as: Social signals, linked to a positive mood, are inherently motivated and do not require additional external rewards. Humor helps the positive mood which according to Lyubomirsky, King and Diener, (2005) stimulates creativity.

The playful spirit is evident especially in the works of the artists of the period of modernism. The artists of modernism in their quest to liberate themselves from the conventions and rules of the past sought an art that inspired from the characteristics and virtues of children's art and the play.

From the decade of 80 we live a constant weathering of the social fabric. The person in the age of globalization is marginalized, alienated, crushed. It is no longer at the heart of the world, autonomous and free to do, but it is heterogeneous, both of itself and of its social Xs. It is called to consume objects and fashions instead of visions. In this environment, the barrage of images makes it difficult for the artist to see things as if they were seeing them for the first time.

Today the role of the artist becomes more and more undefined. Living in a technologically advanced environment characterized by complexity, fluidity and change, artists can create authentically only by playing as children. Research considers that there are serious threats to the full bloom of playfulness, play and creativity not only to artists but to children. Modern life poses serious threats to the full bloom of play and creativity in children (Johnson, 2007:8). This explains why modern research focuses on the constructive use of technology by children to build knowledge and skills while preserving their playful mood and positive moods, such as curiosity and creativity (Williams & Johnson, 2005).

6. Conclusion

We conclude that the playful spirit runs through every genuine and authentic form of expression. The playful is a necessity for contemporary artists since it helps them express themselves authentic. We have seen that many elements that exist in the play process also exist in the creative process. The creative process arises from an unspecified need as exciting and natural as the need for the game. When in the creative process, there is the playful spirit then the result is genuine and true, necessary element in every work of art. At this point, Modern Art meets children's paintings and play. There is a causal link between game and creativity (Bateson & Martin, 2013; Huizinga, 1989). Many artists, such as Kandinsky, Klee, Miro, Picasso incorporate in their work elements contained in the game, as well as evidence of children's art. The playful spirit, the Eternal Child spirit, is what opens the gate of creation. Huizinga (1989) considered that humans are, *Homo Ludens*, an inherently playful species. Only by playing the child and adults can, be creative Winnicott (1971). According to Gaillois (2001) the game is a free activity that ceases to exist once it becomes a liability. The play looks like a work of art, because although it seems unpredictable in its evolution, it does not mean it is unruly. It depends on the freedom of the artist to invent solutions for shaping his work. Here you can see the relationship of both the game and the artistic process with the fantasy world, which puts both the game and the work of art in a strange realm of space and time that differs from the reality. As the logic of a game is not characterized by a harmony of continuity, but is based on internal contradictions which have an important role in the evolution of, the artistic process develops through contrasts (Wallon, 2012).

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Access to Reproductive Health-Care Services and Its Impact on the Health of Women in Guma Local Government Area, Benue State, Nigeria

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Abstract

Reproductive health is a crucial part of general health and a central feature of human development. It is therefore an important component of health which serves as a precondition for human development as well as a central determinant of quality life. Since the 1980s' there has been increasing awareness on the need to pay special attention on the reproductive health of women by the government. Access to the reproductive health services has long been undermined, which can be viewed as an infringement on women's rights and compounded by other factors such as inadequate health facilities, economic, socio-cultural, belief systems and demographic factors. The study therefore sought to examine the impact of access to reproductive healthcare services on the health of women in Guma LGA of Benue State. Data was collected using a combination of quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques. The findings of the study indicated that a significant proportion of the population fall within the age bracket of 26-35, which represents 82 persons (41%). One hundred and twenty are married (61.5%), while 90 (45%) are farmers. Sixty nine persons (34.5) have at least secondary education. Majority of the respondents were Christians 150 (75%) while 120 (60%) live in rural areas. The fundamental challenges of reproductive healthcare services in Guma local government area stems from economic status/poverty. This fact was indicated by majority of (189; 94.5%) of respondents. The study observes that the real panacea for solving reproductive health challenges in the area is for the government to accelerate the pace of development. Development in this context consists of creating an economy with relevant social, economic and physical infrastructure for the well-being of women, in order for women to have full access to reproductive healthcare services, there is also the need for the government to make provision for adequate reproductive healthcare facilities and services, fund public health institutions and subsidized the cost of reproductive healthcare services for the women in Guma LGA.

Keywords: Reproductive Health, Health Care Services, Women's Status, Access, Poverty

INTRODUCTION

Reproductive health is a lifetime concern for all mankind. It is a fundamental aspect of the well-being of women as well as the prerequisite for social, economic and human development (Fatallah, 1998). Respect for women's reproductive rights and access to reproductive health services provides the basis for the overall well-being of the

human family. The health of any society cannot be assured unless women's access to reproductive health care services can be made available (Ujah, 2013). Unfortunately, this has been compromised due to the inability of government to provide for the necessary reproductive health services required by women as a result of other problems like accessibility, availability, affordability and sustainability.

The economic and cultural factors, notwithstanding has been consider as the major factors that play very crucial roles in deepening the reproductive health crisis in the local government area. Other factors like women's level of autonomy in making health care decisions, physical accessibility to health care services and the type of health services rendered, disease pattern and health care worker's attitude also affect their accessibility of reproductive health care services (Tinuola, 2009). This has resulted into several health consequences among the women in Guma Local Government Area.

The fact is that reproductive health is a crucial part of every general health and a central feature of human development since it occupies a central position in the identity of the health as well as the development of a given position. This as a matter of fact, made it a reflection of health during childhood, and crucial during adolescence and adulthood, which in no doubt sets the stage for health beyond the reproductive years for both women and men (United Nations Population Fund, 1995). The highest attainable level of health is not only a fundamental human right for all; it is also a social and economic imperative because human energy and creativity are the driving forces of development. Such energy and creativity cannot be generated by sick, tired people, and consequently a healthy and active population becomes a prerequisite of social and economic development (UNFPA, 1995).

Women living in developed countries of the world generally have a better access to high quality health care access, the higher percentages of their deliveries takes place in health care facilities with skilled attendants, whereby due to quality access to health care services maternal mortality or deaths has become a rare event in developed countries, where only 1% of maternal deaths occur, whereas in developing countries, these events are often fatal (World Health Organization, 2012). According to United Nations, (2007), seventy-five percent of maternal deaths occur during childbirth and the postpartum period, and the vast majority of maternal deaths and injuries are avoidable when women have access to high quality reproductive health care services before, during and after childbirth.

In developed countries for example, the maternal mortality ratio in these countries are low, in Canada 11 deaths per 100,000 live births, in the United Kingdom 8 deaths per 100,000 live births, while in Australia 4 deaths per 100,000 live births (Central Intelligence Agency, The World Factbook, 2013). They were able to achieve this through successful development of systems of care to harness scarce resources including human, educational and financial to maximize reproductive health; these countries were also able to meet the goals, policies and help prevent maternal mortality and morbidity (Muazu, 2009). Policies for example includes setting standards using evidence based protocols, improving staff strength and attitudes and most importantly have a long term maternal plan for the development of maternal health care (Tahir& Malik, 2002).

The average life expectancy is 40 years, with the lowest in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (35 years). Nigeria in general has a life expectancy of 44 years (compare this with life expectancy of 93 in Japan and 80 in Switzerland) (population Reference Bureau, 2007).

Women living in Guma have the least access to improved reproductive health care and other reproductive health facilities that could supply safe life as well as improved reproductive health, as only 45% of people (women) in rural areas have access to reproductive health care and safe life (UNICEF, 2005). About 70 percent of women in Guma Local Government Area do not have adequate access to reproductive health services. The most important component of health related to population and socio-economic development is the reproductive health of which is not the case in Guma Local Government Area of Benue state. The reproductive health indices in Guma LGA are therefore deplorable.

The fact also remains that women are not a homogenous groups, their lives vary enormously by age, class, region and cultural context. Similarly, their lives and sexual needs may vary considerably across different parts of the state (Singh, 2012). This explains why some of them go for orthodox care and some go for traditional health care. Though, most women seeking healthcare services often patronize traditional healers or unorthodox healthcare providers in the area.

Amidst the deteriorating health situation in the area, Guma is also confronted with the problems of a patriarchy where women are discriminated against in all spheres of life including having adequate access to reproductive health care services (Abbah, 2011). In this regard, the used of reproductive health services in such a context at times is determined by the males and influenced by the individuals perception of the efficacy of health services and the religious beliefs of the individual (Royston, 1989).

According to International Conference on Population and Development, (1994), reproductive health is a right for all women, men and adolescents. Reproductive health is a right which is indispensable to people's health and development, Reproductive rights embrace certain human rights that are already recognized in national laws, international human rights documents and other consensus documents (Principle 7.3 of the ICPD Programme of Action).

Guma Local Government Area still has one of the poorest maternal and child health indices in Benue state due to inaccessibility of women to reproductive health care, maternal mortality ratio ranges between 800-3000 per 100, 000 live births, life time risk of dying from pregnancy related complications of 1:8 (compared to 1:10, 000 in other developing countries), contraceptive prevalence rate of 8%, total fertility rate of 5.9, infant mortality rate of 100 per 1000 (Population Reference Bureau, 2015; National demographic and Health survey (NDHS), 2013; Society of Gynaecology and Obstetrics of Nigeria (SOGON), 2015).

Women in Guma local government area especially those who are economically disadvantaged suffer the highest rate of complications from pregnancy and child birth, STDs and reproductive cancers due to lack of access to reproductive health care services (Adepoju, 2011). Also, reproductive health knowledge and access to quality health care and maternal health services in Guma are poor with significant health consequences that have all contributed immensely to a deplorable reproductive health status among the women. This however ranges from unwanted pregnancy, complicated childbirth, venerable diseases and vesicle vagina fistula.

Appropriate reproductive health knowledge, belief and will power of women to access quality health services such as family planning services (preventive and curative) and other contraceptives means are essential for improvement in reproductive health of the women living in the area. The lack of access to quality reproductive health care services is the reason why many of them at their reproductive age suffer and die (Worku and Gebresilassie, 2008).

In Nigeria, right to health is recognized as a fundamental human right. Provision for health is contained in Chapter 11 of the constitution which embodies the economic and social policies of the country. Section 17 (3) (c), states that "the government is obliged to direct its policies to ensure adequate medical and health facilities for all persons, ensure that the health, safety and welfare of all persons are not endangered or abused". Furthermore, Nigeria is yet to embrace the concept of reproductive health rights because there are statutory, cultural and religious factors militating against women's reproductive rights (Ayanleye, 2006). The right to reproductive health seems to be a mirage in Benue state particularly in Guma Local Government Area of the state. The inadequacy or lack of implementation of laws and policies, the prevalence of systematic corruption, weak infrastructure, ineffective health services, and lack of access to skilled health care providers worsened by separation of responsibilities for the provision of health care among the state's three tiers of government are among the factors militating against the enjoyment of these rights (Ogundipe and Obinna, 2009).

Due to this, reproductive health care in Guma is still typical like that of most states in Nigeria where mass poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, disease, low status of women, unrestricted sexual behaviour resulting in high population

growth rate, harmful traditional practices and poor social amenities all combine to encourage reproductive ill health (Lawrence, 2014).

Inaccessibility and adverse health consequences of women in the area over the years have been linked to economic growth and development, it is therefore not surprising that these poor developmental indicators are impacting negatively on the reproductive health of women in Guma local government area of Benue state.

Research Objectives

The general objective of this research is to assess the impacts of reproductive health services on the health of women in Guma Local Government Area of Benue state. Specifically the study seeks to;

- i. To find out the various reproductive health care services available in Guma Local Government Area
- ii. To assess the impacts of reproductive health care services on the health of women in Guma Local Government Area.
- iii. To find out the various challenges faced by women in accessing reproductive health care services in Guma Local Government Area
- iv. To examine the strategies put in place to address the challenges of reproductive health care in Guma Local Government Area.

LITERATURE REVIEW: The concept of reproductive health

Reproductive health is a very important issue in the survival of any nation (Harrison, 2002). Without adequate reproductive health services to the people, the society will be rife with dysfunction and eventual breakdown. In fact, reproductive health is everything, without which all objectives of a society will be difficult to achieve. This is why it is considered as a dynamic condition, which involves the relative ability of a society to provide for the basic reproductive health services to its people (Steve, 2012).

However, the shift in the nature of health situation of the people has also forced several societies to consider a new ways of protecting themselves against any reproductive health challenges thus making many scholars to come out with different views about what the concept of reproductive health is all about (Beland, 2012). Accordingly, reproductive health for any society embodies a notion of health or conditions necessary in which people are able to have a satisfying and safe sex life and that they have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when, and how often to do so (Nwuko, 2014).

Also, for decades ago, conceptual issues relating to reproductive health were on the front burner in the development discourse on women. Several attempts have been made by different scholars to redefine the concept of reproductive health in which safe sex, ability to reproduce and right to sexual activities remain major parameters for explaining the concept (Nwanegbo and Odigbo, 2013). Reproductive health according to World Health Organization is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, in all matters relating to the reproductive system and to its functions and processes (WHO, 1976). Reproductive health therefore implies that people are able to have a substantial and harmless sex life and that they have the ability to reproduce and the liberty to decide if, when, and how often to do so. Implicit in this last condition is the right of men and women to be informed of and to have access to safe, effective, affordable, and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice and the right of access to appropriate health care services that will enable women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and provide couples with the best chance of having a healthy infant (Esine, 1987).

Nwolise (2013) in his own submission, argued that reproductive health deals with the reproductive processes, functions and system at all stages of life. For him, reproductive health encompasses all the processes that involves human sexuality and its ability to be able to function well. Schuster (1979) conceives reproductive health as the prevention, treatment, and management of reproductive illness as well as the preservation of mental and physical

well-being through the services offered by the medical, nursing and allied health profession. Christopher Gary (2003) also look at the concept of reproductive health care as the constellation of methods, techniques, and services that contribute to reproductive health and well-being through preventing and solving reproductive health problems. Lawrence Freedman (1998) on his part conceives reproductive health as all aspects of sexuality not necessarily related to reproduction. For him, it recognizes the fact that people may have sex for the purposes of pleasure, not just reproduction, and that people have health needs related to such sexual activity.

In a similar views, International Women's Health Coalition (IWHC, 1994), observed that reproductive health means having a responsible, satisfying, and safe sex life. Achieving sexual health requires a positive approach to human sexuality and mutual respect between partners. By recognizing sexual health and sexual rights, health and education systems can help prevent and treat the consequences of sexual violence, coercion, and discrimination, and can ensure that healthy human sexuality is enjoyed by all people and is accepted as part of their overall well-being.

Anderson (2012) in his own opinion, define reproductive health as sexual life free from disease, injury, violence, disability, unnecessary pain, or risk of death. According to him, it means sexual life free from fear, shame, guilt, and false beliefs about sexuality and the capacity to enjoy and control one's own sexuality and reproduction. Onoge (1975) also argued that reproductive health is the state of health and well-being, types of services, or an "approach" to service delivery. For him, this involves all the approaches that lead to safe sexual activities without any form of dissatisfaction.

We can therefore deduced from the foregoing definitions as stated above by the authors that reproductive health includes sexual health, the purpose of which is the enhancement of life and personal relations, and not merely counselling and care related to reproduction and sexually transmitted diseases. Reproductive health is a crucial part of general health and a central feature of human development. It is a reflection of health during child hood and crucial during adolescence and adulthood, sets the state for health beyond the reproductive years for both women and men, and affects the health of the next generation. The health of the newborn is largely a function of the mother's health and nutrition status and of her access to health care (Wikipedia, free encyclopedia, 2015).Consequently, it should be stated that what is called reproductive health in modern usage entails safe sex life including the reproductive rights between both men and women.

Women's Access to Reproductive Healthcare Services in Nigeria

Deprivations that lead to ill reproductive health among women are common in developing countries especially in Nigeria and the poor in Nigeria are particularly at risk (World Bank, 2000). The relationship between poverty and women access to reproduction health care can be seen as part of a large cycle, where poverty leads to ill reproductive health and ill reproductive health maintains poverty (Wagstaff, 2001). Yet, policies in these sectors especially for these negative impacts are often not based on health criteria.

The health sector itself tends to focus its interventions within the health-care delivery system, not necessarily in other sectors that are the sources of the problem. Similarly, naturally occurring ecological factors that can exert negative impact on all sectors (mosquito-borne diseases, floods, droughts etc) are seldom addressed systematically by any of the factor at risk, even though some factor may be exacerbating their effects. As a result, the enormous health benefits possible though interventions outside the health sector are not being realized.

Education is a long-established determinant of the demand for reproductive health and reproductive health care. It was incorporated as a determinant of the production function of health in the early Grossman human capital model of health (Grossman 1972; Grossman 2000). In that model better education allows an individual (women) to be more effective in converting health care and other health enhancing goods into health. The status of women, self-image and decision-making powers may all be increased through education, which may be a key in attending reproductive health services.

A recent study, by the same author, of the empirical effects of schooling on health found it to be the most important correlation of good health and women access to reproductive health are in general. (Grossman and Kaestner, 1997). Education of parents, particularly mother is also the most important in determining child health status and women access to reproductive health care. Maternal schooling, for example, was found to be the most important determinant of infant survival in a study in Pakistan (Agha, 2000). Effects are wide reaching. Many studies report a positive effect of schooling on basic indicators of health such as infant, child, and maternal mortality. Education theoretically has an ambiguous impact on the demand for health care. The marginal productivity of health care is enhanced, which means that less medical intervention is required for a given level of health. At same time better schooling or education may raise understanding, and appreciation of the benefits of health care, and hence demand for it. The overall impact of education probably varies according to the type of health care. Better schooling might be expected to increase knowledge about effective self-treatment such as use of homemade oral rehydration solutions.

Socio cultural factors according to Adamu (2003) also play a key role in influencing women's access and utilization of health care services in Nigeria. Adamu maintained that time and again women with severe health issues identified at different hospitals in Nigeria were in critical conditions upon arrival. Northern Nigeria is primarily Hausa and Muslim. Since men hold the primary decision making power in the society, the decision to go to a health facility in an emergency must wait until the husband (or in-laws) gives consent and this can cause serious health complications and possible death even though the women might be knowledgeable of health services (Adamu, 2003). At individual, group levels, cultural norms have a substantial role in influencing health care behaviors while cultural difference can also affect the responsiveness of the diverse population's health care system. At the national level, cultural norms may inform the formation of health policies and programmes (et al., 1998; Climbiri 2002; 2007).

On the part of the end users, there is also the problem of availability, accessibility, affordability and sustainability of services. Availability of health care facilities is an important problem as there is gross deficiency in the distribution of health facilities. Under normal circumstance there should at least, be a primary health centre within a five kilometer radius. In a national study on essential obstetric care facilities in Nigeria by the Federal ministry of Health, only 13.9% of the estimated annual births take place in health facilities (Federal Ministry of Health (FMOH), 2003).

Where the health facility is available, accessibility becomes the problem. This contributes to significant delays in accessing health care. In most countries, roads are inaccessible and transportation system is chaotic. Thus, when a person takes a decision to seek medical attention, it may take days to reach health care facility. Sometimes, pictures have been painted where patients are brought to the hospital on wheel barrows, bicycles, on donkeys or physically carried on stretchers. When eventually, the person arrives hospital, affordability of the available services becomes the issue. Recognizing that the majority of the populace lives below poverty line, especially in rural areas, it becomes easy to appreciate why most of our people can not avail themselves of the available health care facilities. However, with the emergence of the national health insurance scheme (NHIS), there may be a solution in sight. Nevertheless it should be noted that the NHIS did not target the rural populace when 66% of the population in sub-Saharan Africa live (population Reference Bureau, 2007) and who actually needed these facilities most. For those who can afford the cost of medical attention, it may be obvious that there is gross inadequacy of human and material resources for full medicare. In the same national study on essential obstetric care (EOC) facilities in Nigeria, it was shown that only 4.2% of public health facilities met the EOC standard (Federal ministry of Health, 2003)

Okonofua (2007) in his own opinion, identified the belief system as one of the challenges affecting women access to healthcare services in Nigeria. According to him, the belief system of most people (women) and the efficacy of the medicine also affect women in accessing the reproductive healthcare services. For instance, some women prefer to go for orthodox medicare while other prefer going to traditional medicine.

Challenges of reproductive health care in Nigeria

The developing world especially Nigeria bears 90% of the disease burden, but allocates less than 10% of its annual budget to health care. This misplaced priority is disastrous and places these countries in a vicious cycle ill health, disease, poverty and backwardness (WHO, 2000). Perhaps, a great deal of the underlying cause of disease, injury and death in developing countries beyond the preview of the health care system. They cover a range of physical factors (inadequate sanitation, water, drainage waste disposal, housing and household energy) and behavioural factor (personal hygiene, sexual behaviour, driving habits, alcoholism and tobacco smoking).

Many of these environmental and occupation related health problems turn into public health problems when they become widespread, a factor aggravated by inadequate public health infrastructure. Global health policy agency such as United States Agency for International Development(USAID), the department for international development (DFID), and the World Bank have supported the removal of EOC users fees as a strategy for breaking down cost related barriers to care (Ensor and Ronoh 2005). Empirical examples support this rationale; removal of user fees has been shown to increase utilization of maternal health services in Uganda, Burundi, and South Africa (Langer, Nyenda and Catine, 2000).

However, the free-to-use prognosis suffers from its dependency on existing health infrastructure and its narrow focus. A second problem is that the available resources are not evenly allocated to the most effective interventions, they are geographical concentrated in large cities, and do not reach the poor. Despite the WHO Alma Ata Declaration, the bulk of public health expenditure continues to be absorbed by hospital base care delivered at some distance from poor rural populations (World Bank 2004; Castro-Lee et al., 2000). Shifting the balance of resources further toward primary care would not necessarily have the desired impact on the level and distribution of population health, however (Filmer et al., 2000; Filmer and Pritchett 1999). There are major deficiencies in the quality of primary care delivered in many developing countries (Filmer et al, 2000; WHO 2000).

The medical profession has a great challenge in tackling these health related problems in Nigeria. The first task is the reversal of the brain drain syndrome that is currently taking its toll, not only in the health sector but also in other vital areas of the national life of Nigeria. It is ironical that such developing countries that should be manpower recipients are rather manpower donors. This has led to the depletion of the available human resources, especially of the highly skilled medical professionals. To worsen matters, some of the available health professionals are averse to working in public health facilities and rather run private medical practices. Such private hospitals are usually very expensive and beyond the reach of the average person.

In some cases, the system makes it difficult and frustrating for health professionals to function effectively and efficiently. Lack of facilities and equipment to work with are issues to contend with. It is frustrating but not uncommon that a radiologist could be employed in a facility without functioning x-ray machine or ultrasound, or a neurosurgeon could be working in a facility without computerized tomography scans.

Strategies Adopted to curtail Reproductive Health Challenges for women in Nigeria

Although attempts have been made in the past aimed at reducing reproductive health problems for women in Nigeria, such attempts, especially by the federal and state governments, have generally not proved very successful in achieving the desired results. Some promising results however have recently begun to be recorded through some policy initiatives by a few state governments. In Anambra state, the state house of assembly approved a bill in 2015, guaranteeing free maternal health services to pregnant women (Shiffman and Okonofua, 2007).

The state commissioner of health who is an obstetrician and gynaecologist played a central role in its development and adoption. In Kano state, the state government included in its budget a line item for free maternal health services. The former state commissioner of health together with a senior obstetrician, and gynaecologist, played central roles in creating this positive environment for reproductive health in Jigawa state, state and local budgets provided funds for the upgrading of obstetric care facilities in hospitals, the recruitment of obstetricians and

gynaecologists and the provision of ambulance at the local level to transport pregnant women experiencing delivery complications to health facilities. The former executive secretary for primary health care, who subsequently became state commissioner for health, stood behind these initiatives.

Despite all these, the challenges still remain the same, many researchers therefore have come up with what they consider as strategies to curb the challenges of reproductive health services among women. Some are of the view that to solve the challenges of reproductive health, it will involve a preventive approach while others suggest a long-term approach. For instance, Adewale (2012) suggests that the use of preventive measure should be adopted as this will involve the evolution of strategies that will tackle the major causes of reproductive challenges among women. Similarly, Alison (2002) was of the opinion that the preventive strategies will solve the problems of reproductive health among women. He opined that policy makers and stakeholders should involve in the provision of reproductive health information and services to women as well as come up with effective communication strategies that will lead to behavioural change.

Remez and Woog (2001) in their own opinion, argued that the government should make provision of health facilities that will be able to cater for the reproductive needs of the women. According to them, this will provoke the provision of the following facilities to reduce it; enforcement of health facilities control by the government, adequate funding, provision of basic health infrastructural facilities among the health centres, control of reproductive health facilities inflow into communities.

In a similar manner, Mangirazi (2013) also observed that the provision of reproductive health facilities will help curtail some of the challenges affecting access to reproductive healthcare services among women. According to him, this will solve the problems of availability of the health facilities. Blanc (2009) in his own view, summed that providing women with sexual and reproductive health information and services is key to solve the challenges of reproductive health as well as to enable them to make well informed choices about their sexual and reproductive health. Atuyambe (2011) in his own view, argued that the only tool which proves to be beneficial in the prevention of reproductive health challenges among women is sex education. According to him, people who receive clear information on sexual conduct from others are more able to practice risk reduction behaviours such as delay of sexual debut and consistent condom use.

In a related development, Dennis (2002) also observed that there is a need for appropriate communication channels which will take into account the technical formats of messages; information needs behaviour, norms, values, beliefs and socio-cultural context of rural communities. According to him, these factors play pivotal roles in influencing women's decisions regarding their sexual health as stipulated by the excellence in communication model that understanding audiences and building relationship with them are important components for behavioural change.

According to Lange (1998), the government should make initiatives through policy making that will help tackle some of the reproductive health challenges among women. He argued that these initiatives will help to introduce free maternal care, usually through user-fee waivers. He further explains that these policies mostly do not seem to be adequately planned for and are consequently unsustainable. The main challenge to the introduction and implementation of user-fee waivers is the provision of adequate number of skilled health care personnel to handle the huge influx of pregnant women who come to avail themselves of the free maternal care services. A second challenge is that large amounts of drugs are used up in very short periods of time. Also, an overwhelming amount of clerical work is required to account for the distribution and use of medicines. Hence there is need for adequate planning before the introduction of user-fee waivers. This will help reduced reproductive health challenges among women.

The Lagos state Government once adopted this strategy, in an effort to stem the tide of maternal and child deaths recently set up five maternal and child care centres (MCCS) fully equipped and well-staffed to provide a wide spectrum of care including family planning, ante-and post-natal care to facilitate safety of women during child

delivery. The MCCs are located in surulere, Ikorodu, Isolo, Ifako-Ijaiy and Ajeromi. Other locations include Alimosho, Ibeju-Lekki, Epe and Badagry among others (Sunday Punch 2012).

One recent initiative that seems to be successful is the Ondo state Government initiative known as Abiye. This initiative in the rural communities in Ondo state, uses, mobile phones to save lives of indigene pregnant women. According to the World Bank (2008) 51.6 percent of Nigerians live in rural area, most of whom are cut off from modern medical facilities, making pregnant women vulnerable to readily preventable adverse outcomes. Most of these adverse outcomes result from delay in seeking care, getting to health centres when care is sought, receiving care on getting to the health centre, and referring patients to more advanced centres when necessary.

In the Ondo state initiative, pregnant women go for antenatal care at primary health care centres where each one is given a mobile phone. The pregnant women are put in government prepaid, caller-user groups and tracked by trained personnel so the pregnancy is monitored. Calls to the health care personnel are toll free. The pilot scheme is in Ifedore local Government Area of Ondo state (Sunday Punch, 2011). Primarily because the lines are toll-free the delay in seeking care is minimized to almost zero. The programme also takes care of the delay in reaching health centres since ambulances are stationed to bring in the pregnant women when they call. In emergencies, the health personnel go on motorcycle with a First Aid box. If it is something they can't handle, the women are taken to the general hospital.

A major shortcoming of all these efforts is that they are disjointed and uncoordinated, with each state working according to its own dictate and vision. What is required is an integrated approach to replicate successful programmes in other states of the country. The disjointed nature of these efforts is indicative of overall failure in leadership and governance in the health care sector and indeed in other spheres of Nigerian life. The resulting chaos manifests in inconsistent, contradictory, ill-thought-out, and ever changing policies. For instance, one stop-gap initiative introduced to address the issue of low proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel is the midwives service scheme. Under this scheme the three tiers of government are to share the costs of engaging midwives on a massive scale.

It is not clear, however, where the midwives are to come from since the relevant regulatory bodies, the Nursing and midwifery council of Nigeria and the Federal ministry of Health appear determined to drastically restrict the number of midwives and nurses that may graduate each year. As a result of regulations aimed at achieving such ends, many states do not have enough nurses and midwives to effectively meet the basic demand for maternal care, let alone handily things on a massive scale.

Not helping matters also is the unwillingness of governments in Nigeria to reveal how they spend money. It is difficult to comprehend the rationale behind the phenomenon of unspent funds whereby funds are usually returned as unspent at the end of each budget period even as 52, 00 Nigerian women are consigned to early graves owing to failure of the government to provide facilities to assist in pregnancy and child birth. A recent report by the centre for Reproductive Rights (CRR), notes that in 2008 Nigeria gave about 5% of its annual budget to the health sector. This amounts to just one third of what it promised in a regional treaty. And without it is difficult to find out who received the money and how it was spent.

In Benue State, in order to ensure quality reproductive health care services and women accessibility to the services, the government of the state have provides reproductive health care facilities such as buildings, hospital beds, enough drugs and train health personnel among others in all the twenty three (23) local government areas of the state. In addition to the above mention, the state government have employed traditional birth attendance and train them in order to be providing reproductive health care services in the rural areas (Benue state Health management board, 2013). Another area where the government of Benue state have been trying to improve on reproductive health care service is free immunization which involve pregnant women and children. Also, Benue state governments have made provision for antenatal and post-natal care services at very affordable prices.

The case is not different from Guma Local Government area as the local government have primary health care centre with train health personnel in all the ten (10) council wards of the local government area. This was done to ensure women access to reproductive health care services at affordable prices.

Theoretical orientation

The theoretical underpinning of the study is premised on the theory of help-seeking behavior. Theory of help-seeking behaviour has its roots in the writing of David Mechanic. This theoretical framework adopted offers insights on the mechanism and context underlying the challenges of women's access to reproductive health services as it affect their reproductive health. With regard to the theoretical framework, Mechanic (1968) developed a theory of help-seeking behavior to facilitate an understanding of this assessment process and how individuals act prior to (or instead of) seeking a health care provider. Mechanic traces the extreme variations in how people respond to illness to differences in how they define the illness situation and to differences in their ability to cope with the situation. The process of definition and the ability to cope are both culturally and socially determined. As individuals mature through lifestages, they are socialized within families and within communities to respond to illness in particular ways. Part of this socialization is observing how others within the group respond to illness and noting the positive or negative reaction their behavior solicit. Sociologists refer to this process as the social construction of illness.

Mechanic identifies 10 (sometimes overlapping) factors that determine how individuals respond to symptoms of illness.

1. *The visibility, recognizability, or perceptual salience of symptoms*. "Many symptoms present themselves in a striking fashion, such as in the case of a sharp abdominal pain, an intense headache, and a high fever. Other symptoms have such little visibility (as in the early stages of cancer) that they require special check-ups to be detected in their early stage."
2. *The perceived seriousness of symptoms*. "If the symptom is familiar, and the person understands why he has the symptom and what its probable course will be, he is less likely to seek reproductive healthcare services than if the symptom is unusual, strange, threatening, and unpredictable."
3. *The extent to which symptoms disrupt family, work, and other social activities*. "Symptoms that are disruptive, and which cause inconvenience, social difficulties, pain, and annoyance are more likely to be defined and responded to than those that do not."
4. *The frequency of the appearance of symptoms, their persistence, or frequency of recurrence*. "The more persistently ill a person feels, other factors remaining constant, the more likely he is to seek reproductive help, and frequent or persistent symptoms are more likely to influence a person to seek help than occasional recurring symptoms."
5. *The tolerance threshold of those who are exposed to and evaluate the deviant signs and symptoms*. "An individual's tolerance for pain and discomfort and his values about stoicism and independence, may also affect how he responds to symptoms and what he does about them. Persons vary a great deal in how much discomfort they are willing to tolerate and the attention they give to bodily troubles."
6. *Available information, knowledge, and cultural assumptions and understandings of the evaluator*. "The sophistication of patients about medical matters varies from those who are aware of the latest therapeutic developments even before their doctor to those who cannot identify the basic body organs and who have only very naïve notions of bodily functioning. Such differences in medical knowledge and understanding have considerable influence in how people recognize, define, and respond to symptoms."
7. *Perceptual needs which lead to autistic psychological processes*. Anxiety and fear may impact on symptom recognition and the decision to seek for reproductive health care in complex ways. Anxiety about reproductive illness may prompt quicker care-seeking, but fear of particular diagnoses may delay seeking help, thereby leading to inadequate access to reproductive health services.
8. *Needs competing with illness response*. People assign varying priority to reproductive health while illness symptoms might be a central focus for some, family, religious affiliation, sex, economic factor, attitudes, educational status and work-related activities are more important to others.

9. *Competing possible interpretations that can be assigned to the symptoms once they are recognized.* “People who work long hour suspect to be tired, and are therefore less likely to see tiredness as indicative of an illness. People who do heavy physical work are more likely to attribute such symptoms as backache to the nature of their lives and work rather than to any reproductive illness condition.”
10. *Availability of treatment resources, physical proximity, and psychological and monetary costs of taking action.* The cost of treatment/affordability, convenience of treatment, and the cultural and social accessibility of the provider also affect women’s accessibility to reproductive health care services.

The preceding theoretical discourse reinforces the notion that women’s access to reproductive healthcare services is compounded by a lot of challenges which hinder them from accessing adequate reproductive health services in Guma Local Government area of Benue State. There are significant social and cultural challenges that affect the way women interpret and respond to reproductive health symptoms such as pain. For example variations in response to pain are based on differing levels of pain tolerance that are culturally prescribed in different ways for women than for men or for members of different ethnic groups.

In other words, women's access to reproductive healthcare services in Guma Local Government area related to socio-cultural factors like beliefs, religious affiliation, educational status, sex, poverty, preference for male-child as well as poor funding of health facilities by the government which have affected the accessibility of reproductive healthcare services. We must emphasize that this is typically the situation with Guma Local Government area where the prevailing challenges are particularly associated with the attitude of the people in the area. However, the question of beliefs, educational status, attitudes, sex, religious affiliation, sex and issues relating to economic factor that have caused so much reproductive health challenges in the local government area among the women are mainly offshoots of meaning and attitude women attached to a particular reproductive health care service in the area.

METHODOLOGY

The study was carried out area in Guma Local Government Area of Benue state, Nigeria. Guma LGA has an estimated population of 490,712, (NPC, 2006). The local government area shares a common boundary with Tarka to the west, Makurdi to the south and Doma Local Government Area to the east, which is located in Nasarawa state respectively. The major ethnic groups around the local government area include the Tiv, Jukun and Kabawa. Other migrants like the Hausa/Fulani, Igbo are also found. The survey technique was adopted for the collection of data for the study. Sample was drawn from the population of men and women who are eighteen years and above. A sample size of 200 respondents was systematically selected from 20 villages within the ten (10) political wards that make up Guma LGA. Data was analysed using a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques of data analysis.

DATA AND DISCUSSIONS

This section presents, analyses and interprets the data obtained from the respondents in line with the research objectives. Salient issues considered here include major reproductive healthcare facilities and services, challenges, impacts of the reproductive healthcare services and strategies to curtail the challenges of reproductive healthcare in Guma Local Government Area.

Table 1: Reproductive healthcare facilities and services available for women in Guma Local Government Area.

Healthcare facilities and Services	Response		
	Yes	No	Undecided
Stretchers	156 (78%)	33 (16.5%)	11 (5.5%)
Ultra-sound	90 (45%)	52 (26%)	58 (29%)
Theatres for operation	45 (22.5%)	151 (75.5%)	4 (2%)

Testing machines	160 (80%)	5 (2.5%)	35 (17.5%)
Building/structures	50 (25%)	140 (70%)	10 (5%)
Condoms	184 (92%)	12 (6%)	4 (2%)
Cervical caps	148 (%)	20 (10%)	32 (16%)
Antenatal services	19 (9.5%)	163 (81.5%)	18 (9%)
Education and counselling	41 (20.5%)	129 (64.5%)	30 (15%)
Family planning	77 (38.5%)	95 (47.5%)	28 (14%)
Treating breast cancer & creating awareness	71 (35.5%)	69 (34.5%)	60 (30%)
Delivery of post-natal services	93 (46.5%)	36 (18%)	71 (35.5%)

Source: Field survey (2019)

Table 1 present's data collected on the reproductive healthcare facilities and services available to women in Guma local government area. The data collected reveals that 156 (78%) of the respondents said stretchers is one of the reproductive health facilities available for women while 33 (16%) disagreed, 90 (45%) of the sample respondents agreed that ultra-sounds are facilities available for women, 45 (22.5%) were of the view that theatres are also facilities obtainable while 151 (75.5%) have disagreed, 160 of the respondents representing 80% agreed that testing machines also constitute one of the reproductive health facilities available for women. Again, 50 (25%) of the sample respondents said building/structures are also facilities in place while 140 (70%) disagreed, 184 (92%) of the respondents have also agreed that condoms are among the facilities available and 148 (74%) out of the total sample of 200 also admitted that cervical caps constitute one of the reproductive healthcare facilities in the area. Data also shows that 19 (9.5%) of the respondents contended that antenatal services is one of the reproductive healthcare services while 163 (81.5%) were of opinion that there are no antenatal services available for women, 41 (20.5%) also agreed that education and counselling is one of the services while 129 (64.5%) disagreed. This is follow by 77 (38.5%) who feel that family planning is among the reproductive services in the area and 95 (47.5%) disagreed while 28 (145) were undecided. Out of the 200 respondents, 71 (35.5%) were of also opinion that treating breast cancer and creating awareness is one of the services while 69 (34.5%) disagreed and 60 (30%) undecided, 93 (46.5%) of the respondents conclude that healthcare services available for women is post-natal services while 36 (18%) disagreed and 71 (35.5%) undecided.

In an interview with a female health worker at Primary Health Care centre (PHC) in Gbajimba council ward, Guma local government area on the reproductive healthcare facilities available for women. She responded that;

"Theatres, laboratory, ultra-sounds testing machines, stretchers, condoms, are some of the few reproductive healthcare facilities available for women".

Again a male interviewee in Daudu community had this to say on availability of reproductive healthcare services for women.

"Family planning, antenatal care, post-natal care, educational and counselling, HIV/AIDS testing, treating of breast cancer and creating awareness are among the reproductive healthcare services for women"

This was corroborated by three female interviewees in Agasha community. They said:

"The reproductive healthcare services available for women include child healthcare, family planning, antenatal care, delivery, and post-natal care as well as HIV/AIDS testing and treatment, education and counselling services"

This implies that all the sample respondents are aware of the reproductive healthcare Facilities and services since most of them tried answering in affirmative.

Table 2: Impacts of reproductive healthcare services on women in Guma local government area.

Impact of healthcare services	Response		
	Yes	No	Undecided
Educates them on child-spacing	176 (87.5%)	17 (8.5%)	8 (4%)
Checking the health status	190 (95%)	6 (3%)	4 (2%)
Dealing with complications during pregnancy	138 (69%)	51 (25.5%)	11 (5.5%)
Maternal & neonatal mortality	159 (79.5%)	36 (18%)	5 (2.5%)
Improvement in Health conditions	183 (91.5%)	13 (6.5%)	4 (2%)

Source: Field survey (2019)

Table 2 presents data collected on the impacts of reproductive healthcare services on women in Guma local government area. The data collected indicate that 175 (87.5%) of the respondents agreed that reproductive healthcare services helps in child-spacing, 190 (95%) of the respondents admitted that it also helps in checking the health status of the mother and the baby during pregnancy and after delivery, 138 (69%) of the respondents were of opinion that it reduces complication during pregnancy, 159 (79%) of the respondents also agreed that reproductive healthcare services reduces both maternal and neonatal mortality, while 183 (91.5%) of the respondents agreed that reproductive healthcare services enhance women's reproductive health conditions.

In an interview with a female health personnel at Udei council ward in Guma local government area, on the impacts of reproductive healthcare services on women. She responded thus;

“The provision of reproductive health care services has helped women who have been able to access the services in Guma local government area especially here in Udei council ward. This is because; it improved their quality of life as well as their reproductive health conditions in general”.

This implies that reproductive health care services have positive impact on the reproductive health conditions of the women in Guma local government area.

Table 3: challenges affecting women's access to reproductive healthcare services in Guma local government area.

Challenges of healthcare services	Response		
	Yes	No	Undecided
Economic status/poverty	189 (94.5%)	7 (3.5%)	4 (%)
Awareness among couples	172 (86%)	15 (7.5%)	13 (6.5%)
Distance/proximity to the health facility	150 (75%)	48 (24%)	2 (1%)
Educational status	120 (60%)	79(39.5%)	1 (0.5%)
Traditional & religion beliefs	180 (90%)	18 (9%)	2 (1%)
Spouse (husband's) approval	140 (70%)	36 (18%)	24 (12%)
Inadequate medical logistics	168 (84%)	27(13.5%)	5 (2.5%)
Attitude of health workers	132 (66%)	65(32.5%)	3 (1.5%)
Non-chalant attitude among women	131 (65.5%)	66 (33%)	3 (1.5%)

Source: Field survey (2019)

Table 3 above shows that out of the 200 respondents, a total of 189 (94.5%) of the sample population affirmed that economic status/poverty is one of the major reproductive health challenges, 172 (86%) also identified the problem of awareness and enlightenment among couple as one of the challenges while 15 (7.5%) disagreed and 4 (2%) undecided, 150 (75%) of the respondents were of the opinion that distance/proximity to health facility make women to access reproductive healthcare services. This is because, if the distance of women to the healthcare centre is close, they can easily access reproductive healthcare services and vice-versa, 120 (60%) of the respondents said that educational status also contributes to the challenges.

Also, 180 (99%) respondents contended that traditional and religion beliefs do hinder women from accessing reproductive healthcare services in the area where the people attached much value to their traditional and religion beliefs and vice-versa, 140 (70%) agreed that spouse (husband's) approval is one among the challenges that hinder women in accessing reproductive healthcare services.

Again, 168 (84%) of the respondents admitted that inadequate medical logistics such as health personnel and health facilities hinder women in accessing reproductive healthcare services while 27 (13.5%) disagreed and 5 (2.5%) were undecided, 132 (96%) of the respondents said that attitude & negligence of health workers can hinder women from accessing reproductive healthcare services. This is because most of the health workers especially in rural areas do not care about coming to work daily & even when they come, they hardly stay up-till to the closing hour(s). This kind of attitude portrayed by health worker discourages many women from accessing reproductive healthcare services available for them, 131 (65.5%) of the respondents were of opinion that ignorance & non-chalant attitude among women also constitute one of the challenges. This is because; most women especially in rural areas are not aware of the implication of accessing reproductive healthcare services and as a result, do not bother themselves for it.

In an interview with a respondent in Uikpam council ward on challenges affecting women's access to reproductive healthcare services in Guma local government area. She said;

“Economic status/poverty is one of the challenges that determines the extent women can access reproductive healthcare services. This is because most women are aware of the availability of reproductive healthcare services around them, but they do not have the means (money) to even carry themselves to the area for the utilization of these services. Distance/proximity to the health facilities also serves as a barrier for women to access the availability of healthcare services. This is because, the closer the health facilities are to the women, the more they can easily access them & vice-versa. Finally, inadequate medical logistics such as health personnel, ambulance and health facilities also hinder women from accessing reproductive healthcare services in Guma local government area”

One of the female health workers was also interviewed on the at General Hospital, Torkula, in Guma local government area, on challenges affecting women's access to reproductive health care services. She responded that;

“Spouses (husbands) approval is one of the factors that facilitates or hinders women from accessing reproductive health care services. This is because most men do not allow their wives to access these services for personal reasons known to them. For example, there was a woman who came for family planning in this hospital and when she was asked to bring her husband before she would be rendered the services, she said; her husband will not approve this if he knows. This is because; he is not in support of family planning”.

The finding however suggests that out of the number of reproductive health challenges listed above, economic status/poverty has the highest frequency of 189 representing (94.5%), follow by traditional and religion beliefs with frequency of 180 representing (90%). This implies that the economic status/poverty including traditional and religion beliefs has been rate as the highest factors challenging reproductive healthcare services among women. Going by the analysis above, there is of course a paramount need to improve the status of reproductive healthcare in our society so that these challenges could be uncovered and ripped in buds at the level of conception otherwise, women will continue to suffer its unhealthy consequences in Guma local government area.

Table 4: Strategies for curtailing the challenges of reproductive healthcare services in Guma Local Government Area.

Strategies	Response		
	Yes	No	Undecided
Provision of health facilities	188 (94%)	10 (5%)	2 (1%)
Funding of public health institutions	191 (95.5%)	5 (2.5%)	4 (2%)
Women's concern in decision-making	165 (82.5%)	27 (13.5%)	8 (4%)

Subsidizing of healthcare services.	179 (89.5%)	15 (7.5%)	6 (3%)
Elimination of cultural beliefs	147 (73.5%)	40 (20%)	13 (6.5%)

Source: Field survey (2019)

The above table presents the various strategies and which of the strategies is most preferred in handling the challenges of reproductive healthcare services. However, 188 (94%) respondents have advocated for the provision of adequate health facilities by the government, 191 (95.5%) also advocate for government intervention through funding of public health institutions, 165 (82%) respondents were of opinion that allowing women to participate in decision-making will solve the challenges of reproductive health among them.

More so, 179 respondents representing 89.5% were of opinion that subsidizing the high cost of reproductive healthcare services by government is quite necessary in the management of reproductive health challenges while 147 (73.5%) responded that the elimination of traditional and religion beliefs which hinder women from accessing reproductive healthcare services will help solve the problems of reproductive health.

