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# Albrecht Dürer's Large Passion: Art, History, and Theology

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## Abstract

This essay analyzes a series of woodcuts collectively entitled the *Large Passion* (of Christ), which the German Renaissance artist Albrecht Dürer created between 1496 and 1511. The Passion illustrates the biblical story of Jesus Christ's betrayal, trial, and crucifixion. The essay explores various artistic, religious, and philosophical contexts that affected Dürer's imagery. The artist's identification as an Augustinian Catholic, his interest in Italian humanism, and the influence of Venetian Renaissance art played crucial roles in the iconography and style of Dürer's woodcut prints. The devotional known as the *Way of the Cross*, or *Stations of the Cross*, also impacted his subject matter. The artist used his *Large Passion* cycle to educate a wide spectrum of art collectors about Christian doctrine. The essay concludes by briefly examining each *Large Passion* image, using relevant Bible passages and Christian theology to help explain some of the messages Dürer's prints conveyed.

**Keywords:** Albrecht Dürer, Christian art, *Large Passion*, Nuremberg, Woodcut Print

## 1. Introduction: Albrecht Dürer

Albrecht Dürer was a graphic artist and painter and a leading figure of the northern European Renaissance (fig. 1). Dürer was born on May 21, 1471, in Nuremberg, a *Freie Reichsstadt* (or "free imperial city") within the Holy Roman Empire, in the southern German region of Franconia. He learned to draw from his Hungarian father, Albrecht Dürer the Elder (c. 1427-1502), who was a goldsmith and engraver. Dürer described his father as a patient, peaceful, thankful man who led an honorable Christian life, who earned the praise of all who knew him. "This man, my dear father, was very careful of his children to bring them up to honor God" (Severance 2010).



Figure 1. François Forster, *Portrait of Albrecht Dürer* (after Dürer's *Self-Portrait*), engraving, 1822. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).

Albrecht Dürer was raised in the Roman Catholic Church, and Christianity would be at the heart of his life and art. Dürer's first acclaimed work was a 1492 woodcut illustration for the cover of a German publication of the letters of St. Jerome (c. 347-420), who translated the Bible into Latin.

Dürer completed a three-year apprenticeship (1486-1489) with his godfather Anton Koberger (1440-1513). Koberger managed Nuremberg's leading print workshop. He produced woodcut illustrations for books and other publications, including *the Nuremberg Chronicle* (1493). The *Nuremberg Chronicle* was a *biblical paraphrase* and universal history of the Christian world from the creation through the early 1490s. The *Chronicle* contained geographical and historical information on many European cities, including Nuremberg, and hundreds of woodcut illustrations of religious themes and portraits of saints. Although scarce supporting documentation survives, historians believe Albrecht Dürer provided designs for *the Nuremberg Chronicle* (see Wilson 1976).

Dürer was one of many artists who lived through Nuremberg's transition from Catholicism to Protestantism. As part of the Holy Roman Empire, religion played an important role in Nuremberg's civic life. Every year, just after Easter, the city's holy relics (including the *Holy Lance* used to pierce Jesus' side as he hung on the cross and five thorns from Christ's *Crown of Thorns*) went on display in the market square. Pilgrims believed access to the relics could reduce their time in purgatory (Smith 1983: 28). Fifteenth-century dramatist, Hans Rosenplüt (c. 1400-1460) wrote of the piety of Nuremberg's citizens, and the city's many cloisters, monasteries, and benevolent organizations. According to Rosenplüt, Nuremberg was one of Christendom's five holiest cities, along with Jerusalem, Rome, Trier, and Cologne (Brockmann 2006: 19).

## 2. *The Large Passion*

Around 1495, Dürer set up his own workshop in Nuremberg. Although he was also active as a painter, during Dürer's early career he was preoccupied with three series of woodcuts: the *Large Passion* (also known as the *Great Passion*), of 1496-1499 and 1510-1511, the *Apocalypse* (1498), and the *Life of the Virgin* (1510). This essay focuses on the series Dürer began first, the *Large Passion*. The Middle English word *passion* is derived from the Old French term *passion*, which in turn is derived from the ancient Latin word *passio* (meaning "suffering"). Latin translations of the Bible used *passio* to describe the suffering Jesus Christ endured beginning with his betrayal in the Garden of Gethsemane on the Mount of Olives through his death on the cross.

The passion was a subject Dürer returned to repeatedly throughout his career. In total, he worked on six passion cycles: 1) the *Albertina Passion* (four woodcuts, the mid-1490s); 2) the *Large Passion* (title page illustration and eleven woodcuts, 1496-1499 and 1510-1511); 3) the *Green Passion* (twelve drawings on green-tinted paper,



1504); 4) the *Small Passion* (thirty-seven woodcuts, 1509); 5) sixteen small copperplate engravings (1507-1513); and 6) the *Oblong Passion* (an indeterminate number of drawings, 1520-1523).

The physical dimensions of the *Large Passion* exceeded those of the other series; hence, it was given its special designation: the “*Large*” *Passion*.

Dürer completed the *Large Passion* in two stages. He produced seven woodcuts between 1496 and 1500 (figs. 9, 11-16) and then produced four new woodcuts and a new title page illustration, in a somewhat different style, in 1510 and 1511 (figs. 7-8, 10, 17-18). The final four prints were *The Last Supper*, *The Betrayal of Christ*, *Christ Descending into Limbo*, and *The Resurrection of Christ*. Dürer published the entire *Large Passion* cycle in book form in 1511. Prior to finishing the complete cycle, Dürer sold the first seven woodcuts as single prints (Panofsky 1955: 60).



Figure 2. Hieronymus Hölzel (printer), *The Large Passion: Title Page*, 1511. Public Domain.

When bound together, Dürer’s illustrations faced a set of Latin poems printed on the back (or *verso*) of the preceding page. The title page also had accompanying poetry (fig. 2). A Nuremberg monk and poet named Benedictus Chelidonius (c. 1460-1521) wrote the Latin verses. Chelidonius was a linguistic scholar, poet, and abbot of the Benedictine *Schottenstift* (“Scottish Abbey”), which was founded in Vienna in 1155 and later relocated to Nuremberg. Medieval monasteries were storehouses of knowledge, and the *Schottenstift* was renowned for the literary achievements of Chelidonius, and, later, for the poems and hymns of Wolfgang Schmelztl (c. 1500-1564) and the biblical writings of Johannes Rasch (1540-1612). Chelidonius wrote his Latin poems in the *Christian humanist* tradition (Posset 2005: 86-87). The poems reflect on Christ’s suffering and the role of his sacrifice in salvation, however, Chelidonius based his verses on classical poetry and made certain concessions to pagan religions. For example, he lent Roman and Greek names to the Christian story; God became “mighty Jove” and Hell became “the Styx.”

Interestingly, Chelidonius was a close friend of the Scholastic theologian Johann Maier von Eck (1486-1543), a prelate, leader of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, and important theological adversary of Martin Luther (1483-1546). Dürer, on the other hand, was sympathetic to many of Luther’s Reformation ideas.

### 3. An Augustinian

Benedictus Chelidonius’ poems blended Christian and humanist elements. Albrecht Dürer’s *Large Passion* images (in both their iconography and style) also blended Christian and humanist elements. As mentioned, Dürer was raised in the Roman Catholic Church and, as an adult, he attended services at Nuremberg’s *Sebalduskirche* (or “St.

Sebaldus Church”) The Sebalduskirche was built during the thirteenth century and was named for the patron saint of Nuremberg. Today, Sebalduskirche is a Lutheran parish church, but before the Reformation, it was an Augustinian Catholic church. Dürer would have been very familiar with the theology and philosophy of St. Augustine (354-430).

St. Augustine wrote about the Passion of Christ in his model of Christian instruction entitled the *Enchiridion*, also known as the *Handbook on Faith, Hope, and Love* (c. 420). In Chapter 53 of the *Enchiridion* St. Augustine wrote,

All the events, then, of Christ's crucifixion, of His burial, of His resurrection the third day, of His ascension into heaven ... were so ordered, that the life which the Christian leads here might be modelled upon them, not merely in a mystical sense, but in reality. For in reference to His crucifixion it is said: They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts. And in reference to His burial: We are buried with Him by baptism into death. In reference to His resurrection: That, like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so, we also should walk in newness of life. ... Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth. For you are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God (Schaff 1887).

Like St. Augustine, Dürer hoped Christ's sacrificial life would serve as an exemplar for the lives of Christians later on, and he used illustrations of Christ's death, burial, and resurrection to teach that lesson. Dürer knew many influential theologians, and their ideas informed the subject matter of his religious art.

Johann von Staupitz (1460-1524) was Martin Luther's mentor and Vicar General of the German Congregation of Augustinians. Staupitz became Martin Luther's superior within the Augustinian Order and his father confessor around 1505. On several occasions, Staupitz delivered sermons at Sebalduskirche with Dürer in attendance. Staupitz's sermons often emphasized the relative importance, compared to good works, of Christ's atoning sacrifice for the forgiveness from sins (see Posset 1995: 279-300). Staupitz's messages moved Dürer, as they did Luther (Severance 2010). Dürer joined a religious study group called the *Sodalitas Staupitziana*, named for Staupitz, and he gave Staupitz some of his prints (Butterfield 2013), evidently including a few of the *Large Passion* woodcuts.

Professor Richard Viladesau, an ordained Catholic priest and art historian, wrote, Dürer was “an earnest and pious practitioner of the Catholic religion of his time, and he spent most of his life creating images that [were] antithetical to the spirit of the Lutheran reform” (Viladesau 2008: 143). Still, it seems Dürer hoped for reform of the Church and harbored some sympathy for Martin Luther who criticized the papacy. Dürer also admired Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), who broke with Luther (fig. 3). Perhaps Dürer, along with Erasmus, belonged in the early Reformation's “moderate camp,” a group that remained Catholic, but was “committed to the reconciliation of Catholics and Protestants” (Wisse 2002). Erasmus was an admirer and collector of Dürer's woodcut prints. In *De pronuntiatione*, Erasmus wrote, “What cannot Dürer express in monochromes, that is, by blacklines alone?” (Jardine 1993: 3). In spite of his friendship with Martin Luther, Dürer played a formative role in Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation art (Morris 2007; Fiore 2007), and the ecumenical Council of Trent (1545-1563), which clarified Catholic doctrines contested by Protestants, endorsed the didactic quality of Dürer's art and writings.



Figure 3. Albrecht Dürer, *Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam*. Etching. 1526  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).

#### 4. A type of humanist

During the fifteenth century, Nuremberg became one of Europe's leading artistic and commercial centers. By 1500, Nuremberg's population was nearly 50,000, making it one of the European continent's largest cities. Paris was largest, with nearly a quarter million inhabitants, followed by Naples, Milan, and Venice (Bairoch, Bateau & Chevre 1988). Nuremberg began as a fortified settlement, but relatively quickly, it grew into "a vibrant center of humanism and one of the first to officially embrace the principles of the Reformation" (Wisse 2002). The city was home to many prominent artists, such as the painter Michael Wohlgemuth (1434-1519), sculptors Veit Stoss (c. 1447-1533) and Adam Kraft (c. 1460-1509), and the poet Hans Sachs (1494-1576). It was also the hometown of Albrecht Dürer's closest friend, Willibald Pirckheimer (1470-1530), an exceptionally prominent scholar and *Renaissance humanist* (fig. 4).



Figure 4. Albrecht Dürer, *Willibald Pirckheimer*, engraving, 1524.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).

The intellectual movement known as humanism began in fourteenth-century Italy and spread to the rest of Europe by the middle of the fifteenth century. Humanists thought *studia humanitatis*, or the studying and imitation of the philosophy, literature, and arts of classical Greece and Rome could generate a European cultural rebirth following the declines of the so-called *Dark Ages* (or migration period) of c. 500-1000. After the onset of the Reformation

at the start of the sixteenth century, humanism transcended Protestant and Catholic dissimilarities, as members of each group studied and emulated qualities they found in Latin and Greek classics.

Dürer learned about classical culture from Willibald Pirckheimer. Pirckheimer studied jurisprudence, antiquity, and music at the Universities of Padua and Pavia from 1489 to 1495. After his studies, he returned to Nuremberg and became a city councilor and a leading figure of the city's humanist movement. Pirckheimer had an extensive collection of classical literature, and his home was a gathering place for scholars and artists. Pirckheimer translated many Greek and Latin texts into the vernacular German for Dürer (James 2005: 82). He also introduced Dürer to Desiderius Erasmus—with whom Pirckheimer maintained a lifelong correspondence—and the reformers Philip Melancthon (1497-1560) and Martin Luther.

Among his many scholarly accomplishments, Pirckheimer translated the writings of the *Church Fathers* from Greek into Latin, though “like Erasmus, he paid less attention to a literal rendering than to the sense of his translations” (Löffler 1911). When the Reformation began in 1517, Pirckheimer initially sided with Martin Luther and attacked Luther's opponent Johann Maier von Eck in a 1520 satire entitled *Eckius dedolatus* (roughly translated as “the discovered corner”). Because of his attack on the papal representative, Pirckheimer was included among Martin's "supporters, adherents, and accomplices" in Pope Leo X's bull of excommunication, *Exsurge Domine*, of 1520. Luther was excommunicated the following year by the papal bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem*, after he refused to recant the propositions of his *Ninety-five Theses* or *Disputation on the Power of Indulgences* (1517). Like many other humanists, however, Pirckheimer turned from the Reformation movement and returned to the Roman Catholic Church. He was absolved in 1521, after stating under oath that Luther's doctrines were heresies (Löffler 1911).

## 5. A trip to Venice and a change in style

Humanism had a special impact on the visual arts, and that impact can clearly be identified in Dürer's *Large Passion* woodcut imagery. As mentioned earlier, Dürer completed the *Large Passion* in two stages. Seven woodcuts were created between 1496 and 1500 and four new woodcuts, and the title page illustration were created a decade later, in 1510 and 1511. In the interim, in 1505 and 1506, Dürer lived and studied in Venice, becoming one of very few northern European artists to absorb the lessons of the Italy Renaissance first-hand (Note 1).

Nuremberg was a transportation hub and a commercial conduit, and it established a trade agreement with the maritime Republic of Venice, 600 km to the south. During Dürer's lifetime, Venice was more than a simple seaport city; it was a sovereign state and international financial center spreading across Italy's northeastern coast. Dürer went to Venice in hopes of receiving a commission from the *Tedeschi*, the Venetian organization of German merchants. The merchants met in the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* (literally “storehouse of the Tedeschi”), a Renaissance-style building on Venice's Grand Canal. Many of the German merchants worshiped at the nearby *San Bartolomeo* (or “St. Bartholomew Church”). Dürer did receive a commission that he completed in September 1506; an altarpiece to adorn San Bartolomeo entitled the *Feast of the Rose Garlands* (or *Rosary*).

When Dürer was in Venice, the Bellini family was recognized as a type of artistic dynasty. Jacopo Bellini (c. 1400-1471) began the dynasty, as a popular painter of traditional Gothic Madonna and Child devotional images. Jacopo oversaw a flourishing studio with his sons, Gentile (c. 1429-1507) and Giovanni (c. 1430-1516), who was often called Giambellino. Giovanni Bellini transformed Venice from a provincial artistic city into a Renaissance powerhouse to rival Rome and Florence. Giovanni's greatest students were Giorgione (c. 1476-1510) and Titian (c. 1485-1576), but many other outstanding painters worked in his studio. Dürer wrote from Venice to Willibald Pirckheimer in Nuremberg that although Giambellino was very old, in painting he was still the best. Dürer developed a particular appreciation for the older artist's graceful depictions of biblical characters, who invariably occupy spacious, harmonious compositions. Dürer spent his time in Bellini's studio closely examining the old master's finished works and preparatory sketches and copying figural types that he later incorporated into his own paintings and prints.

Giovanni Bellini was knowledgeable concerning the formal qualities of antique statuary. He also understood new Renaissance methods of showing ideally proportioned human bodies moving naturally in space. He encouraged Dürer to investigate “the classical heritage and theoretical writings of the region” (Wisse 2002). Dürer was inspired by Marcus Vitruvius Pollio’s (c. 70-15 BC) *De Architectura*, which reduced architectural structures to rational components based on the ideal human body. Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) based his drawing *The Vitruvian Man* (c. 1490), which is sometimes called the “Canon of Proportions,” on Vitruvius’ writings and on the *Golden Ratio*. Dürer also read Leon Battista Alberti’s (1404-1472) aesthetic theories on harmonious anatomy in classical art (Sinisgalli 2011). Dürer saw how such principles were incorporated into the works of (Giovanni Bellini’s brother-in-law) Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506), Antonio del Pollaiuolo (c. 1429-1498), and Lorenzo di Credi (1459-1537), painters known for their bold visual experiments with physiognomy, anatomy, and naturalism.

Exposure to the art theories and art of the Italian Renaissance changed the way Dürer conceived and composed his later *Large Passion* images. The style of the earlier woodcuts (figs. 9, 11-16) was typical of late German Gothic printmaking. In general, they featured 1) sharp linear designs, 2) an overabundance of details, and 3) swirling interrelationships of highly emotional characters. Relying heavily on dominant outlines and expressive lines, Dürer stuffed somewhat awkward characters into somewhat ambiguous spaces. There is an impression the characters might fall out of the early compositions. Like other northern medieval images, the early woodcuts do not reflect a close observation of life, but rather a deep understanding of previous northern religious art. The early *Large Passion* prints are decidedly Gothic; the late ones are Italianate.

When he returned to Nuremberg from Venice, and resumed working on the *Large Passion* series, Dürer’s characteristic later style emerged (figs. 7-8, 10, 17-18). The later woodcuts emphasize the interplay of *tones*, or lights and darks, which make two-dimensional imagery seem three-dimensional. Delicate, thin outlines and subtle *hatching* and *cross-hatching* blend figures and objects into their surroundings. The claustrophobic earlier spaces are transformed into more tranquil, harmonious, and unified compositions. Dürer’s later, Italianate woodcuts are “characterized by greater simplicity and economy of lines [and by] monumental figures that are comfortable within the picture space” (Cleveland 2019).

Northern Gothic artists did not primarily conceive of religious images in relation to the imitation of nature. Rather, Gothic art manifested well-understood theological ideas and visual precedents. Artists did not work *from life*, but from the image *in the soul* and from the works of other artists. Italian Renaissance artists, on the other hand, often embodied religious messages in direct and faithful representations of natural objects (Panofsky 1955: 243). Like humanist scholars, the Italian artists studied classical prototypes, including Greek sculpture and Roman painting, which stressed realism and autonomous, noble individuals, over stereotypes. Beginning around 1500, the people inhabiting Dürer’s images became less stylized and more natural. Around that time, he wrote, “the more accurately one approaches nature by way of imitation, the better and more artistic your work becomes” (Viladesau 2008: 142).

## 6. Iconographic sources of the *Large Passion*

The Passion of Christ illustrates Jesus’ betrayal, arrest, trial, suffering, and crucifixion. Christ’s resurrection is often included to add a greater context. For the same reason, the Last Supper—where Jesus foretold that one of his disciples would betray him—occasionally begins the cycle. In the Passion story, Christians recognize 1) Christ as the perfect example of self-sacrifice, 2) the *incarnation* of Christ (that God assumed human nature and suffered), and 3) Christ’s victory over earthly misery and death through his resurrection. Dürer’s *Passion of Christ* was based on accounts in the Bible’s four Gospel books (in Matthew 26-27, Mark 14-15, Luke 22-23, and John 18-19, KJV). However, Dürer would have also known of other historical representations of the Passion in literature, drama, and the visual arts.

Written commentaries on the Passion of Christ, outside the biblical versions, go back at least to the fourth and fifth-century writings of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and St. Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306- c. 373). St. Ephrem, writing in the Syriac language, described Christ's wounds and pain in graphic detail. The Bible accounts were elaborated on by medieval commentaries and biblical paraphrases, including Petrus Comestor's (died c. 1178) *Historia Scholastic* (c. 1173). *Historia Scholastic* was used as a textbook at Germany's oldest university, Heidelberg University, which was founded in 1386. The fourteenth-century German text, *Christi Leiden in einer Vision Geschaut* offered a mystic visualization of Christ's suffering.

*Passion plays* probably also inspired Dürer. Passion plays were medieval religious dramas, presented at churches and monasteries during the Easter season. Scenes of Christ's betrayal, trial, and crucifixion were performed with spoken gospel scriptures interposed. The earliest known passion play was performed during the twelfth century at the Benedictine Abbey of Monte Cassino, southeast of Rome (Sticca 1967: 215); German passion plays followed in the thirteenth century. By Dürer's lifetime, every major German city staged the annual dramatization, including Nuremberg.

### 7. *The Way of the Cross or Stations of the Cross*

The devotion known as the Way of the Cross (or *Via Crucis*) dates to the late medieval period and was derived from the gospel accounts and from the teachings of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), St. Francis of Assisi (c. 1181-1226), and St. Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (c. 1217-1274) (Marini 2019). The Way of the Cross commemorates the events that occurred along the pathway known as the *Via Dolorosa* (a Latin term meaning "sorrowful way"). The *Via Dolorosa* in Old Jerusalem is the route Christians believe Jesus walked on the day of his crucifixion, from Herod's palace to the hill of Calvary. Since the fifteenth century, fourteen Stations of the Cross, or numbered stages of the Passion, have marked the pathway. Pope Clement VI (c. 1291-1352; Avignon Papacy 1342-1352) established Franciscan control over the route with the bull *Nuper Carissimae* (1342). Figure 5 shows a version of the Stations of the Cross in painted enamel.

Most of the events depicted in Dürer's *Large Passion* occurred along the *Via Dolorosa*, the exceptions being the first three: The Last Supper, Christ on the Mount of Olives, and The Betrayal of Christ. There are unambiguous biblical foundations for many of the Stations of the Cross and for many of Dürer's *Large Passion* scenes. The possible exceptions being The Lamentation of Christ and Christ Descending into Limbo. The Deposition and the Lamentation, which is called the *Pietà* when Mary is shown cradling Jesus' body, are often combined to form the thirteenth or fourteenth Station of the Cross. Lamentations first appeared in Byzantine art during the eleventh century and began to be seen frequently in early Italian Renaissance art and in northern Europe during the fourteenth century.



Figure 5. *Stations of the Cross*. Church of Notre-Dame-des-Champs, Normandy, France. c. 1550.  
Wikimedia Commons. Tango7174 (no changes made). CC BY-SA 4.0.

During the fifteenth century, following the *Crusades to the Holy Land*, the Franciscans began creating replicas of the *Via Dolorosa*'s Stations of the Cross in Europe. Today, most people think of the Stations of the Cross as series of paintings or relief sculptures placed sequentially in churches, along the walls or on pillars, facilitating structured

meditation. However, Europe's earliest Stations of the Cross were often placed outdoors alongside paths and roads approaching churches and cemeteries. Albrecht Dürer would have known of one such series when he was creating his final four *Large Passion* prints. In 1505, a knight from Bamberg named Heinrich Marschalk von Rauhenack commissioned Nuremberg's stone sculptor and master builder, Adam Kraft to create a complete set of relief sculptures of the Stations of the Cross (fig. 6) (Drees 2000: 272). When Kraft completed his works two years later, they were placed on individual pillars along the route leading from Nuremberg to the medieval *Johannisfriedhof* (or "cemetery of St. Johann"). The series culminated at the cemetery with a Crucifixion and an Entombment, which stood over Rauhenack's final resting place (Först & Schmidt 2006). Perhaps Kraft's relief sculptures affected Dürer's later woodcuts.



Figure 6. Adam Kraft, *Jesus Falls* (Station of the Cross). Nuremberg. Wikimedia Commons. Ronald Becher (no changes made). [CC-BY-SA 3.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/).

Dürer portrayed scenes from the traditional Stations of the Cross in the first seven woodcuts he created for the *Large Passion* series (figs. 9, 11-16). However, three of the four woodcuts Dürer created after his journey to Venice are not traditionally included in the Stations of the Cross, namely *The Last Supper*, *Christ Descending into Limbo*, and *The Resurrection of Christ* (figs. 8, 17-18). Why did Dürer decide to include these subjects after his experience in Venice?

As mentioned, Dürer spent much of his time in Venice in Giovanni Bellini's studio, studying the work of Bellini, Giorgione, and Titian. Dürer saw well-known works by Bellini representing *The Last Supper* (Bellini 2019a), the *Decent into Limbo* (Bellini 2019b), and the *Resurrection* (Bellini 2019c). He also saw Giorgione and Titian's treatments of these subjects. Traces of the Venetian masters' paintings can be noted in the final *Large Passion* prints. Dürer also scrutinized the work of Bellini's brother-in-law Andrea Mantegna (c. 1431-1506), although they never had the chance to meet. Like Bellini, Giorgione, and Titian, Mantegna had an impact on Dürer's style and his choice of subject matter. The recumbent soldiers of Dürer's *Resurrection* scene (fig. 18) were based on Mantegna's famed experiments in extreme perspectives and *foreshortening*, evident in his 1480 painting *Lamentation of Christ* (Mantegna 2019b). Furthermore, Mantegna's depictions of Jesus and his disciples in *Agony in the Garden*, of c. 1459-1465 (Mantegna 2019a), clearly affected the figures in Dürer's later woodcut *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (fig. 9). Perhaps without knowing it, many northern Europeans first learned about Italian Renaissance art through Dürer's *Large Passion* woodcuts.

## 8. Religious art as religious education

Unlike earlier artists, who relied upon wealthy patrons or the Church for support, Albrecht Dürer was an independent businessperson. The bulk of his income came from selling copies of his prints. In 1495, Dürer purchased his own press and began producing woodcuts and engravings in his workshop in Nuremberg. Customers purchased prints directly from his shop. In 1497, Dürer's agent, Contz Schwytzer started travelling from Nuremberg to the trade fair in Frankfurt, to sell individual *Large Passion* prints in one of Germany's major medieval marketplaces. Little more than a decade later, the complete, bound *Large Passion* was available throughout Europe.

Arguably, Dürer's largest cultural and social impact was through the widespread dissemination of his prints. When Dürer was young, artworks were rare, one-of-a-kind objects, locked away in inaccessible palaces, or attached to the walls of ecclesial buildings. Rather suddenly, innovations in printmaking made it possible to produce hundreds of identical and relatively inexpensive images that people could keep in their homes (James 2005: 84). In the fifteenth century, Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1400-1468) invented a moving-type printing press, which allowed printed information, including illustrated Bibles, to circulate freely among societies and across borders. The *Gutenberg Bible*, a printed version of the Latin Vulgate, was available by 1454. By the time Dürer finished his *Large Passion* series, religious art, and religious books were obtainable by nearly every strata of society.

Dürer transformed printmaking by raising its status to that of an independent art form and a powerful Christian didactic tool (see Strauss 1979). Dürer's prints had spiritual depth and intellectual underpinnings. The Protestant Reformation, which began near Nuremberg in 1517 as a theological and doctrinal debate, commenced at a critical turning point in mass communication. Reformers and other theologians used printing presses to publish Bibles and religious treatises. Printed images, however, also shaped public opinion on religious issues (Severance 2010), without needing the intercession of a priest or interpreter. Although the Protestant Reformation divided Europe during his lifetime, Dürer remained a committed Catholic and used his popular *Large Passion* prints to teach gospel lessons and richly reflect a tradition of Christian theology.

### 9. The Individual Prints

The remainder of this essay will present the title page illustration and each of the eleven woodcuts of Dürer's *Large Passion* cycle. Relevant Bible passages will help explain the images' iconography and some of the messages the prints conveyed.



Figure 7. Albrecht Dürer, *The Large Passion* title page illustration: *Christ, Man of Sorrows*, c. 1511. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).

In the eighth century B.C., the messianic prophet Isaiah wrote,



[H]e shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: he hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him. He is despised and rejected of men; *a man of sorrows* [emphasis added], and acquainted with grief: and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not. Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes, we are healed (Isaiah 53:2-5, KJV).

In Venice, Dürer studied a painting by Vittore Carpaccio (c. 1460-1526) entitled *The Meditation on the Passion* (c. 1490) (Carpaccio 2019). Dürer based Jesus' twisting, contorted pose on the Venetian artist's depiction of the biblical figure Job (Panofsky 1955: 93). Many theologians consider the tribulations of Job to be a *prefiguration* of the Passion of Christ. Job suffered sorrow and pain, yet maintained his trust in God. Similarly, Christ, the *Man of Sorrows*, endured the cross, yet maintained his trust in the father.

Benedictus Chelidonius provided an accompanying verse for the title page illustration (see Figure 2), which is translated,

I bear these cruel blows for you, o man,  
And by my blood I cure your ills.  
I take away your wounds by my wounds, your death by my death,  
I, God, for you, a human creature,  
And you ungratefully often stab at my wounds with your sins  
Often I am flogged by your offences.  
It was enough for me to have borne so many torments in the past  
Under the Jewish crowd; now, freed, cease (Viladesau 2019: 146).



Figure 8. Albrecht Dürer, *The Large Passion: The Last Supper*, 1510. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).

The Last Supper was the Passover meal that Jesus shared with the apostles shortly before his crucifixion. Each of the Gospels describes the event. Jesus foretold his betrayal and coming death and instituted a memorial meal, known variously as the Lord's Supper, the Holy Communion, or the Eucharist. The Gospel of Matthew says,

[Jesus] sat down with the twelve. And as they did eat, he said, Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me. ... And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; For this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins (Matthew 26:22, 26-28, KJV).

The Bible's Book of Exodus tells the Passover story. In the story, the Jewish slaves in Egypt marked their doorposts with the blood of a lamb "without blemish" (Exodus 12:5), a sign for the Lord to pass over the home and spare the firstborn living inside. Later, Jews celebrated the Feast of the Passover (or *Pesach* in Hebrew) to commemorate their liberation from Egyptian captivity. The apostle Paul equated Christ with the Passover lamb, a lamb without blemish "sacrificed for us," whose crucifixion freed humanity from the slavery of sin (1 Corinthians 5:7, KJV).

The Catholic Church celebrates the sacrament of the Eucharist (from the Greek word *eucharistia*, meaning "thanksgiving") during the liturgical service of the Mass. According to the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, the bread and wine of the Eucharist transubstantiate into Christ's Real Presence, his body and blood, though there is no change in the appearance of the bread and wine. Ancient and medieval theologians, including St. Ignatius of Antioch (c. 50-c. 108), St. Justin Martyr (c. 100-c. 165), St. Augustine, and Hildebert de Lavardin (c. 1055-1133), elaborated the doctrine. Hildebert de Lavardin may have been the first to use the term transubstantiation. The doctrine was included in a decree of the Council of Trent (1545-1563).



Figure 9. Albrecht Dürer, *The Large Passion: Christ on the Mount of Olives*, c. 1497-1500. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).

The Gospel of Luke says after the Last Supper, Jesus and his disciples went to the Mount of Olives (or *Olivet*), just outside the ancient city walls of Jerusalem.

And when [Jesus] was at the place, he said unto them, Pray that ye enter not into temptation. And he was withdrawn from them about a stone's cast, and kneeled down, and prayed, saying, 'Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done.' And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him. And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground (Luke 22:40-44).

Jesus visited Olivet three times during the last week of his earthly life: 1) during his *triumphal entry* (Luke 19:29, 37, KJV), 2) to deliver the *Olivet Discourse* (Matthew 24:3, KJV, and elsewhere), and 3) to pray after the Last Supper. After Christ's resurrection and ascension, two men "in white apparel," appeared to the disciples on the Mount of Olives and asked them, "Why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven" (Acts 1:10-11, KJV).



Figure 10. Albrecht Dürer, *The Large Passion: The Betrayal of Christ*, 1510.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).

This image conflates three events that transpired during the betrayal of Christ: 1) his arrest, 2) Judas' infamous kiss, and 3) the violent attack by one of Jesus' disciples on a servant of the high priest.

After Jesus prayed on the Mount of Olives, "a large multitude with swords and staves" arrived (Mark 14:43, KJV). Judas, one of the disciples, then kissed Jesus. This prearranged signal identified to the authorities the man they were to arrest. Dürer shows Judas' sinister face in the shadowy background behind Jesus. The Gospel of Luke says, "then Jesus said unto the chief priests, and captains of the temple, and the elders, which were come to him, Be ye come out, as against a thief, with swords and staves? When I was daily with you in the temple, ye stretched forth no hands against me: but this is your hour, and the power of darkness" (Luke 22:52-53, KJV). In Dürer's image, Jesus looks heavenward, perhaps remembering his earlier prayer, "not my will, but thine, be done."

A violent scene is in the right foreground. The Gospel of Luke says, "When they which were about [Jesus] saw what would follow, they said unto him, Lord, shall we smite with the sword? And one of them smote the servant of the high priest, and cut off his right ear. And Jesus answered and said, Suffer ye thus far. And he touched his ear, and healed him" (Luke 22:49-51, KJV). The messianic prophet, Isaiah wrote that the coming *messiah* (from

the Hebrew *māshīah* meaning “anointed one”) would be the “Prince of Peace” (Isaiah 9:6, KJV). The disciple’s violent act went against Jesus’ teachings on nonviolence, including his instructions to avoid resisting evil with evil: “whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also” (Matthew 5:39, KJV).



Figure 11. Albrecht Dürer, *The Large Passion: The Flagellation*, 1496–1497.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).

The Gospels describe Jesus’ flagellation, or scourging. John wrote, “Then Pilate therefore took Jesus, and scourged him. And the soldiers platted a Crown of Thorns, and put it on his head, and they put on him a purple robe, and said, ‘Hail, King of the Jews!’ and they smote him with their hands” (John 19:1-3, KJV). Matthew and Mark wrote that after Jesus had been scourged, Pilate delivered him to the people to be crucified (Mark 15:15, Matthew 27:26, KJV).

Christ stands in a calm *contrapposto* position (an Italian word meaning "counterpoise"), at the center of a whirling vortex of antagonists. As his weight rests on his right leg, his left leg rests. This stance causes one hip and one shoulder to dip slightly, creating a dynamic, opposing, and balancing effect on his anatomy. The ancient Greek sculptor and theoretician, Polykleitos, who lived during the fifth century B.C., revolutionized representations of the human figure through innovative animating techniques, including the contrapposto pose, and by formulating an ideal system of proportions. Polykleitos’ theories were summarized in his treatise entitled the *Canon* and demonstrated by his famed bronze statues, *Diskobolos* and *Doryphoros* (c. 450) (Moon 1995). The Italian Renaissance painters and sculptors emulated the ancient Greek methods, as did Dürer in this image.



Figure 12. Albrecht Dürer, *The Large Passion: Christ Shown to the People*, c. 1498. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).

The Gospel of John says,

Pilate, therefore, went forth again, and saith unto them, 'Behold, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him.' Then came Jesus forth, wearing the Crown of Thorns, and the purple robe. And Pilate saith unto them, 'Behold the man!' When the chief priests therefore and officers saw him, they cried out, saying, 'Crucify him, crucify him.' Pilate saith unto them, 'Take ye him, and crucify him: for I find no fault in him' (John 19:4-6, KJV).

In Dürer's image, Pilate presents Jesus on the porch of a palace designed in the *flamboyant Gothic* architectural style. A statue of a *satyr* decorates the palace façade. Satyrs were licentious, drunken, half men, half goats, woodland spirits of the Roman pantheon. St. Jerome described satyrs as symbols of Satan, and medieval artists used the characteristics of satyrs in representations of Satan (Link 1995: 44-45). Dürer portrayed the pagan rulers in Turkish clothes, a "survival of the medieval tendency to confuse Islamic and classical paganism." Dürer appears to have drawn the human figures first, and later added the architecture and background. That was the standard Gothic method of creating compositions, but the opposite of the Italian process of "determining space and then placing the figures therein" (Panofsky 1955: 60).



Figure 13. Albrecht Dürer, *The Large Passion: Christ Bearing the Cross*, circa 1498 – 1499. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).

After Pilate condemned Jesus he was led away to be executed. The Gospel of Luke says,

As they led him away, they laid hold upon one Simon, a Cyrenian, coming out of the country, and on him they laid the cross, that he might bear it after Jesus. And there followed him a great company of people, and of women, which also bewailed and lamented him. But Jesus turning unto them said, ‘Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. ... For if they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?’ (Luke 23:26-28, 31-33, KJV).

Dürer showed Simon the Cyrenian directly behind Jesus helping to lift the cross’ central support. The Gospels do not say whether Simon was one of Jesus’ disciples, however, he is reminiscent of an earlier statement Jesus made to his disciples, “If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me” (Matthew 16:24).

Among the Gospels, only Luke mentions the “Daughters of Jerusalem.” The *Early Church Fathers*, a group of influential ancient Christian theologians, thought the Daughters of Jerusalem included the *Three Marys* (Mary Magdalene, Mary, the mother of the Apostle James the Less, and Mary of Clopas). Dürer placed the three Marys on the far left of his composition, leaving Jerusalem’s city gates on their way to the crucifixion.

The woman kneeling in the bottom left holding a cloth is St. Veronica. *Sacred tradition* holds that Veronica of Jerusalem wiped blood and sweat from Jesus’ face as he carried the cross to Calvary and Jesus’ image was imprinted on her cloth, which came to be known as the Veil of Veronica, or *Sudarium* (see Clark 2004). The story evolved into an important icon in medieval France and Germany and is commemorated as the sixth Station of the Cross.



Figure 14. Albrecht Dürer, *The Large Passion: The Crucifixion*, c. 1497-1500.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).

Dürer's crucifixion includes many standard figures and symbols, including Mary, the mother of Jesus, the Roman soldiers, and a cross and bones. Dürer also placed a small sun and moon at the top of his crucifixion scene (Savage 2018), which represent the darkness mentioned in the Gospels. The Gospel of Mark says,

[I]t was the third hour, and they crucified him. ... And when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour. And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, 'Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani?' which is, being interpreted, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' ... And Jesus cried with a loud voice, and gave up the ghost (Mark 15:25, 33-34, 37; see also Luke 23:44-46, KJV).

The early Christian scholar and apologist, Origen of Alexandria (c. 184–c. 253) provided confirmation outside the biblical accounts that an unusual darkness occurred during Jesus' crucifixion (Roberts & Donaldson 1885). Luke used the Greek word *eclipontos* for the darkness that covered the earth, which led some to assume a solar eclipse occurred. However, many early commentators wrote there was no eclipse at the time of the crucifixion, and the cause was miraculous. For example, the third century Christian historian, Sextus Julius Africanus (c. 180-c. 250) argued vehemently the "darkness over the whole land" could have only had a divine explanation (Roberts & Donaldson 1886).

In Dürer's scene, angels use chalices to collect blood flowing from Christ's wounds, including a gaping wound on his side. The Gospel of John says, "[O]ne of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water" (John 19:34, KJV). The *Glossa Ordinaria* (Latin for "ordinary gloss") were Biblical annotations in the margins of the Vulgate, the late-fourth-century Latin translation of the Bible. The annotation for John 19:34 said the soldier who pierced Jesus' side "threw open the gates of life, from which flow out the sacraments of the church, without which there is no entering into life."



Figure 15. Albrecht Dürer,  
*The Lamentation of Christ*, c. 1499.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art.  
Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).



Figure 16. Albrecht Dürer,  
*The Deposition*, c. 1496–1497.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art.  
Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).

The Lamentation of Christ, during which Jesus' friends and disciples mourned over his dead body, was a common subject for Christian art from the late medieval period onward. Though rarely included in the Stations of the Cross, it was often a part of other cycles such as the Passion of Christ. The Lamentation (from the Latin term for "crying") is called the *Pietà* (from the Italian word for "pity") when only Jesus and Mary are shown. In Dürer's Lamentation (and in his Deposition) the hill of Calvary is in the background; Jesus's cross is bare but one of the thieves, perhaps the *penitent thief* Luke mentioned (Luke 23:39-43, KJV), is shown still hanging on his cross. Jesus' mourners have removed his Crown of Thorns, and placed it at his feet.

Christ's deposition (from the Latin *deposition*, roughly translated as "internment" or "burial") is the Fourteenth Station of the Cross. The Gospel of John describes the Deposition.

And after this Joseph of Arimathaea, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus: and Pilate gave him leave. He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus. And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred-pound weight. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury. Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus therefore because of the Jews' preparation day; for the sepulchre was nigh at hand (John 19:38-42, KJV).

The Apostles' Creed, or *Apostolicum*, is a statement of faith recognized by the Roman Catholic Church. The Apostles' Creed, in Latin, says, "... *passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus; descendit ad inferna; tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ...*" This is translated, "[Jesus Christ] suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried. He descended to the dead [or to Hell or Hades]. On the third day he rose again."





Figure 17. Albrecht Dürer, *The Large Passion: Christ Descending into Limbo*, 1510.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).

Art historians and collectors often give Dürer's *Christ Descending into Limbo* the alternative title *The Harrowing of Hell*. As mentioned earlier, the Apostles' Creed says that after his crucifixion Christ *descendit ad inferna*; he descended to the abode of the dead. Medieval theologians conceived of limbo (from the Latin word meaning "border" or "edge") as a state or place where dwelled the souls of the righteous people who died before Christ's earthly life and sacrifice on the cross.

*The Roman Catechism*, or *Catechism of the Council of Trent* (1566), was a summary of Christian doctrine, "primarily intended for priests having care of souls" (Wilhelm 1912). The Roman Catechism summarized the Catholic Church's teaching regarding Christ's death, limbo, and his "liberation of the just." It said,

Christ the Lord descended into hell, in order that having despoiled the demons, He might liberate from prison those holy Fathers and the other just souls, and might bring them into heaven with Himself. This He accomplished in an admirable and most glorious manner; for His august presence at once shed a celestial luster upon the captives and filled them with inconceivable joy and delight. He also imparted to them that supreme happiness which consists in the vision of God (Charles 1982: 43).

In Dürer's image, a vicious, horned creature watches over the entrance to limbo and, though he holds a threatening pointed spear, he in no way impedes Christ or his mission.



Figure 18. Albrecht Dürer, *The Resurrection of Christ*, 1510.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. Creative Commons Open Access (CC0).

The Gospels say that Pilate commanded his soldiers to secure Jesus' *sepulcher*, or stone-carved tomb, by sealing it so that the body could not be removed (Matthew 27:62-66, KJV). In spite of the precautions, the Gospels say the resurrected Christ appeared to his disciples. The book of Acts says sometime after his resurrection, Christ was "taken up from [his disciples] into heaven" (Acts 1:9-11, KJV). Dürer's image seems to combine two separate events, the resurrection and the ascension, making both miracles visible simultaneously (Panofsky 1955: 136-137).

Dürer's composition follows French and Italian precedents by showing Christ rising miraculously above the tomb. Artists began to create this type of resurrection image in the twelfth century and it became quite popular from the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries (Mâle 2013: 194). The spectator's point of view is that of the Roman soldiers responsible for guarding Jesus' tomb. The divine realm, demarcated by a band of clouds, reaches down to the earthly realm of the spectator.

Christ holds a cross staff with a triumphal banner, emblazoned with a symbol of the cross. Following his resurrection, the cross now represents his victory over death and the forces of evil. His other hand makes a gesture of benediction (from the Latin *benedicere*, "to bless"). The gesture was common in early Christian, Byzantine, and medieval art, particularly in images of *Christ in Majesty*, which showed the risen Christ as ruler of the world.

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**Note 1.**

Historians agree Albrecht Dürer was in Venice during 1505 and 1506. Some also contend Dürer went to Venice during 1494 and 1495, though they offer very little evidence. I agree with Katherine Crawford Luber that there is insufficient evidence to support the contention that Dürer was in Venice before 1505 (Luber 2005).

# Morphology of Backpacker Dormitory Inside Traditional Balinese House, Canggu Village, Bali, Indonesia

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## Abstract

Traditional Balinese houses have identical values and rituals that are very strong. Bali has a height limit for vertical development. All of building unit height is prohibited more than 15 m. This regulation is the main obstacle to vertical development building in Bali. The increasing visit of backpacker without accompanied expansion of land, encourages people to look for several alternatives in developing accommodation owned. The existence of dormitory is considered to best represent the needs of backpacker travelers who have a low budget. However, the sleeping position of the Balinese who requires head placement in the east or north. Will be very difficult when having to put more than two beds in a room. This research includes explorative qualitative research, where the data collection technique uses a combination of several methods including observation of dormitory in Canggu. Depth interviews with tourist accommodation owners and tourists who occupy also very important to know the change of space. The existing physical dormitory settings are compared with tourist perceptions, so can describe findings of this study with sketch. The chosen design pattern is returned to the accommodation owner to see the value of the space that must be maintained. The results of this study indicate that "*Monkey House*" is a term used to refer to the form of dormitory. Placement of the bed with a head position must be directed to *Luan* (east or north orientation). The construction of dormitory in *bale dangin* (*bale adat*) is strictly prohibited regarding the ritual function which is accommodated by *bale dangin*.

**Keywords:** Morphology, Dorm, Balinese Architecture, Tourism Area

## Background

The implementation of *Tri Hita Karana* in traditional Balinese house has been widely discussed in the research of architectural experts. Sulistyawati (1996: 5) describes that traditional Balinese houses are composed of various philosophies such as babies in the womb (*manik ring cucupu*), *Catur Purusa Artha*, *Tat Twam Asi*, *Desa-Kala-Patra*, *Dewata Nawa Sanga*, and *Rwa Bhineda*. But in its implementation it is always based on

ceremonies, *wewaran* (lucky days), and *pengurip*. Gomudha (1999: 89-127) identifies the value of traditional Balinese architecture based on the concept of spatial space and buildings. The concept of spatial planning and urban design in traditional Balinese house is *Tri Loka*, *Nawa Sanga*, *Swastika Sana*, *Tri Angga*, and center orientation building at *Natah*. Dwijendra (2008) also make identification about basic principles of traditional Balinese house. That is following the concept of *Bhuana Agung* and *Bhuana Alit*. All three experts have same concept when analyse Balinese traditional architecture. However, in its implementation it is very dependent on the *Desa-Kala-Patra* (the area where the building was established). Between one region and another area in Bali will have a physically different building shape, but have similarities orientation which considers the mountain is symbolized of sacred area and sea direction for the profane area. When the current Balinese house is faced with a new tourism function, many type of buildings come up. Many people use empty land inside the house to build new accommodation, or the another one only use a part of empty rooms inside the building for rent. Provisions on the legality of housing space utilization for tourist accommodation built in Badung Regency have been regulated in the Badung Regent Regulation Number 6 of 2016 Concerning Standardization of Business Tourism Lodges. In this article it is very explicitly stated. Such as in article 1 paragraph 5 that "*tourist cottage business is an effort to provide accommodation in the form of residential buildings inhabited by the owner and partially used for rent by providing an opportunity for tourists to interact in their owners' daily lives*". Article 3 paragraph 1 also states that "*tourist huts are individual businesses*". In this regulation it is very clear that the construction of tourist accommodation in traditional Balinese homes is an attempt to introduce Balinese culture to local tourists and foreign tourists who stay overnight. Buildings that are born due to interactions between tourists and residents is a manifestation of acculturation of space as a form of self-adjustment between different cultures.

Damayanti (2014) revealed that, architectural buildings would not exist without life in them. Morphology is part of human culture in creating space. Building architecture is not only discuss about space and form, but also a language that reflects the meaning behind the form, and the purpose building of the structure itself. In simple terms, morphology is the study of logical physical forms. Similar with her statement, Damayanti also mentioned, that the morphological aspect is the identification of environmental characters that are realized through the form of buildings where the figural quality can be read through patterns, hierarchies, and relationships between spaces. Each part of an architectural building has a symbolic function other than physical function. The parts in the building of traditional architecture have a very deep meaning for the local community. That is related to the living conditions that have been inherited from generation to generation. As happened in traditional Balinese homes. Balinese homes not only functioned as settlements, but also functioned as the venue for the *yadnya* ceremony. So, there are many spaces in traditional Balinese homes that have ritual values that cannot be eliminated physically. The sleeping position of the Balinese who requires a head position in the east or north, will be very difficult when having to put more than two beds in a room. The essence of this value must be considered carefully.

Tourism is present as a new magnet in the development of traditional Balinese house layout in Canggu Village. The change in the characteristics of tourists who come, namely from conventional tourists to backpacker tourists. Demands a low-rise but comfortable stay. Completeness of facilities is no longer the main choice of tourists. A bedroom with a cupboard and a table has been considered sufficient to represent the comfort of tourist facilities right now. The main component that determines the choice of tourist accommodation is the presence of wifi access that has good connections. Dormitory is one of the most efficient solutions to accommodate backpacker's needs. In addition to the cheap price, dormitory accommodation can also accommodate more than four people in one room. However, the Balinese culture forbids vertical construction beyond the height of 15 m, so that the existing dormitory in Bali is very different from other dormitory in the world. This study reviews the differences in dormitory in Bali with other dormitory in the world. Customary considerations and space values is a basic consideration in the construction of dormitory in the homes of Balinese people.

## Research Question

From the research background, it can be raised the problem of morphology hostel dorm in Canggu tourism area.

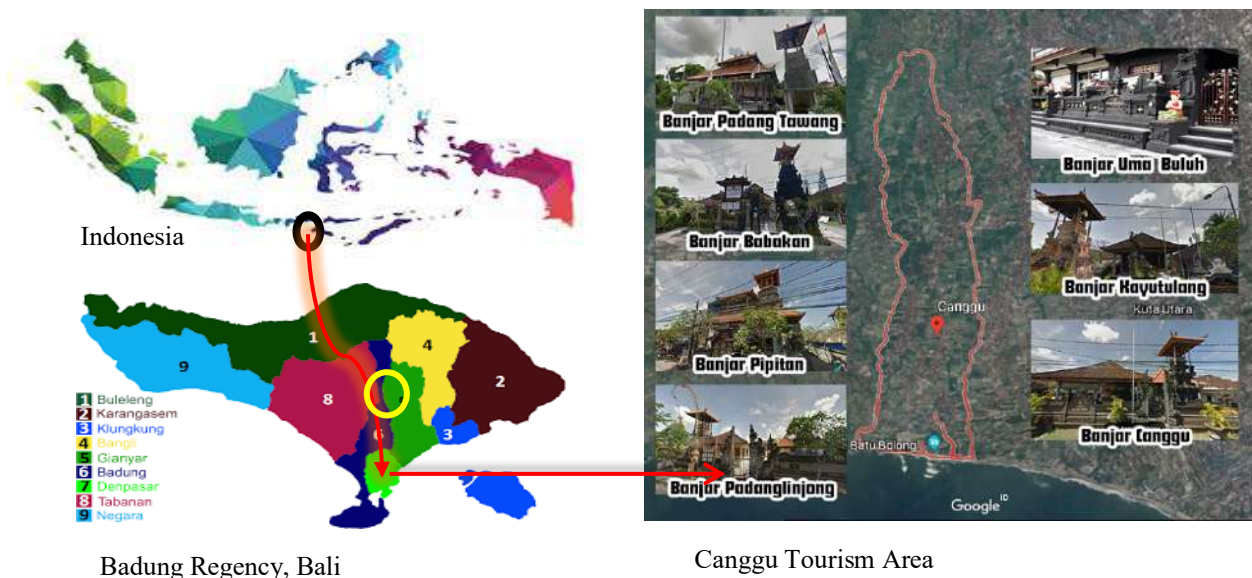
1. What is different between Balinese dormitory and dormitory around the world?
2. Which one area inside the house can be commercial zone for dormitory?

## Research Objectives

Balinese traditional house is very difficult to develop. Limiting vertical buildings makes the Balinese people prefer spatial development horizontally. However, the increase in population and also increase of tourists who come, encourages people to make modifications to the site owned. This study discusses about the forms of backpacker dormitory inside traditional house in Canggu tourism area. Identification of dormitory buildings is very important to do. Considering the orientation of sleeping to the east or north is something important. That is mandatory for the people in Bali. The Balinese people strongly prohibit the position of sleeping towards the west or south. When the dormitory enters as a request from tourists, the sleeping space of the Balinese people is required to be able to accommodate more than two beds in a room. This is what is still a debate for owners of tourist accommodation in Bali today. This research provides a basic understanding for policy makers, the public and accommodation owners about how to regulate the composition of buildings within the site, as well as structuring furniture in rooms.

## Description of Research Location

This research took place in Canggu Village, North Kuta District, Badung Regency, Bali Province, Indonesia. Administratively, Canggu Village has an area of 523 ha. The physical boundary of Canggu region is, to the north is Dalung Village. The other side on the south is Indonesian Ocean. East boundary is Tibubeneng Village. And the last it west is Pererenan Village. As shown in figure 1 below.



**Figure 1.** Research Location in Canggu Tourism Area

*Source: Author*

## Outcome Targets and Research Benefits

The focus of this research is building accommodation that specifically made for backpacker tourists in Canggu tourism area. The urgency of this research can be seen from various perspectives. In terms of local

communities, the results of this study can be used as an alternative design to develop dormitory accommodation within their sites. For business actors, this study can be used as a benchmark to determine the efficiency and effectiveness of space use so that the accommodation owned is able to provide higher economic value. Whereas for the government this research is very important to be carried out considering that there are no official rules governing the construction of dormitory in Bali. The results of this study can be used as the basis for the preparation of regional spatial regulations, especially in dormitory accommodation built in residential homes.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This research includes explorative qualitative research. Data collection technique uses a combination of several methods including observation of the entire dormitory in Canggu. Depth interviews with tourist accommodation owners and tourists who occupy inside the dormitory. The existing physical dormitory settings are compared with tourist perceptions. Analysis about interior and furniture placement inside bedroom. Comparison between various parts dormitory in the world with Balinese dormitory. The results of this comparison then gave rise to distinctive physical values that only existed in Bali. In the end, all of result analysis are made in the form of images and narratives sentence that describe about backpacker accommodation morphology in Canggu tourism area. The chosen design pattern is returned to the accommodation owner to see the value of the space that must be maintained.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Results

The development of Balinese traditional house in the Canggu tourism area can be seen from two systems. First is seen from the geometric rules that are associated with cosmology and religion. The second is seen based on rules relating to community social relations. Today's development, religious and social rules are shifted by technological and economic factors so that the concept of form follow function (form adjusts function) emerges. This concept has the disadvantage of not having a human nature so that in its implementation a new concept appears which is called form follow culture. Physically, the development of the area with spatial patterns is organized and lives side by side with local communities. Development of infrastructure can utilize existing structures. The developed area must be arranged with basic structured (having an activity zone with a complete system between occupant zones and tourist zones). Having a building orientation that is clearly in accordance with the *Hulu Teben* concept. Integrated relationships (compact and efficient functional and spatial relations). Clear area between developing new functions for tourists and functions that accommodate the activities of residents must be considered. The results of the observation inside tourist accommodation in Canggu clearly reflect the form follow culture. As shown in figure 2 below:



**Figure 2.** Placement of building units inside traditional Balinese housing that are used for tourism

Source: Author



## Discussion

### Characteristics of Dormitory in the World

In various parts of the world, the term dormitory is usually used to refer to housing designated for students. Zulkarnaen dkk (2018) describe that Student dormitory is an environment as a residence in the form of buildings with rooms that can be occupied by several residents in each room for a longer period by students who are taking a study or activity activities. Activity inside the dorm is sleep (shelter), study (education) and gather. While the forms of dormitory commercialized for tourists are known as hostels. The basic standard of a building called dormitory is that the number of beds in a room must exceed two beds. Use of public facilities together, such as sharing bathroom and kitchen. There are no private facilities in the room. The physical form of the building is made more than three floors vertically as shown in figure 3 below:



**Figure 3.** Dormitory in *Zübeyde Hanım Sorority* located in “Merik St, Nr: 9, Bestepe/Ankara, Turkey  
Source: Yildirim dkk (2009)

### Spatial Issue of Dormitory Building in Canggü

Canggü community have very strong tradition and customs. Similar with the arrangement of space, customs and traditions also apply to the regulation of building composition. Although faced with the demand for tourist accommodation, the spatial construction in Canggü still follows the traditional spatial concept of Balinese architecture. The results of interviews with dormitory owners found some common values and basic concepts of building dormitory in the Canggü community residence, as shown in the following table:

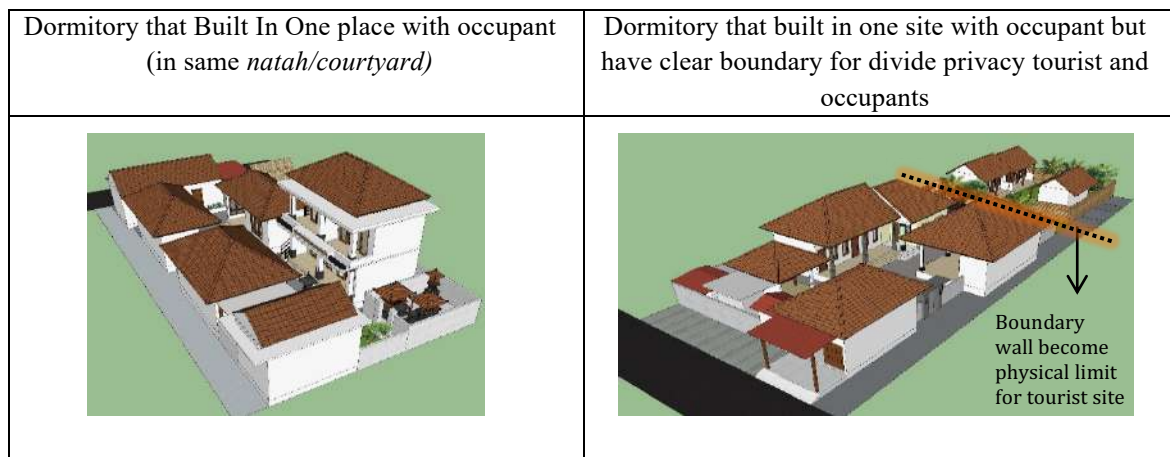
**Table 1.** Characteristic Features of Dormitory Building Inside Canggü Traditional House

Position of Dormitory Building inside the house	Facilities owned in the room	The shape of the building looks	Interior shape
<i>Bale daje</i>	Single bed	Must follow the concept of <i>tri angga</i>	The position of the head of the bed is placed in <i>luan</i> (east or north)
<i>Bale delod</i>	Table	Using Balinese ornaments	The position of the head of the bed should not be directly opposite the door
Behind bale adat	wifi	Shape of roof is limelight or saddle	The bed is on the edge close to the wall so that the middle room in the room is obtained as a place of interaction between tourists.
<i>Teba</i> (Empty backyard))	Sharing bathroom and kitchen	The height of the building should not exceed 15 m where the level of 0.00 is calculated from the ground level	There is a table at the bottom of which contains a shelf for a place of clothing

Source: Author

## Morphology of Balinese Dormitory in Canggu Tourism Area

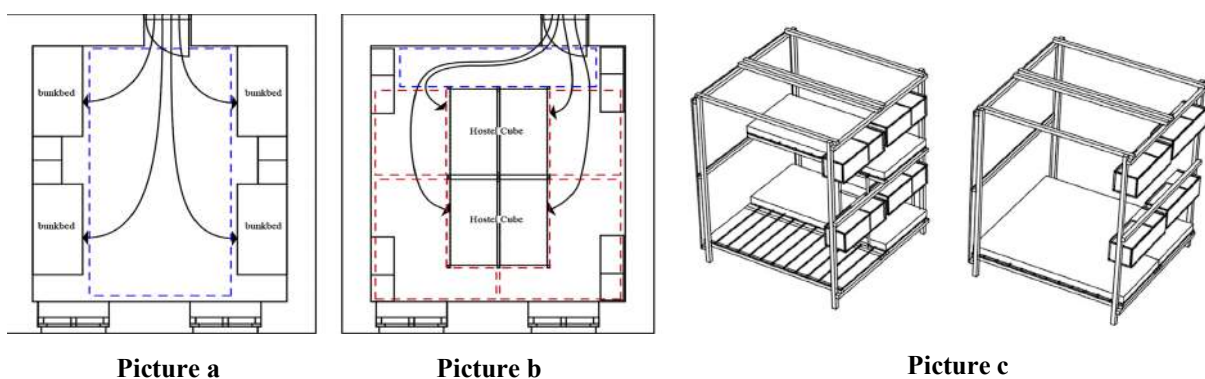
Mentayani et al. (2007) suggested that the morphology of architecture not only found a classification of the shape and structure of an object, but rather toward an understanding of the evolution and transformation of a building. In similar case, Mentayani et al. also provide an understanding that morphological concepts are fundamental studies in seeing and sorting the components of a building and classifying them into certain types. Morphology is also the study of evolution of types and models, showing transformation and metamorphosis of a form due to various indicators of change. In general, classification of dormitory in Canggu Village is reviewed from two sides. First from the placement of buildings in the site (exterior) and in terms of placement of furniture in the room. From the exterior dormitory in Canggu Village can be classified into two types, the first dormitory that is built in one *natah* (courtyard) with residents, the two dormitory that are built in one plot with residents but are given a guardrail to maintain the privacy of the residents as shown at figure 4 following:



**Figure 4.** Classified dormitory form exterior building

Source: Author

Gergely et al (2017) revealed that interior dormitory can be arranged in two ways. Bed position can put near the wall (picture a) or can put in the middle room (picture b).



**Figure 5.** Alternative Interior Dormitory Hostel in Budapest, Hungaria

Source: Gergely et all (2017)

According gergely et al research, Canggu also have special interior design for backpacker dormitory. Backpacker dormitory in Canggu consists of 4 until 6 bed in one room with center orientation is *luan* (nort or east) area. The bed is placed near the wall with the aim of having a central space as a place of interaction between tourists, as shown in the following picture:



**Figure 6.** Interior design Dormitory in Canggu Village  
 Source: Author

## CONCLUSION

Traditional Balinese house have a strong traditional concept, but that does not mean traditional Balinese house cannot develop. The tourism function is permitted to be built inside a traditional Balinese house with a note that the cultural values inside, should not be removed. Buildings that are allowed to be rented are *Bale Daje* and *Bale Delod* or the addition of rooms behind the *Bale Dangin*. The construction of dormitory inside *Bale Dangin* (*bale adat*) is strictly prohibited regarding the ritual function of *Bale Dangin*. *Bale dangin* is the most important building for Balinese people, especially in Canggu, because inside this building ceremony from people was born until Balinese people dead was held. In general, the classification of Balinese dormitory in Canggu Village can be seen from two sides. First side is the placement of buildings in one site (exterior building unit), and in terms of placement of furniture inside the bedroom. From the exterior side, dormitory in Canggu Village can be classified into two types. First dormitory type that is built in one *Natah* (courtyard) with Balinese occupant. Second dormitory type that are built in one plot with Balinese house but are given a specific boundary wall to maintain the privacy of the Balinese occupants. Backpacker dormitory in Canggu consists of 4 until 6 bed in one room. Center orientation is *Luan* (north or east orientation) area. The bed is placed near the wall with the aim of having a central space as a place of interaction between one tourists to another.

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# Factors Associated to Work-life Balance of Industrial and Service Labours, Thailand

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## Abstract

This research aims to study factors that associated to work-life balance on dimension work/personal life enhancement of industrial and service labours. The quantitative methodology was employed with individual level as a unit of analysis. The sample consisted of 397 labours who are working in industrial and service sectors that random by systematic random sampling. The data were collected using the interview schedule from May to June 2018 and analyzed by descriptive statistics and Chi-square. The results showed that most of the labours (75.3 percentages) were female. Age of labours samples in the generation Y (19-38 years old) 63.5 percentages. The labours samples have got married (43.2 percentages). More than haft of them finished secondary school. There are 74.1 percentages of labours samples worked in industrial and service sectors less than 10 years and more than haft worked per day more than 8 hours that over than the regulation by labour law. When analyzing factors associated to work-life balance on dimension work/personal life enhancement of industrial and service labours with Chi-square, it was found that the personnel characteristics factors (education level) and work condition factors (working hours per day) were the factors that associated to work-life balance on dimension work/personal life enhancement of female labours while in the male labour the personnel characteristics factors (age , marital status, education level) and work condition factors (working session in organization and working hours per day) were the factors that associated to work-life balance on dimension work/personal life enhancement of male labours.

**Keywords:** Work-life Balance, Personal Life Enhancement, Industrial and Service Labours

## Introduction

The working age population has been an effective group to the economic of the country. Their workforces are the fundamental of the industrial sector and service sector, as a tool driving the growth of the economic system (Amadeo, 2018). However, the complexity of working condition in the industrial sector and service sector has caused unpleasant conditions to labours. Labours have to work hardly under rules and regulations of workplaces. For instance, some works with heavy machines, taking care of the customers, using a new form of technology, and different working conditions. Those working conditions have caused workers unable to manage their personal life

and work appropriately. Therefore, it is important to focus on the labour group in the industrial sector and the service sector. To have a good working life, labours should adjust personal life and work appropriately. This circumstance called the work-life balance. Labours should have a balance between personal life and work, especially on the personal life and work enhancement, which causes positive outcomes to labours themselves (Fisher, 2003). Encouraging a balance between personal life and work to labours will result in an appropriate time management of labours. Labours would reduce work stress, and have a positive interrelationship with family. These outcomes are directly linked to production efficiency and services, and it is a management of human resources in an organization (Guest, 2002)

Females, currently, has been entering increasingly into works in the economic part. Females once were set their roles and functions only at home, both male labours and female labours, however, have shifted their works from works in the agricultural sector into labours in the industrial sector and service sector (Worawan, 2018). Therefore, it is interesting to investigate how do male labours, and female labours in the industrial sector and service sector have a work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement? and what factors associated to work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement? The implication of research is provided to launch the policy recommendations on working life of labours.

### **Research Objective**

To examine factors associated to work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement among labours in the industrial sector and service sector.

### **Concepts and Literature reviews**

This paper reviews a concept of **Work-Life Balance (WLB)** as per the following details:

Work and life balance refers to the management of personal life (self, family, and society) and work appropriately. In the capitalism society, Marx (1884) describes the management of personal life and time. Marx suggested that time management is an attempt to control any actions in the system. Time of individuals in the capitalism is divided into 2 types: 1) work Time is the time that labours sell their own labour forces in order to receive wages in the industrial system, and 2) life time is the time spent by labours to rest or relax before returning to work. Therefore, labours must have a balance between personal life and work.

Fisher (2003) identified dimensions of the work-life balance in 3 dimensions including 1) work interference with personal life (WIPL) which resulted in difficulty of life adjustment, 2) personal life interference with work (PLIW) which resulted in difficulty of working adjustment, and 3) work and personal life enhancement (WPLE) which resulted in positive effects to both personal life and working.

It is concluded that labours should make a balance between personal life and work on work and personal life enhancement in order to achieve their work and life balances. This paper, therefore, is interested in work and personal life enhancement dimension by defining that; labours in the industry sector and service sector who have appropriate work-life balance, they shall be enhancing their personal life and work in order to achieve their work and life goals

Several studies have conducted investigations on factors correlated to work-life balance. Wendy (2010) examined the relationship between social support, work and family balance, and working performance of the middle-aged women in the United States. The results found there were correlations between incomes and social support, and the correlation between incomes and work and family balance. In general, women received social support on the person rather than social support on work. It also found that social support on work positively correlated with job satisfaction, occupational stability, and occupational achievement. Dolai (2015) studied the work-life balance of insurance business employees in India. The results found that there was no significant difference in work-life

balance among the respondents. Females had personal life interference with work more than males, while males had work interference with personal life rather than females. The results indicated that there was a correlation between sex and work-life balance. Mustafa (2015) studies the work-life balance of female sewing labours in Bangladesh. The results found that factors contributed work-life balance to female employees consisted of high incomes, reduced workload, and flexible working hours.

Richert (2016) examined work-life balance and the increasing age of labours in Finland. It is found that the higher age contributed better work-life balance to labours. Older labours would have more satisfaction in work-life balance than younger labours, and labours who aged between 55-70 years old had work-life balance the most. Hakobyan (2017) studied factors influenced on achievement in work-life balance among women in the United States. The influenced factors consisted of sufficient rest time, appropriate working schedule, and family support.

In conclusion, factors correlate work-life balance consists of 1) characteristics factor including age, marital status, and education 2) working condition factor including job position, monthly income, number of the year worked at the workplace, and working hours per day. Therefore, this paper raises the research hypothesis that work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement among labours in the industrial sector and service sector has correlated with characteristics factor and working condition factor.

### **Research methodology**

Quantitative methodology with the cross-sectional design was employed in the study. Unit of analysis was at the individual level. The population was 53,996 legal Thai labours who aged over 18 years old working for enterprises in the industrial and services sector in Khon Kaen province. The sample size was 397 cases calculated by Yamane's formula, and sampling was done by Multi-stage sampling method. The research instrument was interview schedule which developed from concepts and related literature. Interview schedule consisted of 3 parts included characteristics of respondents, working conditions, and work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement. Interview schedule was reviewed by external experts to clarify content validity and tried out with reliability of 0.864.

Questions of work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement consisted of 8 rating-scale items with 4 choices always included (4 points), often (3 points), sometimes (2 points), never (1 point). Dependent variable was work-life balance in work and personal life enhancement. Interval scale was applied to the study and adjusted into 2 referential groups included (1) work-life imbalance (8.0-20.0 points), and (2) work-life balance (21.0-32.0 points).

Data collection conducted during May to June 2018. Descriptive statistics were used to analyze characteristics of respondents, while analysis on factors correlated work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement was done by Chi-square statistic. Contingency Coefficient (CC.) was applied to identify correlated level which divided into 3 levels included 1) fairly low (CC. = 0.001-0.500), 2) medium (CC. = 0.501-0.700), and 3) fairly high (CC. = 0.701-1.000) (Field, 2002). Results were presented by descriptions with tables.

### **Results**

Research results consist of 3 parts including 1) characteristics of labours and working conditions, 2) work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement, and 3) factors correlate work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement, as follows.

#### **1) Characteristics of labours and working conditions**

The results indicated that a majority of labour (63.5 percent) were in the Generation Y, and the average age of them was 35.4 years old (43.1 percent). Most of the labours maintained marriage status and lived with a spouse,

and 38.0 percent of labours maintain single marital status. 55.2 percent maintained education level below junior high school. In addition, it was found that three fourth of labours were female. This indicated that female has been entering increasingly into works in the economic system.

Regarding working conditions, 22.4 percent of labours held the supervisor position, and 77.6 percent held operative labour position. Most of them had a working period less than 10 years (Mean = 8.1, S.D. = 8.1), and 76.5 percent of them earned a monthly income less than \$478.15 because most of them maintained education level lower than the Bachelor degree. The study also found that female labours worked hardly. More than a half of female labours had working hours over 8 hours per day, and 9.6 percent of them worked more than 12 hours per day, in which it was noncompliance with the national labour law (Ministry of Labour, 2017)

## 2) Work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement

Results on work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement revealed 73.3 percent of labours had work-life balance, while more than one-fourth of them had work-life imbalance due to the role of labour in the industrial sector and the service sector in which the working conditions were less flexible. Labours had to comply with rules and regulations set by enterprises. In addition, more than a half of labour worked over 8 hours per day, which was noncompliance to the national labour law, so some labours could not adjust their personal life and work appropriately.

## 3) Factors associated to work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement

This analytical part on factors correlated work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement input characteristic factor, working condition factor, and work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement factor in the study. The results were presented as follows.

### *Characteristic factor*

**Age;** male labour (81.1 percent) who were in the Generation Y (19-38 years old) had work-life balance, while more than a half of labour which was in the Baby Boomer Generation (over 54 years old) had a work-life imbalance. Correlation analysis found that there was a correlation of 0.265 between the age of male labours and work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement with a statistical significance level of 0.05. It was different from female labours aged in the Baby Boomer Generation (82.6 percent) who had work-life balance.

The study also found that female labours aged in the Generation Y (19-38 years old) (30.0 percent) had a work-life imbalance, and correlation analysis did not found a correlation between age of female labours and work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement with a statistical significance level of 0.05. Therefore, it is concluded that a correlation between age of labours and work-life balance is found among male labour group only. The result confirmed Angrisani (2017) who explored that the different ages of males resulted in a better work-life balance than females.

**Marital status;** male labours (88.3 percent) and female labours (78.8 percent) with single status had work-life balance in which its ratio was higher than labours with a spouse because labours with single status did not have to take care of familial works. Moreover, it was clear that male labours with a spouse had a ratio of work-life imbalance higher than female labours because male labours had advancement in their works. Some had been promoted to higher positions which higher responsible for job assignments. Regarding correlation analysis, it was found that there was a correlation of 0.233 between marriage status of male labours and work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement with a statistical significance level of 0.05, while there was no correlation between marriage status of female labours and work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement with a statistical significance level of 0.05. Regarding **education**, found that male labours (94.7 percent) and female labours (88.0 percent) who maintain Bachelor degree had work-life balance, and male labours (31.8 percent) who maintain



educational degree lower than Bachelor degree had a work-life imbalance, in which its ratio was higher than female labours. There were correlations of 0.245 and 0.186 between education and work-life balance of male labours and female labours, respectively, with a statistical significance level of 0.05. The result confirmed Flora's study (2010) revealing that education had influenced the role and work-life balance among hotel employee (table 1)

**Table 1:** The percentage of labours classified according to characteristics factors and work-life balance on personal life enhancement

Characteristics	Work-life Balance on Dimension Work/ Personal Life Enhancement					
	Male labours			Female labours		
	Work-life Balance	Work-life Imbalance	Total	Work-life Balance	Work-life Imbalance	Total
<b>1. Age</b>						
Generation Z ( $\geq 18$ years old)	0.0	0.0	100.0 (0)	100.0	0.0	100.0 (2)
Generation Y (19-38 years old)	81.8	18.2	100.0 (55)	70.7	29.3	100.0 (188)
Generation X (39-53 years old)	66.7	33.3	100.0 (21)	76.7	23.3	100.0 (86)
Baby boomer ( $\leq 54$ years old)	44.4	55.6	100.0 (9)	82.6	17.4	100.0 (23)
	Pearson Chi-square = 6.439 df = 2 Significance = 0.040 CC. = 0.265			Pearson Chi-square = 2.903 df = 3 Significance = 0.407		
<b>2. marital status</b>						
Single	88.3	16.7	100.0 (48)	78.8	21.2	100.0 (118)
With spouse	62.2	37.8	100.0 (37)	70.2	29.8	100.0 (181)
	Pearson Chi-square = 4.882 df = 1 Significance = 0.027 CC. = 0.233			Pearson Chi-square = 2.748 df = 1 Significance = 0.097		
<b>3. education</b>						
Lower than Bachelor degree	68.2	31.8	100.0 (66)	68.8	31.2	100.0 (224)
Bachelor degree	94.7	5.3	100.0 (19)	88.0	12.0	100.0 (75)
	Pearson Chi-square = 5.423 df = 1 Significance = 0.020 CC. = 0.245			Pearson Chi-square = 10.710 df = 1 Significance = 0.001 CC. = 0.186		

### *Working condition factor*

**Job position;** 77.8 percent of male labours had work-life balance in which its ratio was higher than female labours who held the same position. Male labours who maintained a supervisor position (36.4 percent) had a work-life imbalance in which its ratio was higher than female labours who maintain supervisor position. In addition, there were no correlations between job position of male labours and female labours and work-life balance with a statistical significance level of 0.05. Regarding **monthly income**, found that male labours (60.9 percent) and female labours (82.1 percent) who received monthly income more than \$471.25 had work-life balance, while female labours (30.0 percent) who received monthly income less than \$471.25 had a work-life imbalance. In addition, there were no correlations between monthly incomes of male labours and female labours and work-life balance with a statistical significance level of 0.05

**The number of the year worked at the workplace;** found that more than half of male labours who had worked for their workplaces more than 16 years had a work-life imbalance. Male labours and female labours who were in other age had a ratio of work-life balance higher than groups with work-life imbalance. In addition, there was a correlation of 0.329 between a number of the years worked at the workplace of male labours and work-life balance with a statistical significance level of 0.05. These findings were different from correlation analysis among female labours which found that there was no correlation between the number of the years worked at the workplace of female labours and work-life balance with a statistical significance level of 0.05

**Working hours;** found that group of male labours and group of female labours had the same pattern of work-life balance. One-third of both male labours and female labours worked more than 8 hours had a ratio of work-life imbalance. In addition, there were correlations of 0.210 and 0.172 between working hours and work-life balance of male labours and female labours respectively, with a statistical significance level of 0.05. The result confirmed

Hakobyan's study (2017) revealing that appropriate working schedule, and appropriate working hours were factors contributed work-life balance among female (table 2)

**Table 2:** The percentage of labours classified according to working condition factor and work-life balance on personal life enhancement

Working condition	Work-life Balance on Dimention Work/ Personal Life Enhancement					
	Male labours			Female labours		
	Work-life Balance	Work-life Imbalance	Total	Work-life Balance	Work-life Imbalance	Total
<b>1. job position</b>						
Supervisor position	63.6	36.4	100.0 (22)	79.4	20.6	100.0 (63)
Operative position	77.8	22.2	100.0 (63)	71.9	28.1	100.0 (236)
	Pearson Chi-square = 1.700 df = 1 Significance = 0.192			Pearson Chi-square = 1.779 df = 2 Significance = 0.441		
<b>2. monthly income</b>						
≥ \$471.25	79.0	21.0	100.0 (62)	71.1	28.9	100.0 (232)
≤ \$471.25	60.9	39.1	100.0 (23)	82.1	17.9	100.0 (67)
	Pearson Chi-square = 2.885 df = 1 Significance = 0.089			Pearson Chi-square = 3.217 df = 1 Significance = 0.073		
<b>3. number of year worked at workplace</b>						
1-5 years	79.2	20.8	100.0 (48)	72.8	27.2	100.0 (151)
6-10 years	91.7	8.3	100.0 (12)	76.4	23.6	100.0 (72)
11-15 years	77.8	22.2	100.0 (9)	66.7	33.3	100.0 (30)
≤ 16 years	43.8	56.2	100.0 (16)	76.1	23.9	100.0 (46)
	Pearson Chi-square = 10.319 df = 3 Significance = 0.016 CC. = 0.329			Pearson Chi-square = 1.220 df = 3 Significance = 0.748		
<b>4. working hours per day</b>						
No more than 8 hr. / day	80.7	19.3	100.0 (57)	82.0	18.0	100.0 (138)
More than 8 hr. / day	60.7	39.3	100.0 (28)	66.5	33.5	100.0 (161)
	Pearson Chi-square = 3.910 df = 1 Significance = 0.048 CC. = 0.210			Pearson Chi-square = 9.094 df = 1 Significance = 0.003 CC. = 0.172		

### Conclusion and recommendations

**Conclusion;** according to the results above, it is concluded that majority of labours in the industrial sector and service sector in Khon Kaen province have work-life balance since locations of the workplace are close to labour's residents. They also have families to support various labour's matters. However, the work-life imbalance is still found among one-fourth of labours especially male labours who held supervisor position, male labours who aged in the Baby Boomer Generation, both male and female labours with spouses, and labours who work more than 8 hours. Therefore, workplaces and related agencies should provide training to labours in order to educate guideline on time management to encourage work-life balance among labours and create mechanism tools for workers to deal with work-life balance smoothly.

Factors correlate work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement among both male labours and female labours consist of education and working hours per day. While factors correlate work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement among male workers consist of age, marital status, education, number of years worked at workplace, and working hours per day, and factors correlate work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement among female labours consist of education, and working hours per day, respectively.

**Recommendations;** considering factors correlate work-life balance on work and personal life enhancement among female labours, found that guideline on work-life balance should be provided to female labours especially female labours who had educational degree lower than Bachelor degree because education is an effective tool that contributes working opportunities to female labours, and female labours would have opportunity to apply knowledge and skills educated to manage personal life and work appropriately. Moreover, another female labour

groups that should be supported is female labours who work more than 8 hours per day. This female labour group has the main role in the family business, and they also perform as labours in the industrial sector and service sector at the same time. It results in they could not maintain a balance between personal life and work. Therefore, workplaces and related government agencies should schedule a suitable working hour of female labours, and create awareness to female labours not to focus on hard working in order to get economic profits in return until it causes negative effects to their families and themselves. When female labours have appropriate working hours, they will have more time to do an activity with families and friends. This is a way to promote female labours to maintain work-life balance appropriately.

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## Racial Relationship in The American Context: An Ideology

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### Abstract

The story of racial relationship throughout the “American experience” is an example that demonstrates pragmatic thinking, the Hegelian dialectic of historical movement. Luis Menand writes in “The Metaphysical Club,” about the “disestablishmentarian impulse in American culture,” which entails constant change and progress.

**Keywords:** Slavery, Segregation, Abolitionist, Ideology

The story of racial relationships throughout the American experience demonstrates pragmatic thinking, the Hegelian dialectic of historical movement. Luis Menand writes in “The Metaphysical Club,” about the “disestablishmentarian impulse in American culture,” which entails constant change and progress.<sup>1</sup>

The story of race is told in terms of conflict between white and black. For much of American history, the dominant white ideology considered blacks to be vastly inferior to whites. Further, proponents of slavery located this inferiority of blacks in religious and scientific arguments. For example, Thomas Virgil Peterson notes in *Ham and Japheth: The Mythic World of Whites in the Antebellum South* that the south always argued the inferiority of blacks was a deficiency attributed to “the curse of Ham.” This is an Old Testament story in which Noah, angry at his son, Ham, for looking at him as he lay naked in his tent after over-drinking wine, decreed Ham’s son Canaan “to be the slave of slaves.” At the same time, a scientific approach was included in the slaveholders’ arguments on racial differences. This was based on the theory of polygenism, which held that blacks originated from a separate creation. Menand notes that Louis Agassiz, a Swiss zoologist, built on this theory and argued that the Bible did

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<sup>1</sup> Menand strongly refers to the notion of open-endedness of American society, where a person is not confined to reproduce the values, customs, and practices of the past, but instead is able to choose one’s own path.

not give the history of two separate creations; therefore, creation is only meant to describe the origin of the white race. Blacks were thought, by slavery's defenders such as James Henry Hammond and George Fitzhugh, to be "mud people." They rose up out of the mud of the newly created earth, rather than being the children of Adam and Eve.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, the phrase "all men [are created equal]" used in the Constitution of the United States, refers only to the white species of men.

To this end, pro-slavery thinkers, such as George Fitzhugh, attempted to deflect a moral argument. That is to say, Fitzhugh held that because of the inferiority of blacks, the institution of slavery was good for them; it served as a protective means. Defending the institution of slavery, Fitzhugh wrote in "Cannibals All":

Negro slaves of the South are the happiest and, in some sense, the freest people in the world...Negroes luxuriate in corporeal and mental repose. Their faces upturned to the sun, they can sleep at any hour, and quiet sleep is the greatest of all human enjoyment... 'Tis happiness itself, and results from contentment with the present and confident assurance of the future.

However, this argument that blacks were innately inferior was not successful against the abolitionist crusade, which challenged the notion that blacks should be considered perpetual servants. The rising conflicting force of abolitionism marks the pragmatic dialogue (which holds within it an anti-institutional spirit, and the spirit of change) with the conservative ideas of the past. Fredrickson notes in "The Black Image in The White Mind," that pro-slavery, conservative whites, sought the preservation of order, stability, hierarchy, and the homogeneity of society. They saw the revolutionary abolitionists who aimed at overthrowing this order and hierarchy as ensuring chaos and anarchy. In the absence of order, we, in Fitzhugh's words, "would run amok."

The abolitionists advocated racial equality, and equality entails that people have the same rights—with freedom being one of those rights—including the capacity to vote and engage in self-determination. A case in point may be found in Frederic Douglass, a runaway slave who was suffering under the institution of slavery and became one of the most influential figures in the abolitionist movement.<sup>3</sup> The masthead for his publication, *The North Star*, summarizes his idea that "Right is of no sex-Truth is of no color-God is the father of us all, and we are all Brethren." His call was for liberty and equality. In fact, Douglass sought inclusion in the society from which blacks had been barred. In this posture, he clearly represents an injured party confronting those responsible for the injury. He realizes that "the slave cannot 'right himself' any more than an infant can grapple with a giant." Therefore, the government had an affirmative role to play in remedying the effects of discrimination, and it had to play a role in helping and educating the freed blacks enter society on a level equal to the whites.

The 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment ended slavery: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except as a punishment of a crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted shall exist within the United States or anyplace subject to their jurisdiction...Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." Thus, slavery was abolished in the United States, and blacks became permanent members of American society. They had to advance their positions as (model) citizens in order to influence change in the stereotypical image of degraded blacks held by whites. Frederickson concludes that most white people felt that blacks were still inferior "especially in intelligence and in the temperamental basis of enterprise or initiative...[but] such differences and differentials are either permanent or subject to change only by a very slow process of development or evolution."

Still, other white supremacist groups viewed blacks as beasts that were capable of vengeful retribution; therefore, they had to be controlled. As a result, the New South invented Jim Crow, a revival of slavery under different name.

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<sup>2</sup> Due to this alleged biological inferiority of blacks, Agassiz wrote to Samuel Gridley Howe, whom Lincoln in 1863 appointed to a commission that would deal with policies regarding the newly freed blacks, telling him that the interbreeding of races would lower the quality of life. As a result, Howe concluded that blacks should be politically equal but not socially; interbreeding should not be tolerated.

<sup>3</sup> William Lloyd Garrison was the first American to call for the abolition of slavery. But his opposition came from the perspective of a free white man who had never experienced slavery, whereas Douglass was born into slavery and lived it. Therefore, Douglass' voice is extraordinarily authentic.

A number of laws in the southern states mandated segregation.<sup>4</sup> With the triumph of social Darwinism and its advocacy of survival of the fittest in the south, the prevailing view of the newly freed blacks was that they would either die in competition with the superior race (white) because of their inability to cope with the ecological, economic, and political environments, or reach their “natural level,” which was still below that of whites. However, applying their understanding (or misunderstanding) of Darwinian evolution, southern “Negrophobes, Glenda Gilmore notes, saw blacks as “brute” creatures and held that in the evolutionary struggle they would degenerate. Consequently, white violence against blacks could be defended as predestined biological law and order. Glenda Gilmore in “Gender and Jim Crow,” emphasizes this idea of black degeneracy (demonizing black men and portraying them as sexual predators) was thus used as a justification for lynching.

Black intellectuals reacted in two opposing ways to this context. Booker T. Washington saw blacks as being tossed into a new world upon emancipation, unprepared for the responsibilities and obligations they would assume. He advised his fellow blacks to outflank the racism of Jim Crow and urged them to live with it because they had to adapt to harsh realities. He also urged them to learn a trade or mechanical skills, which would benefit society, thereby making themselves indispensable. The white man would thus gradually voluntarily surrender his prejudices and accept blacks as fellow citizens. He saw the road to equality and inclusion into white society from an economic perspective, and the means to that end was vocational training. He reflected the social Darwinist ideology prominent at the time by emphasizing self-reliance as a way to achieve parity with whites, famously saying, “In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.”

Unlike Washington, Dubois saw this context of segregation and racism as offensive and something that had to be denounced and stopped immediately. Dubois argued that Washington was surrendering to the whites and ignoring the strivings of blacks for political and civic equality. To him, Washington’s program permitted a status of continued inferiority and subservience to whites and servilely accepted oppression:

What has it returned?...The disenfranchisement of the Negro; The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro; the steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for higher training of Negro...Is it possible, and probable, that nine millions of men can make effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only the most meager chance for developing their exceptional men? If history and reason give any distinct answer to these questions, it is an emphatic No.

Dubois believed that equality and liberty must be taken, not given. In 1909, he was named the editor of the NAACP’s magazine, “The Crisis,” and he worked arduously to undermine Jim Crow legislation. He protested fervently against segregation and wrote in the editorial page a statement that echoes that of Douglas in *The North Star*: “The Crisis will stand for the rights of all men, irrespective of color or race, for the highest ideals of American democracy.” In “Souls of Black Folk,” he explains how it feels to be a problem: “An American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unrecognized strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body... [this twoness made him] an outcast and a stranger in mine own house.” His formula for the advancement of blacks was education in liberal arts and the development of a vanguard of black intellectuals who would gain leverage for the rest: “The Negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among Negroes must first of all deal with the Talented Tenth.” Thus, education in liberal arts was needed to create leadership for the black movement. The blacks needed a leader to propel them to overcome the oppression of white society and

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<sup>4</sup> In 1896, the Supreme Court found in the *Plessey v. Ferguson* decision that racial segregation was constitutional: separate but equal. In practice, they were hardly equal because there was no federal enforcement that made it possible. Blacks were made politically equal, but not socially equal. Harlan said, “The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth, and in power. So, I doubt not that it will continue to be for all time, if it remains true to its great heritage.” Henry W. Grady said, “The supremacy of the white race of the South must be maintained forever. What God hath separated, let no man join together.” Princeton, when Woodrow Wilson attended it, refused to admit blacks to the school because it was thought that the higher education of blacks was unwarranted. Still, blacks were considered inferior to whites.

thus advance the cause of equality for black people. He writes, “the facing of so vast a prejudice could not but bring the inevitable self-questioning, self-disparagement, and lowering of ideals which ever accompany repression and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate.”

To conclude, this cultural dialogue created another leader, Martin Luther King Jr., who was capable of advancing the goal of a better American society, one who could extend the promise of America to all Americans. He saw the entire racial conflict as not a “war between the white and the Negro, but a conflict between justice and injustice.” His civil disobedience drew the attention of society to the progressive tasks of confronting racism and realizing social integration. King said that “oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The urge for freedom will eventually come.” His nonviolent protests culminated in the passage of the landmark federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Clearly, black and white people in the United States belong to a common brotherhood. They are the product of a common historical process of progress and amalgamation.

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# The Role of Political Islam in Egyptian Democratic Experience

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## Abstract

The aim of the study was to understand the role of political Islamists in Egyptian democratic experience by the two research questions. Islamists' Ideological self-contradiction and conflicting ideals with democracy turned the democratic transition into failure in Egypt. They have accepted election to attain the power but not the democratic values and culture as a whole. Military, the most significant internal actor, with their authoritarian state apparatus, also played an imperative role to make the political transition unsuccessful. In this qualitative study, documents are analyzed in the case of Egyptian political change.

**Keywords:** Political Islam, Islamists, Political Transition, Democratic Transition, Egyptian politics

## 1. Introduction

Political Islam has turned into the focal point of international and different national politics after the 9/11 incident in America. In the Arab spring events, it has acquired the momentum. Both the democratization in the Muslim world and the role of political Islam has moved forward in this process. The Arab Spring which in effect began with the overthrowing of the authoritarian regimes in Tunisia and Egypt in the early months of 2011, has forced the Arab states to countenance many challenges even before democratic regimes have replaced the old authoritarian ones (Mustafa & Yousef, 2013). There are lots of researches and writings on political Islam and democracy, especially after the Arab Spring in political or social science. However, as the political Islamists played an important role in the democratic transition of Tunisia and Egypt, it has an appeal to study in different approaches. The issue deserves study, which should be more organized and specific. Mustafa & Yousef (2013) have written an article, but it was written with the time frame before the downfall of Morsi. Therefore, his writing could not focus on the causes of Morsi's failure or failure of democratic transition. Browne-Michael (2017) has done a study for partial fulfillment of his honors degree titled, "Political Islam and Democracy." In his study, he has taken three countries- Iran, Tunisia, and Egypt as case study to draw conclusions from comparative analysis on each case study, on whether it is possible to have democracy in a state where Islamic ideologies are a major

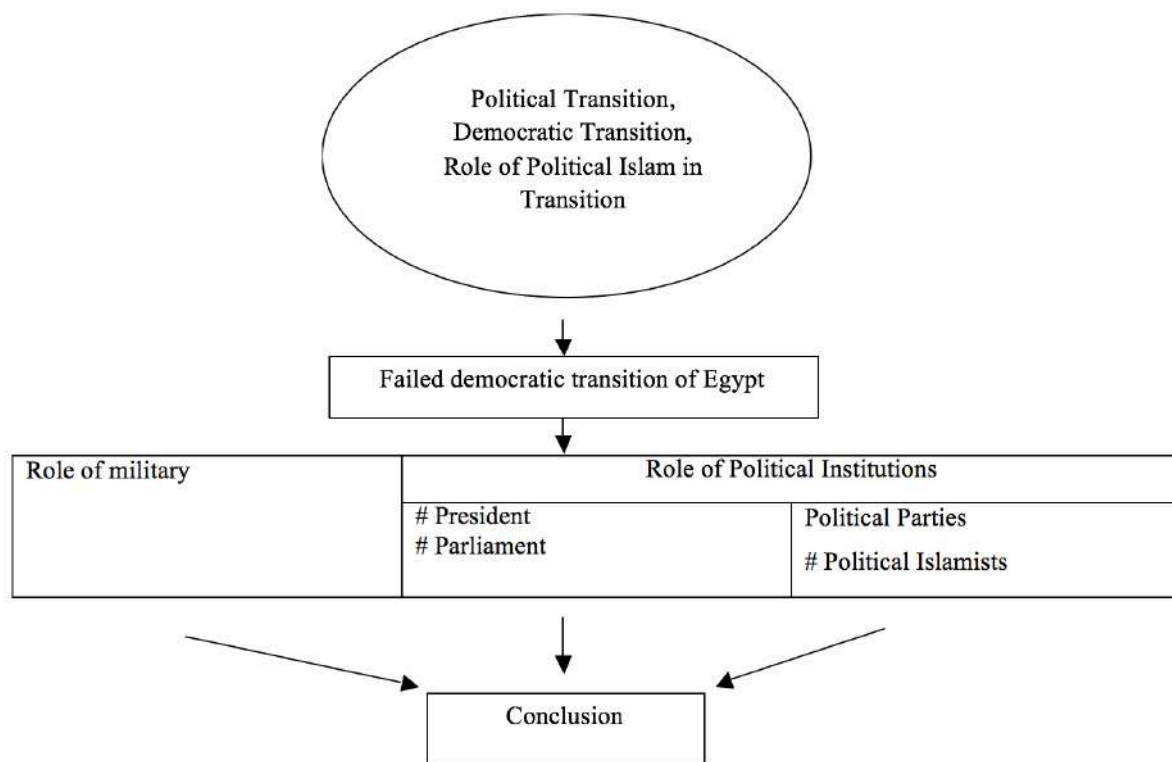


factor. Iran shows adversity to western democratic bodies, which falls in line with the idea that Islam and democracy are odds. Like turkey, Egypt is a secular republic with the majority of its citizens being from Sunni Islamic sect. It has recently shown an inclination to be the most democratic nation out of these three countries. He has shortcomings to show the contradictory role of Islamists, military, seculars, and the international actors that is the most important factor, which will be shown in this study only in an in-depth analysis. Moreover, any consensus is yet to develop among the academicians and policy makers about the role of political Islamists in unsuccessful democratic transition in Egypt. This study is operated through an investigation, integration, and analysis of the available literature, secondary data, and information. It has identified the consistency and inconsistency between the theory and practice of the role of Islamists through a case study on Egyptian political transition. Mainly Mubarak to Morsi (2000 to 2013) regime will be studied to understand the transition result. The output of this study will have a theoretical perspective from which hypotheses can be drawn as well as it may help the national and international policy makers. These hypotheses can also be used to reexamine historical cases as well as to make predictions about the future. The paper is structured with theoretical and applied sides of the theoretical discussion. The inquiry of the study is based on two fundamental questions- 1. What was the role of political Islamists in the democratic transition of Egypt? 2. Is political Islam helpful for the democratic transition? This study will contribute to attaining a new perspective of knowledge about political Islam for academicians. Political parties, national and international policy makers also will be benefitted from the study.

## 2. Methodology

It is an output of qualitative study based on document analysis and single case study using secondary data. Research questions will be answered by a single-case study on the willingness of the Islamists for democratization before and after the ousting of Hosni Mubarak in 2011. The time frame of the study is from January 25, 2011, to June 30, 2013, when the protests were started against calling the fall of that regime and ended up in the rule of Mohamed Morsi. Case study is suitable here because it gives the opportunity to address the historical, political, sociological, and ideological sides of the topic as it focuses on institutions, identities, and ideology of the actors. Moreover, the case study provides the opportunity to test the implications from theories against observations and to use those results to add new insights to the existing theory. A case study is the ultimate method for exploring complex casualties and for retaining a holistic and meaningful interpretation of real-life events (Yin, 2009). Its strength is at first to provide a high level of conceptual validity. The limitation of the case study is the *small-n*, of which the consequence is that the study results cannot be generalized to all cases. In this study, I deliberately have chosen to conduct a single case study because the Egyptian case has both theoretical and political aspects. In Egypt, the military is highly institutionalized and deep-rooted in the regime. On the other hand, political Islamists are operating their activities for long to establish their ideology both in the state and in Egyptian society with great influence. Exploring this case can add relevant insights to the existing literature on the role of Islamists in democratic transition. The answer of the research questions is studied under some indicators. They are as follows- 1. Role of some specific political institutions of Egypt (President, Parliament, and Political parties, especially Islamists) 2. Role of military

### 3. Conceptual Frame Work



**Fig-1: Conceptual Frame Work of the study**

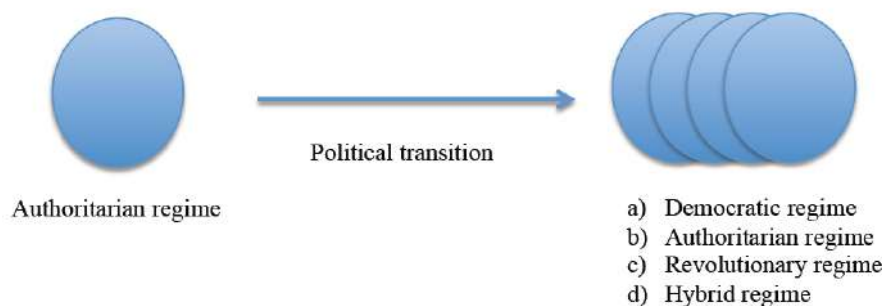
#### 3.1 Political Transition

Generally, political transition means a radical change in the political system and culture of a state. In four of the six Arab countries where uprisings occurred, a political transition took place from an authoritarian regime into 'something else.' An authoritarian regime indicates to the capability of a regime to contain the state power together with relevant elites that are related to one another through a network of trust, interests, favours, and friendship having the ability to survive against their potential enemy. Actually, the security institutions often act as the protector of the authoritarian regime and form the key variable in explaining their stability (Droz-Vincent, 2011; Cook, 2007)

The transition into 'something else' may be the establishment of a political democracy, the re-establishment of a new form of authoritarian rule which means that following governments fail to institutionalize political power, or widespread violence, which gives way to a revolutionary regime (O'Donnell & Schmitter, 1986).

The transition period ends according to O'Donnell and Schmitter (1986) when politics is back to 'normality.' It means that there is a clear set of rules that will be obeyed to have access to government positions and procedures on decision-making. In short, political transition refers to the interval connecting the ending of the authoritarian regime and the installation of the other regime, being it a democratic, authoritarian, revolutionary or a hybrid one (O'Donnell & Schmitter, 1986; Stepan & Linz, 2013). In contrast to most political transformations in Latin America, Southern, and Eastern Europe, the political transformations in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) did not begin with cracks in the government and were not the elite and the top down driven rather these were grounded by popular uprisings. These uprisings were caused by the eruption of nonviolent mass protests over many days across different important cities and the control of protestors over public spaces, such as Tahrir Square in Cairo, Egypt and the Pearl Roundabout in Manama, Bahrain (Brownlee, Masoud & Reynolds, 2013). Moreover, most of the Arab countries do not have previous practice with democracy as most Latin

American, Southern, and Eastern European countries had. Mass-based political parties, labour unions, and independent press are almost non-existent, and furthermore, democracy in the MENA is often linked with colonial supremacy, rather than with self-determination (Bellin, 2004; Cook, 2007). Therefore, big or superpowers are still playing a significant role behind political transition in the Middle East or Muslim world.



**Fig-2: Schematic view of transition period**

During the years, there have been different forms of militarized authoritarian regimes. Finer (1962; 1974) classifies those regimes based on their political structure and their constitutional role, and he differentiates five political structures on the basis of the degree to which the military controls major policies and the degree of secrecy. These are (1) direct open military rule, (2) direct quasi-civilianized rule, (3) indirect continuous rule, (4) indirect intermittent rule and, (5) dual rule.

### 3.2 Democratic Transition

Democratic transition is a combination of multifarious structural change of a state apparatus from an authoritarian or autocratic regime to a political government. In the modern age, it is considered a shift towards a democratic system. According to Fukuyama (2014) democratization passes in three stages: (1) initial mobilization to get rid of the old regime, (2) holding free elections, and (3) being able to deliver public services and public goods.

The Freedom House's democracy rankings categorize different states as- i. Pre-transition Stage ii. Transition Stage and iii. The Consolidation Stage considering 28 countries of east-central Europe in *Nations in Transit* 1999-2000 ( McConnel & Becker, 2002).

#### i) The Pre-transition Stage:

This is a preparatory stage in which states prepared themselves for a Journey to democracy from authoritarian rule. The pre-transition stage deals on societal conditions under the old regime. The states try to determine what kind of changes need to take place.

#### ii) The Transition Stage

This stage can be characterized as a historical moment when the previous regime no more holds political power; when the military or the dictator is gone away from the government's regular function, government is placed under civilian control; when contested elections are held; and when political institutions are established (Linz & Stepan,1996).

iii) The Consolidation Stage: This is the most difficult stage to consolidate a sustainable democracy. Several elements must be established if a state wants to claim itself as a consolidated democracy. State must be democratic attitudinally, behaviorally, and of course, constitutionally. The state functions must be accountable, transparent, representative, competitive, and accessible. The ruling regime must produce sufficient positive output to create legitimacy for the democratic process (Diamond, 1999).