From the analysis above, it has clearly indicated that the respondents preferred funding of public health institutions by the government as the best strategy in curtailing the challenges of reproductive health. This is depicted by 191 (95.5%) and 188 (94%) respectively. This implies that the state government has a better role to play in managing these reproductive health challenges that has been hindering women's accessibility to reproductive healthcare services.

In another view with a male health worker, at General Hospital Umenger in Guma Local Government Area, on strategies in curtailing the challenges of reproductive health care services. He stated that;

“Women should be allowed to participate in decision making in terms of their reproductive health. This is because most men do not allow their wives to go to the hospital of their choice, to have a say on family planning methods as well as when to seek for the services and who to attend to them. For example, some men prefer their wives to be attended by a female health worker and not a male health worker for personal reasons known to them”.

Again, a female health worker was interviewed on ways of improving women's access to reproductive health care services, at Primary Health Clinic, Kasiyo in Guma local government area. She responded that;

“Government should subsidize the cost of these services at very affordable rate that anybody (woman) no matter the level of income should be able to access these services. Also, traditional and religious beliefs that do not pave way for women to access these services should be buried”.

In another interview with one of the male health workers, at Community Health Centre, Yelwata in Guma Local Government Area, on strategies of improving women's access to reproductive health care services. He said;

“Government, non-governmental organizations, and able individuals should provide logistics such as ambulance, incubators, oxygen, health personnel and health centres. Also, spouses (both husband and wife) should be sensitized on the importance of reproductive health care services by health workers”.

This implies that all the sampled respondents are aware of the factors that hinder women from having access to reproductive health care services and at the same time expressed their feelings on what can be done to curtail these challenges.

Discussion of findings

Based on the findings from the study, socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, has revealed that, the highest number of the respondents that participated in the study fall within the age range of 26-35 (82 or 41%), followed by another set of respondents with the age bracket of 36-45 (61 or 30.5%), another category with the age

bracket of 14-25 (38 or 19%) while 46 and above with the lowest frequency of 19 (9.5%) respectively. In view of the ethnic groups, the findings of the study indicate that 75 (37.5%) of the respondents are Tiv, followed by Idoma with 51 (25.5%) respondents, Igede with 31 (15.5%), Jukun having 25 (12.5%) number respondents, while Itilo 13 (6.5%). The marital status of the respondents has also revealed that the highest number of respondents are married with (123 or 61.5%), single (41 or 20.5%), divorced (24 or 12%) while separated with the lowest frequency of (12 or 6%) respectively.

In regard to occupation, the findings of the study revealed that 90 (45%) of the respondents were farmers, followed by those who are into business with a total of 45 (22.5%), students with 30 (15%), civil servants 24 (12%) while self-employed having 11 (5.5%) respondents. In respect to educational background, the finding of the study indicates that 81 (40.5%) of the respondents have primary education, another set of respondents with 69 (34.5%) having secondary education and tertiary with 37 (18.5%) while none with 13 (6.5%) respectively.

Also, out of the total of 200 sample population, 120 (60%) respondents are rural dwellers while 80 (40%) reside in urban area. The religion affiliation of the respondents also revealed that majority of the respondents that participated in the study are Christians with a frequency of 150 (75%), followed by traditionalists with 30 (15%) number of respondents and Others 11 (5.5%) whereas Islam carry 9 (4.5%) respectively. In view of the availability of reproductive healthcare services in Guma local government area, the study found out that stretchers, ultrasound, testing machines, condoms and cervical caps are some of the reproductive health facilities available for women in the area. This findings corroborates with the findings of Omoruan, Bamidele and Philips (2009) who identified condoms, cervical caps and testing machines as some of reproductive health facilities available. In respects to the available reproductive healthcare services, findings of the study revealed that there are reproductive healthcare services such as family planning, treating breast cancer & creating awareness, educational & counselling services, delivery of post-natal services are some of the major reproductive healthcare services available for women in Guma Local Government Area. This finding is in line with the views of Adamu and Salih (2002) who argued that reproductive healthcare services available for women include post-natal healthcare services and family planning.

Regard to the challenges that hinder women from accessing reproductive healthcare services, findings of the study revealed that; economic status/poverty, awareness and enlightenment among couples (husband and wife), distance/proximity to the health facilities, educational status, traditional & religion beliefs, spouse (husband's) approval, inadequate medical logistics, attitude & negligence of health workers including ignorance/non-chalant attitude among women are some of the challenges faced by women in accessing reproductive healthcare services in Guma Local Government Area. This finding also aligns with the views of Adamu (2003) who argued that socio-cultural factors such as traditional and religion beliefs play a key role in influencing women's access and utilization of healthcare services. Again, in respects to the impacts of reproductive healthcare service provision, findings of the study has shown that it reduces maternal & neo-natal mortality, it helps in child-spacing, reduces complications during pregnancy, improve the health conditions of women and also provides the means of checking the health status of mother & the baby during and after pregnancy.

Furthermore, the study found out that the several ways of curtailing the challenges of reproductive healthcare services include; the provision of adequate health facilities by the government, funding of public health institutions by the government, allowing women to participate in decision-making as regard to their reproductive health, subsidizing the high cost of reproductive healthcare services at very affordable rate by government and elimination of traditional & religion beliefs that do not pave way for women to access these services. This findings is in line with the view of Mangirazi (2013), Remez and Woog (2001) who observed that the provision of reproductive health facilities by the government will helps alleviate some of the challenges of reproductive among women. The findings also collaborates with the views of Lange (1998) who argued that government initiatives through subsidization and policy makings will helps tackle the problems of reproductive health in our society.

Conclusion

It is established that there is abundant evidence of reproductive health challenges in Guma local government area, Benue state, Nigeria. Reproductive health challenges in any environment constitute threat to lives, hampered socio-economic performance, and result into poor health conditions, all of which restrict accessibility of healthcare services by women in the society. In Guma local government area, there has been rising wave of reproductive health challenges since the local government was created in 1998. The rising wave has not abated but has assumed a dangerous dimension which is even threatening the health well-being of families as one consanguine unit and the society at large. The elimination of these threats should be the number one goal of government at all levels, as the state cannot achieve its significant development amidst the ill-health reproductive conditions of women. Consequently, this study agrees with many other studies in this area which has made the same connection between access to reproductive healthcare services and its impacts on women and neglect in different parts of the country in particular and in different parts of the world-general.

The result of the analysis shows that the challenges of reproductive healthcare services in the area like economic status/poverty, awareness and enlightenment among couples, distance/proximity to the health facility, traditional & religion beliefs, inadequate medical logistics, spouse (husband's) approval, attitude & negligence of health workers among others has in one way or the other affected the reproductive health conditions of women in Guma local government area of Benue state.

Socio-economic development is achieved under an atmosphere devoid of health challenges. Reproductive health challenges have displaced the health well-being of women in the area and this is the main cause of the general reproductive health challenges. The government is expected to be the Saviour/Messiah of hopeless citizens (women), but in most cases when such needs arises, the idea of whom among the geographical region is occupying a top position in government plays in only to introduce bias in the distributive efforts of these health facilities to the women, the challenges then continue. At the same, the notion of craving to protect, secure and safeguard individual interest and that of their geographical region explain to a large extent the reason for the preponderance of reproductive health challenges in Guma local government area and Benue state in general.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this research work the following recommendations have been made:

1. The real panacea for solving reproductive health challenges in the area is for the government to accelerate the pace of development. Development in this context consists of creating an economy with relevant social, economic and physical infrastructure for the well-being of women, in order for women to have full access to reproductive healthcare services, there is need for the government to make provision of adequate reproductive health facilities & services, funds public health institutions and subsidized high cost of reproductive healthcare services at very affordable rate for the women.
2. Spouses (both husband and wife) should be sensitized on the importance of reproductive health care services and traditional/religious beliefs that do not allow women to access these services should be abolished
3. Women should also be allowed to participate in decision making in terms of the kind of reproductive health services they require. This will give them freedom to access the reproductive health facilities available.
4. Also, traditional and religious beliefs that do not allow for the accessibility of reproductive healthcare services should be eliminated among societies, so that women would have access to these reproductive healthcare services.
5. The mass media should be used to educate & create awareness among the women on the values of using some of these reproductive healthcare services, as some of them have non-challant attitude towards them and by this the reproductive health challenges will be resolved.

6. Women should also be given the freedom to take economic decisions so that they will know the importance of patronising some of these reproductive healthcare facilities & services. Thus, enhancing their reproductive health status in the society.

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The Influence of Demographic Factors in Access to Public Health Care in Kenya: A Case of Nairobi County, Kenya

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Abstract

Access to public healthcare in Nairobi County is unequal among social classes. Lower social classes have worse healthcare than either the upper or the middle classes. These health inequalities are correlated with socio-economic inequalities. The higher socio-economic classes have better access to healthcare than the lower socio-economic classes. Higher incomes, education, employment and wealth result in better health of the households in the County. Unequal access to healthcare contributes to disparities in health status, increases costs for both the insured and the uninsured. Lack of access to healthcare reduces disposable incomes, particularly burdening the lower income households. These households cannot afford the care they need. This has forced them to forego such care altogether. The objectives of the study were three, namely: to evaluate the influence of demographic variables in access to public healthcare, to evaluate the influence of socio-cultural factors in access to public health care, and to evaluate the influence of institutional factors in access to public healthcare. The study used descriptive design, specifically, cross-sectional design for collection, measurements and analysis of data. The study took place in Nairobi County. The target population was households living in Nairobi County, where the sample was drawn from. The sampling techniques included multi-stage random sampling, random sampling, stratified random sampling, cluster random sampling, convenient sampling and purposive sampling. The sample size was obtained using Chadha's formula (2006) to arrive at 1066 sample size. Data collection instruments included observations, face-to-face interviews, questionnaires, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Qualitative data was analyzed thematically but quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics. Data were analyzed using SPSS version 23. The results show that there were positive correlations between independent and dependent variables. The P-value was statistically significant. The results were not due to random chance and that $P < 0.01 < 0.05$ and this confirms a positive relationships between the variables. The relationships were mutually inclusive and highly correlated. On that basis, the null hypotheses were rejected and the alternate hypotheses accepted. The results show that demographic (disposing of), socio-cultural (need) factors influence access to healthcare. Socio-economic factors should be addressed to benefit all the households. Socio-cultural factors should be distributed fairly among the households. Health systems should be improved and adequately financed to provide the requisite resources to all the households.

Keywords: Social Class, Access to Healthcare

Introduction

Access to healthcare among the various social groups is unequal in both developed and developing countries. In the United States, access to healthcare is unequal among families with different socio-economic backgrounds. For

example, low income families have less access to healthcare, and this explains why they have high infant mortality rates compared to families of high incomes (Kitagawa, E. et al. 1973). Evidence also show that African Americans, Red Indians and Hispanics have less access to healthcare due to their racial backgrounds compared to the majority whites (ibid). Socio-economic and racial factors play a key role in the distribution of access to healthcare.

In France, access to healthcare for manual workers is less compared to professional workers (Andersen R. 1979). Professional workers have better socio-economic resources, defined by income, occupation and education, which positively influence access to healthcare. The manual workers have less of these socio-economic resources, hence, the reason for not having good access to healthcare. In this case, occupation or employment statuses have some influence on access to healthcare.

In Canada, low income population has less access to healthcare compared to middle or high income population (Ibid). As a result of this health differences, life expectancy is lower among the lower income households compared with the higher income households (Wilkins R. 1976). Income in this case appears to have an important influence on access to healthcare. Households with high incomes can purchase healthcare services at private or specialized outlets. But those with less income have limited options and this limits their access to healthcare.

In another study, evidence shows that Eskimos have less access to healthcare, due to their origin status, compared to the native Australians (Pampalon R. 1976). Originality status appears to affect access to healthcare. In this study, the native Australians have better advantages over the non-population. The evidence suggests that the non-locals are discriminated against and do not access equal resources and opportunities like the locals. Origin and discrimination therefore appear to be important factors in this study.

Like in the previous publications, low income continues to be an important factor. In Britain, low income population has less access to healthcare compared to the higher income populations (Donabedian A, 1980). Income includes wages, salaries, rents, pensions and gratuities among others affect access to healthcare. Those with high incomes have capacities to procure healthcare at all costs. Those with less income have less opportunities or resources to access healthcare. The studies above show that access to healthcare was unequal among social classes. Socio-economic and cultural factors are distributed unequally and the upper social hierarchies have better access to healthcare, compared to the lower social classes. Health inequality persists despite the fact that these are developed countries with advanced health systems. These gaps need further researcher and proportionate policy interventions.

In some Sub-Saharan countries, access to healthcare is still common despite numerous research and policy interventions (Vargas-Bar, et al. 2004). The World Bank shows that 50% of African population has access to modern facilities, and more than 40% do not even access clean water and sanitation. Immunization has not covered the entire population. This has resulted in high levels of maternal and infant mortalities, despite adequate human and material resources at their disposal (World Bank, 2006).

Access to healthcare among poor Tanzanians is poor compared to the wealthy. This is more pronounced in rural areas, where incomes, education, employment is low compared to the urban areas (Schellen, A. et al. 2003). In Uganda, access to healthcare is adversely affected because of poor health systems-poor hospitals, lack of equipment, low staff capacities leading to high infant mortality rates (Donabedian A. 1990). The low socio-economic class population has limited options compared to the upper and middle class who can afford health insurance cover and use of private facilities (Brawley M. 2000).

Like the developed world, selected Sub-Saharan Africa provides limited access to healthcare for its population. Sub-Saharan Africa is endowed with many natural and human resources, and yet access to healthcare is still a major problem. Socio-economic, socio-cultural and institutional disparities continue to influence access to healthcare. Resources have been expended on health systems, but access to healthcare remains a significant challenge. These countries continue with further research and policy interventions to try to provide access to healthcare to the entire population.

Access to healthcare in Kenya is delivered by Government, Non-Governmental organizations and the private sector. The government runs 41%, the Non-governmental organizations 15%, and the private business 43% (GOK, 2010). The Government owns most of the hospitals, health centers and dispensaries. However, clinics and nursing homes are managed by the private sector. Access to healthcare is provided through a network of over 5,000 health facilities countrywide (GOK, 2011). These facilities include the national referral hospitals, county referral hospitals, district and sub-districts, health centers and dispensaries. National referral hospitals are at the top, and they provide complex healthcare services. Kenyatta National Hospital and Moi Referral Hospital lead in providing highly complex healthcare services. However, private hospitals like Nairobi Hospital, Aga Khan and many more others are the equivalent and provide highly sophisticated technology and top qualified personnel (Wanjau, K. et al. 2012). County referral hospitals, district and sub-districts provide less but important health services. At the bottom are the health centers and dispensaries that provide others services, especially primary healthcare (GOK, 2014). The minority of the population access healthcare through the use of traditional specialists (spiritual healers, bone setters, and herbalists) (GOK, 2011).

Access to healthcare is important for all persons in the population. It increases physical, social and mental health of the individual; it improves the quality of life (IOM, 1993). Access to healthcare is important in promoting and maintaining good health; it helps manage and reduce unnecessary diseases. It also prevents early death besides achieving health equity among the population. Access to healthcare is therefore imperative in order to achieve good health and equity for the whole population (IOM, 1993). Access here includes coverage (Durham J. et al. 1998), services (Starfield B. et al. 2009), and timeliness (Brotherton SE, et al. 2005).

In this thesis, three factors are discussed to determine their influences in access to healthcare among the households in Nairobi County, using Andersen model (Andersen, R. 1968). These include demographic (disposing) age, gender, income, education, wealth, place of residence and marital status; socio-cultural factors (need) which are culture, values, habits, race, ethnicity, language, social cohesion and social resources/capital amongst others; and institutional (enabling) factors that include policies, governance, infrastructure, health facilities, health financing, insurance and health personnel. The goal is to increase access to healthcare and the objectives are to show the influence of these factors on access to healthcare.

This study focuses on access to healthcare in Nairobi County. The results show that access to healthcare is unequal among the households. Only a small number of households access healthcare but the majority go without adequate access or no access at all. The majority is the lower socio-economic classes, who have less or no opportunities to access healthcare resources compared to the upper and middle classes. These limitations to access have negative effects on the health and potential of the households affected. This is the knowledge gap that the study attempted to fill. A further research is necessary to fill the gap. Policy makers also need to address all these dimensions including, material (socio-economic), cultural (social resources/capital) factors and institutional that affect access to healthcare.

The study will use both qualitative and quantitative data for objective two, one and three respectfully. Descriptive design is used to conduct the research. Data collections will use various methods that include sampling techniques such as multistage random sampling, convenient and cluster random sampling. Collections instruments include in-depth interviews and focus group discussion for objective two, and interviews, key informant interviews, and questionnaires for objective one and three. Descriptive statistics are used to analyze and interpret data. Using SPSS, version 23, the results are analyzed and statistical information provided. The objective of the analysis is to find out the relationships between the variables-independent variables and dependent variables. The analysis shows correlation coefficient, Pearson product correlation, Chi-Square and regression of the variables under investigation.

Definitions of concepts

Social class---Independent variable

Social class refers to a group of people in a society who have same socio-economic status. The concept refers to a collection of individuals who share similar conditions. The concept has also been used to refer to a group of people

who have similar levels of wealth, influence, and status. Sociologists have used three methods to determine social class: upper, middle and lower class. Gullup has used “five levels to define social class: upper, upper middle, middle, working and lower class”. Gilbert defines social class, “as groups of people/ families who are more or equal in rank and differentiated from other families above or below them with regard to characteristics such as occupation, income, wealth and prestige”.

Social class is therefore a set of concepts used in social sciences and political theory to mean social stratification in which people are grouped hierarchically in social categories, most common being the ones referred presently. Pierre Bourdieu has attempted to explain “social reproduction, the tendency for social class status to be passed down from one generation to the next”. This happens because each generation acquires cultural capital (tastes, habits, expectations, skills.....”). Ogburn and Nimkoff define social class as “one or two broad groups of individuals who are ranked by members of the community in socially superior and inferior positions”.

However, Max Weber defines social class as “class or aggregates of individuals who have the same opportunity of acquiring good, the same exhibited standard of living”. Sociologists here see social class as a powerful form of stratification but other layers can be drawn on such factors as age, gender, and ethnicity and so on”. In that regard, “placing people within such layers or strata means that some will be in higher or lower positions; others will have power, whereas others will be relatively powerless”.

Max Weber (1864-1920) argued that social class was based on a person’s market position which is basically how much money or wealth they have and their bargaining power to get this. Karl Marx social theory acknowledged two social classes: Bourgeoisie who are the owners of the means of production and the Proletariat, the workers who have sold their labor, referred to as the exploited masses. According to Karl Marx, these are a people who are in a relationship to the means of production. The bourgeoisie own capital and the proletariat own their labor. Karl Marx views such relationships exploitative, shown by “surplus value.”

Karl Marx aimed to bring about a classless society where common means of ownership is practiced. He regarded capitalist society as exploitative as everything was determined by money and economics. In his view, ruling ideas are imposed on lower class, and this explains persistence of capitalism. In that regard, Karl Marx, argued, each social class should have its own ideology and system of beliefs. Karl Marx advocated for a revolution whereby society would be classless. This Marxist definition and interpretation of social class is paramount to the study. This is because society focused on access to healthcare based on socio-economic resources. The question as to who controls or directs the allocations of resources is of paramount importance to the study.

In the study, social class was operational zed on the basis of age, gender, income, education, occupation, marital status, wealth and place of residence. Socio-economic status in the study is broken into three levels: upper, middle and lower class. These are measured/operational zed social class based on the criteria shown below; age, gender, income, education, employment, marital status, and wealth. Socio-economic status is broken into three levels; upper, middle and lower, and assets are categorized as income, education and occupation. These are used to measure the social position of the household in the stratification of the society.

Access to Public healthcare-----Dependent variable

Karl Marx viewed access to healthcare in terms of political power and economic dominance in a capitalist society. He argued that major improvements in health system could not occur without fundamental changes in broad social order. In his view, the health system mirrored the social order in society. He saw the bourgeoisie as the controllers of the health systems, health institutions, and the health workers were stratified according the dictates of the capitalist system. This system could therefore not allow occupational mobility of the health workers.

Karl Marx argued that governments spend less on ill health, poor housing and institutional structures. In that view, ill health was viewed as a class problem that was related to social inequality. Access to healthcare was therefore class based, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The bourgeoisie who control most resources had better access to healthcare. On the other hand, the proletariat had less because of their social position in class. The solution to equitable access to healthcare was a transformation of socialism into communist state/society. This is

a classless society, stateless human society based on common ownership; each according to his ability and needs. In this society, no one would have power over another and everyone should be equal. This ideal situation would give equal access to healthcare to everyone.

Access to healthcare is central in the performance of health systems around the world. Access to health is defined as a way of approaching, reaching a place, opportunity to reach a health facility (Whitehead, M. et al. 1997). It has also been defined as access to a service, a provider, or an institution; access here is defined as the opportunity (Gulliford, et al. 2002). Access to healthcare means helping people to command appropriate healthcare resources in order to preserve or improve their health. This implies that services should be available and adequate to supply the services required. People should have the opportunities to obtain healthcare, and in that way, they can access healthcare. Some definitions suggest that access 'means having timely use of personal health services to achieve the best health outcomes (IOM. 19930). In this context, coverage facilitates entry into the health system. Access to healthcare has been conceptualized in several ways. In this study access to healthcare, was measured/operationalized using the following dimensions: accessibility, approachability, acceptability, availability/accommodation, affordability and appropriateness. The model used shows the factors that lead to the use of health services. Access to healthcare is determined by predisposing factors

Methods

This is the blue print for conducting the study and it maximizes control over factors that could interfere with the validity of the findings. Designing helps to plan and implement the study in a manner that will assist to get the intended results. This could therefore increase the chances of getting the information that could be real to the actual situation. Both quantitative and qualitative descriptive approach was chosen to investigate the factors that influence access to healthcare. This is because the study is concerned with numbers and frequencies, perceptions and perspectives experienced by households selected for the study.

This study was descriptive given that it conformed to all the characteristics of descriptive research. Specifically, cross-sectional method was used because it is a one-shot assessment of the sample of respondents. The purpose of cross-sectional design is to determine to what extent different classes in the sample differ on some outcome (independent variable). It measures variations in the responses to the independent variables in the sample. Data is collected at one point in time. Categories used in the study include gender, different age groups, income groups, social class and ethnic groups, attitudes and opinions. Field study and surveys used produced data that was used as numerical and descriptions.

Descriptive design enabled the study to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. It was felt that using a combination of both improves evaluation of the study as it ensured that the limitation of one type of data was balanced by the strength of the other. This combination also ensured that the understanding is improved by integrating different ways.

Data collection

Population

Polit and Hungler refer to the population as an aggregate or totality of all the objects, subjects or members that conform to a set of specifications. In this study the population, were all the households of all races/tribes, age groups, income levels, educational status, employment status, marital status, wealth status, residential areas who lived in Nairobi County during the survey. The people in the population must be in possession of specific characteristics in order to be included in the study. The eligibility criteria in this study were that the participants had to be residents in Nairobi County, have voluntarily accepted to participate in the study and that they also use health facilities in Nairobi County

The procedure used to select a portion of the population to represent the entire population is sampling (LoBiondo-Wood & Haber, 1998). A number of households who voluntarily accepted to participate in the study were selected. This procedure of selecting a sample to be studied rather than attempting to study the entire population of

households saved money and time. This is so because obtaining data from the entire population, analyzing and interpreting would have been impossible to finish within the time constraints and limited financial resource.

Sample

A sample is a subset of a population selected to participate in the study; it is a fraction of the whole, selected to participate in the study (Brink, 1996). In this survey, a subset of 1066 households was selected out of the entire population of households who voluntarily accepted to participate in the study, in Nairobi County. Chadha's formula (2006) was used to determine the sample size:

Required information :-

- Anticipated population proportions = P_1 & P_2
- Confidence level = 95%
- Absolute precision required on either side of the true value of the difference between proportions = d

Sample size can be estimated using following formula:

$$n = \frac{Z_{1-\frac{\alpha}{2}}^2 [P_1(1-P_1) + P_2(1-P_2)]}{d^2} \quad \text{--- (3)}$$

P_1, P_2 = anticipated value of the proportions in the two populations.

Sampling techniques

Multistage sampling is taking of samples in stages using smaller and smaller sampling units at each stage. This is a form of cluster sampling that involved several cycles of sampling. Counties were divided into clusters and then sampled. These selected clusters were further divided into smaller clusters and re-sampled again. This process was repeated till the ultimate sampling units were selected at the last of hierarchical levels.

Snowball technique was used to identify 10 households' members who displayed the qualities or characteristics of interest to the study. After obtaining the information from the selected households, the researcher requested the respondents to assist in locating other respondents who would provide similar information. This method was found useful because the population with such characteristics were not easy to identify while others were unwilling to provide sensitive information.

A convenient sample comprising 20 health officials from the County was selected during the interview. A convenience sample is readily accessible persons in the study (De Vos 1998). These were health officials who were readily available and they fitted the criteria set for the study. However, the risk of bias is great, because each member of the population does not have an equal chance of being included in the sample. The results obtained may therefore not be generalized to the entire population.

A stratified sample comprising 100 health workers was divided into different sub- groups according to their job titles, and then randomly selected for the study. Specialist group titles included medical officers, dentists, dental clinics, clinical officers, enrolled nurses, public health officials, pharmacists, technicians and others. This was found useful because each sub-group received proper representation within the sample. This also provides a better coverage of the population. The research has control over the sub groups to ensure all are represented.

This method was also used to select 20 health facilities for the study. The total population of health facilities was divided into sub-groups including national hospitals, county referral hospitals, district hospitals, sub-district hospitals, health centers, and dispensaries. Thereafter, they were randomly selected for the study. This enabled the

researcher to high light each sub- group within the population. This method ensures the presence of each sub-group within the sample.

The study found it more economical to choose a sample of 1066 households, instead of studying the entire population of households in Nairobi County. The study also found it unnecessary to collect data from the entire population, as the responses from the sample were adequate to secure the information needed. This sampling technique was useful because of low costs and less time consuming; this suitable in situations where resources are limited.

Data collection techniques

In this study, data was collected using multiple techniques. The purpose of the study was to increase access to healthcare; to specifically determine the influence of selected factors in access to healthcare.

Quantitative data was collected using *face-to-face interviews and questionnaires*. The questionnaire was pre-tested before it was used for data collection. Six interviewers collected the data under the supervision of the lead researcher. The teams mapped out the households to be subjected to the interviews; each interviewer was allocated specific numbers of households for the interviews. The exercise of data collection lasted for 90 days. At the end of each day the teams met to deliberate or recheck the questionnaires for completeness.

A comprehensive questionnaire was designed with minimum adjustments. The objectives of the study dictated what the questionnaires contained. Researchers changed the questionnaires to ensure that the questions would answer the research questions. The questionnaire was organized into three sections: to collect information on demographic factors of the households, socio-cultural factors and institutional factors. The study also collected information on household characteristics using questionnaires that were both closed and open ended questions. Questionnaire items were of two categories namely open-ended and closed-ended. Open- ended items asked a question and gave participants the authority to respond in whatever way they chose. The open-ended or unstructured questionnaires were entirely left to the respondents' own discretion but with close supervision by the researcher. The researcher provided no clues or direction for the response. The respondent answered the question in any way desired as long as he or she stayed within the research scope.

These key informants were purposively selected and they included health officials and health workers. These were knowledgeable people who were considered better informed on health policy matters. The data collection procedure involves the presentation of oral- verbal stimuli and an oral- verbal response. These questions were asked orally and are classified as unstructured and structured interviews. The research teams identified respondents according to predetermined criteria and requested them to answer certain questions. The research team noted down the answers given and recorded the responses.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Quantitative data was based on objective one. In objective one, the study hypothesizes that demographic variables have a profound impact on access to public healthcare services. Characteristics of the household population analyzed were age, sex, education, occupation, marital status and resident distribution. The objective of the analysis was to examine the relationships between the two variables contained in objective one. The research therefore focused on quantitative data for analysis.

Data was systematically analyzed using statistical techniques to describe, illustrate and evaluate the data integrity and accuracy. This was quantitative and therefore descriptive statistics were used to analyze key features of the household sample. Using SPSS (version 23), the data was analyzed to show the correlations or relationships between the variables in objective one. This is software used to perform quantitative analysis.

Ethical consideration

The National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation approved the study's research protocol on 14th July, 2015 for a period ending 18th December, 2015. Permit No. NACOSTI/P/15/7814/6977 was issued on 14th

July. 2015. The Ministry of Health authorized the study to be carried out on its health facilities; The Ministry of education too authorized the study to be carried out; The County Government of Nairobi, Health Department authorized the study to be carried in the County.

Households in Nairobi County were eligible to participate in the study, 15+ years of age, and they live in Nairobi. Prior to participating, all individuals received a letter describing the study purpose and procedures, and that participation was voluntary. Oral and written consent was obtained from the participants before the interviews commenced. All the data obtained was held confidential. The use of the data collected, the purpose and access to information as well as the role of the researcher was explained. The interviewers explained the usefulness of the study findings, which was to help plan improvements of access to public healthcare among various stakeholders.

Findings

This section presents the findings of the study. These findings are presented correspond to the objectives of the study. This section shows the results of selected demographic variables. These include age, gender, income, education, occupation, wealth and marital status. The results are based on the sample of households (1006) selected for the study. The results are presented in frequencies and percentages. The variables here for the study include: age, gender, income, education, employment, marital status and place of residence. The responses are expressed in frequencies and percentages.

Age factor

These findings show that youth of this age bracket (15-29 years) have fewer opportunities to access resources that can enable them purchase access to healthcare. Lack of knowledge and skills necessary for access to healthcare services put them at high risks. They become vulnerable as they lack the capacity to purchase healthcare. These limitations deny them access to healthcare services. Age group, here is an independent variable that has a significant influence on access (dependent variable) to healthcare services.

Findings show that 40% of the households found in this group are neglected and are given no incentives to invest and contribute to the growth of the County. This is a critical age, and left without resources undermine their capabilities to procure easy access to healthcare. These households have no resources and this affects their capabilities to access healthcare.

The age bracket of 15-29 years is productive and contributes significantly to the National development. This is about 50% of the current population in the County. It also contributes 5% of the labor force. The findings show that this age group faces many challenges including lack of education, employment and health problems, risky behaviors like drugs, substance abuse, irresponsible sexual behavior that lead to HIV/AIDs or STDs (CIDP, 2018-2022). These are major challenges. This population bracket lack socio-economic resources to enable them face health challenges. Lack of these resources, limits their capabilities to access healthcare.

Above 65 years and above, this group was found to be quite insignificant in the economy (GOK, 2008-2012). Most of them are retired public servants, and some have gone back to the up country while others are still in the County. This is 15% of the respondents and they had no resources to support themselves. This age group lack access to healthcare. The above 65 years age factor is an independent variable, and it has influence on access to healthcare (dependent variable). The results show that there is a positive relationship between the variables.

Gender factor

At the time of the study, 52% (554) of the respondents were females, 48% (512) were males. Study findings show that the majority females, 60% of the respondents had fewer or unequal opportunities than men in the ownership or access to productive resources. The findings show that women face unequal earning prospects than men 30% (320); they have limited education largely due to discrimination 40% (426), and their lives were in danger of being cut short 30% (320). The policy bias by the government has worked to exacerbate these differences. Gender inequality is a factor that is an independent variable that has influence on access to healthcare (dependent variable). Access to healthcare is limited females because of their vulnerabilities as shown in table 1.1 below:

Table 1: 1 Gender Disparities

Disparities	Frequency	Percentage %
Unequal opportunities	320	30
Limited education and unequal earnings due discrimination	426	40
Threats to lives	320	30

Income status

The results show that 10% (106) upper social class with high income and therefore access good healthcare. The 20% (214) are middle social class who have fairly good incomes, and therefore have access to fairly good healthcare. However, the 70% (746) are lower social class who have no incomes, hence, have poor access to healthcare, as shown on table 1.2 below:

Table 1.2: Distribution of Income

Social class	Frequency	Percentage%
Upper class	106	10
Middle class	214	20
Lower class (vulnerable groups, Landless, urban poor, unskilled and semi-skilled, households headed by people without education, female headed households, PWDs, AIDS orphans, street children and beggars (GOK, 2006a).	746	70
Tot	1066	100

The findings show that income was an important variable and determinant to access to healthcare services. Income is an independent variable which has influence on access to healthcare (dependent variable). The results show that there is a relationship exists between independent and dependent variable.

Education status

The findings show that 20% (213) of the households had not attended school, 42% (448) attended primary education, 24% (256) attended secondary education, and 14% (149) attended university education and above as shown on table 1.3 below:

Table 1.3: Distribution by Education

Level of education	Frequency	Percentage %
None	213	20
Primary	448	42
Secondary	256	24
University and above	149	14
Total	1066	100

The results show considerable variations in education achievements. 14% of those with university education had more knowledge and skills that enhanced access to healthcare. 24% with secondary education had medium knowledge and skills and could therefore access healthcare. 42% with only primary education had fairly limited opportunities, hence, had very limited access to healthcare. But 20% had no education and therefore virtually

limited from having socio-economic bundles that were imperative to accessing healthcare. They had limited or no options at all given that they lacked knowledge and skills that were fundamental in accessing healthcare.

Education therefore is an important variable (independent variable) that has significant influence on (access (dependent variable to healthcare). The findings show that there is a relationship between education and access to healthcare.

Occupational status

The findings show that being unemployed and the length of unemployment affect health status. The study shows that 48% (512) was in lower occupations (manual workers), 25% (267) were in middle occupations (non-manual), and 15% (160) were in highest occupations. The 12% (127) were unemployed, as shown on table 1.4 below:

Table 1.4: Distribution by occupation status

Category of Occupation	Frequency	Percentage %
Lower occupations	512	48
Middle (non-manual) level occupations	267	25
Upper level (highest) occupations	160	15
Unemployed	127	12
Total	1066	100

Occupational status was found to be important variable in the survey findings. The employed have better access to healthcare than the unemployed. Employment is a source of empowerment, because it puts households in control of incomes. Employment is therefore an important key determinant of access to healthcare. The results show that occupation (independent variable) has influence on access to healthcare (dependent variable). There is a relationship between the independent variable (occupation) and the dependent variable (access to healthcare).

Marital status

The results of the survey show that 60 % (640) of the sampled households were married, 30% (320) of them were unmarried or divorced, and single or divorced stood at 10% (106) households. The results showed mixed responses. Married couples had better opportunities for resource acquisition compared to single households. Therefore, married couples had better access to healthcare. Combined resource base creates opportunities to acquire healthcare compared to single households.

However, some unmarried couples and single families also have access to healthcare. The results show that they spend less on family matters and therefore have some savings. This savings increases access to healthcare. The same results were also shown with the divorced. Therefore, marital status is a weak indicator for access to healthcare. However, it does have influence on access to healthcare. The marital status, single and divorced households have some influence on access to healthcare. They all act as (independent variables) and all have significant influence on access to healthcare. There is a correlation between each one of them (independent variable) and access to healthcare (dependent variable). The frequencies and percentages are as shown on table 1.5 below:

Table 1.5: Marital status

Marital Status	Total number	Total Percentage %
Married	640	60
Unmarried/divorced	320	30
Single/widowed	106	10
Total	1066	100

Place of residence

The patterns of settlement of Nairobi County show that 60% (640) households live in low income areas like Eastlands, Mathare Valley, Kibera, Kawangware; 30% (320) live in medium income areas like Parklands, Eastleigh, South B/C; and 10% (106) in high cost areas like Lavington, Muthaiga, Woodley, Kileleshwa, Karen and parts of Langata, as shown on table 1.6 below:

Table 1.6: Place of Residence

Area of residence	Frequency	Percentage %
Upper level residence	106	10
Middle level residence	320	30
Lower level residence	640	60
Total	1006	100

Results show that upper residential areas comprise upper social class (10%) with high socio-economic factors. They have high incomes, education, and occupational opportunities. The middle level residence comprised middle class (30%) with fairly good incomes, education and incomes. They too had fair access to healthcare. However, lower level residential areas comprised lower social class with very limited socio-economic status: low or no education at all, poor incomes, and often without suitable occupations. These had poor access to healthcare, due to their deprived status. Residential areas there had significant influence on access to healthcare. Residential area (independent variable) had a relationship with access to healthcare (dependent variable).

Wealth

The results show that wealth was not evenly distributed in the County: 10% (106) households were the upper class with plenty of socio-economic resources compared to other social classes. They had better access to healthcare due to their advantaged status. Another 30% (320) were of middle class with moderate socio-economic opportunities. This social class had moderate access to healthcare compared to the lower social class. The lower social class, comprising 60% (640) had extremely limited socio-economic opportunities. Consequently, they could access healthcare as compared to either upper or middle class social hierarchies, as shown on table 1.7 below:

Table 1.7: Population by wealth

Wealth level	Frequency	Percentage%
Upper class	106	10
Middle class	320	30
Lower class	640	60
Total	1066	100

Discussion

Socio-economic factors include income, education, occupation and wealth. The County is characterized by inequalities in growth. This conceptualized as the disparity in distribution of such attributes or resources. In economic terms, disparity could be in terms of ownership or resources, in the distribution of wealth and in incomes and in access to economic and social goods and services. These factors shape the distribution of opportunities and define livelihoods. Inequality influences economic and social outcomes which in turn have implications in growth. Recent researches have shown a negative relationship between inequality and growth (Deineger K. et al. 1996; 565-591). The more unequal distribution of assets such as land or other income earning assets, the lower the rates in growth. These inequalities in income and income-earning opportunities take the form of disparities between the urban areas and the informal settlements, different geographical areas, men and women, and different social economic groups in society.

Growth provides economic opportunities, incomes and jobs. Income provides the capability to access the basic necessities of life such as food, shelter, and health. It provides the purchasing power for participating in the economy. In Nairobi County, certain sections of the population have benefitted very little, and this has perpetuated inequalities. In the County, there are skewed distributions of income and wealth among the households in the County. For example, the study shows that the richest 20% of the households in the County receive nearly 70% of the total income (CIDP, 2012-20122). This pattern is persistent and entrenched in the County (CBS, 1998/99). The income and wealth are heavily skewed in favor of the upper and middle classes. These attributes explain the facts that define access to health care.

The youth between 15-19 and 20-24 years encountered many challenges including lack of income, education and employment. Due to lack of such socio-economic resources, these age groups engage in drugs, unwanted pregnancies, and high risks associated with HIV/AIDs. Lack of such resources and opportunities deny them the capabilities critical for accessing healthcare. They become vulnerable to various diseases and end up with high mortality rates and low life expectancies. Age factor therefore is an important factor in influencing access to healthcare.

The study also shows that households at the age of 65 years and above have formerly retired from active service; others have gone back to the up country, These age group are inactive and rely on their relatives for upkeep. They do not have enough savings either. The age group lack addition socio-economic resources and opportunities to sustain their health demands at old age. Lack of these commodities limits their capabilities to access healthcare. Age factor here is therefore a significant factor in access to healthcare.

Gender is an important factor in access to healthcare. The study shows that females have limited access to socio-economic commodities compared to men. They had less access to income, education, occupation and wealth partly because of cultural factors or pure discrimination on the basis of gender. Lack of training of health attendants, expose women to maternal and infant mortality rates. These inadequacies of material resources based on gender, affect their access to healthcare. They limit their capabilities to access healthcare at equal measure as men. This perpetuates inequalities in healthcare. Gender was therefore an important variable that influenced access to healthcare.

Socio-economic factors defined by income, education, occupation and wealth empower upper households to purchase healthcare. The high incomes, education, occupations and wealth provide more opportunities and choices to access healthcare services, both in the private wing of government facilities and in the private sector. These resources are skewed in their favor, hence increasing their capabilities.

However, the lower social groups lack these resources because they are deprived of. In the study, these groups live mainly in informal settlements like Majengo, Mathare, Kawagware, Korogocho and Kibera amongst many other upcoming informal settlements mushrooming in the outskirts of the city center. These informal settlements lack social services of all kinds, including having poor roads, poor education coupled with low incomes, and no wealth at all. The situation is compounded by poor access to water and sanitation management, with huge heaps of garbage. They live in extreme poverty, and this denies them the necessary capabilities to procure access to healthcare. These vulnerabilities expose them to serious diseases, leading to mortalities with reduced life expectancies. Socio-economic factors were therefore an important influence on access to healthcare

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that access to healthcare is unequal among the social classes in the County. The lower social economic groups, which include the poor, vulnerable groups like children, street children, PWDs, migrants, youth and women. These groups are disadvantaged as they are deprived of socio-economic resources (income, education, occupation and wealth). This limits their capabilities to access healthcare.

On the other, the upper and middle class groups have better access to these resources, and therefore have better capabilities in accessing healthcare. The distribution of these resources is lopsided in favor of the upper and social

classes. This allows them to have better capabilities to access better healthcare, given the vast opportunities endowed upon them. This duality increases inequalities in access to healthcare.

These health inequalities have been attributed to unequal distribution of socio-economic resources. These factors are varied incomes, education, occupation and wealth. This analysis suggest that there are several areas for further research: how socio-economic groups can access healthcare in equal terms; how poverty and other health determinants can be reduced or eliminated; and how capabilities can be spread across all social groups in the County.

This study argues that these factors should be equitably spread across all the households in the County. All the factors discussed need to be increased or improved so that they can effectively provide access to healthcare for all. All social groups including the low social classes should be involved in addressing the challenges facing the sector.

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China India in Afghanistan

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Abstract

At the time the traditional and non-traditional security issues in South Asian and regional dynamics mounting into a complex geopolitical space, India and China are gearing up their regional political and economic outlook somewhat country-specific. For India and China, Afghanistan has been a grey area. Being positioned at the heart of Asia, Afghanistan directly influences the logistic arteries of the whole of Asia. In the framework of possible US withdrawal and ensuing traditional geopolitical rivalry in the region, this article focuses on how India and China carried out or would likely to carry out their joint relations in Afghanistan. It would be interesting to observe the rationale behind their renewed engagement and either it is heading to more people-oriented or towards the new 'Great Game'. Within this context, this article aims to outline a comprehensive and comparative analysis of India and China's policy in Afghanistan after 9/11. In which this article argues that despite having some differences in approaches, there is a great possibility for cooperation. This analysis considers both countries' contemporary political, economic and security engagements, and geopolitical dynamics as a base – which are key variables shaping their present foreign policy towards Afghanistan.

Keywords: India, China, Afghanistan, Geopolitics, Afghan Peace Process

Introduction

Ever since the fall of the Taliban, the global community has been providing enormous political, financial and technical support for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Afghanistan, which are supplemented by India and China's contributions. Outshining of other international donors, their contributions to the Afghan state and society are significant and incomparable. Within Afghanistan's geosphere, the intriguing interests of great powers have always been a source of certain strain for Afghan society and neighbouring countries as it was evident with the 'Great Game' of bygone century. Besides, the broader geopolitical considerations also present an overwhelming picture of disharmony in approach despite having similar perceptions about the threats from and within Afghanistan. Although Afghanistan is not the primary focus of either countries' foreign policy in the region, the recent developments such as the likely US withdrawal, the rise of Taliban in Afghanistan and other South Asian geopolitical changes have high chances for cooperation in economic, political and security interests.

India's increasing relations with Afghanistan can be attributed due to the following reasons: (1) security concerns within and from Afghanistan (2) Afghanistan as a transit for economic and business activities (3) energy security

(4) political influence. India's multidimensional relations with Afghanistan dates back to the prehistoric period. Excluding the Taliban era (1996-2001), it maintained cordial relations with all other Afghan governments. Post 9/11 has provided a glittering prospect for India's foreign policy elite to recalibrate their detached policy to a more aggressive pursuit in Afghan affairs. In the post-Taliban period, India's policy and engagement became again a multi-dimensional, thus surfaced as one of the key players in the post-war reconstruction process (Basu 2007). In 2002, India elevated its diplomatic mission from a Liaison office to full embassy (V.Pant 2010). Moreover, India vigorously participated and generously contributed to the 'Bonn Conference', thus regarded as a key contributor in the post-Taliban's political process. India provided financial and necessary diplomatic support to all Afghan governments after 9/11. Since then, India has been dynamically pursuing its bilateral relations through a wide variety of economic transformation projects, humanitarian assistance, political reconciliation activities, cultural exchange programs, student scholarships and financial backing to Afghan governments. As like India, China's relations with Afghanistan are mainly based on following interests: (1) security of the Xinjian autonomous region (2) Afghanistan as a connection between China and west Asia for economic activities (3) energy security (4) for strong foothold in the regional geopolitics. On the other side, China, since 1955, pursues decent relations with Afghanistan except the Soviet allied regime (1979-89) and largely inactive in Taliban's period. After the end of Taliban government, China restored diplomatic relations with Afghanistan in Feb 2002. Once the newly elected federal government started to function after 9/11, China's policy has been meaningfully growing from a very low to active engagement (Andrew Scobell 2015). While complimenting the rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts of the international community, China's contributions have brought extraordinarily momentous in China-Afghanistan relations. Similar to India's engagement, China also actively pursues its bilateral relations to facilitate its participation in the Afghan peace process and security related areas through a wide variety of economic initiatives, humanitarian aid programs, and student scholarships.

Reverting former disengagement policy of the Taliban era, Asia's two powerful countries India and China, are engaged in Afghanistan to win friends. Unlike the players of the 'Great Game' of the 20th century, both India and China desire to play an alternative or different role. China and India's relations in Afghanistan can be helpful in understanding the regional dynamics and are important due to the following reasons (1) both are the emerging economic powers of the world (2) Afghanistan's security situation has direct bearings over their internal security (3) their approach will set the tone for regional peace. With this background, the study intends to investigate the question, what is the similarity between India and China's approaches towards Afghanistan? By considering their multi-layered approaches, the research also aims to address the following question, how does the existence of two great economic and military powers of Asia would remarkably contribute to the reconstruction of Afghanistan, or will they fall in the trap of a new version of old geopolitical 'Great Game'? Both sides have noteworthy economic, political, cultural and security interests in Afghanistan; but diplomatically are seen as competitors in South Asia. With the mission of brief assessment of India-China's relations in Afghanistan, this paper would suggest how lack of clarity could be remedied.