The Freedom House lists some criteria for measuring democracy worldwide among the states every year. The survey that comprises both analytical reports and numerical ratings measures freedom according to two broad

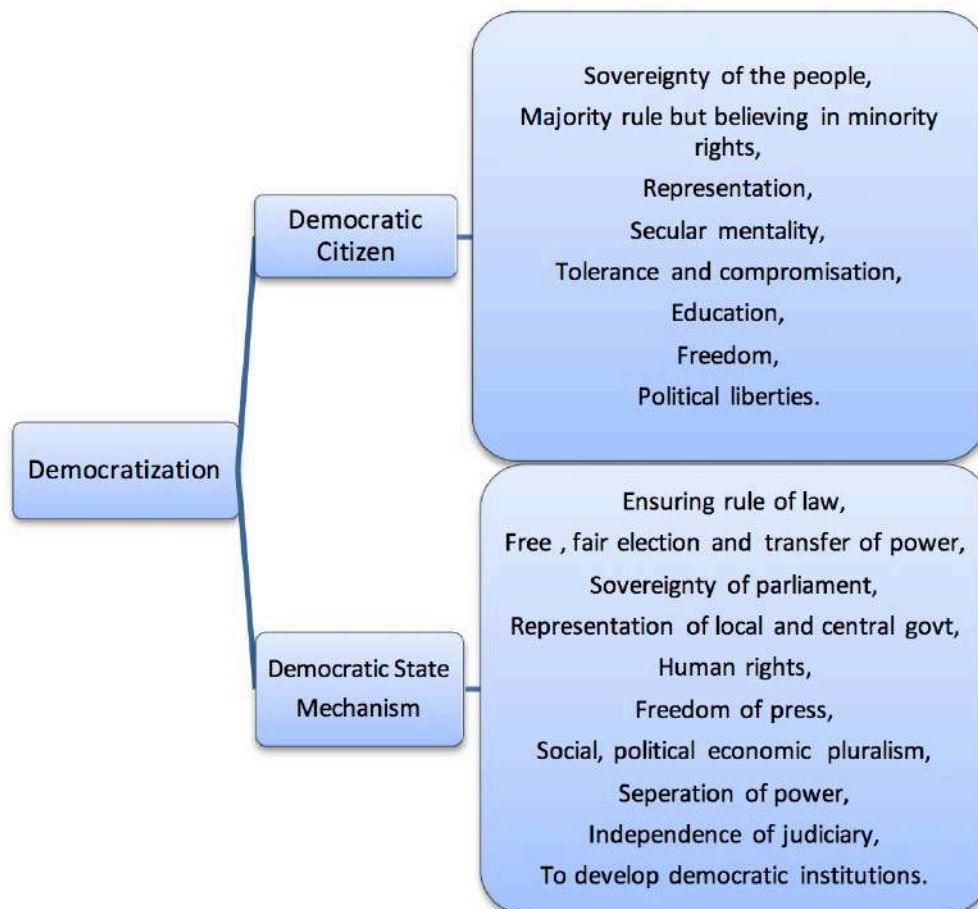
categories: 1. Political rights, and 2. Civil liberties

**Political rights** ratings are based on an evaluation of three subcategories:

1. Electoral process
2. Political pluralism and participation and
3. The functioning of government.

**Civil liberties** ratings are based on an evaluation of four sub-categories:

- a. Freedom of expression and belief
- b. Associational and organizational rights
- c. The rule of law
- d. Personal autonomy and individual rights



**Fig-3: Mandatory factors for the success of the democratic system**

### 3.3 Political Islam

Political Islam is an Islamic revival movement mainly in the Muslim world. Often it is distinguished by moral conservatism, literalism, and the attempt to implement Islamic values in all spheres of life. It is also known as Islamism. The different Islamist movements have been identified between two poles": at one end is a strategy of Islamisation of society through state power seized by revolution or invasion and on the other hand "reformist" or moderate "pole" Islamists work to re-Islamize society "from the bottom up" ( Roy, 1994). The movements have arguably altered the Middle East after the abolition of Ottoman Caliphate.

Islamists may give emphasis to the implementation of *Sharia* (Islamic law) of pan-Islamic political unity, including an Islamic state;( Soage, Belén, 2009) and of the selective removal of non-Muslim, particularly Western military,

economic, political, social, or cultural influences in the Muslim world that they believe to be incompatible with Islam (Dale, 2007).

The main perception of political Islam is, Islam is the answer not only to spiritual impulses or religious needs but for social and political order, as well. Islamism, in this sense, not only defines and regulates the relation between man and God but also equally between man and man (and woman) and this includes the relation between the ruled and the ruler. The adherents also advocate that the ideal society is one in which the Holy Prophet started in Medina. Governance, according to Islamic law, the *Sharia* is a central principle to the Islamists. Their fundamental target is to establish Islam in state and society, not the democracy.

Prominent figures of modern Islamism include Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Abul Ala Maududi Taqiuddin un-Nabahni and Ruhollah Khomeini. Most of these promoters of political Islam emphasize on peaceful political processes, whereas Sayyid Qutb, in particular, called for armed revolution to change the authoritarian political system. His followers are generally called 'Islamic extremists' by the secularists.

#### **4. Result:**

There are some significant findings, which are different from previous studies. The self-contradictory role of MB and military are responsible for the unsuccessful political transition of Egypt.

##### *4.1 Role of Political Islamists in Political Transition*

Moderate and reformist Islamists who accept and work within the democratic process include parties like the Tunisian Ennahda Movement. Jamaat-e-Islami of Pakistan and Bangladesh claim them as socio-political and democratic parties, but they added political influence in different times indirectly encouraging military coup d'état in the past. The Islamist groups like Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in Palestine participate in the democratic and political process as well as armed attacks, seeking to abolish the state of Israel.

Radical Islamist organizations like al-Qaeda and the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, and groups such as the Taliban and Hizb-ut-Tahrir, entirely reject democracy, often declare as *kuffar* those Muslims who support. Only Hizb-ut-Tahrir claim that they are a non-violent international party working mainly to return the Caliphate system, Contrarily this group supports election to select the leaders or people' representatives (Nabahni, 2002).

##### *4.2 Nature of Transition in Egypt*

“The military should be granted some kind of insurance under Egypt’s new constitution so that it is not under the whim of a president and the military should not be subjected to parliamentary scrutiny” – SCAF member (in Martini & Taylor, 2011)

From the monarch Faruk the military took over the power in 1952. Contemporarily, the only civic and political organization that has posed serious threats to the autocratic regime was the Muslim Brotherhood, the *Ikhwan* after its birth in 1928 which survived against the tyrant rulers applying many maneuvers. The Brotherhood was not formally legalized but was allowed to sermonize, organize, and mobilize its activities. In 1992 the Muslim Brotherhood became successful in forming the largest opposition group of independent candidates in the lower house (Cook, 2007). The regime ended the Muslim Brotherhood's accommodated position in 1992, and leaders and political activists of the Brotherhood were tried to the Supreme State Security court and later on to military tribunals (Cook, 2007). Later in different national (2005) and local level election (2008), Muslim Brotherhood gained some mentionable victory.

In recent years MB has seen a rising of youth activism due to an increase in Internet access and the rise of Arabic mass media. Calls for demonstrations on January 25, 2011, were in the first day of the Egyptian uprising. These were made through Facebook groups of which the most significant was the April 6<sup>th</sup> Movement, 'We Are All Khalid Sa'id', and 'Youth for Justice and Freedom.' The Kifaya Movement, a movement that already in 2004 protested for the step-down of Mubarak (FH, 2006) and some other syndicates joined those groups on January 25.

The opposition parties, like the Tagammu and the Muslim Brotherhood (the Muslim Brotherhood joined on January 28) clearly missed the initial demonstrations (Miller et al., 2012).

In the modern age, over the world, it is observed that transition generally happened from military or monarchial (authoritarian) rule to democratic rule that was not ultimately successful in Egypt. On January 25, 2011, peaceful demonstrations exploded in Cairo and other major Egyptian cities, calling for reforms. Protesters were from all walks of society, crossing ideological, socio-economic and sectarian lines. The New York Times reported on January 25, 2011, "the protests represented the largest display of popular dissatisfaction in recent memory, perhaps since 1977" (Fahim & El-Naggar, 2011). On January 28, the Muslim Brotherhood officially joined the demonstrations. On January 29, 2011, Mubarak ordered a nationwide deployment of the military (Albrecht & Bishara, 2011; Droz-Vincent, 2011). The military was deployed, but on January 31, 2011 field marshal and minister of defence Husayn Tantawi affirmed that the military will not use force against protestors and that the military recognizes the legitimacy of the protestor's demands (Reuters, 2011).

Contrarily, on February 11, 2011, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF)<sup>1</sup> interfered and declared that it would protect 'what the protestors have achieved' and would watch over a transition to a new constitution, free elections and an eventual end to the state of emergency (New York Times, 2011). Mubarak resigned and was replaced by field marshal Husayn Tantawi, minister of defence since 1991 and Commander of the Armed Forces. The outbreak of mass demonstrations and accordingly ousting of president Mubarak was rather rapid than gradual. The size, cross-class, and peaceful character of the demonstrations proved to be political game changers.

The initial step, after the ousting of Mubarak, the SCAF suspended the 1971 constitution as well as dismissed the People's Assembly and Shura Council on February 13, 2011. In its statement on February 13, it stated that the SCAF had the intention to "temporarily administer the affairs of the country for a period of six months or until People's Assembly, Shura Council and Presidential elections are held" (New York Times, 2011). The SCAF furthermore installed a body of legal experts to amend the articles regulating presidential elections of the 1971 constitution (Lang, 2013). The Egyptian military council introduced a number of amendments to the constitution, with the focus on the sections related to the electoral process as well as election procedure. In the national referendum, 72% of the voters approved the amendments (Mustafa & Yousef, 2013). In the process of political change, one of the main debates was about the future of the regime in post-revolution became more acute. On the position of the amendment, the Egyptian political forces were divided into two main camps. The first one includes the various Islamist groups (the Muslim Brotherhood, the *Salafi* movements, both moderate and extremist, and the independent Islamist groups) while the second one includes secular movements, parties, and groups, leftwing liberals, and young leaders of the revolution, such as the 'Revolutionary Youth Alliance' and the 'Revolutionary Youth Union'. The first camp supported the amendments, but the latter did not on different political and ideological grounds (Mustafa & Yousef, 2013).

In the president and parliament elections, Islamists achieved the victory. Under Morsi, a new constitution was drafted, and the top military generals were sent to retirement and were appointed new to positions within the cabinet (FH, 2013). Morsi's inability to unite the different political fractions, the severe economic circumstances and his power grab, led to public unrest. Demonstrations against his government swelled after June 30, 2013, prompting the military to set out Morsi on July 3, 2013, and to suspend the constitution (FH, 2014).

After the ousting of the Muslim Brotherhood, the military initiated a harsh crackdown on the party and declared the party a terrorist organization (FH, 2014). Consequently, the overall political transition came into halt again.

#### *4.3 The major political institutions, military, and the transition*

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<sup>1</sup> The SCAF formed with nineteen military officers who had not played an active role in the making of political decisions before the uprising on January 25, 2011. The SCAF had existed before the uprising but only met on an irregular basis to discuss political issues on which it provided recommendations to the president (Albrecht and Bishara, 2011).

The most important change in the first months of SCAF's ruling in comparison to elections under Mubarak was the strengthening of the role of the judiciary in overseeing elections and allowing for political pluralism (Martini & Taylor, 2011; Freedom House, 2012). The SCAF issued a decree in March 2011 establishing the High Judicial Committee in charge of supervising elections. Furthermore, the registration of political parties became more transparent. Prohibited political parties were legalized, and new ones were allowed to be operative themselves (Martini & Taylor, 2011)<sup>2</sup>. The Justice and Freedom Party (JFP), the Muslim Brotherhood's political wing, was formally legalized on June 6, 2011 (Irshad, 2012)<sup>3</sup>. The NDP, the ruling political party under Mubarak, was closed by an administrative court in April 2011.

#### 4.3.1 Parliament

Despite the manipulation of the SCAF on the electoral process and its gatekeeper function in allowing political parties to run in elections, the parliamentary elections have been considered to meet international standards. The elections as a whole were free, fair, and enjoyed wide participation (FH, 2012; Stacher, 2012; IFES, 2013). 489 were the total number of seats of House of Representatives (Maglis El Nowwab). The Islamist parties the Justice and Freedom Party (JFP) got 47% of the votes, and the Salafist Al-Nour party 25%. The remaining seats went to the liberal Wafd party (8%), the Egyptian Bloc Coalition (7%), which is a coalition of liberal, social democratic and leftist political parties, and the other smaller parties (Azzam, 2012: 4; Stacher, 2012). The elections were held in three rounds. Voter turnouts have been historically higher for Egypt. In the first round, the voter attendance was 65%, in the second round 43% and in the last round 62% (International Election System [IFES], 2013; Azzam, 2012; Irshad, 2012).

Following the lower house elections, the upper house elections took place in January and February 2012. Again, the majority of the votes went to Islamist parties: 60% to Freedom and Justice Party, 25% to Al-Nour, 14% to Wafd and 8% to the Egyptian Bloc. Voter turnout was, however, very low, around 15% (Freedom House, 2013). Apart from some indiscretions and low voter attendance, the elections were considered as free and fair (IFES, 2013).

According to Frisch (2013: 189), the SCAF had an apparent strategy by firstly organizing parliamentary elections and only afterward presidential elections. This way, the SCAF could already weaken and divide the ranks of parliament prior to a president was elected. This became clear when the Muslim Brotherhood, despite its electoral success, was unable to form a government as the SCAF refused to withdraw its support from the Ganzouri government, which it had appointed as an interim government until a new president would be sworn in (Azzam, 2012; Sayigh, 2011).

The People's Assembly did not function for long, as in June 2012, the SCC dissolved lower house (Droz-Vincent, 2013). Once Morsi was inaugurated on June 30, 2012, he recalled the resolved parliament. The SCC, however, suspended Morsi's decree, leaving the parliament suspended for the rest of the year (Sayigh, 2013; IFES, 2013).

#### 4.3.2 President

The first post-Mubarak presidential elections were planned in May 2012. The elections were, although not perfect, close to international standards (Freedom House, 2013). The Presidential Election Commission, installed by the SCAF, disqualified ten contestants, including the most popular Islamist candidates. Their pronouncement was ultimate and could not be appealed (Freedom House, 2013).

In June, Morsi and Shafiq raced against each other in the second round of presidential elections. Morsi won the elections with 51.7% of the votes. The voter turnout in the first round was 46,6%, and in the second round, 52% (Irshad, 2012).

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<sup>2</sup> The new constitution adopted in January 2014 banned religious parties from running (FH, 2014).

<sup>3</sup> The JFP has been banned since the ousting of Morsi in July 2013. The Muslim Brotherhood was declared a terrorist organization at the end of 2013.

Two weeks before Mohamed Morsi was inaugurated as Egypt's first democratically elected president, and the SCAF issued an interim constitutional decree limiting the powers of the newly elected president and expanding its own powers (Brown, 2013; Droz-Vincent, 2013; Sayigh, 2013). The decree granted the SCAF authority over the new constitution-writing process, the right to assume the responsibilities of the parliament as long as no new assembly is voted, and "the upper hand in running the armed forces" (Egypt Independent, 2012). Moreover, the SCAF appointed the Supreme Constitutional Court (SCC) to have the last word on the constitution in case the SCAF and other actors would disagree on its content (Ahram Online, 2012).

Once in office, president Morsi nullified the decree of the SCAF and issued a constitutional declaration giving him full executive and legislative powers, including the right to shape a new constitutional assembly (IFES, 2013).

In November 2012, Morsi caused stirring among the Egyptian public by expanding his presidential command in a 'dramatic way' (Brown, 2013). He decreed that his decisions were beyond judicial review, as well as that the constitutional meeting and Shura council were immune for closure by the SCC (FH, 2013). This escorted to massive demonstrations in Cairo. Later in December 2012, he cancelled the decree, but only after he had protected an Islamist-dominated constitution assembly from dissolution, enabling the panel to pass a controversial draft constitution (Mccrummen, 2012).

During Morsi's year in office, his relationship with Egypt's people and the military was getting bitterer. In the spring of 2013, activists started to campaign against his presidency, leading to mass protests on June 30, a year after his inauguration. The military detained him on July 3, 2013, and suspended the constitution. Instead of the SCAF, the SCC was tasked with executive power (Freedom House, 2014).

## 5. Discussion

According to the idea of Freedom House, the role and the rule of FJP of MB and Nur party in Egypt were not successful in pre-transition, transition stage, and consolidation stage for a democratic transition. During the consolidation stage (Power in position), they failed to implement successfully of the referred indicators of democracy. MB after its establishment from 1928, cultured the people towards an Islamic emotion to vote them rather a secular democratic culture. At the first stage of transition or culturing a nation towards democracy was defective in the perspective of a secular democratic citizen as ideologically Islamists are against modern secular ideals and concepts.

The Islamists favored amendments because of ideological ground regarding the status of religion in the post-revolution regime. Even before it was decided which articles of the constitution would be amended, a heated debate broke out in Egyptian society— one that will continue until a new constitution is written— about the status of Article II: "the principles of Islamic law are the chief source of legislation." The Islamist camp wanted to carry on this article in the new constitution. They had a strong motivation to vote in favor of the amendments before the election of a new parliament that would draft a new constitution (Mustafa & Yousef, 2013).

In the second stage of transition after the national election during their short-lived rule, FJP completely failed to tackle the old authoritarian apparatus which were looking after their interest. They failed to keep democratic institutions participatory and effective. From one side, the military and from the other SSC actually limited Morsi's working areas making bar after bar towards a successful political or democratic transition.

Besides, the conflict between two ideologies is another universal fact, which is observed in the case of capitalism and socialism in recent world politics. Accordingly, political Islam is emanated from Islamic ideology, and modern democracy is standing on the basement of both secularism and capitalism. Therefore, political Islam and liberal democracy prescribe different polity and society, as well as both, have different aim of the state and society that is the fundamental ground of conflict between two ideologies. Egypt is the practical field of this battle. In Egypt, the secular military, judicial elites, and some secular political parties have never wanted that Muslim Brotherhood



or Islamists rule the country. Through a lengthy movement against the authoritarian ruler of Egypt, the Islamists have gained huge popularity. Ideologically, historically and systematically it is completely impractical to establish traditional and authentic Islamic system in an authoritarian, secular democratic system or capitalist democratic system without radical change (Nabahni, 2002) which Muslim Brotherhood has tried in Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood's politics neither was purely an Islamic, nor could they be able to establish an Islamic *Ummah* (nation) by their politics of 80 years. Ultimately, the people were confused about their power-centric politics rather an Islamic cultural change in the state and society.

Political Islam developed in Egypt as the consequence of the destruction of Caliphate to revive it again to struggle against the British or western colonial hegemony in both Egypt and in the Muslim World. Based on its Islamic ideology, it wants to return the Islamic political system in the Muslim world. According to many scholars, Islamic political system has some fundamental conflict with modern or liberal democracy such as Islam does not support popular sovereignty that is reflected in the Islamists political principles (Nabahni, 2002). Islamists of Egypt ideologically also don't believe in secularism, man-made law and western concept of freedom and personal freedom (for example- homosexuality, drinking wine). They prescribe politics, social policy, and culture in the light of the guideline of the Quran, Hadith, and Islamic tradition. In the 'pre-transition stage' and 'transition stage' Islamists did not receive the opportunity to play a significant role for any political transition.

Morsis's own discourse stresses that he is a defender of democratic transition and his main allies in the power game were in the military and the business elite whose main concern was to maintain stability in economy and politics rather than to promote Islamic Sharia law. Their leaders promised the people to establish Sharia law during the election campaign in 2012. Even they pronounced the word Caliphate though after gaining the power, they turned into a secular government like Mubarak. Even Morsis's secular opponents branded him as a "New Mubarak," "New Pharaoh," and sometimes as "New Khomeini" (Roy, 2012).

Islamists were not the main actors of the revolution but the young generation to change the autocratic government and to hold a fair election and establish good governance. Historically sometimes, the alliance between Islamists and military is observed, which sometimes hinders the democratization process. In 1952 Egypt's monarchy was removed from power by a group of nationalist military officers (Free Officers Movement) who had formed a cell inside the Brotherhood during the first war against Israel in 1948.

The initially planned elections for the lower and upper house within three months were held nine months later in November 2011 and January 2012. The SCAF remained the executive and legislative power for over fifteen months after the ouster of Mubarak, until the presidential elections in June 2012. Civilians performed an inadequate role in directing the transition, leading to regular protests against the 'military regime' (Elshami, 2011; Sayigh, 2013). In the meantime, the Brotherhood was willing to compromise and negotiate with the generals and entered a tacit deal with the SCAF. In return for ceasing its protest, it gained political rights (Albrecht & Bishara, 2011; Stacher, 2012). The Muslim Brotherhood has consequently backed the SCAF by boycotting protests, calling those protests illegitimate and by organizing pro-government protests (Martini & Taylor, 2011). The SCAF and police forces have brutally oppressed the anti-government demonstrations and detained many protestors without charge the leading human rights organization Amnesty International (2011) declared that the human rights situation in Egypt in 2011 was worse than Mubarak regime.

After the win, MB did not declare to establish an Islamic state or Caliphate rather declared to establish Civil State. Islamists participate in the democratic election or democratic process to attain state power. They take part election or democratic process as a means to attain their purpose. Therefore, to establish democracy is not their purpose. Hasan-al- Banna, the founder of Muslim Brotherhood, Moududi of Jamati Islami and Taqiuddin Nabahni of Hizbut-Tahrir completely disagreed with the western secular democracy, modernization, and liberal ideas. All of them supported the Caliphate form of government primarily. Many criticize Islamists for their different policies. Rule of Brotherhood was neither Islamic nor democratic. Once Islamists won the elections in Egypt, and it was time to write the constitution, the discomfort with democratic values of universal equality and progressive laws

based on evolving norms of human rights and dignity resurfaced (Albrecht 2013). The Egyptian constitution, passed by the Islamists, fudged on the equality of all citizens by privileging one religion, Islam, over others (Articles 1 and 2), and subverting the equal status of women and minorities. Even the status of democratic legislation was undercut by making Al-Azhar University, the arbiter of the Islamic laws that is informed in the normative framework of the constitution (Articles 4 and 219). Thus, the legislature was not fully empowered to write laws; an unelected academic institution could overturn them. The contrast can be seen starkly when one looks at the constitution written by Islamists in Egypt and Tunisia.

Morsi and the MB have not presented any grand vision for the country. It has used slogans such as 'Islam is the solution,' which it dropped, however, what has been notably absent is where they planned to take the people and exactly how they planned to enrich the nation by a political transition. Indeed in its rush to placate international opinion, they abandoned all pretence to Islamic politics. In doing so, they think they are being pragmatic, smart, and politically perceptive. Whilst it comes to apply Islamic politics, they mention constitutional barriers and the need to maintain minorities' affairs. When it comes to apply Islamic economics, they cite the need to avoid scaring global investors and tourists. When it comes to apply the Islamic foreign policy, they cite the requirements to show a moderate image and to appease the colonialists.

Furthermore, international actors the USA, Israel, European Union, and Saudi Arabia do not want to witness Islamists or a strong representative government in power that is a threat to control Egyptian military, the 10<sup>th</sup> largest army in the world that is also a factor of the balance of power in this region. Actually, imperialist UK, USA, and Russia have kept dictators in power in not only Egypt or the Middle East but also many different parts of the world for their strategic interests and ideological cause.

The weakness of the study is the used data sources are generally secondary, and conclusion of the study is drawn on a single case study on Egyptian Islamists. Further study may explore the role of Islamists in other countries in democratic transition.

## 6. Conclusion

The Muslim Brotherhood and *Salafi* Nur party are ideologically typical having common political aim and activities. They cultured the people, supporters, activists neither towards secular democracy nor towards a comprehensive Islamic system with Islamic political culture in the pre-transition period. Neither they propagated about the Caliphate system nor did they have any specific Islamic manifesto or principles to establish an ideal Islamic polity. If some secular laws are incorporated in an Islamic State, it will not be turned into a democratic state because for an ideal democracy it requires some specific secular indicators such as values, culture and institutions building which are discussed in section 2.2 of this writing. Accordingly, if in an authoritarian regime or a hybrid-democratic system, some Islamic laws are incorporated, it will not be turned into an Islamic state or so-called 'Islamic democracy' that the Muslim Brotherhood is trying to establish in Egypt. Actually, Islamists of Egypt cannot adopt secular democratic norms, values, and culture as a whole rather, and they accepted only the election as a means of attaining the state power. Contradictorily, in primary stage their party ideology was Islam, but their power fascination drives them in a shifted way of compromising with secular ideals and system that made them both inappropriate for Islamic or for the democratic system. As a result, they could not play a positive role in the democratic transition or a political transition in Egypt.

It is very tough to assimilate political Islam and democracy as they carry ideologically two opposite political concepts and systems. In no country of the world is found that political Islamists are successfully running the democratic system or secular democracy suiting with their ideologies. Role of Islamists in Egypt was actually confined in their movements to survive in a long time autocratic ruling apparatus. The long-ruling military kept very limited scope for the civilians or the politicians either for the Islamists or the seculars in state building and nation-building process for a sustainable political transition. In the presidency, Morsi's short term rule was established on military or on an authoritarian superstructure which kept his hand everywhere limited. The

revolution actually could not bring any radical change in the power structure of the military regimes. The change of Mubarak was a change of a person but was not a change of political system and administration. Election does not always ensure democracy or rule of the majority. The democratic institution or representative bodies i.e., parliament, president, political parties were kept very weak and under strict military control directly or indirectly in the Egyptian political system. Moreover, Morsi's compromising policies with the military also made it impossible for Islamists to bring a radical change either for Islamization or for democratization.

In all the democratic institutions, Morsi or Islamists government could play a minimal role because of the influence of SCAF (Military) and SSC (Judiciary). However, in their party and election manifesto, they showed some superficial intention to democratize the ruling system, but they did not have enough internal and external support. As a result, the democratic transition becomes must to be failed.

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# The Global War on Terror as a Catalyst for Cooperation: Analyzing India-Southeast Asia Relations from 1947 to the Post-9/11 Period

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## Abstract

India's independence in 1947 became the starting point for the South Asian state to tread a path towards its national interests. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru envisioned an India that had two core pillars: 1) a non-aligned policy 2) a central role in the Indian Ocean and the Asian continent. However, the Cold War period brought a number of challenges upon India that served as a preoccupation from an outward foreign policy approach. The consecutive wars with Pakistan and the border war with China in 1962 became great hurdles for India to interact with its neighbors in the East, particularly Southeast Asia. In addition, India's warming up of relations with the Soviet Union further soured relations between India and the United States and the pro-US Southeast Asian countries. With the end of the Cold War, however, India was seen to be isolated due to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the decreased significance of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). India-Southeast Asian relations continued to remain ambiguous due to the internal and external factors that affected India. However, after the devastating terror attack in 9/11, 2001, the Global War on Terror (GWOT) was spearheaded by the United States. This event took a positive turn for India-Southeast Asian relations, which continued to develop steadily since then.

**Keywords:** Global War on Terror, 9/11, India, Southeast Asia

## 1. Introduction

India and Southeast Asian relations have gone through a number of challenges before reaching its current state. The change of events throughout history played a crucial role in forging those very relations. India and Southeast Asia have strong similarities in history, culture, language, and values; however, despite these similarities, much needed to be done to improve their ties. After gaining its independence in 1947, India, through the leadership of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru set the stage for other newly independent countries with the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The momentum, however, did not remain consistent, especially after the Cold War when India was facing internal issues of its own. These issues also soured India's relations with Southeast Asian countries and

the United States. This circumstance changed after the devastating 9/11 terrorist attacks. The Global War on Terror (GWOT) became an important avenue for India to enhance and develop its relations with the Southeast Asian region. This paper will analyze and evaluate the changing dynamics of interstate relations between India and Southeast Asia from 1947 to the post-9/11 period.

The first section will focus on the theoretical discussion on the GWOT and International Relations. This segment will also encompass the main argument of the paper. The second segment will look into India-Southeast Asia relations from 1947 to 1989. This part will be analyzed against the backdrop of the Cold War. The third segment will uncover India and Southeast Asia relations from 1990 to 2000. This portion will highlight the post-Cold War before the 9/11 attack of 2001. In this segment, the Look East Policy of India will also be discussed as a major platform in reaching out to Southeast Asia. The fourth segment will analyze the post 9/11 period and how it is considered a turning-point in India-Southeast Asia relations. The fifth segment will provide an overview of current trends in India's foreign policy with the Modi Government in power. This would be followed by the conclusion.

## **2. Theoretical Discussion: The GWOT and the Study of International Relations**

The September 11 terrorist attack is considered to be a destructive and extraordinary point in history. The significance of the depth of the 9/11 attack goes beyond the bombing of the Twin Towers. Two major components of the post-9/11 period carved a new dimension in foreign policy: the first is the response of the United States to the attack through the GWOT and the second is the impact of the attack on the international system (Cox, 2002). These changes became a significant topic of discussion among scholars and academics; in fact, this particular even still resonates in conference discussions and academic publications up to this very day.

The war on Iraq in 2003 and the invasion of Afghanistan brought mixed emotions within the international community. The GWOT shifted relations between the US, the European Union, and Russia. Germany and France were against US actions in Iraq and created an environment of uncertainty for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and its collective security mechanism under Article 5 of the Washington Treaty (Wagner, 2003). However, on a brighter note, for that particular period, US-Russian relations picked-up and developed in the name of combating the negative effects of terrorism (McFaul, 2001). The same evolution of relations also took place in Asia, particularly between India and the Southeast Asian countries.

My main argument, however, would revolve around India's relations with Southeast Asia against the backdrop of the GWOT. I argue that the changes brought by the 9/11 attack together with the US response through the GWOT catalyzed an avenue of cooperation between India and Southeast Asia. The levels of cooperation brought by the GWOT and the post-9/11 period are multidimensional, which span from defense to commerce and social development.

India – Southeast Asia relations were not at its best during the Cold War period due to the bipolar nature of international relations. Relations did not receive much growth either during the collapse of the Soviet Union and a few years into the post-Cold War era. What made a significant difference was when the GWOT was established after the 9/11 terror attack. This attack served as a pivotal moment for inter-state relations due to the evolving threat of terrorism and transnational crime coupled with the advancements in technology in the age of globalization.

With the spotlight shining on state efforts to reform their counterterrorism policies and look for alternative measures to combat the growing threat of terrorism, Southeast Asian states started looking towards India positively and welcomed its efforts to contribute in the region's security framework. This significant shift created more avenues for cooperation between India and Southeast Asia. Not only did India-Southeast Asia relations develop, but also India-US relations. The United States deepened its strategic engagement with India and cooperated comprehensively to tackle a variety of security and non-security issues in the Pacific.

### **3. India – Southeast Asian Relations (1947 – 1989)**

During India's independence in 1947, the security environment was altered by the effects of the Cold War between the two global superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Bearing the scars of colonialism, India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru stressed on two important pillars of India's foreign policy: non-alignment and the centrality of India's role in Asia and the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). The Non-Alignment Policy emphasized India's independent position and strategic autonomy at a time when the international system was categorized as bipolar. So much so, India's leadership of the NAM brought it prestige and appreciation most, especially from newly independent countries. Additionally, during the colonial period, the British Raj was the security provider in the IOR; Prime Minister Nehru sought to continue this tradition and emphasize India's role as an emerging power (Mohan, 2015).

Nehru's policies were, however, constrained by the changing dynamics of international politics. The signing of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation between India and the Soviet Union in 1971 significantly tarnished India's reputation as a significant voice of the NAM. Moreover, India's involvement in the affairs of its neighbors in South Asia further complicated the situation as well. India has fought three wars with Pakistan between 1947-1990 (1947, 1965, and 1971) and engaged in a border war with China in 1962. India's rough relations with its immediate neighbors significantly misconstrued its interests, particularly in the East.

India's security environment and the trends that have occurred since its independence have significantly strained its time and resources and became a critical preoccupation. This preoccupation further deviated New Delhi's attention from enhancing its interaction with its other neighbors in Asia, specifically, Southeast Asia. India and Southeast Asia are linked by a shared culture and history. Despite their similarities, the Cold War period was not too favorable for the enhancement of relations between India and Southeast Asian states.

The establishment of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1967 was received with a lack of enthusiasm by New Delhi. The regional block was perceived to be pro-West. In addition, ASEAN members such as the Philippines and Thailand were committed to US military assistance through the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO). Such military alliances were not in accordance to the non-aligned belief India had been adhering to. Ironically, India's defense of Soviet action in Afghanistan during the time of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (Garver, 1991) and India's support of the North Vietnamese regime (Pant, 2018) fueled ASEAN's suspicion and doubt for India. India tried to reach out to the ASEAN states in the 1970s to iron out misconceptions; however, despite the attempts made, the security environment of the Cold War prohibited an enhanced interaction between the two.

### **4. India – Southeast Asia Relations (1990-2000)**

The period between 1990 and 1991 was marked with turbulence for India. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the decreasing significance of the NAM, India found itself near isolation. In addition, the issues of terrorism and insurgency coupled with economic instability further pressed down on the South Asian state. India had to face violent insurgencies in Punjab, India's Northeast and Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). Pakistan had also grown to become more hostile towards India, which can be noted through its support for militants in J&K (Haokip, 2011). The South Asian region also suffered security and political instability due to various ethnic conflicts. The Sindhi and Baluchi movements in Pakistan, the Nepalis in Bhutan, the Terai against the hill people in Nepal, the Chakmas in Bangladesh, the Tamils in Sri Lanka and various tribes India's Northeast (Nanda, 2003, 265–266) provoked the peace structure of the entire South Asian region.

India also faced severe economic issues due to both internal and external factors. During this period, India suffered politically as well with three successive governments being formed within two years. The 1990-1991 Gulf war took a huge hit at India's oil imports, which rose to 21.9 percent in rupees (Ministry of Finance, 1991). Concurrently, India's trade with the Eastern European countries suffered significantly with the collapse of the



communist system. By mid-1991, foreign exchange reserves had fallen critically to the point that India had to seek the help of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Hoakip, 2011).

The fall of the Chandrashekhar Government led to new elections in July 1991. As a result, the Congress-led government was formed with Narasimha Rao as the Prime Minister. Confronted with a devastated national economy, Prime Minister Rao had to take significant steps to bring the country towards recovery. India's economic policy took a crucial turn during his administration with Dr. Manmohan Singh as the Finance Minister. This resulted to India opening up its arms to economic liberalization, privatization, and globalization. India's economic liberalization directed India to look outwards rather than inwards and engage with states beyond its immediate neighborhood. As part of the Rao Government's external approach, the Look East Policy was initiated.

The early 1990s paved the way for India's Look East policy which was initially focused on ASEAN countries but later encompassed others such as Japan, South Korea, China, New Zealand and Australia (Sikri, 2009). The Look East Policy encompassed economic, defense, and political levels of engagement. In relation to Southeast Asian, India became a full dialogue partner of the ASEAN in 1995 and a member of the ASEAN Regional Forum in 1996. The Look East Policy generated a positive response from countries in Southeast Asia, particularly Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand, mostly because of the economic benefits the policy may bring to the region (Raman, 2012). Other ASEAN countries also considered that India could be a counter-weight and alternative in the region vis-à-vis China.

However, the excitement and enthusiasm of the policy did not meet realistic outcomes in Southeast Asia. Malaysia's hope for big infrastructural projects with India did not push through. Singapore's attempts to associate with the Tatas on possible modernization projects for India's civil aviation infrastructure were futile. Additionally, Thailand's inland water prawn culture project was also given up due to fears of its negative effect on the agriculture industry (Raman, 2012). This disappointment clarified ASEAN countries that India is not yet a China in terms of economic capabilities. In fact, India still has a long way to go to match China's economic capacity in the region. During this period, India had also grown suspicious of Pakistan's growing alliance with China in the Indian Ocean. Terrorist and insurgent attacks in South Asia further complicated the security environment for India. This led to India's further military modernization and the development of its nuclear weapons. When India conducted its nuclear tests in 1998, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) severely criticized India's actions (United Nations Security Council, 1998). In addition, the US and Japan slapped economic sanctions on India due to the series of tests made. This led to the stagnation of India's relations with Southeast Asia. Southeast Asian states were also wary of conducting any kind of security cooperation such as counterterrorism measures with India out of the fear of getting embroiled in the complex situation of the South Asian region. This perception towards India changed after the devastating terrorist attacks of 9/11.

## **5. India Southeast Asia Relations after 9/11**

The 9/11 terrorist attack signaled a new era of international security. With the easy access and advancement of technology, not even a powerful state could be spared from the effects of terrorist activity. This became a wake-up call for President George W. Bush who spearheaded the Global War on Terror (GWOT) and led the invasion of Afghanistan and the Iraq War of 2003. The post-9/11 period saw a series of terrorist activities that spread throughout continents and regions (Roser, Nadgy, & Richie, 2013). Examples of which are the terrorist attacks on the Indian Parliament in 2001, the coordinated attacks on 21 petrol pumps in Pakistan in 2003, suicide attacks in Indonesia in 2002 and 2005 and the explosion in Super Ferry 14 in the Philippines in 2004 (Acharya, 2006). Countries have started reforming their counterterrorism policies in order to address the growing and evolving issue of terrorism.

The GWOT opened doors for India to enhance its cooperation with Southeast Asian countries and close the gaps of misunderstanding and misconception. Before 9/11 India's call and warning for the spread of terrorism were not taken seriously and seen as propaganda; however, the post-9/11 period recognized India's importance as country

with one of the richest experiences in counter-insurgency and terrorism (Raman, 2012). Even for the US, it was impossible to counter the effects of terrorism in the Pacific without the help of major military powers such as India. In fact, in 2002 and 2003, the Indian Navy escorted US ships transiting through the pirate-swarmed Malacca Strait (Paddock, 2010) – a very important maritime chokepoint in the Pacific. To the surprise of many, the US also reaffirmed India's role in the region and urged states not to perceive India's growing role negatively (Raman, 2012).

There has been greater acceptance of India's role in Southeast Asian security. In fact, the mutual desire to fight terrorism has brought Southeast Asia and India closer. After 9/11, Southeast Asian countries started seeing India's contributions as positive and neutral. Southeast Asia also welcomed India to play a bigger role in the region regarding issues of terrorism and piracy. India's vast experience in dealing with cultural, linguistic and religious minorities in the context of a democratic system would serve beneficial to Southeast Asian countries who are dealing with the same scenario in their respective national levels (Acharya, 2006).

India's warming up of ties with ASEAN countries through the strategic and security level after the 9/11 terrorist attacks became a stepping stone for further engagement in other levels of development. In 2002, India was elevated to a Summit level partner of ASEAN, which shows India's growing importance in the region. A few years into the post-9/11 period, trade between India and ASEAN also significantly developed. India's exports to ASEAN countries grew from USD 10.41 billion in 2005-2006 to USD 12.56 billion in 2006-2007. ASEAN's exports to India also grew from 10.88 billion in 2005-2006 to 18.08 billion in 2006-2007. Additionally, a framework for the ASEAN-India Free Trade Area (AIFTA) was signed in 2003 with the final agreement signed in 2009. This would be a significant platform to further enhance trade between the India and the ASEAN countries.

Bilaterally, India – Singapore trade grew 31 percent from 2005-2007. India's trade with Malaysia also grew from 3.57 billion in 2005-2006 to 6.72 billion in 2006-2007. India-Indonesia trade also increased 44 percent from 2005-2006 to 2006-2007. Thailand – India trade also increased from 1.22 billion in 2000-2001 to 3.14 billion in 2006-2007. India-Vietnam trade increased 40.26 percent in 2006-2007 from the previous year. Myanmar's trade with India also increased significantly to 44.1 percent from 2005-2006 to 2006-2007. During this time, however, trade with Cambodia, Laos, Brunei, and the Philippines did not grow exponentially (Raman, 2012, 75-76).

In other levels, India and ASEAN countries had constant exchanges in culture, education, tourism, and sports. It is important to comprehend that both India and Southeast Asia have a shared history, culture, and language. These assets would further enhance India-Southeast Asian relations. This was further cemented during the celebration of 20th-anniversary Commemorative Summit at New Delhi in 2012 when India-ASEAN relations were elevated to Strategic Partnership (Indian Mission to ASEAN, n.d.). This shows how India-Southeast Asian relations significantly took off during the post-9/11 period. The momentum has significantly improved throughout the years especially during the time of current Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his Act East Policy.

## **6. Current Trends in India-Southeast Asian Relations: MoDiplomacy and the Act East Policy**

The Look East Policy of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao became beneficial to India's external relations particularly in Southeast Asia, but when Prime Minister Narendra Modi's government came to power in 2014, he vowed to further enhance India's diplomatic capacity by transforming the Look East Policy into the Act East Policy (Saint-Mezard, 2016). To illustrate India's commitment, New Delhi set up a mission to ASEAN in April 2015 and sent a high-level delegation led by former Minister of Defense, Manohar Parrikar to the Shangri La Dialogue in June 2016. The Act East Policy is seen to put great emphasis on strategic and defense components of engagements; however, there are also other dimensions to the policy that need to be looked into as well.

Land and sea connectivity is well highlighted as a priority for both India and ASEAN countries. At the 13th ASEAN-India Summit in 2015, Prime Minister Modi announced a line of credit of \$ 1 Billion for connectivity projects in Southeast Asia (Balasubramaniam, 2015). Economically, India's trade with ASEAN has almost

doubled over the past ten years from USD 35 billion in 2007 to USD 65 billion in 2016. Exports and Imports also significantly increased over the period from USD 14 billion and USD 21 billion respectively in 2007, to USD 26 billion and US\$ 38 billion respectively in 2016. In fact as of the year 2017, India stands as the 11<sup>th</sup> largest trading partner of ASEAN (Export-Import Bank of India, 2018, 59).

Prime Minister Modi has significantly invigorated his Act East Policy to show India's commitment in engaging with its neighbors in the East, especially Southeast Asia. This commitment can be further seen when Prime Minister Modi invited the ten ASEAN leaders to become the chief guests in India's 69<sup>th</sup> Republic Day Celebration in 2017. India-Southeast Asian relations have gone a long way since the Cold War, and it has also steadily improved since the post- 9/11 period.

The Act East Policy also formed a bridge to a closer relation and strategic partnership between the US and India. India has also become more willing in mentioning the South China Sea issue in discussions and consultations with the US as a way of deepening its position in the region (Saint-Mezard, 2016). In fact, Southeast Asian countries such as Vietnam look towards India to act as a strategic counter-weight against China's growing power in the region. The United States also welcomes India's contributions in the Pacific and recognizes its value as a strategic partner. In June 2016, the US designated India as a major defense partner and supported its military modernization. With India and the US sharing perceptions of democracy and human rights, it can be seen that a strong India would complement US strategic interests.

## **7. Conclusion**

India – Southeast Asian relations have gone through the changing events in history and have witnessed their positive and negative effects. The Cold War period was marked with uncertainty in interstate relations. The bipolar system drew out lines that affected how countries interacted with each other. This period was also when India tried to establish its non-aligned policy through the NAM; however, there were loopholes in India's projection of its neutral position in international affairs especially with its warming up of relations with the Soviet Union. In addition, India's preoccupation with the wars it faced with Pakistan and China further distanced itself from other priorities.

These events did not come off positively for the United States and the Southeast Asian countries. The Cold War significantly soured relations between India and Southeast Asia. During the end of the Cold War, however, India found itself in isolation with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the decreasing significance of the NAM. In addition, the years 1990 to 1991 was a tumultuous time for India as it faced political and economic issues that occupied its attention greatly. When Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's government took power, India was headed towards the path of economic liberalization. This resulted to a more external-looking foreign policy which brought forth the Look East Policy. Despite the enthusiasm revolving around the Look East Policy and its positive implications for India-Southeast Asian relations, there were still gaps that widened the divide, such as India's military development and nuclear tests. Fortunately, the situation changed during the GWOT when countries all around the world had to reform their counter-terrorism policies due to the changing dynamics of terrorist activities. India's rich experience in counter-insurgency and terrorism, coupled with its familiarity in dealing with diverse ethnic and religious minorities proved to be a stepping stone to forge stronger relations with ASEAN countries. The post-9/11 period brought dramatic changes upon India-Southeast Asian relations in political, economic, strategic, and social levels. This momentum further developed during the government of current Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi through his Act East Policy. In summary, the Post-9/11 period and the GWOT brought positive change into the relations between India and the Southeast Asian countries. By analyzing current trends, it can be seen that this momentum would further develop as long as both parties realize the significance of each other's crucial roles in regional and global affairs.

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# Media Ecology: The Coincidence of Events and Comparison of Information

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## Abstract

The paper explores the factors that influence and contribute toward the cyclic mode of information. It looks at how information undergoes mutations over time and space and how these mutations play an important role in making the whole process of information cyclic. Information gets recycled countless times in the course of history; I also consider information to have periodicity and value attached. Like the various environments that surround the earth that are essential in maintaining balance, today media environment has become essential for human survival. The paper explains how information moves in a cyclic process making certain events possible again; it also explains how information is exchanged between the two environments (earth and Infosphere). There is an infosphere that facilitates the exchange of information 24x7. Human lives revolve and also depend on this manmade sphere called infosphere; the information generated per day is incalculable, one may wonder what is this “information” all about, who is producing it, and where is it going? Infosphere has the answers for all these questions.

**Keywords:** Media, Environments, Infosphere, Information, Ecology

**Introduction:** The present paper highlights the historical development of Media Ecology. The constant interaction of various media within the media environments and the symbiotic relationship between man, nature, and technology can be understood in the border terms of Media Ecology. Scholars like Harold Innis, Neil Postman, and Marshall McLuhan contributed to the idea and evolution of Media Ecology, as they were able to see the broad implication of media in terms of its impact on the civilizations and the institutions we have built. Scholars of Media Ecology understood media and its relationship with the larger context as an intricate one. The impact of media is not just limited to politics, culture, and economy, but it is also found to have a significant bearing on the natural environments. The different viewpoints and approaches of scholars working in the broad field of Media Ecology are taken into consideration for explaining the present information environment. Socio-political movements not

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only make information cyclic but also help the media ecology\*<sup>1</sup> To sustain itself with changes. Harold Innis's categorization of media as time and space bias is the major concept used to understand the present socio-political movements with particular reference to the Telangana movement of India.

It is necessary to take cognizance of the history of media and its influence to have a broader understanding of Media Ecology. Communication has evolved over the centuries and has taken different forms, from sign language to oral and from written to visual. The invention of the first printing press by Gutenberg to the latest social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter have provided us a platform for information dissemination. Modes of exchange of information have an impact on the way we organize and respond to a situation in a given political and socio-cultural environment. Communication gives shape to the world we live in and helps in making sense of changes around us; more often than not, our subjectivities are located within the flux of change.

Marshall McLuhan and Neil Postman (who coined the term 'Media Ecology') are considered to be the harbingers of the Media Ecology approach. Media Ecology has been defined from the vantage point of various ideological positions, and these have, in turn, informed its contemporary understanding. Harold Adam Innis was the first scholar to state the idea that various channels that help in communication become central to the changes that occur in a society and in a given civilization. The mentor of Marshall McLuhan, Innis contributed to the idea of Media Ecology with his writings like *Empire and Communications* (1950), *The Bias of Communication* (1951), *Changing Concepts of Time* (2004). Innis's categories of time and space bias media are still relevant to understand the contemporary socio-political realities.

Neil Postman broadened our understanding of Media Ecology. When Neil Postman defined media as 'ecology' many were clueless and were left wondering about its implication; he referred to media as an environment that can influence other environments. Postman, with his writings like *Teaching as a Subversive Activity* (1969), *Teaching as a conserving activity* (1979), *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business* (1985), and *Technopoly* (1992) enlarged our understanding of media and its effects on education and other aspects; his insights into the impact of media on culture and conservatism helped us to understand how the modern technological tools are changing the perceptions of people who use it. He also explained the impact of electronic media and its influence, especially the influence of tools like telegraph, radio, and television in American society. He interpreted the changing attitudes and perceptions of the public with reference to technological dependence. According to Postman

Media Ecology is the study of information environments. It is concerned to understand how technologies and techniques of communication control the form, quantity, speed, distribution, and direction of information; and how, in turn, such information configurations or biases affect people's perceptions, values, and attitudes (Postman1979: 186).

For Marshal McLuhan societies revolve around media; he saw every human action as related to media. McLuhan believed that we are never outside the media. He saw the new technological innovations as the extensions of humans. These extensions of humans in a given environment have an impact ranging from immediately felt ones to ones that are more long-term. The constant interactions between the people and the media alter and shape the society at various levels and in various fields. The rapid expansion of technologies and its impact can be seen in the world that McLuhan foresaw and predicted in *Understanding Media* (1964). He says,

During the mechanical ages, we had extended our bodies in space. Today, after more than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned. Rapidly, we approach the final phase of the extensions of man-- the technological simulation of consciousness, when the creative process of knowing will be collectively and corporately extended to the whole of

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<sup>1</sup>The capital form of 'Media Ecology' has been used in this thesis to refer to the discipline whereas the normal font is used to refer to the media environment.

human society, much as we have already extended our senses and our nerves by the various media. (McLuhan 1964: 3-4)

Each new technology which is added to the ecosystem plays a vital role in shaping our society; at the same time, the new technologies outdate the old technologies or tools. McLuhan concluded that four things happen to all media and human artifacts; McLuhan's laws are Enhances, Reverses, Retrieves, and Obsolesces (McLuhan and Eric McLuhan 1992:129). This phenomenon was believed to be inevitable, and they applied universally. Additionally, while some results may take years to be apparent, others have a more immediate impact.

McLuhan's message always tells us to look beyond the obvious and seek the non-obvious changes or effects that are enabled, enhanced, accelerated, or extended by the new thing. (Federman 2004)

The communication system that was earlier point to point has been revolutionized by the hundreds of satellites that are being launched. The satellites enlarged the scope for information to reach a wider audience and geographic area (from local to global and vice-versa); it has redefined the communication system, with information traveling almost at the speed of light, enabling information exchange within an environment and outside it. Luciano Floridi says, "Although the production of analogue data is still increasing, the infosphere is becoming more digital by the day" (Floridi 2010:6). People are accessing much of the required information through the infosphere. We are able to send receive and store the information with the help of the modern communication tools. The satellite communication has become essential for the exchange of information 24x7. Human lives revolve and also depend on these satellites that are operated remotely. The artificial memory (like hard disks) not only stores the information that is generated but also makes it accessible 24x7 through a complex networking structures (internet). Before the use of modern communication technologies, the spread of information was limited and it got circulated with the help of terrestrial mechanisms and systems on earth; today our communication has moved beyond earth and into the extra-terrestrial.

While Innis explains and understands the media in terms of time and space bias, Postman saw the power of electronic media in terms of its impact on people's perceptions, values, and attitudes. On the other hand, McLuhan understood the media as the extensions of human bodies and central nervous system. Innis, Postman, and McLuhan realized the shape media was taking; they were able to see the future and predict the impact of media and the new technologies on society I feel that over the years we have created a new environment that dictates the actions of humans and his day-to-day activities.

Today the term Media Ecology has been put to use to understand various fields like education, culture, lifestyle, politics, and social institutions. Media Ecology is studied for its growing significance, with the rapid change of technologies surrounding our lives. Every society is undergoing change and is adopting or modifying its lifestyle in a way that is suitable to a given environment. The modern media started as a single source with the induction of the Guttenberg printing press, but later got bifurcated into various forms, each having its own importance, and challenging the other for its survival. The new ecology of technology works in the same way as natural ecology where each component of an environment has an important role to play and at the same time has a link with the parent. Just so, we may have a television but to make it work it needs much more: electricity, antenna, wire, satellite, etc. And at the end, to make it sustainable we need different genres of programmes, advertisements, and audiences to watch.

[E]cology is not essentially about DDT, caterpillars, and the effects on muskrats of diverting a stream. Ecology is about the rate and scale and structure of change within an environment. It is about how balance is achieved, a balanced mind and society as well as a balanced forest. It is, therefore, as much about social institutions, bulldozers, freeways, artifacts, and ideas as it is about natural processes, trees, rivers, and the survival of herons (Postman 1979: 17-18).

The media has a huge impact on socio-political, cultural and economic issues; the information and communication tools are constantly changing the complex networks of environment and human perception that in turn makes them act according to the prevailing situations. The involvement of the masses with the new communication tools is reshaping the political and cultural institutions all over the world. The symbiotic relationship between the people and the media is inseparable, as we increasingly depend on each other for our survival in the larger ecosystem that we have built (of man and machines).

With the coming of the new communication tools, more information is generated than ever before. The dependence on information is evident when one looks at the modern societies, the information that we generate is so huge that it runs into millions of bytes, according to IBM.com "Every day, we create 2.5 quintillion bytes of data — so much that 90% of the data in the world today has been created in the last two years alone. This data comes from everywhere: sensors used to gather climate information, posts to social media sites, digital pictures and videos, purchase transaction records, and cell phone GPS signals to name a few" ("*Building a Smarter Planet*," 2010). The information that we are generating today can be retrieved as and when we require and can be used according to our needs. Information once generated – oral, written, or visual– can never be static. It is a cycle that moves forward replicating itself some times in the same form and sometimes with modification. The mutations that are happening in the media ecologies are only making us vulnerable in terms of technological dependence.

For instance, the smart data, which the IBM is talking about, says it is helping improve every aspect of our lives; the IBM has indeed used the data in the 2010 US Open. The IBM says, "Through smarter data, we can also see how one piece of information relates to the things around it. Any data point, by itself, is just about useless. But when you see it in context, when you analyze that context in real-time– and when you can automatically capture the connections that one piece of data is making with other pieces of data– then one can have a smart system which is smart enough to make better predictions ("*Building a Smarter Planet*", 2010).

The earth today is surrounded by layers of information, the artificial memories and the satellite technologies that we have in place play a vital role in information recycling processes and also in gratifying the rising demand for information, making it accessible irrespective of the geographic location. Humans over the centuries have added new information that is stored as either time bias or space bias media; this information can be recycled as and when required. Luciano Floridi (1999) coined the term 'infosphere' in order to describe the informational environment as similar to the biosphere. According to Floridi,

It denotes the whole informational environment constituted by all informational entities (thus including informational agents as well), their properties, interactions, processes, and mutual relations. It is an environment comparable to, but different from, cyberspace (which is only one of its sub-regions, as it were), since it also includes offline and analogue spaces of information. (Floridi 2010:6)

A piece of information may be relevant or irrelevant for an individual, but it has diverse consequences on humans. The relevance of information changes from context to context and from generation to generation. Postman talked about how in an age that is overloaded with information has tended to lose its value with the coming of the various communication tools like the telegraph, photograph, radio, and television. While talking about typography and how it enlarged people's perception on various issues, he looks at how it promoted and provided a broad base for intellectual discourse, later altering the course of intellectual debate. He talked in details about how the latest communication tools have changed information to entertainment and how the quantity and not quality has become the priority for these new technologies.

Innis says, at any given point of time civilizations are bias towards one medium. In terms of the information we live in Postman's "one neighborhood," (1985:65) and McLuhan's "global village" (McLuhan 1964:37) that has taken shape and came into existence with the launching of the satellites. Satellite communication has made the global exchange of information possible, but at the same time it has also devalued information; we can see a clear



distinction between pre and post satellite eras with relevance to information. The space bias media has taken over time bias media: modern societies and cultures cannot ignore the pervasive influence of this medium. Very often, individuals are not even aware of the impact of the circulating information; consciously or unconsciously, their views and opinions are shaped and altered depending on the media environment in which they find themselves.

The knowledge that is passed on from one generation to another through the mediums that are inclined to time or space bias media. In the global village, places and people are instantly connected, and knowledge is shared over space (knowledge can be local and foreign). Information sometimes can be foreign and can be different from the existing, and this can be used by the individual, tribe, society, or civilization according to their needs. In the process, the (foreign and local) information gets repeated and modified, and this is a continuous process that moves information forward through various mediums that are bias to time or space. As Onufrijchuck says that "form lead to changes in content, and then changes in content lead to mutations of form" (quoted in Prins and Bishop 2001-2002:115).

We propose the idea of the cyclic nature of information on the basis of the following observations:

1. If we consider nature to be cyclic, then the information it contains and reveals is also cyclic. Even the so-called dead take a form and come to life in the course of time as images, sculptures, paintings et al.
2. Mutations to the information occur as time progresses; we try to add new information with the old. But these also help in keeping the information cyclic.
3. Information gets repeated in the form of experiments, formulas, equations, words, alphabets, numbers, lines, names, music notes, and many such other that we keep using day in and day out.
4. Information also gets repeated during socio, political, cultural, and ethnic movements. These events keep repeating, and so does the information, making the information to be cyclic in the form of books, music, songs, paintings and various other forms.
5. Communism is synonymous with names like Stalin, and Mao. Every time people talk about Stalin or Mao they also recollect communism. The same can be said about M K Gandhi, who became synonymous with non-violence.
6. Through films and songs we keep information in a cyclic mode. Computers, books, and our human brain helps us in retrieving the information and putting the old information to use when required, thus making the information to exist in cyclic mode.

Information is getting recycled through various tools invented by the humans for communication (written, telegraph, photograph, art, radio, television, and internet). The process of recycling information depends on the situations and contexts. But are we recycling the information consciously or unconsciously? "Historical knowledge is not merely preserved, but is shaped by the archive and its means of selecting, storing, and presenting information?" (Libraries and Archives Canada, 2007). This statement reflects the process of information recycling. All academicians, anthropologists, geologists, scientists, over the centuries have quoted many proverbs, statements, and formulas from the books written by some unknown writers of ancient civilizations and from some known scholars like Aristotle, Karl Marx, Innis, McLuhan, Postman, and many others from different fields of scholarship. Is it not true that we are repeating the same words spoken or written by these scholars, sometimes (rarely) adding something new to the already existing? For instance, I may not have seen an event that had taken place some decades back (Apollo landing on the moon), but I know about the event and the information associated with it. It has been spoken, written, pictured, and documented in some form and has now become a part of my environment. The landing on the moon may or may not happen in my lifetime, but the information that was part of the event keeps repeating for the generations to come.

One could take the example of a few events that have happened in the present and that have some connection with the past; we retrieve the old information when such events occur. Information gets generated and repeated at any given point of time making it cyclic; for example, it can pass from television to radio to newspapers the same day or the next and so on. During identity-assertion movements, information related to the dress, food, language, religion of the community in question gets repeated time. A lot of emphasis is given to certain elements and characteristics that are unique to the community or region. During political movements, statements by prominent people are repeatedly quoted.

Construction and deconstruction of information have been a cyclic process in the evolution of human civilizations. The time bias media and the space bias media help not only each other in survival but also help in recycling the information. Today with the help of satellites, we are able to locate the ancient civilizations beneath the earth and under the ocean floors that date back to thousands of years. We are able to reconstruct the ancient palaces, temples, forts, and many others, with modern technologies. We are able to retrieve the information based on artifacts and other materials and metals used by civilizations of yore. Apart from the physical existence of the information, human memory has been playing a vital role in preserving and disseminating information. Human memory also constructs and deconstructs the information according to its needs. In the process of circulation, the information over a period undergoes several mutations; these mutations are necessary as they play a vital role in making the information cyclic. It moves forward by replicating itself sometimes in the same form and at times with modification (art, songs, stories); we are able to reconstruct the ancient temples, monuments and other important cultural aspects of the lost cities and civilizations. This reconstruction of information may sometimes be close to reality and sometimes not. These mutations are the outcome of the information that is recycled and constantly exchanged between the various environments. The construction, deconstruction, and recycling of the information would have taken a longer period if the present communication tools were unavailable to humans. In societies that are bias to space, information moves at speed of light. Also this entire process is possible because the info-societies (societies) of the modern-day are connected to the World Wide Web (www). The information that gets circulated in Infoweb is not limited for the intended few, but for millions around the globe; equally, the feedback is not just from the intended users but also from those who are part of the info-societies.

Those people who are not directly connected to the World Wide Web (www) are also becoming part of the information that gets circulated in the web through various technological devices (smartphones, print, radio, television, etc.). The information may be dormant at times, but it gets recycled at an "appropriate" time. The process of unearthing the information (recycling) may be natural or at times accidental; we come across the information while excavating the earth for some construction process, or in the process of sourcing the natural resources. The information also gets revealed as time passes by (ice ages, soil erosions); this becomes a natural process. The information that is a few decades old may not generate the same interest as it would have at that point of time. As McLuhan argued, the 'The medium is the message' (McLuhan 1964:9). The importance of information is lost if it does not pass through a selective medium.

The media ecology sustains itself with the information that is generated through various technological tools. The information and the technological tools may be dormant for some-time, but the chances are that they may come back to life. One of the striking features of the information getting repeated is through various social, political, cultural, identity-assertion movements that keep repeating a set of preferred information to motivate people. Human civilizations recycle information through these movements. What is seen in most of these political, cultural and identity struggles is that the information that is centuries and decades-old gets repeated especially during the movement periods at regular intervals and once the goal is achieved by the community, group or a political party the information also gets slowly faded away as people do not compare or look for the similarities any more.

The famous quote "History repeats itself" was proposed by Heinrich Heine and Friedrich Nietzsche in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Many western political thinkers and philosophers and many historians like Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Saint Luke, Machiavelli, and others believed that it had to do with the cosmological events. While for others like G.W. Trompf the concept of historic recurrence as "the past teaches lessons for... future action" — that "the same... sorts of events which have happened before... will recur..." (Trompf 1979: 3)

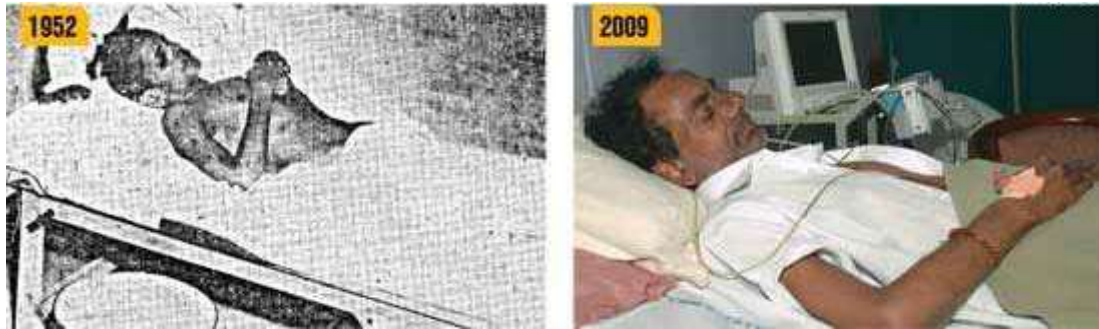


Fig.1 History unfolds Potti Sriramulu fasting for a united Andhra Pradesh; and KCR for Telangana  
(*The outlook magazine*)

In an article written by Prins and Bishop about *Edmund Carpenter Explorations in Media and Anthropology*, they say

History is a selective process. We do not, cannot, and need not remember all who contributed to making the past. Most of what really happened will never be documented, and not all that has been recorded is important enough to be passed on. As perspectives change, new questions emerge. Occasionally, historical revisionism restores some unique characters previously neglected (Prins and Bishop 2001-2002: 110).

Retrieving the old information and comparing it with the new is a process of recycling the information. All forms of media, traditional or digital (time or space bias), perform the duty of recycling the information of the past and the present. For example, 'The New York Times' issue of 4<sup>th</sup> march 2014 corrected a mistake with regard to misspelling the name 'Northup' in an article printed in 20, 1853; this happened after a gap of 161 years, this was when the movie *12 Years a Slave* won the Oscar award in 2014.

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# Ethnic Tourism in Northern Thailand: The Paradox of Authentic Tourism Experience

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## Abstract

Ethnicity and the exotic are the two concepts Thailand has exploited in intimate details to create the cultural tourism experience. The Cultural tourists' is in search of the authentic intact native. The uniqueness of the physical features of the local inhabitants, cultural dress and performances are capitalized upon. An ethnic community fits into the two concepts containing the objects of touristic desire. Despite the fact that authenticity is of great importance for cultural tourists, the very presence of the tourists is the construction of manifestations of tourism. Cultural tourism is then the reification process of the remote village life into the touristic attraction. The process illustrates the encounters of tourism hospitality practices. The social negotiation between tourists and hosts results in the transformation of self-less exotic of ethnic groups. An experience of ethnic tourism is akin to a fabricated heritage. When ethnicity and tourism are the core of economic development, the question of cultural change within the community also alters the attractiveness of the tourism location. This paper advances our understanding of the connection between ethnicity and tourism as a space of local hospitality performance and fabricated heritage creation. By discussing the author's ethno-touristic experience in a Northern Thailand village, the analysis creates meaningful understandings of the complexity surrounding the hospitality phenomenon and the experience of ethnic culture.

**Keywords:** Ethnic Tourism, Authenticity, Tourism Experience, Long-Neck Karen

## Introduction

According to Richards and Wilson (2007), tourism and culture has long been interaction in tourism development. Tourist destinations have turned to their culture as tourism marketing strategies. At the same time, cultural tourists travel to the remote village in searching of the authentic intact native. The uniqueness of the physical features of the ethnic groups, their cultural dress and performance are capitalized upon. Despite the fact that authenticity is of great importance for cultural tourists, the very presence of the tourists is the construction of manifestations of tourism. Cultural tourism is then the reification process of the remote village life into the touristic attraction.

This paper is based on my ethno-touristic experience in order to explain the complexity of the connection between ethnicity and tourism as a space of local hospitality performance and fabricated heritage creation. The paper discusses my ethno-touristic experience as the key to understand what happened in Hauy Pu Kang, the Long Neck

Karen village in Northern Thailand. This ethnographic data is constructed through an active participation processes between Long Neck Karen and I. The analysis creates meaningful understandings of the complexity surrounding the hospitality phenomenon and the experience of ethnic culture.

Particularly, the paper discusses the changing of Hauy Pu Kang in association with tourism development and their hospitality performance. Moreover, the paper attempts to clarify root causes of tourism dependent in order to make a positive understanding of the integration of tourism and ethnicity. In fact, this paper interprets the author's experience in order to see what implications could be formed from that experience that can contribute to a more sustainable tourism development.

### **Long Neck Karen villages and the ethno-touristic experience**

Hauy Pu Kang, a Karen village situated in an isolated area along the Pai River in Mae Hong Son. The village take about seven hours to drive from Chiang Mai. The village is located in the slopes of mountains surrounded with abundant forest. The village has been permanent settlement for Long-Necked Karen since 1996. Hauy Pu Kang villagers belongs almost exclusively to two of the Karen subgroups: the Long-Necked Karen and the Big-Eared Karen. The Big-Eared Karen wear large, heavy earrings in their ears to enlarge their earlobes. Villager predominantly speak Kayan or Kayaw Languages. Some villagers speak Thai, however, Burmese is the village's official language. The livelihood of the villagers is associated with the forest in forms of food supply including bamboo shoots, mushrooms, and other edible plants. They raise pigs and chickens for their diets as well as their religious and social ceremonies.

The infertile soil and low quality of forest resources causes ineffective agriculture. This problem leads to low life quality among Karen in Hauy Pu Kang. The villagers need to cope with economic pressure from globalization and capital world. This difficulty leads to the introduction of tourism into the village. However, with the location of Hauy Pu Kang and there are other Long-Necked Karen elsewhere, the village depending on tour guides for its tourism economy. In other words, Hauy Pu Kang could not have been completed their tourism system (see Chatkaewnapanon 2016) without the heavily involving of travel agents and tour guides.

The notion of Hauy Pu Kang Community has been a central interest to tourists to investigate social phenomena occurring in tourism-encounter activities, such as village trekking, cultural ceremonies, and homestay for example. The village's landscape is space and place of tourism practice among tourists, tour guides, and most importantly the community's members. According to Omholt (2013), places have become under-organized social system. In this respect, tourism creates the complexity of place in Hauy Pu Kang. Similar to Miles (2010) in which emphasizes on the perspective of consumption in any place, Hauy Pu Kang is a place of significantly tourism consumption. However, the framework to economic considerations of tourism activities as the village economy development is relied heavily on tour guides.

My first experience of personal encountering with Long-Necked Karen was at Baan Tong Luang in 2017. Baan Tong Luang is a famous cultural attraction in Chiang Mai. It is a set up cultural village about 40 kilometers away from Chiang Mai City. The village is designed and managed to serve tourists, which gazing of them weaving scarves and bags is a main tourist activity. There is a 500 baht charged to each tourist for the village entrance fee. The villagers receive monthly income for their performance of running and living in souvenir shops as their houses. Moreover, their extra income is in a form of sale of scarves and bags to visitors. In this fabricated village, Long-Neck Karen is the primacy form of the tourist gaze (Urry 1990). They are physical objects of tourism production and consumption.

After the tip, I could not stop wondering of what the authenticity of those ethnic people living in such a village would be. It seemed to me that the role for Long-Neck Karen in Baan Tong Luang illustrated the growth of cultural symbolic as a factor to only motivate business activity. The issues of cultural village, and the exploitation of ethnicity for tourism had been continued. Therefore, I took a suggested idea of a tour guide to visit a genuine

Long-Neck Karen village. Hauy Pu Kang is a recommended village. It is about seven hours drive from Chiang Mai city. I have visited Hauy Pu Kang several times in 2018 and 2019.

On my several visitations, I stayed with Mapang, a Long-Neck Karen, at her homestay. Staying with her in the village was not only allowing me to familiarize with the village, but also letting the village to tolerate with me being in there. After cruising quite freely in the community coupled with Mapang's guidance, I developed an understanding of the community's customs and culture. According to Parsons (1951), 'a community is collectivity the members share in a common territorial area as a base of operations for daily activities' (cited in Delanty 2010: 24). When community is conceptualized into a domain of place where people have something in common, then the studies of community have been widely focused on the examining a geographical area, observing a group of people, and studying a practice of traditional way of life in a community. My participant observation involves my immersion into the lives of those Karen. Therefore, my ethnographic text came out of my ethno-touristic experience which involving semi-constructed conversations and cultural activity participation (Herbert 2000; Kearns 2000).

Throughout my several visits at the village, I witnessed tourism implications on the village's development of the experience of local geography as well as the local livelihood. In other words, I witnessed both the 'touristization' (Young 1983; Chatkaewnapanon 2012) and the 'touristification' (Picard 1996) of Hauy Pu Kang. It is the process of transformation of the community not only into a tourist attraction but also into a tourist destination. It is the transformation of the whole community as 'the touristic transformation' (Cohen 2001) in which the process of tourism transmuting Hauy Pu Kang into a tourism and tour guide dependency community.

Moreover, the implications of tourism on the village is not only transforming the physical setting of a rural community of creating the village into a showroom for souvenirs but also altering social landscape of forming the conflict of the traditional sociocultural economic activities. Tourism is the creation of linkages of tourist complains and the community livelihood. Specifically, visitors, through tour guides' words, complained about domestic animals in the village. Specifically, chickens making noise and pigs being not hygiene. It is an ironic comment that they had an issue of what make the community *unique* and *attractiveness* (Chatkaewnapanon, Leelapattan, Trakansiriwanich, and Ek-Iem 2017) as cultural tourism of ethnicity. The tourists complain had resulted in a call for the village meetings. This matter became the central of my attention.

### **Tourism Performance and Fabricated Livelihood**

Similar to other studies, as being trained as a tourism ethnographer, my orientation of the villages has been conceptualized around the examining of tourism development and its implications on Karen's villages (Chatkaewnapanon 2012: Hall 2008; Mason 2008, Tucker 2003). When first I arrived in Hauy Pu Kang, it reminded me immediately of Baan Tong Luang. Creating tourism in Hauy Pu Kang is about developing the image of Long-Neck Karen women as tourism products. Their images are tourism outstanding of cultural resources. Tourism conceptualizes Karen' women images as the ethnic identity in which becoming tourism 'objectives reality' (Kalandides 2011) in association with the community context.

Moreover, here was not much different between the two villages in their of their physical appearances. Souvenir shops as of their houses on both villages are situated on both sides of the main street. More importantly, souvenirs for tourists were exactly the same products and designs. There are the modified bodies of Long-Neck Karen women that have been duplicated into colorful wooden dolls for the consumption of tourists. In both places, similar to Picard (1996), there was the commoditization of Karen culture and identity, particularly the figure of Long Neck Karen women. In this respect, images of Karen women are the significant quality of the village attractions as its potential of tourism to be developed (McKercher and Ho2006; Graci 2008). There is no distinction of both places in this respect.

Tourism has transformed ethnic groups into commodities for tourism consumption. It is of what Picard (1996) discusses in the process of touristification of local culture. The commoditization of ethnicity is the process of selling many aspects of local customs to tourists. In the case of Long-Neck Karen, touristification process create economic value to Karen's costumes of women wearing coils. This touristification process had the same implications on both authentic and fabricated villages. Then my question was what 'the attraction power and uniqueness of a destination' (Formica 2000: 22; Chatkaewnapanon 2012) that can attract the potential tourists to come to Hanyu Pu Kang rather than Baan Tong Luang.

The observation of the village meeting to address of what tourists complain gives me an awareness of how Long-Neck Karen took tourism very seriously. However, if we are to understand how Karen ethnicity hospitality performance, it is important to emphasize that the seriousness is not only the reflection of the village is tourism-dependent economy, but also hospitality is part of their culture and society. It cannot be denied that the expansion of tourist numbers is a result of the organization of either travel agents or tour guides. Thus to comply with those complains is important to both their economy and hospitality.

Hanyu Pu Kang has associated with tourism since 1990s due to the images of Long-Neck Karen. Then the village has become the focal point of examining the implications of the encountering between tourists and locals. If tourism is not totally transforming the village completely into a contemporary tourism based society (Chatkaewnapanon 2012; Huang 2013, Tucker 2003), tourism is a significant mechanism in additional income to the village. Similar to other places, tourism has become a main factor for the village's livelihood, stimulating SMEs in hope of reducing the village's poverty (Okazaki 2008, Simpson 2008).

Tourism industry has the potential to create both negative and positive impacts on any given destination (Singh, Timothy and Dowling 2003). In the case of Hanyu Pu Kang, tourism has threatened Long-Neck Karen village. The main message at the meeting was about their traditional animals in which these animals are not only economic values but also social and cultural capital characteristics to the villagers. To address to the criticizes of tourists on those animals is not an easy task. The community meeting has helped me to realize the important of pigs and chickens in their traditional way of life as well as tourism in their economy. Moreover, it helps me to understand the inclusive of all community participation as a key to success of tourism development (Garcia-Rosell and Makinen 2013; Tosun 2000). Instead of ordering of what to do by the village's leaders, the community allowed very voices to be heard.

According to the villager, if they eliminated those animals, it would affect their livelihood as animals are source of their food, and traditional belief and cultural activities. However, if they did not do anything with those animals as well then their worry was not only about to effect the attitude of their hospitality, but also the numbers of visitation of the future tourists.

Tourists can gaze Long-Neck Karen in Baan Tong Luang, a fabricated village near Chiang Mai. Although Hanyu Pu Kang is a Long-Neck Karen authentic livelihood, the village is not significant enough to attract tourists to visit. Hanyu Pu Kang is totally dependent to tour guides to bring visitors. To attract tourists, tour guides provide information to raise tourists' awareness of the attractive and uniqueness of Long-Neck Karen in Hanyu Pu Kang. In this respect, the authenticity of Long-Neck Karen, their life and the livelihood that become the attractiveness for tourism, has been built around tour guide information. In other words, Hanyu Pu Kang as tourist destination is the process of making *place* unique through the construction of travel agents and tour guides. I also have been drawn into the village due to its attractiveness power and uniqueness of Hanyu Pu Kang as a tour guide suggested.

My concerns throughout the meeting was what the authenticity of Hanyu Pu Kang would be without having those animals around anymore. In fact, having those animals in the village is the process of making the community unique in its constructing Karen cultural geographical content for tourism consumption. Hanyu Pu Kang has become increasingly significant in the production of rurality through those domestic animals. Specifically, the scene of animals moving around the village making Hanyu Pu Kang different from Baan Tong Luang. The animals are the

means of local people and their relationships to Karen traditional social system. If tourists did not want these animals in their tourism experience, then what the points of going to genuine villages. If the community complied to what tourists needed, then the village would operate a fabricated landscape within the authentic livelihood.

The process of managing the complexity of the village's environment and livelihood creates the paradox of the authentic tourism experience in Hauy Pu Kang. The complain of those tourists will effect on the production of the village space. It will change the 'representation space', in which 'the space of everyday experience' (Lefebvre 1991 cited in Cloke 2007: 38) of those tourists. The significance of tourism, tourists complains in particular, can impact on the representation of publishing a new turn in the touristic transformation of Hauy Pu Kang. It set against the idea about the production of cultural tourism and authenticity of ethnicity. Therefore, tourism has been actively involved in the fabricated livelihood construction of Hauy Pu Kang space.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the paper discusses the changing of Hauy Pu Kang in association with tourism development and their hospitality performance. It attempts to clarify root causes of tourism dependent in order to make a positive understanding of the integration of tourism and ethnicity. This paper interprets the author's experience in order to see what implications could be formed from that experience that can contribute to a more sustainable tourism development in ethnicity in Thailand.

This paper is based on my ethno-touristic experience in order to explain the complexity of the connection between ethnicity and tourism as a space of local hospitality performance and fabricated heritage creation. The paper discusses tourism and ethnicity in relation to the reification process of the remote village life into the tourist destination. The process illustrates the encounters of tourism hospitality practices. My ethno-touristic experience is the key to understand what happened in Hauy Pu Kang, the Long-Neck Karen village in Northern Thailand. This ethnographic data is constructed through an active participation processes between Long-Neck Karen and I. The analysis creates meaningful understandings of the complexity surrounding the hospitality phenomenon and the experience of ethnic culture.

Despite cultural tourists' is in search of the authentic intact, the very presence of them is the construction of manifestations of tourism in Hauy Pu Kang. Tour guides support and encourage tourists to engage in local livelihood and cultural activities. Then, the process illustrates the encounters of tourism hospitality practices. The uniqueness of the physical features of the village and local hospitality are changed upon. The social negotiation between tourists and hosts results in the transformation of self-less exotic of Hauy Pu Kang, both landscape and livelihood. An experience of ethnic tourism is akin to a fabricated heritage.

Attempting to eliminate dogs, pigs, and chicken is a very good example in this essence. Tourists unintentional would cause the loss of local authenticity. In the case of Hauy Pu Kang, touristic hospitality performance does pretense serious questions about the production of ethnic cultural space. Clearly, tourists push the locals to transform the genuine village into fabricated livelihood. Then the question of cultural change within the community also alters the attractiveness of the ethnic location. In essence, a tour guide as a gate keeper to the village should provide important knowledge to tourists of what genius experience to them as well as to maintain authenticity of cultural tourism development in an ethnic community.

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# Institutional Merger of Farmer Groups in the Enhancement Efforts of Independence of Farmer Groups in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia (Case Study on Citrus Farming)

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## Abstract

The agricultural sector was one of the priorities during the New Order era in Indonesia under Soeharto's leadership. The formation of farmer groups was carried out extensively in order to achieve self-sufficiency in food, but since the fall of the New Order, many farmer groups have not functioned, especially those that relied on government assistance alone. The government in the current reform era in Indonesia is trying to merge farmer groups into new institutions which are named the alliance of farmers group (Gapoktan). This research aims to understand the benefit of merging farmer groups. Field research was conducted in 4 villages of South Konawe Regency, Southeast Sulawesi Province where there was a merger of farmer groups. The results of the study show that the incorporation of farmer groups has had a positive impact their reactivation. The farmer group develops to become a place of learning, discussion, and exchange of information between fellow members. Actually, farmer groups who are members of Gapoktan no longer discuss only the problem of increasing production, but the functions of farmer groups have developed into as marketing institutions, facilities for distribution as well as savings and loan cooperatives. The combination of farmer groups also resulted in government extension workers no need visiting each farmer group as before, because the spread of innovation is being continued by farmer group representatives who themselves disseminate knowledge and skills obtained from training held by government agencies to other farmer group members. The process of training farmers to train other farmers has improved the farmers' competency. The merger of farmer groups has also fostered the trust of partner institutions such as buyers and banking institutions.

**Keywords:** Institutional Merger, Farmer Group, Partnership, Non-Formal Education

## 1. Introduction

The Indonesian Minister of Agriculture Regulation Number 67/2016 explains how the progressive merger of farmers groups can become an alliance (*Gapoktan*) formed to increase economies of scale and business efficiency. *Gapoktan* functions to strengthen farmer institutions to meet business feasibility and business efficiency; *Gapoktan* can provide facilities and infrastructure, processing, marketing, and micro-finance business units (savings and loans). This paper uses a case study approach to review the implementation of the policies of the Indonesian

government to merge farmer groups into a Farmer Group Alliance (Gapoktan) in citrus farming in Southeast Sulawesi.

The background for farmer groups merger is based on the fact that many of the smaller farmer groups currently cannot run either efficiently or effectively, as the objectives of farmer group institutions are: (1) farmer groups do not yet fully function as economic units in the rural area; (2) many farmer groups have inadequate access to information and technology, production facilities and capital; (3) low productivity and land holding which are too small to support people; (4) farming activities of its members are simply focused on production activities (on-farm); (5) limited knowledge and insights on production management and marketing networks (Agricultural Extension Centre, Ministry of Agriculture, 2012).

Given its progresses, Gapoktan is expected not only to be able to provide information, technology, and capital services to its members but also to establish cooperation through business partnerships with other parties. The integration of farmer groups into Gapoktan is expected to make farmers' institutions strong, independent, and competitive. In its development, it is expected that Gapoktan can struggle for the interests of the farmers themselves in accordance with the combination of culture, norms, values, and local wisdom of farmers.

This study looked at Gapoktan activities in accordance with the Minister of Agriculture Regulation on citrus farming in Konawe Selatan District, including:

- a. Have written rules/norms agreed upon and adhered to together;
- b. Carry out periodic and continuous meetings, including member meetings and board meetings;
- c. Compile and implement Gapoktan work plans in accordance with the agreement and conduct participatory evaluations;
- d. Facilitate joint business activities from the upstream to downstream sectors;
- e. Promoting commercially oriented agribusiness farming;
- f. Providing information and technology for farm group members who join Gapoktan as well as other farmers;
- g. Establishing cooperation through business partnerships between Gapoktan and other parties; and
- h. Stimulating capital accumulation, both through membership fees and business profit of Gapoktan or other legal and non-binding sources.

Oranges area one of the main commodities of Lalembuu District, Southeast Sulawesi Province; this area is planned to become one of the hubs of citrus production in this province. The planting of oranges there was initially started in 1981 by residents in Potuho Jaya Village, most of whom are transmigrants from Java and Bali. During the period of 1981-2016 citrus, cultivation grew to reach hundreds of hectares (Konawe Selatan District Agriculture Service, 2016). However, citrus production hubs are not centralized but are in narrow and scattered production pockets, with varying and not optimal maintenance levels, simple post-harvest management, and marketing that does not favour farmers.

## 2. Literature Review

Some scholars argue that institutions work only because the rules involved are embedded in shared habits of thought and behaviour (James 1892; Veblen 1899; Dewey 1922; Joas 1993, 1996; Kilpinen 2000 in Hodgson, 2006:6). A habit . . . is the tendency to repeat the same act in similar material conditions." Also treating habit as a propensity, William McDougall, 1908 in Hodgson, 2006: 6 wrote of "acquired habits of thought and action" as "springs of action" and saw "habit as a source of impulse or motive power." As John Dewey (1922 in Hodgson, 2006: 6) put it, "[t]he essence of habit is an acquired predisposition to ways or modes of response." Many habits are unconscious. Habits are submerged repertoires of potential thought or behaviour; they can be triggered or reinforced by an appropriate stimulus or context. The role of habits is central to the success of Gapoktan.

Agricultural extension has long been acknowledged as a vital component for improving knowledge and skill of farmers; they acquire innovation and technologies that can enhance their livelihoods (Anandajayasekeram et al.,

2007). In Indonesia, the institution responsible for conducting agricultural innovations is the Research and Development Agency under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture. Paradoxically, based on the results of evaluations conducted both by external and internal researchers of Agricultural Research and Development itself showed that the speed of utilization of innovation tends to slow down and even to decline. This shows that there is a gap between the delivery subsystem and the receiving subsystem, is a bottleneck that causes slow delivery of information (Simatupang, 2004). Institutional farmers tend only to be positioned as a vehicle to merely implement a project, not yet as an effort for more basic empowerment. In the future, in order to be able to function as an asset of the participatory village community, institutional development must be designed as an effort to increase the capacity of the community itself so that it becomes independent (Syahyuti, 2007).

The merger of Farmers Groups is intended so that the future gap between farmer groups becomes less obvious because it can lead to social conflicts (social jealousy) within groups and between villages. In addition, with the guidance from the Ministry of Agriculture, it is expected that the existence of farmer groups will not serve only as a vehicle for education, but also to develop other productive activities, such as savings and loans business, seed business, production service, financial services business, agricultural machinery and processing of post-harvesting products (Hermanto, 2007: 115).

### **3. Methodology**

This study was conducted in two villages, Potuho Jaya and Lambodi Jaya in Lalembuu sub-district of South Konawe District, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. These two villages were selected because they have 2 Gapoktan resulting from the merger of several active farmer groups and this area has been designated as a hub of citrus production in Southeast Sulawesi.

Sources of data in this study were collected from structured interviews with a number of informants and focus group discussions. Informants come from members and administrators of farmer groups as well as members and managers of farmer groups' alliance. In addition, other informants came from local government elements (Village Head, District Extension Staff) as well as the private sector (traders, providers of production means, and financial institutions). Respondents from the farmer group institutions included 3 (three) management members and 1 (one) member. In a situation of joint institution response, the respondents consisted of 4 (four) administrators and 2 (two) members, with the result, 28 samples were selected.

Data from interviews, field notes, and other relevant materials were analysed qualitatively starting from institutional functions to Agribusiness development to find out institutional functions as (1) non-formal education and human resource development centres; (2) communication centres; (3) centres; and (4) partnership development centres.

### **4. Results**

Konawe Selatan Regency has an orange plantation area of about 87,897 hectares or 50.45% of the total citrus plantation area in Southeast Sulawesi and is the largest citrus production center in Southeast Sulawesi. Involving 45,678 farmer households, all of the citrus plantations are smallholder plantations which are managed and controlled by citrus farmers individually, with average land ownership of 1.5 - 4 Ha per household using small farm management which is one of the main economic supports of citrus farmer families in South Konawe Regency There were 4 (four) farmer groups from the two different villages, namely Lambodi Jaya village and Potuho Jaya village have been described in the following table.

Table 1. Farmer groups in research areas.

Name of farmer groups	Number of administrators	Number of members
Lambodi Jaya village:		
1. Sido Mulyo farmer group	7	21
2. Seger Tani farmer group	7	22
Potuho Jaya village:		
1. Sumber Makmur farmer group	7	27
2. Tani Jaya farmer group	7	46

Source: Research data processed, 2018

The two farmer groups in Lambodi Jaya Village then formed alliance of farmer groups on 6 November 2016 and changed their organizational structure. Furthermore, the combination of farmer groups in Lambodi Jaya Village was named the Tri Tunggal Gapoktan. In addition to the two farmer groups studied, there were 10 other farmer groups who joined the Tri Tunggal farmer group union, so that all 12 farmer groups were embraced under the Tri Tunggal farmer group union.

In Potuho Jaya Village, Gapoktan was formed on 26 January 2012 and was named the Sumber Makmur Gapoktan. At the beginning of its formation, beside the two farmer groups studied there were 14 other farmer groups which also joined Sumber Makmur Gapoktan but after Gapoktan deliberation three farmer groups were considered inactive and the members were then amalgamated with other active farmer groups, so that the total farmer groups in Sumber Makmur Gapoktan became 13 farmer groups.

After joining Gapoktan, according to information from farmers, they found it easier to obtain production facilities. Likewise, training activities were more often done with farmers. Based on this research, some of the benefits obtained by members of the farmer group after joining Gapoktan can be described as follows:

#### **a. Gapoktan as a center of non-formal education and human resource development centers**

The combination of farmer groups in the two research villages which previously amounted to between 12 and 13 farmer groups respectively, has made it easier for district agricultural extension officers to provide counseling. After Gapoktan was formed, officers from the district no longer needed to visit each farmer group, and just provided counselling to the two Gapoktan. As a result, farmers in both villages received more frequent training conducted by the South Konawe District Plantation Service in collaboration with the Plantation and Horticulture Office of Southeast Sulawesi Province. One of the training programs was in the form of "*Training on citrus cultivation to make South Konawe Regency an orange agribusiness development centre.*" The training aimed to determine the efforts that can be made to increase citrus production, starting from cultivation and procedures for post-harvest handling or how to handle abundant production at certain times, and strive for oranges to be able to be produced out of season, with the intention of keeping the selling price of oranges stable in the market.

Another training program carried out by the South Konawe Plantation Service in collaboration with the agricultural technology assessment center of Southeast Sulawesi Province was on the development of citrus agribusiness, with the theme "*Empowering Farmers in Increasing Orange Productivity in South Konawe District.*" This training aimed to increase the quality and the amount of production with good quality.

The results of the training followed by representatives of the combined farmer groups provided positive benefits for citrus farmers. Knowledge gained from the training was delivered to group members. The submission will be carried out by the farmers, by combining with natural habits about how to maintain citrus plants and handling production. Finally, the farmers succeeded in increasing the amount of citrus crop production, and this was borne out in the statement of the Respondent 1 (45 years old) stated that:

*"We are very aware that with the existence of Gapoktan we are more often invited by district government agencies to take part in cultivation training, citrus agribusiness and the management of the citrus business that we have*

*pioneered. Before there were Gapoktan, there was never an invitation for individuals at all. Now, we are often invited by the provincial plantation service to work with the district plantation office to conduct training at the green hotel Potoro Konsel. There we conduct training so that it adds to our knowledge of citrus plants from cultivation to post-harvest handling and agribusiness development. After my return from the training the next day, I gathered my friends to disseminate the results of the training."*

Representatives from Gapoktan who participated in the training from the government then distributed information through informal training to other members of the Gapoktan. As stated by Respondent 2 (53 years) member of Tani Jaya farmer group:

*"I and a number of other friends did not participate in the training, and there were our representatives who participated. Mr. Chairman of Gapoktan. But I am not discouraged, not participating in the training. Because after the chairman of the Gapoktan returned home, his knowledge was shared with me and other members of the farmer group. So, after what was conveyed to the chairman, we tried to practice directly in the field. Such as the last training yesterday, we were taught how to maintain citrus plants with spraying. Before the training, my friends and I sprayed in the morning, but in the training, we learned that spraying had to be done in the afternoon, because usually in the afternoon the pest will come out."*

The same thing was also expressed by the Respondent 3 (46 years) Farmer Business Unit of the Gapoktan, Sumber Makmur, Potuho Jaya village:

*"When I was not a member of the Gapoktan Sumber Makmur it seemed that the knowledge of planting oranges was based solely on my parents' experience, but after I was included in this Gapoktan, there was a lot of knowledge that I gained from the experience of fellow members or extension officers who delivered knowledge during the Empowerment training."*

Furthermore, it was revealed a 51-year-old member of the Tani Jaya group:

*"I really feel the benefits of joining my farmer group into Gapoktan. If there is training from our government as the appointed member can represent the group, after training, what we get will be shared with other group members. So that our knowledge of citrus cultivation increases, both from planting to marketing and development of oranges. The name of the training that I have participated in is the Citrus Farmer Empowerment in 2013 for 3 days. The Citrus Farmer Empowerment Training for 6 days in 2015. Even I still remember during the training we were given a backpack, pocketbook, a pair of shoes and pruning shears."*

The process of determining Gapoktan members who participated in the training was conducted through deliberation; this was because the participants to take part in this training were limited, and the average knowledge of each Gapoktan members was different. The limitations of training participants conducted by government agencies were delivered by a Government officer 1 (42 years) Head of the Horticulture Division of the Konawe Selatan Food Crops, Horticulture and Plantation Office that:

*"Implementation of Farmer Empowerment Training and Field School Training - Integrated Pest Eradication for farmers in the development of oranges in the last 2 years is only able to accommodate 2 classes, of which are 25 people each so that we cannot accommodate all farmers. While training for 2016 is 25 meetings, with training models carried out in the Field Schools. Our training invitations focus on farmers who have joined institutions such as Gapoktan."*

The last training obtained for 2017 was about developing citrus plants carried out at the Srikandi hotel in Kendari with the theme *"Training and coaching of Orange Commodities by the Office of Horticulture Food Crops and Plantations in the Fiscal Year 2017."* The training was also attended by the Tri Tunggal Gapoktan and Sumber Makmur Gapoktan along with several members of the farmer group.

As a result of various trainings conducted by Gapoktan, the production of citrus farmers in both villages increased from only 7-10 tons per hectare now to an increase of 11-15 tons per hectare.

Based on information from the field, formal education levels of farmers both in Potuho Jaya and Lambodi Jaya village are from elementary school to high school; only some members have finished their education in college.

In 2015 citrus farmers formed a formal institution of the Community Economic Institution, hereinafter referred to as LEM Sejahtera in Lambodi Jaya village which was facilitated by the Provincial Plantation and Horticulture Service. Through LEM institution, Gapoktan members more actively carried out training activities including:

a) Entrepreneurial soul training which includes training in growing togetherness, leadership training, and b) Managerial skills training, including bookkeeping and financial training carried out at the sub-district, district, and provincial levels. The training was conducted under the collaboration between the Provincial Plantation and Horticulture Office and Bank Indonesia. The results of the training show that Gapoktan administrators were able to do simple bookkeeping in the management of citrus agribusiness.

The presence of LEM in the District of Lalembuu has had a positive impact on group members. Even though they already have learned some skills, most farmers consider that they still need to continue to be mentored in terms of business bookkeeping.

*"With leadership training and financial bookkeeping training, knowledge that we have has increased, but in carrying out this bookkeeping, there should be someone who continues to guide us, we just learned about this matter of bookkeeping, we are afraid of being wrong."* Secretary of Sido Mulyo farmers' group  
Other informants also revealed that:

*"Actually, we used to see notes and receipt models when I made an orange purchase transaction, but it didn't arrive at how I poured it into credit-debit bookkeeping, after I joined Gapoktan, this I was grateful and the core managers of each farmer group were given the opportunity to attend training archiving and bookkeeping carried out by Bank Indonesia and the Provincial Plantation Service, until finally now we can administer every transaction using correct bookkeeping "(as stated by 14 informants (42 years) of the head of the Sumber Makmur farmer group."*

A group secretary of Seger Tani farmer, 38 years old stated that:

*We have said that the bookkeeping of Gapoktan Finance is orderly, thanks to the existence of financial Archival and Bookkeeping Training for the management of the Gapoktan core so that it is easier for us to know the current cash position without being suspicious. We did not get this in my formal education before, but thanks to Gapoktan we got an increase in knowledge even though not from school. "*

The training organized by LEM was very much sought after by farmers as stated by the marketing section of Tri Tunggal Gapoktan, 48 years old who was in said:

*"I did not know how the price of oranges could be improved, as far as I know, after harvested, I was always immediately sold to collectors, but after I joined Gapoktan my knowledge grew, I now know how to cultivate oranges, how to prune up to processing postharvest oranges (packing to processing citrus fruits) and marketing my citrus through Gapoktan."*

Improving the quality of human resources for members of Gapoktan is not only in the form of training. Other activities such as Dissemination Meetings, and Seminars carried out by relevant government agencies in South

Konawe District, and at the Province level have also contributed positively to the improvement human resource quality of the member of Gapoktan.

Through seminars or trainings of group members directly or indirectly have a positive effect on improving human resources of Gapoktan members. As revealed by the 8th Respondent (39 years old) member of Sido Mulyo farmer group that:

*"I personally knew before joining Gapoktan that I didn't know about the processing of citrus harvests, but after getting the guidance, I finally found out that the oranges could be processed into drinks. My knowledge increased, even though I didn't go to school. Other knowledge that made me know is about the maintenance of citrus plants, which used to be left alone if the oranges had grown. Before, I was thinking that the more lush (the growth), the more hope, I believed that the fruit will be more abundant, and it was wrong. A tree should be pruned so that the plants do not scramble food to produce good fruit."*

#### **b) Gapoktan as a centre of communication**



Picture 1. Orange packaging provided through cooperation between Gapoktan and buyers

The interview results show that all group members become very close-knit and have easy communication. All kinds of problems or obstacles faced by citrus farmers in the field are discussed and coordinated with fellow members and management of farmer groups with assistance from Gapoktan. Meetings conducted by Gapoktan are not only in the context of training, but also to find the best solution to the problems faced without harming other farmers. As stated by the Chairperson of the Tri Tunggal Farming Group (44 years old) :

*"Communication between farmer groups is increasingly being done since the formation of Gapoktan. At the moment, every farmer group incorporated in the Gapoktan in Konawe Selatan receive information regarding the price of oranges at the level of the collecting traders. It is not only that, I also encourage production data collection in each farmer group to know which farmer groups produce abundantly and less so that we can meet the demand of suppliers from Surabaya (East Java) and South Sulawesi."*

The same was stated by the Chairperson of Seger Tani farmer group 10 (40 years old):

*"During the orange harvest yesterday, every farmer ~~are~~ offered a similar price to buyers. This is because I and friends of other Gapoktan members disseminated information to each other. Besides that, we also exchanged*



*information regarding the problems that we found in the field, we conveyed when there was a meeting that we used to do once a month or when the Gapoktan management changed."*

In addition to communicating about the price of oranges in Lalembuu District, members of farmer groups also share information related to crop maintenance. This is because there are some citrus lands that are attacked by pests, by which the orange farmers communicate with the extension agency and discuss how to eradicate the pest. As revealed by the secretary of Tani Jaya group:

*"If there are problems that occur within the farmer group, we straighten up by means of deliberation. All of us communicate openly. If there are things we cannot resolve at our institution, sometimes we ask for help from friends outside the sub-district who have more knowledge about citrus plants. We discussed the results of the communication in our farmer groups, then practice the results in the field. Currently, we also discussed our problem with other parties outside of our farmer groups adds insight, and even the existing problems are resolved."*

The same was conveyed by the plantation plant section of the farmer group Sumber Makmur in Potuho Jaya village:

*"We are in a group, if there is a problem, we always discussed it with others. Nothing is concealed. Usually, we are invited to a meeting, and we will discuss it together, we will solve it if there is a problem. After that already, it's over. There is no fuss if something is wrong, so we as farmers feel comfortable. Problems are resolved, and communication between our fellow members is maintained."*

The same thing was expressed by the secretary of Gapoktan Sumber Makmur who said that:

*"For our group, all the problems are always discussed together, whether it's a problem in the location of oranges, a market problem or others, so we can know. The Chair will usually cooperate with the buyer. The marketing section and the chairman pack together to communicate. Being a member of the group also makes us not afraid or worried anymore if the orange harvest will be wasted a lot."*

The same thing was expressed by the 11<sup>th</sup> respondents (46 years), Sido poktan treasurer section Mulyo said that:  
*"The communication in our group was all smooth, there were no problems at all, everything was maintained, maybe because we also actively held meetings to discuss our citrus crops. When we ask about communication between friends, we also do it. For example, if there are some members whose citrus plants are no longer producing, meaning that they cannot bear fruit again. We discussed together to find the right solution that the plant must be replaced with a new plant."*

Based on the information from the informant above, it provides an explanation that farmers who joined Gapoktan both in Potuho Jaya as well as in Lambodi Jaya village at this time have consciously made institutions as centre for the provision and dissemination of information and motivation in developing their culture based on communication between members. The most basic thing that distinguishes between being of Gapoktan is that the information obtained at the source farmer group becomes wider compared to if the farmer is only a member of the farmer group. Thus it can be said that the incorporation of farmer groups provides positive benefits for the dissemination of information to the wider community of farmers, compared to before they merged to become Gapoktan.

### **c) Gapoktan as a centre of institutional development**

Government Officer 2 (37 years) Daily Workforce Assistant Staff of District Agricultural Extension Staff said:  
*"At the beginning of the formation of Gapoktan, each member of the farmer group gave a suggestion as if he would want to benefit his group only, as a result, the group that did not have a large citrus garden had no contribution in determining the outcome of the decision. But with the formation of the Gapoktan, in my opinion, was formed*

*because of the desire to improve the socio-economic condition of citrus farmers / based on a commodity approach, advice and input from farmers who own small citrus orchards was also heard."*

This is similar to what was said by the Chairperson of the Tani Jaya farmer group:

*"I felt very much comfortable as an administrator of Gapoktan, I have gained a lot of experiences from the learning process. Every issue we discuss at Gapoktan to get a solution, then we disseminate it in our group. We also chose citrus commodities based on the results of the discussion, then we understood that oranges were one of the superior commodities of the region. This has made us get more attention through various regional government programs whose direction is to increase orange production."*

Regarding the function of local institutions as a center for institutional development, the presence of Gapoktan in Lalembuu District is one of the institutional development functions. As revealed by Respondent 13<sup>th</sup> (50 years) secretary of Sumber Makmur farmer group that:

*"With the presence of Gapoktan accompanied by the establishment of other institutions such as the LEM in Lalembuu Subdistrict, it has indirectly brought groups towards institutional development, because institutions such as Loans for the People, LEM, Bank of Indonesia and other private parties are means to improve the performance of our institutions. They facilitate in terms of the use of production facilities that we need."*

#### **d) Gapoktan as a centre of improving competency**

The formation of Gapoktan also has an impact on increasing the competency of Gapoktan member. Through a learning approach from farmers, from training and dissemination of innovation carried out from related institutions or from the experience of the farmers themselves in facing and finding solutions to problems in the field.

As expressed by Respondent 14<sup>th</sup> (45 years), Chairperson of the Gapoktan Sumber Makmur in Potuho Jaya Village that:

*"Before I joined the Gapoktan, I spoke, frankly feeling embarrassed, especially in front of friends, afraid of doing so. I was confused about how to convey it, but at this time, I was used to speaking in front of the members of the group, I already understood very well. Unconsciously, this institution has taught me how to give counseling to fellow members of my group. My attitude changed towards a better one. "*

The same thing was expressed by the Respondent's father of 15<sup>th</sup> (44 years) the chairman of the Tri Tunggal farmer group that:

*"I used to be a person who wasn't confident, if I talked in front of group friends. I am not afraid of being said to be smart, especially since I am the new chairman of Gapoktan. But because I was used to it, and my group friends also understood group goals, finally there was a change of attitude in me. I realize that this institution makes us have positive thinking habits."*

The information above explains that there has been a development of competence in the dissemination of information. Previously the task of disseminating information was dominated by government officials. At present, the task of socializing, training, and disseminating information is slowly being taken over by the farmers themselves. Adequate knowledge added to field learning has fostered greater confidence in farmers.