Superficial Cohesion in the Pursuit of Economic Interests

More than any other, both India and China's trade activities have been increasingly growing those of other contenders in Afghanistan since 2001. Moreover, it is also the established fact that their trade initiatives boosted the Afghan economy, which extensively addressed in the ensuing discussion. To comprehend how both sides view, one and other, it is unavoidable to this research to answer the subsequent query – how do both countries manage their economic differences in Afghanistan while delineating their bilateral trade and investments relations with Afghanistan. In this way, the research can lay in a better position to address the question realistically.

In March 2003, India signed a preferential trade agreement with Afghanistan in which it gave 50% to 100% duty concessions on items such as dry fruits. Earlier in November 2011, India also gave free duty concessions to certain Afghan goods except alcohol and tobacco (Kumar 2017). The bilateral trade for the year 2017-18 was somewhere around about \$ 1.143 billion; thus India became the second export destination of Afghan goods. In 2017, two air corridors for Delhi and Mumbai from Afghanistan were initiated to expand the trade volume. Most of the Indian companies focus on hydropower sector, information technology and spice trades. Whereas China is one of the other important trading partners of Afghanistan. China's export to Afghanistan is around 17% of its trade volume

more than any country. This influenced Afghanistan to take part in Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) since May 2017. According to 2018 survey, the bilateral trade volume between China and Afghanistan is around \$ 1.1 billion, with mostly import from China (Salehi 2018). Despite the fact that Afghanistan is embroiled in a relentless conflict, both countries agree on the common perception that economic engagement is the best policy against terrorism and extremism. Their economic incentives to Afghan economy are unprecedented in a sense that they were started amidst political and security disorder and present an alternative path to Afghan people.

One factor that brought India and China to Afghanistan is its large deposits of natural mineral resources which are untapped. Its mining industry is deemed a profitable sector for foreign investments. Both India and China have considerable interests and investments in the lucrative mining industry of Afghanistan. In 2011, at Bamiyan province of Afghanistan, Indian state-owned mining company 'Steel Authority of India' (SAIL) gained the contract of 1.8 million tons of Hajigak iron ore deposit (S. Khan 2011). In 2007, two Chinese state-owned enterprises Metallurgic Cooperation of China (MCC) and Jiangxi Copper Cooperation (JCCL) gained contracts worth of \$ 4.4 billion of copper mine project at Aynak, which is the largest ever investment in Afghanistan (Downs 2012). In oil and gas sectors, China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) initially invested \$ 400 million in three blocks of Amu Darya region at Faryab province (Najafizada 2011). The project of the century, Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) became the most remarkable cross-continental connectivity initiative by China. To bolster the faltered infrastructure of Afghanistan in 2017, China hooked it with 'China Pakistan Economic Corridor' (CPEC) to stimulate investment, which provided space for several agreements in trade and Information Technology. BRI could likely make Afghanistan another hub of connectivity in Asia (Jennifer-staats 2017). India, in order to improve connectivity, has also been building roads in Afghanistan to improve infrastructure (Staats 2017). Comprising the mining industry, Indian companies are also keen on investing in Information Technology, agriculture, livestock and logistics. Afghanistan is full of natural resources and precious metals. Due to uncertain security and political situation, international mining firms were hesitant in investing these sectors. With the coming of China and India's firms in Afghan mining industry not only brought investment and infrastructure improvement but also restored the friendly atmosphere for future investors.

Being located at the heart of Asia, Afghanistan's geographic position is overwhelmingly determining factor for prompting crucial trade routes in Asia. For attaining upper hand, both sides seem to vie for economic projection in Afghanistan. By having a strong economic presence in the war-torn country, their enterprises can grow better in West Asia, South Asia, Central Asia and East Asia. Due to traditional geopolitical thinking, both China and Pakistan desire limited Indian influence in Afghanistan (S. Ali 2018). CPEC is the flagship project under BRI; China extended it to Afghanistan in 2017; but, India has totally rejected the idea of BRI concerning sovereignty claims over Jammu and Kashmir (*The Print* 2018). In 2016, India with Iran and Afghanistan inked the 'Chabahar Port Transit Accord' and invested \$ 500 million: under this agreement, India built Zaranj-Delaram road that would connect landlocked Afghanistan with Chabahar port in Iran. Moreover, infrastructure between Afghanistan and India are considered as a counter move to sabotage CPEC. China views these adroit economic maneuvering by India as geopolitical stubbornness (Shashkikumar 2009; *Energy Infra Post* 2017). From the discussion in above paragraph, it seems appropriate to say that no doubt their economic contributions in less focused areas of Afghan economy are remarkable. But the problem arises when they adopt self-contained approach in economic development of Afghanistan. By communication on common forums, this problem could be minimized.

Despite apparent resentment, which is deeply embedded in traditional South Asian geopolitics and security dilemma, there seems a specific desire to endeavour for joint economic projects in Afghanistan. The joint cooperation is not a new idea; it was previously floated in 2010 when the officials of both countries scheduled to work on a joint infrastructure project in Afghanistan (Patranobis 2018). First time in April 2013, India and China organised bilateral talks about Afghanistan reconstruction, which both agreed to work collectively for the peace, welfare and prosperity of Afghanistan often referred as 'shared interests' (Schwarck 2016). In April 2018, at the informal summit at Wuhan, President Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Narendra Modi agreed to launch joint economic projects in Afghanistan (Patranobis 2018). The question arises here is that if both want resonance in their engagement in Afghanistan, then what are the factors that are not remote and could pose a threat in their bilateral relations? A recent report reveals that there are some serious challenges in the factual realisation of these joint economic ventures: among them first is, precarious security situation and second, misgivings of China's close

connections with Pakistan. Since the informal Wuhan summit, China-India joint economic cooperation was limited to small scale projects, possibly to address the apprehensions of Pakistan (Sutirtho Patranobis 2018). To Sum up this section, both China and India consider economic engagement with Afghanistan as their first policy to deal with terrorism and extremism. And their increasing economic contributions seem to confirm it. However, tradition geopolitical thinking generates suspicions of one another's economic activities in Afghanistan. It is necessary to mention here that both sides view cooperative attitude towards conflicting interests as a reasonable way to push on their engagement in Afghanistan such as Wuhan summit in 2018.

Is Development Aid Strategy a Source of Suspicion?

Most of the great powers used Afghanistan as a tool to further their vested interests. Both China and India are unique in a sense that their development aid programs seem to focus more on people-oriented and public welfare projects. These aid programs bring substantial changes in Afghan economy and way of life. Almost immediately after the collapse of the Taliban government, both India and China embraced development aid as a policy to assert positively. To apprehend their underlying geopolitical ambitions, the research tries to address the following questions such as is the development-oriented projects of both countries focus on the people-centric or interest centric? Besides, is the increase in development activities create suspicion between India and China? In having a succinct analysis of this prism, we could better assess the looming differences.

Since the formation of the post-Bonn political set up, political clout through development is the characteristic of India's foreign policy. Due to these development projects, India enjoys a good reputation in the eyes of common people. In the analysis of an Afghan researcher, India's soft power is pillared on three relevant links: historic India-Afghanistan link, Bollywood popularity and India's support to rebuild Afghanistan (Abdul Rahman Rahmani 2019). India remarkably accomplishes its economic interests and geopolitical agenda. Its development assistance program stands around about \$ 2 billion. Then Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee announced a line of credit of \$ 100 million and one million tons of wheat for displaced Afghans and a team of doctors for the ailment of artificial limbs in war-torn Afghanistan¹. India also constructs strategic infrastructure projects that include electric transmission lines to provide electricity to Kabul; an electric powerhouse in Herat and parliamentary building in Kabul. For Afghan civil servants' capacity building training programs were launched for embellishing their professional functioning. For each year the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) grants 500 scholarships to Afghan students to study in various Indian universities (as cited by Fair 2010). In 2016, Prime Minister Modi and President Ashraf Ghani inaugurated the Salma Dam on Hari River in the Herat province, was the hydroelectric and irrigation dam renamed as the 'Afghan-India Friendship Dam'. The project cost was around \$ 290 million, and the largest development project of India had ever undertaken in Afghanistan (Roy-Chaudhary 2016). India also sponsored the up-gradation of Indira Gandhi Institute of Child Health Hospital and provided medical equipment to other hospitals (Mullen and William 2017). In 2015, it delivered a home cricket field to Afghan national cricket team and hosted matches (as cited by Mullen and William 2017). Further, India granted complete support to Afghanistan to become the full member of the South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). All these have created a respectable posture in the eyes of common Afghan people with new employment opportunities (Anant Mishra 2017).

China on the other side also keen to attain political influence through development projects, its focus centred around humanitarian aid, building hospitals, educational institutions, student scholarships, improving people's livelihood and providing technical assistance to the Afghan government and institutions. China development aid falls around \$ 1.5 billion as compared to India's that is around \$ 2 billion (Baisali Mohanty 2017). Since the recommencement of diplomatic relations in Feb 2002, initially as a goodwill gesture, it provided \$ 5 million in humanitarian aid (Ng 2010). Two Chinese telecom giants Huawei and ZTE assisted the Afghan's telecom infrastructure with 2,000,000 lines (Daim Fazil 2014). In 2007, China gained contracts of Ayank Copper mine for \$ 3.5 billion. In return, promised to build mosques, school, clinic, power plant, railway line construction and creation of 4000 new jobs opportunities (cited by Ng 2010). China investment projects were seen as a boost to the

¹ For more details of India's support refer to Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Ministry of External Affairs Annual Report 2000-2001*, (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, 2001), <http://meaindia.nic.in/>.(R. M. Khan 2015)

employment opportunities for Afghan nationals in electricity production and mining. China also started a freight railroad passing from western China through Tajikistan Afghanistan to Pakistan (Chansoria 2019).

In the health sector, China, with \$ 4.35 million assistance constructed the Republic Hospital in 2003 to provide world-class health facilities (Sabir 2018). Along with the above, it also built Kandahar Hospital and Jumhoriyat Hospital. For technical and higher education, China provided aid for a teaching building of the Chinese language department, and guest house of Kabul University and National Centre of Science and Technology Education (Deng Xijun 2015). To invigorate the economic and social sector development, China built the Parwan Irrigation System in the Parwan province. This project intends to facilitate around 100,000 people and 27,000 hectares of land (Government of PRC 2012). China extended CPEC and some mega infrastructure projects to Afghanistan such as rail, roads, energy supply lines and electricity generation power plants. All these efforts were seen as factors to provide additional business opportunities in Afghanistan (Meena Sing Roy 2017). China also aims at maximising its cultural (people to people relations) with Afghanistan. With the framework of the Cultural Exchange Agreement of 2008, China established a Confucius Institute at Kabul University, to create an understanding of Chinese culture and open opportunities for Chinese language learning to Afghans (CGTN 2019).

When we examine both India and China's development initiatives and strategies, it presents an identical picture of wooing all sides of the society and polity with a people-oriented approach. Moreover, their development aid is more focused on public welfare projects and less visible in security sector. Because both believe that poverty is the main cause of the Afghan conflict. This also resonates their similar strategic considerations. Being the most respectful donors in public welfare projects in Afghanistan, it seems that China and India have implicit consensus on development as a strategy for furthering their interests. So, these are the agreed points where the harmony can be further increased by two countries.

Common Security Threats

Both China and India are the neighbors of Afghanistan and they seem more concerned about the security situation in Afghanistan than any of other international partners. Afghanistan's security quandary and its spill over effects in and around its periphery have been the foremost disquiet on both sides and have caused clear understanding but fluctuate in self-contained approach to deal with it. For unearthing the suitable explanation of this frantic divergence, this segment mainly dedicates on what are the dominant misgivings that lead to deviating lines in security relationships?

In the context of mounting terrorist threats, India diversified its approach to secure its multiple security interests in Afghanistan. Its prime focus of securing Indian interests and investments has led to the security dilemma. India also believes that fight against the extremism requires collective approach to deal with it. In July 2008, India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations Nirupam Sen, stated that the 'security within Afghanistan and coordinated efforts to stop terrorists from operating with impunity beyond Afghanistan's border must be the paramount priority of our collective efforts in Afghanistan'² Second, a great fear that exists within the policy elite of India that after the US withdrawal, Pakistan would again dominate the political landscape and pose a direct threat to its national security, by using Taliban and other affiliated militant groups. As the editorial of Indian Newspaper Mint asserts: 'once Islamabad assured of a friendly government in Kabul, it will unleash all the terrorists at its disposal on India. This will only mean more trouble in Jammu and Kashmir, and it will embolden terrorist groups to attack our cities with greater frequency' (*Live Mint* 2010). In order to consolidate its security profile in Afghanistan, India provides regular military assistance and training to the Afghan National Army (Joshi 2011). In 2011, it also provided training to the Afghan National Army in light weapons and high-altitude warfare, along with police and Air Force (Ganguly 2011). To scale up Afghanistan's air surveillance capacity, India provided Afghan Air Force MI 25 and Cheetal light helicopters (Manu Pubby 2018). To show a posture that it respects Afghanistan's sovereignty, India restrains from the formidable military presence and limited to 500 'Indo

² Nirupam Sen, Permanent Representative from India to the United Nations, statement on the situation in Afghanistan to the United Nation's Security Council, July, 9, 2008. Available at <http://www.ijmra.us>.

Tibet Border Police Force' (ITBP) personnel to protect workers and diplomatic staff with no offensive counter-insurgency capabilities.

Being also the neighbour of Afghanistan, China's worries are not different from that of India. In its strategic calculus, one of the principal objectives has been the extermination of security threats emanating from Afghanistan that include, East Turkestan Movement (ETM) which occasionally launched terrorist attacks using China-Afghan border (Akhtar 2015). In Dec 2017, Chinese and Afghan higher defence officials met and agreed on building a military facility in Afghanistan Northeast Badakhshan province to strengthen pragmatic cooperation against anti-terrorist activities (Daly 2018). China also warily sees the presence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in Afghanistan adjacent to its border. In order to create mutual military to military confidence, China assists the Afghan military for a mountain brigade (Daly 2018). Since two countries established military dialogue in 2016, China has been stepping up military assistance to Afghanistan providing small arms, logistics and military equipment (Martina 2018). It was reported in US-based Military Time that Chinese troops along with Afghan forces were operating in Afghanistan and performing counter-terror patrols (cited by Shawn Snow 2017). Nevertheless, here a question arises that is: what are the factors that bar India and China from adopting a unified approach towards Afghan security issues? According to Chinese scholars, China engagement policy with the Taliban in the Afghan peace process is in the sharp contrast to India's. China considers that the Taliban presence in Afghan peace initiative is necessary to end the conflict because Taliban belongs to majority ethnic group of Afghanistan and their roots are deeply embedded in the Pashtun society. China is not against the Taliban but is opposed to terrorism, separatism and extremism (Huasheng 2014). India shares bad memories with the Taliban due to their pro Pakistan approach and infiltration in Kashmir. So, again Pakistan factor, as is perceived by India, allegedly behind the Taliban backing, has been a contentious issue between two, which also widens the gap.

Inferring from the above discussion, both sides, arguably, consider terrorism as a firm national and regional security threat. They also believe that to contain terrorism; it is the best strategy to do it within Afghanistan with humanitarian aid and various development activities and military to military relationships. On account of ensuring their domestic security, both sides also support post-Bonn polity, but differences arise when it comes to the level of how to deal with allegedly Pakistan backing to the Taliban. Contrary to the Indian point of view, China deems Taliban inclusion in peace initiative necessary to end the conflict. India also blames China of pursuing Pakistan's agenda in Afghanistan. Despite this conflicting approach, there appears no direct conflict between China and India in Afghanistan.

Afghan Peace Process: Can It Be A Middle Ground?

To settle down a stretched war, international community conceives peace talks as the only rational mean to resolve the most complex dispute. Both India and China have been strategically compelled to endorse and weigh in the peace endeavours to make it sustainable, and both also accentuate on Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace process. In addition, to get the peace initiative in right course; their backing is, however, at least contributing to Afghan peace. For making peace talks smooth and efficacious, their determined efforts may yield substantial outcomes. Their ultimate commitment for peace and subsequently their vigorous campaign, it is flaring indications of their decency and devotion to the Afghan cause. However, some vested geopolitical dots have a direct negative bearing on the outcomes contrary to, what they conceived of earlier, following the guidelines of the international community for Afghan peace. Their solo flights are somewhat contributing, but not as much as their international status is expected to render. Both China and India are emerging economic, political and military powers and their status seems to be accepted by the Afghan government and the Afghan people. My point here sticks to the disturbed peace in Afghanistan if both emerging powers, setting aside their vested geopolitical agenda for the sake of Afghan peace, agree to conduct their interests for the common cause of peace, it deems necessary for regional and global peace. Can the Afghan peace process be a middle ground for their conflicting motives in Afghanistan despite all perceived misgivings?

In the pretext of India's development contributions and stakes, International and regional countries endorse the Indian role in Afghan peace process. It looks no coincident that international community converges on India has a role in Afghanistan peace process. In fact, it is the realization of the fact by the International community that for

durable and longstanding peace in Afghanistan all stakeholders must be on board. Indian ambassador to Afghanistan Vinay Kumar met with Afghan National Security Advisor Hamdullah Mohib and reiterated that his country's firm support for Afghan-led, Afghan-owned and Afghan-controlled peace initiative (Nizamuddin Hameedi 2019). US special envoy for peace talks Zalmay Khalilzad also visited New Delhi and affirmed that India has a positive role to play in Afghan peace initiative (Sibbal 2019). Previously, Pakistan's stance over its participation in Afghan peace initiative was not entirely complimentary. But now, Foreign Minister of Pakistan Shah Mahmood Qureshi was quoted as saying, 'some meetings have taken place among key stakeholders for establishment of peace in Afghanistan. India has also stakes in Afghanistan and its cooperation will also be needed' (*The Economic Times* 2018). Pakistan seems more concerned about the growing role of India in Afghanistan but its endorsement for India's role in Afghan peace process symbolizes the turning point from traditional strategic perception and good for Afghan peace. China's leadership also realizes this fact. China special envoy for Afghan peace Deng Xijun met with Foreign Secretary Vijay Gokhale and agreed on cooperation in Afghan peace initiative (*India TV* 2019).

China has always been more concerned about the deteriorating security situation in Afghanistan. In the face of new emerging challenges and interests, China's efforts now seem more focused for durable Afghanistan peace. Considering peace as a positive solution for formidable global stability, China participated in peace initiatives in 2014 by endorsing the talks between the Taliban and Afghan government (Yongbiao 2018). China Foreign Minister Wang Yi, in a press conference in Islamabad, said that 'we[China] will support the Afghan government in realising reconciliation with various political factions including Taliban' (*RT News* 2015). By considering China as a close ally of Pakistan, Afghanistan President Ashraf Ghani, after assuming office in 2014, went straight to China and requested help to resolve Afghan crisis before the start of the 'Fourth Ministerial Conference of Istanbul Process' on 31 Oct 2014. This request was well-received in Beijing and assured Ghani of assistance in Afghan Peace Process (Hiro 2015). The US welcomes Chinese involvement in the Afghan peace process. In fact, it was the US in 2009 which said to China to play an important role in the Afghan crisis. President Obama in 2009, while announcing the Af-Pak strategy, urged Afghanistan's neighbouring countries including China to play a role in the stability of Afghanistan (Obama 2009). China and the US are part of the most important organizations for a peace initiative. In 2016, China also formed Quadrilateral Cooperation Group with the USA, Pakistan and Afghanistan. China also hosted many Taliban delegates in efforts to end the crisis. In 2017, 'China-Afghanistan-Pakistan Foreign Minister Dialogue' mechanism was established to address the looming Afghan crisis. China's efforts have been mainly focused on bringing all concerned Afghan group to the Afghan peace talks.

Both China and India contribute positively to the Afghan peace process and their status is endorsed by the international community. Afghan government also looks China as peacemaker (Saif 2019). Afghan president Ashraf Ghani also praised India for its services for Afghan state and society (Srinivasan 2019). Officially, both sides endorse one another's role in Afghanistan peace process. But the recent trends create imbalance in policy and practice. India seems less visible on international forums for Afghan peace conducted by international community particularly China. But again, the question is that, what is dissension point that pushes them away from mutual efforts? Yasmeen Rashid Ali analysed the complicated peace initiative in the following words, 'the countries involved in the peace initiative have gone ahead with the peace process with Pakistan irrespective of India's reservations. With China, Iran, U.S, Russia and Pakistan opening direct Channel of communications with the Taliban, the government in Kabul, which is also a partner of India, is facing a policy crisis in the country' (Y. R. Ali 2019). However, it does not mean that India's role is neglected by international community in Afghanistan. So, peace initiative for Afghanistan has the potential to bring all the opposing parties on table. It was the realization of the fact on the part of Chinese government about India's role in Afghanistan that China's peace envoy contacted with India for consultation on Afghan peace process.

Conclusion

Right from Afghanistan's reconstruction and development process, both India and China donated colossally. Gradually their economic, political and military contributions eclipsed those of other players. With rising power status, both countries seek a greater role in Afghanistan for consolidating their position in Asia's trade. In broader traditional geopolitical perspective, both seem deliberated as arch-rival in global affairs, particularly in South Asia.

There are also other explanations to understand their case in Afghanistan. Both being neighbours of Afghanistan with rising powers and influence seek not just stability and also a greater role. To unfold their burgeoning concerns for Afghanistan, the research mainly addresses a question that what is the possibility of China India relations in Afghanistan.

With swelling engagements in Afghanistan, China engagement indicates that it tries to maximize its influence in Afghanistan. The above discussion shows that China has its own reasons of spreading its influence in Afghanistan. India's status in Afghanistan is mainly contested by two factors: one, Pakistan and second, the Taliban. Besides, the current situation reflects that without the support of China, it would be challenging for India to establish a robust presence in post-US withdrawal Afghanistan (Melanie Hanif 2010). So, it could be concluded that there exists an element of traditional thinking between India and China in Afghanistan. Nevertheless, there seems an underlying necessity that also compels them to have a common approach towards Afghanistan mainly driven by shared economic and security interests. This notion was among the main themes of the Wuhan Summit in 2018. When both countries decided to initiate joint economic projects in Afghanistan, they sought to have a common ground in Afghanistan based on mutual interests and similar perceptions on regional security issues. As pointed out earlier that there are some challenging factors destabilising the equation of mutual cooperation such as China's close connections with Pakistan; Taliban factor; and regional competition.

In proportion to their economic, political and security contributions, China and India may emerge as the dominant players in post-war Afghanistan. Thus, there is a room for cooperation on some agendas such as joint economic ventures, common security threats and Afghan peace process in Afghanistan. China and India's bilateral relations must evolve peacefully in Afghanistan which are crucial to avoid misgivings about each other's intentions and interests. Their rivalry may bring catastrophic consequences not only for the security of Afghanistan but also for the whole region. By finding workable and common approaches towards Afghanistan, their mutual cooperation can assure peace and economic prosperity in the whole South Asia including Afghanistan.

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China's Approach towards Bangladesh: Development of Partnership or Claw of Subjugation?

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Abstract

China, an Asian superpower with its second-largest economy of the world, is working on the historical Silk Road across Eurasia not only for attaining its economic expansion throughout Asia and Europe but also intending to check her two prominent global competitors, USA and India. Although China has a long history of strong bilateral relations with Asian countries, recently, China is investing in the infrastructural sector of Bangladesh. This rapid growth of Sino-Bangladesh relationship has become a great concern for a time-tested friend and neighboring country, India. It has become a substantial debate of study, at least in the pitch of international relations and power politics. The debate actually leads to some queries, for instance, is China's economic approach towards Bangladesh to check India's power, or to counter the 'Pivot to Asia' policy of the USA, or to take control over South Asian geopolitics? China's continuous investments in Bangladesh also portrays that China is making a field in Bangladesh to exercise its 'debt-trap' strategy in the name of a development partner and her BRI (Belt and Road Initiatives) execution to subjugate the region just like the cases of Pakistan and Sri Lanka. This study tried to critically analyze the Sino-Bangladesh relationship to explore China's factual objects from the geopolitical perspective.

Keywords: Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI), Debt-trap diplomacy, Maritime Silk Road, One Belt One Road (OBOR), Look East Policy, Pivot to Asia Policy

Introduction

China, once 'The Sleeping Giant'¹ is currently measured as the 'Second Superpower'² and projected to be the highest economy of the globe by 2050. Though China is a communist state in the political sphere, she practices open market principles started in 1978 with the name of 'Socialism with Chinese characteristics'³. There are lots of data available in pages of history that attested the strong association among the china and south Asian

¹ Once Napoleon Bonaparte labeled china as 'the Sleeping Giant'

² The term second superpower coined to recognize china after the USA by Scholars.

³ The official term used for the Chinese economy today.

countries from ancient to till date. The developing modern South Asia is now marked as a 'Big Bazar' (market) for the exporter countries like China, USA, and others; And because of its commercial noteworthiness, the geopolitical game has been ringed over the region. Present-day superpowers are utilizing various approaches to catch this money-making market for their interests. China, the second strongest economy of the world, is investing massive volume in the infrastructural sectors of the South Asian developing countries. It is no secret today that this move of Beijing government to these developing economies for fulfills the 'Chinese Dream' Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI), the modern version of ancient Silk Road. The BRI depicts the settle of a geo-economics and geopolitical Maritime Silk Road (MSR) and Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) which will connect China to Europe and Africa, not by land only but by sea also (Deepak, 2018; Chakma, 2019).

“To forge closer economic ties, deepen cooperation and expand development space in the Eurasian region, we should take an innovative approach and jointly build an economic belt along the Silk Road” Xi Jinping; at Nazarbayev University on 7 September 2013 (Jinping, 2014, p. 313)

Beijing has been maintaining trade relations with almost all the developing countries of South Asia from long ago. However, factors like china's economic reforms of 1978, the geopolitics of the region, huge trade market make this relation intensity bigger than any time. Nevertheless, china never acts similar form of relations with each state; instead, her tendency to connect changed regularly based on interests and circumstances. For better understanding, look at Bangladesh's case. Bangladesh achieved her independence through a bloody war against Pakistan, an old and long term ally of China in 1971. Bangladesh was considered a pro-soviet nation at that time because of the socialist ideology of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (father of the nation of Bangladesh) and his closeness to India at that time (Bhattacharjee, 2018). Besides, India's active participant and 'not so friendly' relation with China played a very significant role in shaping the Chinese skeptic outlook regarding the liberation war of Bangladesh; that is why the war also professed as the Indo-Pakistan war in some international documents. Because of these, Sino-Bangladesh bilateral relations were not so healthy until 1975, and even China vetoed the membership of Bangladesh in the United Nations till that time. After the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in 1975, the new journey of Sino- Bangladesh relation was started from January 1976, which got a warmer form with the visit of then Bangladesh's President Ziaur Rahman in Beijing in 1977 (Bhattacharjee, 2018). The relation was limited by different trade deals between Dhaka and Beijing until the first decade of the 21st century. However, the 2010s experienced a particular environment of geopolitics with several economic and transit deals, defense procurement, numbers of foreign direct investments (FDI), loans, and even tax barrier-free trade. The bilateral relation turned into an alliance with the numerous investments of China in the infrastructural development projects like roads, bridges, rail tracks, power plant, seaport building, or development in Bangladesh. Albeit, the diplomats of two sides are guaranteeing this enthusiasm of China in Bangladesh as just a bilateral trade friendship, experts are pessimistic about the aftermath of these deals in Bangladesh and critiqued the real provident motive of China.

Sheikh Hasina, Bangladesh's four times current Prime Minister, moved to the support of China, especially after the much-debated 5 January 2015 national election as China was not concerned about election outcome/governance like the EU or the USA. Imtiaz Ahmed, Professor of Dhaka University, believed Beijing a "predictable" destination to Hasina and her move towards Jinping government not just for business but for her government's maneuverability were very limited, especially regarding the US and the European Union (Chowdhury, 2014). Gradually Bangladesh lost a significant number of financial supports from the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and other creditors in several development projects in infrastructure, and China took this scope to enter the economy of this region by using Dhaka's emasculation.

China's plan to subjugate or influence South Asia faces hindrance, mostly from India, with which China has a unique relationship where rivalry, strategic partnership, and a cold war from 1962 all are adjusted (Huanxin, 2005). So, Bangladeshi territory can play the most vital role to balance Indian political and military influence in the region among many other nations of South Asian countries (Sakhuja, 2009). As Bangladeshi territory is the easiest way to access the geopolitics of South Asia and the market of India, China's all these efforts including securitization, investment facilitation, and trade liberalization to influence the region (Chakma, 2019; Shikha, 2014). All the steps were taken by Beijing government seem like sync with Chinese foreign policy goals like a

prophylactic action to the US policies like 'Trans-Pacific Partnership' (TPP) or 'Pivot to Asia'; multipolarity in the economic system, common security, calculation of Indian defense (Deepak, 2018; Anwar, 2019)

India has demonstrated itself as Bangladesh's all-time ally and time-tested neighboring friend, but China's approach towards Bangladesh is mostly criticized by Indian scholars, although, there are many proofs that India itself is trying to develop its relation with China (Uddin & Bhuiyan, 2011). Experts are alarmed that the growth of Sino-Bangladesh relation can destabilize Indo-Bangladesh trust on one another economically as well as politically although Bangladeshi diplomats have shredded the neutral and impartial position of Dhaka between New Delhi and Beijing. Michael Kugelman, the Deputy Director of Asian Program of Wilson Center, believes the growing Sino-Bangladesh relation has intensified the Indo-China geopolitical rivalry over the last few years and can damage relation of Dhaka with New Delhi. He also claimed that the status quo can lead Bangladesh to find itself in the Chinese 'Debt-Trap Diplomacy' like Pakistan and Sri Lanka (Bodetti, 2019). This study is an attempt to investigate the present Sino-Bangladesh relations from three major dimensions; Defense, Economic, and Diplomatic, and dissect the facts behind the Chinese approach towards Bangladesh with the provident consequences of this development partnership.

Defense Ties

China is the prime arms supplier to Bangladesh. Bangladesh signed the 'China -Bangladesh Defense Agreement' in 2002 to cover its military requirements. From 2009 to 2014, Bangladesh had imported its 82% arms from China on credit and soft loans (Shikha, 2014). In the status quo, the defense forces of Bangladesh are equipped with Chinese arms, including fighter aircraft, tanks, submarines, missile launchers, and different weapons systems. Bangladesh had purchased two Ming class Chinese submarines. According to a new contract sealed on June 20, 2018, costs more than \$200 million, China will deliver Bangladesh Air Force (BAF) 23 units of Hongdu K-8W intermediate training jets. (Mushtaq, 2018).

The defense relation is not bound by only the export and import of weapons. China provides training to officers of the Bangladesh army, where the Chinese and Bangladeshi soldiers are trained together (Bhattacharjee, 2018). Sino-Bangladesh defense ties are so robust that even Chinese and Bangladeshi military personnel of both countries train in each other's defense academies, and Bangladeshi army personnel is more comfortable with Chinese military weapons than with any other supplier's equipment (Ramachandran, 2019).

The IPSC research has claimed this growing defense offers of China to Bangladesh as nothing but a 'shadow war' in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) to counter the US and India through enhancing Bangladesh's naval infrastructure. Indian researchers think, through deals with Bangladesh, China does not have enough access to IOR. China is said to be interested in getting access rather than establishing bases, and that makes Bangladesh more important for China (Shikha, 2014).

“China has a port facility [Hambantota] in Sri Lanka, they have Gwadar [in Pakistan], they are building a port facility in Myanmar [Kyaukpyu] – this gives India the feeling of being surrounded by China. This is the military dimension of Indian concern” Siegfried O. Wolf, Director of research at SADF (Ahmed, 2019).

Some believe China has just grabbed the opportunity to enter the Bay of Bengal in the name of development partner of Bangladesh only for its cheap labor, unexplored natural gas reserves, and massive market. India, a common neighboring country of China and Bangladesh, is experiencing a hostile relation with China through different wars in border areas for decades in one side and has proven itself a 'time-tested defense ally' of Awami League (the governing party of Bangladesh) from the birth period of Bangladesh (Anwar, 2019). The moving bilateral relation of China and Bangladesh has become a great concern for India. In contrast, Delhi has called for a 25-year defense cooperation agreement and Dhaka has agreed to form only a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with no time frame saying 'it is not yet time for a long-term agreement' in February 2017 (Bhaumik, 2017). Nevertheless, all these debates and claims have been cleared the neutral position of Bangladesh among panels of international and regional geopolitics when Bangladesh has proposed two important defense deals

ACSA (Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement) and GSOMIA (General Security of Military Information Agreement) to the US in the mid-2019 (Bhuiyan, 2019).

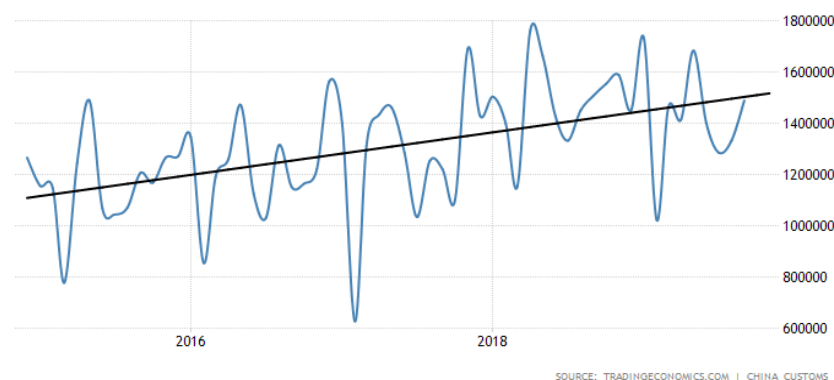
When questions have come about the objection of China (the biggest arms supplier of Bangladesh) to the proposed deals with the US, Bangladesh has officially declared that it itself will decide from where it would buy the arms for its soldiers. At the same time, while India's dissatisfaction becomes a concern for diplomats, to strike the right balance between India and China, Dhaka has agreed to an MoU, not long term defense cooperation agreement, which has made upset neither India nor China (Bhaumik, 2017).

Economic Deals towards Development

The economic relation between Bangladesh and China has experienced two different phases before and after the rise of the 'One Belt, One Road' project of Beijing. From 1977 to 2010, the amount of Sino investment in Bangladesh valued about \$250 million only (Ramachandran, 2019). However, with the wake of the Chinese Dream BRI, China has become Bangladesh's largest trade partner and investor. From 2010 the investment deals and trades started to multiply with two major agreements for establishing telecommunications network systems and a fertilizer factory in Bangladesh with Chinese investment worth US\$ 770 million with a 2% interest rate payable within 2030 (Byron, 2010). Critics believe China's abrupt move towards Bangladesh is nothing but a bridge to Beijing to enter the market of India and dominate through Chinese products (Chakma, 2019; Bhattacharjee, 2018). Nevertheless, Bangladesh is now the second-largest loan recipient of China in South Asia after Pakistan.

From 2011, the two-way trade and investment rose so abruptly, which was \$200 million, and eventually, the figure of amount formed to \$12 billion within the next 3 years (Ramachandran, 2019). Jinping's visit to Dhaka in 2016 brought a new era in Sino- Bangladesh economic friendship where an official declaration of Bangladesh's came in favor of the BRI project. Consequently, China has assisted Dhaka in almost every infrastructural development project including airport, roads, bridges, railway tracks, power plant buildings, etc. In Bangladesh, Beijing has already built eight friendship bridges and has invested \$1 billion to digital connectivity improving project and \$3.7 billion to build road and rail tracks in the 'Padma Bridge Construction' project of Bangladesh (Ramachandran, 2019). During Jinping's visit, Beijing offered primarily \$24 billion as financial assistance for 24 mega projects as lines of credits by signing 27 mutual agreements (Bhattacharjee, 2018; Ramachandran, 2019).

Bangladesh Bank's report says that in 2017-18 fiscal, the two-way trade between Dhaka and Beijing was \$12.4 billion, and Bangladesh has received about \$600 million from China in 2018-19 fiscal. (Siddique, 2019). Till mid-2019, China had invested more or less \$13.6 billion in several joint ventures. The net value of Chinese investment to Bangladesh worth more than \$38 billion till 2019, and this statistic has made China the largest investor of Bangladesh (Ramachandran, 2019). Bangladesh imports a massive amount of Chinese products every year, and the graph of Chinese goods entry to the Bangladeshi market is elevating substantially. The graphical figure below reflects a single scenario of this event.



This exportation of Chinese products to Bangladesh from 2014 until 2019 averaged \$1251664.49, wherein February 2014 it recorded the lowest value of \$400768, and in April of 2018, it reached at highest \$1761662 (Trading Economics, 2019).

These are not the end story of trading between the two nations. As Bangladesh is one of the fastest-growing economies of Asia, she is working on several mega infrastructural development projects and also working on establishing 100 economic zones in its land. China has already expressed its willingness to support financially to construct those economic zones (Zuo, 2018). If this continues, it is expected that China's direct investment in Bangladesh is going to exceed \$30 billion by 2021 (Ramachandran, 2019). Besides, China holds 2.9 percent of Bangladesh's external debt only where Japan holds 9.2 percent and other multilateral creditors like the ADB(Asian Development Bank), the WB(World Bank) holds almost 60 percent combined (Fairman, 2019).

Economists think the bilateral relationship could be stronger if the trade deficit between Bangladesh and China could be alleviated. Two countries are already working on it and formed different agreements like FTA agreement, APTA, etc. Under the Asia-Pacific Trade Agreement (APTA), China has removed tariff barriers on chief exports of Bangladesh (jute and textiles) with 82 types of commodities that are imported from Bangladesh to China (Islam, 2019). Experts of the two countries believe FTA (Free Trade Agreement) between Dhaka and Beijing is going to solve the trade deficit problem. In a conference on 8 September 2019 in Dhaka, Cheng Min stated: "*China-Bangladesh FTA agreement can bring more Bangladeshi products into the scope of tax exemption; effectively alleviate the bilateral trade deficit between Bangladesh and China*" (Hasib, 2019).

To continue this warm bilateral relation and to reduce the trade deficit, two nations now working on settling Sino-Bangladesh free trade zones. It is expected that this step will decrease about \$15 billion trade deficit of Bangladesh vis-à-vis China (Singh, 2019). Questions have arisen concerning what will be the future status of the economy of Bangladesh if she is excessively dependent on a single country's investment. Economic specialists from Bangladesh side argue Bangladesh is not in that horrific position since the risk of debt distress is continually decreasing. Moreover, with an eight years grace period, Bangladesh has about 31 years to pay off its external debt, and Bangladesh will be able to pay those debts in time even of the annual GDP growth rate drops to 5% (Fairman, 2019). However, the whole scenario reflects China's debt-trap diplomacy, where projects by Chinese state-owned companies cultivate the host country's dependence on China, which benefits Beijing more than pearls can.

Diplomatic Strategic Relation: From Geopolitics Perspective

In cross border relations, selflessness can exist only when strategic interest plays role from the back end. But in Sino-Bangladesh relation, both stakeholders are claiming their relation as just trading partners and here the debate comes!

Bangladesh and China, two Asian countries from different political and financial status quo, encircled with a common powerful State, India, who playing contrary relations with the two countries. According to Kautilya's the 'Arthashastra', either 'friend of friend' or 'enemy of enemy' can be considered as friend only. A friend of that person with whom you are experiencing a severe hostile relation can never be a friend to yours and you cannot offer a friendship unless you have your interest. So it is very clear, China cannot offer an altruistic and incessant support to a trustworthy ally of India if China is not targeting any certain goal. Therefore, to identify the factual objects of this relationship, one must need to dig out the interests of two nations first and weighted those in terms of cost-benefit inquiry.

Hence, calculate the interests of Bangladesh first. It is very natural for Bangladesh that an emerging economy of South-East Asia who is fighting with lots of social and economic problems such as poor infrastructural development, massive population, unemployment, and poverty, etc., will accept every single opportunity and investment offered to develop its position. Bangladesh is getting this facility in a regular flow from China. But this does not mean that Bangladesh has accepted all the diktats in blindfolded eyes being not subservient by not agreeing to the Chinese conditions on the construction of the Sonadia deep-sea port in 2014 (Bhattacharjee, 2018).

Chinese friendly approach towards Bangladesh got the most contentious look in the 'Rohingya Genocide' issue. Immediate after the 'August Genocide' of 2017 China declared to run an "integrated humanitarian mission" and agreed to 'do whatever is required' to help refugees in Chittagong with the collaboration of Bangladesh (Zhou, 2017). Even on 5 July 2019 after a Beijing visit, Hasina shared her belief of getting full cooperation from the Chinese Communist Party to resolving the Rohingya crisis as soon as possible. In that visit, Hasina government signed five agreements, three Memorandums of Understandings (MoUs), and a Letter of Exchange. According to one agreement, China would provide 2,500 metric tons of rice as aid for Rohingya refugees (Ramachandran, 2019). But paradoxically, China has never been taken any active diplomatic, political steps to solve this crisis permanently (Islam, Ailian & Jie, 2018). Critiques believe China would not damage its political ties with partner Myanmar, even though, was likely to boost its assistance to Bangladesh (Zhou, 2017). Apart from this, China will not hurt its relation with Myanmar since many Beijing projects, including China's dream BRI project are running in Burmese territory. This also proves China's diplomatic policy against Bangladesh's interest, at least not as a development partner of Bangladesh. Then the question has been raised, why China is non-stopped investing in Bangladeshi projects ? What is China's target? The answer may found from the below discussion.

China has emerged as one of the most powerful countries in world politics from the beginning of the current century; it is expected for China to make a geopolitical bloc in its support. As there are many underdeveloped and developing countries in South Asia, it is going to be easier to control many countries at a time by playing debt-trap policy. But the point must not overlook that china's interests are entirely against the interest of India, the regional superpower of the region, and no doubt China is very much aware of that. Therefore, China has chosen to gain its political advantage through entry into the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) as an observer by convincing Dhaka (Bhattacharjee, 2018). The current dependency of Pakistan and Sri Lanka on China because of accepting excessive investment loans has already made China's influence in a greater version where the 'observer' position of SAARC may durable it.

Beijing has started to work with Dhaka in the Belt Road Initiative (BRI) already. During Hasina's visit to China in mid-2019, Beijing had assured that it would better align Chinese projects in Dhaka under the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) (Ramachandran, 2019). Bangladesh is a doorway for China to enter India's turbulent areas, including Arunachal Pradesh (Niaz, 2014). Though Bangladesh has shown its neutral diplomatic position towards China, the USA, India, and other superpowers, China is attempting recklessly to enter into South Asia with its enormous influential powers via proposing countless tempting investment offers and loans. Here the questions arise. What is the guarantee of not falling in a debt cycle for Bangladesh? Moreover, for how long Bangladesh can remain free from the same outcome of Sri Lanka and Pakistan?

Critical Dissertation

China has succeeded in drawing a neutral political image to Bangladesh's perception by non-interfering and by not advising on the internal political and social issues of Bangladesh. Though the inactive attitude of China with Myanmar government in the Rohingya issue had raised a question about the neutral position of Jinping government, China had successfully presented this inaction as its impartiality and non-interfering foreign policy to the world community. China's strategy has played a significant role to fuel the growth of Sino-Bangladesh relation (Bhattacharjee, 2018). Four subprojects [1. Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor (BCIM), 2.China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), 3.Trans-Himalaya Corridor, 4.Cooperation with Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives under the 21st century Maritime Silk Road] (Islam, Ailian & Jie, 2018) consist the BRI, where Bangladesh plays the key player role for its geographical location to execute the subprojects. Moreover, Bangladesh is an important maritime hub for China as Bangladesh connects the southwestern landlocked provinces of China, like Yunnan with the Indian Ocean (Singh, 2019; Anwar, 2019). Therefore, involving Bangladesh in the execution of China's Dream is so crucial that it is leading Beijing to more and more investment in Dhaka projects.

Another significant interest of China in Bangladesh is market access not only of the Indian market (Singh, 2019) but also the 170 million people's massive market of Bangladesh itself. Because of the continuous growth of

manufacturing industries, China is facing a huge challenge to locate all these industries with proper labor rights and facilities which are turning these industries down into sunset industries (Nahreen, 2017). As Bangladesh offers cheap labor, China can use this opportunity to outsource its sunset industries to relocate in Bangladesh.

The energy supply industry greatly constructs China's economy, and for that, China mainly depends on the Straits of Malacca (Bhattacharjee, 2018) (Bhattacharjee, 2018). If China can execute the BCIM project under the BRI, it will be easier to access to the seaport for energy supply through Bangladesh from China's Yunnan province. Indian news agency ANI (Asian News International), in their April 2019 report, has warned that the Payra Sea Port located in Southern Bangladesh could be a part of China's '**string of pearls**' and could fall into Beijing's hand ultimately (Fairman, 2019). ANI has argued that The Payra Seaport, worth about \$15 billion under the BRI, is going to be constructed by two Chinese state-owned enterprises, namely China State Engineering and Construction Company (CSCEC) and China Harbor Engineering Company (CHEC)). These two enterprises also associated with the construction of Gwadar port in Pakistan and Hambantota port in Sri Lanka according to china's similar prescription and method. That means after BRI execution, Bangladesh will have to permit China to use its seaports, which may eventually reduce control over its ports by Bangladesh itself.