#### **e) Gapoktan as a centre of partnership development**

The development of partnerships is a local institutional system which in itself will form cooperation between Gapoktan and other institutions. With the partnership, there will be individuals, organizations, and institutions form various forces to achieve the common goal of prosperity. This is the case with the farmer groups and Gapoktan in Potuho Jaya and Lambodi Jaya village in Lalembuu Sub-district. The interview results explained that orange farmers felt helped by the partnership because it could help the process of achieving high production through the availability of financial assistance, fertilizers, and pesticides.

This was stated by respondent 16<sup>th</sup> (39 years old) members of Seger Tani farmer group as follow:

*"There have been many places where our farmer groups work together, which I know such as banks, cooperative, there are also private companies from Makassar (the capital of South Sulawesi province), and there is even assistance for farmers if they want to take capital at the Bank. So we can borrow capital and return it with low-interest rates."*

The same thing was expressed by Respondent 17<sup>th</sup> (43 years) a treasurer of Sumber Makmur farmer group:

*"We at Sumber Makmur farmer group, besides trying to increase our citrus yield, we also have cooperate with Indofood (a big food company in Indonesia), private company from Makassar (the capital of South Sulawesi province) and there is also Bank of Indonesia which provide Credit for the People (with special interest rate). So if we need capital or fertilizer, for example, we can connect with these parties. We can be helped in the form of capital money, fertilizers, or pesticides."*

The same thing was expressed by the Respondent 18<sup>th</sup> (40 years old) a treasurer of the Sumber Makmur farmer group:

*"The entry of LEM is very helpful for our group in terms of collaboration with other parties, and of course our hope is that this collaboration is not limited to citrus commodities but also with other types of commodities. Because overall if our partners can facilitate us, the goals will be achieved, because there are no more obstacles, there are no more reasons for members to lack funds, fertilizers or pesticides, and others. "*

Not much different from the 19<sup>th</sup> (52 years) Respondents of the Tri Tunggal Gapoktan who said that:

*"In my group, the presence of this third party institution helped us to overcome the problem of shortages of fertilizers and pesticides. This is often the main problem in my location. But thank God after the presence of a third party it was very helpful for me and my friends, in the face of scarcity of fertilizer. Because we know, the citrus plants that are fertilized and which are not fertilized will be much different."*

The explanation of the above information explained that the development of partnerships between government and private parties gave a very positive impact to citrus farmers in Potuho Jaya and Lambodi Jaya Village of Lalembuu sub-district in increasing citrus production.

The 20<sup>th</sup> respondent (44 years old) a member of the Tri Tunggal Gapoktan in Lambodi Jaya village said that:

*"In the past, if a large portion of the crop that could not be transported, it would automatically not be able to be sold because the fruit is usually rotten. But now there is no more rotten fruit. All harvests are picked up at the location by collectors. Even the coffins where for the fruit has been provided by them. I feel very much the impact of the presence of partners "*

Based on the results of interviews with the informants, it was shown that Gapoktan could establish cooperative relations with institutions or government and private parties. The joining of a number of farmer groups into

Gapoktan has increased the trust of citrus traders and credit institutions that can provide capital loan assistance and production facilities, especially fertilizers, which were always a problem for farmers.

## 5. Discussion

Since the collapse of the New Order regime under Soeharto's leadership in 1998, development policies in the agricultural sector have also experienced fundamental changes. The number of field extension agents has drastically reduced, as has the budget allocation for fostering farmer groups also declined. This initially had an impact on, many farmer groups which are not independent and only expect assistance from the government's budget allocation, to also become malfunctioning. The budget for mentoring from the relevant agencies also declined considerably, so the frequency of assistance and visits of government officials to farmer groups also decreased significantly. As a result, many farmer groups seek their own solutions to get out of the various problems they face regarding access to information, availability of production facilities, and development of production technology to the marketing of the products. Wolford, Borras, Hall, Scoones and White (2013: 13) stated that the way of people find solutions refers to the ability of people in certain communities to control their own destiny either through local resources or the capacity to access state resources that protect people from risk. Furthermore, Migdal et al. (1997: 21) asserted that various social forces endeavour to impose themselves in an area, to prescribe to others their goals and their answers to these and related questions. Their aims may vary and may be asymmetrical. Some use social forces to extract as much surplus or revenue as possible or simply power to rule other people's behaviour as an end in itself. Rarely can any social force achieve its goals without finding allies.

On the other hand, the fall of the New Order regime, which was replaced by the Reformation era provided the widest possible freedom for the community to organize together in order to express their opinions. Stearns and Allan (1996: 699) argued that a permissive state combined with increased access to capital market funds encourage fringe players to initiate the innovations that enable them to execute mergers. Merger waves occur when these actors become increasingly successful, and their innovations are imitated throughout the business community. Most economist assumes that mergers can enhance efficiency (Manne, 1965; Mandelker, 1974, in Stearns and Allan, 1996: 699). In addition, Kartner (2017: 299) stated that the innovativeness of a market can be relevant for merger analysis in various ways. A merger can provide a firm with a combination of assets that allow it to come up with a new product first. This is an effect on "competition in innovation." The similar view was delivered by Budzinski (2010: 445) that merger has been subject to an extensive and rigorous modernisation during the last 10-15 years.

Before farmers belonged to farmer groups which joined Gapoktan, at the time of harvest they would be confused where they should market their produce. After Gapoktan is formed and then Gapoktan cooperates with the customers, the members of the farmer group no longer worry about the price drop due to over-production. Because long before harvesting, Gapoktan has been communicating with related parties, in this case, the customer, to maintain the price at the time of the orange harvest season, and the customer has collaborated with other parties to process the production out of the area.

Non-formal education of Gapoktan members was also obtained from the process of exchanging information carried out among fellow farmers. The process of exchanging information can occur during the training process carried out internally within Gapoktan, as well as on various occasions for informal meetings. Information that is discussed includes citrus cultivation technology, agribusiness, and market business models for farmers in rural areas, especially citrus farmers who are members of Gapoktan, for example: technology transfer in citrus cultivation which farmers were reluctant to prune. But now, farmers have received information both from training and experience from other members that if they do pruning it will ultimately reduce the struggle for food sources. So that even though the number of fruits produced decreases, the fruit produced will be higher with good quality. Likewise, with information on prices circulating in farmers, it indirectly limits the movement of middlemen (no longer playing with prices).

Based on information respondents both from farmers and government officials, it appears that the merger of farmer groups causes government officials to continue to provide training even though not to all farmers as previously done (in the New Order era), but only to the selected Gapoktan members. Furthermore, Gapoktan members disseminate knowledge and skills given to other members. Thus this activity is also an educational process for both farmers participating in the training and farmers who do not attend. The training atmosphere also becomes more comfortable for most farmers. On the other hand, the government can save on training costs.

## 6. Conclusion

The alliance of farmer groups into a combination of farmer groups has had a positive impact on improving farmers' knowledge and skills. Farmer groups that were previously not active became active in conducting discussions and exchanging information. The function of farmer groups is developing, not only the place to receive counseling about increasing production but also developing into a distributor of production, marketing, and savings-loan facilities.

Merging of farmer groups can also save on extension costs to farmers. Extension agents or government officials can only provide counseling at Gapoktan or invite farmer envoys to attend training. Furthermore, the dissemination of information can be done by the farmers themselves. Counseling conducted by the farmers themselves can be directly practiced in the field and indirectly increases the mastery of technology by farmers.

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# Factors Associated to The Gender Roles Socialization of Working Women: A Case of Major City, Thailand\*

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## Abstract

This research aims to examine factors associated to the gender roles socialization of working women. Quantitative methodology was employed with individual level as a unit of analysis. The sample consisted of 398 women who are working in government agencies and private enterprise. The samples were randomly selected by multi-stage sampling technique in 9 municipals of major city. The data were collected using the interview schedule from May to June 2018 and analyzed by descriptive statistics and Chi-square. The results revealed that most of women samples (55.6 %) were in the Generation Y (19-38 years old). 51.3 percentages of the women samples were married, and 43.7 percentages got bachelor degree or higher. Most women, samples (54.3 %) have gender roles socialization in traditional style by the principle, Women should be a housewife. When analyzing factors associated to the gender roles socialization of working women with Chi-square, it was found that the characteristics of women (education level) and work condition factors (organization size and the understanding of women's labor rights) are the factors that associated to the gender roles socialization of working women at statistically significant 0.01 level.

**Keywords:** Gender Roles Socialization, Working Women, Human Rights

## Introduction

The gender roles socialization is one part of socialization and a process whereby social members perceive the values related to differences in their gender roles. The principles of practices for men and women have been formed so that each gender performs the roles appropriately according to social expectations Butler (1988) such as attires, expression, or activities. The socialization that leads to the acquisition of feminine and masculine roles influences gender-based behaviors, thinking, beliefs, and social conducts (Nicolson, 2015). The gender roles socialization also influences the working progress of women. In the present capitalist society, employment outside the household of women is necessary. However, in the Middle East and Asian countries, including Thailand, the traditional social value of female gender roles still exist. In traditional beliefs, there is an expectation for married

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women to emphasize the roles of a wife or a mother than the roles of occupation and occupational progress (Omar and Davidson, 2001).

Bias and belief related to the roles of female's employment outside the household are key obstacles preventing women to step towards becoming an administrator or a senior officer (Johns, 2013). In the modern society, women's gender roles socialization should be in an egalitarian style, i.e., the society should instill the concept of equal working roles and household duties between men and women since women's working capacity is equal to men's. Family care should not be established as women's duty only. Thus, when more women in the rural society work outside their home, the gender roles socialization of the women must have changed from the former roles of household chores or looking after children to external employment. It is thus interesting to study the gender roles socialization of women in the economic system and the factors that are associated with the gender roles socialization. This body of knowledge would result in recommendations for life development of working women in the future.

### **Research Objectives**

To examine the gender roles socialization of working women and the factors associated with the gender roles socialization of working women.

### **Literature Reviews**

The major topic reviewed was the gender roles socialization as discussed in details below: The gender roles socialization is a process whereby gender roles are instilled. Thai society clearly divides feminism and masculinity and believes in the differences between the two genders. Women are taught to take responsibilities over housework, children raising and family member tending whereas men are taught to be a leader and to earn a living for the family, and hence are more respected (Lindsey, 2015). The gender roles socialization related to working women is done through the following 3 social institutions:

1. The gender roles socialization by the family – Family is the most influential institution on an individual since it is the first institution to do this. The family lays the thinking foundation, beliefs, and personality according to the socially expected gender roles. A person learns the gender differences and how women and men function or take responsibilities in the household. The father, mother, or relatives act as the role model for the children. If the father and mother do not teach their children to have fixed gender roles and instead encourage both the son and the daughter to take responsibilities and share in decision making or enable the children to have flexible gender roles; then the children will have gender equality (Chantavanich, 2004).

2. The gender roles socialization by the workplace – When a woman works outside her home, she will face a changing surrounding. Her workplace may classify the roles of male and female workers and enable more opportunities for progress among men than women towards becoming an administrator or a manager Itzin and Newman (1995) due to men's leadership and decisiveness capability. Women are still seen to be attached to the household, taking the role of housewife, and taking care of children. Thus, women do not need to be in a position that requires high skill and competence. In this regard, a workplace has an important say in the enhancement of working women's norm. Meanwhile, more women are entering the economic system even though the acceptance of their competency is limited (Cross, 2017).

3. The gender roles socialization by the media – The mass media generally present women's image in a negative direction. For instance, women are presented as a kind of goods, sexual item, sexually-oriented product presenter, or an image of the ideal female. The society is thus familiar with the women's image as a wife, a mother who is protected and supported by men rather than a strong and steadfast individual (Jones and Pringle, 2015). It can be said that mass media greatly influences the value creation and regeneration towards women.

Patterns of the gender roles socialization: The transfer of thought, beliefs, and understanding of female gender roles are classified into two patterns (Thudam and Trichandhara, 2013):

1. Traditional socialization of gender roles – Women are believed to have the duty of family and household care while men work outside. Women are expected to take the roles of a good wife and mother rather than a competent worker in an employment system.
2. Egalitarian socialization of gender roles - Men and women are believed to have equal roles and duties in employment and taking care of the family. Women should be equally and impartially entitled to various rights and opportunities.

This research defines the gender roles socialization as the fact that women working in a private or public organization are instilled and taught about gender roles from 3 social institutions, namely, the family, workplace, and mass media. What they have been instilled led them to 2 kinds of thoughts, beliefs and understanding of gender roles in the workplace, i.e., traditional (a belief that women are only suitable for housework) and egalitarian (a belief that men and women are equal in terms of roles and duties in the household and outside).

A number of research studies were conducted related to the gender roles socialization: 1) The study by Lewis (2018) on the correlation between the gender roles socialization by the family and the attitudes towards gender roles in Sweden shows that age and gender are associated with the attitudes towards gender roles. The elderly (aged 70-94 years) were found to hold greater sexism attitudes towards gender roles than the youths (aged 19-30 years), and men were found to have greater sexism attitudes towards gender roles than women. In addition, educational levels, job positions, and parental housework share were found to correlate with the gender roles socialization and sexism. 2) The study by Ogletree, (2015) on the perspectives of Texas University students towards marriage, men's and women's roles in children raising and method of raising children in the USA shows that 51% of the students thought that married couples should work full time and equally share responsibilities in children raising. However, more female students were found to believe in raising children in a conventional style than male students. 3) The study by Kollmayer, Schober & Spiel (2016) shows that even though Austrian education attempts to enhance gender equality, gender-related double standards still exist and are found in instruction that emphasizes gender differences. 4) The study by Clark et al. (2015), which was conducted on married officers who are supported by their organization shows that the majority of women workers have higher experiences than their husbands. The interesting recommendation is that employment raises family conflicts (men and women have different problems). The relevant organizations, government, and the public sector should support and set a policy that brings benefits to their officers regarding family life, such as children rearing.

The related research shows that the gender roles socialization is related to ages, marital status, education levels, the size of the workplace, and working experiences. In addition, the researcher believes that knowledge of labor rights should be associated with the gender roles socialization.

### **Research Methodology**

The cross-sectional design quantitative research methodology was applied in this study with the analytical unit being at an individual level. The research population comprised 95,317 women aged 18-59 years old who were working in a governmental or private sector and officially resided in 9 municipalities of Muang Khon Kaen District which is the major city, (Department of Provincial Administration, 2017), which are close to the city and convenient for the women to work in the urban area. The calculated sample size was 398 cases based on Yamane formula (Yamane, 1973). The multi-stage sampling method was used, and the research instrument was a questionnaire developed from the related concepts, theories, and research. The questionnaire is composed of 4 parts: personal baseline data of the women, working conditions, social and gender status, and the gender roles socialization.



The 15 questions related to the gender roles socialization were derived from the thoughts, beliefs, and understanding of gender roles in the work of women who have been socialized by 3 social institutions, namely, the family, workplace, and mass media. The answers are based on the rating scales of 4 (completely agree), 3 (mostly agree), 2 (somewhat agree), and 1 (mostly disagree). The gender roles socialization is the variable measured in levels and divided into 2 groups from the total score of the whole range of questions, which are from 19 to 60. The criteria for interpretation of the scores are classified into the norm-referenced socialization of gender roles: (1) traditional (19-39 points) and (2) egalitarian (40-60 points). The questionnaire underwent content validity investigation from experts before trial with a group of women who did not belong to the sample group. The reliability score was 0.914, confirming the questionnaire's quality and appropriateness as a research instrument.

The data was collected from May to June 2018 and analyzed by means of descriptive statistics into percentages, means, standard deviations, lowest, and highest scores. The analysis of factors associated with the gender roles socialization of working women was based on Chi-square, where Contingency Coefficient (CC.) was applied to indicate the correlation level between variables. The correlations were divided into 3 levels: low correlation (CC. = 0.001-0.500), medium correlation (CC. = 0.501-0.700), and high correlation (CC. higher than 0.700) (Field, 2002).

## **Research Results**

The research results presented below cover 3 issues: 1) individual characteristics and working conditions, 2) gender roles socialization of working women, and 3) factors associated with the gender roles socialization of working women as follows:

### **Individual Characteristics and Working Conditions**

The findings show that most of the women in the sample group (55.6%) were in Generation Y (19-38 years old), and the means age was 37.6 years (S.D. = 10.3). This finding is consistent with the present world situation and anticipation that in 2020, women in the Generation Y will account for 25% of the whole world labor and will be an influential group on the future labor market (World Bank, 2015). About 51.3 percent were married, while 43.7 percent completed a bachelor degree or higher. It can be seen that the access of women to high education is still low since the percentage of those holding a bachelor degree is not high. The survey on Thai women's employment also shows that only 24.8 percent of working women completed higher education (National Statistical Office, 2017).

As far as working is concerned, most of the women (39.9%) worked in a large organization, and nearly half had over 10 years of working experience (40.7%). 45.5 percent have positive attitudes toward the work. As high as 69.3 percent had a high level of knowledge and understanding of female labor rights. However, there are some issues of which the women did not have accurate understanding especially those related to the type of jobs restricting females to do (transportation of dangerous chemicals and heavy item lifting) and the fact that employers are not able to cease hiring pregnant women.

### **Gender Roles Socialization of Working Women**

Most women (54.3%) received traditional gender roles socialization with the belief that they should take responsibilities over the household and family while men work outside. It should be noted that this study collected information from working women who live in urban areas. However, the women were socialized in gender roles by means of traditional beliefs. Therefore, it can be concluded that the socialization was from the family influence in the community where men dominate (Rodsap, 2012). Meanwhile, 45.7 of females received egalitarian gender roles socialization with a belief of equal responsibilities over the family and income-earning (Table 1)

Table 1 Percentage of Women. Classified by the Socialization of Gender Roles

The socialization of gender roles	Percentage
Received traditional gender roles socialization (19-39points)	54.3
Received egalitarian gender roles socialization (40-60points)	45.7
Total	100.0 (398)

$\bar{x}$  =39.0 points S.D. = 7.6 Min = 19.0 points Max = 60.0 points

Additionally, it was found that the family has traditionally socialized women to think, believe, and understand at the high and the highest degree that women should be gentle, meticulous, and circumspect. Therefore, the suitable and main duties of women are taking care of the husband and children, doing housework and preparing meals at 68.4, 65.1, and 56.3 percent, respectively. The gender roles socialization of the workplace where women are affiliated to emphasize those men should make a decision on major work-related matters at 57.3 percent. The mass media influences women to acquire thoughts, beliefs, and understanding that marriage is their life, and their suitable duty is being a wife and a mother. Women think, believe, and understand that employment is not the most important thing in life and it is difficult for them to become successful in their job at 51.5, 51.0, and 50.8 percent, respectively.

Analysis of the egalitarian gender roles socialization reveals that the family's socialization in terms of thoughts, beliefs, and understanding was at the high and highest degree that women are able to work well both in the household and outside (99.0%). The workplace has socialized women to progress equally as men, remunerate women more than men if the women's capacity is higher, at 68.9 and 60.6 percent, respectively (Table 2). The mass media has socialized women to think of, believe in, and understand their own potential and competency at 86.9 percent (Table 2).

Table 2 Percentage of Women Classified by the item of the Egalitarian Gender Roles Socialization

Egalitarian Gender Roles Socialization	Percentage of women				Total
	completely agree	mostly agree	somewhat agree	mostly disagree	
<b>The family implanted you that ...</b>					
1. Women are able to work well both in the household and outside.	42.0	48.0	7.2	2.8	100.0 (398)
<b>Your organization/workplace has rules that ...</b>					
2. Allowing men and women to progress in equal positions.	35.7	33.2	26.1	5.0	100.0 (398)
3. Remunerate women more than men if the women's capacity is higher.	25.9	34.7	30.7	8.7	100.0 (398)
4. Allowing women to be leaders in work or other activities.	13.8	34.2	42.7	9.3	100.0 (398)
5. Women are successful in their work that makes you believe in your potential and ability.	37.9	49.0	12.1	1.0	100.0 (398)

It can be seen that the research results reflect the modernity of the society, but not being consistent with the value instilling in females. Modern society should hold values towards equal gender roles between men and women. However, it was found that the family, the workplace and the mass media still instill the traditional gender roles in women, leading to their thoughts, beliefs, and understanding that they are suitable for housework, being a wife and a mother rather than becoming successful in their job. This makes women think, believe, and understand that they are able to do the household work only. Therefore, the duties of men and women are clearly distinguished,

thus leading to gender inequality Lorber (2001), enhancing bias towards women, and regenerating inequality between men and women in the society (Kimmel, 2000). This has an impact on women's self-esteem, work-related behaviors, and the working life, which are dominated by men.

### Factors Associated with the Gender Roles Socialization of Working Women

The factors associated with the gender roles socialization of working women were found through the analytical correlation between personal characteristics and working conditions and the gender roles socialization. The findings are as follows:

**1) Individual Characteristics – Age:** Women in Generation X (39-53 years old) and the Baby Boomer Generation (aged 54 years and over) were socialized in a traditional pattern at 60.1 and 56.2 percent, respectively. Women in the Generation Y (19-38 years old), on the contrary, were socialized in an egalitarian pattern at 50.2 percent. The Chi-square test shows that women's age is not associated with the gender roles socialization at the significant level of 0.05.

**Marital status:** Over half of married women (58.8%) received traditional gender role socialization. However, the Chi-square statistics demonstrates that the women's marital status does not correlate with the socialization of their gender roles at the significant level of 0.05, probably owing to the fact that the women are in the socio-cultural conditions in which males dominate. The socialization still values male gender higher than female. Thus, age and marital status of women are not associated with the gender roles socialization.

**Educational Level –** It was found that 69.2 percent of the women holding educational level lower than a bachelor degree received socialization in a traditional style. The Chi-square test demonstrates that education level significantly correlates with the socialization of gender roles at the level of 0.01, with the Contingency Coefficient (CC) being relatively low, i.e., 0.322. This finding is consistent with the study by Lukanavanich, which shows that Thai universities offer programs in female studies and the governmental sector publicizes information that creates awareness and understanding among the citizens on gender equality. Thus, women who have a chance to study for a bachelor degree or higher are able to perceive the issue of gender equality more than the women whose education level is lower (Table 3).

Table 3 Percentage of Women Classified by Individual Characteristics and Gender Roles Socialization

Individual characteristics	Gender Roles Socialization		
	Traditional	Egalitarian	Total
<b>1. Age</b>			
Generation Z (Not over 18 years old)	100.0	0.0	100.0 (2)
Generation Y (19-38 years old)	49.8	50.2	100.0 (221)
Generation X (39-53 years old)	60.1	39.9	100.0 (143)
Baby boomer (54 years old and over)	56.2	43.8	100.0 (32)
	Pearson Chi-square = 5.521 df = 3 Significance = 0.137		
<b>2. Marital status</b>			
Have a spouse	58.8	41.2	100.0 (204)
No spouse	49.5	50.5	100.0 (194)
	Pearson Chi-square = 3.495 df = 1 Significance = 0.062		
<b>3. Educational level</b>			
Lower than a bachelor degree	69.2	30.8	100.0 (224)
Bachelor degree or higher	35.1	64.9	100.0 (174)
	Pearson Chi-square = 45.989 df = 1 Significance = 0.000 CC. = 0.322		

**2) Employment Conditions – The workplace size:** More than half of the women (65.9%) working in a small organization (with 15-50 workers) received traditional socialization of gender roles. The result of the Chi-square shows that the organization size is not significantly associated with the gender roles socialization at the level of 0.01, with a rather low Contingency Coefficient (CC), i.e., 0.154. **Work Experience:** More than 50 percent of the

women with the working experience of 6-10 years and over 10 years were socialized in a traditional pattern at 57.0 and 56.2 percent, respectively. The Chi-square test shows no significant correlation between work experience and the gender roles socialization at the level of 0.05, probably because the organization women are affiliated to still values males more than females (Table 4).

**Knowledge and understanding of female labor rights:** Women who have been traditionally socialized in gender roles possess knowledge and understanding of female labor rights at a low and a medium level (93.3 and 64.5%, respectively). The Chi-square test shows that knowledge and understanding of working women's rights significantly correlate with the gender roles socialization at the level of 0.01, with rather low Contingency Coefficient (CC), at 0.207. This is due to the fact that traditional gender roles socialization believes that they are better at household work than working outside and thus not giving emphasis on the acquisition of knowledge and understanding of female labor rights they are entitled to (Table 4).

Table 4 Percentage of Women Classified by working Conditions and Gender Roles Socialization.

Working conditions	Gender Roles Socialization		
	Traditional	Egalitarian	Total
<b>1. The work place size</b>			
Small (15-50 workers)	65.9	34.1	100.0 (123)
Medium (51-200 workers)	49.1	50.9	100.0 (116)
Large (more than 200 workers)	49.1	50.9	100.0 (159)
	Pearson Chi-square = 9.623 df = 2 Significance = 0.008 CC. = 0.154		
<b>2. Work experience</b>			
Less than 5 years	33.3	66.7	100.0 (143)
6-9 years	57.0	43.0	100.0 (64)
Over 10 years	56.2	44.8	100.0 (191)
	Pearson Chi-square = 2.213 df = 2 Significance = 0.331		
	Pearson Chi-square = 19.461 df = 3 Significance = 0.000 CC. = 0.216		
<b>3. Knowledge and understanding of female labor rights</b>			
Low level (0-5 points)	93.3	6.7	100.0 (15)
Medium level (6-10 points)	64.5	35.5	100.0 (107)
High level (11-16 points)	48.2	51.8	100.0 (276)
	Pearson Chi-square = 17.836 df = 2 Significance = 0.000 CC. = 0.207		

## Conclusion of Research Results and Recommendations

**Research Conclusion** –Most of the women working in a governmental or a private organization in major city (54.3%) have undergone the gender roles socialization in a traditional pattern. They were instilled of thoughts, beliefs, and understanding of women's roles as a housewife being responsible for the household rather than seeking success in employment or being equal to men in the household and at the job. Thus, the family, the workplace the women are affiliated to and mass media should enhance the gender roles socialization in the egalitarian pattern for working women.

The factors found to be associated with the gender roles socialization include education level, size of the workplace, attitudes towards the work, and knowledge and understanding of female labor rights. Age, marital status, and working experience do not have any correlation with the gender roles socialization.

**Recommendations** – The analysis of the relevant factors with the gender roles socialization of working women demonstrates that the groups of women that should be enhanced in terms of egalitarian gender roles socialization include: women whose education level is lower than a bachelor degree, women working in a small organization, women with negative attitudes and women having low level of knowledge and understanding of female labor rights. Therefore, the family, the workplace, and mass media should socialize these groups of women in an egalitarian pattern since they are still under the influence of conventional norms and values. These obstruct their work and lead to inequality between the two genders. Working women themselves should alter their thoughts, beliefs, and understanding of their roles and duties. They should realize that they are capable to work well both in

the household and outside. In addition, the government and private sectors should promote the values that men should take responsibility in household chores and raising children so that the burden will not be placed on women who now earn the living outside the home and take responsibility in the household at the same time.

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# Implementation of Local Wisdom Value in Arranging Tourism Objects of Balinese Traditional Settlements in Banjar Adat Belaluan, Singapadu Tengah Village, Sukawati District, Gianyar Regency, Bali Indonesia

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## Abstract

Desa Singapadu Tengah is a traditional Balinese village in the Sukawati Subdistrict, Gianyar Regency, Bali which has long been known as one of the centers of sculpture industry and traditional Balinese ornaments. In the present, through the full support of the Gianyar Regency Government, this village began to develop itself into a tourist village. Of the five Banjar in its territory, the Belaluan Adat Banjar area has been plotted as a tourist attraction for traditional Balinese settlements. This is based on the magnitude of the potential of the cultural sector and traditional residential architecture that is still sustainable in this Banjar area. In the process of structuring these traditional settlement attractions, the village has applied many local wisdom values, and local traditions adapted to various stages, starting from the planning process, development to the management program. The description of this phenomenon has prompted the desire to conduct a study which aims to find out the existence of local wisdom values in the process of planning, building, and managing residential attractions in the area. This research is classified into qualitative research, where the study phase is done deductively. The results of the study show that Bali's local wisdom values have been adapted and applied in the planning, development, and management stages of tourist villages in the Belaluan region.

**Keywords:** Local Wisdom Value, Arrangement, Tourism, Balinese Traditional Settlements

## INTRODUCTION

The increase in the target of tourist visits to Bali in 2020 by the Indonesian Government has made several villages potential to be designated as new tourist villages. One of the designated villages was Singapadu Tengah Village. This village is a traditional Balinese patterned village located in Sukawati Subdistrict, Gianyar Regency, Bali, Indonesia, which has long been known as one of the centers of sculpture and decorative ornaments of traditional

Balinese ornaments. In this village area, there are various types of potential tourism objects that are developed to support tourism village programs such as tourist attractions, sacred buildings, historic buildings, stretches of rice fields, and traditional village settlement areas.

Administratively, Belaluan Adat Banjar is located in the eastern part of Singapadu Tengah Village which is also directly adjacent to one of the main rivers in the Gianyar Regency area, namely the Oos River. The river stretches from the north, namely the District of Tegallalang-District of Ubud, and empties into Purnama Beach in the Sukawati District area. The topographic state of the traditional Belaluan Banjar is sloping, with a slope of 0-15 percent, steep in the Oos River watershed. Climatologically, Belaluan has a tropical climate with an average temperature ranging from 28°C to 32°C, the air humidity of this village averages around 75%, with the average annual rainfall ranging from 12 mm to 13.30 mm.

Belaluan Adat Banjar is a grid-patterned settlement with a village center point in the form of a crossroad (Bali: *pempatan agung*). In this traditional settlement area, there are also three main sacred building complexes that are known in the order of traditional Balinese settlements, namely Pura Desa, Pura Puseh, and Pura Dalem. In the southeast region of the village, there is the Setra adat area (village cemetery) located near the Oos River basin. In its planning, this residential area will also be used as a tourist cottage area for lodging for tourists. In addition to having various objects of traditional Balinese buildings, the Banjar Adat Belaluan community also has a variety of traditions and ritual processions that were supposed to serve as new tourist attractions. Tourists can also be directly involved in various series of socio-cultural activities carried out by local residents. Previously, tourists would train together with residents to carry out various activities such as Balinese culinary cooking, dancing, playing gamelan, and making religious ceremonies.

This article is a brief description of the results of research on local wisdom values in the concept of structuring and managing the Banjaran Adat Belaluan residential area as a homestay area as well as a tourist attraction of traditional Balinese settlements in Singapadu Tengah Tourism Village.

## RESEARCH METHODS

This paper is classified as descriptive explorative qualitative research (Groat & Wang, 2002), which is analyzed deductively. The data used is related to the adaptation of local wisdom values in structuring the tourist attraction of traditional Balinese settlements in the Belaluan customary *Banjar*. Data collection is done in three ways, namely field observation, literature study, and interviews.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### **The overview of the Tourism Village Program in Singapadu Tengah**

Since it was established as a new tourist village, Singapadu Tengah Village has compiled various types of superior tourism programs that were supposed to be developed in this village area. The tourism programs include art, ritual, culinary, and cultural tours. Especially for the Belaluan indigenous *Banjar* region, the village management has designated this area as a concentration area for the development of cultural tourism in the form of object tourism in traditional Balinese settlements. This determination is based on the potential in the *Banjar Adat Belaluan* region, which still maintains a beautiful and natural traditional Balinese settlement spatial pattern.

Apart from that, the region is also the location for developing homestay tourist accommodation facilities for tourists who are managed jointly by local residents. The village management also plans to arrange certain areas within the adat Banjar region to support this plan, such as structuring the Belaluan Village Temple, Puseh Belaluan Temple, and Dalem Belaluan Temple for ritual tourism activities, as well as structuring the public areas of the village such as building meetings such as Bale Banjar Adat Belaluan along with open spaces in other adat Banjar areas. This temple area and public area is an area that accommodates various traditional socio-cultural activities that tourists can join together with the local community.

### **The Application of Local Wisdom Values**

The application of local wisdom values in structuring traditional settlements in *Banjar Adat Belaluan* is divided into two aspects, namely non-physical aspects and physical aspects.

#### **Physical Aspects**

In the physical aspect, it is divided into three stages, namely the planning, development, and management stages.

#### **The Planning Phase**

At the planning stage, first begins the initial idea. Based on information obtained from Mr. I Nyoman Rosman as the Chief of Singapadu Tengah Village (2017), the idea of structuring Singapadu Tengah Village into a tourist village is derived from the *PEMPROV Bali* and the Regional Government of Gianyar Regency who are trying to empower all potential in Singapadu Tengah. The idea was supported by the strong desire of the community to develop sustainable tourism in the region. Finally, in 2018, together with eight other villages in Gianyar Regency, Singapadu Tengah Village was designated as a tourist village by the Gianyar Regency Government (Nusa Bali, 2018).

Second, the inaugural meeting (Early *Paruman*), meeting (Bali: *Paruman/pesangkepan*) early is a form of deliberation conducted by all indigenous peoples in carrying out an activity. Beginning with the delivery of information by the official staff (hamlet heads) obtained from the Government of Gianyar Regency and the government of Singapadu Tengah Village. Furthermore, the community gives a response, whether it's a question, a statement that is positive (supportive) and negative (rejection). After going through the stages of discussion and debate, finally, the service officers, along with all residents, decided to support the activities of the tourist village. The results of this initial parama recommend that the instructor carry out traditional ceremonies in the form of *matur piuning* and *nunas bawos* before the follow-up ceremony takes place.

Third, ritual permission requests (*matur piuning* and *nunas bawos*). This activity is a ritual activity that has the purpose of requesting permission and notification in a customary manner before God regarding the plan to implement a tourist village program in this region. The piuning maturity activities are carried out in Kahyangan Tiga Temple, namely *Pura Desa*, *Puseh Pura*, and *Pura Dalem Banjar Adat Belaluan*. *Matur piuning* is led by stakeholders in each temple and is followed by all the traditional leaders and the service and the entire Belaluan community. This activity was intended to request that God give permission to carry out tourism village development and was given a way so that the activity did not encounter major obstacles. Furthermore, in the *matur piuning* activity, the *nunas bawos* activity was carried out, namely a communication activity between the community and the gods as a manifestation of God who controlled the area in a place. In the communication process, it will be carried out by people who have been purified as intermediaries between the people and the gods. Typically, the saint in question will experience chaos (possessions). People who experience such disobedience will speak to give instructions and act as media spirits of gods who enter their bodies. This process has been carried out for generations in this region.

Fourth, follow-up meetings are usually carried out after the ritual of *nunas bawos*. The results and all instructions for information obtained in the ritual *nunas bawos* are then discussed in this follow-up par. Considering the results of *nunas bawos* showing permission from the gods regarding the planned development of this tourist village, in this follow-up discussion the various stages of the next activity are discussed. Next, the fifth is the village meeting (*sabha desa*). After *nunas bawos* obtained positive results and at the following stage it was decided the sustainability of the activities of this tourist village, then in the next stage a village sabha was formed. Village Sabha is a deliberation forum consisting of community leaders who have expertise in various specific fields. In the village sabha activity, it will be formulated regarding the organizing committee for implementation, rules for implementing instructions, technical guidelines, village rules (*awig-awig*), all of which will be ratified in a special meeting.



Sixth, the inauguration of committee members by adat (*mejaya-jaya*). This activity is an inauguration activity aimed at members of the community who have been appointed as adat teachers, village sabha, or the organizers of the tourism village program. The purpose of this activity is to request the blessing of the gods so that those selected can carry out their duties well. *Mejaya-jaya* can also be equated as an information dissemination and introduction of the members of the village tourism committee to the residents. The essence of this activity is in the form of the inauguration of the executive committee members, which are witnessed in a public manner and in a scrupulous manner by the gods. The *mejaya-jaya* activities are usually held in Kahyangan Tiga Temple, namely *Pura Desa, Pura Puseh, or Pura Dalem*.

Seventh, drafting customary rules (*awig-awig and perarem*). *Awig-awig* and *perarem* are rules or known in Balinese customary law. If the legal picture is explained in general, *awig-awig* is a law, while the *perarem* is a regulation implementing the law itself. Regarding this village tourism program plan, a program has also been prepared about the implementation of a tourism village program that remains rooted in the local village *awig-awig*. Eight is the final stage of planning, the announcement to the community (*pesobiahan*). This activity is an activity of notification or publication and dissemination of program activities from a customary decision, especially this tourist village program. The purpose of this *pesobiahan* is to provide information to all the community because there are new rules that have been set or new information obtained by the adat instructors, which is then informed to the entire community. This *pesobiahan* activity is usually carried out in Bale Banjar at the time of *paruman*. *Pesobiahan* is also carried out in each resident's residence or at the *ayahan* reef of the village. The *kesaroman Banjar* or *Banjar* officers will provide information to every representative of the residents of the house regarding the latest information and program activities that have been decided.

### **The Stage of Arrangement and Development**

There are several activities carried out in the stages of structuring and building tourist village facilities set in the values of local wisdom, namely the first in the form of land clearing rituals that will be converted into functions, usually called *ngruak karang*. This activity is a symbol of cleaning and changing functions of the former rice fields and plantations into residential areas. Second, the laying ceremony of the first stone is called the term *mendem*. A ceremony symbolizes the initial development process. The stone that will be used as the first stone will be given a ceremony coupled with several elements and offerings to provide a positive aura for the built environment and settlements. Third, namely the development process, this stage also uses several values of local wisdom that apply such as good days, building concepts, and local materials that characterize the values of traditional Balinese architecture. A good day in the knowledge of traditional Balinese architecture is known as the adult name, which is strongly believed to be able to provide support for a magical aura in the implementation of each stage of the overall development process. The fourth is the ritual cleansing of a building called *Melaspas*. After the completion of the development process, there will be a *Melaspas* activity, which is a ritual procession that can make the building sacred and have a positive spirit in accordance with the demands of its function.

### **The Management Stage**

After the process of establishing a tourist village facility building was completed, it will continue with the activities of the tourism village program management. In its management, a management organization will be formed, which is the manager of tourism activities in the Belaluan customary Banjar. At this stage, the management of the management, from the highest structure to the employees, will go through the *mejaya-jaya* ritual activities as a symbol of determination or endorsement to become a manager in no time. This funeral activity was also held in Kahyangan Tiga Temple which was witnessed directly by the community.

### **The Physical Aspects**

There are four main values of local wisdom that are applied in the physical embodiment of tourist village facilities in *Belaluan*. The four are the conception of *Tri Hita Karana*, the conception of the *Bhuana Agung-Bhuana Alit*, the conception of the Binary/Bi-polar Opposition, and the rules of *Bhisama*.

### ***Tri Hita Karana***

*Tri Hita Karana* is one conception that contains the value of local wisdom of the Balinese people. *Tri Hita Karana* means "three causes of happiness" (Wijaya Kusuma, 2000 in Laba, 2002; Sudibya, 2008). *Tri Hita Karana* consists of three aspects, namely: (1) *parhyangan*, (2) *pawongan*, and (3) *palemahan* (Budihardjo, 1986; Gelebet, 1978, Samadhi, 2000, Dwijendra 2008). *Parhyangan* contains a picture of the harmonious relationship between humans and Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa/Lord. *Pawongan* contains teachings on the harmonious relationship between people. The *Palemahan* teaches harmonious relations between humans and nature. According to Laba (2002), the physical manifestation of *Tri Hita Karana* specifically in residential environments and traditional or non traditional Balinese housing can be grouped as follows: (1) *parhyangan* physical form in the form of a sacred place (sulking/objective/temple); (2) the physical form of *pawongan* is in the form of housing with public facilities and other social facilities; and (3) the weakness of its physical form in the form of open spaces and service areas such as: fields, roads, alleys, drainage, to the management of waste and garbage. The concept of *Tri Hita Karana* still applied in the arrangement of tourist villages in *Adat Belaluan Banjar*. This can be seen in the arrangement of houses that add to the function of the homestay. The existence of a sacred or exhibition building is an embodiment of the *parhyangan* element; the existence of comfortable residential buildings as a manifestation of the *pawongan* element; and the existence of *natah* as open space in the middle of the yard along with other green spatial structures is an embodiment of the *palemahan* element. The existence of the *parhyangan*, *pawongan*, and *palemahan* elements in each of the people's home yards will always be maintained, although someday there will be an addition of new homestay buildings for tourism activities. This is done to at the same time maintain the distinctive value of residential houses in this region.

### ***Bhuana Agung-Bhuana Alit***

This philosophical view of the great *bhuana* is a view of life of Hindu society in Bali and as a basis for concepts in the life of the Hindu community in Bali. This applies also to the concepts contained in Balinese Traditional Architecture. The application of Balinese Traditional Architecture refers to harmonious harmony and integration between humans (alien *bhuana*/microcosm) and the universe (great *bhuana*/macrocosm) (Davison, 2003; Dhaksa, 2008; Parwata, 2009). This is manifested in the arrangement of tourist villages in the Banjar Adat Belaluan Tourism Village which still maintains harmony with the environment. The goal is to achieve harmony between humans and the surrounding environment and increase natural tourist attraction and strong Balinese culture. Arrangements made are expected to be able to increase added value for tourism villages, without destroying the peculiarities and sustainability of the village environment.

### **Binary/Bi-polar Opposition**

According to Ardika, et al. (2013) in various traditions of ancient communities in the world, there has been known a view of nature (space) in the opposite, but mutually paired conditions called the binary opposition concept. In the life of Balinese people, there is a basic philosophy regarding *rwa bhineda* which is understood as a relationship or balance between two elements, norms, or values that are different but complementary (Budihardjo, 1986). According to Fox (2010), the manifestation of the *rwa philosophy* is like, sacred-profane, upstream/*luan-teben* (upstream-downstream), good-bad, male-female, right-left, and up-down.

### **Sacred-Profan**

Something sacred is a supernatural region, something extraordinated, not easily forgotten, eternal, full of substance and reality, and very important. Meanwhile, something profane is an area of daily life that is carried out irregularly, not too important, easily disappeared, easily forgotten, quickly changed, and only a shadow (Eliade, 1957 in Pals, 2011). According to Paramadhyaksa (2012), in the homes of Hindus in Bali, the sacred and profane concepts are applied with the existence of sacred and secular spaces. The sacred spaces, including sacred buildings, holy rooms, and holy rooms, while the rooms are secular in nature, including: bedrooms, kitchens, living rooms and bathrooms/toilets. In the rural area scale, the sacred-profane concept is applied to zoning for shrines, zoning for housing, and zoning for supporting facilities. Meanwhile, on a residential scale, the sacred-profane concept is maintained in determining the zoning of sanctuaries, residential buildings, and *teba* (backyard). In some houses

that are used as homestays, buildings for guest accommodations are built in the thick part (backyard). This is done because the area has adequate land area and does not interfere with the original residence of the population.

### ***Ulu/Luan-Teben***

In Balinese Architecture there is a dualistic concept between profane and sacred which is translated in physical form with the area of *ulu and teben* (Alit, 2004, Dwijendra 2008). *Ulu* area is the area closest to the mountain (leading to the mountain) as a sacred area and a place for space functions that are considered sacred. Meanwhile, the *teben* area is the area closest to the sea/*segara* (leading to the sea) as a profane area and a place for space functions that are considered profane. According to Alit (2004), *ulu-teben* can be represented in the layout of buildings as well as the height of buildings, the highest buildings and are located in areas that are mainly referred to as *ulu* and those that are lower and located in the *nista* area are called *teben*. The concept is still adapted to the arrangement of the Belaluan Traditional Banjar Tourism Village. The application is still to determine the *Ulu* area as a sacred area, while the *teben* area is a profane area. The *Ulu* area is next to the tourist village, which is dominated by temple attractions. Meanwhile, the *teben* area is located next to the tourist village kelod, arranged as a lodging area and supporting village tourism facilities.

### ***Bhisama Parisada***

*Bhisama Parisada* contains orders or prohibitions issued by *Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia*, through an agreement in *Mahasabha*. One of them is about *Bhisama Kesucian Pura*, which is binding to be used as a guide for the construction of temples in Bali. *Bhisama* is then put forward in the RTRW Regional Regulation of Bali Province 16/2009. In this regulation, among others, it is regulated about the sanctity radius of each temple according to its start. Sacred places such as *Sad Khayangan*, *Dang Khayangan*, *Khayangan Tiga*, and other temples, have a radius of sanctity which is called a rough area with the size of *apeneleng*, *apenimpug*, or *apenyengker*; *Sad Khayangan* Temple uses the size of the great *Apeneleng* which is at least 5 km from the outside of the temple wall; *Dang Khayangan Pura* uses the size of the *alit apeneleng* which is 2 km from the outside of the temple wall; while for *Khayangan Tiga* and other temples, the size of the appendix is about 25 meters from the outside of the wall or the *apenyengker*, which is limited to the outer side of the temple wall. In the area of temple sanctity, buildings can only be built that are associated with Hindu religious activities, such as *dharma alaala* and *pasraman* (Arniati, 2015). Buildings and activities that are non-sacred activities can only be built outside the radius of sanctity.

*Bhisama* is applied in structuring sacred buildings in the tourist village of *Banjar Adat Belaluan*. The application can be seen in the arrangement of temples in the tourist village. Temple in the Banjar Belaluan tourist village area, namely: *Pura Tirta Bulan* and *Pura Dalem Negari*. Every temple has a temple sanctity radius that refers to the size of the apparatus and the apparatus. The community believes that through the application of rules regarding the sanctity radius of the temple in the arrangement of tourist villages in the region, the value of the sanctity of the temple as a place of worship can be well maintained.

## **CONCLUSION**

The results of the study show that Bali's local wisdom values have been adapted and applied since the planning, development, and management stages of tourist villages in the *Belaluan* region. There are at least three things that are the basis for consideration of the application of adaptation to the values of local wisdom, as follows.

### **a. Accountability to God**

Every activity and spatial work that is produced should always be able to maintain harmony between humanity and God Almighty. Because of this in the spatial layout at Belaluan there is always an element of *Parahyangan*, which is an area with the most sanctified strata. In every stage of planning, development, and management of this tourist village program, there is always a procession involving divine elements. Both in the form of rituals and forms of design as proof that God is believed to be able to act as a protector, witness, giver of blessing, to request instructions for the success of all activities carried out. This view has indeed been believed and carried out in a traditional way in Bali today.

b. Accountability for fellow humans

Other local wisdom values are also seen in efforts to maintain harmonious relations between community members. Traditionally, all citizens have the same rights and obligations in expressing their opinions in a deliberation meeting (Bali: *paruman*) regarding the planned development of tourism programs in their region. In other parts of the implementation, the village program should also be guided by existing traditional rules, namely *awig-awig* and *perarem*. The compiled village tourism program also remains based on universal humanist values.

c. Accountability for the natural environment

The design of spatial and building design that is intended for the activities of tourist villages is still guided by the traditional Balinese spatial concept which is guided by the existence of sacred and profane zones, village core zones, local natural characters, and *transis land*.

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# Legislative Authority of U.S Unilateral Economic Sanctions Against the Democratic People`s Republic Of North Korea (DPRK)

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## Abstract

Unilateral economic sanctions have become one of the most significant foreign policy tools used by most powerful developed nations across the globe. Some of these countries include Japan, Canada, Australia, and others. However, the United States (US) and European Union (EU), in particular, are very ardent users, having placed unilateral sanctions on North Korea, Iran, Venezuela, and partially on Russia, among others. It is an alternative to military intervention, war, or conflicts. Among these strong nations, the US is one country that applies unilateral sanctions than any other country in the world. Also, various successive US administrations have used this foreign policy tool one way or the other. Further, unilateral sanctions have become more popular in recent decades, and currently, the US has nearly 8000 sanctions in place worldwide, Iran and North Korea by far the largest state target. Though sanctions have existed for a long time, they still remain controversial international foreign policy tools. Notwithstanding, US application of unilateral economic sanctions by both present and previous successive administration is backed by legal authority including the trading with the enemy act (TWEA), the United Nations Participation Act (UNPA), the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA). Nevertheless, there is legal controversy surrounding unilateral sanctions among critics and proponents, who are entrenched in the position that the developed countries used sanctions against smaller countries, including North Korea. What is more, this argument of controversy is still ongoing, and there seems to be no agreement between critics and proponents. This paper, therefore, provides a legal basis for unilateral sanctions used by the US against other countries, in particular, North Korea. Also, we will elaborate on the justification or otherwise of the legitimacy of US unilateral sanctions against North Korea. The paper is divided into four sections. The first section of this paper elaborates on the introduction, relations between North Korea and the US. Also, it highlights a general overview of unilateral sanctions and US unilateral sanctions on North Korea. The second section deals with the questions: Why do countries such as the US impose unilateral economic sanctions? What other bodies impose sanctions on North Korea? The third part deals with international concern about North Korea, and the fourth part also talks about certainties and issues that make North Korea a worldwide concern. The final part looks at U.S. Legislative Authority and justification or otherwise of the legitimacy of U.S unilateral sanctions

**Keywords:** Legislative Authority, Unilateral Economic Sanctions, Foreign Policy, Denuclearization, Demilitarized Zone, Dictatorial Regime

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Economic sanctions have turned out to be considerably increasingly prevalent in late decades. During the 1990s, for instance, sanctions regimes were presented at an average rate of around seven every year. Of the 67 cases in that decade, 66% were unilateral economic sanctions enforced by the United States. During Bill Clinton's administration, it is estimated that around 40% of the total world populace, or 2.3 billion individuals, were liable to some type of US unilateral economic sanctions. The incredible dominant part of sanctions is imposed by enormous nations against little nations. Right now, the US has about 8,000 unilateral economic sanctions set up around the world, with Iran by a wide margin the biggest state target. They have been applied substantially more frequently unilaterally or multilaterally as instruments of foreign policy (world economic forum,2019). However, unilateral sanctions are the international strategy instrument of choice for some developed countries over the globe. Sanctions influence access to a state's commercial and financial markets to pressure foreign governments to align their conduct with the sanctioning state's standards and desires. The more noteworthy a state's regional or worldwide economic importance, the more excruciating – and compelling – its sanctions might be. The United States and the European Union specifically are zealous users, having placed unilateral sanctions on North Korea, Iran, Venezuela, and partially on Russia, among others.

All the same, unilateral sanctions are often utilized by a few, and their legality is perpetually questioned by others. At the point when sanctions are enforced unilaterally, there exist headache that they are being utilized to accomplish the quirky foreign policy objectives of the sanctioning state, regardless of whether these are to the greatest advantage of the international community which would be required to talk about and endorse any sanctions by means of the current international forum gathering, for example, the United Nations. Similarly, pundits frequently charge that intruding in the internal issues of another state through sanctions, especially those having extraterritorial impacts, violates international law. Indeed, the principles of non-interference, comity, and the sovereign equality of states – lodestars in the public international law firmament – would, whenever paid attention to, dictate that unilateral sanctions lack legitimacy. While other international law principles can militate in favor of unilateral sanctions, in any event, their validity is fervently questioned. Conversely, multilateral sanctions enforced through the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), bridge this authenticity gap. At the point when sanctions result from a multilateral procedure, the concern that they are not being utilized to accomplish the best advantages of the international community disperses.

Likewise, the criticism that sanctions violate non- intervention and related international law norms does not hold in the multilateral context: written into the UN Charter – consented to by all Member States – is that the UNSC has the option to take measures, including hindering economic relations, so as to keep up global harmony and security. (Borovikov, Dentons, Nychay, 2018).

## 2. RELATIONS BETWEEN NORTH -KOREA AND THE U.S

The United States and Korea's Joseon Dynasty set up diplomatic relations under the 1882 Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, and the first U.S. Diplomatic emissary showed up in Korea in 1883. U.S.- Korea relations proceeded until 1905 when Japan assumed direction over Korean foreign affairs. In 1910, Japan started a 35-year duration of colonial rule over Korea. Following Japan's relinquish in 1945 toward the cease of World War II, the Korean Peninsula was partitioned at the 38th parallel into two occupation zones, with the United States in the South and the Soviet Union in the North. The initial hopes for a unified and united Korea were not fulfilled, and in 1948 two separate States were established - the Republic of Korea (ROK) in the South and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the North (DPRK)(U.S Department of State,2018)

On June 25, 1950, North Korean forces attacked South Korea. Led by the United States, a United Nations Alliance of 16 nations undertook the defense of South Korea. Following China's entrance into the war for the benefit of North Korea soon after that, a stalemate turned out for the last two years of the battle until a ceasefire was agreed on July 27, 1953. All the same, a peace treaty has never been agreed upon North and South Korea, who have had

a troublesome and, now and again, an unpleasant relationship since the Korean War. The two nations are isolated by a demilitarized zone. During the postwar era, both Korean governments have over and over avowed their craving to reunify the Korean Peninsula, but until 1971, the two governments had no immediate, official connection or another contact. North Korea has been led by consecutive generations of Kim II Sung's family, and its political and economic structure is peripherally controlled. The United States underpins the tranquil reunification of Korea on terms satisfactory to the Korean citizenry and perceives that the fate of the Korean Peninsula is an issue for them to determine. The United States conceive that a valuable and genuine discourse among North and South Korea is important to improve between Korean relations and to resolve outstanding issues. The United States has been engaged in a few rounds of diplomacy to remove the nuclear risk presented by North Korea. In 1994, the United States and North Korea arrived at a concession on a guide for the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. In 2003, the United States proposed multilateral talks on the North Korean nuclear issue. Several rounds of Six-Party Talks were held, with the last round happening in 2009. Albeit, North Korea has on occasions said it would take steps toward denuclearization. Meanwhile, it kept on conducting tests infringing upon international law, including three intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), and its biggest-ever nuclear test in 2017 alone. The United States has approached North Korea to take concrete, irreversible denuclearization steps toward satisfaction of the 2005 Joint Statement of the Six-Party Talks, abide by international law including United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1718 (2006), 1874 (2009), 2087 (2013), 2094 (2013), 2270 (2016), 2371 (2017), 2375 (2017), and 2397 (2017) and stop provocative practices. In 2017, the United States instituted a global economic and diplomatic pressure campaign on the DPRK to force them into negotiations on denuclearization. International focus prompted new international diplomatic commitment with DPRK leader Kim Jong Un, incorporating summits with South Korea, China, and the United States. Furthermore, on June 12, 2018, President Trump became the first US president to meet with North Korean leaders when he met with Kim Jong-un in Singapore. The leaders of two countries signed a joint proclamation that consented to the total denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, security guarantees for the DPRK, its commitment to working toward a peaceful regime, and the recuperation and quick repatriation of POW/MIA remains (U.S Department of State, 2018). What is more, on 30th June 2019 Trump making the first crossing of any sitting U.S. president into North Korea and also shook hands across the demarcation line between the two Koreas. It is a symbolic milestone between the two countries (Lee, 2019)

### **3. GENERAL OVERVIEW**

#### **3.1.1 Unilateral Economic Sanctions**

Unilateral economic sanctions are by and large alluded to as economic sanctions without the U.N. Security authorization. Unilateral sanctions could be applied by a state or multi-states. Unilateral economic sanctions are not approved by the Security Council, and therefore their legitimacy is quite often questioned. Some argue that "almost all unilateral economic sanctions fail almost all the time" (Collins and Bowdoin, 1999). Inversely, multilateral sanctions are more likely to be considered effective. Even though the likelihood that multilateral sanctions can cause more damage than unilateral ones is higher, the polarity is by all accounts of constrained utility in that economic haram does not guarantee the accomplishment of sanctions (Hosseini G. Askari et al. 2003). The U.N. Charter bans the utilization of force aside from in self-defense or with the endorsement of the Security Council under Chapter VII (Article 2(4) and 51 of the U.N. Charter. The Charter, nonetheless, does not have any provision prohibiting unilateral intervention, where sanctions are enforced by individual states. The conventional principle of state sovereignty incorporates "the national economic liberty to trade with different countries (Forlati,2004). States are entitled to applying "trade embargoes or blacklists in any way, shape or form, including simple economic coercion to advance national political or economic interests against those of other states( Forlati,2004). Then again, the General Assembly impulse individual states not to enforce economic sanctions that transgress international law and the U.N. Charter, and not to utilize unilateral coercive measures "as apparatuses for political or economic pressure against any nation, especially against developing nations, on account of the negative impacts on the acknowledgment of every human rights. Customary international law doesn't ban the international community or individual states from utilizing economic sanctions to advance conformity with



international standards or some other strategy. In general, the imposition of sanctions to promote human rights can be allowed, since the promotion of human rights is one of the main objectives of the United Nations (Article 1, (3) of the Charter). Experiences demonstrate that numerous states, including the U.S., have as often as possible imposed economic sanctions, for example, import and import prohibitions, and financial limitations (Malloy 2001). The International Court of Justice (ICJ) holds that state sovereignty stretches out to the zone of its international policy, and there is no customary international law to keep a state from picking and conducting an international policy in coordination with that of another state (Military and Paramilitary Activities para 265). The ICJ further expresses that economic sanctions don't violate the customary norm of non-intervention (Military and Paramilitary Activities para 245). The ICJ pronounces that one mediation banned by international law is the "one bearing on issues in which each state is allowed, by the principle of state sovereignty, to choose freely (Military and Paramilitary Activities para 205) " In a broad sense, economic sanctions are permissible by international law.

### **3.1.2 Unilateral sanctions on North Korea**

Various nations and international bodies have imposed sanctions against North Korea. At present, numerous sanctions are concerned about North Korea's nuclear weapons program and were imposed after its first nuclear test in 2006. The United States enforced sanctions during the 1950s and tightened them further after international bombings against South Korea by North Korean agents during the 1980s, including the Rangoon and the bombing of Korean Air Flight 858. In 1988, the United States added North Korea to its list of state supporters of terrorism. Sanctions against North Korea began to ease during the 1990s when South Korea's then-liberal government pushed for engagement policies with the North. The Clinton administration signed the Agreed Framework with North Korea in 1994. Be that as it may, the unwinding of economic sanctions was ephemeral. North Korea proceeded with its nuclear program and formally pulled back from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 2003, making nations restore via several sanctions. UN Security Council Resolutions were passed after North Korea conducted nuclear tests in 2006, 2009, 2013, 2016, and 2017. At first, sanctions were centered around bans on weapons-related materials and goods but extended to extravagance merchandise to focus on the elites. Further sanctions extended to cover financial assets, related resources, banking transactions, and general travel and trade (Lee, Yong Suk'2018). In July 2017, after the demise of tourist Otto Warmbier, the United States government prohibited US residents from visiting North Korea without exceptional approval beginning 1 September 2017 (Torbati, Yeganeh; Lee, Se Young 2017). On 21 September 2017, President Donald Trump issued Executive Order 13810 enabling the United States to cut from its financial system or freeze assets of any businesses, organizations, associations, and people trading merchandise, services, or technology with North Korea. Likewise, any aircraft or ship upon entering North Korea is restricted for 180 days from entering the United States. A similar limitation applies to ships that conduct ship-to-ship transfers with North Korean ships. Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin expressed that "foreign financial institutions are currently on notice that going ahead they can choose to work with the United States or North Korea, but not both." An announcement from the White House said "foreign financial institutions related must pick between working with the United States or facilitating trade with North Korea or its assigned supporters. (Borak, Donna, 2017 ).

## **4. WHY DO COUNTRIES SUCH AS THE UNITED STATES IMPOSE UNILATERAL ECONOMIC SANCTIONS?**

To begin with, it is mostly on the grounds that resolutions that the U.S. seek after now and again are not welcomed by other Security members. The U.S., for instance, sought after a U.N.- ordered ban against Libyan oil, yet the Western nations that required oil restricted it (Geoff Simons, 1999). In the mid-1990s, the U.S. looked for a lot harsher U.N. sanctions against North Korea, but China opposed it. Where multilateral economic sanctions are obstructed in the Council, the U.S. pursues unilateral economic sanctions with or without the involvement of other states. Secondly, imposing unilateral sanctions is a decent route for politicians to pacify the requests from NGOs and constituents to do something (Collins et al., 1999, at 9.). Satisfying domestic voters or making a moral declaration by imposing emblematic unilateral economic sanctions is very alluring for politicians. One of the issues identified with unilateral economic sanctions is whether they are successful as foreign policy tools or more

compelling than multilateral economic sanctions. On the whole, the more noteworthy the number of nations expected to execute sanctions, the more noteworthy the economic trouble of the target nation will be. Therefore, the majority opinion contends that multilateral sanctions are more compelling than unilateral economic sanctions or economic sanctions are once in a while effective (Collins, 1999). In the global economy, unilateral economic sanctions tend to bring higher costs to the sanctioning state than the target country, and target countries can often find alternative sources of supply and financing (Simons, 1999). If the target country is heavily dependent on the sanctions country, the target country is more likely being hurt. Even in this situation, it is contended that financial challenges the objective nation get do not guarantee the accomplishment of economic sanctions. Dictatorial regimes in the target nation become progressively restrictive, and positive socioeconomic advancements can't be simulated. Actually, the economic challenges that economic sanctions imposed against Haiti and Cuba couldn't change their behavior (Collen, 1999). The U.S. has tried to upgrade the efficacy of unilateral economic sanctions by intimidating secondary sanctions against those third parties reluctant to sanction the target country (Hass, 1998). Where secondary sanctions are embraced, sanctions apply to abroad firms that contravene the terms of the U.S. enactment. This strategy has some hindrance consequences for people and firms that look to violate activities by the enactment are faced with extraordinary difficulties from other countries. On the contrary, it is contended that multilateral sanctions are not more powerful than unilateral sanctions (Gary Clyde Hufbauer et al., 2007). It is asserted that worldwide help for a sanctions strategy can damage odds of achievement by "weakening the degree and effect of the common sanctions in the process of securing understanding among the senders." Accordingly, international endeavors set up to collaborate don't yield alluring results (Gary Clyde Hufbauer et al., 2007). It is an incongruity that regardless of its efficiency, states are still employing unilateral sanctions. The United States has overpowered different nations in the numbers of unilateral economic sanctions against different nations. During the Cold War, the United States could accomplish a moderately high state of achievement with less cooperation (Gary Clyde Hufbauer et al., 2007). After World War II, the U.S. kept up the most powerful economy, supporting war-stricken western economies. Until the 1960s, the U.S. provided developing nations with economic assistance. These components contributed to the level of success. The developing worldwide economy, in any case, undermined the adequacy of unilateral sanctions. As Europe and Japan have appeared as competitive economic superpowers, the U.S. position on the global economy has declined. Nevertheless, even in the post-Cold War, the significance of unilateral economic sanctions have not lessened as a policy tool of the United States (Hass). The objectives of economic sanctions by the United States fluctuate including discouraging the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, promoting human rights, ending support for terrorism, thwarting drug trafficking, and discouraging armed aggression.

## **5. WHAT OTHER BODIES IMPOSE UNILATERAL ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON NORTH-KOREA?**

U.S allies Japan and South Korea, just as the European Union, have likewise sanctioned North Korea beyond the measures enforced by the UN Security Council. Some South Korean leaders have kept up a firm stance against North Korea, while others, including the present president, Moon Jae-in, have selected a progressively mollifying methodology, endeavoring to grow bilateral exchanges as a way toward serene concurrence. Seoul gave Pyongyang \$7 billion in help somewhere in the range of 1991 and 2015, frequently as food and medical assistance. A few analysts contend that such strategies have weakened the impacts of sanctions. Moon, while supporting international sanction and increased defense participation with the United States, has attempted to improve North-South ties, meeting with Kim multiple times. Moon has endorsed humanitarian aid disbursements, revived a hotline between the two Koreas, reestablished family reunions, opened a joint liaison office, and received a UN sanctions exemption to lead a joint review for a potential railway between the two Koreas (Eleanor, 2019). Also, in 2010, South Korea enforced sanctions against North Korea in what is known as the May 24 measures. These sanctions included: Prohibiting response to the sinking of the South Korean maritime ship, the ROKS Cheonan and North Korean boats from South Korean regional waters, suspending inter-Korean trade aside from at in the Kaesong Industrial Zone and prohibiting most cultural exchanges (Anna 2016).

Japan, Tokyo has additionally restricted commercial and diplomatic exchanges with North Korea, enforcing sanctions beginning in 2006. It lifted some of them in 2014 to instigate Pyongyang to investigate the vanishings

of Japanese nationals in the 1970s and 1980s. Japan imposed new sanctions in February 2016, and again in August and December 2017, in response to North Korean nuclear and missile tests. These measures freeze certain North Korean and Chinese assets, ban the entry of North Koreans, and restrict settlements worth more than \$880. North Korea declined to collaborate in the investigation of abducted Japanese citizens until these sanctions are lifted. Japan likewise plays sanctions monitoring role, tracking North Korean cargo transfers in regional waters (Eleonora, 2019).

What is more, In 2016, Japan imposed sanctions against North Korea, including: Anna 2016]. Banning settlements, with the exception of those made for helpful purposes under ¥100,000 in value. Banning North Korean residents from entering Japan. Restoring the prohibition on North Korean ships entering Japanese ports and extending it to incorporate different ships that have visited North Korea ( Anna 2016). Banning nuclear and missile technicians who have been to North Korea from entering Japan. ( Mina 2016).

The European Union supplemental economic restriction ban the admission and residency of individuals who have encouraged the DPRK's weapons program, deny North Koreans access to specialized training, ban the export of extravagance items ranging from purebred houses to ski equipment, ban EU investment across North Korean economic sector, and cap remittance settlements to North Korea. (Eleanor, 2019).

Further, over the years, the European Union has imposed a progression series of sanctions against North Korea since 2006. These include:( Anna,2016) banning arms and related materials; prohibiting the export of aviation and rocket fuel to North Korea, prohibiting the exchange of gold, valuable metals, and diamond with the North Korean government; restricting the import of minerals from North Korea, with certain exemptions for coal and iron ore; restricting the export of extravagance merchandise. Limiting investment and financial activities with North Korea; examining and observing cargoes imported to and sent out from North Korea; disallowing certain North Korean people from entering the EU(European Union External Action,2016).On 21 September 2017, EU restricted oil export and investment in North Korea(Borger, Julian 2017).

## 6. GLOBAL CONCERN ABOUT NORTH KOREA

Bruce Cummings portrays North Korea as "a particular and astounding country that opposes simple depiction (Cummings, 2005). North Korea is a socialist nation and hence has attributes normal to the communist world, for example, Concentration of power, which legitimizes the totalitarianism of the low class. (Korea Institute for National Unification (KINU,2005). The North Korean Constitution (Dae-Kyu Yoon,2004) pronounces that, "the state will adhere to a policy of class, and secure individuals' democracy system and socialism from our adversaries by reinforcing individuals' people's democratic totalitarianism" (Article 12 of the North Korean Constitution of 1998 ). All of North Korea's activities are performed under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party (Article 11 of the Constitution). Further, North Korea is more reliant on its leader than some other socialist nation. The Constitution proclaims itself a Kim Il Sung Constitution (Article 11 of the Constitution). It is an instrument to secure the smooth transition of the progress of the dynastic leadership to Kim Jong Il, the son of Kim Il Sung. Total allegiance and acquiescence to the leader are supreme virtues in North Korea (The 10 Great Principles of the Unitary Ideology System,' proclaimed in 1974). While before the disintegration of the Eastern Coalition and the Cold War, North Korea had been one of the socialist nations; these days, it is an authoritarian nation with a singular belief system. Even with extraordinary starvation and widespread infringement of human rights in other countries would have created regime changes, or if nothing else riots or massive social agitation. Indeed, even an economic failure or wretchedness, or minor human rights infringement could result in regime changes. For instance, in 1960 the corrupt authoritarian South Korean regime was toppled by student protest when Kim Chu Yol, a middle school student, who had been murdered in a police shooting, was hauled out of Masan harbor. (Cummings, supra note 1, at 349). Be that as it may, the gargantuan starvation in the mid-1990s and gross human rights infringements in North Korea have not resulted in any social agitation or civil disobedience, let alone regime. The primary reason that any social agitation or civil disobedience isn't probably going to occur in North Korea is a lack of a private sector. No privately owned businesses, no private news media, no NGOs, no opposition party,

and no private affiliations are permitted in North Korea. The regime owns and controls everything. Under these conditions, North Korea has been a global concern principally for two reasons: weapons of mass destruction and security, and human rights concerns, both menacing universal tranquility and security. Since North Korea's invasion into South Korea in 1950, North Korea has been censured for being a risk to international tranquility and security. North Korea joined the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) system in 1992. However, it denied special investigation access to two sites by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Reacting to international pressures requesting exceptional investigations, in March 1993, North Korea reported its goal to pull back from the non-proliferation treaty (NPT). Despite the fact that in October 1994 the United States and North Korea achieved a consent to freeze North Korea's nuclear program, it broke after the inauguration of President George W. Bush in 2002. North Korea, alongside Iran and Iraq, was named as "an axis of evil, that be, aiming to undermine the tranquility of the world" (Bush, 2002). North Korea has affirmed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), and, therefore, along, is under the commitment to respect the human rights of North Koreans under the Covenants. It has officially demanded that the ICCPR has a similar impact as a domestic law. North Korea claims it effectively uphold the human rights perceived by the ICCPR and ICESER its duty. In reality, human rights infringement in North Korea is widespread and systematic. The regime has a special mechanism to keep up its power, which produces widespread human rights infringement.

## **7. CERTAINTIES AND ISSUES THAT MARK NORTH KOREA GLOBAL CONCERN**

### **7.1.1 Act of Aggression**

North Korea has been a global headache for a long time. It has occupied with animosity just as the advancement of weapons of mass destruction and gross human rights infringement. On 19 June 25, 50, North Korea attacked South Korea. Around the same time, the security Council embraced a resolution requiring the quick end of threats and calling upon North Korea to pull back its military. The resolution additionally called upon members to render help to the U.N. in the execution of the resolution and to abstain from offering help to North Korea. (Seung Jin Oh, 2008). The U.S. considers North Korea a risk to its national security. In December 1950, President Truman proclaimed a national emergency regarding the Korean War under the Trading with the Enemy Act. At the point when the Korean War finished completely in 1953, 520,000 North Korean troopers and 36,000 U.S. fighters had been murdered or injured ( Oberdorfer, 2001). On July 27, 1953, the ceasefire was reached. With the end of the war, the U.N. Security Council resolution satisfied its mandate, but the U.S. has kept on denying all U.S. economic contacts with North Korea. In fact, North Korea has been at war with the U.S. and, South Korea throughout the previous 50 years in light of the fact that no peace treaty has never been agreed upon. The U.S.-North Korea relations were commonly antagonistic after the war. In January 1968, the North Koreans held onto the U.S. spy ship Pueblo together with its crew. In August 1976, two U.S. officials were murdered by North Korean soldiers in the Demilitarized Zone. During the Clinton administration, be that as it may, the U.S. and North Korea promised "no antagonistic intent" toward one another (Madeleine, 2003). North Korea needed to have typical relations with the U.S that would shield the nation from the U.S. menace ( Jeffries, 2006). Many policymakers in the U.S contended that a summit between the U.S. also, North Korea, which may have normalized the relations, would legitimize North Korea's devilish leaders.

### **7.1.2 Weapons of Mass Destruction**

The North Korean nuclear program is one of the primary concerns that the global community has been managing for a long time. The nuclear controversy has decided the picture of North Korea according to the international community. It is perplexing and has a long history. In 1991, South and North Korea signed the Korean Peninsula Non-Nuclear Agreement, swearing not to "test, make, produce, import, possess, store, send, or use" nuclear weapons and not to utilize waste processing or uranium advancement facilities for those purposes (McCormack, 2004). It created the impression that the Korean peninsula would be free from nuclear dangers. In any case, in March 1993, Pyongyang declared its withdrawal from the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Accordingly, the Clinton administration wanted to demolish North Korea's nuclear facilities by bombarding. The task was halted at last. In June 1994, the Geneva "Agreed Framework" was ended. It gives that North Korea will remain in NPT and freeze its nuclear reactor program; the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization will supply with two light-water reactors by 2003 and a yearly supply of 3.3 million barrels of overwhelming oil until the completion of the reactors; the United States and North Korea will move towards full normalization of their political and economic relations; the United States will give formal assurances to North Korea against the risk or the utilization of nuclear weapons. Faced with solid resistance by a Republican-ruled Congress, the Clinton administration was hesitant to commit. (McCormack, 2004). Under the administration of President George W. Bush and after September 11, 2001, the U.S. view toward North Korea changed totally. In January 2002, George W. Bush announced North Korea part of the "axis of evil" as one with Iran and Iraq. On January 9, 2002, North Korea declared its withdrawal from the NPT. On October 9, 2006, Pyongyang reported that it had effectively tested a nuclear gadget. The U.N. Security Council adopted resolutions asking North Korea to desert its nuclear program and imposed economic sanctions against North Korea. As of December 15, 2006, the U.S., China, Japan, Russia, and the two Korea's have been having six-path talks to solve the North Korean nuclear issue. The North Korean nuclear program is the key issue that the international community has engaged with for a long time. It has had priority over the human rights issue, which is to be approached after the nuclear issue is cleared. Without the resolution of the nuclear revolution, the North Korean human rights circumstance too seems hard to determine.

### 7.1.3 Violations of Civil and Political Human Rights

The seriousness of the general human rights circumstance in North Korea has been known through the declarations of North Korean defectors to China and South Korea since the mid-1990s. As a result of Pyongyang has not permitted human rights NGOs or global associations to visit North Korea and assemble data on different human rights issues, a great deal of contention encompasses the definite condition of human rights in North Korea. Also, enlightened the North Korean human rights circumstances are significant with the end goal of giving better alternatives to the international community, individual states and NGOs for solving North Korean nuclear issues and improving human rights in North Korea (Jin Oh (2008)). While human rights infringement by the regime is extreme and far-reaching, the North Korean regime has stayed stable even after the breakdown of socialism. The regime uses both physical force and psychological propaganda to control and alienate the general population. The fundamental strategy that supports the regime to stay in power is the complete disconnection of the general population from the outside world and their repeated brainwashing by the Juche ideology. North Koreans come to realize that they have been hoodwinked by the regime simply subsequent to coming to China or catching wind of the outside world. One of North Korea's contentions against the international criticism of the North Korean human rights circumstance depends on cultural relativism: for example, the standard of human rights in a nation ought not to be decided by comparison with that of Western democracy. Pyongyang demands: "No individuals on the planet completely appreciate genuine human rights as the Korean individuals do under the man-centered communist arrangement of Korean style, where the well-known masses have turned out to be real masters of the nation and everything in the general public is made to serve them." Pyongyang likewise guarantees that it would solidify the Korean-style, man-centered system of guaranteeing communist human rights "under the pennant of the Juche thought. North Koreans are purportedly "appreciating authentic rights and freedom under the man-centered communist system where the entire nation forms a major amicable family and the leader, the Party, and the majority are single-heartedly joined together." (Korea Central Agency, April 20, 2004). Pyongyang sees human rights through their own eyes and denies their all universality. The quirk of the North Korean idea of human rights is that it is in light of the "principle of collectivism." (Article 63 of the Constitution). The North Korean Constitution stipulates that the rights and the obligations of the citizens depend on the standard of "one for all and all for one (Article 63 of the Constitution). They would prefer not to perceive the truth of their human rights circumstance, and they see things just through the Juche philosophy. North Korean individuals and their general public have never been exposed to the international community and democracy. Consequently, the efficient strategies to improve the North Korean human rights circumstance, ought to be to liberate North Koreans from the Juche belief system, to diminish the degree of segregation from the outside world, and to provide North Koreans data on democracy and universal value and convictions, while not deliberately ignoring on the prompt human

rights infringement in the nation. The seclusion of North Korea is just fortifying the regime in light of the fact that, even in outrageous hardship, the North Korean people don't have the foggiest idea of how to oppose the regime, and the regime will utilize foreign isolation or sanctions as a pretext to control over the general population( Jin Oh ( 2008).

## **8. UNITED STATES LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY**

### **8.1.1 The Trading with the Enemy Act (TWEA)**

Trading with the Enemy Act (TWEA) of 1917 is a United States law that restricts trade with countries hostile to the nation. The TWEA authorized the use of economic sanctions against foreign nations, citizens, and nationals of foreign countries, or other persons aiding a foreign country. The law gives the President the power to oversee or restrict any trade between the U.S. and its enemies in times of war.

Furthermore, Unlike U.N. based multilateral sanctions, unilateral sanctions have their bases in domestic enactments. Section 5(b) of the TWEA delegates to the President the power of economic sanctions during the times of announced war. ( 0 U.S.C. app. Section 5(b).The TWEA is the essential source that the President could use to sanction states declared adversaries of the U.S. After the North Korean intrusion into South Korea, the U.S. imposed financial and commercial sanctions against the People's Republic of China and, North Korea under the TWEA. The U.S. kept up economic sanctions against North Korea under the Foreign Assets Control Regulations declared under TWEA section(5) in 1950 until 2000 ( Malloy, 2001)

### **8.1.2 The U.N. Participation Act (UNPA)**

UNPA isn't an act that approves unilateral sanctions. However, a U.S. domestic enactment for applying domestically the U.N. approved economic sanctions. Section 5 of the UNPA gives authority to the President to apply economic sanctions against a target nation under a required U.N. Security Council choice. (22 U.S.C. Section 5).The UNPA is a lawful premise to implement multilateral sanctions in the U.S. under Article 41 of the Charter. After the Cold War, the U.S. implements under the UNPA Security Council resolutions in light of the Iraqi attack of Kuwait in 1990( Ex. order No. 12, 724, 55) Jin Oh ( 2008).

### **8.1.3 International Emergency Economic Powers Act,**

The International Emergency Economic Powers Act, which we call IEEPA, is an incredibly powerful authority that allows the U.S president to declare a national emergency concerning any unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security foreign policy or economy of the United States that has its source, in substantial part, from overseas. So as long as the president declares that there is such a threat and identifies that threat, he can then invoke IEEPA and can take, really, a staggering range of economic actions and impose severe economic penalties on people or entities or countries that are designated as being associated in some way with that threat. Over the years various presidents have applied IEEPA against North Korea in the form of Executive Order 13810; Imposing Additional Sanctions with Respect to North Korea, EO 13722; Blocking Property of the Government of North Korea and the Workers' Party of Korea, and Prohibiting Certain Transactions With Respect to North Korea, EO 13570; Prohibiting Certain Transactions Concerning North Korea.EO 13382; Blocking Property of Weapons of Mass Destruction Proliferators and Their Supporters (US department of states,2009/17)

## **9. JUSTIFICATION OR OTHERWISE OF LEGITIMACY OF U.S UNILATERAL SANCTIONS**

The legality of advancing human rights and halting mass destruction program, arms trade, terrorism, in North Korea using unilateral sanctions relies upon the legitimacy of these sanctions under international law. As such, unilateral sanctions ought to be utilized with incredible consideration, after close investigation, and only as a last resort just if all else fails. Unilateral sanctions have regularly been condemned for coming into strife with various international law principles.

Critics of unilateral sanctions argue that such infringe the customary international law guideline of state sovereignty, which is enshrined in the United Nations Charter.<sup>181</sup> Likewise, free trade advocates contend that general human rights sanctions against a member country run counter to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)/WTO agreement. Also, activists inside the human rights community question the advancement of civil and political rights to the detriment of economic, social, and cultural rights (Nyun,2008).

The essential question emerging from the interplay between unilateral sanctions and international law is this: Do the unilateral sanctions contravene the state sovereignty principle shielded under the United Nations Charter and customary international law?

The state sovereignty standard would one say is one of nonintervention, which perceives the privilege of states to be free from foreign impedance in issues of absolutely domestic concern.<sup>184</sup> In North Korea sanctions setting, and the critical question is: Do the U.S. comprehensive unilateral sanctions, by endeavoring to coerce human right change and relinquished in North Korea, establish unlawful intervention into North Korea domestic issues? The appropriate response is most probably "no." Critics of the U.S. sanctions against North Korea argue that meddling with the North Korea economy to achieve noteworthy behavioral change inside the administration adds up to unlawful intervention into North Koreans domestic politics.<sup>185</sup> In order to protect the sovereignty of a state, customary international law has in the past prohibited a coercive or totalitarian intervention one state in the internal affairs of another state. However, owing to the growing interconnection of economies among nations, non-forcible economies compulsion accomplishes indistinguishable goals as forcible or authoritarian interventions and ultimately led to a powerful state that determines the internal policies of a fragile state. Therefore, the economic pressure that the sending country applies to trigger policy and behavioral changes within the target country and its government adds up intervention whether or not to use force to intervene.

Proponents of the North Korea sanctions, any other way, could raise various contentions. To begin with, the U.S. unilateral sanctions against North Korea are in line with the United Nations Charter.<sup>188</sup> It isn't contested that the United Nations Charter perceives the principle of state sovereignty; notwithstanding, Article 2(7) is constrained to activities by the United Nations—not by its member states. Similarly, Article 2(4) prohibits unilateral "threat or use of force" rather than unilaterally burden of non-coercive economic sanctions. <sup>190</sup> Besides, the "UN Charter" empowers the Security Council to enforce multilateral economic sanctions to protect the peace and security international framework. Secondly, customary international law does not prohibit the United States from using economic coercion to promote North Korea's human rights. The long history of economic statecraft in international relations, coupled with the fact that the United States often uses unilateral sanctions for various purposes, shows that there is no customary international law norm against the use of unilateral sanctions. Similarly manner, customary international law does not put any confinements on a state's entitlement to trade with another state.<sup>194</sup> Furthermore, the customary international law of noninterference is not practicable, because compulsion misses the mark on the coercive or tyrannical standard. At last, the protection of human rights is an issue of international concern, not restricted to domestic circumspection. The United Nations Charter makes a lawful obligation on member states not to perpetrate human rights infringement(Nyun,2008)

## 10. CONCLUSION

Inferring from the study, it unquestionable the fact that unilateral economic sanctions have become a unique international foreign policy tool in the contemporary time. It is mostly used by powerful nations against the lesser countries and from decades to date, the US is the major user in the world. It can be recognized that unilateral economic sanctions are not just imposed on a country in a vacuum, but most often they are used to deter leaders from acting wrongful. Also, they are used to prevent conflicts and avert countries that posed a perilous threat to the peace and security of the world-wide.

Conversely, North Korea is not exceptional to this threat posed to the world. The unilateral sanctions imposed on them by the United States and its allies are as a result of its act of aggression, and violation of civil and human

rights. Lastly, its involvement in the development of weapons of mass destruction threatens the stability of Asia and the world as a whole.

However, controversy surrendering the legal authority of United States unilateral sanction against North Korea and other countries is questioned by activists, advocates, and hot debates in academia. Proponents and critics are in crucial debate on US legal authority and other users for using unilateral sanctions. While others believe it conforms with the United Nations Charter, others also hold the opposite opinion which doesn't conform to UN Charter in International law.

From the writers perspective, unilateral economic sanctions have been the best alternative to any military intervention that the outcome could be catastrophic. Further, it deters evil leaders from their implementing their evil plans against its citizenry and the world. Nevertheless, the conclusion that can be drawn is that the argument of the legitimacy of unilateral sanctions used by the US and other countries seem to have an unceasing end and it continues to be debated among critics and proponent. In our best and realistic opinion, we think the legality of US unilateral economic sanctions does not go against the UN Charter.

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# Designing E-Voting As An ‘Apparatus’ For Combating Election Rigging: A Nigerian Model

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## Abstract

This is a proposed Nigerian model of e-voting. The lessons learnt and huge successes recorded from countries that have practiced e-voting system such as Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Estonia, France Germany, India, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, United Kingdom and the United States of America beaconed hope for adopting E-voting system as capable of proffering solution to electoral rigging in emerging Nigerian democracy. This paper concludes that while electronic voting is not a magic wand, it is the surest way yet for Nigeria to join the league of countries that have wiped out electoral fraud, which is the worst form of corruption. Concurrently, it is also the best way to hand over for the incoming regimes.

**Keywords:** Election, E-voting, Election Rigging, Model, Nigeria

## 1. INTRODUCTION

*"The use of biometric would eliminate ballot manipulation and snatching of ballot boxes on election day.....electronic voting would make the election in Nigeria more credible.*

In most developing countries, electoral processes preceding democratic governance is characterized with a high rate of fraudulent practices ranging from stolen of ballots, falsification of vote counts or rigging, improper voting and votes lost through invalid ballot marks due to ignorance and inadequate prior awareness and negligence (Olaniyi et al., 2011). In a democratic society, the voting system is no doubt a vital tool that allows people to elect the leader of their choice in government or society. However, the voting process in developing countries, Nigeria inclusive has been faced with a lot of challenges associated with traditional voting systems prone to tampering democracy and security infringements (Aranuwa & Oriola, 2012). Despite her gargantuan economic strength and political recognition in African nations, the fraudulent election has been a major political problem encumbering democratic institution in Nigeria (Awopeju, 2011). Nonetheless, Nigeria's democracy is still considered pertinent to the most populous nation in Africa with a population of about 190 million (World Bank, 2019), and in fact, Nigeria is so giant by population such that people say, ‘where Nigeria goes, so goes Africa.’ Therefore, much is expected from Nigeria. What this means is that the way she conducts her elections serves as an example to other African democracies. Nigeria gained independence from the British imperialist in 1960, and was born into

democracy at independence. The roots of democracy were yet to sprout when the civilian rule collapsed owing to a lot of factors, chief among which is the flawed election.

The history of Nigerian democracy synecdoche's monetization of vote, stuffing of ballot boxes, under-age voting, unlawful printing of voters' cards; snatching of ballot boxes, unlawful refusal to provide election materials, inflation and falsification of election results, illegal compilation of non-existing voter's name, intimidation of party agents, voters and electoral officers; and other irregularities amounted to election rigging which downplays and potentates fraudulent electoral management from Nigerian political independence. Nigeria's democracy has been misguided and derailed from the fundamental platform of global conventional democratic traditions. Over the years, especially from independence, Nigerian democracy has symptomized egregious flaws in its entire electoral conducts until the present stage which cue political diaphragms' in many geo-political zones in the country. Election rigging, therefore, becomes Nigerian political culture which undermines ideal democracy.

Sadly, all manners of forbidden dimensions to electoral fraud characterized virtually all the elections, including the recent elections. In most cases, such acts were carried out in collaboration with critical agencies saddled with the responsibility of conducting an election, and also, the support of the government in power, including their supporters. From ballot fixing and connivance with electoral officials and party agents to influencing election results, intimidation and harassment are the familiar elements in a typical Nigerian election which have continued to grow as a culture. This is because, for many, it is a sure way to electoral success since a credible election as a process is a game of chance (ThisDay Newspaper, 2013). The modern-day problems of Nigeria are traceable to the imposition of candidates for election; fraudulent nomination of candidates for election; rigged election for the same candidates; the Courts upholding the same rigged election. All of these culminate in weak leadership, incapable hands, and wrong people mounting the saddle of power and the problems of the country not only remain unsolved but increase exponentially (Aisedionlen, 2012).

For an election to withstand the test of time, it must be robust and be ready to withstand a variety of fraudulent behaviors. It must also be sufficiently transparent and comprehensible so that voters and losers can accept the results of the election (Ajiboye et al., 2013). Democracy and voting are inseparable because the majority opinion determines the outcome of an election or policy. Voting is by far the most important means in democratic decision-making. Although numerous voting methods have been implemented since the dawn of democracy, a certain degree of trial and error could always be expected according to which voting method was used (Olaniyi et al., 2011).

Elections conducted since Nigeria's independence have been played in a do or die affair, and this has made the peace-loving Nigerians to be dead scared in exercising their voting rights, hence the suicidal nature of the politics. Evidence has shown that the rate of citizen participation in elections these days have drastically reduced due to the limited choice or lack of qualified candidates. Lack of candidates with vision has made the electorates politically weak. Sometimes, the electorates are disenfranchised, and the alienated political barons employ the use of coercion to seize power. Election riggings in Nigeria were evident in 1964/1965, 1979, 1983, 1993, 1999, 2003 and 2007 general elections. Between 1999 and 2007, election riggings have accompanied with bloodshed and this have claimed the lives of so many Nigerians; especially popular contestants, while these political killings are executed by hired assassins from wicked politicians who want power by all means. The contemporary political barons in Nigeria impose gullible electoral officers who employ various tricks to win the election for their employers to the detriment of the masses and popular candidates. This, however, has made the system very boring and many have resorted to staying at home during electioneering for fear of being intimidated or coerced to vote against their will, and this is too bad for a country that is desperate to institutionalize a consolidated democracy (Nwokeke & Jayum, 2010).

Formerly, when elections were made traditionally, organizers determine who is eligible to vote and who should not even move close to polling stations. This may involve a formal registration period or making a formal announcement of the age of voters or other factors that may make one eligible to vote. Once the election begins,

the administrator may validate the credentials of those attempting to vote. In contrary to the traditional way of voting, electronic voting is essential because it considers ways in which the polling tasks can be performed electronically without sacrificing voter privacy or introducing opportunities for fraud. In order to determine whether a system performs these tasks well, it is useful, however, to develop a set of criteria for evaluating system performance. The criteria to be developed are such as accuracy, democracy, convenience, flexibility, privacy, verifiability, and mobility (Ajiboye et al., 2013). Elections and voting are fundamental to any consensus-based society. They are one of the most critical functions of democracy. There are a number of voting systems adopted all over the world with each of them having its peculiar problems. The manual voting system still appears prominent among the developed and developing nations, but with considerations being given to an electronic alternative with a view to showing most of the short comings. Furthermore, with the increased interest and attention on e-government, e-democracy, and e-governance, e-voting initiatives have gained more significance. Thus, many countries are piloting with various e-voting models and systems in order to enable voting from anywhere; also, international organizations are developing standards and recommendations in this area (Okediran et al., 2012). These countries of the world include Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Ghana, Estonia, Finland, France Germany, India, Ireland, Italy, Kazakhstan, Netherlands, Norway, Romania, Philippines, Switzerland, United Kingdom and the United States of America among others that have practiced e-voting system with huge successes. Therefore, in proffering solution to the salient problems baffling the Nigerian electoral system, e-voting is considered as an alternative strategy to guarantee and restore citizens' confidence in the Nigerian electoral system.

It is clearly stated that electronic voting is not a magic wand or rocket science; rather, it is the surest way yet for Nigeria to join the league of countries that have wiped out electoral fraud, which is the worst form of corruption. It is also the best way to hand over (Vanguard News, 2014). The application of ICT in the proper execution of democratic rights has made Electronic Voting (E-Voting) systems one of the paramount pillars of e-governance. E-voting involved the use of computerized voting equipment in the process of voter's registration, ballot casting and counting, and ballot recording in a trustable manner (Cetinkaya & Koc, 2009; Olaniyi *et al.*, 2011 cited in Olaniyi et al. 2013). Most electronic system of voting offers the following multiple advantages over the traditional paper-based voting: increased participation in democratic governance as more citizens have access to express their opinion, reduced costs as the materials required for printing and distributing ballots as well as the manpower required to govern poll sites are considerably reduced, flexible as it can be tailored to support multiple languages, greater speed and accuracy in placing and tallying votes as e-voting step by step processes help minimize the number of miscast and rejected votes, lower election fraud in endangered countries with young democracies (Sodiya et al., 2011; Manish et al., 2005; Okediran *et al.*, 2011a cited in *ibid*).

Electronic voting in polling stations is in place in some of the world's largest democracies, and Internet voting is used in some, initially mainly small and historically conflict-free countries. Many countries are currently considering introducing e-voting systems with the aim of improving various aspects of the electoral process. E-voting is often seen as a tool for advancing democracy, building trust in electoral management, adding credibility to election results, and increasing the overall efficiency of the electoral process. The technology is evolving fast, and election managers, observers, international organizations, vendors, and standardization bodies are continuously updating their methodologies and approaches. Properly implemented, e-voting solutions can eliminate certain common avenues of fraud, speed up the processing of results, increase accessibility and make voting more convenient for citizens in some cases, when used over a series of electoral events, possibly even reducing the cost of elections or referendums in the long term (IDEA, 2011). An electronic voting (e-voting) system is a voting system in which the election data is recorded, stored, and processed primarily as digital information (Network Voting System Standards, cited in Gritzalis, 2002). This paper, therefore, explores the e-voting system as an apparatus for combating election rigging in Nigerian democratic space. The paper suggests an electronic voting model for the general conduct of the election in Nigeria.

In its structural form, this paper is divided into ten sections. Sections one and two capture the introduction and the conceptual framework, while sections three and four deal with major elections conducted in Nigeria since independence, and “ democracy and electioneering rigging: a brief historical overview from Nigeria political

independence." Sections five and six consider the methodological approach of countries practicing the e-voting system and design of e-voting model for sustainable democracy in Nigeria. The potential benefits of an e-voting system and overview of selected countries practicing e-voting system were the foci of sections seven and eight. Sections nine and ten critically examine the possible challenges for effective commencement of the e-voting system in Nigeria, including conclusions and recommendations.

### **1.1. PROBLEM STATEMENT**

Lack of transparency and other problems associated with the semi-manual method of casting a vote in Nigeria has indeed called for a more robust electronic voting system (Ajiboye et al., 2013). Indeed, in many ways, election in Nigeria is akin to war (Jega, 2012), and avoidance of election war can be achieved through effective and efficient security. Security is crucial to electoral integrity, but security forces have traditionally done little to prevent rigging or violence and have often been bought by politicians and complicit. Lower-level courts are often corrupt, impunity is insidious and the rule of law at best weak. No one has been convicted of an electoral offense since independence (International Crisis Group, 2011). Since the fraudulent nature of Nigerian electoral system is managed by fraudulent electoral umpires, there is a need for a total overhauling of Nigerian electoral system, the call for absolute restructuring for the effectiveness and efficiency in the overall conduct of elections becomes a political necessity for emerging Nigerian democracy.

## **2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

In this section, an attempt is made to critically identify and examine relevant concepts that address the discourse with a view to establishing a constructive narrative.

### **2.1. Election**

The election is a barometer through which citizens exercise their sovereign political right to choose among various alternative political contestants. It is a mechanism for the selection of political representatives. According to Dickerson, M. et al (1990) cited in Nwokeke & Juyum, (2011), the election is defined as a post mortem that investigate the record of office holders whose actual performance may have little to do with promises made when they were previously elected. This is a way of censuring, reposing function in a ruler that is popularly accepted and ejecting an unpopular leader. This method shuns mutiny and chaos in a system hence, it reflects peaceful hand-over from one administration to the other so long as the process is devoid of election rigging.

Elections are central to competitive politics. They are central because, ideally, they should provide the opportunity for yesterday's winners to become today's losers, and for yesterday's losers to become today's winners. The model of democracy on which this theory of elections is based is liberal democratic. The centrality of elections to liberal democratic politics also presupposes the importance, particularly of impartial electoral administration. This is because the indeterminacy of elections the possibility of erstwhile winners becoming losers and erstwhile losers becoming winners-which is an inherent and necessary prerequisite of liberal democratic politics is to a large extent a function of an impartial administration of elections (Jinadu, 1997:1). Elections that give voice to the people are in essence a critical means of social conflict management through peaceful deliberations and decision-making processes in which 'winners' carry out promised policy initiatives and programs and 'losers' are given the opportunity to serve as a loyal opposition, and to try again in future competitions (UNDP, 2009:1). The election is crucial because it gives the procedure that allows members of an organization or community to choose a representative who will hold positions of authority within it. In any democratic system, it is crucial that elections be free and fair (Igbuzor, 2010). The election is defined as one procedure and preferences of a particular kind. The two features of this definition are procedure and preferences. By procedure, the concept it used to describe a special way of doing something. Preference connotes choice between alternatives. During elections, the electorate is given the opportunity to choose between alternative programmes of contestants (International Encyclopaedia of Social Science, cited in Awopeju, 2011). This facilitates and shapes democracy. Democracy is regarded as the best form of government because its ideology promotes peoples' will. The people have the political right to decide who

should govern them in a free and fair conduct called 'election.' Therefore, elections constitute an essential principle in a liberal democracy. Election in a democracy is very important because it is through which the expression of the people is shown via legitimacy and leadership succession.

## **2.2. Election rigging**

Election rigging may be conceptualized as an application of electoral fraud and falsification of election results in a political system. It means fraudulent management of pre-election, election and post-election activities which may include illegal registration of voters, a false compilation of election results, snatching of ballot boxes and alteration of election results. Election rigging may also connote monetization of election and absolute manipulation of electoral laws. Election rigging occurs when a loser is public pronounced a winner with the help of electoral umpire. It is a total violation of electoral acts that guides the conduct of an election. According to Nwabueze (2003), cited in Nwokeke & Juyum (2012) states that election rigging refers to electoral manipulations which are palpable illegalities committed with a corrupt, fraudulent or sinister motive to influence an election in favour of a candidate or to buy his by way such as illegal voting, bribery, cheating, and undue influence, intimidation and other form of force exerted on the electorates, falsification of results, fraudulent announcement of a losing candidate as the winner (without altering the recorded results). Election rigging was perfected in the elections conducted in 1964, 1965, 1979, 1983, 1999, 2003 and 2007.

Election rigging connotes any form of undue authority or power that influence and manipulate election result in a dubious way to protect a particular interest against the interest of the generality of the masses. When the interest of the people is articulated in a free and fair election, the government in power tend to enjoy the sovereign legitimacy of the people, but election rigging can thwart the interest of the people hence the dubious imposition of an unpopular candidate. The sad end is governments' lack of people's support, which is one of the basic principles of democracy (Ibid).

## **2.3. Democracy**

One holds the view that democracy is a system of social order in which those who govern are elected under agreed laws, those so elected govern in accordance with agreed laws, and both the governed and the governors subject themselves to agreed laws and institutions of the given society. It is submitted that where any of the three conditions above is missing, what is in operation is not democracy whether "*homegrown*" or "*imported*" because for democracy to exist, it must be accepted as a way of life, a consensual cultural attitude of a people. Where the first condition of the definition above is missing, that is where there is no election of leaders in accordance with agreed Laws; there is no democracy at all. This includes where only a purported election has taken place. Where the second condition, that is where those elected refuse to govern in accordance with agreed laws, a situation which one describes as totalitarian democracy (a polite description of institutionalized dictatorship) manifests; and where the third condition is lacking, that is where both the governed and the governors refused to subject themselves to agreed Laws and institutions, the situation, as in Nigeria, is potentially anarchical (Ahamba, 2005:2-3).

## **2.4. E-voting**

E-voting refers to an application of technological mechanism through which citizens exercise their civic responsibility in the selection among various political contenders. It embraces registration of voters and political contestants, voting during election and compilation of election results through computer technology. E-voting entails a computerized electoral administration in a country practicing democracy. It is a tool for measuring and assessing election winners, thereby advocating transparency in an electoral system. This system creates standardization in electoral administration. It takes a technological approach in its general electoral system, which includes computation, monitoring, counting of votes, controlling, coordinating, and pronouncement of election results.

E-Voting, in the wider definition recommended by the Council of Europe, is the use of electronic means in one or several means of election procedures (Marie-Villers, 2007). Electronic voting is a form of computer-mediated voting in which voters make their selections with the aid of a computer. The voter usually chooses with the aid of a touch-screen display, although audio interfaces can be made available for voters with visual disabilities. To understand electronic voting, it is convenient to consider four basic steps in an election process: ballot composition, in which voters make choices; ballot casting, in which voters submit their ballots; ballot recording, in which a system records the submitted ballots; and tabulation, in which votes are counted. Ballot casting, recording, and tabulation are routinely done with computers even in voting systems that are not, strictly speaking, electronic. Electronic voting in the strict sense is a system where the first step, ballot composition (or choosing), is done with the aid of a computer (*Encyclopedia Britannica, 2013*).

Electronic voting is a broad term that means a computer is being used to fulfill some or all of the voting process. There are many kinds of electronic voting which range from systems where the vote is both collected and counted electronically, to systems where the computer simply marks a paper ballot on the voter's behalf. Some electronic voting systems can be completely online, whereas others may be provided at a nominated location or require specific hardware or software (Victorian Electoral Commission). Electronic voting is a term encompassing several different types of voting, embracing both electronic means of casting a vote and electronic means of counting votes. Electronic voting technology can include punch cards, optical scan voting systems, and specialized voting kiosks (including self-contained Direct-recording electronic (DRE) voting systems). It can also involve the transmission of ballots and votes via telephones, private computer network, or the Internet. Electronic voting technology can speed up the counting of ballots and provide improved accessibility for disabled voters (Stenbro, 2010).

### 3. MAJOR ELECTIONS CONDUCTED IN NIGERIA AND ITS APPRAISAL SINCE INDEPENDENCE

YEAR	REGIME	GEO-POLITICAL ZONE	ELECTORAL CHAIRMEN	ASSESSMENT
1960-1966	Civilian	South-South	Eyo Ita Esua	Flawed
1976-1979	Civilian	South-South	Michael Ani	Flawed
1983	Civilian	South-South	Victor Ovie-Whiskey	Flawed
1987-1989	Military	South-East	Eme Awa	Flawed
1989-1993	Military	South-East	Humphrey Nwosu	Free and Fair
1993-1994	Military	South-South	Prof. Okon Uya	Flawed
1994-1998	Military	South-South	Sumner Dagogo-Jack	Flawed
1998-1999	Military	South-South	Ephraim Akpata	Flawed
2000-2005	Civilian	South-South	Abel Guobadia	Flawed
2005-2010 2010-	Civilian Civilian	South-East North-West	Maurice Iwu Attahiru Jega	Flawed Successful but characterized with post-election violence

Source: Authors' Compilation

### 4. DEMOCRACY AND ELECTION RIGGING: A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW FROM NIGERIAN POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

Democracy in Nigeria is characterized with negations of ideal democratic traditions. Tracing the historical evolution of election conducts in Nigeria, many elections conducted by various political administrations have been tagged as flaws and lack democratic ethics. The history of election rigging in Nigeria is traceable to the eve of Nigeria political independent, which was later becomes part and parcel of every political regime in Nigeria. Therefore, it is very germane to glance through electoral conduct at the departure of colonial overlord in 1959 which signaled the thorny origin of electoral fraud in Nigeria, therefore election rigging is an age long practice synonymous with Nigerian democratic system. Election rigging is not a new phenomenon, as stated by Luqman (2009) that the history of election in Nigeria's efforts at democratization has been a chequered one. Since

independence electoral conduct in the nation's democratization efforts has been an exercise in futility. This is due to the fact that electoral conduct in the nation's political history has been marred by fraudulent practices, corruption, and violence. It is therefore of little surprise that past efforts at democratization have collapsed at the altar of perverted elections and the electoral process. So bad was the situation that the election period has come to be associated with violence and politically motivated crises. That politics has been turned to a money-making venture, has reinforced the notion of the election as a contest that is meant to be a win at whatever cost possible. This has turned electoral conducts in Nigeria to a war-like process.