However, the Bangladeshi authority is confident enough not to fall in any debt- trap by presenting different arguments that show Bangladesh's situation in a more durable and neutral status till now. Hasina's government claims that Dhaka's strategy will bring economic and infrastructural development of Bangladesh only and will not create any debt-trap as Dhaka has a long-term plan to pay the loans with interest to China in time and Dhaka's economy is capable enough to do that. Bangladesh has started to reduce its credit dependency on India and the west for development with its 'Look East' policy and has formed several political and economic alliances in the Asian region from 2003 (Islam, 2019). Though Former Prime Minister of Bangladesh Khaleda Zia once stated (Rahman, 2003) "The doors are open to us for west, east, north and south". Bangladesh claims that the deals and agreements of Dhaka with Beijing is just economic friendship and has nothing to do with political alliances or regional power balance strategy. The guiding light of Bangladesh's foreign policy is "Friendship with All, Malice towards None". Therefore Bangladesh has no intent to damage its bilateral and multilateral old relations with the USA, India, or any other country and can't avoid China because of the old allies. The government of Bangladesh is considering its financial agreements and investment deals with China as just other development partners. Dr. Sudha rightly stated- *Dhaka has largely avoided the major pitfalls of China's initiative while embracing the gains* (Ramachandran, 2019).

Instead of India's fear or considering China's approach as just an antidote to the US 'Pivot to Asia' policy or a debt-trap for Bangladesh under China's 'Checkbook Policy', China's investments are much productive opportunities to developing Bangladesh. It is not just for Dhaka's trade neutrality or willingness to form a relationship with China, but for decreasing amount of creditors in Bangladeshi projects since the last few years. Citing high-level corruption, the World Bank has canceled a \$1.2 billion credit recently for the 'Padma Multipurpose Bridge' project. Besides, showing environmental causes many creditors like the Norwegian government's sovereign wealth fund have rejected to sponsor the Rampal coal-fired power plant of Bangladesh (Ramachandran, 2019). As a result, a developing country with a fast-growing economy under many provident development plans like Bangladesh has no other options but to accept the BRI projects as an opportunity for its development.

All these do not mean that Bangladesh is so happy by trading with China. To execute the agreements signed in 2016, China has disbursed less than 5 percent (\$981.36 million) of the funding only, and Bangladesh is so upset with this slow pace of reimbursement of China. Besides, China has released only \$194.81 million in the Karnaphuli river tunnel project concerning the \$689.35 million so far (Ramachandran, 2019). It is seen that China has shown delay to credit in the development projects which are not directly related to BRI projects. This may also indicate that China has not much interest in growing its trade relation with Bangladesh rather than the BRI, which can ensure China's influence over South-East Asia or subjugate the developing countries of the region later.

Concluding Remarks

Due to deltaic geographical structure, Bangladesh is very much crucial to China connecting landlocked Yunnan province to the Indian Ocean and being a partner in the Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Maritime Silk Road both (Islam, Ailian & Jie, 2018; Siddique, 2019). After implementing the BRI project, South Asia and East Asia will be connected directly by an integrated waterway where Chittagong of Bangladesh will play the role of the trans-oceanic bridge. This will reduce transaction costs sharply and will benefit the investment and trade both in the region (Deepak, 2018). Indisputably almost all the nations of Asia, including Bangladesh, will be benefited economically after executing China's Dream BRI project; certainly, China will enjoy the greater part. Here the debate is not about trade expansion but the controlling mechanism over the regional economy and subjugation on the economy of powerless by powerful. China's changed approach to Bangladesh, a struggling developing nation, appears like hanky-panky afoot. Two neighbors of Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka have become the sufferer of China's debt-trap in many ways already, some believe, the approach of China today to Bangladesh is almost the same. Moreover, the growing Sino-Bangladesh relation has become an eyesore to Dhaka's all-time friend New Delhi who holding the same supervisory stance as China over the region (Singh, 2019).

Current Sino-Bangladesh relation is not only at risk of falling into any debt-trap, though Hasina's government is continuously rejecting this fact, but also at risk of losing its old friend in the time of need (Anwar, 2019). Even if Bangladesh becomes successful to maintain the balance of power between China and India, it will found itself in India fueled or China fueled development for many years, which will take a long period to reap the gifts of neighboring superpowers (Bodetti, 2019). In case, Bangladesh can manage all these risks, there is still the probability of losing control over seaports over time, which are constructing by Chinese loans by Chinese companies under the Chinese Dream project. Now the question arises, For how long a developing country like Bangladesh can play the power balance game against the two most powerful economy of Asia- India, and China for the sake of her interest? and How is Bangladesh going to free its economy from subjugation claw of China by developing own infrastructure with Chinese investment?. International relations experts believe Japanese investment, collaboration, and less conditional soft loans for development could be the answer or alternative to counter against the Chinese aggressive economic subjugation for political gain.

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Consociational Approach to Ethnic Resolution in Malaysia and Lebanon

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Abstract

This study aims to address the importance of consociational approach in achieving sustainable peace in post-conflict in multiethnic countries. Malaysia and Lebanon have been applying this concept in resolving the ethnic conflicts and improving the nation's solidarity. This includes the biggest racial riot in Malaysia on 13th May, 1969 that triggered the suspension of the parliament. Whereas the civil war in Lebanon that lasted for almost 15 years (1975-1990) has altered the composition of the parliamentary representatives. Since the ethnic conflicts are still brewing in both countries, thus the underlying concept of consociational approach has been the subject of criticism. Against these backdrops, there are consociationalist such as Lijphart enumerate that this approach is conducive in emerging the balance of power among the elite group that represent their subcultures. The historical comparative method is specifically useful in conducting the analysis of this study, and the finding showed that the consociational approach is still widely accepted in both of the countries, since it emphasizes the role of elites of sub culture and institution in containing of ethnic conflict.

Keywords: Consociational approach, Ethnic conflict, Malaysia, Lebanon, 13th May 1969, Lebanon Civil War (1975-1990)

1. Introduction

The outbreak of ethnic conflict in some countries can be attributed to the growth of intolerant attitudes which could be due to inability to share economic cake, political power, social, language and religious rights with others ethnic group. This can be seen in what is happening in Croatia, as a result of the rise of religious sentiments and the ethnic loyalty of each group such as Catholic Croats, Bosnian Muslim and Orthodox Serbs have sparked conflict and ended with the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Yugoslavs (Kunovich & Hodson, 1999). The resulting ethnic conflict will not only stifle economic development and threaten national harmony, but it will also complicate the development of a national identity in forging a national solidarity especially in a multi-ethnic country. Even though

each of the ethnic groups lives in the same locality, their interactions are limited and superficial such as at market places. This situation will complicate the process of developing a country either social, political, economic or cultural realms as each ethnic group unable to work together in fulfilling the country objectives (Husin 2011).

The difficulties and problems in containing ethnic conflict have gained international consensus, especially for a multiracial country. There are some scholars who highlight methods and approaches that could lead to sustainable peace. McGarry and O'Leary (1993) outlined seven conflict regulation approaches, which are assimilation, secession, genocide and the forced displacement of population, third-party intervention, the hegemonic control and power sharing which are integrative and consociational approaches. Although hegemonic control has introduced several procedures to resolve ethnic conflict, these remain unacceptable because they do not recognize the right of the minorities to practice their culture and tradition. For this study, the focus is on the consociational approach as it is more practiced in many multi-ethnic or multi-religious countries such as Lebanon after the civil war from 1975 until 1990, in Malaysia after the ethnic tragedy of May 13th, 1969 and in Northern Ireland that has succeeded in promoting compromise and moderation through voluntary coalition (Joanne 2006).

2. Method

The historical comparative approach and textual analysis are specifically useful in conducting the analysis of this study. Therefore, this study has applied the 13th May 1969 conflict to relate to the consociational approach to ethnic resolution in Malaysia, and for Lebanon the consociational approach analysis is based on the issue of 1975-1990 civil war.

2.1 *The Consociational Approach and Ethnic Conflicts*

Consociational politics is an approach through which it promotes power sharing with a specific kind of promises for a democratic solution to societies confronted by political conflict and ethnic division". It has been put forward by Lijphart (1977), and his model could facilitate the much needed cooperation among the different ethnic communities in a democratic country. Generally, this approach consists of four elements starting with grand coalition which emphasis on the participation of elite group from all the ethnic groups so that this cooperation will translate into all-encompassing ethnic groups which could form a majority block in a parliamentary system. The block could decide the important appointments such the President, the Prime Minister and the Speaker of the House. The focus here is not to create a cohesive working alliance, more importantly to get the elite groups that represent their respective ethnic group to work with their elite counterparts, such as in Cyprus. Despite the British policy of consociationalism with the 18-member Legislative Council with 3 Muslim Members, and 9 non-Muslim members who were reluctantly accepted by the Greek Cypriots, the British continued to promote cooperation among the elite representing the ethnic group (Attalides 1979).

Second is the mutual veto or informal minority veto, a kind of reset button that could be used by any groups especially the minority groups should they feel threaten or be at the disadvantage position due to any decision made especially by the bigger groups and with this provision all the decisions should be based on broad consensus. Lijphart (1977) opined that there is a risk to the coalition if the minority group is allowed to use the veto power. It could upset the cooperation since the minorities have the power that is bigger than the power of the coalition itself. This can be seen in Cyprus, the failure of peace attempts after the collapse of the political system in 1960 because of the implementation of veto power, which was a hindrance to cooperation between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot (Schneckener 2002). As a result, the Greek Cypriot disagrees with the introduction of proportionality because it does not mirror the demographic balance (Joseph 1997).

The third element is proportionality which means the size of the parliamentary representative is based on the size of the ethnic group population. This distribution is also applied in other important appointments such as in civil service. However, the process of making the decisions again is hampered by the threat of mutual veto power as in the case of Greek and Turkish Cypriot (Schneckener 2002). **The fourth** element is the segmental autonomy which refers to each segment of the society or every ethnic community is given the right to manage and make decision that is related to their respective ethnic communities such as religious affair, education system including the language and cultural issues (Lijphart 1977; 1985). Normally, segmental autonomy groups prefer to protect their

group identity, and the evidence of consociational experiences in Kenya, showed the action of the kikuyu ethnic group in defending their rights during President Kenyatta's leadership (Lijphart, 1985).

The effectiveness of this approach in solving the problem of national unity in multi ethnic countries has been subjected to critics based on two issues. **First** since it emphasizes strongly on forming a broad coalition, there will be less competition which is the main element in a democratic process or the presence of opposition among minorities outside the coalition is insignificant to make the process of check and balance meaningful (Lijphart 1977). This was the case in Cyprus, where the Greek Cypriots majority was responsible for the breakdown of consociational arrangements. A similar case can be seen in Northern Ireland with a population dominated by Christian Protestants (Lijphart 1985). **Second**, due to the distribution of top post appointment based on agreed allocation, the most capable individuals which are important for an efficient administration, may be side-lined.

As stated by Zartman (1992), among the causes of the Lebanese civil war (1975-1989) was because of the political power that favoured the Christian ethnic group with more of the dominant members in 1943 and not based on the size of the population in the 1970s, this situation has provoked the Muslims especially the Shia who was the largest sectarian group at that time. Another contentious issue is the threat of mutual veto which could not only delay the decision making process, it also may halt the agreed decision to be implemented should a group reverse their decision (Lustick 1997). Since the concept takes full recognition of the role of each ethnic community, it may indirectly enhance the ethnic sentiment and this is supplemented by the implementation of several activities or programs under the segmental autonomy. Furthermore, certain ethnic group may seek help from their fellow ethnic from other countries. The problem of segmental autonomy was also highlighted by Cornell (2002) that it could be misused and open the opportunity for the outsiders to interfere the internal affair of the country. In Cyprus, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots are more loyal to their patron states which are Greece and Turkey respectively than to their own country (Darby 2001).

According to Lijphart (2004; 1977; 1985), even though this concept may not be able to bridge the ethnic schism, however it could create a relatively stable multi-ethnic democratic country. This argument was supported by Ayana (2016), based on the implementation of this concept in Netherlands, Switzerland, Northern Ireland and India. Not only that the concept has enhanced the understanding among the ethnic communities on their differences in languages, culture and religions in Cyprus (Mcrae 1979). For example, Switzerland, that is composed of three major ethnic groups, which are German, French and Italian, and possessed two major religions, Catholic and Protestant, have enjoyed the long period of peace and continuous practice of consociationalism (McCrackan 1970). It should be noted that segments of roughly equal size are more likely to cooperate during negotiations for the establishment and maintenance of consociational democracy. Conversely the uneven size of ethno-linguistic groups in Africa produces hurdles for the existence of consociationalism hence making the favourable requirements for consociationalism to be missing. The African societies are unevenly divided among various ethno-linguistic groups, having dominant communities on one hand and a small minority of other. So this factor, also, suggests that the ethno-linguistic composition of Africa is not favourable for effective consociationalism, though successful trials have been made in Botswana in its incongruent bicameralism (Parliament), where it is very difficult for one party to gain a majority in both houses and this has continuously proved to be a check to the majority regulation over the minority in the country (Lijphart, 1985).

As specified by Helga (2006), the elements of grand coalition and segmental autonomy could bring a stable peace in the country and for a country in conflict, it could be an effective peace building strategy. Sneckener (2007) emphasizes on the need to play a direct role by the influential elite of all the segment groups in strengthening this concept. Due to the complexity of a multi ethnic society, Bormann (2011), suggested that before the concept can be implemented, the country prevailing political system has to be understood first and a neutral consultative body represented by all the ethnic groups and religious organization have to be established to facilitate the implementation process. This also includes discussions with the nationalist groups to ask for their cooperation and those who are working in the government as well as private sectors. The advantage of consociational politics in term of equality of rights and privilege to all the citizen regardless of their ethnicity should entice them to be more cooperative, enhance inter-ethnic cooperation for the good of the country as well as everybody. This will indirectly improve the country stability.

In this study a multi ethnic country, Malaysia and a multi sectarian country, Lebanon were chosen to investigate the effectiveness of consociational politics in solving their problems. The analysis is based on the elements of consociational politics and the emphasis is on the two watershed events of the respective countries, which is the biggest ethnic riot in Malaysian history that occurred on 13 May riot and the civil war in Lebanon that lasted for almost 15 years (1975-1990).

3. Consociational Approach in Malaysia

Malaysia is a multi-ethnic country with three main ethnics namely the Malays, Chinese and Indians and with demographic distribution of approximately 55 %, 25% and 7 % respectively (Husin 2012). The Malays are the original inhabitants of the land whereas the Chinese and Indian were the recent immigrants brought into Malaya during British colonization to serve the later economic interests. These three ethnics have noticeable different physical outlook, cultural heritage which includes religions and languages. Since the country is a democratic country, consociational politics is the only option available with the emphasis based on consensus in reaching collective decisions with the inclusion of segmental autonomy in safeguarding each ethnic cultural heritage such as language, religion and education system Lijphart (2004).

According to Means (1991) the democratic system in Malaysia is based on cooperation and consensus that emphasis on high level of tolerance is an important factor in strengthening the country solidarity and unity. The country political system and background have almost similar attributes to that articulated by Lijphart (1968) in which the ethnic communities are very much separated and competing with each other through their respective ethnic-based platforms. This prevailing condition has influenced their political activities such as the need to constantly be reminded on the importance of solidarity and unity through power sharing. This ethno-centric phenomenon is not only due to the inherent cultural attachment, it was reinforced by the colonial policy of 'divide and rule'. The consequences of this ethnic consciousness resulted in the formation of ethnic based political parties and organizations.

The formation of the Alliance was seen as the bulwark in promoting cooperation between the main parties from the Malays, Chinese and Indian ethnic communities (Lijphart 1968). This warm relationship between the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) and the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) in 1952 and the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) accepted as a third partner in 1954, indicated a successful formation grand coalition known as Alliance and it received huge support across ethnic communities (Chee 1991). Alliance was also successful in persuading the people to vote for whichever Alliance candidate that was nominated for that district, irrespective of the background of the candidate. This is called as the 'vote pooling' which refers to the exchange of vote across ethnic or racial lines, normally as a result of agreements between parties for the exchange of electoral support. It also indicated as the heart of intergroup compromise as a set of alternative recommendations to consociationalism. Even though the concept of power sharing, consensus and the spirit of cooperation had successfully led to the Independence of the Federation of Malaya in 1957, however, after the independence was obtained the concept of power sharing and cooperation had lost its compass that resulted in a violent conflict on 13 May 1969. It was almost a smack on the face to the leaders who had been galvanizing for inter-ethnic cooperation for the country solidarity and unity and the riot had shaken the Malay community recognized as the sons of the soil (Abdul Rahman 1969) There were political scientists who attributed the principle of power sharing and tolerance advocated by the Malay leaders had subjected the Malay community to the abuses by the non-Malays communities by stoking provocations especially during the demonstrations and parades. The high level of tolerance displayed by the Malay leaders had caused anger among the Malays and as a result, after the 555hegemony under the leadership of Tun Razak Hussein with quasi democracy in order to stamp out inter-ethnic acrimonious environment.

3.1 Consociational Politics in Malaysia Post-Conflict 13th May 1969

After the riot that caused 196 deaths the concept of consociational politics was under spotlight of its effectiveness and according to Marshall & Juliet (2014) it shows the failure of the elite groups to convince their respective ethnic community as a whole to be united under MCA leadership. The Chinese community was more inclined to support other chinese dominated parties which were outside the grand coalition such Democratic Action Party (DAP) and *Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia* (Gerakan) Both parties were accused of fanning the racial sentiment (Abdul Rahman,

1969). The inability of the grand coalition headed by the Alliance to satisfy the competing demands by every segments including by the Malay's group on their demand of better distribution of the country economic cake since they were far behind the Chinese and Indian communities putting a strain on the coalition. However the concept continued to be the preferred choice and to sustain the coalition they created (Asna 1996), several enactments to pacify this tense relationship such as Sedition Act 1948 to prevent any parties from questioning several sensitive issues pertaining to the foundations of the country such as the special privileges of the Malays, the position of the Malay rulers, the citizenship of the non-Malays and the position of the Malay Language as the sole official language. Other Acts enacted include Official Secrets Act 1972, Internal Security Act 1960 and University and College Act 1971 (Ishak, 2000). Even though these acts have curtailed some features of democratic principles, it has brought some stability and until now the segment autonomy remains, in fact it is better managed than certain countries such as Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland, Yugoslavia and Africa (Kartini et al 2013).

3.2 Grand coalition

Grand coalition was started when the people of Malaya was looking independent from the British. A rudimentary work was initiated between the Malays under UMNO, the Chinese under MCA and the Indian under MIC. Initially this grand coalition was so successful and during the first election the coalition secured 53 seats out of 55 seats contested. With the inclusion of several other parties the coalition was renamed as National front (Pritti 2012). This coalition won the subsequent election and the policies, rules and regulations enacted so far manage to ward off any untoward incidents of ethnic strife. In order to strengthen this fragile solidarity and unity, the government introduced social re-engineering and affirmative action programs formulated by National Operation Council, such as the New Economic Policy and National Principles (*Rukun Negara*). The acceptance of the above principles has resulted many political parties formed broad-based coalitions and for example there are 12 political parties comprising parties from peninsula, Sabah and Sarawak.

After 13 May 1969 riot many people doubted whether this grand coalition will remain as it is or it will evolve to become a more dynamic coalition (Cheah 2012). Several internal power squabbling within UMNO caused the splits and breakaway parties such as *Negara*, *Semangat 46*, *Parti Keadilan Rakyat* (PKR) and *Bersatu*. Some of these breakaway parties have formed a new coalition with the existing parties outside the UMNO led coalition or National Front such DAP and PAS to unseat the national Front. However, this new coalition suffered ideological differences especially between Islamist PAS and Chinese led liberal DAP which as a result the coalition collapsed (Segawa 2015).

3.3 Segmental Autonomy

Segmental autonomy has been the main feature in the practice of consociational politics in Malaysia. The special privilege of the Malays as the original inhabitant of the land, the recognition Islam as the official religion of the state and the Malay language as the sole national language. Other ethnics can freely practise their religions and their native languages and education systems are recognized as parts of national education system. To bridge the economic gap between the have and the have not, the main reason for the 13 May riot, the government introduced a new policy known as the new economic policy to economically empower the Malays (Faaland 1991). Even though the preservation of segmental autonomy could increase ethnic sentiment instead of national sentiment as pointed by Kassim (2017), Jarret (2016) and Lijphart (1977) opined the advantages is far outweigh the negative effects.

4. Consociational Approach in Lebanon

Lebanon was granted Independent from France in 1943 and even though majority of them are Arab, the country is multi religious society. Muslims which comprise Sunni, Shiite and Druze constitutes 59 %, Christian 39 % and the rest are Jews and Kurdish (Saouli 2019). In order to avoid religious and sectarian conflict, a grand coalition comprising all the sectarians. The coalition known as National Pact 1943 envisaged for an establishment of a stable democratic Lebanon with the hope to reduce religious conflicts. The important appointments were distributed with Maronite Christian was allocated the post of President, the Prime Minister post was reserved for the Sunni Muslim and the Parliament speaker for Shiite Muslim. The agreement also requested for the ban of outside interference of

Lebanon internal affair whereby the Christian will end their military cooperation with the west, the Muslim will cease their connection with the Pan Arab and accept the current geography boundary (Brenda 2000).

Consociational politics in Lebanon incorporates the element of proportionality. In 1943 the Parliament seat distribution of 6:5 for Christian and Muslim respectively was used since the Christian was in majority (Samir 2018). However, over the years with the migration of Palestinians into the country the Muslim currently constitutes 61%. This has caused some unease among the Muslim since the country still sticks to the initial ratio of proportionality (Lijphart 1977; Barclay 2007). Another strong element in this consociational politics is the segmental autonomy which was implemented from 1943 to 1975 which created a stable peace in the country. However, it was shattered by another civil war between Muslim and Christian that resulted about 150000 deaths and this had prompted the scholars to question the potency of consociational politics in preserving peace (Richard 1978; Salvador 2018).

4.1 Consociational Politics in Lebanon Post Civil War (1975-1990)

After the civil war (1975-1990) the main elements of grand coalition remain intact including proportionality on the ratio of parliamentary seats, even though the Muslims expressed their dissatisfaction since it was taken based on 1932 populations (Salamey 2009) and Barclay (2007). Besides, the domination of sectarian Maronites in the grand coalition continues after the Ta'if (1989) agreement even though the Muslims felt they have been discriminated such as the case of fisherman in Sidon. However, the Lebanese democracy system still retains key elements in consociational approach such as grand coalition, proportionality, and segmental autonomy as per the Ta'if Agreement (1989) which was signed after the end of the Civil War (1975-1990).

4.2 Grand coalition

After the civil war, all the previously allocated appointments not only remained, there were additional allocations whereby the Deputy Prime Minister was given to Orthodox Christian and the army Chief to the Muslim Druze (Brenda 2019). It seems these important appointments have become the hallmark of the grand coalition (Nagle & Clancy 2019).

4.3 Proportionality

The element of Proportionality in the democratic system refers to the system of representation and this element was also retained after the Civil War as outlined in article 24 of the Ta'if Treaty of 1989 which agreed to ensure equal representation of the divisions between Christians and Muslims (Boogards 2019). Before the agreement the ratio was 6: 5, six Christians serve five Muslims in parliamentary representation, however after the Ta'if (1989) agreement the ratio has changed to 5.5 between Muslim and Christian due to the demographic changes (Richard 1978). In addition, further 18 sub divisions were introduced whereby Muslims were divided to Sunni, Shiite, Druze and Alawites and the Christians were divided to Greek Orthodox, Maronite, and Armenian Orthodox. Each groups will be given a seat in the parliament and each sectarian must come from at least one political party (Samir 2018).

4.4 Segmental autonomy

In the Ta'if 1989 agreement, article 9, each sectarian has the right to manage their own religious affairs and education system (Boogards 2019). Since 1920 most of the schools are either private entities or sectarian based on religious organizations. Only 5 to 10 % of the population go to the government school. Even though the government has made an effort to control the education system, it proves to be futile. Because of these circumstances, the education system unable to be used as a tool to improve people mutual understanding, not only that it could be a breeding ground for the country to be in perpetual sectarian in nature Baytiyeh (2016).

5. Conclusion and Implications

Based on the above studies, it is found that consociational politics is the most viable way for a multi-ethnic or multi sectarian democratic country. The implementation of consociational politics in Malaysia is only focused on grand coalition and partial segmental autonomy that could provide more room for the politicians or leaders to initiate for more flexible policies especially in bridging the divided communities. For example, vernacular schooling is only for student up the age of 12-year-old, after that all ethnic communities must join the national school. Besides, the grand coalition is not something casted in stone, whereby the member can leave the coalition

and new members can join the coalition. In addition, the country does not practise the element of proportionality, except for the post of the King. In Lebanon the consociational politics has enhanced the sectarian sentiments since it embraces proportionality and a rigid grand coalition that tied up with the important post appointments. Besides the education system is very much follow the sectarian line that could strengthen the sectarian nature of the society that may in turn be perpetually a divided nation.

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The Origins of Chinese Nationalism in Twenty-First Century

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Abstract

Chinese nationalism began to rise when the Cold War ended in 1989. During the first two decades of twenty-first century, Chinese nationalism as strong force has impacted Chinese public opinion as well as government decisions to a large extent. In the eyes of Chinese political elites, nationalism is a force for unity that can keep China together as the communism has lost its appeal. This study explores factors which best explain the origins of Chinese nationalism in our era. For this purpose, I utilize qualitative analysis of nationalist discourse and deeds to gauge nationalist sentiment among the contemporary Chinese people and its political elites. The evidence suggests that nationalism in China mainly comes from Chinese great pride in its major economic achievements in recent decades, the perceived injustice and insults done to China when it was dismembered by the imperialist powers in nineteenth and the first half of twentieth centuries, the current provocative moves against the rising China, and the Chinese government's propaganda campaign.

Keywords: Century of Humiliation, China, Chinese Nationalism, Communism, Nationalism, Nationalist Sentiment

Nationalism is relatively a contemporary discourse in China. Liang Qichao, arguably modern China's most formidable intellectual, was the first to use the term nationalism in 1901 while living in exile in Japan during the dying days of the Qing Dynasty. From Chinese Communist regime's perspective, nationalism turned to be a new force for unity (Zhao 2000, 28). It is not an exaggeration to say that Chinese communist movement in the first half of the twentieth century was a nationalist movement and the victory of the CCP in 1949 has been described as much a victory for nationalism as it was for communism (Weatherley 2014, 23). The CCP was able to defeat the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) largely due to its ability to appeal to the sentiment of public nationalism. During the first three decades of communist rule, Marxism went side by side with nationalism (Zhao 2014, 3).

A series of actions in the last quarter of twentieth century made nationalism much more attractive force for Chinese politicians. On the one hand, in 1978, China moved away from the ideological rigidities of communism when Deng Xiaoping famously pleaded for a pragmatic approach by saying, "[i]t does not matter whether a cat is black

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or white, if it catches mice, it is a good cat.” (Mahbubani 2008, 75). On the other hand, one decade later, the communism lost its appeal across the world and communist regime collapsed like dominos in the Eastern Europe including the Soviet Union itself. Given the death of communism, nationalism has become the only ideological pillar on which the Communist Party could rely for legitimating purpose and it has been using nationalism as the glue that keeps China together (Zakaria 2008, 122). After Tiananmen square incident, the Party paid significant attention to nationalism and attempted to inculcate nationalist sentiment in Chinese people through specific programs such as “Patriotic Education Campaign.”

Chinese nationalism is a two-way street. To say, Chinese nationalism should not be confined to Party’s propaganda campaigns; it includes popular nationalism as well. Popular nationalism usually feed on the dark pages of Chinese history that has been phrased as “Century of National Humiliation”, the era in which China was disintegrated by imperialist powers and the Chinese people suffered untold sorrows at the hand of foreigners. The bitter memories of the past coupled with the economic achievement of China which has improved the living standards of its people significantly plays a crucial role in inciting nationalist sentiment. Today Chinese masses openly excoriated many foreign countries, particularly Japan and Western states, for considering China as competitor rather than a partner, constantly spying on China’s territories, promoting prejudice against the Chinese, demonizing China, promoting Tibetan independence, putting economic pressure on China, interfering with China’s internal affairs in the name of human rights and so on. Each of these factors has been able to take Chinese to the streets, in the form of demonstration, both inside China and abroad. Chinese nationalism as a current topic which may have different implications for both China and rest of the world has aroused increasing academic interest and numerous books and articles have been published on the subject in recent years. This study explores which factors best explain the origins of Chinese nationalism in twenty first century.

1. Literature Review

Nationalism has hardly been quiescent during the twentieth century. At times, it functioned to free nations from alien rule, to create a state of its own, and to contribute to the process of modernization. The end of the cold war precipitated an epidemic of nationalist conflict in many parts of the world such as the tragic ethnic conflict in former Yugoslavia and the Balkans (Zhao 2000, 1). Nationalism in China has been living side by side with communism after the Mao’s revolution in 1949. As communism lost its appeal after China’s economic take-off, nationalism exceeded communism and became the only official ideology of China since the last decade of twentieth century. Nationalism has been feeding on different sources in different countries. In China alongside other factors, economic success in the past four decades, has played a major role in construction of nationalism (Moore 2010, 302; Zakaria 2008, 32; Xu 2012, 118-20). As Fareed Zakaria puts forth, Chinese nationalism is on the rise as a by-product of its economic rise. Others on the other hand, emphasized the importance of Chinese nationalism as source of legitimacy for the communist regime (Zhao 2000, 29; Gries et al 2015, 5). In Zhao’s view, after the rapid decay of communist ideology, the communist state used nationalism, as a state-led tool, to shore up its waning legitimacy. It therefore repeatedly claims to the Chinese people that it will make China rich and strong again and restore China’s respect within the international community (Gries et al 2015, 12).

Gries believes that the top-down nationalism view is incomplete. Nationalist politics is never a one-way street. Popular nationalism plays a central role in Chinese nationalist politics today (Gries,4; Gries et al, 13). Callahan has looked at humiliation discourse as the basis of both state-led and popular nationalism and examined how an overlong century of national humiliation has been an integral part of the construction of Chinese nationalism. In his view, China’s Communist Party (CCP) has turned to the past humiliation as a strategy to keep reminding the people what happened to their ancestors when China was weak and disintegrated by imperialist powers and continuously fuels nationalist sentiment in this way (Callahan 2004, 199-218; Moore 2010, 302). The humiliating memories of the past has been able to incite popular nationalism in so many cases. As Moore indicated, even today an overwhelming majority of Chinese people (90%) cited the history issue as the reason why they did not feel close to Japan. The matter of history is not in the past, but rather is very much alive in the minds of the Chinese (Moore 2010, 290).

Some argues, beside other factors, Western governments' policies toward Beijing and Western media's bias against the Chinese are also strong sources of Chinese nationalism. Xu as an example maintains that nationalist sentiment, particularly anti-Western, reached a high point in 1990s following NATO air force allegedly wrongly bombed China's embassy in Belgrade in May 1999 (Xu 2012, 110). It is safe to say that Chinese nationalism is not the product of one force; all the above-noted factors interconnectedly pour fuel to nationalist sentiment in China. None of the abovementioned works has discussed all main origins of Chinese nationalism thoroughly. Each work has focused on one factor and ignored the other. For example, Zhao claims that nationalism is utilized by CCP as legitimizing instrument as communism has lost its momentum in the world as whole and in China in particular, while Callahan emphasized the role history plays in the construction of nationalism. I am intended to look after all main sources of Chinese nationalism altogether here.

Although there is almost a consensus among scholars who have conducted researches on Chinese nationalism that nationalism is a rising force in current China, it has not been unchallenged (Johnston 2017, 7-43; Zhang et al 2018, 758-783). In a prominent article, Iain Johnston refutes the common assertion that Chinese nationalism has been rising continuously. In his view, by some measure nationalism has declined after 2009. Moreover, Johnston concludes that younger Chinese are actually less nationalistic than older ones (Johnston 2017, 10). Jessica based on five surveys in her article *How Hawkish Is the Chinese Public? Another Look at "Rising Nationalism" and Chinese Foreign Policy* indicates that Chinese attitudes are generally hawkish and hawkish views were more common among younger citizen. Jessica concluded that it is premature to say that Chinese youth are less 'nationalistic' than their elders, at least in their foreign policy preferences (Weiss 2019, 3). Furthermore, P.H. Gries et al. concluded that nationalism is strong force in China. It expressed both online and in street demonstrations played a crucial role in CCP's response with others in recent years (Gries et al 2015, 12).

Gregory J. Moore, in *History, Nationalism and Face in Sino-Japanese Relations* very briefly only counts the sources of Chinese nationalism as follows: China's economic growth, the century of humiliation, Chinese exceptionalism, external provocation and Chinese employment of nationalism due to the insecurity of the regime (Moore 2010, 302-03). This paper agrees with Moore's to large extent and tries to discuss different origins of Chinese nationalism in twenty first century in details.

2. Methodology

This paper is to discuss the factors that best explain the origins of Chinese Nationalism in the twenty-first century. The central hypothesis is that China's Economic Success, Century of Humiliation in the past, Foreigner's Provocative Acts against today-China and the CCP's Promotion of Nationalistic Sentiment are four different but interlinked sources that feed nationalism in twenty first century in China.

This study's dependent variable is nationalism in China. For the purpose of this study, nationalism is defined as "loyalty and devotion to a nation, especially a sense of national consciousness," and "exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational group." (Nationalism, n.d.)

This study explores four independent variables: (1) Economic Success, (2) China's Century of Humiliation, (3) Foreigner's Provocative Acts against today-China, and (4) the CCP's promotion of nationalistic sentiment.

China's economic success, for the purpose of this research includes both China's economic growth and economic development, is assessed since its reforms in 1978. Economic growth is measured by the annual percent change of gross domestic product (GDP), increase in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), and dedication of a considerable amount of GDP on Research and Development (R&D) programs. Economic development is measured using the Human Development Index, which is an economic model that considers intrinsic personal factors: health, education and standards of living. The health dimension is assessed by life expectancy at birth, the education dimension is measured by literacy rates and standards of living is measured by gross domestic product (GDP) per

capita. The data used come from World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and United Nation's Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

With regard to the second variable, China's Century of Humiliation is a common and recurring theme in Chinese public culture that started with Opium War in 1840 and lasted until China's revolution in 1949. This era contains a series of heart-breaking incidents such as the Humiliating Treaty of Nanjing, Sino-Japanese wars and many others. here, I only discuss the incidents that the Chinese people including the government officials after years still remember and motivate the people to get to the streets and chant slogans against those who inflicted them on China.

Provocative Acts might be defined as decisions or action that incites the reaction of other state or the reaction of its people. In this part I will discuss some foreigner's provocative acts, after Cold War ended, that have led to one or more than one type of the following reactions: (1) government's condemnation, (2) government's move beyond condemnation (such as retaliation, economic sanction or expelling diplomats), (3) and reaction by the Chinese people in the form demonstration or condemnation through social media. I categorize provocative acts in three categories: partly provocative, provocative and very provocative. A foreign act that has led to only one kind of the abovementioned reactions is considered partly provocative. A foreign act that has led to two kind of reactions (e.g. government's condemnation + public protest) is categorized as provocative. A foreign act that has led to all three types of reactions is regarded as very provocative.

Lastly, since the victory of the CCP in 1949 was as much a victory for nationalism as it was for communism (Weatherley 2014, 23), during the first three decades of communist rule, Marxism went side by side with nationalism (Zhao 2014, 3). Given that Marxism was replaced with pragmatism in 1978, I analyse whether the CCP has abandoned nationalism as well or the nationalist discourse of the regime has been intensified for legitimation. For this purpose, I discuss those CCP's decisions and actions, after its reform, that could have impacted nationalistic sentiment among the public.

3. Sources of Chinese Nationalism

Chinese nationalism mainly comes from four sources: China's Economic Success in recent decades, China's Century of Humiliation, Foreigner's Provocative Acts against today-China, and the CCP's promotion of nationalistic sentiment.

3.1 Economic Success

China's Economic growth since its reform and opening-up in 1978 has been a miracle and unprecedented in history. Under the leadership of Mao Zedong Chinese population suffered the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. When Chairman Mao died in 1976, sixty per cent of China's population were below the poverty line of one US dollar per day. Agricultural and industrial products were either stagnant or declining (Weatherley 2014, 9). Before its transition from a planned to a market economy, China was one of the poorest countries on the planet. Its per capita gross domestic product (GDP) in 1978 was just US\$156—less than one-third of the average for sub-Saharan African countries, which was US\$490 in the same year. However, since then, extraordinary success has been achieved by the Chinese reformists and many people believe that the 21st century belongs to China (Lin & Shen 2018, 117).

The annual GDP growth rate averaged approximately 9.5 per cent from 1978 to 2019. This has meant that on average China has been able to double the size its economy in real terms every eight years (Morrison 2019, 5). China is now an upper-middle-income country, with a per capita of US\$9,608 in 2018 measured by the market exchange rates (Morrison 2019, 9). In 1978, China accounted for only 4.9 per cent of the global economy—measured by purchasing power parity (PPP)—while this number has increased to 18.6 per cent in 2016. Moreover, China has made a remarkable contribution to the global fight against poverty. According to the World Bank, China has lifted more than 800 million people out of poverty in the past four decades (World Bank, 2017). If the number

of people lifted out of poverty in China were subtracted from the world total, the number of poor people in the world increased rather than decreased. (Lin & Shen 2018, 118).

China's reform and opening up led to a surge in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the early 1990s. FDI flows have played a major role in China's productivity gains and rapid economic and trade growth. There were reportedly 445,244 foreign-invested enterprises (FIEs) registered in China in 2010, employing 55.2 million workers or 15.9 per cent of the urban workforce (Morrison 2019, 14). FIEs accounted for a significant share of China's industrial output. That level rose from 2.3 per cent in 1990 to a high of 35.9 per cent in 2003 but fell to 25.9 per cent in 2011. According to UNCTAD, China has become a major recipient of FDI as well as a major provider of FDI outflows. China's inflows in 2019 were \$130 billion, making it the world's second-largest recipient of FDI after the United States (UNCTAD, 2020). China's FDI outflows reached a historic peak of \$196.1 billion in 2016 (Borsuk, 2016).

China's economic integration into the world economy has increased significantly. Before 1979, about 90 per cent of Chinese GDP was not related to the global economy. However, from 1978 to 2016, the average annual growth rate of trade was 14.8 percent. China's trade dependency ratio (trade to GDP) reached 32.7 per cent in 2016. With such wonderful growth performance, in 2009, China overtook Japan to become the second-largest economy in the world. Only one year later, it overtook Germany to become the largest exporting country in the world. (Lin & Shen 2018, 118). Today China is the world's top exporter in all three types of industries: low-skilled labor intensive, medium-skilled, and high skilled innovators. (World Bank, May 2019). In 2014, it overtook the United States to become the largest trading country in the world (Lin & Shen 2018, 118), by being the largest trading partner for 130 countries. More importantly, in 2014, International Monetary Fund (IMF) explicitly stated that China overtook the United States as the world's largest economy on a PPP¹ basis (Duncan & Martosko, 2014). China's share of global GDP measured by PPP rose from 2.3 per cent in 1980 to an estimated 18.3 per cent in 2017, while that of the United States fell from 24.3 per cent to an estimated 15.3 per cent (Morrison 2019, 14).

Since participation in international trade and innovation are closely linked, China has devoted large amount of budget for Research and Development (R&D). By the year 2001 China spent less than 1 per cent of GDP on R&D, but the figure has been climbing steadily in recent years and in 2015 China spent more than 2 per cent. Developed economies generally spend between 2 and 3 per cent of GDP on R&D, and China has joined that club. It's worth mentioning that India spends only about half a per cent of GDP on R&D (WTO, 2019). Since China sounds to lose its wage competitiveness due to increase in average monthly wage, China is rapidly automating production through robotization to sustain its momentum (WTO, 2019). Moreover, China's development is likely to be influenced by its "Made in China 2025" program. This plan, from the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology (MIIT), aims to transfer China into a hi-tech powerhouse.²

The household savings rate in China has risen steadily from 9.9 per cent of disposable income in 1988 to 29.7 per cent in 2018. It's regarded as one of the world's highest savings rates, exceeding by a wide margin that of Germany, the country with the highest household savings rate among the OECD economies. (World Bank, December 2019). Economic success has improved the wellbeing of people significantly and risen living standard. Life expectancy at birth rose from 66 years in 1978 (World Bank, December 2019) to 76.96 in 2020 ("China Life Expectancy 1950-2020", 2020). In 1982, more than one in five Chinese were illiterate and only 6.78 per cent had received education to senior high school or middle special school level and above. By 2010, China's illiteracy rate was reduced to 4.08 per cent and more than 14 per cent of citizen had been educated to senior high or middle special school level and above (Lin and Shen 2018, 118)

China's economic miracle has contributed to Chinese satisfaction and pride. China's economic leap forward motivated the Beijing government and Chinese elites to make an effort to show the world in general and many

¹ Purchasing Power Parities (PPP) are a method used to measure and compare the economic data of other countries expressed in U.S. dollars. It reflects differences in prices across countries.

² Made in China 2025 program focuses on ten industries: Artificial intelligence and quantum computing, Automated machine tools and robotics, Aerospace, Maritime equipment, Modern rail transport equipment, Self-driving and new energy vehicles, Power equipment, Agricultural equipment, New materials, Biopharma and advanced medicine.

Asian and African countries in particular that China's political and economic system is "blazing a new trail for other developing countries to achieve modernization ... to speed up their development while preserving their independence" instead of western model (Hofman, 53-4). Nowadays, Chinese are proud of their progress, ridiculing the decline of the west, especially its financial and economic crisis. Many Chinese believe that the west needs China, especially its financial resources to solve the Western financial crisis. Chinese people think that they are reclaiming their rightful place as an international powerhouse in the world, a position they had lost decades earlier and they have been denied for many years (Xu 2001, 151-62). "As a result, the Chinese people are becoming more nationalist at home and more vocal abroad." (Xu 2012, 119).

Fareed Zakaria, in his *The Post-American World* maintains that "[t]he rise of pride and confidence among other nations, particularly the largest and most successful ones, is readily apparent." Then he remembers his talks with a young Chinese executive in Shanghai who was filled with pride over Chinese extraordinary growth. Fareed added, "when we began talking about Taiwan, Japan, and the United States, his responses were filled with bile." For example, he explained in furious tones that the United States deliberately bombed the Chinese embassy in the Kosovo war in 1999 to terrify the Chinese people with its military might. He said that were Taiwan to dare to declare independence, China should instantly invade it. And so on. Fareed concluded, "I felt as if I were in Berlin in 1910, speaking to a young German professional, who in those days would have also been thoroughly modern and thoroughly nationalist." In a nutshell, "[a]s economic fortunes rise, so does nationalism." (Fareed 2008, 32)

3.2 A Century of National Humiliation

The second source of China's nationalism, related to the first, is historical chip on its shoulder—a "Century of National Humiliation." (Moore 2010, 302) Before the Western invasion of China, its people looked on its country as the world, and regarded the rest as barbarians (Levenson 1959, 112). China was the "middle kingdom", the center of all civilization to whom all other nations and cultures were subordinate and were required to pay tribute (Weatherley 2014, 21). Tribute-paying neighbors like Burma, Nepal, Vietnam, Java and Japan upheld Beijing's solipsistic view that the Chinese emperor, presiding over the central kingdom of the world, had the right to rule all under heaven (Mishra 2012, 137; Moore 2010, 284). In fifteenth century, the Chinese massive fleets still were much superior to the greatest European naval power: Spain (Fareed 2008, 40-50). China was the richest country in the world for several centuries. It had higher average living standard than Europe until seventeenth century (Roland 2016, 21). However, as China went in touch with the advancing West, soon came to understand its weakness compared to the others. The first crushing blow which shattered the façade of the middle kingdom was the first opium war in 1840 (Yuan 2008, 214). This incident marked the beginning of a century of national humiliation that finally ended with Chinese revolution in 1949. The century of humiliation forms the master narrative of modern Chinese history and is still remembered as the most egregious insult the country suffered at the hands of Western and Japanese imperialism. (Callahan 2004, 202-04).

In the eighteenth century, China exported much more to Europe and America than they imported, created a severe balance-of-payments problem for the West which found its precious silver disappearing into Chinese hands. To reduce Britain's trade deficit with China, the British East India Company shipped opium to southern China and sold through middlemen at Canton to the Chinese masses. In 1800, the Chinese forbade the import and production of opium, but the British kept doing its business. As enraged people blockaded the British factories and flushed their opium stocks into the sea, in 1840, the British ships blockaded Canton and sailed up China's north coast, finally threatening the city of Tianjin and beyond it the seat of the emperor himself in Beijing. Aware of their weak military, the Qing sued for peace, ceding Hong Kong to the British and agreeing to pay an indemnity of £6 million and to reopen Canton to the British traders. However, this was not enough for the British government and prime minister Lord Palmerston, an aggressive imperialist, dispatched another fleet in 1841. After suffering more reverses, the Chinese signed the "humiliating Treaty of Nanjing" in 1842, which opened five trade ports, including Shanghai, to foreigners and granted Hong Kong to the British in perpetuity. Moreover, the British government demanded compensation for the opium destroyed and asked ransom for those cities, such as Hangzhou, that had not been occupied. Other Western countries followed the suit and were given especial concessions as well (Mishra 2012, 26-30).

In 1854, as the Qing dynasty faced the growing Taiping rebellion, British, French and American representatives called for the revision to the humiliating Treaty of Nanjing facilitating free access to all parts of China. Aware of Western's military might, the emperor agreed for granting full access to the Yangtze, unimpeded travel inside China for those with passports, six more treaty ports, and immunity from Chinese jurisdiction for foreigners. Despite all concessions, the Western armies moved on Beijing and torched the Summer Palace (Yuan Ming Yuan) (Mishra 2012, 30-31), which was commonly described as the most fabulous royal garden in the world (Callahan 2004, 208). The Summer Palace burnt for two days covering Beijing with thick black smoke and its valuable antiques were looted by French and British imperialist troops (Weatherley 2014, 162).