In the 1964 general elections in Nigeria, four major political parties- the Northern Peoples' Congress, (NPC), the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), the Action Group (AG), the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) formed political alliance in order to perpetuate their strategies of election rigging. Thus, the Action Group (AG), the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) and the Northern Peoples Forum (NPF) formed the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) on June 3, 1964 while the Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC), the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the Movement for Democratic Front (MDF) formed the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) on August 20, 1964 (International-IDEA, 2000: 337 cited in Awopaju, 2011). After the 1964 general election, there was upheaval from the election conducted in the west as a result of some manipulations, and this necessitated for a fresh election in 1965. The 1965 Western election revealed that electoral officers were colluding with the political party that was favored by the federal government to disallow voters from the opposing political party from filling their allocated nomination papers (Nwokeke & Jayum, 2011).

Nigeria has an illiberal democratic regime in which strict guidelines, defined by the constitution and monitored by INEC, govern the registration of political parties. The guidelines seek to ensure that all parties have a national, nonsectarian vision. But the parties have a persistent tendency to factionalize and fractionalize (Ibrahim 1991; cited in Ibrahim, 2007:12). Democracy is, so far, the best-known system of government. This is because of its edifying significance as a mode of governance based on the principle of popular sovereignty, the rule of law, accountability, participation and the right of resistance to unlawful or tyrannical rule (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2000; cited in Ajayi, 2007:142-143). Although there are different conceptions of democracy (Janda, et al. 1997; Ntalaja, 2003 Massoud, 2000; cited in Omodia, 2009:38) however the democratization processes that took place in most African state in the 1990s were geared towards the western liberal democracy which emphasizes the following:

- a. Competitive party politics through constitutionally recognized opposition.
- b. Entrenched fundamental human rights through which the citizens could exercise political participation in the political system.
- c. The existence and adherence to the principle of the rule of law that must guide functional conflicts as regards the processes for power acquisition.
- d. Independent electoral body that should be free from the maneuvering and influence of governmental officials and must be viewed as credible by competing parties.
- e. The principle of political equality which respects the notion of one man, one vote and where the votes of the electorate count.
- f. The notion of a free and fair election, where electorate not intimidated nor insecure in participating in elections.

The report prepared by the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies just before the 1983 elections, correctly predicted that the elections could not be conducted without massive electoral fraud because the parties in power were not ready to allow others to come to power. The report also showed that only the 1959 and 1979 elections had taken place without systematic rigging. This was noted by Transition Monitoring Group that:

*While elections in Nigeria have demonstrated how the political elites at all levels, perpetrated many illegalities in order to maintain their hegemony in politics and in the control of state machinery, the patriotism and resolve of citizens to enthrone democracy has been vividly demonstrated (TMG, 2007: 6).*



Those two elections had one point in common: They were held in the presence of strong arbiters, the colonial state, and the military, that were not participants and desired free and fair elections. Therefore, the history of Nigeria electoral system has been a traumatic and egregious one, as it was affirmed that:

*"Election debacles have always been our bane: it truncated the first republic, eventually leading into 30-month civil war. Although we managed to come off it in one piece, echoes and scars of that war, as well as cries and allegations of marginalization, remain with us to this day" (The Nation Newspaper).*

Kurfi (2005), cited in Ibrahim (2007) observed that rigging is almost synonymous with Nigerian elections. The objective of electoral rigging or fraud is to frustrate the democratic aspirations of citizens who have voted or would have voted into office someone other than the victor. It was noted that:

*From 1993, the electoral system in Nigeria has been successful in its exploitation of the citizens and its massive rigging of polls of 2003 and 2007 which put chief Olusegun Obasanjo and Alhaji Umaru Yar'Adua, both of the People Democratic Party (PDP) (The Nation Newspaper).*

Interrogating the debate of e-voting and election rigging really demands a constructive response: are Nigerian elections doomed by the machinations of fraudsters who frustrate the people's democratic aspirations? Precisely because of this history of electoral fraud, elections in the country have often been associated with political tension, crisis, and even violence (Adekanye, 1990: 2; cited in Ibrahim, 2007:3). The outcomes of many elections have been so fiercely contested that the survival of the democratic order has been compromised. Accordingly, the 2007 election was colorized in this manner:

*The irregularities were so numerous and so far-reaching that the election was a charade and did not meet the standards required for democratic election (TMG, 2007; cited in Collier and Vincente, 2010:6)*

This sad history of electoral fraud or rigging has serious implications for Nigeria's democratic future because the phenomenon is growing rather than declining. The principal forms of rigging and fraud were perfected in the elections of 1964, 1965, 1979, 1983, 1999, 2003 and 2007, as it was stated that:

*General elections in Nigeria from 1959 to 2007 have been characterized by malpractices and controversies. Thus, how to purge our electoral process in Nigeria of the flaws that have prevented it from achieving even modicum credibility is a great concern in the polity today (Songi, 2009:3).*

It is noted that as 2007 election season approached, assassinations of party leaders started. The situation was the same as preceding the 2003 elections. Between June and August 2006, three gubernatorial candidates were assassinated. To understand this kind of mafia-style activity in Nigerian politics, it is important to note that many political parties are operated by political "godfathers," who use money and violence to control the political process. As it was stated by European Union Election Observation Mission to Nigeria that:

*"We feel extremely disappointed that things were worse in 2007 than they were in 2003. The 2007 state and federal elections fell far short of basic international, regional standards for democratic elections. The elections were marred by a very poor organization; lack of essential transparency; widespread and procedural irregularities; substantial evidence of fraud; widespread voter disenfranchisement; lack of equal conditions for political parties and candidates and numerous incidents of violence" (Quoted in Daily Independent, Tuesday, May 10, 2011)*

The credibility and general acceptability of any election outcomes as well as the legitimacy of the elected government are a function of transparency, freeness, and fairness of the electoral process (Ajayi, 2007:142), the result and outcome of elections have been the subversion of the democratic process rather than its consolidation. It is not surprising that major political conflicts have emerged around rigged elections (Kurfi, 2005, cited in

Ibrahim, 2007). There are also monetization and materialization of politics, which are engendered by mass poverty. Electorates monetize their votes by selling them to the highest bidding contestants. The materialization of votes takes the form of vote exchanges for such intangible quantity of consumable such as rice, table salt, cooking oil and kerosene. Both monetization and materialization are all about securing a living through their votes. When these are involved, the quality of programmes of competing and the qualification and competence of contestants do not count in the choice of the electorates. In these ways, the electoral processes become bastardized. Winning elections at all costs by political competitors consequently becomes a limitation to a credible electoral process (Ajayi, 2007:144).

In 2003, Nigeria conducted the second general election since the return to civilian politics in May 1999. Those elections were almost as contentious as the infamous 1983 elections that precipitated the collapse of the Second Republic. The report by Nigerian observers confirmed numerous reports of fraud in many states across the country (TMG, 2003: 120; cited in Ibrahim, 2007:3). The European Union observers' report also reported widespread election-related malpractice in a number of states in the Middle Belt, the South East and the South (European Commission, 2003: 42; cited in Ibrahim, 2007:3). The varied forms of electoral malpractice and the high number of incidents of electoral violence rekindled old fears that the basic institutional weaknesses associated with the electoral system could bring the democratic experiment to grief. This fear is even more palpable as Nigeria moves toward the 2007 elections, as it was once observed that:

*Rigging, violence, and intimidation were so pervasive and on such naked display that they made a mockery of the electoral process. Where voting did take place, many voters stayed away from the polls. By the time voting ended, the body count had surpassed 300 (HRW, 2007; cited in Collier and Vincente 2010:6)*

In Nigeria, just like most of the countries in Africa, elections, especially its freeness and fairness constitute the central factor in ensuring democratic survival. This is because the lack of free and fair elections often tends to threaten the democratic process as a result of the legitimacy question. Thus factor no doubt has characterized the democratic experiment of the Nigerian Fourth Republic in that there has been a persistent crisis of legitimacy in governance arising from the poor electoral system (Omodia, 2008; cited in Omodia, 2009:38). In other words, while elections could not be said to be synonymous with the democratic process in that democracy encompasses other attributes, but elections are so central to the operation and survivability of democracy in that it defines the level of freedom exercised by the people in decoding who represent them in government. It also serves as an index of noticing whether the electoral body and the judicial organ of the government are independent of the legislative and executive organ. However, in the Fourth Republic, events have shown that the electoral body is not independent of the party in power. This has been defined in relation to the manner of which the electoral body had conducted elections in a way that advantaged the party in power through poor planning, the device of excluding electorates from voting in places considered to be the strongholds of opposition, through the inadequate supply of voting materials, or late arrival of electoral officers to polling stations (Abdullahi, 2008; cited in Omodia, 2009:38). As this reflects the view of the European Union that:

*The Nigeria's elections were not credible and fell far for basic international standards. The election for president, state Governors, and legislators were marred by violence, poor organization, lack of transparency, significant evidence of fraud, voter disenfranchisement and bias (EU,2007; cited in Collier and Vincente, 2010:6)*

Nigerian democracy is a symbolic reflection of non-compliance with electoral laws. What we have in Nigeria wholly portrayed absolute negation of democratic orders encapsulated in democratic abomination in its entire electoral conduct, thereby amounted to election rigging which makes the general citizens to be despondent in Nigerian democratic practices. Hence, the majority of the citizens are no longer interested in voting and selection of candidates who might have already been concluded and accomplished by ruling political cabals, thereby creating ignominious political future for emerging Nigerian democracy.

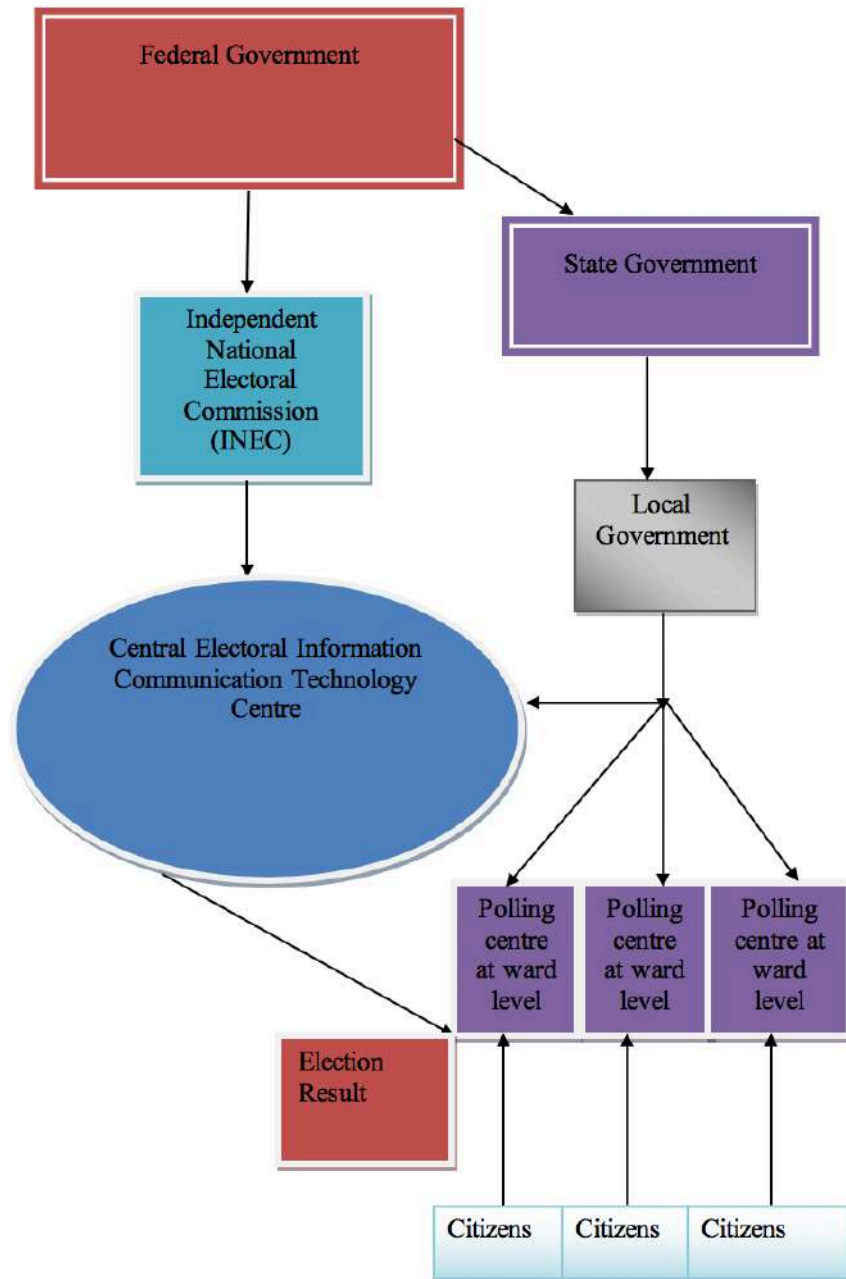
### 5. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH OF COUNTRIES PRACTICING E-VOTING SYSTEM

Country	E-voting Model	Type of Election	Year of Adoption	E-Voting Device	Assessment Classification	Voters Identification & Verification Mechanisms	Status of E-Voting
United State of America	paper-based e-voting system, direct recording electronic system, and Internet voting	Primary and General elections.	2002	Punch Card Systems, Direct-Recording Electronic	Effective and efficient		
Finland	Paper-based	Local election	2008	Paper-based ballots That would be sent to Server for compilation	Ineffective	Electronic voters card	Stopped
Estonia	the e-ID card that includes cryptographic protocols	Local, Parliamentary and European elections	2005	Mobile identity card	Effective	Electronic voters card	Currently in use
France	Internet voting, postal voting, and proxy voting or by visiting a polling station in France.	presidential and parliamentary elections), regional / cantonal)	2004	voters received a code and a password enabling them to identify themselves on the voting web site by post from the administration	Effective		Currently in use,
Switzerland			2000				
Belgium	A voting computer is used to help the voter cast his ballot, and the cast ballot is written onto a magnetic card which is then placed into an electronic ballot box, which reads the card (ballot) as it is inserted.	European, federal, regional and local elections	1991	a ballot box, a voting machine, a magnetic card Proxy-voting and postal voting.		Voting machines	Discontinued
Brazil	DRE with two numerical keyboards.	Local, regional and national elections as well as referendums	1996	Simple, light and easily storable and transportable machine		electoral card	Currently used.
India	Stand-alone direct recording machines.	Regional and general elections.	1999			voter identity card	Currently being used.
Netherlands		European, Parliamentary and Local Government	1990	direct recording electronic voting machines			

Source: Authors

**6. A DESIGN OF E-VOTING MODEL FOR SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA**


**Structural Political Framework for E-Voting System in Nigeria**



### E-Voting Registration Model

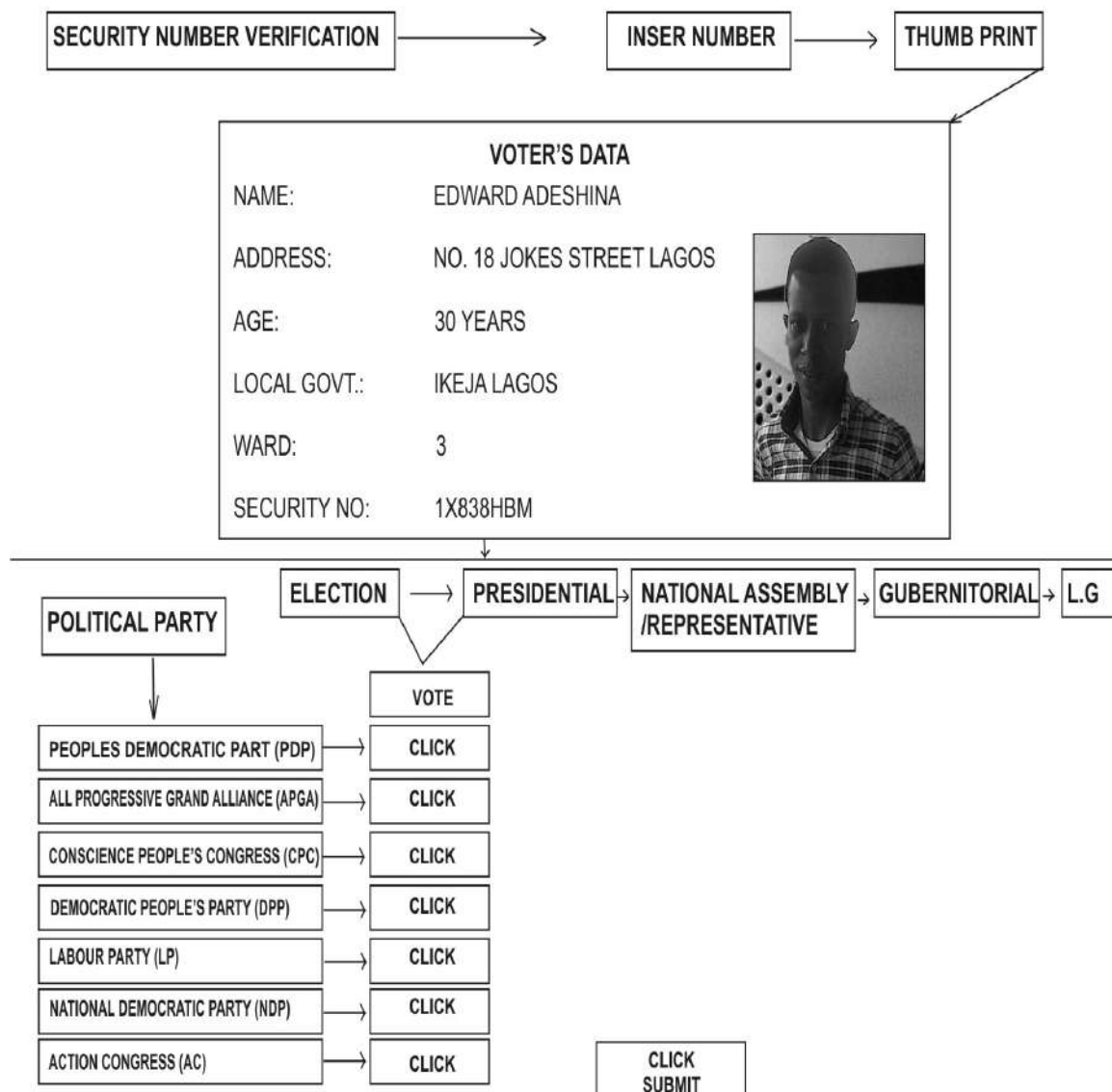
<b>Register here:</b>	<input type="text"/>
<b>Name:</b>	<input type="text"/>
<b>Sex:</b>	<input type="text"/>
<b>Address:</b>	<input type="text"/>
<b>Age:</b>	<input type="text"/>
<b>Occupation:</b>	<input type="text"/>
<b>State:</b>	<input type="text"/>
<b>Local Govt.:</b>	<input type="text"/>
<b>Ward:</b>	<input type="text"/>
<b>Upload Passport:</b>	<input type="text" value="Upload here:"/>
<b>Thumb Print:</b>	<input type="text"/>
	<input type="button" value="Submit"/>

### VOTER'S CARD

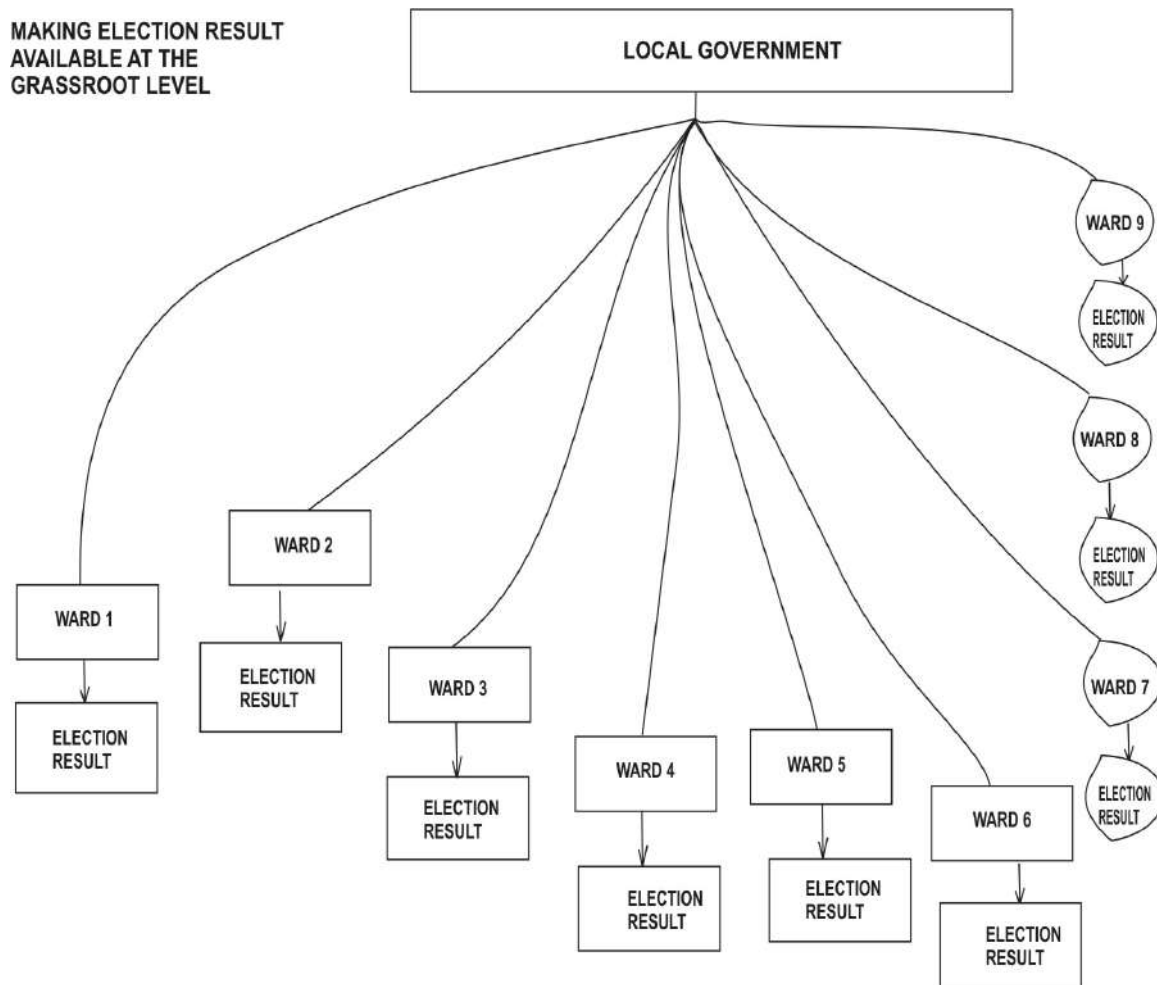
<b>Name:</b>	<b>Edward Adeshina</b>	
<b>Sex:</b>	<b>Female</b>	
<b>Age:</b>	<b>30 Years</b>	
<b>State:</b>	<b>Osun State</b>	
<b>Address:</b>	<b>No. 18 Jones Street, Ikeja Lagos</b>	
<b>Local Govt.:</b>	<b>Ikeja Local Government</b>	
<b>Ward:</b>	<b>3</b>	
<b>Security No:</b>	<b>1x238HBM</b>	

Source: By Authors

### BIOMETRIC VOTING MODEL



Source: By Authors



Source: By Authors

## 7. POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF E-VOTING SYSTEM

Gerlach and Gasser (2012) enumerate the potential benefits of e-voting, which can facilitate the process of combating and ameliorating election rigging in Nigeria:

### i. Implementation of Political Rights

Use of the Internet and other electronic devices for communication has not only become a standard for work but also for people's private lives. The facilitation of online voting will be an adaption of democratic procedures to people's need for simplicity and convenience.

A more important aspect of e-voting, however, is its potential facilitation of the implementation of political rights. Especially for people with disabilities, the possibility to cast a ballot online can prove to be a major improvement of their capacity to exercise their political rights. E-voting systems, for instance, could be equipped with added features to assist those with visual impairment. Additionally, individuals with disabilities may prefer the use of their home computers, where they provide conveniences over traditional forms of writing and communication.

### ii. Augmentation of the Participation Rate

Politicians and defenders of democracy in general who seek the increased legitimacy of democratic decisions may hope that e-voting will raise voter turnout.

### iii. Augmentation of the Quality of Votes

Whether an increase in voter turnout also brings a corresponding increase in the quality of participation depends on different factors. There is, of course, an opportunity to find information online on the issues or candidates running for office. Moreover, the government can post the information they usually send by mail on the e-voting Web site. Since votes are counted electronically, the risk of human error is significantly decreased, and the number of electronic votes should in theory always be correct. In addition to enhancing economic efficiency, this increases the legitimacy of the vote. Since the system asks voters to confirm their choice, there should be no "wrong" votes, i.e., incidents of voters submitting a ballot that does not convey their vote correctly.

### iv. Other Benefits of an Early Introduction of e-Voting

Adapting the voting process to the digital environment has several benefits. It will not only bring simplicity, but, as a pioneering task, it will allow the state to secure a dominant position in the market for e-democracy systems. In the same vein, IDEA (2011) also suggests the following measures as the major strengths of e-voting:

- The faster vote count and tabulation.
- More accurate results as human error are excluded.
- Efficient handling of complicated electoral systems formulae that require laborious counting procedures.
- Improved presentation of complicated ballot papers.
- Increased convenience for voters.
- Potentially increased participation and turnout, particularly with the use of Internet voting.
- More attuned to the needs of an increasingly mobile society.
- Prevention of fraud in polling stations and during the transmission and tabulation of results by reducing human intervention.
- Increased accessibility, for example by audio ballot papers for blind voters, with Internet voting as well for housebound voters and voters from abroad.
- Possibility of multilingual user interfaces that can serve a multilingual electorate better than paper ballots.
- Reduction of spoilt ballot papers as voting systems can warn voters about any invalid votes (although consideration should be given to ensuring that voters are able to cast a blank vote should they so choose).
- Potential long-term cost savings through savings in poll worker time, and reduced costs for the production and distribution of ballot papers.
- Cost savings by using Internet voting: global reach with very little logistical overhead. No shipment costs, no delays in sending out material and receiving it back.
- Compared to postal voting, Internet voting can reduce the incidence of vote-selling and family voting by allowing multiple voting where only the last vote counts and prevent manipulation with mail-in deadlines through direct control of voting times.

## 8. OVERVIEW OF SELECTED COUNTRIES PRACTICING E-VOTING SYSTEM

Technology offers new mechanisms for conducting traditionally manual processes, and elections are no exception. A growing number of countries at various stages of development are considering electronic technologies in electoral processes (IFES, 2013). Therefore, this section of the paper briefly examines the e-voting system in 18 countries of the world where it has recorded great successes. These countries include Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Estonia, Finland, France Germany, India, Ireland, Italy, Kazakhstan, Netherlands, Norway, Romania, Philippines, Switzerland, United Kingdom and the United States of America. These various countries are examined one after the other.

### 8.1.1. E-VOTING SYSTEM IN BRAZIL

Brazil is an example of a country with a thriving electronic voting system. In 2000, it became the first country to have elections completely by an electronic voting system and has since remained at the forefront of the electronic



voting movement. Electronic Voting Machines for Brazilian elections were developed and first tested in the 1996 elections in Santa Catarina. Thereafter it was used in national elections in 1998, when it then became the only voting method for the 2000, 2002, 2004, and the most recent 2006 elections. Through these election cycles, the voting system has changed – most notably in the operation system running on the machines. This effort to constantly build upon and improve the voting system is likely part of the reason for its strong success. In Brazil, the research and development of electronic voting systems are funded by the Brazilian Supreme Electoral Court (TSE), which is also currently testing ways to improve the system, such as by using digital screens and printing systems. These improvements likely have been a significant source of voter satisfaction, and will continue to emphasize the government's commitment to a fair and effective system in the future (Lin & Espinoza 2007). The introduction of e-voting in Brazil was motivated by economic and fraud-prevention factors. A multi-year approach for the gradual introduction of e-voting was adopted and included the following steps:

1. Voter and civic information including usability and feasibility studies starting in 1986
2. Capacity building within the EMB, and digitalization of the result aggregation
3. Development of hard- and software, involving local technical expertise
4. Testing of equipment in the Brazilian environment
5. EMB's final decision on the type of machine fitting the Brazilian context best
6. Quality control and testing in various environments
7. Authorization of e-voting in 1996 local and municipal elections
8. Post-election review and subsequent quality overhaul Full e-voting roll-out in the 2002 general elections (IDEA,2011).

### **8.1.2. E-VOTING SYSTEM IN ESTONIA**

Estonia is credited to be a pioneer in e-governance and e-democracy. The use of digital channels for different services is steadily widening, nearly half of house-holds have a computer at home, and more than 4/5 of those are connected to the Internet. Estonia is among the first few countries in the world, where ID card with remote identification and binding digital signature functions is compulsory for personal authentication. Almost all Estonian inhabitants are already electronic ID cardholders. Therefore introducing e-voting was a logical step to take (Jabed & Chowdhury, 2013). Internet voting was introduced as an additional voting channel in 2005 and enjoyed widespread trust from the very beginning. Estonia is a conflict-free country that enjoys a high level of trust in its institutions, and e-voting accompanied a wider programme of digitalization of its institutions. Not even massive hacking attacks against Estonia's e-government infrastructure ahead of the 2007 elections undermined this confidence. In 2011 almost 24 percent of votes were cast online (IDEA, 2011). The main feature of Norwegian e-voting scheme is its openness. The Norwegian government is trying to build trust in e-voting by making all the documents related to voting publicly available. They have released all the documents related to architecture and other technical matters. They have also decided to open the source code for the public to investigate the security holes (Jabed & Chowdhury, 2013).

### **8.1.3. E-VOTING SYSTEM IN IRELAND**

Between 2005 and 2009, Ireland invested over 60 million euros in an e-voting solution without VVPAT, before deciding that the system was unreliable and would need further, costly modifications before it could be used. High costs, in combination with a lack of trust, led to the scrapping of e-voting in 2009. In the absence of a solution for the destruction of the unused machines, Ireland still has to cover the storage costs in the foreseeable future (IDEA, 2011).

### **8.1.4. E-VOTING SYSTEM IN INDIA**

Following pilots since 1982, the biggest democracy in the world has successfully used voting machines throughout the entire country since 2002. Two distinct features of the Indian VMs are the low price, significantly lower than

that of most other systems, and a relatively simple technology. The Indian system provides no paper trail, a fact that is widely accepted, given the absolute trust institutionally granted to the EMB. However, the simplicity of the system created controversy around alleged security problems in 2010 and led to the Indian EMB considering the introduction of paper trails in 2011 (IDEA, 2011).

#### **8.1.5. E-VOTING SYSTEM IN GERMANY**

Germany piloted its first electronic voting machines, supplied by the Dutch company NEDAP, in Cologne in 1998. The trial was seen as successful, and one year later Cologne used electronic voting machines for its entire European Parliament elections. Soon other cities followed suit, and by the 2005 general election, nearly 2 million German voters were using these NEDAP machines to cast votes. Reaction to the use of these electronic voting machines was generally very positive among voters, who found the machines to be easy to use, and among election administrators, who were able to reduce the number of polling stations and staff in each polling station (Goldsmith & Ruthrauff, undated).

#### **8.1.6. E-VOTING SYSTEM IN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

Election administration in the U.S. is complex and necessitates the involvement and combined knowledge of federal, state, and local officials. Election administration and voting system implementation in the U.S. are decentralized, meaning the role and influence of federal and state government varies from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. The lack of a singular, uniform voting system in the U.S. and decentralized election administration contributes to the diversity of voting system technology used in each election jurisdiction (Franklin & Myers, 2012). Following the 2002 Help America Vote Act, the United States saw a massive investment in voting machines, many without a paper trail. In 2005 and 2007, the US Voluntary Voting System Guidelines (VVSG), currently the most comprehensive guidelines with specifications and requirements for certifying voting machines, were published. By 2008 many states required paper trails, making voting machines without a paper trail obsolete (IDEA, 2011).

As of 2010, 40 states have moved towards requiring paper trails. The above view about e-voting system in the U.S. gives room for diversity in electoral administration, while decentralization provides a soft landing for electoral processes through the political instrumentality of multi-level government structures (i.e., federal, state and local government). The patterns and modalities of electoral administrations in the U.S. encourage each level of government to design, coordinate, and manage the overall electoral administration. For instance, decentralization in electoral conducts provides an opportunity for the State of Arizona in the U.S. to conduct primary election in its own peculiar way. The evolution of the electronic voting system in the U.S. is traceable to the period of optical scan and punch card technology, the lever machine was later introduced in 1800 to modernize the existing e-voting system. The nature of the e-voting system in the U.S. reveals that there are three methods of casting votes through modern electronic voting system, namely; paper-based e-voting system, direct recording electronic system, and Internet voting, this was noted by Bregman, Deschepper, Friedman, Nowicky & Sherman, (2000) that Arizona Democrats experienced a new voting procedure. Instead of pushing buttons on an electronic voting machine in a public place, they could simply "click away" from the comfort of their own homes. In this election, Arizona Democrats were allowed to cast online ballots – a completely electronic and paperless procedure. In the Arizona Democratic Primary, the online voters were required to give personal information that was comparable to ordinary voting procedures. The process required verification of identity, personal identification numbers, U.S. citizenship, age, and lack of felony conviction or participation in another party's primary. Also, voters were required to correctly answer a "challenge question" based on information in voter registration, such as place or date of birth. Following this authentication process, voters were permitted to cast an electronic vote in the Democratic Primary.

Over the years, there have been many attempts to perfect the voting process. Five main types of voting systems have been used in the United States. These include paper ballots, punch-card machines, optically scanned ballots, mechanical lever machines, and direct-recording electronic (DRE) voting machines (Mercuri). Paper ballots were

the leading medium for voting twenty years ago, but have since been replaced by other methods. Paper ballots are usually completed using a pencil and are manually counted to tabulate the results. For recounting purposes, the original is always available. Punch cards use a metal punch mechanism to record choices and cards are counted by a computer. Similar to paper ballots, each original card is available after the automatic count. In the case of optically scanned ballots, each one has a circle to darken or an arrow to complete by the voter to indicate his or her choice. The ticket is then optically scanned and counted by a machine. Like paper and punch-cards, the original is left as evidence. Mechanical lever machines use switches to indicate each candidate or option, and a machine keeps a running count of the tally. The subtotals remain on the machine, but there is no physical evidence of the results (Mercuri). The most technologically advanced systems in use today are called direct-recording electronic devices or DREs. A DRE is very similar to a personal computer and uses a display to let the user see the voting options. Each option can be activated by the voter, usually via buttons or a touch screen. A keyboard is usually provided to support write-in votes. The choice is then stored locally in the machine's memory. After the election, the results are tabulated and added to the results of other forms of voting. Sometimes the votes are printed in order to provide an alternative hand-counting method. The tally from one machine is added to others in order to create a full count. While there is no physical evidence of the tallies, they are collected and stored on the hard disk of the computer ("Electronic Voting") (Ellingson, 2010)

## **9. POSSIBLE CHALLENGES FOR E-VOTING SYSTEM IN NIGERIA**

### **I. Political Consensus**

E-voting systems can be most easily introduced when there is a political consensus about the benefits of the new voting system. Political actors may, however, oppose electronic voting for many reasons, either in principle, because they have real technical concerns, or because they fear the new voting channel is an advantage for their opponents; or because they believe that other parties may receive more credit for modernizing this part of elections; or just because they do not trust in the independence of those implementing the system. Facing such opposition, successful confidence-building may be difficult or impossible (IDEA, 2011). The applicability of this problem to Nigerian electoral reform reflects in the recent proposition for the adoption of electronic voting system for the incoming 2015 general election, however, the opposition political parties have been castigating the replacement of traditional voting method with e-voting which was justified as an alien strategy to maneuvers election results. Therefore, the inability to reach consensus among the various political parties serves as a monumental constraint for the adoption of e-voting system in Nigeria.

### **II. Time and Social Acceptance**

Time is a critical factor on various levels. Operationally, e-voting cannot be introduced overnight, but social acceptance of it should realistically be expected to take much longer than pure technical implementation. Commonly it will take several electoral cycles without major technical glitches or political controversy, and with trusted results and long-term civic education campaigns, before citizens and stakeholders are fully confident with electronic voting, based on their own experience and knowledge. Ideally, information and sensitization campaigns on the possible introduction of e-voting systems should start well in advance of technical implementation, with the possibility to shape the technical requirements of the system on the basis of the social context's response and concerns (IDEA, 2011).

### **III. Cyber-Disruption and Lack of Confidence**

Important difference between manual and electronic voting systems is this: for the operation to be seriously harmed, a manual system would require a number of people spread in several polling stations to do the harm, while for electronic voting a lot of harm can be done by one single person. Even more problematic is the fact that deliberate or unintended irregularities in the system may be hard to detect. Even if no mistake has been made, only a claim to the contrary may cause a total loss of confidence in the process as well as the results. Although

counterattacks may be mounted, absolute security cannot be guaranteed. Confidence in the voting system is of utmost importance. Even if mistakes occur in manual systems, people are confident that fraud does not occur. This confidence should be maintained when modern technology is put to use, whether in administrating the election or in the voting process (The Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development 26 May 2004)

#### IV. Epileptic Power Supply

The unstable power supply has been an age-long imbroglio facing Nigerian society. The epileptic power supply has continued to hinder both economic and social development due to the menace of corruption that has rooted in the Nigerian political system. Hence, in adopting the e-voting system in Nigeria, there could be a lot of setbacks whenever there is power outage which may disrupt and discourage general citizens for adopting the e-voting system in Nigeria

#### 10. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has carefully designed the e-voting model that best suits the political nomenclature of Nigeria. The paper argued that election rigging had been a historical heritage of Nigerian democratic politic system, consequently resulting into political unrest in the country. To combat this menace of electoral fraud, there is a need to adopt a reliable electoral mechanism that is devoid of further electoral malpractices for the sustenance of emerging Nigerian democracy. The lesson learned from developed and emerging democracies could bring electoral transparency to Nigerian democracy if the suggested model is properly adopted in Nigeria. As for all computer (and certainly Internet) applications, some citizens are better equipped than others. If Internet voting is available from home, it favors those having a connected computer at home. Some people can, for instance, cast their vote at their convenience while others cannot. Some voters are more familiar with these machines than others. Nevertheless, during the last few years, electronic voting mechanisms have been implemented in several countries as an alternative means to the traditional voting procedure. Estonia has permanently introduced remote Internet voting into its electoral system based on the national E-ID as means of authentication and on the secure on-line banking system to ensure the required security. Again, it is on record that the first national elections that allowed Internet voting took place in March 2007 with unprecedented success. Some experiences have also been carried out in Switzerland, The Netherlands and in France to develop reliable Internet voting procedures. All these efforts are geared towards raising the voters' turnout as they are normally enshrined into the legislation as a new form of postal voting. It is in this connection therefore, that it becomes pertinent for Nigeria to adopt the E-voting as a panacea to combat election rigging.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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# Vernacular Inculturation on the Architecture of the Church in Bali, Indonesia (Case Study: Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church, Jembrana, Bali)

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## Abstract

The existence of the Christian community with its church architecture in Bali, seems to be adjusting to the local culture of Bali through the inculturation process of Balinese vernacular architecture. The purpose of this article is to investigate the extent to which the essence of the architectural concept of the church cultivates elements of Balinese vernacular architecture by taking the case of the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church in Jembrana, Bali, Indonesia. The method used is descriptive, explorative and qualitative method, through direct observation of church objects in Jembrana, conducting historical study and interviews with religious leaders with snowball techniques to obtain more in-depth information related to the inculturation process of church architecture in Jembrana, Bali. The study resulted that the architectural concept of the Church in Jembrana Bali adopted the local concept of vernacular architecture of the temple reflected into the look of church buildings, function, form, materials, as well as the use of its meaning.

**Keywords:** Vernacular, Inculturation, Architecture, Church

## INTRODUCTION

The church in Jembrana, Bali, especially the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church is one of the buildings that has been influenced by the local culture of Bali through the process of inculturation (Wesnawa 2010, Suyasa 2014, Fauzy et al 2014, Church Jemat 2010, Covarrubias 1974). The local concept, *Asta Kosala Kosali*, has become a standard that Balinese people continue to maintain in building a worship building (Budihardjo 2013, Budihardjo 1986, Dwijendra 2008, Dwijendra 2009, Dwijendra 2003, Gelebet 1986), while the church building also has its own grip on meeting the needs of its building functions. This happened in the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church

complex, which has a unique and interesting architectural form compared to other church complexes on the island of Bali (Indrinato et. all 2001, Sukayasa 2007).

The results of the study of the form of architecture and cultural aspects of factual conditions show that the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church undergoes a process of inculturation in the architecture of the building as a whole. This encourages to trace back to the blend and adaptation that occurs between local culture and foreign culture. The study of cultural and architectural inculturation that influences physical and non-physical formations will be interesting to be appointed and reviewed.

The linkages between local cultural and environmental contexts make a form of architecture have its own character traits in each region (Abel 1997, Geoffrey 1980, Derek 1915, Geertz 2011, Schulz 1986). Aspects of function, form, and meaning certainly cannot be separated from a composition of architecture (Ching 1986, Mark 1995, Krier 2001, Projotomo 1992). These three aspects become a reference in investigating existing phenomena. The building is examined in terms of physical (form) and non-physical (function) related to the meaning as a result of the observer's interpretation (Kagami 1988, Nordholt 1986, Prijotomo 1992, Thomas 1987). The results of this interpretation imply the dominance that occurs in the form of the Blimbingsari Pniel Christian Church architecture as a result of inculturation (Adimihardja 2004, Amanati 2008, Ardika 2015).

In this case, domination refers to a concept that has a strong influence in the form of the architecture of the Church. The object examined specifically is a form of the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church architecture in Blimbingsari Village. The aspects of local and immigrant culture, namely culture and religion in the Christian concept, are also one of the things observed considering the occurrence of inculturation on meticulous objects (Picard 1996, Proshansky 1983, Suastika 2002, Swellengrebel 1984). The building is analyzed in more detail based on the elements of the building, outlining the building elements based on their basic concepts in order to get the basic essence of the building's character to reveal the inculturation that occurs in its architecture (Derek 1915, Barker 2005, Barker 2014). The placement of each ornament becomes complementary and has a meaning that is not contradictory (Geoffry 1973, Bakhtiar et. all 2014). This research is qualitative in that it reveals one of the inculturation phenomena of culture and architecture that occurs in sacred religious buildings (Pakilaran 2006, Prijotomo 1992, Suastika 2002).

## RESEARCH METHODS

The specific object of research is the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church complex located in Blimbingsari Village, Jembrana Regency, Bali. This church is the oldest church in Blimbingsari Village as a village with a majority of its Protestant Christian population [27][28][30]. The uniqueness found in the Pniel Church draws attention to researching how the spatial structure, the rules of the church. As the preparation of the Blimbingsari church building was largely adapted from the procedure for establishing a temple. The Blimbingsari gets a touch from the *Asta Kosala Kosali Bali Concept*. The touch of ornaments and carvings found in the church building, as well as the layout of space in the interior of the church, reflects the occurrence of inculturation with local culture (Bali), namely the *Concept of Asta Kosala Kosali* (Dwijendra 2003, Dwijendra 2009, Bachtiar 2011).

Analysis in the study begins with the initial analysis through examining its physical aspects, namely aspects of the architectural form that encompasses orientation, mass order, architectural form (facade), architectural elements, spatial patterns in buildings, and ornamental variety (Patton 1980, Mark 1995, Krier 2001). The next analysis is carried out by reviewing its non-physical aspects, namely aspects of the functions within it and the religious rituals of the Church. The final stage analysis of the physical and non-physical aspects of the Blimbingsari Pniel Christian Church is aligned and mutually integrated to understand aspects of meaning as part of a diagram of aspects of function, shape, and meaning in architecture (Krier 2001, Wahyu 2010, Parnwell 1993). Thus, it can easily understand the dominant aspects in the form of the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church architecture as an interpretation of the aspects of meaning contained.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### A. Physical Aspects Analysis: Mass, Orientation, Architectural Elements and Ornaments

#### *Mass Orientation*

Based on the orientation of the building, the architecture of the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church complex applies an orientation concept that starts from the concept of *Asta Kosala Kosali* (see on Fig. 1 and Fig. 4). The application of this concept does not violate the standards of the church. Emphasis on orientation towards a particular axis is not emphasized in the concept of church architecture.



**Fig. 1** The architecture of the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church

Source: Observation, 2018

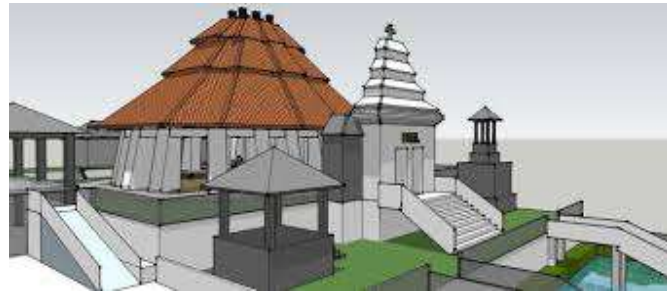
#### *Mass*

From the point of view of the masses, church architecture applies the principle of *Tri Angga* zoning, which is in harmony with the orientation concept [26]. The use of the barrier wall was done to reinforce the existence of the church complex to its environment. The use of the fence (*penyengker*) and *Kori Agung* barrier walls (see on Fig. 1 and Fig. 4) is adjusted to the traditional Balinese architectural concept using Balinese decorative carvings, (does not change the essence/meaning). The mass structure of the building in the Main Zone applies the concept of traditional Balinese architecture by dividing the building into its respective functions (see on Fig. 2). The mass of buildings placed in the Main Zone is only for the function of sacred buildings and centers of worship. This is in accordance with the concept of the mass temple arrangement in Bali.

The church building is in the highest position in the complex church site. This is because the function of the church building is the center of the place of worship and has the most sacred value. Church buildings, *Bale Gong*, and the three consular spaces have an important role in the continuity of worship or at church banquets and services (see on Fig. 2 and Fig. 3). *Bale Gong* functions as a space for church art. Intermediate zone of church complex applies the concept of *Asta Kosala Kosali* and is equipped with supporting buildings (*Bale Kul-Kul* and *Bale Bengong*) whose functions in accordance with the needs of the church are also inseparable from the concept of the traditional building itself.







**Fig. 2** The architecture of the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church  
Source: LPPM UNPAR, 2014.

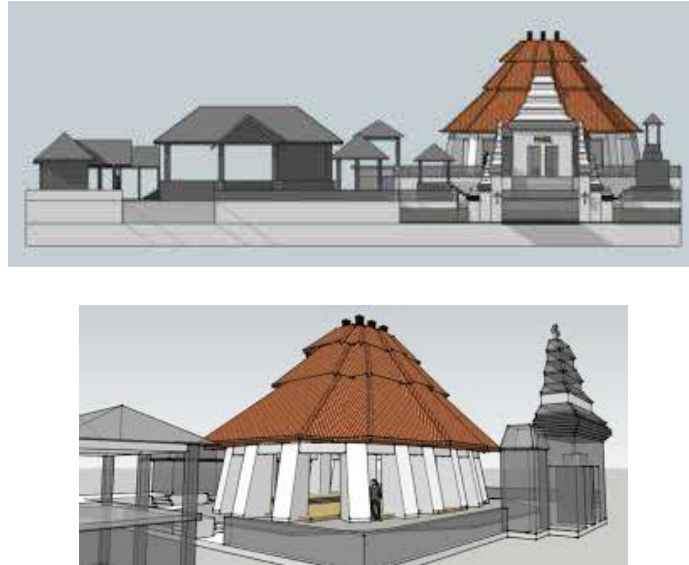
The *Madya Zone* (middle zone) has a function of supporting religious activities in the concept of traditional Balinese architecture. The building in the Middle zone is *Bale Bengong*, and *Bale Kul-kul* is also *Kori Agung* as the entrance to the Main Zone. The *Madya Zone* is bordered by a *penyengker* wall and also features *Bentar* Temple as the entrance to the *Madya Zone* which is directly adjacent to the road. The *aling* wall is equipped with Balinese carvings, and this has a function in accordance with philosophy as an antidote to the negative energy that will enter the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church complex. *Nista Zone* church complex applies the concept of *Asta Kosala Kosali* and is complemented by other supporting buildings with functions such as church architecture. The *Nista Zone* in the church complex still has a similar meaning to the *Nista Zone* on the Bali Temple concept (see on Fig. 2 and Fig. 3).

The location of the *Nista Zone* in the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church complex is directly adjacent to the two Main and Middle Zones on the left side. The mass of buildings in the *Nista Zone* of the church complex is slightly different from the mass of buildings in the *Nista Zone* of the Bali temple complex. This is due to the need to support the church's mass and its function. The difference in function and number of building masses in the *Nista Zone* does not necessarily eliminate the essence of this zone. The mass of the building is divided based on the level of sacredness as well as its main or supporting characteristics. Buildings with the main function for places of worship, namely the church as well as a consistory and art room (*Bale gong*) are placed in the Main Zone. The Intermediate Zone in the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church Complex is an intermediary zone that is filled with landscape arrangements and is equipped with *Bale Kul-Kul* as well as *Bale Bengong*. Other functions include meeting halls, pastor's houses, church offices, and service buildings placed in the *Nista Zone*.

### **Form of Mass**

The shape of the building mass or figure of the Blimbingsari Pniel Christian Church is influenced by traditional Balinese architecture, in this case, the *Wantilan* building. *Wantilan* is one of the traditional Balinese buildings. Overall, the building of the Blimbingsari Pniel Christian Church has a shape similar to *Wantilan*. In ancient Balinese language, *Wantilan* means open hall. *Wantilan* can be interpreted as a building open in all directions that has an overlapping roof (see on Fig. 3).

The form of church architecture is inseparable from the symbolization of Christianity and other things that put forward the scale of the God great, sacred, holy, magical, and religious in the overall architecture of the church. The church at the beginning of its appearance did not have a certain standard regarding the shape of the building. The mass of other main buildings has traditional Balinese ornament applications on their roofs and columns. The facade of the church building generally adopts the form of Balinese *Wantilan* architecture without changing the meaning contained in it (see on Fig. 3). This can be seen from the use of high roofs and overlapping, semi-open with surrounding columns, and as public facilities. The concept as a shared worship space is still felt and integrated with the surrounding environment.



**Fig. 3** The architecture of the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church  
Source: LPPM UNPAR, 2014.

#### *Architectural Elements*

The three elements discussed in the church building, the church building carried out the adoption process and adaptation to the local traditional architecture, namely Bali [6][7]. As is known in Christianity, namely the process of enculturation, namely the combination of culture without eliminating certain standards, also the delegation blends with the local elements (Bali), and contextualization of the entire elements of the church building on the local culture and environment. center. The columns are arranged in a row around the space plan in the place of worship. The *Wantilan* building typology applies the concept of separation of outer space and inner space without the use of a dividing wall. The space in the church building generally adopts the form of the Bali *Wantilan* architecture without changing the specific meaning/structure of the church that is still maintained, namely the altar zone and the people which clearly also the arrangement of the church seats that follow the church plan (see on Fig. 3). The concept as a shared worship space is still felt and integrated with the surrounding environment.