China received the third blow from the West by the rise of Boxer in 1900. As Westerners were attacked by Boxer, troops of the Eight Allied Powers—Germany, Britain, Russia, France, the United States, Italy, Australia and Japan marched to China: killed, burned and looted, razing Tanggu, a town of 50,000 residents to utter ruins, reducing Tianjin's population from one million to 100,000, (Weatherley 2014, 162). In Beijing countless people were killed; "river waters had become a cocktail of blood, flesh, bones and fat." Some soldiers tortured their victims purely for fun (Thampi, 160). An Indian soldier from the British contingent, Gadhadar Singh, wrote, by seeing those mass killings, arson and rape inflicted on the Chinese, "even hearts of stone would have melted and felt compassion." At the end, another agreement was signed with Western powers that, among other penalties, imposed an indemnity almost twice the size of the government's annual revenues (Mishra 2012, 162).

At the turn of the twentieth century with the Sino-Japanese War, the main enemy shifted from Western imperialism to Japanese imperialism (Callahan 2004, 205). By 1895 Japan had become powerful enough to impose its will on China. In that year, Japan, which most Chinese saw as inferior, trounced China in a battle; under duress China was forced to pay a huge indemnity, to open riverside towns deep in the hinterland as treaty ports, and ceded Taiwan to Japan as a territory which became a Japanese colony until the end of World War Two in 1945 (Moore 2010, 294). Imperialists elsewhere were further emboldened by China's defeat and expanded their insatiable demands. Britain forced China to lease it Weihaiwei and the New Territories north of the island of Hong Kong. France established a base on Hainan Island and mining rights across China's southern provinces. Germany occupied part of Shandong Province. Even Italy demanded territory. In fact, the Japanese triumph precipitated dismemberment of the Middle Kingdom, the slicing of the Chinese melon as it came to be called (Mishra 2012, 140-1).

The Chinese suffered the greatest pain at Japanese hands between 1931 and 1945. Japan occupied large swaths of Chinese territory and Japanese authorities and soldiers committed grievous crime against the Chinese people. Besides the crime of invasion and occupation of China itself and all the attendant casualties, Japan's rape of China's capital at Nanjing in 1937 has few equals in the wartime history (Moore 2010, 289). Some contend that the Rape of Nanjing was worse than the Holocaust (Callahan 2004, 206). Authors such as Iris Chang put forth that the Chinese dead was 300,000 civilians. More disturbing, Chang claims that 20,000 to 80,000 Chinese women were raped in the course of the invasion and occupation of Nanjing (Moore 2010, 289). Another yet lesser-known horror were the activities of Japan's Unit 731 in the Harbin region of northeast China. There Japanese scientists and troops kept Chinese prisoners and performed horrifying experiments on them, from the study of the Bubonic Plague to vivisections, to the study of the freezing of human flesh wherein Chinese civilians were tied to posts outside in winter conditions and left to freeze to death so the process of frostbite and eventual death by freezing could be studied (Moore 2010, 289). Estimates ranging from 3,000 to 10,000 Chinese lives were lost at the Unit 731 camp. In addition to this was the "comfort women" issue, in which thousands of Chinese women were taken captive to be used as sex slave for Japanese troops during the war (Moore 2010, 289-90). And so many other humiliating incidents. Successive humiliation by foreigners shaped Chinese nationalism. One of the entrances to the parklands of the Summer Palace still displays a sign saying: "Do not forget the national shame, rebuild the Chinese nations." (Mishra 2012, 287-288) Zheng Wang wrote a book entitled, "Never Forget National Humiliation" published in 2012 (Wang 2012). Schoolchildren still learn about western vandalism. The memories of those events even today disturb Chinese hearts and minds and stimulate nationalist sentiments vehemently.

Chinese were Mr. nothing either in China or abroad. Reports indicates that even Chinese diplomats were not given deserved respect. At the turn of twentieth century, a Chinese consular official in San Francisco, California, committed suicide after being insulted by the US police. (Mishra 2012, 173). According to Indian sociologist

Benoy Kumar Sarkar, “[t]he ballot was forbidden to Chinese living in America. Schools were closed against them. They were not allowed to give evidence on the witness stand even in the cases affecting their own property.” (Mishra 2012, 173).

Huang Zunxian, the Chinese consul-general in San Francisco from 1882 to 1885 and a fine poet, who witnessed China’s journey from being the center of the world to be the Sick Man of Asia bitterly wrote:

Alas! What crimes have our people committed,
That they suffer this calamity in our nation’s fortunes?
Five thousand years since the Yellow Emperor,
Our country today is exceedingly weak.
Great China and the race of Han
Have now become a joke to other races.
Even if we emptied the water of four oceans,
It would be hard to wash this shame clean. (Arkush & Lee, 61-2)

History and precedent are always important in East Asian societies, for Confucian-based societies place great emphasis on tradition, ancestors and precedent. East Asian people tend to move into the future while looking to the past for guidance, so they tend also to be very cognizant of history. In a study, when Chinese were asked why they did not feel close to Japan, 90 per cent of Chinese respondents cited the history issue as the reason (Moore 2010, 289-90).

Chinese humiliation has been an integral part of the construction of Chinese nationalism. (Callahan 2004, 200). Indeed, one cannot understand Chinese nationalism today without engaging evolving Chinese narrative of the “Century of Humiliation” and its impact on Chinese collective self-esteem in the present (The Authors 2016, 432). National humiliation is a common and recurring theme in Chinese public culture. The discourse takes many forms: public histories, textbooks, museums, mass movement, romance novel, popular songs, prose poems, feature films, national holiday and atlases (Callahan 2004, 214).

3.3 Provocative Approach Toward China

The third factor which contribute to the nationalist sentiments might be called external provocations. The Chinese masses believe that after the Cold War, the West plus Japan are still regarding China as a competitor instead of a partner and taking hostile approach toward it. The memories of US-led NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade in 1999, US spy-plane collision in 2001, the Yasukuni Shrine visits by Japanese officials and many others are still fresh in Chinese minds and a variety of issues such freedom of South China Sea, Tibet, China’s human rights, biased reports by western media... have been able to stimulate nationalist sentiment in recent years. Many of the Chinese did not regard such antagonistic stances as routines in international relations, but as the latest in a long series of foreigner’s derogatory acts against the Chinese since the Opium War of 1940 (Xu 2012, 120).

Grass-roots nationalism in China was growing in the 1990s and reached a peak in May 1999 (Zhang et al 2018, 761) when a NATO bomber targeted the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, killing three Chinese journalists and wounding twenty others. Although the Clinton administration insisted the bombing was accidental, this was rejected by the CCP and state television denounced the bombing as a “barbarian act.” As a result, several days of fierce anti-US demonstration in Beijing and elsewhere in China took place (Weiss 2013, 16-8). Protestors conflicted with police at the American embassy in Beijing, destroying cars and windows. In Chengdu, more than 170,000 people gathered in front of the US consulate for several days and set fire to the US consul’s residence. Police in Guangzhou warned Western residents to stay indoors. The US and British governments issued travel advisories for their citizens in China, urging them to remain in their hotels or homes. Protests in front of the US and British embassies were the biggest anti-West demonstrations in China since the Cultural Revolution in 1960s (Xu 2012, 110-11).

Another frequently cited example of violation of Chinese territorial integrity is the collision between a Chinese F-8 fighter jet and a US EP-3 spy plane in 2001, which was flying in Chinese airspace (Gries 2004, 98-115). As a

result, the Chinese plane split in half and crashed, but the US plane was able to make an emergency landing on Hainan Island in Chinese territory. The Chinese pilot parachuted out but was never seen again. The US plane's crew, however, was released after Washington issued a formal apology. (Xu 2012, 120). Some people in China accused the party of being weak on the issue, but there was no fierce anti-US demonstration on the streets. Many Chinese took it as conclusive evidence of America's continued disdain for China's right to national sovereignty (Weatherley 2014, 163).

Human rights have been another source of conflict between China and the West. For example, the Western governments have long been critic of China's Tibet policy and in favour of Dalai Lama, the exiled Tibetan spiritual leader. In October 2007, President Bush and the leaders of US Congress bestowed the Congressional Gold Medal, the nation's highest civilian honour, upon Dalai Lama, calling him a "warrior of peace." The tension between Beijing and the West over Tibet increased in March 2008. On March 14, rioters in Tibet assaulted ethnic Han Chinese as well as Chinese Muslims. As the Chinese army began to crack down on rioter and preserve order, the US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi met the Dalai Lama in India on March 21. At the meeting Pelosi called for an international investigation into the situation in Tibet and criticized China's handling of the unrest in Tibet. While addressing a crowd of thousands of Tibetans in Dharamsala, India, Pelosi called the crisis "a challenge to the conscience of the World" and called upon "freedom-loving people" to denounce China. In April, the US House of Representative passed House Resolution 1077 overwhelmingly by a vote of 413 to 1 criticizing China over repression in Tibet and called on China to end its crackdown in Tibet and initiate a results-based dialogue.

French President Nicolas Sarkozy touted he could boycott the opening ceremony of Olympic Games in August 2008 when he arrived in the United Kingdom for a two-day state visit. He also urged the then British Prime Minister Gordon Brown to take the same position toward China. German Chancellor Angela Merkel also said she would not attend. Nancy Pelosi even said that the International Olympic Committee had made a mistake in awarding the 2008 Summer Olympics to China (Xu 2012, 121-23). These Western government's moves on the Tibet riot infuriated the People and roused China's defensive nationalism to accuse the West of gross hypocrisy, particularly on human rights issues. Using the emotive language of national humiliation by harking back to the so-called "Century of Humiliation", China reminded the Western nations of their shameful human rights record as imperialist powers, especially when they were dividing up the spoils in China. Through the education system and government propaganda, Chinese people are constantly reminded of the cruel Western invasion of China in the nineteenth century: how the British and American companies made their fortunes through the opium trade, and how the French, British and other European powers violently suppressed the Boxer Rebellion which resisted Western religious indoctrination. Such historical memory inevitably fuels nationalism, resentment, and a sense of hypocrisy among the Chinese people when they listen to the same countries that used to bully their ancestors more than 100 years ago to tell them what to do today (Zhao 2014, 13-14). They condemned the double-standard of the Western powers on the question of human rights. The Chinese delegation responded directly to the US by asserting that "you should reflect on your record of massive violation of human rights in Iraq and other places in the world. One may ask what other country in the world dares to violate human right so blatantly." (Weatherley 2014, 163). Chinese believe that although the US has declared to support democratic movements, when democrats in Gulf States, particularly, Saudi Arabia are silenced, the United States kept quiet. In the Chinese eyes, the United States preach one thing and practice another and this is hypocrisy (Fareed 2008, 239). With regard to Sarkozy's remarks about Chinese human rights, which caused large demonstrations in France to disrupt the 2008 Olympics, the CCP quickly recalled how French imperialist troops burnt down the Old Summer Palace in Beijing back in 1860 having looted the palace of its valuable antiques. "People's Daily" wrote, "if France wants to talk to China about human rights, they first need to apologise for what they did to the Old Summer Palace and then return the great quantity of Chinese relics that they stole (Weatherley 2014, 162). In major cities in China, angry protestors organized demonstration in front of French supermarket chain stores Carrefour to encourage people to impose embargo on French products after protests in Paris (Xu 2012, 122-23).

Besides the West, China's relations with Japan is have so many ups and downs today mostly influence by the past. A recurring problem for Japan's relations with China has been that the Japanese authorities have approved textbooks that effectively whitewash Japan's responsibilities for WW2 and fail to raise issues like the Rape of Nanjing, Comfort Women, and Unit 731, but rather glorify Japan's war effort and rationalize its decision to go to

war. It was an important source of the 2004-2005 tensions, which led to the massive anti-Japanese demonstrations in China and will continue to be a thorn in the side of positive Sino-Japanese relations (Moore 2010, 292-93). Moreover, the controversial annual visits to the Yasukuni Shrine³ by Japanese politicians, most notably former Prime Minister Koizumi, further irritate Chinese people and alienate Beijing. Koizumi regardless of Chinese protests went to the Yasukuni Shrine six times during his tenure, with the last one deliberately on 15 August 2006, the date that Japan surrendered in the Second World War (Yuan 2008, 223). The Chinese views this enshrinement as honouring the war criminals that were responsible for the deaths of thousands of innocent and, this is why they protested continuously (Moore 2010, 293). What makes the situation worse from the Chinese perspective is the apology problem. China and some other Asian Countries believe that Japan has not addressed their historical sins, confessed their crimes, sought the forgiveness of their victims, nor done real penance as well as Germany has (Moore 2010, 290).

Another side of the history problem are the territorial disputes over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands and Taiwan's issues. Since vanquished China ceded Taiwan to Japan in 1895, many Chinese blame Japan for separating Taiwan from China in the first place and see it responsible in Taiwan's independence movement today. This Chinese indignation intensified in February 2005 when the US and Japan renewed their security commitments but redefined Japan's role to possibly include the defense of Taiwan. This went beyond even the 1997 US-Japan Defense Guidelines statements that US-Japan defense arrangement include "areas around Japan", without referring specifically to Taiwan. In their joint announcement in 2005, Taiwan and environs were defined specifically as an area "of concern" to the security interest of Japan. The Diaoyu Islands are another territorial issue that still causes divisions between the two powers. A series of eight uninhabited islands northeast of Taiwan were not highly valued by either party. They were used by the US Navy for bombing practice after the war. Soon after oil and natural gas deposits were discovered in the waters around the island in 1969, Beijing announced that Chinese had first charted the island in 1534 and that they in fact belonged to China; Japan had claimed them along with their acquisition of Taiwan in 1895. In 1978 a Japanese right-wing group built a lighthouse there and visited it regularly for maintenance, so as to solidify Japan's claim to the isles (Moore 2010, 293-94).

In 2012, right-wing Tokyo Governor Shintaro Ishihara proposed that Tokyo prefecture purchase three of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands from their private Japanese owner. Chinese nationalists were outraged and responded by protesting not just online, but outside the Japanese embassy in Beijing, in Shenzhen, and in other major Chinese cities. As a result, the Chinese government then took the unprecedented step of sending armed naval warship to the disputed islands. In December, a People's Liberation Army (PLA) patrol plane flew over the area, and Japan scrambled jet fighter. In January 2013, Chinese and Japanese jets appear to have played chicken near the islands, and a Chinese frigate locked its weapons-targeting radar onto a Japanese helicopter and a destroyer. (Gries et al 2015, 1-2). According to our measurement for this paper, the last event can be regarded as "very provocative" act, because it led to CCP's condemnation, action beyond condemnation and popular reaction in the form of huge demonstration in different Chinese cities.

In addition, Western mainstream media also help contribute to nationalistic sentiments among Chinese both at home and abroad. Many of the Chinese people contend that Western media have shown not only anti-Beijing tendency but also a bias and prejudice against the Chinese people which has spread wider since 2000. (Xu 2012, 124). Some Sinologist contend that mainstream Western media, by following the foreign policy goals of the West, has singed up to America's goal containing and demonizing China. For instance, independent media watchdog organization Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) in 2020 released a report which set out that despite a plethora of protest movements around the world in 2019, Western mainstream media focused extensively and excessively on events in Hong Kong. Using articles published in the New York Times and CNN as a selective sample, the organization evaluated how each outlet covered protest events in the Chinese city compared to similar event in Ecuador, Chile and Haiti in the respective timeframe to when these protests began up to November 2019. The results of the study found that the Hong Kong protests had been subject to over 737 articles by the respective outlets, whereas Chile had only been covered 36 times, Haiti 28 and Ecuador 12. (Fowdy, 2020). According to

³ Yasukuni Shrine is spiritual home to 14 of 28 Class-A (the most serious categorization) war criminals, including former Prime Minister Hideki Tojo, who was executed along with seven other Class-A war criminals on December 23, 1948. The Chinese and others view this enshrinement as honouring the war criminals that were responsible for the deaths of thousands of innocents.

article published in *China Daily*, when a demonstration erupts in the West that disturbs public order, the police moves are described as doing their jobs requiring them to do. When a similar incident happened in the Hong Kong, it is transformed into “fight for freedom” and the police actions are “brutality.” (Zhouxiang, 2019).

On February 3, 2020 Wall Street Journal published an opinion essay by Walter Russell Mead on economic repercussion of the coronavirus outbreak titled “China Is the Real Sick Man of Asia”, which irritated Chinese across the globe (Mead, 2020). The problem did not lie with Mead’s critical evaluation of China, but with the article’s title. China was sometimes described as the “sick man of Asia” at the end of the 1800s, in the depths of what we now call China’s Century of Humiliation (Tracy, 2020). Given the derogatory burden of that title, on February 19, China revoked the press credential of three journalists with the Wall Street Journal after the newspaper declined to apologize for heading (Gong, 2020). For many Chinese, such biased reports not only delegitimize the Western media; it also stirs up their patriotic passion (Xu 2012, 124).

3.4 Insecurity of the Regime

The fourth, and perhaps the most important factor on which nationalism in China feed is the insecurity of the regime (Moore 2010, 302-03). Many believe that the emergence of nationalism in post-Mao China was in response to a legitimacy crisis of the communist regime in the late 1970s, when the regime was deeply troubled by popularly-called “three spiritual crises”, namely, a crisis of trust in socialism, a crisis of confidence in the future of the country, and a crisis of trust in the party. To restore legitimacy, the instrumentality of nationalism was discovered by the post-Tiananmen leadership. In 1992, a group of young intellectuals in Beijing published a widely circulated article titled *Realistic Responses and Strategic Choices for China after the Disintegration of the Soviet Union*. (Zhao 2000, 17). The article argued that Marxism-Leninism was no longer effective in mobilizing loyalty and legitimating the state, and the CCP should base itself firmly on Chinese nationalism. Xiao Gongqin, a prominent scholar, warned in 1996 article that the possible disintegration of Chinese society might result from the decline of the official ideology. He saw no solution in Western nostrums or in communism but only in nationalism, which, according to him, could play “the function of political integration and cohesion” in the post-cold war era (Zhao 2000, 18).

Nationalism was not a new force in China that time. Many believe that the victory of the CCP in 1949 was as much a victory for nationalism as it was for communism, finally ending the century of humiliation and uniting China behind as single, centralized state (Weatherley 2014, 23). When Mao publicly announced the establishment of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) on 1 October 1949, he did not make reference to Marxist dialectics or the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but instead proclaimed that the Chinese people had finally “stood up” after repeated foreign invasions. The desire to remain free from imperialist subjugation continue to inform Chinese nationalism after 1949. (Weatherley 2014, 23). The Chinese Communist party was able to defeat the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) largely due to its ability to appeal to the sentiment of public nationalism. During the first three decades of communist rule, Marxist ideology went side by side with nationalism.

With the renewed discovery of the power of nationalism, Deng Xiaoping and his successor, Jiang Zemin, began to wrap themselves in the banner of nationalism, a reliable force to win the Chinese people’s loyalty and the only important value that was shared by both the regime and its critics. (Zhao 2000, 18). In 1994-95, the CCP launched a nationwide patriotic education campaign to renew domestic pride in the nation’s achievement and the CCP for helping China overcome a century of national humiliation (Weiss 2019, 3). Local party leaders were instructed on how to propagate the new campaign at the local level through public meeting and study sessions. The campaign was also propagated in schools where primary children learned patriotic songs and were taught at length about the century of humiliation, after which they were encouraged to articulate their feelings of disgust towards Western nations. First year university students were required to take a course in modern Chinese history highlighting the suffering imposed by the imperialists. (Wang 2008, 795-6). In October 2004, ten ministers of the central government and the Chinese Communist Party, such as Ministry of Education and the Propaganda Department, jointly issued a statement, “suggestions to Reinforce and Advance the patriotic Education.” This official paper encouraged government offices and educations units to use a variety of educational methods, as a means to promote patriotic education campaign. They encouraged the Chinese to watch 100 chosen red films, read 100 chosen red

books, and sing 100 chosen red songs, all of which focused on Chinese national humiliation in contemporary China. (Xu 2012, 115). Some of the 100-red books like *Never forget State Humiliation* (2002), *The China That Can Say No* (1996) have been best sellers (Yuan 2008, 216).

The education campaign is still strongly supported and enforced by the CCP. In 2019, amid pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong, China's Communist regime was accelerating the campaign to impart nationalist fervour through indoctrination, starting from a very young age. For example, in late October 2019, kids wearing Red Army uniform were shouting patriotic slogans, like, "A red heart faces the sun and follows the Party" in a Jiangxi kindergarten during an activity called "Military-Civil Production." Similar activities are compulsory in kindergartens, private of public, throughout China. The official media outlet claim that through such events, children are taught how hard the heroes of the proletarian revolution fought "for the beautiful life they enjoy today, pass down the excellent traditions, and devote themselves the endless struggle of building a stronger, more prosperous and beautiful motherland." There is no doubt that the campaign has great impacts on the hearts and minds of Chinese children. "I'll kill Japanese with a pistol," said a little boy holding a wooden toy pistol in hand during a parent-child education activity organized by Jinshan kindergarten in Jiangxi on November 1 (Yong, 2019). The 1945 Education Law made clear that teachers are supposed to produce personnel who can both contribute to economic development and "uphold the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong's thought and the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics." (Hughes 2006, 55).

The Chinese government has also taken efforts to build many museums and public monuments to promote patriotic education. The central government and local governments began to establish patriotic education bases for ideological re-education. More than 10,000 memory sites were built and visiting these memory sites is becoming a normal part of student and the public. To urge more people to visit those patriotic education bases, the CCP central committee and the State Council started a red tourism campaign, a program to sponsor people to visit the former revolutionary bases and landmarks. In 2004, over 20 million tourists visited more than 150 major red tourism sites in thirteen provinces and municipalities. From 2004 to 2007, more than 400 million Chinese people participated in the red tourism program. On the importance of red tourism, president Xi Jinping expressed in a 2016 speech, "only by experiencing the hardship of revolutionary era can people truly receive education." The government earmarked US\$370 million to develop red tourism between 2016 and 2020. In 2019 the State media estimated that red tourism sites get 800 million visits a year (China Stirs Up Patriotism, 2019). As the number of participants in red tourism rises significantly, from 20 million in 2004 to 800 million in 2018, so does nationalist sentiment.

China's media censorship is another factor in stirring nationalist sentiments, especially anti-Western sentiment, among the Chinese. Media in China always gives a one-sided view of the West in international reporting, by means of Choosy inclusion and exclusion, the press in China is very aggressive in promoting anti-Western theme, which increases the suspicious of the Chinese towards the West. Stanley Rosen wrote that the media censorship has helped cultivate "increasing suspicion and distrust" of the Western countries, the United States in particular, and justify the motivation for the Beijing government's self-serving policy (Xu 2012, 117). In addition, more recently, the CCP propaganda apparatus has been involved in the production of countless movies and TV series about the brutality and bestiality of Japanese and Western troops in China during the century of humiliation.⁴ (Gries et al 2015, 2).

Given the CCP's effort to inculcate nationalist sentiment in Chinese people, the CCP was a proximal cause of the many anti-Japanese and anti-Western demonstrations. (Gries et al 2015, 3). But the top-down state nationalism view is incomplete. Nationalist politics is never a one-way street. With the emergence of the internet, cell phones, and text messaging, popular nationalists in China are increasingly able to act independently of the state. The popular nationalists—not the Communist Party—initiated and organized the April 2005 anti-Japanese protests (Gries 2005, 153-254). On 11 September 2012, another street demonstration broke out across China over the proposal made by Tokyo Governor that Tokyo Prefecture purchase three of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. The

⁴ A series of movies called "IP Man" can be a very clear example. This series features those dark eras in which China was under control of foreigners and its people were subject to untold tortures and sorrows.

demonstrators who carried portraits of Mao and chanted slogans like “Declare war!” and “Kill all Japanese!” were not organized by the party. More importantly, the protests even pressured the Chinese government to take the unprecedented step of sending armed naval warships to the disputed islands (Gries et al 2015, 2).

The nationalism that the CCP is employing is famously called pragmatic nationalism, which is instrumental, state-led and reactive (Zhao 2000, 2). The CCP allows or forbid domestic protests primarily on the basis of its strategic interests (Gries et al 2015, 5). In economic development, social stability and the projection of its image as a peaceful rising power, Beijing has strong incentives in carefully monitoring the expression of nationalism, because unchecked xenophobia and anti-foreign behavior may harm its fundamental economic and hence strategic interests. This sets a clear limitation on Chinese nationalism. (Yuan 2008, 229-30).

4. Conclusion

Nationalism has been an attractive phenomenon in China since the dawn of Qing Dynasty. Since then, it has been employed by different movements to build the Chinese nation and restore China’s respect on the international stage. The effective use of nationalism helped Mao to defeat China’s Nationalist Party and assume power in China. the victory of the CCP in 1949 has been described as much a victory for nationalism as it was for communism. Following Mao’s revolution, communism went side by side with nationalism. Since the late 1970s, however, communism has been replaced by economic pragmatism, and nationalism has served exclusively as the ideological instrument for political mobilization. This was especially true after the 1989 government crackdown on protests in Tiananmen Square and elsewhere.

Today, Chinese nationalism feeds on various interconnected sources. Firstly, Chinese miraculous economic success has brought respectability to Chinese and improved their living standards significantly. In light of economic achievement, the Chinese people have become very confident in the country’s future in embracing and meeting the challenges of globalization and rising as a great power. In Chinese perspective, China was a great empire with rich civilization in the past and it is going to occupy its deserved position on international stage in a foreseeable future. Secondly, the century of national humiliation still weighs upon Chinese minds after years. During eighteenth and first of half twentieth centuries, as discussed in detail, China was disintegrated, and its people suffered greatly at the hand of colonizers. Bitter memories of those dark era still pain Chinese public and vehemently pour fuel on nationalist sentiment of Chinese people either inside China or abroad. Thirdly, another factor that has stimulated nationalist sentiments in recent years is external provocations. The Chinese masses believe, since China is rising peacefully as responsible member of international community, some foreign countries are regarding China as a competitor instead of a partner and taking hostile approach toward China. A variety of issues such freedom of South China Sea, Tibet, China’s human rights, biased reports by western media and many others have been able to fuel nationalism in recent years. Many Chinese did not regard such antagonistic stances as routines in international relations, but as the latest in a long series of foreigner’s derogatory acts against China since the opium war in 1840.

Last but not least, as Communism lost its appeal in the last half of twentieth century, nationalism became the only ideological pillar on which the Communist Party could rely for legitimating purpose and it has been using nationalism as the glue that keeps China together (Fareed, 122). After Tiananmen square incident, the Party paid significant attention to nationalism and attempted to inculcate nationalist sentiment in Chinese people through specific programs such as “Patriotic Education Campaign.” Beijing, however, has strong incentives in carefully monitoring the expression of nationalism, because unchecked nationalism an uncontrolled public behavior can damage its relations with outside world and will have unpleasant implications for its galloping economy and its strategic interests. The nationalism that the CCP is employing is famously called pragmatic nationalism, which is instrumental, state-led and reactive. The CCP allows or forbid domestic protests primarily on the basis of its strategic calculations.

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Russia and NATO Strategic Corporation

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Abstract

This paper examines Russia and NATO strategic partnership by investigating both sides perspectives, long-standing hindrances and opportunities. Russia and NATO relations stay to be one of the main strands of global security in the 21st century. Nowadays, given the more perplexing dangers to global security, the increasing energy demand and reliance of Europe, and expanding foreign business between the groups, Russia's links with the West, as a major petroleum exporter and nuclear nation, have become progressively significant. The new security condition of post-September 11 has arranged a shared ground for a strong partnership between old foes. In any case, the endeavors from the two sides have been not able to move beyond a specific degree of collaboration. This paper answers whether it is workable for NATO and Russia to make a decisive victory of lasting legacies of deep-seated hostility and doubt, move beyond historical, religious, cultural differences, and establish the frameworks of an enduring sound partnership.

Keywords: NATO, EU, Russia, Difference, Opportunities

Introduction

Russia and NATO relations establish one of the major segments of the 21st century's security design in the region of Euro-Atlantic, particularly for the those who respect the destiny of Europe and its connecting areas important to world harmony. The new security condition has arranged a shared ground for a strong partnership between old adversaries. In any case, the endeavors from the two sides have been not able to move beyond a specific degree of participation. This paper will try to enlighten the significance and probability of the Russia and NATO vital partnership under the 21st century's security contemplations by dissecting the mutual interests, expectations, and concerns for the groups and the origins of the erosion in the light of vital developments and events over the most recent two decades.

Since the finish of Cold War, NATO sought after an eastbound enlargement, incorporating the previous Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and looked to make a steady space appropriate for democracy, human rights, the rule of law, and market economy to prosper, while attempting to avoid conflict with Russia. Moscow generally thought about NATO's expansion as a danger to its national interests and security. The relations of Russia and NATO have advanced on a rough way during the two decades after the Berlin Wall, wavering between strong partnership in a time of asymmetric, eccentric, transnational dangers to global security, and waiting recollections of old hostility and doubt.

Moscow always stayed the main element in Allied calculations (Sloan, Stanley R., 2010). Despite its crumbled economy and intensely debilitated military, Russia has kept up its potential for improving its monetary development and renewing its strategic criticalness as a nuclear influence and a natural asset-rich nation. America and NATO hold 90% of the world's nuclear resource. Furthermore, Lionel Ponsard declares that the future of NATO not just relied upon its capacity to adjust to the new global condition. Yet, it firmly identified with the turn of its future links with the Russian Federation (Ponsard, Lionel, 2007)." NATO also sought after a useful demeanor towards Russia and tried to avoid any genuine confrontation.

This examination is appropriate because of the indispensable job of Russia and NATO relations for the future of both Russia and the West. The new danger recognitions and security framework presented by the attacks of terrorist on September 11 have required close partnership and cooperation globally. The new dangers to world security are characterized as unusual, nonconventional, transnational, and asymmetric. In this new setting, this investigation looks to light up the mutual interests and difficulties of the two previous adversaries that unite them in a period of vulnerability. It examines the viewpoints of Moscow and Brussels by investigating their desires and worries under the light of significant occasions and advancements in the previous two decades.

By and large, this paper inspects the theory that, in spite of numerous dangers and obstructions, the advance of relations and accomplishment of a more grounded cooperation and key partnership is as yet conceivable and significant in the Russia and NATO relations, and requires just positive methodologies from the two elements. There are numerous open doors for reconstructing trust and fortifying relations, just as numerous hindrances. Both sides need to focus on circumstances and shared traits as opposed to over-concentrating on snags and contrasts, on the off chance that they are to advance harmony and solidness in Europe. NATO needs to recognize that Russia develops contrastingly and should stay persistent as Russian journeys to predictability and democracy. It additionally must be prepared to perceive a more noteworthy say for Russia in its structures for frictionless, supportable relations and a stable and harmony advancing Europe. Russia, then again, should set aside old abhorrence's, limit its goals, and handle how expensive it could be for it to extend the cleavages. Lionel Ponsard contends that by building certainty between the two groups about one another's expectations, cooperative security can manage attitudes that maybe some way or another lead to confusion. In this perceptive, the NRC (NATO–Russia Council) can fill in as a medium, which is significant for the elimination of predispositions, concern, and confusions.

Methods and Sources

This paper depends on a qualitative investigation that incorporates the basic examinations of factors influencing Russia and NATO relations and utilize both secondary and primary resources. The statement and remarks of leaders, an official statement of NATO, official documents, press releases and conferences will be utilized as main sources.

The Russian Assessment

The settled and uncertain conflicts inside and around the Russian borders have a significant effect on its strategic perceptive. Russia has the greatest regional space and longest borders on the planet. Since the collapse of the USSR, many borders difference between Japan and China stay uncertain. There are unstable areas as Chechen stan, Nagorno-Karabakh, Transnistria, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia that bear a high capability of returning clash. Especially, the contention over Russian troops in Chechnya upset a great part of the post-Soviet period. It remembers that for the cold, current and possible regional claims and the solidified conflicts in the previous Soviet space have an incredible impact on Russian strategic perceptive (Trenin, Dmitri, November 2007).

Another significant issue influencing conventional Russian thinking is the geopolitical elements and progressing change in the security condition around Russia. The developing impact of the E.U. and NATO in the West, rising political and financial impact of China, and the growth of Islamic fundamentalism in the region have constrained Russia to reevaluate its geopolitical needs and national policies. Moreover, Russia's loss of strategic impact and ground in the South Caucasus, Central Asia, Eastern and Central Europe have exasperated its strategic place and

made its deep uncertainty. The leaders of Russia have stayed incredulous, especially, in relations with nations of West and security associations, which they fault for exploiting Russia's impermanent weakness in the prompt result of the breakdown of the USSR.

China is a developing worry of the policymakers of Russia which can't be neglected, regardless of apparently great relations and close participation and association among Beijing and Moscow. Russia thinks about its collaboration with China as a major addition; yet, it stays conflicted about the fate of the relationship and wouldn't like to turn into a junior accomplice of its rising neighbor.

Mainly, Russia considers NATO and America as strategic contenders and is worried about its political and military presence close to Russian borders. Russia wouldn't like to take part in an agreeable relationship with both and looks for equality in its connections with all other political elements, regardless of whether it is China, America or NATO. As Dmitri Trenin, the representative chief of the Carnegie Moscow Center stated that "As opposed to being sandwiched between two big powers, Moscow plans to be a significant player and perhaps a mediator between the two (Trenin, Dmitri, November 2007)."

All these regional conflicts, debates, and the geopolitical elements around Russia's outskirts have strengthened Moscow's profound sense of instability and molded its strategic needs in the 21st century. In such geopolitical dynamism and possible conflicts, Moscow has attempted to support its strategic prevention and military abilities. It has been updating its military and putting resources into satellite, space frameworks, atomic and digital innovation for a decade. Taking everything into account, given the developing insecurity and dynamic dangers around its borders and possible conflicts in previous Soviet area, it is best for Moscow's interest to have stable and peaceful relations towards the West. Moscow has no other choice, however, to fix and solidify its links with the West. No one can contend that America and Russia or other NATO coalition against China is irrelevant or impossible.

Despite the fact that the strategic policymakers of Russia value *Machtpolitik* and organize power, prominently military force, over each other international strategy device, their awareness in regards to the financial and social means for using political impact is expanding. In this context, they are agreeable to keeping up and improving soundness in Europe. Thus, Russia is happy with the general course of the links with NATO and the E.U. that has permitted Moscow increasing, if not totally, equivalent since the foundation of North Atlantic Cooperation Council. The policies of Russia are not anti-anything, Moscow is available to any relationship, collaboration or association that fits in its benefits and depends on the standard of equity.

Russia finds the present system ineffective in addressing the issues and is in the quest for another security design for another era, which in any case has a few elements of the old. Medvedev reported in 2008 that Russia's appeal for another pan-European security system dependent on military and political combination of entire Euro-Atlantic territory. Two fundamental reasons fortify Russia's opinion on this. Initially, Russia has started its role in the 21st century in an unexpected way. After the union of political and monetary power, it is sure of its regional geopolitical impact and his capability to be a worldwide one. It has changed Russia's observation viewing Euro-Atlantic security configuration too. Subsequently, Russia has fitted a more confident and dynamic job in Euro-Atlantic itself. Presentation of such a plan would ensure an equivalent status for Russia. The subsequent explanation is the conviction of Moscow that the present worldwide system, its instruments and structures, isn't working. Russia's proposition for new security design by declaring the lack of Euro-Atlantic security design, in such manner, is significant. This activity underscores Russia's interests about being left uninvolved of the decision process of Euro-Atlantic security, contentions about its fracture, and disarray in the motivation of existing associations. It is likewise a response to American unilateralism and tries to make more multi-polar security structure (Andrew Monaghan, January 2010).

NATO Assessment

From the primary strategy record after the Cold War to the most recent, Russia has stayed a significant subject in Allied calculations. Yet, post-Cold War strategic models have dealt with Russia with an alternate nature and

methodology. In the next decade, such new dangers as ethnic clashes, monetary concern, and the rise of WMD and changed the strategic risk perceptions.

Then again, the unpredictability of the difficulties and the encounters in the Balkans uncover the requirement for cooperation and dialogue among Russia and NATO that stretches out beyond basic rhetoric. In the end, this was reflected in the 1999 strategic model as an affirmation of Russia's exceptional position and its job in Euro-Atlantic security, and as an away from to reinforce relations based on mutual interest and transparency in the structure of the Founding Act.

In 2009, at the NATO's summit in Kehl, members accepted on the requirement for filtering the strategic position of the Alliance and entrusted the secretary-general with another strategic model. Qualified specialists, under the administration of previous U.S. secretary of state, created suggestions for the NATO secretary-general in an exchange oriented procedure. The strategic model, "dynamic commitment, updated defense," focuses on the changing condition of the security and the Alliance role. It is a result of an era formed by the new security dangers, emergency management experiences in Afghanistan and Balkans, and the advantages of cooperative associations (Wittmann, Klauss, 2011:02).

Adrian Hyde stated that the New Strategic Concept and the Lisbon Summit, "Modern Defense, Dynamic Engagement," were colored by two main worldwide events: the moving worldwide level of influence and the worldwide downturn. These two elements give way to understanding a large number of the strategic and political choices reached in Lisbon, and are critical in characterizing the structural setting in which the Alliance currently works (Hyde-Price, Adrian, 2011:02)." It is critical to ponder the new strategic model under the light of such realities as the power change to a multi-polar one portrayed by the rise of China, India, Russia, and Brazil and worldwide financial downturn.

It sums up the agreement reached in Lisbon; it introduces new methodologies without setting out a fixed timetable and positions in the security condition of the 21st century. It additionally depicts NATO's main principles and tasks, qualities, and its strategic targets for the following decade in a developing security condition (Katsioulis, Christos, January 2011). The substance of the document bases on three main tasks: initial, deterrence and defense that underlines the protective union role, and second, emergency management that calls attention to the need of making a move during clashes that posture dangers to its security. At long last, advancing global security through teamwork requires the foundation of agreeable discoursed and associations with nations (Wittmann, Klauss, 2011:02).

As far as Russia and NATO relations, the last task, mutual security, deserves more consideration. It fairly identified with the political party of the Alliance. NATO focuses its political endeavors in three territories: first, weapons control, non-proliferation, disarmament; second, growth; and third, partnerships. NATO worries on the requirement for development in relations with Russia and nations that its purpose is to build up a "genuine strategic association" in light of basic interests and difficulties. Therefore, the strategic concept proposes more noteworthy transparency as far as weapons stores and proportional demilitarization, more prominent concentration for regular arms-control governments, and more extensive discussion with Russia. Thereupon, it underlines the significance of the NATO-Russia Council and lists full usage of it (Katsioulis, Christos, January 2011). Moreover, in contrast to the past one, it doesn't specify fast approaching joining of new nations, despite emphasizing its open-door strategy to every European democracy. Especially, it doesn't allude to Ukraine and Georgia by name, observing Russia's affectability.

In handy terms, Adrian Hyde proposes, The Lisbon Summit was the event for rearranging the NATO and Russia relationship, in light of three unmistakable territories of cooperation: first, patching up the NATO and Russia Council, which has for some time been viewed as an inadequate discussing shop. Second, teamwork on missile defense. Third, teamwork on Afghanistan: Moscow will help NATO with supply routes for different material (Hyde-Price, Adrian, 2011:02). To finish up, NATO's point of view with respect to Russia grasps a non-conflict relationship, which would ideally change into a "genuine strategic association," based on shared trust that is fundamental for stability and peace in the region of Euro-Atlantic. Aware of their disparities and issues and ready

to finish them through the time, NATO considers Russia to be a possible strategic accomplice that constantly should be observed.

Geopolitics and Geography

Russia's geopolitics and geography give an aloof home to its people. Even though the nation is brimming with natural assets, a brutal climate and shortage of the arable grounds in addition strategic disservices have driven the people of Russia to experience a history of sorrowful and violent days than happy and glorious ones. The attacks of Nordic groups, Western armed forces (Hitler and Napoleon), and Eastern Nomadic countries (Turks, Mongols, and Tatars) and the abuse of their leaders have driven them to experience intense lives in brutal geography. Refined from past understanding and current geopolitical real factors, Russian conceptualizations of the worldwide order and universal relations can be characterized in rather a rationalist and realistic terms.

As the geopolitical and geographical situation of Russia is two main determinant factors in understanding foreign policy conduct of Russia in the 21st century. They have given both opportunities and obstacles to Western-Russian relations by affecting foreign policy conduct of Russia both legitimately and in a roundabout way. Their immediate effect is identified with its regional elements and its geographic position, which decides its neighbors and the territorial environment of politics. Then again, in a roundabout way, their impact on the culture, economy, defense, and security of Russia by adding to the foreign-policy conduct. Furthermore, the understanding and perceptions of the elites are the significant factors that shape the foreign policy, dominantly depend on geographical and geopolitical conditions. Henceforth, Joseph Nogee and Robert Donaldson propose "The Russian foreign policy — regardless of whether in its Soviet, its tsarist, or its democratic structure is an articulation in some proportion of certain moderately fixed geopolitical real factors (Donaldson, Robert H. and Nogee, Joseph L, April 18, 2009). " It is difficult to ignore the feeling of weakness, positively entrenched into the strategic thinking of Russia over the hundreds of years, particularly in the foreign-policy thinking of the policymakers and elites of the 21st century. This profound seated anxiety discovers scenes of articulation in Eurasians and Centrist philosophies, the most grounded supporters of which are intelligence services, security, and military elites, for example, Mankoff stated that, more than monetary development and other components, Sir Halford John Mackinder's statutes about "controlling the heartland" despite preoccupy the concentrations of policymakers and elites in Russia (Mankoff, Jeffrey, 2009). Thus, it is reasonable to assert that the feeling of weakness, a natural result of Russia's geopolitical and geography goals, impacts foreign-policy conduct in the 21st century by subsiding into the mentalities of the elites who are the principal players in the foreign policy of Russia.

China and Russia associations need more elaboration. Beijing is the unavoidable potential risk for Moscow, particularly in its Far East, regardless of apparently great relations between the two countries. Like other worldwide powers, the rise of China implies a lot to Russia. Its nearness to the borders of Russia and its key backyard (Central Asia) causes fear and concern, regardless of whether the Kremlin doesn't allow it to appear. China's developing interest, monetary, political impact, and investments in the energy of Central Asia, for example, which Moscow believes its backyard, subvert Russia's benefits and deprive it of the political influence it has been utilizing against Central Asian nations (Kaczmariski, Marcin, Mar/Apr 2012: 3). Long-standing regional issues in the Far East, despite they were settled during Putin's government and the developing political, economic, and demographic impact of China, both in the previous Soviet space and eastern border of Russia, ignite worries in the path of the Kremlin, regardless how much the government of Putin attempts to keep it down and build up better links with China. All things considered, Russia has no other choice. Lo Bobo stated that, it is the main path for Russia to accommodate a rising China and make a defensive instrument against this rising power along its eastern outskirts (Lo, Bobo, 2008). Kaczmariski declares that Russians know about the move of balance for China and the vanishing of America authority that "filled in as glue" for Chinese-Russian collaboration; in any case, they do not have the ability to end this commitment (Kuchins, Andrew). Then again, as per Kuchins, Moscow's close commitment with Beijing has been viewed as a portion of its counterbalancing conduct against Western predominance (Kaczmariski, Marcin, Mar/Apr 2012: 3). In entirety, strategic comfort, logic, and a shared trait of interests fill in as the reason for the China-Russia association in the present geopolitical context.

Russia and NATO cooperative security

Neorealist hypothesis highlights the role of formation of the worldwide framework in relations between nations and recommends that interstate links will be a shift when a change happens in the configuration. Humankind saw this change in the late twentieth century when the Berlin Wall destroyed. It "constrained both Russia and NATO to survey their way to deal with each other, the previous willing to prevent the reappearance of the foe, and the last wish not to be separate from the new global order (Ponsard, Lionel, 2007)." After this period, the cooperative-security idea has given numerous chances to NATO and its foe Russia.

For a period of cooperation and advancing stability and peace in the Euro-Atlantic region, and discussion are the fix, if not the solution, while vulnerability about the expectations of the enemy, shared doubt, and social contrasts cause an escalation of common political outrage and comprise the essential deterrents to cooperation. NATO, the most conspicuous security and political organization of the last 50 years, has accomplished moderately soft progress from the unsteady, bipolar, and pragmatist minded security condition of the Cold War to a progressively steady, peace-advancing one by concentrating on a solution. Especially in Europe, it has meant to amplify its effective reach as peace, stability, democracy promoter, to the drawback of Russia, while attempting to abstain from offending it. In such manner, its cooperative activities since the finish of 1960s, especially after the 1990s, have done very well. In opposition to early NATO-USSR relations before 1990, a new time of NATO-Russian relations has been set apart by dialogue and cooperation, regardless of numerous disappointments and traps. Holger Mölder brings up, NATO with the another Strategic Concept accepted in the Rome Summit in 1991, and went into another level (Mölder, Holger, 2006).

Mölder suggests four models in the security condition of Europe: cooperative security actions, security communities, security complexes, and collective security actions. He states that cooperative security actions are the best models for security networks looking for peace and keeping away from the rise of security difficulties in their neighborhood since they don't require values sharing and the obligations of settlements while having comparative certifications for their security as members of security networks. Ponsard additionally guarantees that the idea of cooperative security doesn't require responsibility from members beyond a specific degree of affirmations. It doesn't require high institutional components, for example, a membership, or consistence to supranational strategies. Rather it requires close cooperation and defensive activity if there should be a danger to global security and peace.

Mölder believes that "Cooperative security actions that advance reliance and cooperation have substantiated themselves as viable measures to set up zones of peace, relieve the opportunities for clashes and keep away from the rise of foes (Ponsard, Lionel, 2007)." Three primary qualities distinguished by Mölder shows that how cooperative security actions give ideal roads to the relationship between Russia and NATO: first, critical thinking to solve the problem, not defensive one against an assailant; second, they organize mutual beliefs over basic standards, and basic standards over mutual identity; third, they rise around the security networks. Eventually, cooperative security actions offer NATO "a custom-fitted arrangement" between stability and quick enlargement (Mölder, Holger, 2006).

Other than hypothetical clarifications, the historical proof has likewise shown that a mutual security strategy reduces the creation of peace and stable promoting space in Eastern and Central Europe, without prompting significant conflict between the previous enemies. This strategy, which started with the Harmel Report and finished in the foundation of the Russia-NATO committee, can be recognized in three stages: the late and post-Cold War time, and post-September 11. During the last four decades in the connection between NATO and Russia, dialogue, cooperation, and transparency have expanded, while shared doubt, opposition, and contrasts have diminished.

Future of Russian and NATO Strategic Cooperation

NATO's current come back to regional defense in Europe and its consolation of Eastern and Central European partners, Russian policy documents and statements portrayed NATO amplification and augmentation of US

missile defense endeavors in Europe as undermining basic Russian security interests. Cooperation would be possible if America considered Moscow as an incredible power whose defense interests completely considered (Andrew Radin/Clint Reach, 2017).

After the Ukraine emergency Russia-NATO cooperation with Moscow was frozen, initially even contacts with regards to the Russia-NATO Council, even though the Russia-NATO Shared Relations, Security and Cooperation were not suspended. In 2016, that the Council began intermittently meeting once more, however so far there have been without a doubt, constrained outcomes. Military links remained frozen until the high-level Russia-US military meeting in 2017. After some time particularly the drawn-out absence of military-military links has been addressed, as various events have been accounted for which could without much of a stretch have prompted a greater crisis in the Baltic region. For instance, an absence of transparency in military activities on the side of Russia has added to such feelings of dread. Yet, even the restart of meetings of the Russia-NATO Council has added to encouraging new discussion on security and confidence-building measures focused on upgraded transparency in Eastern and Central Europe.

An absence of transparency in the aims of Russia towards the Baltic nations and dangers radiating from Russia against the closer partnership between NATO and its accomplices Finland and Sweden have just condition worse. This is likewise the situation with continued Russia endeavors to militarize in the north (Kaliningrad) and attached in the south (Crimea) with the point of expanding Russian choices for Anti-Access Denial to probable NATO fortifications in an emergency circumstance. "War unintentionally" out of nowhere turns into a genuine possibility. Kimberly Marten called attention to various possible measures to diminish strains between NATO and Russia, including by reinforcing deterrence from one perspective and simultaneously going into discussion with Russia to promise Moscow that its authentic security interests will be considered (Kimberly Martin, March 2017). Yet, any such activity would infer the leadership of America within NATO and in a reciprocal structure with Russia in moving in the direction of more transparency and the end towards another arms control government in Europe.

Comparable proposals for future Russia-US cooperation were offered in a new report by CSIS, introducing as possible activities: 1) improving transparency and emergency communications measures; 2) keeping up atomic non-expansion and arms control discussion; 3) cooperating in the Arctic (CSIS, March 2017). But the government of the US build up a complete Russia strategy and follow up on it in close links with NATO Partners. In this way, America takes the lead, but, such initiative can't be accepted from a White House where each move towards Russia profoundly examined, both by the media and in Congress, as long as conceivable agreement between Russian experts and the Trump team in the election period continues.

The efforts on a wide worldwide alliance against ISIS in Syria and Iraq additionally now appear to be an exceptionally far-fetched topic for Russia-NATO collaboration, especially after the current incorporation of NATO as an association in the US-drove coalition against ISIS. Moscow's policy to support the government of Assad and its strikes against all opponent groups, including those bolstered by the West, may have to move Moscow into one of the most significant powers in the Middle East. However, current moves by America to come back to the Middle East by allying with Sunni powers not helping to discover common belief with Moscow and its Middle Eastern accomplices. Besides, Turkey's current strategies in Iraq and Syria make it harder to shape any mutual NATO opinion on Syria, which nearly precludes this theme from any genuine conversation with Moscow in the Russia-NATO Council. In this circumstance, the possibilities for the Russia-NATO Council are fairly grim and will be muddling without US authority within NATO.

Conclusion

Since the finish of the Cold War and Collapse of the Soviet Union, the security condition and dangers to the security of nations, alliances, and the whole world have changed intensely. Geopolitical and technological change reformed risk observations and methods for consoling security. The moderately stale and unsurprising nature of the Cold War changed by unpredictability and vulnerability. Regional ethnic clashes all around the globe, the rise of transnational terrorist groups, religious radicalization, the move in worldwide economic balances, increase of atomic weapons, and the rising interest for water and energy supplies all posture extraordinary dangers to

worldwide peace and security. This new time of capriciousness and vulnerability has set up a shared view for the old foes NATO and Russia and is gradually uniting them.

Recently, revelations after the 2010 Lisbon Summits, the 2012 Chicago Summit, and recent yearly NRC reports uncover for the need of nearer organization and participation. For example, the last draft of the 2010 Strategic Concept, which was embraced at the Lisbon Summit, formally deciphers the longing of the NATO nations to improve useful relations with Russia and move towards an undeniable vital association. The recent proclamations of political pioneers and elevated level authorities from Moscow are in accordance with these summit reports and announcements. All strategic ideas, statements of leaders, summit declarations, and top-level authorities underline the criticalness of improvement of the Russia-NATO relations.

Russia has consistently been aware of its situations; among financial and basic issues and its grandiose objectives, it has tried to adjust itself step by step with the West all together not to be confined and to partake in establishing the new security frameworks of post-September 11. Its reactions to NATO's productive steps, thusly, have been mostly positive. There have been a few variables prompting rhythmic movement in the Russia-NATO relationship. While the conventional frailty and pragmatist perspective of leaders of Russia and social differentiation of Russia from the West block the improvement of links beyond a specific level, contemporary geopolitical real factors and Russia Westernization methods compel Moscow to draw nearer toward the West. In general, Russia has needed to structure a reasonable foreign policy, which in many regards, favors agreeable, non-conflict relations with the Asia and West, and simultaneously, praises its driving role in the previous Soviet space and worldwide matters. Therefore, foreign policy of Russia is the result of the mix of geopolitical, religious, cultural, and historical variables with the reasonable decisions of the Russian people and elite. Alongside the legacies of the Soviet eras, current ideological flows among the citizens and elites with respect to what identity of Russia is and how the foreign policy impacts the needs and plans of the Putin government.

Generally speaking, despite many obstacles and dangers, the advancement of relations and accomplishment of more grounded participation and genuine strategic association is as yet conceivable and significant in the Russia-NATO relations and requires just positive methodologies from both sides. There are many open doors for modifying trust and reinforcing relations, just as many obstructions. The groups need to focus on circumstances and shared characteristics rather than over-concentrating on contrasts and obstacles, in the event that they are to advance stability and peace in Europe. In such a manner, small phases can have a combined impact, and the groups should not anticipate abrupt changes and enhancements. It is especially significant for NATO to recognize that Russia develops diversely and stay persistent during political progress toward democracy. It likewise perceives a more noteworthy state for Russia in its security plans for frictionless, economic relations, and peace-promoting steps. Cooperative security measures offer Russia and NATO a fitted arrangement between keeping up stability in Europe and foreign-policy standpoints and advance their association, gradually.

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Mount Sinai: Orientalist Images of the Mountain of God

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Abstract

The remote, stony peaks of the southern Sinai Peninsula played an inordinate role in history. They lie at a distance from the ancient overland trade routes that once linked Africa and Asia. However, one of these peaks, Mount Sinai, was critical to the development of the Abrahamic religions, particularly Judaism and Christianity. The Hebrew Bible says that God gave the Israelites their secular and spiritual law at Mount Sinai. Since the earliest centuries CE, Europeans exhibited special reverence for the site. Rome's Empress Consort Helena commissioned a chapel at Mount Sinai and the Byzantine Emperor Justinian built a monastery around Saint Helena's chapel. As international transportation improved in the nineteenth century, a steady stream of British and French explorers, intellectuals, and pilgrims poured into the Holy Land, Egypt, and Sinai. Some were artists, intent on seeing and recording historic locations. They had various motives: cultural curiosity, pecuniary reward, and spiritual quest. These artists left to posterity a fascinating visual record of Mount Sinai: the *Mountain of Moses*, the *Mountain of God*. This essay explores the life stories and motives of a select few of these artists and their relevant artworks. The purpose is to inform students and scholars about a significant cross-cultural intersection of religious history and art.

Keywords: Egypt, Landscape Painting, Mount Sinai, Orientalism

1. Introduction

Throughout history, Sinai has served as a connection between Africa, Asia, and Europe, between the east and the west (see, for example, Trombley 2014: 180-182). The Ottoman Empire established control over Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula in 1517 by annexing the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and establishing a naval presence on the Red Sea. The *Eyalet* (or province) of Egypt was a key administrative division of the Ottomans between 1517 and 1867, with a brief interruption during the French occupation of 1798-1801. The lands of Egypt became a desirable travel destination for Europeans as transportation improved and the international tourism industry grew during the first five decades of the nineteenth century (Anderson 2012). Muhammad Ali Pasha al-Mas'ud ibn Agha (1769-1849), also known as Muhammad Ali of Egypt and the Sudan, was the Ottoman governor of Egypt from 1805 until 1848. Muhammad Ali Pasha developed and expanded his power, in part, by welcoming British and European travelers to the region. Following the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), tourists from the United Kingdom enjoyed a new degree of security around the Mediterranean, and they flocked to many areas of the *Holy Land* (the geographical area associated with the Bible).

The Sinai Peninsula has been a land link connecting Egypt's principle cities with the cities of modern Israel and Syria, and the Near East (fig. 1). Sinai is significant to adherents of the Abrahamic faiths: Judaism, Christianity,

and Islam. The book of Exodus – in the Hebrew Torah and the Christian Old Testament – says the patriarch Moshe, or Moses, spoke with God through a *burning bush* and received the *Ten Commandments* at Mount Sinai (Exodus 3; 19-20, King James Version, KJV). Religious historians believe Moses lived sometime during the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries BCE. Although scholars debate the precise identity of Mount Sinai (Hobbs 1995), many think the Biblical events occurred at Mount Horeb, a 7,500 feet granite peak in the south-central area of the Sinai Peninsula (fig. 2). Mount Sinai/Horeb has many designations, including the Hebrew *Har ha-Elohim*, meaning “Mountain of God,” and the Arabic *Jebel Musa*, which translates as “Mountain of Moses.”



Figure 1
Political Map of Sinai Peninsula.
Public Domain.



Figure 2
Mount Horeb is near
Sinai's southern tip.

According to the book of Exodus, at one point in his life, Moses was a shepherd and he lived among the Midianite clans, presumably in the southern Sinai desert. Exodus says that while Moses was watching over his sheep,

[he] came to the mountain of God, even to Horeb. And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed. And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt. And when the Lord saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I. And he said, Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground ... I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob [or Israel] (Exodus 3:1-6).

God explained to Moses that he had seen the affliction of the Israelites living in oppressive Egyptian bondage and he would use Moses to deliver them from their captivity and to take them to another land of freedom, “flowing with milk and honey.” From the burning bush, God instructed Moses to leave Midian, to go the Egyptian pharaoh, and to demand that he release the Israelites. Christian hermits established communities at what they believed was the site of the burning bush during the first centuries CE.

Empress Consort Helena, or Saint Helena (ca. 246-330), was a member of the Roman Empire’s ruling family and the mother of Emperor Constantine the Great (ca. 272-337). According to the ancient historian Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260-ca. 340), Saint Helena converted to Christianity sometime around 310 and she undertook a pilgrimage to the Roman province of Syria Palaestina and Jerusalem in 326-328 (see Averil 1999). Helena ordered the construction of churches at the locations of Jesus Christ’s Nativity and his Ascension and construction of a small chapel at Sinai commemorating the purported site of the burning bush. In 1843, the British artist John Frederick Lewis painted the chapel’s interior (fig. 3). Outside Helena’s chapel, a bramble shrub grows (fig. 4), which monks claim is a descendant of the bush Moses saw.

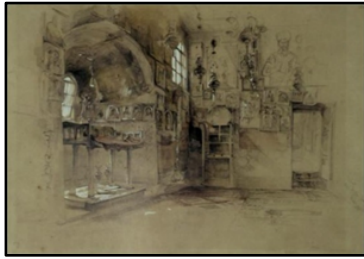


Figure 3
John Frederick Lewis,
Chapel of the Burning Bush, 1843.
Public Domain.



Figure 4
Saint Catherine's Monastery.

The title of the book of Exodus comes from a Greek term (*exodos*) that literally means “the road out.” *Hodos* means “a road” and *ex* means “out.” Exodus provides an account of what happened when the Israelites left Egyptian bondage, and they took “the road out” of Egypt. The Israelites traveled eastward, from the Egyptian land of Goshen toward Sinai, where the Bible says another miraculous event occurred.

In the third month, when the children of Israel were gone forth out of the land of Egypt, the same day came they into the wilderness of Sinai. For they were departed from Rephidim [an oasis or stopping point near Mount Horeb], and were come to the desert of Sinai, and had pitched in the wilderness; and there Israel camped before the mount. And Moses went up unto God, and the Lord called unto him out of the mountain ... And mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly. And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice. And the Lord came down upon mount Sinai, on the top of the mount: and the Lord called Moses up to the top of the mount; and Moses went up. ... [And after God explained his law to Moses,] the Lord said unto Moses ... I will give thee tables of stone, and a law, and commandments which I have written; that thou mayest teach them. ... And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God (Exodus 19:1-3, 19:18-20; 24:12; 31:18).

2. European art

Since the beginnings of the Christian era in Europe, artists tried to capture visually the awesome literary imagery of Moses receiving the Ten Commandments. A mosaic in the sixth century Byzantine Basilica of San Vitale, in Italy, shows the patriarch standing on the mount's summit receiving the law from the outstretched hand of God (fig. 5). Many centuries later, French painter Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904) envisioned Moses atop Sinai clutching the enormous tablets inscribed with God's decree, enveloped in an otherworldly radiance (fig. 6). In the valley below, the wonderstruck Israelites run in terror or stand transfixed by the spectacle.



Figure 5
Unknown artist,
San Vitale, Ravenna, Italy.
Public Domain.



Figure 6
Jean-Léon Gérôme,
Moses on Mount Sinai, 1895.
Public Domain.

Art historians give Jean-Léon Gérôme, and most of the artists discussed in this essay, the label *Orientalist*. In the discipline of art history, the term *Orientalism* refers to a general enthusiasm among European painters, printmakers, and photographers for Near Eastern and Asian (or “Oriental”) subjects and styles. This enthusiasm resulted, in part, from nineteenth-century European colonial expansion (Said 1993). This is when, for the first time, significant numbers of French, British, and other European artists began visiting and portraying new, distant locales, from the Northern African Mediterranean to Southeast Asia (Sinai is usually regarded as a geographical part of Asia).

Writers of ancient Rome formulated a conceptual Orient to describe the land and cultures of North Africa and the Middle East. The Middle English word *orient* derives from two Latin terms: *orior*, which means, “to rise,” and *oriēns*, meaning “the east.” The opposed word *occident* comes from the Latin terms *occidere*, which means, “to fall,” and *occidēns*, meaning “the west.” The ancient Romans saw the sunrise each morning over the eastern horizon, over the Orient, and they saw the sunset each evening in the west, in the Occident. The French used a related socio-geographical term: *Levant*, from the Latin word *levō*, meaning “to lift.” The Levant denoted the eastern Mediterranean lands, where, from a western European perspective, the sun was lifted into the sky each morning. The equivalent Arabic term, *al-Mashriq*, roughly translates as “the place in the east where the sun rises.” In its broadest scope, the Levant included the Sinai Peninsula.

Ancient Romans, and European writers and artists for centuries thereafter, imagined the distant, mysterious Orient (or Levant) as “a place of romance” where “exotic beings” lived in ancient landscapes, a place where a person could relive “haunting memories” and have “remarkable experiences” (Said 1979: 1). Influential postcolonial scholar, Edward Said (1935-2003) described Orientalism as a “western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.” European culture, Said argued, “gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient” (Said 1979: 9, 11). Orientalist literature and religious artworks were powerful tools used to develop ethnography and the travel trade.

The French army’s campaign in Egypt and Syria established the first sustained nineteenth-century European presence in Egypt. General Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) led a military force into Alexandria and Cairo in 1798 and the French occupied the country until 1801. In late December 1798, General Bonaparte led a group of French intellectuals, which included the painter André Dutertre (1753-1842), across the Red Sea to visit Mount Sinai and Saint Catherine’s Monastery. Dutertre was one of the founding members of the Institut d’Égypte, a scholarly society Napoleon founded in Cairo, which specialized in Egyptology. The Institut published a twenty-four volume *Description de l’Égypte*, illustrating the topography, architecture, and people of the region. The publication attracted many prominent French artists to North Africa and the Near East, including Jean-Léon Gérôme, Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), Théodore Chassériau (1819–1856), and Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps (1803–1860). A wave of British artists came later.

3. Adrien Dauzats

Travel writing and travelers’ narratives involve the visual practices of seeing and looking (Alù and Hill 2018: 1). “To travel is to see – travel is essentially a way of seeing, a mode of seeing: it is grounded in the eye, in our visual capacity” (McGrane 1989: 116). First-hand published travel journals usually blend categories. They combine social and topographical observation, historical information, and subjective reflection. During the European Age of Exploration (roughly 1450-1600), travel accounts were widely read, and by the eighteenth century their popularity in Europe was only surpassed by romantic fiction (Pratt 1992; Bird 2018). Many of the earliest travel accounts describe Christian missionary activities or religious pilgrimages to the Holy Land (Korte 2000). In the early nineteenth century, when touring beyond Europe became more convenient, prominent French and British authors ventured to Egypt and Sinai to feed the eager demand for travel accounts. In the era before the widespread dissemination of commercial photography, they often brought along an artist to represent distant scenes.

Adrien Dauzats (1804-1868) was a French artist who specialized in landscapes and *genres* (scenes of everyday life). After Dauzats completed his training at Paris’ École de Dessin (School of Design), he accompanied the noted French-Belgian traveler and author Baron Isidore Justin Séverin Taylor (1789-1879) on a series of extended trips

through the Near East and Egypt. On these trips, Baron Taylor conducted research for travel books, and Dauzats produced illustrations. Engravings of Dauzats' depictions of Mount Sinai appeared in Taylor's 1837 book entitled *La Syrie, l'Égypte, la Palestine et la Judée, considérées sous leur aspect archéologique, descriptif et pittoresque*, which is roughly translated, An Account of Syria, Egypt, Palestine, and Judea's Archaeological, Descriptive, and Picturesque Aspects (fig. 7). Dauzats also collaborated with French novelist Alexandre Dumas père (1802-1870), the famed author of *The Count of Monte Cristo* and *The Three Musketeers*. In the summer of 1836, Dauzats and Dumas journeyed across Egypt and Sinai. Their odyssey lasted months; however, the main outcome was Dumas' relatively brief, picturesque travel essay entitled *Quinze Jours au Sinai*, or Fifteen Days at Sinai.

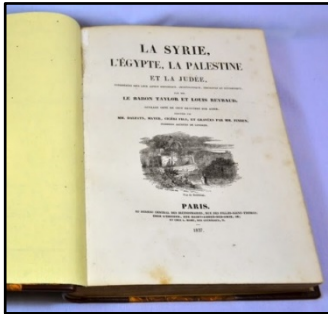


Figure 7
Baron Taylor,
La Syrie ..., 1837.
Public Domain.



Figure 8
*Saint Catherine's Monastery at
Mount Sinai*, 1845.
Public Domain.

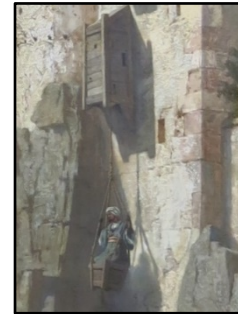


Figure 9
Detail of figure 8.

After trekking across the desert for days during the stiflingly summer of 1836, Dumas, Dauzats, and their large caravan of camels and guides reached the narrow, rocky passes approaching Mount Horeb. Dumas wrote,

On turning an enormous rock, which hid the horizon, [we saw] the magnificent peak of Sinai. And on its eastern slope, at about a third of the height, appeared the convent, a strong fortress, built in the shape of an irregular quadrangle. ... We were attaining the haven which Christian devotion has preserved for those who travel over this ocean of sand, and amid its rocks of granite. It was our Promised Land, and I doubt if the Israelites were more anxious about theirs (Taylor 1839: 236-237).

Adrien Dauzats' most famous artwork resulting from the trip shows what happened next (figs. 8, 9). The caravan stopped at the base of the fortress-like walls of Saint Catherine's Monastery. There was no gate. The shutter of a small window about thirty feet above the ground opened and "a Greek monk, clothed in black, wearing a red hat without a brim, cautiously put out his head." He asked Dumas and Dauzats who they were and they answered they were French travelers who had come from Cairo. A basket tied to a rope descended, the men deposited their letters of introduction, and the monk drew the basket back upward. Finding the papers were in order, the monk again lowered the basket, this time with a stick fastened crossways at its ends. This was the seat on which Dumas and Dauzats rode up to the window and into the monastery (Taylor 1839: 239-240). Dauzats' image shows one of them lifted upward, dressed in local attire.

Saint Catherine's is one of the oldest Greek Orthodox monasteries; it was founded when the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (ca. 482-565) built fortifications around Saint Helena's Chapel of the Burning Bush (fig. 10). The monastery is home to the world's oldest continuously functioning library. For many centuries, it housed the *Codex Sinaiticus*, the earliest known copy of the Christian Bible. The library also once contained the original *Ashtiname of Muhammad*, a document written by the Caliph and scribe Ali ibn Abi Talib (601-661) and sealed with an imprint representing the hand of Muhammad (ca. 570-632), the prophet and founder of Islam (fig. 11). The *Ashtiname* granted protection to the monks of Saint Catherine's Monastery (see Tromans 2008: 100-110), and historically the document has represented a bridge between Muslims and Christians (Khan 2009). During the seventh century, Saint Catherine's massive fortified walls offered a refuge for local Christians threatened by the invading Muslim forces of Amr ibn al-As al-Sahmi (ca. 573-664). Amr spared the monastery when the monks presented the

Ashtiname and when they agreed to erect a small mosque within their walls. The mosque still stands today (fig. 15).



Figure 10

Saint Catherine's Monastery, 2020.
Joonas Plaan / CC BY 2.0.



Figure 11

Copy of *Ashtiname of Muhammad*
Public Domain.

Adrien Dauzats and Alexandre Dumas stayed at Saint Catherine's for five days and spent most of their time sketching the environs and making detailed notes in journals. A highlight of their visit was ascending to the peak of Mount Horeb, an exhilarating experience Dumas described. "After five hours of laborious climbing, we reached the summit of Sinai, and remained for a moment motionless, overwhelmed by the magnificent panorama which was unfolded before our eyes, entirely peopled by Scriptural recollections, still so full, after a lapse of three thousand years, of awful majesty and poetic sublimity" (Taylor 1839: 253).

4. Joseph Mallord William ("J. M. W.") Turner

Many artists who never traveled to the Holy Land still attempted to capture Mount Sinai's "majesty and poetic sublimity" in their art. J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851) was an English Romantic painter and one of Europe's leading nineteenth century landscape artists. Turner was renowned for his awe-inspiring, expressionistic imagery that described the powerful, mysterious aspects of nature. He was also an inveterate traveler; between 1802 and 1845, Turner went on more than fifty extensive tours throughout the European continent. However, unlike some of his artist contemporaries, Turner never ventured beyond Europe, to Africa or to the Near East. That did not prevent him from producing illustrations of exotic locales that he never visited for travel books, historical literature, and to illustrate poetry. Turner simply tapped into his fertile imagination.

Thomas Campbell (1777-1844) was a Scottish poet, today known primarily for his sentimental, narrative verses, such as "The Pleasures of Hope," of 1799. Campbell was a great admirer of J. M. W. Turner. The prominent Victorian-era publisher, Edward Moxon (1801-1858) issued *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell* (1837), an anthology that included twenty pictorial vignettes by Turner. Two of England's leading professional printmakers, Robert Wallis (1794-1878) and William Miller (1796-1882), engraved Turner's designs for reproduction. In one of the epic poems included in Campbell's anthology, he reflected on his life and his mortality and the eternal mysteries that awaited after death (Campbell 1837: 46-47):

Oh! Deep-enchanting prelude to repose,
The dawn of bliss, the twilight of our woes!
Yet half I hear the panting spirit sigh,
It is a dreadful and awful thing to die!
Mysterious worlds, untravell'd by the sun!
Where Time's far wandering tide has never run,
From your unfathom'd shades, and viewless spheres,
A warning comes, unheard by other ears.

‘Tis Heaven’s commanding trumpet, long and loud,
Like Sinai’s thunder, pealing from a cloud! [emphasis added].

In Turner’s illustration for the poem, entitled *Sinai’s Thunder* (fig. 12), the patriarch Moses and his brother, the Hebrew high priest Aaron, stand on a rocky outcropping in the foreground overlooking the people of Israel. They are camped in a valley beneath Mount Sinai. Moses displays the two tablets upon which God has carved the Ten Commandments. In the upper background, Turner represented God engulfed in dazzling light. His arms are outstretched and lightning flies from his presence, suggesting his authority over nature and man. Somewhat concealed on the left-hand edge, Turner included an anachronistic depiction of Noah’s Ark floating in a flooded terrain (fig. 13), to indicate God’s mercy and man’s eternal hope for salvation (Genesis 6-9).



Figure 12
 J. M. W. Turner,
Sinai’s Thunder, 1837.
 Public Domain.

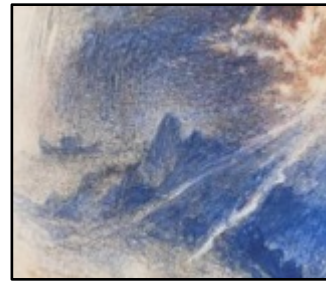


Figure 13
 Detail of figure 12.

Turner’s work fits within *Romanticism*, a movement in the arts that valued individualism and the personal expression of transcendent themes. The influential German philosopher and aesthetician, G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831) wrote that in Romanticism “the form is determined by the inner idea ... that this art is called upon to represent” (Hegel 1975: 604). In Turner’s historical pictures, such as *Sinai’s Thunder*, he sought to represent the noble and grand aspects of an ideal world, rather than the particularities of reality. Musicians and poets were generally more effective in expressing Romanticism’s spirit than were visual artists; Turner was a notable exception. Other artists, including David Wilkie, consciously tried to infuse Biblical subjects with contemporary realism.

5. The quest for Biblical realism

David Wilkie (1785-1841) was a very successful British genre painter. He rose to the position of Principal Painter to the monarchs of the United Kingdom, William IV (1765-1837) and Victoria (1819-1901). Wilkie was born in the tiny village of Pitlessie, in Fife County, Scotland. His father was the Anglican minister of Fife’s Cults parish. Although Wilkie is not remembered principally as a religious painter, throughout his life he harbored a desire to reform Christian art by eliminating its artifices, such as contrived settings, decor, and clothing. Wilkie wanted to show Biblical scenes as he thought they originally appeared. Wilkie claimed, “a Martin Luther in painting is as much called for as in theology, to sweep away the abuses by which our divine pursuit [producing Protestant Christian art] is encumbered” (see Tromans 2007: 197). Art historian, Jennifer Meagher opined, “The explicitness of detail encouraged in the Orientalist style upheld the Protestant necessity for iconographic clarity and fidelity to nature in religious art” (Meagher 2004).

Late in his life, David Wilkie decided to see the Holy Land first-hand. Wilkie left London in the autumn of 1840, voyaging across Europe to Constantinople. From there, he sailed to Smyrna (Izmir, Turkey) and traveled on to

Jerusalem. After a few productive weeks in Jerusalem (Briggs 2011), Wilkie continued onward to the region of Mount Sinai, before finally reaching Alexandria. In Alexandria, Wilkie completed a portrait of Muhammad Ali of Egypt and the Sudan (1769-1849), the Albanian Ottoman governor and de facto King of Egypt. The portrait would be his final work. On June 1, 1841, David Wilkie fell ill and died at sea off Gibraltar, on his return journey to Great Britain. Wilkie filled his final sketchbooks with highly detailed depictions of Egypt's ruling class and the local guides that brought him through the deserts of Egypt and Sinai (Wilkie 1843).

William Holman Hunt (1827-1910), the English painter and a founder of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, had beliefs that were similar Wilkie's (see Burritt 2020). Hunt thought that he could help revitalize Christian (specifically Anglican and Protestant) art through truthful, detailed renderings of the natural world. Unlike other contemporaneous groups of British painters, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood did not mimic the aestheticism and rationalism embodied in Italian Renaissance imagery. Hunt explained his goal, "My desire is very strong to use my powers to make more tangible Jesus Christ's history and teaching" (Hunt 1905: 349). Hunt spent years researching Biblical themes in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, and during this time he completed many of his best-known religious works, such as *The Scapegoat*, of 1855. Although Hunt created many landscapes during his years abroad, and he visited and sketched Mount Sinai (Hunt 1905: 277), his best-known topographical studies were of the environs around the Sea of Galilee, such as *The Plain of Esdraelon*, which he completed in 1877.

6. Edward Thomas Daniell

Unlike Wilkie and Hunt — who were prominent, primarily secular, artists who occasionally delved into Christian topics — Edward Thomas Daniell (1804-1842) was an ordained clergyman and an artist by avocation. Daniell made his largest mark on the history of art with a series of watercolors produced on the pilgrimage he took to the Holy Land at the end of his life. Daniell was born into a wealthy family in London and raised in the historic city of Norwich. As a young man, he learned to paint from Norwich's Romantic landscape artist John Crome (1768-1821). After studying classics at Oxford, Daniell was ordained as a priest in the Church of England and appointed the curate of St. Mark's Church on North Audley Street in London. During this time, the Reverend Daniell became a confidant of J. M. W. Turner. In 1840, Daniell took a sabbatical and left London for a tour that began in Alexandria, Egypt, continued on through Palestine and Syria, before finally skirting along the coast of Anatolia (modern Turkey). At the end of his journey, Daniell went on a brief side trip to sketch the ruins of the ancient region of Lycia, during which he contracted malaria. He died in Adalia (Antalya, Turkey) in 1842, at the age of thirty-eight.



Figure 14
Rev. Edward Thomas Daniell,
Jebal Musa, 1841.
Public Domain.



Figure 15
The mosque today.

During June 1841, the Reverend Daniell produced at least four watercolors of Mount Sinai and Saint Catherine's Monastery (Beecheno 1889: 35-37). He entitled one his watercolors *Jebal Musa* (fig. 14), using the Arabic term (جَبَل مُوسَى) that is translated Mountain of Moses. The work represents the mosque (or *masjid*) that the Christian monks of Saint Catherine's built in the seventh century to appease the Muslim military leader, Amr ibn al-As al-Sahmi. The mosque was extensively restored during the twelfth and twentieth centuries. The Qur'an mentions Jebal Musa more than once. For example, the Qur'an's ninety-fifth *surah* (or chapter), which discusses the creation

of humanity, is translated, “By the fig and the olive. And Mount Sinai. And this safe land. We created man in the best design. Then reduced him to the lowest of the low.” (QS 95:1-5, ClearQuran).

The Reverend Daniell employed an extremely limited palette in his watercolors. He also indicated forms with broad, suggestive washes, a bold method related to the style of J. M. W. Turner. During Daniell’s final days, as he travelled through the Holy Land recording its topography, he reflected on Turner’s atmospheric, semi-abstract landscapes. His travelling companions later recalled,

Poor Daniell, whose spirit was deeply imbued with the love and appreciation of art – the friend and enthusiastic admirer of Turner – would sit and gaze with intense delight on the gorgeous landscape; and eloquently dilating on its charms, and appeal to them as evidences of the truth and nature which he maintained were ever present in the works of the greatest living master, whose merits he thoroughly understood (Beecheno 1889: 23).

The English poet and art scholar, Robert Laurence Binyon (1869-1943) delighted in Daniell’s capacity to capture sublime views with an economy of means. Binyon wrote, “What strikes one most at first is the astonishing air of space and magnitude conveyed, the fluid wash of sunlight in these towering gorges and open valleys” (Binyon 1899: 212). Art historian Josephine Walpole singled out the artist’s final studies of Egypt and Sinai for their “delicacy of line” and “muted but distinctive” washes. She observed they are “impressive in their simplicity” (Walpole 1997: 158).

In all likelihood, the Reverend Daniell created his Sinai watercolors as studies for more elaborate works that he planned to complete, but never did. When Daniell died, he was returning to London to resume his work as a full-time Anglican priest and a part-time artist. His personal journals do not suggest he intended to publish or profit from his Holy Land studies. However, Daniell was aware that there was a growing demand among London’s collectors and dealers for Orientalist images of Egypt and the Near East. Indeed, Daniell’s journals indicate he was directly inspired to travel abroad by the Egyptian scenes of the Scottish painter, David Roberts (Beecheno 1889: 9), which were published, to great critical and public acclaim, beginning in the late 1830s.

7. David Roberts

During the 1830s, a revolutionary wave shook Europe. A “Romantic nationalist” revolution in the Netherlands led to the establishment of an independent Kingdom of Belgium. A similar uprising in France, the “July Revolution” of 1830, overthrew the French monarch: Charles X. Revolution was in the air. Art historian and archaeologist, Patrick Hunt credits David Roberts (1796-1864) with helping stimulate Britain’s Victorian-era fascination with the Near East and Egypt. According to Hunt, the British upper classes were quite familiar with the Biblical accounts of the rise and fall of empires, “as much as intellectual fare as anything else and staple bread-and-butter for religious imagination” (Hunt 2020).

David Roberts learned to paint as a tradesman, rather than as a fine artist. For close to two decades, Roberts was a theater designer and scenery painter in Edinburgh and Glasgow. He then moved to London and worked with the English marine artist Clarkson Stanfield (1793-1867) on several large-scale moving dioramas and panoramas of famous sea battles and remote locations (Lambourne 1999: 156-159). Like other artists who specialized in picturesque topography and architecture, Roberts traveled widely in search of exotic topics to portray.



Figure 16
Robert Scott Lauder,
David Roberts in Oriental Clothing, 1840.
Public Domain.

In 1836, David Roberts contributed watercolors, based on other artists' designs, for the Reverend Thomas Hartwell Horne's ambitious (and financially successful) visual travelogue *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible*. Inspired by this project, Roberts set off on an eleven-month tour in the late summer of 1838 that took him through Egypt, the Sinai Peninsula, and Petra (Jordan), before he finally arrived in Jerusalem around Easter 1839. Roberts began his tour by sailing up and down the Nile River, sketching the monuments and ruins of the ancient dynasties. Early in 1839, he left Cairo and ventured east through Suez and southward to the lower lands of Sinai, stopping to stay at Saint Catherine's Monastery for five days. By the time he finally left the Holy Land to return to London, Roberts had filled several sketchbooks with drawings and had completed around three hundred watercolors. This collection of studies served as source material for his paintings for many years (Tromans 2008: 102-103).

Roberts' caravan rode camels through the desert for ten days to reach Saint Catherine's. His Sinai guides included Hanafee Ismail Effendi, an Egyptian convert to Christianity, and more than a dozen Arab men of the Beni Saids tribe (fig. 17). A series of images shows Roberts' party ascending Mount Horeb's rugged, winding paths amid a wondrous terrain (figs. 18-19).



Figure 17
David Roberts,
Approach, Mount Sinai, 1839.
Public Domain.



Figure 18
David Roberts, *Ascent to Sinai's
Lower Range*, 1839.
Public Domain.



Figure 19

David Roberts,
Ascent to Summit of Sinai, 1839.
Public Domain.

As he climbed, Roberts imagined the effect such terrain would have had on the ancient Israelites.

To a people whose entire living generation had seen only the level lands of Egypt, the Israelite march into this region of mountain magnificence, with its sharp and splintered peaks and profound valleys, must have been a perpetual source of astonishment and awe. No nobler school could have been conceived, for training a nation of slaves into a nation of freemen, or weaning a people from the grossness of idolatry to a sense of the grandeur and power of the God alike of Nature and Mind (Roberts 1855: 80).

London's F. G. Moon publishing firm obtained the rights to reproduce David Roberts' images for a three-volume travelogue entitled *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt, and Nubia*. Belgian lithographer, Louis Haghe (1806-1885) created 247 lithographs for the project based on Roberts' watercolors. Haghe printed his tinted (or hand-colored) lithographs in two sizes: a "half-plate" of 12 x 9.5 in. and a "full-plate" of 19 x 12.5 in. It was a time-consuming and expensive project requiring the pre-production investment of subscriptions from wealthy patrons such as Queen Victoria, Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt, and British author Charles Dickens. Historians, connoisseurs, and curators consider the print series a milestone in the colored lithography medium.

8. John Frederick Lewis

Perhaps the best-known single Orientalist artwork depicting Mount Sinai is John Frederick Lewis' *A Frank Encampment in the Desert of Mount Sinai*, which Lewis completed in 1856. The work was featured in the annual exhibition of London's Society of Painters in Water Colours, where it was singled out for effusive praise. English critic and "Victorian Sage," John Ruskin (1819-1900) proclaimed that Lewis' watercolor was "among the most wonderful pictures in the world" (Ruskin 1903: 74).

John Frederick Lewis (1804-1876) was born in London. His father was an accomplished professional printmaker. Lewis showed his work for the first time at the Royal Academy in 1821 and thereafter studied and worked with the fashionable portrait painter and president of the Royal Academy, Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830). As soon as Lewis had established himself as an artist, he began travelling widely in search of unique subject matter. He went to the Scottish Highlands (1830), Spain and Morocco (1832-1834), Italy (1838-1839), and Greece and Turkey (1840-1841), before settling in 1842 in Egypt, where he stayed for a decade before returning to London. Lewis made detailed sketches and meticulous watercolors everywhere he went.

For several years, John Frederick Lewis and his wife lived in an upper-class Cairo residence, designed in the Turkish style. Lewis' images from this period are replete with Islamic architecture, decorations, and fashions. The British satirical novelist, William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863) visited Lewis at his opulent house in Cairo, and in his witty account, entitled *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo*, Thackeray described the artist as a "languid Lotus-eater," who led a "dreamy, hazy, lazy, tobaccofied life." According to Thackeray, Lewis was accustomed to going about Cairo "dressed up like an odious Turk" (Tromans 2008: 26), carrying a *Damascus scimitar*, a short Arab sword with a curved blade that broadens toward its point (fig. 20).



Figure 20
John Frederick Lewis,
Self-portrait as Memlock Bey, 1863.
Present whereabouts unknown.

John Frederick Lewis' genre scenes of Egypt and Sinai "played upon western notions of Oriental luxury set amid bazaars, harems, [and] desert landscapes" (O'Neill 2007). *A Frank Encampment in the Desert of Mount Sinai* exemplifies the fascinating blend of western and eastern cultures that characterized Lewis' art (fig. 21).

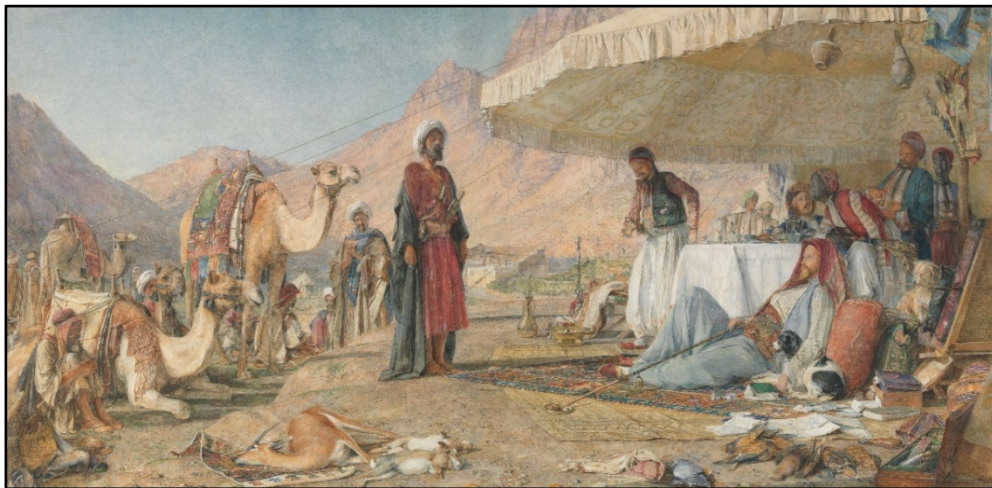


Figure 21
John Frederick Lewis
A Frank Encampment in the Desert of Mount Sinai, 1856.
Public Domain.

Lewis's scene is specifically a *Frank* encampment. The Franks were an ancient Germanic people who grew in prominence during the collapse of the Western Roman Empire and later consolidated their power during the Carolingian Empire (751-843). Eastern Orthodox Christians and Muslims of the medieval period used the term Frank generically, to describe western and central Europeans who followed the Latin rites of Catholicism. Later, people living in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt used the term even more generally, to refer to all the people of Christian Europe (James 1988).

Lewis' Frank was a British nobleman and politician named Frederick William Robert Stewart (1805-1872). Stewart was the fourth Marquess of Londonderry, and was commonly known as Viscount Castlereagh. Viscount Castlereagh toured the Orient and the Levant during the early 1840s, traveling from Cairo to Syria. In 1847, he published his journals from the trip under the title *Diary of a Journey to Damascus*. Viscount Castlereagh's party camped for five days at the base of Mount Sinai. In the center background of Lewis' painting, the artist showed the Monastery of Saint Catherine in the shadowed foothills of Mount Sinai.



Figure 22

Detail of figure 21.

On the right side of the scene (fig. 22), Viscount Castlereagh reclines on a Turkish rug, surrounded by his attendants. He is dressed in native clothing, including a scarlet, patterned headdress, matching Persian-style *kamarband* (or cummerbund), and pointed shoes. The attendants have unpacked all of the nobleman's western trappings and eastern souvenirs. He has his hunting dog (an English springer spaniel) and a second lapdog, a silver English tea service, and an opened bottle of Harvey's Sherry. He also has a long-stemmed Ottoman Turkish pipe, usually used for smoking tobacco. However, hashish use was rampant in nineteenth century Egypt (Nahas 1984), and judging by Viscount Castlereagh's languid pose and comatose expression, one might justifiably wonder what the bowl of his pipe actually contains. On the ground, behind a beautifully painted still life of dead pigeons, lies a map with the title *Syria, Ancient and Modern*. The critic John Ruskin was one of John Frederick Lewis' greatest supporters. Ruskin commented Lewis' *Frank Encampment*, might be read, as a whole, as "a map of antiquity and modernism in the East" (Hart 2011).



Figure 23

Detail of figure 21.

The desert guide named Hussein, a Bedouin shaykh (or sheik) of Gebel Tor, stands in stark contrast to Viscount Castlereagh (fig. 23). Hussein looks downward at his Frankish companion with a serious expression. According to one historian, Lewis had obvious admiration for Hussein; "he stands erect in front of the British lord, who lies supine amid the necessary clutter of 'civilized' accoutrements" (Williams 2001: 230). Viscount Castlereagh wrote in his journals that Hussein did not enjoy posing for Lewis' painting: "The sheik has been sitting for his picture much against his will as it is forbidden by the Qur'an and this evidently has weighed heavily on Hussein's mind. So that it is only by the power of pistols that he had been prevailed upon to allow himself to be immortalized by Lewis" (Stewart 2001: 259-260).

Orientalist paintings often depict a European (or Frankish) ambassador or envoy “approaching with trepidation the peripatetic court of an Oriental potentate” (Tromans 2008: 107). Lewis’ composition reverses this familiar scenario. Hussein “maintains a respectful distance from [the European traveler] ... His sandaled feet are carefully positioned at the edge of [the rug spread on the desert sand], indicating a polite but firm rejection of [the Viscount’s] temporary quarters” (Codell 2012: 66). Hussein’s posture, clenched hands, downward glance, and severe demeanor indicate his disapproval of the British nobleman, whose messy camp and lethargy display a troubling disregard for the hallowed setting, below the peaks of Mount Sinai.

9. Francis Frith

Three historical developments led to greater European access to the Sinai Peninsula during the latter decades of the nineteenth century: the opening of the Suez Canal, the rise of international travel companies, and the British military occupation of Egypt. The Suez Canal, constructed between 1859 and 1869, connected the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea. It allowed ships to travel from the North Atlantic, across the Mediterranean, and into the Indian Ocean (or vice-versa), avoiding the lengthy and costly voyage around the southern tip of Africa. The canal led to a dramatic increase in world trade and world travel (see Karabell 2003). Soon after the opening of the Suez Canal, French and British firms began organizing popular excursions to Egypt, the Middle East, and India. By 1890, the British travel firm Thomas Cook & Son employed a staff of one thousand in their Cairo office (Hunter 2004). In 1882, British forces occupied Egypt, though Egypt remained an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire. By the end of the nineteenth century, the number of foreign residents in Egypt grew from a few thousand to more than 100,000 (Osman 2010: 33).

As the Sinai Peninsula became more physically accessible, improvements in photography allowed people to visit Sinai vicariously, in the comfort of their own homes. The rising popularity of nature photography ran parallel to a growing respect for realistic landscape painting. Throughout the nineteenth century, realistic landscape painting (as opposed to fanciful aestheticized constructs of nature) rose dramatically in importance, in the eyes of Europe’s art academies, critics, and the public. There was a “growing conviction that the unembellished landscape possessed intrinsic value: because it was made by God [and] because it was beautiful. ... The artistic corollary of this moral conception was that a careful visual record of the landscape was meaningful in itself” (Galassi 1981: 21). Photographs of the Holy Land could be particularly meaningful. The camera’s inability to compose or invent and the telling details and specificity of each print gave photographs of Mount Sinai a moral and spiritual dimension.

Francis Frith (1822-1898) was a widely respected, early English photographer, who made a name for himself with his views of the Middle East and Egypt. Frith learned the science and art of photography during the late 1840s, while recuperating from serious health problems. He ran a successful photographic studio in Liverpool until 1855/1856, when he decided to give up his business, in favor of traveling and taking topographic and architectural photos. He was a pioneering entrepreneur, selling faithful, documentary images of exciting, exotic locales to consumers who might be unable or disinclined to travel to the places he recorded (see Handy 1999: 216). Frith produced crisp, extremely detailed albumen silver prints using collodion-coated glass negatives. The albumen (or egg white) silver print was the most popular photographic method of the nineteenth century.

Many people in Britain first saw the Holy Land’s monuments and landscapes in Francis Frith’s photographs. Frith made three trips to Egypt and the Near East in a four-year span; he first visited Sinai in 1857. The demanding glass negative method required Frith to *fix* his images on the spot – whether he was inside an ancient tomb or inside the scorching confines of a tent in the desert heat – but the process produced remarkably crisp, truthful pictures. In 1858, Frith published his groundbreaking photo-essay entitled *Egypt, Sinai, and Jerusalem: a Series of Twenty Photographic Views*. The Orientalist author Sophia Lane Poole (1804-1891) and her son, the archaeologist Reginald Stuart Poole (1832-1895) provided accompanying textual descriptions. The Pooles were English, but they lived in Cairo for almost a decade. Ms. Poole wrote about her experiences in her autobiographical book *The Englishwoman in Egypt: Letters from Cairo*, of 1842. After Reginald Stuart Poole returned from Egypt, he became a leading Egyptologist and curator at the British Museum.



Figure 24
Francis Frith,
Self-portrait, Egyptian Attire, 1857.
Public Domain.



Figure 25
Francis Frith,
Distant View of Mount Serbal, ca. 1857.
Public Domain.



Figure 26
Rev. Edward Thomas Daniell,
Djebel Serbal, Sinai, 1841.
Public Domain.

In the photograph entitled *Distant View of Mount Serbal* (fig. 25), Frith shows the jagged contour of Egypt's fifth highest peak. The Reverend Edward Thomas Daniell had painted Mount Serbal a generation earlier (fig. 26). Some Bible historians believe Mount Serbal, rather than Mount Horeb, is the Mount Sinai mentioned in the Bible. German missionary and scholar, Johann Ludwig Schneller (1820-1896), for example, reached this conclusion after diligently comparing the Biblical account with the topography and historical traditions concerning Mount Serbal (Schneller 1910: 189).



Figure 27
Francis Frith,
The Written Valley, ca. 1857.
Public Domain.



Figure 28
Francis Frith,
Inscriptions, Wade-el-Mukattab, ca. 1857.
Public Domain.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, a Greek merchant (and later hermit) who lived in Alexandria during the sixth century, passed through Sinai on his way to India in 535 CE, and he saw inscriptions carved on rocks in the vicinity of Mount Serbal. Cosmas thought the inscriptions were the work of the Israelites fleeing bondage, “miraculously preserved as testimonies to the truth of the Mosaic narrative” (Schaff 1878: 186). However, this now seems unlikely. During the early Christian era, *anchorites* (secluded Christians, or hermits) built granite dwellings on Mount Serbal, thinking it was Mount Sinai. The anchorites carved Greek and Hebrew inscriptions on rocks at the

foot of Serbal, identifying possible locations described in the Biblical stories. For this reason, the pathways at the bottom of Mount Serbal are often called *wadi mukattab* (an Arabic term meaning "valley of writing" or "valley of inscriptions"). Francis Frith photographed the valley of writing and rock carvings (fig. 28), but he took no position on whether Serbal or Horeb was the Biblical Mount Sinai.

In Frith's photograph of Mount Horeb (fig. 29), he captured its awesome verticality and suggested its scale by placing a relatively diminutive local man in the central foreground (fig. 30). The man in Frith's picture serves as a singular substitute for the masses of ancient Israelites escaping from bondage, as described in the book of Exodus and represented in imaginative illustrations, such as those of Jean-Léon Gérôme or J. M. W. Turner (figs. 6, 12). Whether in fanciful artwork or in realistic photographs, Mount Sinai continued to evoke wonder and inspire creativity.



Figure 29
Francis Frith,
Mount Horeb, Sinai, 1857.
Public Domain.



Figure 30
Detail of figure 29.

10. Concluding statement

Although Mount Sinai's remote, stony peaks lie "off the beaten path," far from the ancient overland trade routes linking Africa and Asia, it played an inordinate role in religious history and in art history. Mount Sinai was critical to the development of Judaism and Christianity and, therefore, Europeans from the ancient days onward exhibited special reverence for the site. In the nineteenth century, a steady stream of European intellectuals, pilgrims, and artists poured into the region, intent on documenting the *Mountain of Moses*, the *Mountain of God*. This brief essay presented only a few of the more prominent (mainly British) artists who portrayed Mount Sinai. A more complete survey remains to be written, incorporating other historical periods and the art of non-Europeans. The goal of this initial sketch is to direct the attention of students and scholars to a limited, yet multifaceted, visual record, and to encourage more research.

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Female Garment Workers' in Bangladesh: Violence, Gender and HIV/AIDS

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Abstract

This research contributes to the social science-oriented disciplinary and interdisciplinary epistemology and corresponding policy practices of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) prevention in female garment workers' (FGWs), who work in the garment factories of Dhaka City, Bangladesh. According to National Violence against Women Survey report (2015) Bangladeshi women recognised the workplace as the second furthestmost place to experience violence then household. Empowering FGWs through formal health education on sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV is essential and includes the prevention of workplace violence (WPV) and requires further training of their intimate partners' regarding violence (IPV). Structural reforms within legislation are essential for preventing violence in factories. Bangladesh Garment Factory Owners Association (BGMEA) should run explicit programmes on sexual harassment, including WPV and IPV training.

Keywords: Female garment workers', STIs/HIV, violence, gender, power, Bangladesh

The problem and its importance

Even though HIV prevalence in Bangladesh is lower than 0.1 percent, the anxiety is that extensive discrimination towards people, who test positive for human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), may leave infections unreported (Unicef, 2010). The negative impacts of gender inequality on HIV prevention efforts are felt even in developed countries despite the greater socioeconomic freedom among women and presence of gender sensitive health and social policies. The major hurdle for such accomplishments in developing countries, such as Bangladesh, is the lack of recognition of the problem and of infrastructural capacity to conduct quality research and thereby identifying the issues that underlie the problem (Yaya, Bishwajit, Danhondo, Shah, & Ekholuenetale, 2016), which is social barriers impacting women's lives and their insufficient knowledge about their HIV and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) status and the possibility that HIV infection is higher than officially recognized. Women are victims of various abuses including sexual ones, and their overall, gender-related status and corresponding acknowledgement is lower than those of men in Bangladesh.

According to United Nations (UN) defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life"(Mahmood, 2004).

Former UNAIDS Chief, Peter Piot pointed out that rape, violence, and other method of sexual abuse are uncouth violation of human rights. They are also closely connected to today's most problematic health issues, including the spread of HIV (Mahmood, 2004).

Throughout the world, researchers have begun to test and develop interventions that promote women's empowerment to decrease violence and related health risks (Barker, Ricardo, Nascimento, Olukoya, & Santos, 2010; Dworkin, Dunbar, Krishnan, Hatcher, & Sawires, 2011; Helen Keleher & Lucinda Franklin, 2008; Solotaroff & Pande, 2014). Women's empowerment programmes have concentrated on improving women's access to and control over social, economic, and health resources, including credit, income and education, and health services (Krishnan, Gambhir, Luecke, & Jagannathan, 2016). However, there is slight evidence from low- and middle-income countries to monitor and guide policy and programme development, emphasizing the need for studies on interventions to stop and respond to intimate partners' violence (IPV) (Ellsberg et al., 2015). The Intervention for Microfinance and Gender Equity (IMAGE) study in South Africa, established that women who participated in the intervention had more decision-making autonomy, gender-equitable attitudes, and communication with family members and were 55% less likely to report experience of IPV in the previous 12 months (Paul M. Pronyk et al., 2006). Such a method has not been meticulously evaluated in the Bangladesh setting (R. Naved, Mamun, Mourin, & Parvin, 2018).

Current research in developing countries proposes that a substantial number of young women may experience sexual coercion (Jejeebhoy, Zavier, & Santhya, 2013). Bangladeshi muslim women have traditionally been excepted from taking part in economic, social, and political activities on the basis of the institution of *purdah*, which commands women's privacy from the society at large. Nevertheless, many positive social changes have occurred in the lives of Bangladeshi women with the introduction of the ready-made garments (RMG) industry, which started in the late 1970s in Bangladesh (Kabeer&Mahmud, 2004).

Thus the aim of this study is to examine how violence impacted on women and power can be extended and elaborated upon to identify the exposures and social/behavioral risk factors, and biological properties that increase women's vulnerability for acquiring HIV, especially FGWs in Bangladesh, the most disenfranchised and vulnerable female population. It also explores attitudes and the power dynamics between FGWs and their male supervisors.

Method

A systematic review was carried out of the literature, which were published in English and available in the databases of PubMed, Medline, Absco, Proquest, Scopus, Google Scholar, Embase, United Nations and World Health Organization (WHO). Furthermore, manual searching was carried out to review and categorize relevant papers in the academic database and library of University of Newcastle, Australia. Document enclosed an extensive range which included social science, public health, philosophical debates, descriptive reports and ethics, in adding to quantitative and qualitative studies. The key words used were: 'human immune deficiency virus', 'violence', 'gonorrhoea', 'syphilis', 'chlamydia', 'sexually transmitted disease', 'female', 'women and health', 'clothing' or 'garment' or 'fabric' 'textile', and 'Bangladesh'.

The literature search was carried out between October 2017 and October 2019; during this time the collected literature were synthesized and reviewed for analysis. Overall 263 articles were recovered from the databases of international and national peer reviewed journals and websites from 1986-2018. Online sources of public health and social and HIV/STIs connected journals were explored for relevant publications. This review involved two stages: first the author conducted an extensive examine of the existing literatures, secondly the author screened the collected literatures in terms of their significance to FGWs on HIV and STIs. In this paper, the author included 104 documents. During the evaluation process efforts were completed to synthesize the relevant resources to gain

a complete understanding. Significant conference presentations related to HIV/STIs in women of Bangladesh along with findings of historical explanations and a cross sectional prevalence study of HIV/STIs in Bangladesh were incorporated. This extensive critical review attempted to contribute to the existing literature in the form of new findings and critically evaluate existing findings aimed at reducing HIV/STIs risk, particularly FGWs in Bangladesh in connection with violence and other issues.

Literature Review

Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) continues to spread in many parts of the world, women are now assumed to begin an increasingly large section of those infected worldwide. This has mainly been documented to the fact that till lately, women did not have an independent means of protection by which they could support safeguard themselves from both pregnancy and infection with HIV (Mahmood, 2004). The global HIV epidemic is rapidly "feminizing" (Thomas C. Quinn & Julie Overbaugh, 2005; Wingood, 2003) and worldwide, 50% of people living with HIV (PLHIV) are women, but then again this proportion is 59% in sub-Saharan Africa (GlobalReport, 2013). Women, especially from key populations are mainly affected by HIV. Amongst female sex workers, global HIV prevalence is projected at 12%, increasing to about 30% in settings with medium to high HIV prevalence. Women, especially from key populations, which includes: female drug users, female sex workers and transgender women, are mostly likely to experience violence (UNAIDS, 2013).

AIDS is gradually becoming a major social and public health concern in many developing countries (M. A. Khan, 2002). The World Health Organization (WHO) mentioned that in South Asia the most common mode of HIV transmission is unsafe sex (WHO, 2011). Bangladesh is a part of South Asian country with a Bay of Bengal to the south and it is surrounded by India on three sides and with Myanmar on the south east (Rahman, Shimu, Fukui, Shimbo, & Yamamoto, 1999).

STIs are a major public health problem in developing countries, including Bangladesh (Sabin et al., 2003). Nevertheless, the threat is momentous for Bangladesh, considering the aspects like geographic location (high prevalence countries, such as India, Myanmar), large number of population with STIs and above all, lack of proper knowledge about safe sex among the people. In India, women account for about 1 million out of the 2.5 million estimated number of people living with HIV. Increasing numbers of women are HIV infected globally and within the Indian setting, women account for an estimated 40% of cases among the 2.5 million people living with HIV/AIDS (Desai, Kosambiya, Mulla, Verma, & Patel, 2013). In Bangladesh female adolescents are more vulnerable and are biologically more susceptible to STIs, including HIV infection and sexual violence than any other (M. A. Khan, 2002; Tamanna, 2019). In comparing the knowledge and awareness about STIs, it showed that 17% of adolescents in Bangladesh had never heard of STDs; whereas Nepalese and Indians reported 25% and 37% respectively (Jahan, 2012).

Many demographic and socio-economic factors have played a serious role in influencing HIV in Bangladesh. By conducting a critical literature review the following aspects have been retrieved by numerous authors:

The themes of the literature review are provided in overview format, below:

- Violence and its impact to women in Bangladesh
- Bangladeshi women's vulnerability to STIs/HIV
- Statistics on violence against FGWs in Bangladesh
- HIV workplace intervention programmes for FGWs in Bangladesh
- Sexual harassment and HIV in FGWs in Bangladesh

Violence and its impact to women in Bangladesh

Bangladesh has experienced very high rates of IPV. 54% percent of ever married women informed lifetime sexual and/or physical IPV committed by their husbands and 27% informed such IPV occurred in the last 12 months. 11% of ever married women informed economic IPV in their lifespan (BBS, 2016). Bangladesh reports on IPV is

one of the uppermost rates in the world (BBS, 2016). Bangladesh reports on IPV one of the highest rates in the world. Even though wide recognition of IPV as a vital public health and human rights concern, evidence for IPV prevention is still scarce (R. Naved, Mamun, et al., 2018). In Global chart Bangladesh stands 2nd, when it comes to violence against women by men (Mahmood, 2004).

In Bangladesh, studies from rural areas (R. Naved & Persson, 2010) and formal urban areas of Bangladesh disclosed that work enhance women's experiences of IPV (BBS, 2013). Correspondingly, (Kagy, 2014) established that while work enhance women's decision making in the household, it also increased their experiences of IPV. Supporting this argument Heath (2014) established that women who were working in urban Dhaka had more risk of experiencing IPV, if they had married at younger age or had less education (Heath & Mushfiq Mobarak, 2015). Moreover, working women every so often handed over wages to husbands who may feel threatened by women's freedom, hence there is no changing on women's economic or gender position (Kabeer, 1997). The importance of the broader context is also recommended by (Blumberg, 1988), when she declares that the relationship between women's income control (wages) and family power is one that is reconciled by a variety of multifaceted factors, such as the extent of gender inequality at the macro societal point and the gender role ideology of family members (Fair Labour, 2005).

Bangladeshi women's vulnerability to STIs and HIV

Bangladeshi women, alike to the current global trend, share a greater risk of STIs/HIV infection and mortality compared to men (Glynn JR, Caral M, Auvert B, Kahindo M, & J, 2001). UNICEF estimates (2012) that the prevalence (per 10,000) of HIV among women Bangladeshi was 2.7 against total prevalence of 3.1 (Shannon et al., 2012). There is a growing agreement on the fact that gender inequality is a major contributor to women's increased susceptibility to HIV morbidity and its outcomes (Gari et al., 2013).

Women in Bangladesh are extremely vulnerable to STIs, including HIV/AIDS, and their knowledge about various diseases is exceptionally poor. STIs increase the likelihood of HIV transmission in addition to other reproductive health outcomes, such as chronic lower abdominal pain, life threatening pregnancies or infertility (UNFPA, 2003). The United Nations General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS (UNGASS, 2001) announcement marked a renewed call for strengthening policy competences to address the gender issues related to HIV (Gari et al., 2013). Development and advancement of health and gender campaign policies are dependent primarily upon availability of workable perceptions in which Bangladesh lags considerably behind than expected (Yaya et al., 2016). One study incorporating information from 137 countries reckoned that the gender gap on HIV knowledge has been reducing; conversely, knowledge regarding preventive methods is still low. The same study stated that people (aged 15–24) the rate of inclusive knowledge about HIV prevention was lower among women compared to men 36% among women vs 40% among men (Hossain, Mani, Sidik, Shahar, & Islam, 2014). Although well-acknowledged gender aspects of the epidemic, and possibility of spread of HIV epidemic, more widespread and tactical efforts to endorse knowledge and awareness regarding HIV among Bangladeshi women are warranted. Previous studies stated low level of knowledge and awareness on the topic of STIs among Bangladeshi women (Azim et al., 2008). Since women share greater vulnerability to HIV, enhancing HIV knowledge among Bangladeshi women offers looming opportunities for long-term monitoring and controlling of the epidemic in Bangladesh (Yaya et al., 2016).

Speedy economic dynamics and development, social change and corresponding politics, are generating new shapes of vulnerability. In answer to these, there is high population movement within Bangladesh, and people going overseas for employment. For example, one million workers went overseas for employment in 2017 (Tribune, 2018), and approximately half a million migrants, who transfer into Dhaka City every year (CBS, 2010). In this setting established support structures are deteriorated and weakened, and the people, especially women are further exposed to exploitation, including sexual exploitation. Nonetheless, vulnerability is not essentially openly spoken but often hidden, thus difficult to address and measure (NASP, 2011)

Statistics on violence against FGWs in Bangladesh

A study led by Fair Labour Foundation on garment factories suggested that Bangladesh had the highest rates of violence compared to China, and other Asian countries (Fair Labour, 2005). The garment industry is the most prominent and leading employer of women working in various capacities in the private sector, (Campaign, 2012; Kabeer&Mahmud, 2004; Siddiqi, 2002). The industry hires primarily women workers (approximately 4 million), 80% of them are women; and 90% of them are the migrants from rural areas and greater part of them migrated from landless families (Afsar, 2000; N. J. Chowdhury & Ullah, 2010) although supervisors are mostly male, which creates a gender hierarchy and reflecting broader social associations in Bangladesh (Campaign, 2012; Kabeer&Mahmud, 2004; Dina M Siddiqi, 2003). Managers are almost entirely men, (Dina M Siddiqi, 2003). As per Bangladesh National Violence against Women Survey, 2015 report, 33% of income earning women reported physical and/or sexual violence during the past one year compared to their non-earning counterparts with 26%. The same report mentioned that in Bangladesh women recognized the workplace as the 2nd most possible place to experience violence after the household (BBS, 2016). Another study also suggest that with FGWs, there could be a higher level of IPV (53%) in the past one year compared to the overall income earning women with 33% in the past one year (Parvin, Al Mamun, Gibbs, Jewkes, & Naved, 2018). IPV is also documented to affect women's efficiency and work (Crowne et al., 2011; Gupta et al., 2018)

Workplace violence (WPV) against FGWs is also ignored and understudied. A few literature expressed that FGWs are prone to experience violence in the garment factories, even though the positive influence of formal occupation in the garment segment on women's economic and social empowerment. The FGWs of Bangladesh are subject to physical, verbal and sexual abuse (FWF, 2013; R. Naved, Rahman, Willan, Jewkes, & Gibbs, 2018b; Dina M. Siddiqi, 2003). Fair Wear Foundation found that 75% of FGWs had experienced verbal violence at work, 30% had experienced psychological violence and 20% experienced physical violence. 60% of FGWs had experienced sexual harassment in these garment factories (FWF, 2013; R. Naved, Rahman, et al., 2018b; Dina M. Siddiqi, 2003) and sexual harassment is the most common in the workplace (FWF, 2013; Dina M. Siddiqi, 2003). The middle and low level factory management workforce are the most regular offenders of workplace violence, and mainstream of them are male (Gazi Salah Uddin, 2008), comprising managers, supervisors and other male garment workers (R. Naved, Rahman, Willan, Jewkes, & Gibbs, 2018a). Other offenders of sexual violence includes: the owners', male relatives of owner's, and buyers, with alluring young FGWs most vulnerable (Dina M Siddiqi, 2003). In Nepal, instances of sexual exploitation by managers and factory owners were also documented (Puri & Cleland, 2006).

Another study revealed that among FGWs high rates of any IPV was 69%; WPV 73% and depressive symptomatology 40% (Parvin et al., 2018). There is indication of adverse consequences of WPV on workers' physical as well as mental health (De Puy et al., 2015; Hansen et al., 2006) and job performance (Lin et al., 2015).

Sexual violence in factories, which includes sexualized verbal abuse, patting, touching, slapping, pinching, rape and coerced sex by management or by hired criminals/ mastans (Alam, Blanch, & Smith, 2011; Mondal, Hossain, & Rahman, 2008; Muhammad, 2011; Dina M Siddiqi, 2003) and even death or secret killing by criminals/ mastans or in police firing (Muhammad, 2011).

HIV workplace intervention programmes for FGWs in Bangladesh

In contrast to Africa, there were very few reported HIV workplace intervention programmes in Bangladesh (NASP, 2012). As elsewhere around the globe (Laukamm-Josten et al., 2000; Witte, Lapinski, Cameron, & Nzyuko, 1998), workers, such as women in the workplace or domestic work, especially FGWs represent as an 'epidemiological bridge' were among the certain industrial groups to be considered as most at risk to the general population (2013b).

Little is recognised about WPV against working women in low income surroundings. According to National Violence against Women Survey report (2015) Bangladeshi women recognised the workplace as the second furthestmost place to experience violence then household-(BBS, 2016). Overall, evidence on addressing IPV and WPV against working women, predominantly garment workers is inadequate globally. Given the considerable increase in women's employment in factories worldwide, and precisely in Bangladesh, with the possible increase women's experiences of violence in workplace and home, the lack of active interventions to reduce this, still

remains the same. While there is evidence that a mixture of economic empowerment and gender interventions decreases IPV successfully in other surroundings (Gupta et al., 2013; R. Jewkes et al., 2014; P. M. Pronyk et al., 2006), however there has been no effort at assessing the effect of gender interventions among FGWs, who are comparatively economically empowered compared to their peers (Mahfuz Al et al., 2018).

Sexual harassment and HIV in FGWs in Bangladesh

Qualitative or empirical data on the magnitude of sexual harassment in Bangladesh is limited and in studies of garment workers the topic typically comes up indirectly. Harassment as a specific issue has received relatively little attention, despite the large body of research on women in the industrial sector. Both at the workplace and during commuting, sexual harassment of women workers is rampant. Women's visibility and employment in community may be observed as a threat to male supremacy in society, and numerous forms of harassment of working women may be an expression of revenge by males and the risks of sexual harassment higher for those, who are working in the night shift (Dina M. Siddiqi, 2003). As a consequence of sexual harassment, many women report embarrassment, shame, inability to concentrate on work, a decline in productivity, anxiety, fear, and depression (Ahmed, Koenig, & Stephenson, 2006; Dina M. Siddiqi, 2003). Women's vulnerability to sexual harassment becomes raised due to the lack of documented proof of employment, informal recruitment practices, fear of retaliatory violence in response to filing a complaint, fear of losing one's job, and the absence of woman-friendly legal provisions (Dina M. Siddiqi, 2003).

In Bangladesh the factory work has become gradually regulated, mainly driven by trade unions and workers. In answer to the height of reports of sexual harassment against women in educational institutions and workplaces, in 2008 the High Court released a directive for responding to and preventing this. Regrettably, most of the garment factories have not taken actions and measures for commendably addressing sexual harassment following the mandate (disciplinary rules and action, raising awareness and proper complaint mechanism) ("Special Original Jurisdiction", 2008). Another notion which was revealed that these FGWs were also not keen to join trade unions (Das, 2008).

Sexual harassment is likely to be the most leading source of psychological stress for garment workers established by a review of health and safety regulation in the garment industry. (Begum & Paul-Majumdar, 2000). The garment industry is the most prominent and leading employer of women with around 4 million women working in various capacities in the private sector, (Campaign, 2012; Kabeeer&Mahmud, 2004; Siddiqi, 2002). In Bangladesh garment workers are under massive pressure to engage in sexual activity, mainly as a result of the long hours that women and men spend together unsupervised by guardians or parents (R. T. Naved, Amin, Diamond, & Newby, 1998).

Workers' Narratives of Sexual Harassment

"They treat women in the garments like dogs.

Anyone can do whatever they like, whenever they want to, to them.

Working in a garment is like being in prison (Dina M. Siddiqi, 2003)".

Dominant discourse in Bangladeshi culture associated FGWs to sex workers, or being sexually promiscuous (R. Naved, Rahman, et al., 2018b). The literacy rate is low, these FGWs are not well-versed about safe sex, menstruation, contraceptive methods, STIs, and HIV infection. As there is large range of social insecurity, adolescent FGWs are often victims of severe sexual abuse. FGWs positioning as sexually promiscuous and/or sex workers increased their vulnerability to violence (R. Naved, Rahman, et al., 2018b), which can lead to HIV infection. Thus, the adolescent FGWs are considered as vulnerable group for HIV infection (Jahan, 2012)

Discussion

Connections among groups and activists, for example Bangladesh Parliament Members Support Social Group on Prevention of HIV/AIDS and Human Trafficking should be reinforced. Stakeholders, for example the Ministry of Transport, Department of Narcotics, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Religious Affairs, opinion makers', community leaders have a key role to play in HIV prevention. Private-sector involvement and business in the HIV

and AIDS epidemic needs to be encouraged and explored, particularly given the speedy urbanization contributing to different industries, especially ready-made garments, where four million young women work (Campaign, 2012; Nidhi, 2009).

In many countries around the world, statistics on furthest aspects of sexual violence are absent. Nevertheless, existing data demonstrates that in some countries closely 1 in 4 women may possibly experience sexual violence by their intimate partner, and equal to one-third of adolescent girls reported that their first sexual experience was being forced (WHO, 2013a). Furthermore, there is strong evidence regarding the association amongst IPV and HIV. Women, who are exposed to IPV in high prevalence area are 50% further likely to contract to HIV, compared to those, who are in low prevalence setting (Rachel Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, & Shai, 2010). Globally, young women and adolescent girls confront the highest levels of IPV. Globally, approximately, 120 million girls are sexually abused or raped by the age of 20, as it was reported by the United Nation Children's Fund (UNICEF) (Unicef, 2015). Forced sex or violent can increase the risk of HIV infection due to in forced vaginal penetration, scratches and cuts usually take place, which help the pass of the virus through the vaginal mucosa. Furthermore, without using condoms, men force their partner/spouse to engage in sexual intercourse (Rachel Jewkes et al., 2010; Unicef, 2015).

Knowledge of HIV status is vital for measuring reproductive health care and counselling HIV status, corresponding life related outcome and diagnosis of women in Bangladesh, and to assist women in making decisions on issues, for example the number, timing and spacing of pregnancies, infant feeding practices and personal usage of contraceptive methods. Furthermore, counselling and information are critical components of all reproductive health services and sexual, and continue to support women in making these decisions and carrying them out voluntarily and safely. Complex issues affect whether women's appearance and experience of sexuality leading to sexual health and put them at risk of ill health. High quality services and programmes that talks sexuality positively and promote the sexual health of women living with HIV/AIDS are crucial for women living with HIV/AIDS to have safe, responsible, and satisfying sexual lives, particularly in countries highly affected by HIV. Violence, comprising sexual violence against women, is deeply correlated with women's potential risk of becoming infected with HIV. Moreover, violence against a woman can hamper with her capacity to access care and treatment, maintain receptiveness to antiretroviral therapy. Health services, together with those focusing on HIV care, prevention and treatment provide a significant entry point for recognizing and answering to women, who experience violence (WHO, 2006).

Replicate below the paragraph of an essay on FGWs of Bangladesh:

There's a proverb among girls in the slums of Bangladesh: "*If you're lucky, you'll be a prostitute - if you're unlucky, you'll be a garment worker*". Pinky was both lucky and unlucky. When she was 11, she was sold into a brothel. At the age of thirteen (13), she was living in the capital city of Dhaka at a shelter for victimized women and girls and working at a Garments. The bird-boned girl was undernourished, stood on her feet for up to fourteen (14) hours a day, six (6) to seven (7) days a week, for the equivalent of \$12.50 a month. The foreman (clients) came on to her all the time. 'No, not for a pretty one like that in a garment factory. Just threaten to fire them and they're yours. A girl in the labor force means she's unprotected. Either her family has abandoned her, or the family men are too poor and desperate to make trouble' (Dina M. Siddiqi, 2003).

There was a line chief of garment factory, who would say:

"You should be stripped naked and left standing by the roadside. ... You don't need to work here. You better go to the street and become a whore." (R. Naved, Rahman, et al., 2018b).

Around the globe, researchers have started to develop and test interventions that promote women's empowerment to decrease violence and related health risks (Barker et al., 2010; Dworkin et al., 2011; H. Keleher & L. Franklin, 2008; Solotaroff & Pande, 2014). Women's empowerment programmes have concentrated on increasing women's access to and control over social, economic and health resources, as well as education, income, credit, and health

services. Workplaces have been used as sites for HIV prevention interventions and for deal with sexual harassment (Solotaroff & Pande, 2014; Yassi, O'Hara, Lockhart, & Spiegel, 2013)

This intervention pilot demonstrates the acceptability, feasibility and effectiveness of workplace-based interventions to positively influence attitudes towards gender equity, IPV and alcohol use and increase awareness of IPV and alcohol-related support services. Workplace health promotion interventions are gradually being accepted as beneficial for both employees and employers (Baicker, Cutler, & Song, 2010). Programmes have also boosted awareness of HIV/AIDS and endorsed safer sexual practices (Mahajan, Colvin, Rudatsikira, & Ettl, 2007). The intervention has established that issues, such as attitudes towards gender equity, alcohol use and IPV can also be addressed in a workplace setting (Krishnan et al., 2016). According to Halli, 2009, proposes that a workplace-based intervention can proficiently indorse gender-equitable approaches, and decrease the acceptability of IPV and increase knowledge of IPV. This intervention also escalates employee productivity, satisfaction, and retention. Research reinforced that reappearance and scale-up of this intervention in workplaces throughout India offers an encouraging method to refining gender equity and health (Halli et al., 2009). Furthermore, male partners' should be part of HIV prevention programs. Interventions focussing on education about condom negotiation skills and HIV transmission not sufficient for many of these FGWs, since implementation requires male cooperation (Bjelland et al., 2010).

An African or Indian with a social or sexual violence, or Bangladeshi with intimate partner violence or workplace violence; the story is identical: a failure to comprehend social process leads to systematic catastrophes- a social paradox, with important implications for policy and praxis.

A social science literature has recognized the connections between social and monetary inequities, migration, structural violence, and HIV/AIDS (Bennet, 2006; Paul Farmer, 2004; Parker, Easton, & Klein, 2000) and has extended our understandings of the complexities of what is often termed "transactional sex" (Verheijen, 2011). A 2008 study (Makoae & Mokomane, 2008) of Lesotho garment workers' vulnerability to HIV transmission reports that low wages, migrant status, and gender inequities are major drivers of women's vulnerability to HIV infection. In India, this also portrays migrant women shifts from their community of origin to their destination. In other words, shifts in the power dynamics of sexual and non-sexual relationships, community factors (such as labour opportunities, access to health care resources and risk behaviour profiles), and the structural context of the destination (cultural norms, stigma and policies as they apply to migrants) may all theoretically impact on HIV prevention for these FGWs. Regardless of common and stereotypes assumptions, it is neither migration nor migrants as such that increases the risks of HIV transmission. It is the trying circumstances and hardships that several face all through the migration experience that makes them more vulnerable to STI/HIV infection (Webber et al., 2010).

In contrary, health education programs highlight the responsibilities of workers to manage their own health and protect themselves against HIV infection (Kenworthy, 2013). It is far easier for factories to keep aloof the FGWs from the social circumstances that add to the obviously high HIV prevalence among this population than it is for them to refute the workplace exposures that escalate stoppage among FGWs. In Lesotho, abortions are illegal and FGWs find that, despite their incomes, they either cannot give support another child or can't afford the loss of salaries due to enforcement of compulsory, but mainly unpaid, maternity leave (Kenworthy, 2014).

Sexual harassment deteriorate the susceptibility and vulnerability of the female workforce and that weakens their benefits, opportunities and rights in the Ready-made garment (RMG) sector of Bangladesh (D. S. Chowdhury, 2017). In the 2nd National Conference on Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights at Workplace, the researchers mentioned that in Bangladesh sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) is a neglected issue, and Bangladeshi people need to change their mindset to work on the SRHR issues. The researchers also discussed topics, such as pregnancy related services, family planning, and neglected issues of SRHR, which are gender based violence and HIV/AIDS at the workplace, also adolescent engagement in promoting SRHR service and education (Dhaka Tribune, 2019; Tamanna, 2019).

Women garment workers' poor command over commodities and limited purchasing power define and form their access to health, housing, sanitation and transportation facilities. Lack of job security is compounded by low salaries, which causes insecurity of life for women in urban areas. Nevertheless, women continue to work, and the explanations for this are obvious in the narratives (S. Khan, 2001). Bangladeshi factory owners put the lives of million FGWs in danger, even although these FGWs are dependent on this manual workforce for their business to flourish (Choudhury, Luthfa, & Gayen, 2016).

A key to reducing poverty and abortion and empowering women is comprehensive sex education. There are instances that comprehensive programs are effective. Though the global and United Nations (UN) agreements are not necessarily prioritised, it is a prominent characteristic that access to accurate and complete STIs and HIV and other health information is widely known as a human right by UN (Forbes, 2017).

Equity and rights in regard to gender play a significant role in influencing women's vulnerabilities to HIV infection and violence and providing the ability of care and support for them, access to treatment, and coping mechanism when both infected and affected. The recent scope of HIV policies and interventions need to be broadened to make gender equity an essential element in the fight against HIV. All women have the same and equal rights regarding their sexuality and reproduction, but women who living with HIV need further counselling and care during their reproductive life. HIV infection increases the usual history of reproductive disorders, escalates the severity of others and unfavourably affects the capability to become pregnant. Furthermore, HIV affects the sexual health and well-being of a woman (WHO, 2006).

In Bangladesh IPV is outlawed through the 2010 Domestic Violence Act. Nevertheless, there remain important encounters in implementation, as well as the continuing perception that domestic violence is a private concern. (R. Naved, Rahman, et al., 2018a).

All through the data the impact of this violence in the factory and home on women's real ability to work was apparent (R. Naved, Rahman, et al., 2018a). Structural reforms within legislation are vital for preventing violence in factories. There are evidence that non export processing zones (EPZ) factories have higher levels of violence than EPZ in Bangladesh, which are better monitored and regulated, and the mode of contracts they have with buyers (Ganguly, 2015; Dina M Siddiqi, 2003). Therefore, regulation, together with minimum wages are a significant building block of effective violence prevention. However, existing regulations are enforced very poorly, furthermore these methods may be somewhat ineffective, without also reinforcing trade unions as a way to enforce laws and regulations (R. Naved, Rahman, et al., 2018a).

Conclusion

An inclusive literature search has also documented that in Bangladesh there is no women STIs surveillance conducted. Furthermore this group are not included as vulnerable population in Bangladesh national surveillance and there is no explicit data available on their risk behaviours (Islam, Conigrave, Conigrave, & Islam).

Another source articulated that Bangladesh Garment Factory Owners Association (BGMEA) runs several programs with Asiatic MCL, Marie Stopes, Population, Council UNFPA, and WHO to transfer knowledge about reproductive health issues, including HIV and other STIs among the garment workers through workplace interventions and leave them better equipped to prevent the STIs and HIV (The Korea Times, 2013). However, the Bangladesh Independent Garments Union Federation (BIGUF), funded by USAID has no explicit programmes on sexual harassment, 'including WPV and IPV training' as such but raises the topic on AIDS prevention during their training (ILO, 2019). HIV workplace intervention programmes for FGWs need to be developed, implemented and evaluated that reinforce women to understand their rights to safety and decrease violence in their lives (R. Naved, Rahman, et al., 2018b).

In Bangladesh the politics and dynamics of STIs/HIV among women and the parallel policy replies to these disclose much about the difficult relationships between people in power, people, who are powerless and the theory of sexuality. Consequently, alternative design paradigms, which challenge power and create diversity and the

probability of empowerment into the argument are required for those comprehended to be powerless. Most of the sexually active women share biological risk to some extent, nevertheless it is apparent that the AIDS pandemic among women is extremely patterned along social, not biological lines and having outcomes of restricting women's autonomy, and enforcing male power. Though many people agree that forces, such as gender inequality and poverty inequality are the strongest enhancers of risk for exposure to HIV, however, this topic has been neglected in both the social science and biomedical literature on HIV infection (P. Farmer, Connors, & Simmons, 1996). It also revealed by UNAIDS, what needs to be established are policies and strategies that increase access to prevention choices, with 90% of individuals by 2020, particularly young women in high-prevalence nations, the removing of gender inequalities and the ongoing decline of all types of violence and discrimination against women and men who are living with HIV.

In Lesotho, the 'Labour Code Amendment Act (2000)', which introduced provisions on HIV/AIDS and transferred jurisdiction for specific types of employment disputes from the Labour Appeals Court to the Labour Court, which established the Directorate for Dispute Prevention and Resolution and Labour Code Amendment Act (2006) (Pike, 2014). Following Lesotho approach, Bangladesh should also establish the Labour Code Amendment, which can simplify employment disputes. Empowering FGWs by way of formal health education on HIV/STIs is vital, including prevention of sexual harassment, WPV and IPV related training. HIV prevention programme should comprise FGWs (100% participations), male partners', including owners of the factories. It is also essential to push for improved implementation of the Domestic Violence Act. NGOs, private sector involvement and community leaders aiming on STIs and HIV need to be encouraged to inform the FGWs about safe sex. Another key step would be reinforcing trade unions as a way to enforce laws and regulations. Female representative is to be ensured in the leadership of the trade union. All FGWs should have access to be a part of this union and can voice their rights and necessities. In this regard, BGMEA can play a key role. Moreover, counselling and supplementary education are significant components to assist women in taking sexual intercourse choices and supporting them out both safely and voluntarily at the same time.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

SM designed and conducted the literature review, methodology and contributed to the manuscript structure as well as drafting and overall editing of the manuscript. Author read and approved the final manuscript.

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CONFLICTS OF INTERESTS

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Withdrawal of the Middle Class from Socio-Political Scene in a Democratizing Iran

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Abstract

Delving upon the significance of the traditional middle class and the rise of the modern middle class in the modern history of Iran, one can obviously realize their prominent roles in democratizing movements like Constitutional Revolution (1905-1911) and the Iranian Revolution in 1979. The former had a tight connection with the ulama whose undeniable power had earned them high socio-political status, which enabled them to put massive pressure on the ruling regimes. The latter, known as intelligentsia, that had a remarkable rise particularly during and after Reza Shah's period, made a great effort in modernizing Iran. Needless to say, both groups played significant roles in pro-democratic party of National Front. However, their prominence is deemed to have faded in post-revolution era. Since democratization is a socio-political will and structure, and hence, it requires the participation of socio-political groups, this research aims to examine the elements that have weakened the middle class and lessened its participation in democratizing Iran and to find the obstacles, if any, they have been facing with.

Keywords: Middle Class, Revolution, Democratization, Socio-Political Structure

Introduction

Structural changes in a society highly depend on the development of socio-political awareness of the social classes. Undoubtedly transitioning from authoritarianism and the realization of democracy are among the key features of Iranian political life for over a hundred years. Significant movements such as Constitutional Movement, Oil Nationalization Movement, and Islamic Revolution of 1979 made democratization their primary goal. In the Constitutional Movement, democratization was pursued in the form of liberalization, legitimacy, the establishment of a royal constitutional system and making the king's power subject to the law, and the establishment of parliamentary democracy (Enayat 2013). In Oil Nationalization Movement, democratization pursuit was continued by strengthening parliamentary democracy, a re-attempt to condition the king's power with the constitution. And in the Islamic Revolution, its goal was pursued in the context of freedom, independence and rejection of the monarchy. However, Iran's society, politics, economics, history and culture are of some features that have challenged democratic movements and even have caused their partial failure. In other words each of them has somehow replaced a new form of authoritarianism with the previous one (Fadaee 2012).

It is evident that in the post-revolution era, the transition to democracy in Iran has confronted obstacles such as power centralization, based on the so-called velayat-e faqih¹ (Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist), lack of growth of political parties, and inaction of social groups, particularly middle class. Since one of the most essential elements in democratization is the rise of a strong middle class, this study aims to examine their role and function in the realization of the transitional process of democracy in the above-mentioned movements as well as the reason of their underperformance as political actors in post-revolution era based on scientific theories.

1. What is the Middle Class?

The middle class is one of those concepts that do not have a precise and uniform definition, and therefore there is no complete agreement between political scientists and social science researchers on its definition. The inclusion of different social groups with different characteristics and characteristics in this social class has made some social science practitioners avoid active use of the concept as far as possible. In the twentieth century, with the emergence of modern sociology, some specific criteria were introduced to define middle class, among which the factors such as occupation, the volume of consumption, education, class and family background are highlighted. Along with the type of job and level of education, another very important condition is income², which is needed to provide the financial means to make a living. Another significant factor is family history and upbringing environment due to the important role it plays in the formation of class identity.³ In fact, it is in the family education that consciousness, social behavior and class culture are formed, and passed from generation to generation. In social relations, it is the behaviors of each individual that identifies them, and it is through these actions that their class status and affiliation become clear, in the minds of the audience and those who encounter them (Haji Qasemi 2012, 2-3). Although there are other methods to identify social groups that fall into the middle class, they have some drawbacks. One of these is to measure individual or household income. According to this method, the middle class in any society comprises groups with an income of 75 to 125 percent of the median income in the community. The disadvantage of this approach is that it is indifferent to the other above-mentioned conditions such as occupation, education and family history and only the income criterion is considered. Similarly, if we put the criterion solely on the level of education or type of employment, we will not achieve the right definition (Haji Qasemi 2012, 4-5). From consumption and income level approach, as it is argued, middle class is comprised of people who are neither at the top nor at the bottom of their societies in terms of income, who have received at least a secondary education, and who own either real property, durable goods, or their own businesses (Fukuyama 2012, 54).

2. The Emergence of Middle Class in Iran

Although it has a long history of Agriculture, Iran is considered to be a dry country. Only some western parts and the coastal areas by the Caspian Sea receive adequate rainfall (Mirmoghtadaee 2013, 115). The Iranian society has not long been a center of agriculture, and cities have always been important. Therefore, communities were formed mainly around small villages or in fact where water or agriculture facilities were found and emerged as cities expanded. Other reasons for the tendency to urbanize in Iran can be attributed to the Silk Road, spice business, and Iran being the main trading channel for East and West. And hence, it can be said that unlike the more prosperous countries, which had a predominantly agricultural and feudal character in which cities were less important, cities have always been the focus of attention. The city is where the middle class is more prosperous. And economic life in the city is more rational than life in the village (Ashraf 1993, 167). Dissimilar to many democratic countries in which the rise of middle class occurred after industrialization, Iranian society was of a

¹ The concept of velayat-e faqih, though it was mentioned about a decade prior to the 1979 revolution, had not appeared in the first draft of the constitution, drawn by Bazargan's, during his premiership. Actually, until the summer of 1979, no one spoke about it. Gradually, pro-Khomeini forces imposed the idea of rule by the clergy. The first person who implicitly referred to velayat-e faqih was Ayatollah Hossein Ali Montazeri who, on the eve of the drafting of the constitution, remarked, "If people voted for an Islamic state, then the faqih must be at the pinnacle to ensure that the regime is indeed Islamic." (for further information, see also Mehdi Moslem, *Factional Politics in Post-Khomeini Iran*, 2002, pp. 25-28)

² Based on consumption and income level approach, the middle class are those who have regular jobs and income and can dedicate at least one-third of their disposable income to discretionary spending other than food, shelter, and absolute necessities. (See also Zahirnejad 2014, 64)

³ Drawing on recent research on the psychology of social class, the material conditions in which people grow up and live have a lasting impact on their personal and social identities and that this influences both the way they think and feel about their social environment and key aspects of their social behavior. (for further information, see [Antony S. R. Manstead](#) 2018)

middle class before industrialization. Therefore, as Zahirnejad (2014) mentions, the middle class which exists in Iran has been formed with different characteristics. Based on this view, maybe it can be argued that there has been a middle class present in Iran during different periods but it has not had the same quality and characters in comparison with the middle class in Europe. It is also of significance to consider the fact that Iran has two middle classes. The historical middle class of Iran, known as the traditional middle class was comprised of the urban bazars and religious notables and existed long before the emergence of the second middle class. Alongside the traditional middle class outside the state, a class emerged that had a distinct status apart from traditional power relations (Adibi 1979, 122). The latter, known as modern middle class, underwent a great expansion in post-constitutional revolution era, particularly during the modernization period which Iran underwent during the reign of Reza Shah. His efforts to develop a modern army and a centralized administrative system and educational reforms led to the expansion of the modern middle class. So it was largely a product of the Pahlavi-era modernization process, and both, Reza Shah and Mohammad Reza Shah, contributed to that process. The new middle class comprises groups that are largely the product of the modern era and have played a role in advancing it. In addition, it influences on the dynamics of socio-economic and political developments both quantitatively and qualitatively. The key components of this class are the intellectuals, bureaucrats, freelancers such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, writers and artists (Sai and Akbar Zade 2019, 106).

3. The Middle Class and the Transition to Democracy

Democracy is a form of government and a form of structure for the political system. Accordingly, democracy is a form of government based on the intentions of the state and based on the sources of government power and the way in which the government is formed. In this form of government, people are directly or indirectly involved with, or can participate in, decisions that affect them all, and the rulers are elected by the people in the context of free and fair competitive elections and are held accountable to the people. In this system, dismissal and replacement of rulers without bloodshed is possible through elections and voting, and civil and political freedoms, freedom of speech, freedom of press and the activities of the opposition are recognized (Sai and Akbar Zade 2019, 107). The goal of democratization is the realization of the political system, and is subject to structural changes in various economic, social and cultural areas. And, in the context of structural changes in the social environment, new social forces, including the new middle class that pursues new political concepts and currents such as democracy, emerges and strives for its realization and establishment. Therefore, transition to democracy requires a large middle class of people whose economic position is independent of those who hold power. Democratization emerges from interacting changes in public politics, categorical inequality, and networks of trust, which in turn depend on specifiable mechanisms of change in social relations. Without significant transformations in the arenas of inequality and networks of trust strictly governmental changes toward democracy remain either unstable or nonexistent (Nomani and Behdad 2012, 216). However, there are unanswered questions about the power of middle class in Iran. It is true that the middle class has existed in Iran for a long time. In fact, the middle class in Iran has been plagued by various expansions at different times, but unlike some people perceive, in the social history of Iran, the middle class has never become extinct (Armaki 2019, 4). But, has it ever been strong enough to challenge the state or the authoritarian regime and if not, what has been the problem?

4. The Problems of the Middle Class in the Transition to Democracy

As it was mentioned above, there are two middle classes in Iran, but before focusing on the possible inconsistencies between the two groups, it is of importance to realize whether the traditional middle class, prior to the emergence of the modern middle class, faced any problems. As a matter of fact, the traditional middle class was not only weak, but also faced lots of changes due to several significant reasons. The most important premise was the tyranny of society and the authoritarian government. As Katouzian (2010, 6) argues, "Tyranny of the society does not only refer to the dictatorship. It actually means a society in which, on the one hand, the government has not grown on the basis of law and the community, on the other hand, is not based on discipline." Another reason for the changes is the constant conflict between the authoritarian government and the nation in Iran as well as short-lived and individualistic characters of society. Furthermore, the fear of losing life and property caused them to feel insecure. In ancient times, because Iranians were afraid that their property would be looted by despots, there was no accumulation of capital (Katouzian 2010, 15-17).

The traditional middle class consisted of the urban bazaars and the religious notables, and they had very strong ties. Since many of these businessmen, traders, and craftsmen financed the bazaar mosques, schools, seminaries, theaters, and other charitable foundations, the commercial middle class was intricately connected to the ulama.⁴ Often marriage reinforced this connection (Abrahamian 1982, 34). On the other hand, the modern middle class comprised of white-collar employees and college-educated professionals, evaded traditions. With the advent of the New Age, the intellectuals followed the modern Western lifestyle and became the core of the new middle class and political leaders (Ashraf 1993, 170). There has been a contradiction between traditional and modern middle classes from the old to the present, and this is because the modern middle class, with its prominent role in the cultural, managerial, and economic spheres of society, is creating new values and norms that traditional structures cannot preserve (Sharif Far 2015, 26-27). With the founding of the University of Tehran and the modern administrative apparatus, the group increased in number and added to the foundation of the new middle class and political elite at that time and the second half of the present century. Regarding to the contradiction between these classes, Ashraf admits, the factor that profoundly influenced the lifestyle of this class and the separation and alienation between them and the earlier class of ulama and bazaar, and was prone to cultural alienation and antagonism, was the forced ban on women wearing hijab and unifying men's clothing (Ashraf 1993, 171).

In spite of the fact that a strong middle class plays a crucial role in democratization, it does not necessarily mean that middle class definitely pursue democracy. In the process of the constitutional movement, if it were not for the modern middle class enticing ulama and traditional middle class, they would have asked for law and justice, not democracy (Abrahamian 1982, 51). Francis Fukuyama's following expression confirms this fact. Middle-class people do not necessarily support democracy in principle: like everyone else, they are self-interested actors who want to protect their property and position (Fukuyama 2012, 56). It is also added that many middle-class people feel threatened by the redistributive demands of the poor and hence have lined up in support of authoritarian governments that protect their class interests. Nor is it the case that democracies necessarily meet the expectations of their own middle classes, and when they do not, the middle classes can become restive (Fukuyama 2012, 56).

It goes without saying that the number of middle class has increased. It now contains a large salaried middle class and an educated working class as well as a traditional entrepreneurial middle class. In many ways, the country is no longer part of the Third World (Abrahamian 2008, 194). However, today, we are faced with a large low-energy class, which is the result of a lack of a combination of weak economic and cultural strength (Armaki 2019, 5-6).

The significant reason for the middle class inability to transition to democracy is their lack of awareness of this concept, and because they ignore Iranian individualism and the specific characteristics of Iranian such as authoritarianism, lawlessness, and short-living history of the society. They want to practice Western democracy in a country that has many differences with Western democratic countries. In this regard the author of this article is in agreement with Ashraf. In the present century, our committed intellectuals and modern scholars along with the leaders of the society and the new middle class, generation after generation, have become increasingly alienated of Iranian culture, of Iranian history, of Iranian Islam, and of the masses. And the fundamental question is not why these are separated from the traditions. The point is that they lose their true understanding of society and culture over time. Before studying and reflecting on their own society and measuring its changes with other societies, and before knowing their own workers, peasants, intellectuals, statesmen, bazaar and ulama, they speak of general theories that are rooted in other societies (Ashraf 1993, 174).

In Post-revolution era, particularly in the past decade, the middle class in Iran, especially the modern middle class has faced serious problems and become weaker. Since Iran highly depends on petrodollar, it can be considered as a rentier state. The state does not depend much on taxation. In other words, it can be considered independent from the support of social groups (Zahirnejad 2014, 63). In the contrary, the middle class in Iran, especially after Khatami's administration, highly depends on and is severely influenced by the role of state economy. By and large, modern middle class and consequently the intellectuals have become more vulnerable and dependent. The other

⁴ Although the word 'ulama' usually refers to high-ranking religious scholars, in this particular case it is much safer to refer to Abrahamian's classification of ulama in his book, *Iran Between Two Revolution*, that is the various preachers (*va'ez*), Koranic teachers (*akhunds*), seminary students (*tullabs*), Low-ranking clerics (*mullas*), and even high-ranking theologians (*mujtaheds*).

big problems they are facing with are the powerful and dominant Shi'ite clerics have dismissed the new urban middle class from power, and the subsidy plan has led the middle class to becoming more dependent on the state. Thus, the middle class whose power is essential in democratizing Iran has lost its influence.

5. Social Classes and the Potential Force of Solidarity

The rise of the middle class in a society can increase political demands for the development of political freedom and participation in political decision-making, and the dynamism of democratic demands in the middle class is so dynamic that it will continue to achieve democracy (Haji Qasemi 2012, 6). As a matter of fact, in democratic movements in Iran, although middle class was strongly supported by ulama and intellectuals in organizing civic institutions, they would not probably be able to consolidate their political rights or challenge the authoritarian regimes without the support of the lower middle class.

The prominent role of the middle class in democratic movements of Iran is undeniable. However, it must not be forgotten that they were strongly supported by the intellectuals; the lower middle class has also played a very significant role in all above mentioned democratic movements. In this regard Abrahamian (1982, 526) stipulates, "Thus the torrent of middle class and working-class protests had come together to burst asunder the Pahlavi dam, tearing apart its pillars, and washing away most of its foundation." However, their roles seem to have been overlooked. The lower class of Iranian society has not historically been a consequential social actor, and it might be due to the fact that the lower middle class in Iran does not basically own nor controls the means of production. It should not be overlooked that majority of urban villagers constitute a potential force that may be used by other social classes when necessary (Ashraf 1993, 170-171). The lower middle class only gets involved in socio-political transitions when they are invited to act. And it is very important who calls them to the field. For instance, in the contrary to the rural people and the low class of the society which did not advocate the revolution firmly, the lower middle class perceived Khomeini as a charismatic, even semi-divine, savior when they were invited to act by a group of radicalized clerics in the process of 1979 revolution.

6. Conclusion

Considering the fact that to achieve a sustainable democracy and to realize a social justice a structural change in power relations is necessary, the importance of middle class as a powerful socio-political actor that can challenge the state becomes clear. And taking it into account that great democratic movements in Iran like Constitutional Revolution and the Iranian Revolution in 1979 would never achieve their goals without great support of the socio-political classes, the importance of intellectuals, ulama, middle class and lower middle class unquestionably stands out. Regarding the role of ulama in these democratic movements, one must not forget that constitutional revolution and the revolution of 1979 in particular, were both against the state tyrannical power which was deemed serious threats to Islam. After the power struggle that followed the victory of the 1979 revolution, the formation of an Islamic state assured ulama that they had attained their goal.

Thus, it is safe to say that losing influence as prominent socio-political actors is not the only problem the middle class have been facing with. They have also lost the support of ulama. And given the statistics revealed by the authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran is precise, in spite of the high growth of the middle class, it is increasingly affected by the rentier state and has become exceedingly dependent. The same goes with the intellectuals. As a consequence, the lower middle class which has always been moved by the above mentioned prominent political actors are left desperately desirous for a democracy in which they are not solely given the right to vote, but the equal legal rights such as freedom of speech as well.

And last but not least, although the above-mentioned elements have caused the underperformance of the middle class, what has kept Iran's middle class weak is the existence of two middle classes and the conflicts between them, the short-lived society of Iran, the tyranny and the lawlessness of the society, the lack of the support from ulama, the extreme dependence on the state and its policies, along with the individualistic characters of Iranians. And in relation to their inability to transition to democracy, the reason is their lack of awareness and political growth, and hence they misinterpret the democracy itself, particularly the Western democracy. It does not

necessarily mean that the Western democracy is perfect and has no weaknesses. It actually means they overlook the specific characteristics of Iranian society such as authoritarianism, lawlessness, and short-living history of the society. Thus, they want to practice Western democracy in a country that has many differences with Western democratic countries.

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Refugee Contributions Shouldn't Be Kept a Secret: Hmong United States Relations

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Abstract

The Hmong people have endured and overcome great challenges throughout their history before resettling in the US and around the world. Hmong people have unique experiences as a stateless people and people of war and genocide. From 1961 to 1975, the United States (US) Central Intelligence Agency recruited Hmong men and boys to fight alongside the Americans and against the communists in Laos, during the Vietnam War. The participation of the Hmong in Laos is referred to as the Secret War, it was America's deadliest war. Included in this study are a review of the literature and a narrative inquiry study that highlights the lived experiences of 10 Hmong soldiers who served in the Secret War. This study attempts to educate the many Hmong Americans, and the American society as a whole, about the Hmong people's historical contributions in the United States military as soldiers in the Secret War. The sacrifices of the soldiers deem their recognition essential to honoring Hmong boys and men who fought fiercely alongside the US soldiers and those who lost their lives. This study exemplifies why these Hmong soldiers deserve a revered place in American history.

Keywords: CIA, Clan, Fiv Yeem (Hmong), Laos, Mekong, Paj Ntaub (Hmong)/Story Cloth (English), Refugee Camps, Secret War, Shaman/Shamanism, Vietnam War



Pa Nhia Xiong in the Ban Vinai Refugee Camp in Thailand (1985)

“Following the Secret War, my parents escaped Laos to Thailand seeking asylum. I am the fourth of six children. I was born in a Thai refugee camp and lived there for six years before my family resettled in the U.S. in the mid 1980’s”. Pa N. Xiong (2020)

1. Introduction

The American Vietnam War occurred from 1954 to 1975 (Yang, 2003). During the Vietnam War, the United States (US) Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) recruited and trained the Hmong people who lived in the jungles of Laos to fight alongside the US against the Communist regime in the Southeast Asian countries of Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia (Vang & Flores, 1999). The involvement of Hmong people was one of the US's best kept secret, even kept from the American public (Vang, 2019). Due to US hidden foreign policy and limited archival records of participation of the Hmong in Laos during the Vietnam War, this conflict became known as the *Secret War*, and took place from 1961 to 1975 (Yang, 2003).

The Secret War ended in 1975 when the Communist Party of Laos took control of Laos (Yang, 2017). The Communist Party suspected that Hmong people were spies for the US; therefore, many Hmong people were captured, persecuted, tortured, and killed, because they were viewed as enemies of the regime who assisted the US (Vang & Flores, 1999). The Secret War was the deadliest in American history with more than 58,000 US military who died; it marked the Hmong genocide where between 30,000 to 40,000 Hmong boys and men died in combat and 50,000 Hmong civilians were killed or wounded (Minnesota Historical Society, 2019). More bombs were dropped during the Secret War than on all countries during World War II. Today in Laos, 80 million bombs still remain active with the potential of exploding (Budanovic, 2018).

During the Secret War children and civilians were deliberately recruited as soldiers by the CIA. The CIA promised the Hmong people that whether they won or lost the war, they would continue to protect and provide aid to all Hmong people (Faderman & Xiong, 1998). The agreement included US residency for the Hmong (Lor, 2007).

As early as 1959, the US had troops in Southeast Asia, and thousands of Hmong boys and men served as guerrilla soldiers for the CIA. They provided knowledge of the mountainous jungle terrain, fought alongside the US against the Pathet Lao Communists, rescued American pilots whose airplanes had been shot down, and saved American lives (Faderman & Xiong, 1998). The guerrilla units were trained to harass the communists and block shipments of supplies along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, fly planes to deliver materials, and utilize advanced weapons (Faderman & Xiong, 1998). As a result of US war efforts, the Hmong people's crops were ruined and their livestock were killed, which was their only source of food. In compensation, the CIA paid Hmong soldiers and their families with money and food supplies. According to Faderman and Xiong (1998), rice, salt, medicine, blankets, canned foods and even live pigs were dropped from airplanes for the Hmong.

Lack of food and damage to villages resulted in Hmong families having no options but to assist the US and surrender their sons, as young as age 10, to participate in the Secret War. The Hmong families who refused to allow their sons to participate were excluded from receiving protection, food, and aid from the Hmong leader, General Vang Pao, and the CIA. Boys were recruited to fulfill different roles in the army such as airplane runway and cooks' helpers. The height of some boys was measured only as tall as a carbine, so they were referred to as "carbine soldiers" (Faderman & Xiong, 1998, p. 7).

When the US accepted defeat in the Vietnam War, they withdrew from Southeast Asia and abandoned the Hmong people (Vang & Flores, 1999). Faderman and Xiong (1998) indicated that by 1971, over one-third of the Hmong population died and one-half of all males over age of 15 were killed. The Hmong people escaped by foot at great risk and danger through the jungles of Laos to Thailand refugee camps (Faderman & Xiong, 1998).

The Hmong culture including language, religion, and spirituality sustained them despite their hardships and sickness during the journey. The Shamans played significant roles in maintaining Hmong faith and hope during the secret war and in refugee camps (Xiong, 2020). Hmong culture describes Shamans as individuals who are chosen by ancestral spirits to naturally and spiritually heal others who are sick (Tapp, 1989). Shamans perform spiritual rituals such as blessing ceremonies to uplift people's spirits. Shamanism is the traditional Hmong religion and is passed on from one generation to the next. In Hmong culture, the world is embedded with natural, ancestral, and supernatural spirits who protect household members from sickness and hardships (Tapp, 1989). Shamans are

the gifted ones who can venture into the spiritual world and return safely (Tapp, 1989). Furthermore, Hmong Shamans and clan leaders preserved religion, culture, and language.

Many Hmong soldiers were left traumatized and crippled emotionally, physically, and mentally. Their heroic stories were never told and not included in history books. The purpose of this study is to document sacrifices of Hmong soldiers in the Secret War and Hmong contributions in US history. This study highlights the brave actions of Hmong soldiers and their people, and has implications for understanding challenges refugees face in the US.

2. Review of The Literature

2.1 Hmong People

Vang and Flores (1999) recorded the Hmong are a group of people with a unique culture and language. They call themselves Hmong because it means “free people” (p. 9). Faderman and Xiong (1998) acknowledged that Hmong people do not have a country to call their own. Over the centuries, Hmong people were known to migrate from place to place due to slavery, ethnic persecution, wars, and genocide. The exact location where Hmong people originated remains a mystery.

Hmong legends indicated Hmong people can be traced back to China more than 5000 years ago. Hmong legends declared the Chinese Dynasty murdered the last Hmong King in the 18th century and threatened to destroy the entire Hmong population. This caused the Hmong people to flee to Laos, Vietnam, Thailand, and Burma (Faderman & Xiong, 1998).

When Hmong people arrived in Laos, they settled in mountains as high as 5000 feet, and dispersed into small villages where they continued their way of life as farmers and hunters (Faderman & Xiong, 1998). Laos was made up of approximately 60 different Southeast Asian groups and the residents spoke 80 different languages and dialects. What separated Hmong people from the rest of the many ethnic groups were their strong ties to each other through shared religion, culture, language, artistically created stitched clothing, and their history of persecution (Faderman & Xiong, 1998).

The Hmong people were communal and relied on each other for support and cultural attributes. Hmong people originally consisted of 12 clans or last names: Chang, Hang, Her, Kong, Lee, Lor, Moua, Thao, Vang, Vue, Xiong, and Yang (Hmong And Native American, 2012). Recently, Hmong And Native American (2012) reported that the number of clan names has increased to 21 and scholars claim that the increase is due to spelling variations from the original 12. The clan name or last name is deemed to be the identity card in Hmong society and serves as a linkage into a person’s family history, ancestors, principles, language dialect, status, and superstitions.

2.2 America’s Broken Promise

In the late 1950s, Hmong people’s peaceful way of life in the high mountains of Laos was changed forever. The US CIA recruited a Hmong man named Vang Pao, currently known as General Vang Pao, to become the Hmong leader and to recruit Hmong boys and men into the US Secret War against Communism in Laos (Faderman & Xiong, 1998).

In 1975, after the US was defeated and withdrew from the Secret War, General Vang Pao along with his family and other top leaders were airlifted to Thailand for safety and then resettled in the US. However, most of the Hmong soldiers and their families were abandoned by General Vang Pao and the US. The US’s attempts to assist the Hmong people as promised were soon jettisoned due to US planes being shot down and the sheer number of people that needed to be rescued. Hmong soldiers who surrendered or were captured by the Lao Communists were tortured and killed for fighting alongside the US Military, the females who were captured, were tortured, raped, and killed (Lor, 2007). Of the 40,000 Hmong people that waited in airfields to be transported, only 15,000 were able to board the planes to Thailand. The remaining Hmong people had to flee by foot through the jungles of Laos

in their attempt to reach the Mekong River, the main river that divided Laos and Thailand, and cross the Thailand border for refuge (Faderman & Xiong, 1998; Vang & Flores, 1999).

The journey was treacherous because the Mekong River was guarded by the Lao Communist's military throughout the day until midnight. Hmong people had to wait until after midnight to swim across to Thailand for refuge (Vang & Flores, 1999).

During the horrific journey, families were separated, and many lost their loved ones, especially young children and elders. Some Hmong parents gave opium to their young children to keep them quiet or sleepy throughout their escape, but unfortunately, some newborns and young children died due to opium overdose while elders and the infirm died due to starvation, illnesses, and drowning in the Mekong River.

2.3 US Attempts to Aid the Hmong

The Hmong who successfully crossed the Mekong River were greeted by Thai officials who escorted them to refugee camps prepared by the US (Faderman & Xiong, 1998). The refugee camps were similar to prisons, the Hmong were not free to leave, and the camps were enclosed by barb wire fences. The camps were overcrowded and unsanitary where diseases killed many children and family members, Faderman and Xiong (1998) indicated that large numbers of Hmong refugees were entering Thailand's refugee camps but not leaving to other countries fast enough as promised by the US. The situation resulted in frustrated Thai officials who began to resent the Hmong people which increased inhumane conditions. The Hmong people once again experienced injustice and harsh treatment including physical abuse, starvation, and torture in the refugee camps that were supposed to be a safe haven (Vang & Flores, 1999).

2.4 Hmong Refugee Resettlement in the US

In 1980, five years after the US abandoned the Hmong people in Laos, President Carter signed the Refugee Act of 1980. The resettlement of the Hmong in the US was not an easy transition. The Hmong encountered cultural and language barriers. Hmong people had a difficult time adapting to American mainstream culture and way of life. The Hmong people were mountain farmers and lived in refugee camps prior to arriving in their new host countries, and they were inexperienced with modern living that included electricity, plumbing, and driving. The Hmong were rural clan people and the majority of them had no formal education, making it difficult for them to find employment and survive in a modern way of life that was unknown to them (Wong, 2012).

2.5 Hmong Spirituality and Religion

Hmong people who practice Shamanism believe that when a person dies in his/her sleep, that the person's soul has left his/her body. As a result, a Shaman can perform a spiritual soul calling ritual that will guide the soul back to the person's body (Lor, 2007). Western culture and medicine do not recognize the spiritual aspects and beliefs of other cultures; therefore, they "focused on the disease and organ systems, not a person's spiritual reality" (p. 27). In Lor's (2007) study, a participant believed that he would have been dead if it was not for the Shaman who performed a spiritual soul calling ceremony for him. The continued practice of the Hmong religion in the US and other host countries is a testament to the importance of Hmong cultural attributes including culture, language, religion and spirituality.

3. Methods

The specific narrative approach that was used in this study is oral history, and is based on the qualitative method of conducting and coding individual participant interviews. Oral history allows participants to share their own "personal reflections of events and their causes and effects" (Creswell, 2013, p. 73). The approach was deemed to be the most effective method in capturing participants' lived experiences, culture, and history. Interviews were conducted primarily in Hmong at the participants homes with family members present to insure their comfort.

The study provided an opportunity for the former Hmong soldiers to share their lived experiences, regarding hardships, and attributes that provided sustainability and comfort during their challenging journeys. Hmong cultural, spirituality and faith practices were detailed during the interviews as they described their participation and recovery from the Secret War. In order to protect the participants' identities, their true names were not used in this study, different common Hmong male names have been assigned for each of the participants.

3.1 Significance of the Study

The purpose of this study is to chronicle the untold horrors of war and refugee experiences as told by Hmong soldiers. It also provides a context for understanding the true American history and the perseverance of Hmong families and their culture.

The purpose of the research study was to provide an historical perspective of US war efforts and the contributions of non-Americans in those efforts. The historical context of the study regarding the US/CIA "Secret War" was also an attempt to honor US refugees and to create a deeper understanding of the Hmong people's history and the sacrifices they have endured for all Americans.

It is important to recognize atrocities of the government and that US history includes negative actions and behaviors that have caused undue pain and suffering to many refugee families. With recognizing that many people made sacrifices to the ideals of freedom and democracy for the US, it is believed that the Hmong people need to be appreciated and included in the nation's history and educational curriculums

3.2 Participants

The 10 participants were Hmong soldiers during the Secret War in Laos between 1961 to 1975. The participants identified themselves as former members of the CIA's Special Guerilla Unit (SGU) in Laos. All participants were born and raised in Laos, when the US forces left Laos they fled to Thailand and then migrated to the US. The participants' ages ranged from mid-50's to early-80's: one was in his mid-50's; three were in their late-60's four were in their 70's, and two were in their early 80's.

4. Discussion

4.1 The Life Experiences of Hmong Soldiers During the Secret War

The older participants recalled their childhood life, living in the high mountains of Laos as peaceful times where they were able to help their family with farming, raising animals, caring for younger siblings, doing chores, and volunteering during cultural events. The younger participants did not remember having a normal childhood life because as early as they could remember, Laos was at war. They each recalled the nonstop sound of guns and bombs throughout their childhood years.

4.2 Child Soldiers of the Secret War

Nine of the participants became soldiers when they were between the ages of 10 and 18. One became a soldier at the age of 20. Meng was 10 years old when he became a soldier. He was the youngest among the study's 10 participants. Meng described as being awakened day and night by the sounds of weapons and bomb explosions. Meng stated, "As early as I can remember, this was the way of life." Meng recounted how he was enlisted as a child soldier. When he turned 10, General Vang Pao and his high-ranked soldiers came to his village and provided everyone with guns and food. He explained that this was a way to recruit Hmong men and boys. He described his experience from the beginning when he was too short, too young, and too weak to go into the war zones, so his role was to guard his village at night and report to the army station during the daytime. At the army station, he monitored, restocked, and physically transported weapons and ammunition to soldiers and villagers as instructed by his supervisor.

Yeng was recruited to become a soldier at the age of 12. He felt he did not have a choice, at that time, as Hmong males who were 10 years old or older were expected to join the military. Due to the shortage of Hmong soldiers, every family was required to give up at least one son to the military. Yeng was willing to become a soldier because his family was poor and they did not have adequate rice, meat, and clothing. By serving in the military, he knew that his family would not starve because the military would provide food to his family. Since Yeng was too young and not strong enough to carry big guns, he stayed at the military base to cook and clean for other soldiers.

Thai was 13 years old when he was recruited. Before that he enjoyed attending school and learning to read and write in the Lao language. He remembered coming home from school one day and seeing soldiers dressed in uniforms at his home. The elderly villagers informed Thai that he was being sent away for an opportunity to pursue an education to become a doctor so he could return home to help his village. Since Thai loved school, he did not hesitate; instead, he was excited for the opportunity to go to school to become a doctor. Thai soon found out that he had been lied to, as he was really needed to become a soldier, and he was extremely upset that the Hmong military leaders and elders lied to him.

Pheng was 14 years old when he became a soldier. Pheng recollected that General Vang Pao along with his army came to Pheng's village in multiple airplanes, large carts of weapons and food for the villagers. After distributing the weapons and food, General Vang Pao demanded Pheng's grandfather, who was the village leader at that time, to provide him with a list of names and ages of all the village members. Pheng's grandfather informed General Vang Pao that he and his village members were illiterate; therefore, it was impossible for him to provide a list to General Vang Pao. General Vang Pao ordered Pheng's grandfather to choose one person to go with General Vang Pao to Long Cheng, Laos immediately. General Vang Pao explained that the chosen person would have the opportunity to attend school and live on the military base. Of all the village members, Pheng's grandfather chose Pheng. Pheng did not dare to challenge or question his grandfather's decision so he followed General Vang Pao into the airplane without saying goodbye to his parents. General Vang Pao assured Pheng's grandfather that Pheng would return home once he learned to read and write in the Lao language; however, Pheng was only able to return home a few months later to gather a list of villagers' names and then he was ordered to return to the military base. When there was a shortage of boys and men on the battlefield, General Vang Pao demanded all of the boys and men from Pheng's village, ages 10 to 65, to carry weapons and become soldiers.

Koua joined the military when he was 15 years old. Even though Koua said he was not forced to join the military, he felt that he did not have any other options; it was an unspoken expectation for young men to join the war effort. No one wanted to disobey the orders of the Hmong military leaders because it was a choice between life and death or food and starvation. Koua and his older brother became soldiers because their family was poor and they knew that soldiers received a monthly salary. The family decided that if he and his older brother joined the military then their younger brothers could remain at home to care for their parents and sisters.

Kong became a soldier at age 16. Kong joined because he needed the Hmong soldiers to help save and protect his father and brother. Kong recalled the communist soldiers coming to his village and mistreating the Hmong people. As his family attempted to flee to a nearby village, his brother and father were captured and sent back to their village. Kong was able to escape to a nearby village where he found a military base camp. He negotiated with the Hmong military leaders so that he would serve as a soldier and put his life on the line as long as the military helped rescue and protect his father and brother. The military agreed and rescued his family. His father and brother were flown to another village where it was safer to live while Kong stayed behind as a soldier. Kong recalled his commander handing him his soldier uniform and advised him to remind himself that all soldiers are considered dead people until they outlast the war. Kong was scared but remained calm because he felt he must keep his promise to protect his father and brother.

Phia became a soldier when he was 16 years old. He was not forced to join; however, he had no other option. Phia described that he was desperate to attend school, but his family was too poor to pay for his education, so he felt hopeless. That was when he decided to join the army and earn a monthly salary. Phia was hoping to save enough money to pay for his education. However, his dream of attending school never came true.

Blong stated that he joined the army at age 17. General Vang Pao came to his village and demanded that the village leader gather all Hmong men and boys for the war effort. He and his relatives were forced to become soldiers. Blong indicated there were no other options because General Vang Pao demanded more soldiers, and the Hmong people could not refuse.

Xai stated that at age nine he started attending school in his village and he loved school. At age 16, Hmong military leaders arrived at his village to recruit him because the military needed someone who was literate in the Lao language; therefore, Hmong military leaders informed Xai's father that they had chosen him to join so he could attend an educational program to advance in both the Lao and French languages. His father could not refuse. For two years, the military kept their promise and Xai was enrolled in an educational program. When he turned 18 and was literate in both the Lao and French languages, he was instructed to discontinue his education and report to the battlefield.

Tou was the only participant who was not considered a child soldier. He was 20 years old when he was recruited. Tou stated that the CIA arrived at his village and provided the villagers with weapons and food. The Hmong military leaders informed the villagers that if the Hmong men did not become soldiers then the village would be overtaken by the communists. The Hmong people became frightened, and men and boys were forced to join.

4.3 Hmong Soldiers Secret War Roles

The Hmong soldiers performed a variety of duties and roles during the Secret War. All except two of the participants became frontline soldiers immediately after they joined. There were two participants who did not go straight into the battlefield because they were specifically chosen by Hmong military leaders to advance in their education. The Hmong men and boys who were uneducated or who were from poorer families did not have an option, and became frontline soldiers. The participants recalled that they had little or very limited training, which lasted approximately one to four months and consisted of how to use weapons, load the guns, activate grenades, and parachuting. A few of the participants stated that they did not receive proper training on how to use weapons; therefore, they self-taught themselves or were taught by fellow Hmong soldiers. It was understood that the primary role of all of the Hmong soldiers was to protect the American military. Hmong soldiers were instructed to rescue American pilots whose aircrafts had been shot down. When the American pilots ejected themselves from their planes, the Hmong soldiers were responsible for using a signaling device to detect the location of the American pilots and to bring them to safety before the communists located them. As portrayed by one participant, the lives of the Americans were more precious and more valued compared to all of the Hmong soldiers.

Koua was a soldier in a unit consisting of 1000 soldiers who traveled by foot from mountain to mountain to pursue communists in order to take over their land. During his first mission, more than half of the Hmong soldiers were either killed, wounded, or captured by the communists. Koua explained,

The communists came in the middle of the night to attack us. The communists shot and killed many Hmong soldiers. The communists captured 10 Hmong soldiers, in which two of them were very young boys around the age of 10. The communists tied the Hmong soldiers' hands behind their backs and dragged them off.

During Koua's second mission, many of his fellow soldiers died due to illnesses and foot infections because they did not have the proper boots during the heavy raining season. After surviving several missions, Koua's commander promoted him to a less dangerous role as a personal guard and assistant to Hmong military leaders and Americans who were stationed at the air force base in Laos. Koua eventually became a call operator and emergency dispatcher tracking airlines for the T-28 pilots, locating aircrafts that had been shot down, and identifying which communist locations should be bombed.

Xai reported that due to his educational background and knowledge of Lao and French languages, he had dual roles. During the day, he worked directly with the Americans at their headquarters and was in charge of completing enrollment packets for soldiers. Military leaders and soldiers relied heavily on Xai because he was responsible for

ensuring that all payroll information was accurate so everyone could be paid on time. In the evening, Xai supervised the guards and ensured that they were performing their shifts.

Thai described that at age 12, his first two years as a soldier were incredibly frightening because he feared death every second of every day in the battlefield. After two years of serving as a soldier, Thai convinced his commander to allow him to take the examination to become a Radio Telegram Operator. At 15 years old, Thai passed the examination and became the youngest Radio Telegram Operator for the CIA.

Pheng stated that he was literate in the Lao language which allowed him to avoid being a frontline soldier in the battlefield. Pheng worked directly with military leaders and CIA officials at the headquarters in Long Cheng. His job assignment was very dangerous; therefore, he did not feel safe revealing his specific duties. To this day, he is still traumatized and preferred to not discuss the details of his role.

Blong was a frontline soldier in the battlefield for 10 years before he was promoted to captain. As a captain, he supervised between 110-124 soldiers. He stated that his monthly salary increased when he received the promotion.

4.4 Dangers of Being a Hmong soldier

The participants each explained that due to the lack of training, proper uniforms and shoes, weapons, and protective gear, Hmong recruits suffered greatly when they became soldiers. The day after Phia became a soldier, he was ordered to go into the battlefield, although he had not received adequate training. During his first month, his unit was responsible for rescuing and carrying wounded soldiers back to the base camp for medical attention. One day when Phia and his partner were searching for a unit member, Phia stepped on a mine and it exploded causing injuries to both of his legs. He feared that he might die without anyone seeing him and his partner. Phia did not want to die alone in the woods or without his family knowing, so he limped and then crawled his way back to his base camp. His goal was to reach base camp so his unit members would witness his death and relay the message to his family. If he died, he wanted to die knowing that he fought until his last breath. Phia recalled,

Communist set up mines on the ground. I was walking in front of my partner. I stepped on the mine and it exploded, injuring both of us. My partner fell face forward and I tried waking him up but he did not...I did not know if he was dead or alive. I thought to myself that even though we were injured, we needed to keep moving to get to our team's location...I was not willing to die until I get to my team's location...if I would have died in front of my team, I knew they would have relayed the news to my parents and relatives. I was in so much pain and was airlifted. When my team located my partner's body, he was already dead.

Phia was airlifted to Long Cheng for medical treatment. He stayed in the hospital for approximately nine months before returning to his military base camp. Blong was also wounded on the battlefield by stepping on a mine. The explosion severely injured Blong's right foot, his right heel was blown off. Blong was fortunate that he was related to a high-ranked commander who immediately arranged for Blong to be airlifted to Long Cheng for medical treatment. Blong stated that if his relative was not high-ranked and he did not receive medical attention immediately, he would have lost his entire leg or bled to death.

Koua along with other soldiers witnessed their unit members who developed trench foot, foot infections and other diseases. Unfortunately, due to not having proper fitting or extra pairs of boots, some soldiers died. During the rainy season, soldiers' feet and legs were soaked in mud for days, weeks, or months depending on the length of their mission. Koua believed that many soldiers would have survived if they were provided with proper and extra boots.

Kong stated that he and his unit of 300 soldiers were ordered on a mission. After arriving in a village, General Vang Pao radioed the unit leader to abort the mission because communists had taken over that village. Kong and his unit were instructed to gather the village people and escape to the nearest village by foot. His unit led a large group of 2000 Hmong people on a 22-day journey running through the jungles. He remembered that his shoes and the shoes of the others were shredded into pieces due to the rainy and muddy conditions. Some of his unit members

and village people were left behind because they did not have proper shoes to keep running. Their feet were blistered, bleeding, and rotting, and the pain became unbearable for them to continue on the journey. Many were left behind presumably to die.

Xai explained that although he was not a frontline soldier, he was trained for a short period of time to become familiar with small and powerful weapons. He explained he was not provided with proper gear to protect his ears, eyes, and face. For this reason, Xai developed chronic hearing difficulties. Xai explained, "I am hard of hearing now because I used to shoot big guns. It is very difficult for me to hear. I am lucky to have come to America and escape death."

4.5 Family, Religion, and Culture

As the participants recalled the horrific memories as soldiers in the battlefield, they also recalled how much they missed their families. They described how they were crying on the inside while trying to stay strong and alert while at war. The negative thoughts and fears of death never seemed to vanish during their time as soldiers. In their darkest moments, their only hope was to stay alive so they could see their families again. The soldiers were authorized to return home to visit family members between one to four times per year depending if their group's mission was successful or not. Many of the participants shared how they were not present during the birth of their children nor were they able to raise them. The participants shared that their families were their main motivation to stay alive. Every day was a day of uncertainty because fear of death lingered nonstop in their minds. They also feared they were going to die alone in the jungle without anyone by their side.

Yeng who was 12 when he was recruited, explained it was tremendously difficult for him to be separated from his parents. He shared how he missed them all the time and was only allowed to visit his family twice a year. He was willing to put his life on the line to ensure that his family continued to receive food from the military, but he had to force himself to be strong and not cry.

As a soldier, Koua missed his family indescribably. Koua was authorized to return home to visit his family every three to four months after his missions were completed. Every time he visited his family, he wished he did not have to report back. However, he had no choice because he did not want his family to starve or be tortured due to his being noncompliant.

Xai recalled that he was authorized to visit his family only once during his first year while he attended school. There was a shortage of Hmong soldiers; therefore, he had to leave school to become a frontline soldier. For Xai, being a soldier was the most fearful, stressful, and hopeless time of his life. He felt he had traded his own life to protect others such as his family, the Hmong people, and the Americans. He recollected when he was a lonely soldier standing on top of the mountains in Laos and desperately missing his family, home, and village. He described that those were the moments when he missed his parents more than anything in the world. His parents were his motivation to stay alive so he could see their faces again. Xai emotionally described,

I missed my mother and father more than anything. The life of a soldier was filled with so much suffering. The fear of being killed or shot by communists lingers in my head. I had to force myself to believe that I have to survive in order to see my father and mother again. The thought of seeing my parents again helped ease my anxiety.

Every time Xai saw an airplane, he recalled,

We [Xai and his unit members] were stationed on the mountain top. Every time I saw an airplane fly by, I wished I had the power to magically place myself on that airplane. I wished for the airplane to take me to another country...a country that provided freedom and opportunities so I could escape the torturing, suffering, and possibly death. No matter how badly I wanted to escape, I couldn't.

4.6 Hmong Faith and Culture

Hmong families are close-knit, and their familial values, culture and religious practices play a major role in their everyday lives. All 10 participants shared that their family's religious belief during the Secret War was Shamanism. At that time, the participants depended heavily on their Shaman faith and spirituality to protect them throughout the war. The participants explained that their parents and their village people continued to perform and practice rituals as a way of providing healing, hope, and protection.

Seven of the 10 participants explained that their parents would perform a traditional cultural calling known as "fiv yeem" which means "a promise of offering to the spirits" and/or ancestors (Helmbach, 1980, p. 425). Every time those seven soldiers returned home, their families would "pauj yeem" meaning that they kept their promises and repaid the spirits by offering an animal or whatever they may have promised during the "fiv yeem" (p. 425). Three participants, who considered themselves orphans, did not have parents who performed "fiv yeem" for them. However, they revealed that when they were scared and hopeless, they would get on their knees and call out to their deceased parents, grandparents and ancestors and felt protected by them. All participants pinpointed that their greatest fear was dying. They truly believed that "fiv yeem" and calling spirits to protect them were powerful practices and contributed to their survival.

The participants pointed out that Hmong people continued to practice shamanism "ua neeb" and performed "fiv yeem" throughout the war and on their journey while escaping Laos. The soldiers believed that the spiritual rituals truly protected them and guided them back to their families. Traditional and spiritual healings were also used to cure wounded and depressed soldiers. In Blong's case, he was hospitalized for 14 months due to his heel being blown off. When his heel continued to be infected and the healing process took too long, he paid a shaman to perform a ritual to cure his foot. Soon after, Blong's foot healed and he was able to return home. Thai became depressed after the death of his daughter. He was unable to eat, became ill, and lost focus. His father-in-law knew that Thai did not have parents who would pay for a shaman; therefore, Thai's father-in-law took him back to his village and performed a spiritual ceremony to call Thai's soul to return and protect him. Soon after, Thai was in high spirits and returned to work at the base camp.

Xai truly believed that his faith helped him survive as a soldier. Xai's father was concerned about Xai's safety and performed "fiv yeem" to protect him. Xai indicated,

In the Hmong culture, it is believed that fiv yeem will protect me from the time I leave my home to the time I return home. My father performed fiv yeem for me to protect me.

Pheng also emphasized that when hope was lost, fiv yeem was the only thing that Hmong people leaned towards for protection:

During the war, everyone suffered, lost hope and had nothing to live for...we were not dead, so we had to continue living. So many people died...so much suffering. We did not know what else to do but to perform fiv yeem all the time.

4.7 Dangerous Migration from Laos to Thailand

When the US Military left Laos, and abandoned the Hmong people, the communists killed, tortured, raped and attempted to reeducate the Hmong people. The participants fled Laos and crossed the dangerous rivers to reach Thailand at various times following the US exit. They traveled by foot for days, weeks, months, and even years. The participants explained how they fled with wives, children and other family members. They explained that the Hmong people moved in large groups which made it challenging to remain quiet and hidden while fleeing the communists. An even greater challenge was their inability to swim or the lack of floatation devices that would allow them to cross the rivers. Participants recounted how they used bamboo to fashion rafts to help them cross the Mekong River. They shared how many families drowned before reaching Thailand. One of the participants described how he collected emptied bottled water containers and tied them around his chest, once he arrived in Thailand he sent help for his family. Another described his horrific journey with his wife and one-month old

daughter. He explained that he and his wife blew air into trash bags and tightly tied them together to use as floatation devices. With their daughter strapped to their back they tightly held onto the trash bags and their belongings for hours as they crossed the river into Thailand.

Others used all of their money, silver bars, and jewelry to pay Lao and Thai boat owners to help them cross the Mekong River. Others explained that when the war ended, they were fearful of the communists, so they fled their villages and hid in the jungle of Laos for three years before reaching the Mekong River. Unfortunately, many Hmong families died during their journey to freedom. One of the participants described how he witnessed families committing suicide together because they could not bear the thought of being separated, captured, or killed by the communists. One of the participants, Phia explained that he carried a grenade with him throughout his escape from Laos. Phia stated that his motive for carrying the grenade was not to kill the communists but to use it on a suicide mission for his entire family should they get trapped by the communists. Phia firmly believed that being dead was better than being captured, tortured, and killed by the communists.

4.8 Life in Refugee Camps

The refugee camps in Thailand marked another sad transition for the Hmong people. Multiple families shared and slept in one shack, clean water did not exist, and food was very limited. Kong explained he is still traumatized from the first day that he and his family arrived in the Ban Vinai Camp in Thailand. The camp was overcrowded, so Thai officials needed to use the Hmong people's graveyard to build more housing for incoming refugees. Kong remembered seeing Thai officials digging up graves and dead bodies were scattered everywhere. The image of dead bodies in Hmong clothing consisting of red and green sashes and hand-stitched costumes reminded him of the foul smell of rotten bodies filled the entire camp and how Hmong people were treated like trash.

4.9 Challenges of Starting a New Life

Nine of the participants expressed their loyalty to the CIA and United States because they considered themselves American allies. Many stated they decided to migrate to the US for the sake of their children and families. The participants arrived in different states of the US. Seven of the 10 participants landed in California while three participants arrived in Texas, Washington, and New York before moving to California. Migrating to a new country was extremely difficult for the Hmong people. All of them faced numerous challenges such as language barriers, food insecurity, lack of support and resources, culture shock, and transportation issues. For many of the Hmong refugees in the US, the culture shock was overwhelming. Language and cultural barriers with those who were assigned to assist them with relocating to the US prevented smooth transitions. Interestingly the participants all agreed that life in the US was better than war-torn Laos and the refugee camps in Thailand. One of the participants, Xai, shared he was fortunate that he brought a dictionary from Thailand that was in the Lao language and contained English translations. He used the dictionary as a communication tool between him and those assigned to assist him. He explained the dictionary was given to him when he was a soldier. Xai said the dictionary was a valuable keepsake to him, and he kept it with him throughout his journey.

5. Conclusion

5.1 "It Was Worth the Sacrifice"

Grim realities of the Secret War included utilizing children who were coerced and threatened to become soldiers. They were not properly trained and often placed in dangerous and deadly situations. Hmong people were abandoned and as a result suffered torture and death at the hands of the communists. They fled for miles from Laos to refugee camps where they encountered hunger, abuse and death. The US did not honor their promise to relocate and care for them in the United States after the Secret War ended. The resiliency of the Hmong people made them a prosperous and educated population in the American fabric. The Hmong historical contributions are an example of refugee contributions and hope for a positive future.

Participants did not have many fond memories as soldiers, yet they proudly, kindly, and honestly shared their stories. They sadly expressed their lives ended in the war; however, they felt it was worth their sacrifice, for the benefit of Hmong people and especially their children. The Hmong soldiers who participated in this study exemplified extreme bravery and selflessness, and indicated they had no ill will towards the US.

The Hmong soldiers hope that current and future generations of Hmong children appreciate the sacrifices that their elders made, and in turn, use their elders' sacrifices to motivate them to achieve the highest educational opportunities in the US. All participants were proud to share that they have children and/or grandchildren who have earned college degrees in the US and are leaders in their communities. Pheng stated,

Hmong people had to shed blood to pave the way for a better life, especially, the Hmong fathers and sons who died as soldiers. Although the blood that we shed was not enough to conquer the country of Laos, we have paved the way for Hmong people to start a new life in America.

Pheng's message to Hmong children is:

You must remember that you are Hmong. You have Hmong blood. Although you are living in America, you must remember to love, respect, and forgive one another. Hmong people desire to live freely...Hmong people like to form communities and help each other. When a Hmong family faces darkness or loses a loved one, Hmong people come together to show respect. Hmong people have a beautiful culture.

Although many of the Hmong people have suffered, it is humbling to know they are forgiving and hopeful for their children and families and for the opportunities they have in the US.

5.2 Maintaining Hmong Culture

Hmong culture was maintained and passed from generation to generation through storytelling, wedding ceremonies, funerals, and spiritual practices and rituals. Additionally, embroidered story cloths (paj ntaub) communicated historical and familial events passed down to family members over generations, much like the pictographs on walls or animal skins that have been accepted as preserved histories of ancient peoples throughout the world (Xiong, 2020). These traditions help the Hmong to maintain and value their culture and customs even after many acculturated to living outside of Laos.

6. Recommendations

Refugees are a source of diversity, and they contribute greatly to the ideals of democracy and freedom. However, it is also important that communities respect and assist refugee populations who cherish cultural factors such as the family structure, religion, religious rituals and attempts at maintaining group sustainability. Understanding and recognition of refugees such as the Hmong can lead to improved race relations and acceptance of all people regardless of their language, culture, religion or color of their skin. Understanding Hmong contributions can also foster respect for all citizens whether they were born in host countries or not.

This study sought to contribute to a deeper understanding of Hmong people's history and their sacrifices for all Americans. The findings of the study can be used to educate and inform professionals to better understand and serve the Hmong community by establishing supportive and culturally sensitive curriculums and practices regarding the Hmong.

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