#### *Variety of Ornaments*

Around the *Penyengker* or the barrier wall of the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church complex there are Balinese carving ornaments in the form of flora or also called Balinese ornamentation ornaments (see on Fig. 1 and Fig. 4). This also happened to the *Aling-Aling* Wall, a wall filled with Balinese carvings in the form of Balinese *pepatraan* equipped with carved stone agreements on the front side.

The *Bentar* temple in the Balinese concept is a symbol of the mouth of the mouth (see on Fig. 2). This mouth symbol symbolizes Candi Bentar as the entrance to the Blimbingsari Pniel Christian Church complex, Bali. Bentar Temple in this Church has a cross ornament as a symbol of Christian Religion.



**Fig. 4** The Kori Agung (Balinese Traditional Gate) serves as the main entrance to the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church complex  
Source: LPPM UNPAR 2014 and Observation, 2018

This *Kori Agung* serves as the main entrance to the church building (see on Fig. 1 and Fig. 4.). The *Kori Agung* building has two openings for access. These two gaps are decorated with doors and carvings that have their own meaning. At the top of *Kori Agung*, there is also a carving cross which confirms the function of the building inside. At this *Kori Agung*, there is a carved broken cross symbolizing the position when Jesus was on the cross.

The figure of the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church itself does not have an ornamental ornament on its interior. Ornaments are widely applied to the exterior of the building, namely on the walls of *Penyengker*, *Aling-Aling*, and other traditional Balinese buildings (see on Fig. 1 and Fig. 4.). The use of the same material as traditional Balinese buildings in general (stone and red brick). The outer space of the church building generally adopts Balinese ornament details by eliminating the *Kala* Element and only applying the Balinese flora projection only equipped with carved crosses on certain parts.

### B. Non-Physical Aspects Analysis: Religious Ritual, Local Dress, Language and Music

The Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church has not changed from the function of its religious liturgy. The sacraments, the procedures for praying, baptism, and liturgical gender are a series of religious rituals carried out by other Protestant Christian Churches in general. There is no difference in the general set of religious rituals.



**Fig. 5** Inculturation in the religious rituals and blending with local culture, by using the Balinese dress, language, and music for the Jama'at in the Blimbingsari Pniel Christian Church

Source: Observation, 2018

Differences occur in several things in the worship service and banquet held by the Blimbingsari Pniel Christian Church, Bali. This difference is only the implication of a thick culture on the island of Bali without changing the meaning contained in the religious rituals of the Church. This was applied by the Blimbingsari Pniel Christian Church in the use of clothing for the Jama'at, the language of instruction (Balinese) in banquets and services on certain days, and Balinese music (see on Fig. 5).

## CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the analysis of the physical and non-physical aspects of the Blimbingsari Pniel Christian Church, Bali, it can be concluded that the concept of *Asta Kosala Kosali* and Church Architecture significantly influences the form of the Blimbingsari Pniel Christian Church architecture, Bali. Both of these concepts are mutually acculturated to form a new identity for the building of the Blimbingsari Pniel Christian Church, Bali. The building of the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church adapted the *Asta Kosala Kosali Concept* starting from: site and building orientation, building mass layout based on *Tri Angga zoning*, facade of Church buildings resembling *Wantilan*, elements of architecture as a whole adopting the *Wantilan* concept, as well as some Balinese ornamental ornamentation in the landscape Blimbingsari Pniel Christian Church, Bali.

Furthermore, it can also be concluded that the concept of traditional Balinese architecture (*Asta Kosala Kosali*) has a dominant role in shaping the Pniel Blimbingsari Christian Church without changing the liturgical standard and the need for the function of a Protestant Church complex. The aspect of function (space requirements) as a

building of Christian worship cannot be changed (is defensive) while aspects of architectural forms are an adaptation to local culture (changing nature).

Ideally, as an architect, the designer of a period that practices local culture becomes a part of him, both the original culture of the region and the culture of inculturation. The number of cultures from outside that enter into traditional architectural culture should be an addition to cultural knowledge in the wealth of traditional Indonesian architecture.

Architects as hands that shape the face, the shape of a building period to the face of an area should have a deep understanding of the character of the local culture or where the designed building will be established, so that the work produced is not just a 'sculpture' but has a profound meaning in terms of architectural culture local.

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# Visual Content by Consumer in Promoting Sustainable Culinary Business

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## Abstract

The creative economy that has begun to get special attention by the Indonesian government opens opportunities for the culinary sector to continue to grow by providing creative added value. Utilizing technological advancements and analyzing consumer's psychographics can help culinary business in promoting their products to the public. Today's consumers have a tendency to share photos they take in a culinary business location on social media. Visual content in the form of photos can be used by culinary business owners for sustainable promotion where content will continue to be provided by consumers. Using descriptive exploratory methods by taking several objects as a case study aims to determine the criteria that trigger consumers to make sustainable digital content for a culinary endeavor.

**Keywords:** Visual Content, Promotional Media, Culinary Sector.

## Introduction

Culinary as a creative economy sub-sector in Indonesia is an industry that can be regarded as an eternal industry. As a primary need, the culinary industry became the first contributor to the Creative Economy (GDP) of the Creative Economy (Ekraf) among 16 other ekraf sub-sectors in 2016 which spread to 34 provinces in Indonesia. Data on the Kompas website states that 41.4 percent was contributed by the culinary sub-sector from the overall contribution of the creative economy, which sum 922 trillion in 2016 (Kompas, 2018). Based on that great potential was then the Creative Economy Agency (Bekraf) to build the culinary industry ecosystem in Indonesia which was divided into several aspects, namely human resources, capital, marketing, intellectual property rights, and infrastructure. With a conducive ecosystem, it will certainly create healthy competition between culinary ventures.

To be able to compete, culinary business is required to have creative added value so that they can follow the lifestyle of today's consumers. Increasing income and the development of digital technology literacy also have an influence on the shift in people's perspectives on culinary business. The culinary business place is no longer just a place to eat, but also a space to gather with friends, meet with clients, and just take self-photos to share with netizens in cyberspace. The shift in consumer's behaviour opens up opportunities for extensive creativity for

culinary business owners to innovate started from the food menu, service, brand identity design, interior design, to visual content as a media campaign in the digital era.

To increase brand awareness or the number of consumers and audiences who know the products of a culinary business, an innovative promotion strategy is certainly needed. Deciding on promotional media that are in line with the era of corruption requires special observation to customers, which becomes the market segmentation of a culinary business. By identifying what is needed and desired by consumers can help culinary business owners compile attractive promotional content by focusing on psychographics from consumers. Psychographic segmentation in marketing or promotion includes consumer attitudes, values, behaviours, emotions, perceptions, beliefs, needs, benefits, hopes, and interests. It becomes important to see how the current behaviour of the community cannot be separated from smartphones (smartphones) so that the creative approach needs to be traced from consumer psychography.

The ease of access to technology and information requires promotional content for any type of product to respond to consumer habits in using applications on their smartphones. Based on the results of the penetration survey of internet users in Indonesia in 2017 by the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) exposed by Kompas website, 43.89% of Indonesians access the internet 1-3 hours a day, 29.63% access the internet 4-7 hours per day and 26.48 % access the internet more than 7 hours a day. For devices used, 44.16% use smartphones or tablets to access the internet, 4.49% use personal laptops, and 39.28% use a combination of devices such as smartphones and computers or laptops (Rakhma & Setiawan, 2018). Henri Kasyfi Soemartono as Secretary-General of APJII also stated that 89.35% of services accessed by internet users in Indonesia are chat and 87.13% for social media, upload photos on Instagram, Facebook and so on. Looking at the percentage level of social media users in Indonesia, this article aims to find out effective content so that it can help promote sustainable culinary business in the digital era.

## **Research Method**

The analytical method used in writing this article is descriptive exploratory where the author collects general information related to visual content, culinary business, as well as other information relating to the title for observation then described again by analyzing visual literacy. Primary data collection is done by interviewing culinary business owners and taking a number of samples of culinary businesses that have promoted using social media and surveys to culinary business locations. Secondary data is obtained through the results of official surveys issued by associations and government institutions.

## **Results and Analysis**

### **Visual Content and Consumer Behavior**

Technology disruption requires culinary business people to be able to determine promotional media that are in line with technological disruption where physical stores are being shifted by online stores. The ease and convenience of ordering food that can be done using an online application on a smartphone such as Go-Food or GrabFood make consumers reluctant to come directly to the restaurant, so promotions carried out by offline culinary ventures such as posters and flyers are considered no longer effective. In order for culinary business to survive and be compatible with the onslaught of technology that is so strong, promotional activities carried out can follow the "Asset-Light Model" or also known as "Uber of Everything" where all business and industries use digital technology to produce the highest output possible with the least possible assets (Fatahillah, Y & F & Tryaditia, B 2019). The owner of a culinary business can promote using digital technology without providing content but utilizing visual content in the form of photos and videos made by consumers.

Inviting consumers to be interested in coming to a culinary business is a challenge in the digital age. Analyzing psychographics of consumers from the millennial generation or generation Y born in the years 1981-1995 and the initial generation Z, namely the birth of the range 1995-2000 is quite appropriate because the two generations have

a high level of technological use. Psychographically, the two generations have a tendency to enjoy life like going on vacation, attending music concerts and festivals aimed at finding experiences that cannot be missed. Compared to its predecessor generation, the early millennial and Z generations have the values they want to get, such as happiness, passion, diversity, sharing, and discovery (Matt 2019). One way to fulfill their emotional satisfaction is to get pleasure through the use of social media communication media such as Instagram and Facebook. The response from the public regarding the upload of content in the form of certain discoveries that they share on social media, makes them happy and passionate so that culinary efforts can take advantage of the consumer's psychographics to carry out promotions.

## Case Studies

### 1. KYND Community

Located in Seminyak, Bali Indonesia, Kynd Community is a café that sells culinary products from plants. This culinary business packs their food products appealingly so that ordinary consumers upload photos of the food they ordered on their Instagram. The layout of their culinary business is divided into two parts, namely indoor and outdoor.



**Fig 1.** Instagram photo content @ syndcommunity that comes from consumers' personal uploads. Source: Instagram account from top left to bottom right; @kattvaldez @sandra\_kirkov @maawl @gabriellawisdom @davidguison @jacyo\_\_ @zebalife @jess\_dantas

The photo above shows the photos uploaded by visitors to their personal Instagram. By marking Instagram from KYND Community's culinary efforts in their photos, business owners will get notifications and can take steps to share photos of consumers so that promotional activities on Instagram can continue without the need to prepare special content from business owners. The combination of the words "Another Day in Paradise" as well as illustrations of plants build a tropical impression and the island of Bali that can only be found in KYND Community. So that it is not infrequently both foreign and domestic tourists make the photos they take there as proof that they have visited the island of the gods.

### 2. Mad Pops Artisan Ice Cream

Selling culinary products in the form of coconut-based ice cream, Mad Pops Artisan Ice Cream is a place that must be visited by both foreign and domestic tourists. Although their culinary business space is very small, they use one side of the wall as a place for photographed customers. Fluorescent lights that read "Ice Ice Baby" give a cute,



girly, and stylish impression that makes customers excited to take photos and share them with their friends in cyberspace.



**Fig 2.** @madpopsbali's Instagram photo content that comes from consumers' personal uploads.

Source: Instagram account from top left to bottom right; @ frd.aml @eika\_azam @ yasmine.schouten @shenacinnamon @melissa\_davies @ miokato3306 @sonchicc @jenkvieira

### 3. Give Cafe

Give Café is a sister café of KYND Community. Using the same method, Give Café provides a special corner for consumers to style and take photos. Typical murals with rainbow illustrations create a happy impression and communicate the essence of the brand that the gift to give is a fun activity. Brand is everything that customers and prospective customers think, feel, say, hear, read see, imagine, suspect, and even expect about a product, service, or organization (Middleton 2010).



**Fig 3.** Photo content on Instagram @ givecafe that comes from consumer personal uploads.

Source: Instagram account from top left to bottom right; @imagne\_sa @self\_service @janaschulte @thisislisax @dutchonthemove @flywithgem @chichloe728 @jessiekoehler

## CONCLUSIONS

From the results of surveys to the field and the collection of photo data on Instagram, it can be observed that at the location of the three case study objects above, there is a special point for consumers to take photos. Space to take photos is relatively narrow but has a characteristic that can highlight the identity of the product. For the KYND Community and Mad Artops Ice Cream Pops cases, these two culinary businesses use an attractive catchline which says that the products sold have a pleasant, friendly, and presentable character. A catchline is a phrase or sentence designed to attract attention, especially in advertisements or story titles, articles, or newspaper items (Merriam-Webster 2019). In the case of KYND Community and Give Café, both of them have interesting visual elements which include color, shape, line, space, texture, and value, namely in the form of illustrations on the wall, commonly called murals.

Consciously or not by consumers, catchline, and murals are what become one of the promotional materials by culinary efforts then viral due to the photo content uploaded on social media by consumers. Fixed complement elements derived from interior design are furniture in the form of tables and chairs for consumers to sit down to enjoy food while taking photos. These interior complementary elements can be seen in the KYND Community and Give Café case studies. The following is a form of implementation of elements or components of visual and interior design that are in the culinary business location so as to make consumers interested in taking photos.

**Table 1.** Description of Visual Components and Interior Design Elements Owned by Case Studies

Case Study	Mural	Catchline	Furniture
KYND Community	•	•	•
Mad Pops Artisan Ice Cream	-	•	-
Give Cafe	•	-	•

Source: Writer, 2019.

From the table above, it can be concluded that visual content in the form of photos by consumers has three main components, namely murals, catchlines, and furniture. These three components give more value to culinary efforts because consumers get more experience than just coming to eat and creating a special connection to a brand. By understanding the character and behavior of today's consumers, the combination of visual communication, interior design, and digital technology is an added value for culinary endeavors. The use of visual content created by consumers is a continuous promotional aid that can maintain public brand awareness so as to increase business competitiveness in the culinary field. Brand awareness or recognition is facilitated by a visual identity that is easy to remember and easily recognizable.

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## Is Photographic Image Represented the Reality?

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### Abstract

The development of technology represents the circulations and progresses of culture and society, from 'death of painting' (after the invention of photography) to 'death of photography' (after the invention of digital image). It seems too severe by using the term 'death'. In actually, the 'death' is not really death since there are still many people who ardently love painting; galleries are opened as usual for the public. In the case of photography, the invention of the digital camera does not entirely take over the traditional role of the photographer. However, the 'loss of the real' (Lister, eds. 1995: 1) is the argument here based on the development of technology, for example, computer software. We have entered a new generation where we are surrounded by illusions. It is not a positive progress that technology made for photographic image. The judgment of what we call 'a good image' is no longer based on how skillful the photographer is. Instead, we could assume that there is no such things as good or poor taken image, only if you know how to use software. The invention of computer software makes things from impossible to possible. This paper aims to argue that photography is only an action. No matter traditional photograph or digital image, none of them is presented the reality. With the application of computer software, the original content of a photographic image is missing to some degree.

**Keywords:** Photography, Digital Image, Computer Software, Reality

### Introduction

The 'death of photography' and the birth of a post-photographic culture. It is the story of how the image has now progressed from the age of its mechanical production to that of its digital origination and replication. It is the story of how new technologies have provided 'a welcome opportunity to expose the aporias in photography's construction of the visual world, to deconstruct the very ideas of photographic objectivity and closure, and to resist what has become an increasingly sclerotic pictorial tradition' (Mitchell, cited in Lister, eds. 1995: 31).

The development of technology represents the circulations and progress of culture and society, from 'death of painting' (after the invention of photography) to 'death of photography' (after the invention of a digital image). It seems too severe by using the term 'death.' In actually, the 'death' is not really death since there are still many people who ardently love painting; galleries are opened as usual for the public. In the case of photography, the invention of the digital camera does not entirely take over the traditional role of the photographer. However, the 'loss of the real' (Lister, eds. 1995: 1) is the argument here based on the development of technology, for example, computer software, which affects the basic function of photography. As Hughes (1990) points out that 'you can no longer trust your eye' (cited in Lister, eds. 1995: 1). It seems to Hughes that the originality of a photographic image is lost. Most images that we now access, is not the original version, which means that it has not been touched

up by post-production reproduction. It is interesting to realize that the audience's first attention to an image is no longer on the content but to question about which part is the original, and which part is undergoing reproduction, such as composition. We have entered a new generation where we are surrounded by illusions. It is not a positive progress that technology made for the photographic image. The judgment of what we call 'a good image' is no longer based on how skillful the photographer is. Instead, we could assume that there are no such things as good or poor taken image, only if you know how to use the software. In other words, the way we see an image has become questionable. It is just like you may never trust your eyes when you see a beautiful lady, just because of the invention of facial surgery that makes things happen in certain ways. In a beauty spa, the common question that customers used to be asked was: could you please tell me your skin type? This question has been changed to: may I touch your nose? Or your chin? Is this question funny? No, it is not. As the facial specialist needs to make sure that she will not hurt the part that the customer has undergone surgery. This example may be seen irrelevant to the topic we discuss in this paper, however, it is somewhere a reflection on what we, as audiences, to view a photographic image.

The invention of computer software makes things from impossible to possible. As an element of photography, color plays a critical role in producing what we call 'the atmosphere' of a photographic image. For example, a black and white image is powerful in representing a feeling of lonely and sad. After the reproduction of a photographic image, the color mode can be changed from colored to gray scale. An image that is taken today looks like taken during the 18<sup>th</sup> century by applying the special effect (s). Computer software makes all these possible. Photography can be classified as a sort of medium, which helps to record the specific of the moment in life, as memory, for an instant. In Marshall McLuhan's book *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, he points out that 'the medium is the message,' which is a well-known and powerful quote that subverts the way how we understand the medium. As he puts it:

In a culture like ours, long accustomed to splitting and dividing all things as a means of control, it is sometimes a bit of a shock to be reminded that, in operational and practical fact, the medium is the message. This is merely to say that the personal and social consequences of any medium – that is, of any extension of ourselves – result from the new scale that is introduced into our affairs by each extension of ourselves, or by any new technology (Durham & Kellner, 2001: 129).

McLuhan's idea completely changes the way how we understand the role of a medium. In a general sense, a medium is understood as a tool, which helps the user for a specific purpose in producing or communicating with content. For example, if one would like to show his friends about his trip to Paris, the best idea for today is to make a post on social media, FaceBook, for an instant. By posing a post on social media, one is allowed to upload photos and short video, so his followers can access to the most updated moment of their friends at any time anywhere. McLuhan's idea is that people's attention of any piece of content, such as text or photographic image, may be different from what the medium is used to show it. A same content of photographic image gains a different level of attraction according to which medium it is shown. By way of example, a photographic image of the Eiffel Tower would get more attention on FaceBook than on a traditional photo album. McLuhan's idea is clearly shown how people access to the same content of the photographic image and what makes it more attractive. People may not notice that the way how a photographic image gains the audience's attention is not only based on the content itself but also the medium they use to access. In other words, the attraction of a photographic image is determined mainly by the medium rather than what the content is. McLuhan points out that 'characteristic of all media, means that the "content" of any medium is always another medium' (Durham & Kellner, 2001: 129). As he describes it:

"The medium is the message" because it is the medium that shapes and controls the scale and form of human association and action. The content or uses of such media are as diverse as they are ineffectual in shaping the form of human association. Indeed, it is only too typical that the "content" of any medium blinds us to the character of the medium (Durham & Kellner, 2001: 130).

This paper aims to argue that photography is only an action. No matter traditional photograph or digital image, none of them has presented the reality. With the application of computer software, the original content of a photographic image is missing to some degree. What question that brings us into consideration is that whether or not using computer software for reproduction is necessary for photographic images? The major concern of this research paper is as what Sontag states that:

We live in a world where a chief activity has long been the production and consumption of photographic images. It is one where such images have come to determine our demands upon reality, where they are coveted as substitutes for the first-hand experience, and have become indispensable to the economy, to politics, and in the pursuit of private happiness (Lister, eds. 1995: 4).

Moreover, this research paper is also inspired by Druckery's (1991) concern about the role of educator in the teaching of digital imaging. The author of this paper has been teaching in the field of media arts and design for nearly thirteen years. It becomes more and more critical to re-think about some fundamentals of media arts, in particular, the area of digital production in photography and film. As Druckery puts it:

Electronic media can't simply ignore theoretical questions of representation that the field of photography and film have been grappling with over the last two decades. As representation is enveloped in algorithms, (the algorithms of the simulation or the algorithms of corporate marketing) theory becomes more essential than ever. If educators are to teach their students about digital imaging, then some clear directions and analyses should be presented (cited in Lister, eds. 1995: 5).

Lister (2005) provides a further explanation of what Druckery means by 'grappling with questions.' As he explains that 'grappling with questions' can be found within a number of disciplines. They included historical, sociological and ethnographic studies of the media, cultural studies and cultural theory, and critical and social histories of art, photography, and film' (Lister, eds. 1995: 5). Before processing to the discussion, it is important to understand what 'reality' means. The term 'reality' has different meanings according to what it is related to. According to Paresky, 'our common sense notion of reality is that our eyes, ears, nose, and fingertips pick up objective reality, but that couldn't be farther from the truth (2015). In other words, what is considered as reality is the object that is touchable and visible at least. Even though a scenario or photographic image may fit into the conditions of what reality is defined by Paresky, it is too general to make it equal to the meaning of 'the truth.' In order to analyse the cultural images in the new media world, this paper will be divided into two major parts, which are photographic image and reality; and postmodernism. Finally, this paper will end by providing a conclusion.

### **Photographic Image and Reality**

Tracing the history of photography, according to Grundberg, photography played a role as an instrument that recoded the social reality, and represented what the actual objects were in the world from 1974 (1999: introduction xi). It seems to Barthes (1981) that photography is 'more than other arts, photography offers an immediate presence of the world' (cited in Bolter & Grusin, 2001: 110). As Barthes notes that:

Photographs, unlike every other type of image, can never be divorced from their referents. Photograph and referent "are glued together." Photographs are causally connected to the presence of the latter. "I call 'photographic referent' not the optionally real thing to which an image or sign refers but the necessarily real thing which has been placed before the lens without which there would be no photograph. For Barthes, "Every photograph is a certificate of presence" (cited in Prince, 1996: 28).

However, Sontag (1978) has a totally opposite understanding of reality, and objection on photograph represents the reality. First of all, it seems to her that the definition of reality depends on its use as 'an item for an exhibition, as a record for scrutiny, as a target for surveillance' (cited in Grange, 2005: 156). Sontag (1978) concerns about 'a record for scrutiny,' which refers to tourists. The purpose for tourists taking photographs is to seek security, since photographs can be seen as the evidence that certifies they have visited certain places. However, tourism is threatened by photographs as well. Tourist may not necessarily experience the place personally as they search for opportunities for photographs (Grange, 2005: 31). Secondly, 'the notion of a fixed reality are complimentary...notion of what is real has been progressively complicated and weakened' (cited in Grange, 2005: 60). Thirdly, in Sontag's (1978) opinion, people in different countries have a different understanding of reality. She stresses that the "'true modern primitivism" does not regard the image as real but regards reality as being like images' (Grange, 2005: 61). Through 'it seemed like a movie' (Grange, 2005: 61) to understand how people describe things in reality. It seems to them that reality is not something that exactly exists. Rather, they understand what reality is through images. There is a fundamental difference between people in industrial and non-industrial countries. As Sontag (1978) puts, 'people in non-industrialised countries may be apprehensive about having their photographs taken, people in industrial countries feel it is a conformation of their reality' (Grange, 2005: 61). Fourth, Sontag (1978) points out that 'photography images instant access to the real' (Grange, 2005: 61). In other words, the photography images can be understood as almost nearly the real. However, as she stresses, the reality is something that happens at that moment, not something in the past (Grange, 2005: 61). Therefore, photographic images can be seen as a form of history. Even though they can record what exactly happened at that instant, the moment is not able to be possessed forever, since reality is changing all the time. Once a photography image is taken, it will be considered as a piece of evidence about the past. In Sontag's (1978) opinion, 'photography makes images, not reality, immediately accessible' (Grange, 2005: 61). Andre Bazin shares his opinion on the relationship between photographic image and reality. He regards:

As the "objective" nature of photography, which bears the mechanical trace of its references. In a well-known passage, ... "the photographic image is the object itself, the object freed from the conditions of time and space which govern it. No matter how fuzzy, distorted, or discolored, no matter how lacking in documentary value the image may be. It shares, by virtue of the very process of it's becoming, the being of the model of which it is the reproduction; it is the model (cited in Prince, 1996: 28 – 29 )

Sontag (1978) analyses three major reasons that photographs are more disturbing than reality. 'Firstly, in reality, we are usually not passive; we have things to do. Secondly, in a photograph or film, we have to look at what the photographer wants us to see, in real life, we look at what we want for as long as we want. Thirdly, the photograph or film condenses time so only the most interesting (or shocking) things are shown, and they are shown happening in more repaid succession than in reality' (Grange, 2005: 62 – 63). Obviously, the image viewer plays a passive role in both having photographs taken and viewing photograph or film. In the case of viewing photograph and film, whatever we can see is decided and directed by the photographer and director. A landscape, for instance, could be wonderful scenery; people obtain much pleasure from it, however, the shooting location, the composition, the camera edge, and the post-production...etc, all these elements are not decided by the viewer, but by the photographer and director.

Henning (1995) compares chemical photography with the digital image in terms of the idea of 'the loss of the real.' 'Chemical photography, may have constructed reality, but at least we could be reassured by the fact that ultimately the photo had resulted from an encounter with the visible world. It appeared to have some scientific truth claim, however slight. It held a mirror to reality, reassured us that our senses did not deceive us' (Lister, eds. 1995: 218). In the case of the digital image, he points out that 'the "digital image" seems to center around the idea of the "loss of the real" or "derealisation." Such arguments may rely on some extent on ideas of photographic truth, but, even there they don't, they rely on a belief that the main way that people interpret and engage with visual images is through treating them as documents of reality' (Lister, eds. 1995: 218).

It seems to Henning (1995) that the idea of 'the loss of the real' is focused on computer technology. Even though he does not totally agree that chemical photography means totally representing the reality, however, one of the fundamental distinctions between chemical photography and the digital image, is that chemical photography can only be developed without undergoing the computer technology, as the development of computer technology makes huge differences before and after the images taken. Therefore, digital images may be adjusted, changed, composed with other image elements, and so on. For example, computer software provides multiple choices and functions to its user. Thus, the user can make changes to the image according to their own preference. In the case of chemical photography, to be developed under the chemical process is reduced by the percentage being changed. In other words, chemical photography records the reality and the visible word more real than the digital image.

Moreover, Henning (1995) provides two versions of the 'loss of the real.' In the first version he quotes Robins from his article *The Virtual Unconscious in Post-Photography* that the "loss of the real" suggests that the user (or viewer) of computer-generated imagery will eventually lose the ability to distinguish between the "simulated" or "hyperreal" world and the real one' (Lister, eds. 1995: 219). In the second version, Henning (1995) puts 'the argument that reality has been replaced by the world of simulation.' This argument is based on the 'postmodern' theories of Jean Baudrillard. (Lister, eds. 1995: 219)

To sum up, people in different positions have different ideas and understanding of reality. The function of the photographic image is defined as different ways as well. As for Henning (1995), images in the news should act as a 'window on the world' (Lister, eds. 1995: 218). In other words, the function of images depends on particular situations. As for computer graphic designers, for instance, whether or not an image to be represented, the reality may not be necessary. They may found more interesting to do with combining multimedia design on an image, rather than just record the real world. As Robin(1995) suggests,

'There is the sense that photography was constrained by its inherent automatism and realism, that is to say, by its essentially passive nature; that the imagination of photographers was restricted because they could aspire to be no more than the mere recorders of reality. In the future, it is said, the enhanced ability to process and manipulate images will give the post-photographer greater 'control', while the capacity to generate (virtual) images through computers, and thereby to make images independent of referents in 'the real world', will offer greater 'freedom' to the post-photographic imagination' (Lister, eds. 1995: 29).

## Postmodernism

Crimp (1980) states that postmodernism 'can only be understood as a specific breach with modernism, with those institutions which are the preconditions for and which shape the discourse of modernism' (cited in Grundberg, 1999: 17). The preconditions can be referred to as the development of technology. For example, the usage of a computer is one of the indispensable requirements, which is confined to the interpretation of postmodernism. However, in Jameson's opinion, postmodernism is 'a periodizing concept whose function is to correlate the emergence of new formal features in culture with the emergence of a new type of social life and a new economic order' (Manovich, 2001: 131). It seems to Robins that the development of technology is:

Some kind of transcendent and autonomous force—rather than as what it really is, that is to say embedded in a whole array of social institutions and organizations—also works to reduce what is, in reality, a highly complex and uneven process of change to an abstract and schematic teleology of 'progress' (Lister, eds. 1995: 29).

On the one hand, Manovich defines computer technology as 'the material properties of the computer, the ways in which it is used in modern society; the structure of its interface, and key software applications' (2001: 13). Mitchell also shares his idea on 'postmodern,' which in the relation with technology, he suggests that:



A (digital medium which 'privileges fragmentation, indeterminacy, and heterogeneity and that emphasize the process of performance' is the technological counterpart to some propositions of cultural and linguistic theory. He sees 'post-photographic' practice as analogous to 'poststructuralist' theory, both embraced within a world characterized as 'postmodern' (Lister, eds. 1995: 7)

Robins (1995) criticizes that old technologies (chemical and optical) are 'restrictive and impoverishes' (Lister, eds. 1995: 29). Comparing with these old technologies, the new electronic technologies are 'almost unbounded freedom and flexibility' (Lister, eds. 1995: 29). Moreover, Grundberg points out that the consisting of a mixture of media is one concept of the postmodernist style (1999: 6). In order to ensure this concept, he claims that 'dispelling modernism's fetishistic concentration on the medium as a message—painting about painting, photography about photography, and so on' (1999: 6). Grundberg's argument is somewhat echoed with what Hughes (1990) concerns about 'you can no longer trust your eye' (cited in Lister, eds. 1995: 1). These arguments are based on the digital images in the postmodern era.

Mitchell (1992) defines the emergence of digital imaging as 'expose the aporias in photography's construction of the visual world, to deconstruct the very ideas of photographic objectivity and closure, and to resist what has become an increasingly sclerotic tradition' (cited in Lister, eds. 1995: 16). He provides one more definition of digital imaging, which as 'felicitously adapted to the diverse projects of our postmodern era' (cited in Lister, eds. 1995: 31). According to Bolter and Grusin, the term 'era' is characterised in which 'photography and digital technologies are remediations each other' (2001: 106).

The concept of digital images in the postmodern era cannot be realised without support from computer technology. For example, computer software such as Adobe Photoshop provides various functions and visual effects to the users. However, to Lister, the photographic image, in terms of digital technology, is viewed as a cultural but not a technological object (Lister, eds. 1995: 7). Even though critics like Lister may not agree with the functionality of computer technology, there is no denying that computer technology plays an indispensable role in the postmodern era.

Manovich describes the computer as a media processor (2001: 25). The role of computers is no longer limited to that of a calculator, control mechanism, or communication (2001: 25). 'Before, the computer could read a row of numbers, outputting a statistical result or a gun trajectory. Now it can read pixel values, blurring the image, adjusting its contrast, or checking whether it contains an outline of an object' (Manovich, 2001: 25). In the case of software programs, Manovich puts that 'software programs enable new media designers and artists to create new media objects—and at the same time, they act as yet another filter which shapes their imagination of what is possible to do with a computer' (2001: 117).

Obviously, both media designers and artists can apply their intelligence and ideas on new media objects by operating the computer software. The photographer is able to do the same thing as well. Therefore, the role of the photographer may need to be redefined. As Robins (1995) points out, 'photographers will be freed from our perpetual constraint, that of having, by definition, to record the reality of things, that which is really occurring...freed at last from being mere recorders of reality, our creativity will be given free rein' (cited in Lister, eds. 1995: 9).

Computer software can function as a new medium that extends to designers, artists, and photographers' capabilities. In the case of the development of photographic images, some software such as Adobe Photoshop is able to replace the essential function of the chemical darkroom. As Lister notes that:

'Adobe Photoshop can operate rather like a practical demonstration of photographic semiotics. Within a couple of hours' use, such a programme opens up, in principle at least, the post-

production manipulations of photographic representation: manipulations, which previously would have been the outcome of several months' apprenticeship in the chemical darkroom. Digital software becomes a heuristic tool for *understanding* photographic representation' (Lister, eds. 1995: 16).

Programme like Photoshop becomes popular in terms of its various filters and effects. It can be seen as an element that causes the idea of the 'loss of the real' as well. If a chemical photograph can represent the reality, what would the situation be if the chemical photographs are scanned and transferred to the computer. A chemical photograph can become a digital format after being scanned. They may go through the same process as that of digital images. In this case, we would say that there is no difference between chemical and digital photography since the format is changeable.

## Conclusion

According to Evans, 'the camera never lies' (cited in Grange, 2005: 27). Referring to Paresky's idea that 'smell, sounds, and colors do not actually exist in the outside world. The interaction between what's "out there," and our sensory organs isn't the whole picture, either' (2015). The fact is, not only smell, sounds, and colors do not exist in the outside world, but also not exist in the photographic image. It is the photographer's preference on what the object that he would like to take. The moment when the photographer presses the button, most of the time, it is regarded as what we call 'decision making,' which means that what he would like his audience to see and understand. The content of a photographic image is various. Sometimes, it may not always be something touchable or visible, it could be a feeling or a moment of thought, we can classify it as 'abstract style.' The same scenario expresses different meanings by the angle of a camera. From this perspective, we may be able to understand some of the controversial journalism photographs. It is always a decision that the photographer makes in which what his position on an issue. This is highly approved in terms of politics.

Whether chemical photograph or digital image, there is shared a common first step: the shot must be taken. Before the invention of the digital camera, the photographer could use black and white film to shoot colourful scenery. This situation is not much difference with a digital photographer select black and white, nega, sepia, or solari mode to shoot the same scenery. To sum up, both chemical photograph and digital image are not represented the reality. Even the chemical photograph records exactly what the object is, or the digital image is not adjusted by the computer software, what they recorded is the photographer's decision making. Computer software plays a critical role in the process of post-production, for example, the function of color correction, multiple filters, and composition that turns the original image into the new vision with special visual effect(s). The audience may not be able to identify what the original image looks like after it has been gone through the CG (computer-generated) effect. Benjamin provides a detail explanation on the reproduction of the photograph:

First, process reproduction is more independent of the original than manual reproduction. For example, in photography, process reproduction can bring out those aspects of the original that are unattainable to the naked eye yet accessible to the lens, which is adjustable and chooses its angle at will. And photographic reproduction, with the aid of certain processes, such as enlargement or slow motion, can capture images which escape natural vision. Secondly, technical reproduction can put the copy of the original into situations which would be out of reach for the original itself. Above all, it enables the original to meet the beholder halfway, be it in the form of a photograph or a photograph record (Arendt, ed. 1966).

It seems common to use computer software, as referring to what Benjamin calls 'reproduction' to make an adjustment (even just slightly) no matter if it is necessary. McLuhan stress that 'in our own world as we become more aware of the effects of technology on psychic formation and manifestation. We are losing all confidence in our right to assign guilt' (Durham & Kellner, 2001: 135). We could say that, the photographic image was not recorded the reality even before the invention of technology, such as the computer software. As Nichols (1996) notes, 'a digitally designed or created image can be subject to infinite manipulation. Its reality is a function of

complex algorithms stored in computer memory rather than a necessary mechanical resem-balance to a referent (Prince, 1996: 29).

The question of whether or not the art works that have been manipulated by computer software are considered as art is still under debated. There is no right or wrong answer for this question. Scholars who come from the different specialist background may have different opinion and judgment on this matter. More specifically, artists from the field of visual communication may have a different perspective. For example, fine art artists may more or less resist the usage of technology in terms of the creation of art. This could be understood through the background they come from, oil painting, for an instant, it does not request for undergoing any technology, such as computer software in the process of production. In Benjamin's book 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', he critics that 'even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art lacks in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be' (Arendt, ed. 1696). Even though Benjamin's book has been published more than eight decades, its concepts are still applicable and effective for the present phenomenon.

To sum up, the answer of the question of 'is the photographic image represented the reality' is: no, it is not. The term 'reality' seems too wide as it can be interpreted in many ways. It is arguable that the basic function of the camera is to record what we see in reality, which is true. However, the moment we press the button, the moment becomes memory only. The author's perspective is: 'the reality cannot be duplicated.' This is referred and similar with what Benjamin's example in his book about how people argue about the technology of reproduction. He provides an argument about 'one might generalize by saying: the technique of reproduction detaches the reproduced object from the domain of tradition. The question here is why tradition cannot be domain? To some extent that the tradition is unique and non-replaceable. The role of scholars or visual art artists should analyze the problem at a deeper level. It calls us into action as not to be timeserver. It has nothing wrong to appreciate or support of the idea of reproduction in production of the photographic image. This paper aims to specifically focus on the relationship between 'photographic image' and 'reality.' Further research is necessary regarding to the topic of reproduction and photographic image, and that could be an intensive level of interpretation.

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# Reform and Revolution: A Comparative Study on Ethical Concern of European Modern Design

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## Abstract

European modern design arose during the late 19th century and the early 20th century. Its rise has displayed a strong historical interaction with social change towards modernisation in which aesthetics, technology, politics, as well as ethics had been outlined and highlighted. In this research, a comparative study is carried out to investigate the relationship between ethical concern and European modern design movements. By social theories and comparative sociological methods, the study has reviewed the diversified social improvement contributions of European modern design designers or ideologists. It draws the conclusion that Some of concerns managed to overcome social crisis by dissolving industrial society, while the others tried to resolve it by strengthening social industrialisation. The former is interpreted as "retrospective" quality, which reveals traditional humanistic anxiety and the latter as "prospective" quality, which indicates contemporary metropolis' social management trend. It also clarifies the ethical value of modern design movements and practice in Europe.

**Keywords:** European Modern Design, Social Change, Ethical Concern, Reform, Revolution

## 1. Introduction

Reform and revolution, as the basic concepts, have played a key role in illustrating social change towards modernisation. With the assistance of social theories and comparative sociological methods, this research is going to interpret what kind of ideas, in terms of reform and revolution, the designers and ideologists have presented and how they articulate them comparatively in European modern design movements. In this way, the ethical and social value of European modern design practice has been clarified. The potential connection between social change and modern design has been revealed as well.

## 2. Background

Social change is recognised as a continuous changing process in functional structure and operation of society, whose effect cover a wide range of fields, e.g., political system, economic climate, lifestyle, or moral values. Although social change refers to diversified factors and keeps openness, numbers of components have been distinguished so far. They are concluded in technology, ideology, competition, conflict, politics, economics, and structural pressure (Vago, 2007, p. 8-31). In the social change process, Stratification of society and Social conflict

are highlighted for they closely connected to it. Stratification of society is regarded as different positions of social groups originated from economic resource possession, political power division, traditional culture belief and sense of honour, etc. Karl Marx has been concerned because of his stratification theory based on economic resource possession (Giddens, 2003, p. 272), whereas Max Weber has ascribed stratification to more differentiated origins, e.g., the interactive actions of economics, politics, and culture (Collins & Makowsky, 2006, p. 189-193). Social conflict means to struggle and confrontation among different social groups due to varied interests. Lewis A. Coser and Ralf Dahrendorf, as the researchers of social conflict theory, advocated that conflict presents positive actions on social functioning and transforming. The latter even radically insisted that inevitable social conflict could improve social change as "creative power" (Vago, 2007, p. 49-50).

Accordingly, reform and revolution in social change have been linked to social conflict. Reform represents mild reactions on social conflict, which manages to resolve problems in the existed system by compromise and conservatism, while revolution indicates harsh reactions, which overturns the old system, accompanied by severe unrest or the bloody. The relationship of reform and revolution is going to be further illuminated under the social conflict perspective. It is taken for granted that social reform with the gradual process should be an approach to take the place of revolution with anomie, violence, and terror. It has been considered however, that revolution breaks out in consequence of structural force and realistic situations, hence reform is becoming invalid whenever facing revolution. As for this issue, their relationship cannot be titled "alternatives," as if parallel choices. Conversely, they should be viewed as "in order." It signifies that the effective reform is taken to achieve social targets, in order to keep the bloody revolution under cruel situations from happening, although social structure provided an opportunity for revolution. The replacement of reform and revolution, thus, could have been fully outlined.

The brief differentiation between reform and revolution aforesaid does not suggest a differentiation between "good" and "bad." They both are the historical consequence under a unique model of social structure, instead of arbitrary choice upon moral purpose. At least, as direct force, human's will have had a little part of play in it: violence is roused to cope with the fast knot, and terror can hardly be avoided then. Nevertheless, it is not the ground to keep us from reflection on the dark sides of the revolution. Since revolution is carried out in a pressing and forcible way, it most probably gives rise to social catastrophes. Its course and result are unpredictable to a large extent, because of the leading role of violent interactions among diversified social groups and possibly diverges from the expected target (Skocpol, 2007a, p. 18), though high social costs were paid. Despite the bursting violence promotes social progress, it is by no means free from the dark. It causes irrational worship of struggle and ruins humanity, which is essential to a sound society (Vago, 2007, p. 294-295). Violence is innately antisocial: crime becomes antisocial at the lowest level, while revolution at the highest level (Vago, 2007, p. 77). So long as human possess sympathy, we are never relieved from such harm. Social progress does contain not only the abstract political or economic tasks but also the individual situations where people act as parents, sons and daughters, officers, and workers. Granted, that cruel historical course is unavoidable, to reduce social suffering is always a burden on human's shoulders.

As regard the ethical issue under social modernisation background, ideas and practice of European designers and ideologists have been broadly mentioned by the chronicles of modern design history, architecture and urban planning history (Pevsner, 2001, 2003, 2004; Raizman, 2007; Woodham, 2012; Riseboro, 1999; Frampton, 2004, 2007; Kruft, 2005; Mumford, 2005), which demonstrate how could modern design, as social reform methods, change a society or prevent social revolution from happening. This research focuses on the same issue but tries hard to take an intensive exploration into it with the assistance of historical sociology and comparative study (Tocqueville, 1992; Bloch, 2006; Anderson, 2001a, b; Moore, 2013; Skocpol, 2007a, b; Delanty & Isin, 2009). First, the different ethical characteristics of European modern design activities will be reviewed. Second, the ideological qualities are going to be comparatively classified in terms of typology, for the same civilisation background shared by them and the diversified factors in the historical course. A better understanding, then, could be improved on the ethical value of European modern design movements and practice, whose age covered from the 1850s to the 1930s.

### 3. Ethical Concern of European Modern Design: Ideas and Practice

Along with the political scientists and sociologists, the designers and ideologists have been involved in contemplation of social issues during European modern design movements and endeavored to make an answer by their methods. The attempts from England, France, and Germany were truly remarkable: the ideas "to change a society by design" have been disclosed in Arts and Crafts movement of England, French architects Tony Garnier and Le Corbusier, and Weimar Bauhaus. Although such tries were coloured utopian tendency then, they did encourage the link between modern design and social management and have enriched the social significance of modern European design. The following review is going to display these contributions.

#### 3.1 *Arts and Crafts movement and Garden City movement*

The awareness emerged in the period of Arts and Crafts movement for the first time in history. England had experienced industrialisation as the earliest country in Europe, whose leading position transformed manufacturing model and impacted social system and life too. Social problems consequently grew. On the one side, industrial revolution led to the centralisation of manufacturing, increasing industrial cities, high urban population density, and the replacement of village life by city life, where any detail was going to be associated with social issues, e.g., crime, public health problem, or moral degeneration. On the other side, a new social group called "the working class" arose in the industrialised society, whose social standing impelled themselves ready for a confrontation with the upper class, whose manipulation ranged from capital and political power to cultural and ideological resource. Potential social crisis hinted by the tension have been perceived by Marx, the political scientist, as well as by Pevsner, the modern design historian (Pevsner, 2004, p. 24).

It is not difficult to discover the same feeling hidden in John Ruskin and William Morris, the English intellectuals as well as the designers or ideologists involved in Arts and Crafts movement, who managed to find a solution for the earliest industrial society. Realising the relationship between social reform and design practice, they hence became the pioneers in England. It is astonished that their design idea was thoroughly modernised in terms of social responsibility awareness, though the design style of Arts and Crafts movement remained still traditional. Ruskin and Morris advocated that art and culture are related closely to social reform. The former regarded decoration and art as an approach of social improvement (Raizman, 2007, p. 111), while the latter wished handicraft could change the society and thought it is impossible to separate art from morality, politics, and religion (Pevsner, 2004, p. 4). Moreover, they both insisted that art should serve for the public, instead of for the upper class only. Then, it was followed by Morris' "by the people, for the people" (Pevsner, 2001, p. 13). His idea characterised by social integration made him a social reformist (Pevsner, 2004, p. 26) and his theory and practice had the property of social reform (Frampton, 2004, p. 40). Besides Ruskin and Morris, there were a few English designers who hold a practical opinion that the change of environment leads to the change of social system. Richard Norman Shaw had introduced numbers of architecture design offered to the working class and the public, which benefitted for social improvement. Ebenezer Howard had ever been acting the role of social reformist too. He was a participant in Garden City movement, whose aim was to ameliorate the living and working conditions of the working class. Howard's standpoint is reformism, for he preferred gradual reforming to violent revolution (Frampton, 2004, p. 41-42). His idea has been deeply embedded in his Garden City programme (Mumford, 2005, p. 528).

#### 3.2 *French architects: Tony Garnier and Le Corbusier*

The vanguard Garnier has been highlighted conspicuously for the sake of conservatism against industrialisation, e.g., Art Nouveau, during the early period of modern European design in France. Garnier distinctly recognised that architecture or urban planning should adapt to social change. And, industrialisation was becoming the most prominent changing factor at that time. Therefore, "Industrial City" has been conceived by him to respond to social industrialisation trend. Every corner of architecture and functional planning within an industrialised city has been fully taken into consideration in this urban project.

Nonetheless, Garnier's work came into the world as a design practice, instead of a systematic theory which then was put forward by Corbusier. In his theory, Corbusier believed that social reform is not an issue only with technological applications but with political and moral reflection. As English pioneers had done, he became aware of modern social crisis and felt the possible violence and revolution under such crisis: capitalism destroyed the existed social structure, and the reactions will be changed into a subversive power (Pevsner, 2003, p. 76). He also discovered that architecture or urban planning could positively act on modern industrial society, exactly as Garnier had explored. Corbusier hence made his way to regard design as an effective method of social management and theoretically voiced social reform idea in which design is going to take the place of revolution. It was then concluded in his assertion "architecture or revolution" (Frampton, 2004, p. 195). The link between design and politics has been precisely illustrated by Corbusier: a society will gain profits from the modern design if only designers try hard to eliminate social inequality and revolution will be averted accordingly. His political awareness made him a social reformist, and he looked upon himself as a martyr who is to save the world by architecture design (Kruft, 2005, p. 296).

### *3.3 Weimar Bauhaus*

Despite a strong tendency of rationalisation in Dessau, Bauhaus exhibited utopian views in its early age, which was similar to Arts and Crafts movement and William Morris, who was longing for idealised harmony of the Middle Ages too. Walter Gropius, the school founder, expressed this idea under a particular "historical background," however. The First World War hurt Europe spiritually and shadowed a newly industrialised society (Fiedler, 2000, p. 17). Machine was suddenly transformed into a monstrous tool of destruction and killing. Such terrified scene with the massive and automatic destroying can be hardly imagined in any traditional agrarian society. Bauhaus, therefore, was founded at first in Weimar by Gropius with utopian ambition, in order to cope with the spiritual crisis caused by industrialisation and mechanised war. It otherwise cannot be envisaged that Gropius, a modernist under Deutsche Werkbund and Peter Behrens' cultivation and a designer of standardised modern industrial architecture, would follow an old way attempted by Ruskin and Morris. Weimar Bauhaus was dyed a colour of medieval guild to a large degree, and Gropius did insist on the principles of the guild: harmony, autonomy, and honesty (Fiedler, 2000, p. 18). He had provided a utopian ideological basis for the school's educational and organisational practice. Weimar Bauhaus could be regarded as a social experiment replying for the negative influence of industrialisation and as a construction project of idealised society at micro-level. This micro-social experiment revealed Gropius' resolution to amend an injured society by design and education (Raizman, 2007, p. 230-231; Woodham, 2012, p. 54).

## **4. Comparative Analysis**

European modern design movements were not only related to the elements of aesthetics or technology. Rather, they have been closely connected with morality and ethics. Under the impact of social change towards modernisation, actions taken by European modern designers and ideologists were dramatically distinctive. The ethical knowledge which disclosed their anxious concerns over social reform and improvement could have been classified into two typical categories however. One shows a strong willing to return to the past, by which Arts and Crafts movement, Garden City movement, and Weimar Bauhaus have made the solutions. Ruskin, Morris, and Gropius (in the early age of Bauhaus) treated modern capitalism and social industrialisation in disgust, and they all approved the moral value of the Middle Ages, while Howard was eager for traditional and healthy country life. The other, instead, appears a positive attitude to social modernisation and industrialisation. Garnier conceived an urban planning solution for constructing a better industrial society's sake and Corbusier's architecture programmes always displayed the futurism tendency. They both valued the prospective modern city and life by modern design. A comparison of modern European design as social reform methods is presented as follow (Table 1).

Table 1. A comparison of modern European design as social reform methods

Retrospective quality	Prospective quality
Arts and Crafts movement	Tony Garnier
Garden City movement	Le Corbusier
Weimar Bauhaus	

## 5. Conclusions

Ethical and social factors, besides aesthetical and technological (or functional) elements, should be taken into consideration when inspecting the rise of modern design in Europe. Based on the illustration of "social reform," "social revolution," and "social cruelty" of violent revolution, this research has investigated the diversified social reform solutions contributed by European modern design movements in order to improve the society and avoid revolution or crime under the background of social modernisation. The reform solutions have been classified and appear "dual character." Some of them managed to overcome the social crisis by dissolving industrial society, while the others tried to resolve it by strengthening social industrialisation. The former is interpreted as "retrospective" quality, which reveals traditional humanistic anxiety and the latter as "prospective" quality, which indicates contemporary metropolises' social management trend.

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# The Enigma of the Arab Spring and its Autumn

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## Abstract

Few years ago, the geographical area of the Arab region witnessed a significant change, where many countries protested against the regime, demanding political reform. Among the very various names, which was used to refer to this movement was the 'Facebook Revolution' and the 'Youth Revolution,' but perhaps the most popular and commonly used is the 'Arab Spring.' This article embarks on explaining the term 'Arab Spring,' and the reasons behind its popularity. This is subsequently followed by brief account of the Arab Spring main events starting with Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria. In addition to clarifying the various reasons behind these uprisings. In an attempt to understand the constant critique of the Arab Spring, and the reasons why many label it as a failure, the article suggests THREE fundamental reasons that may have influenced the revolutions outcome and they are the lack of a peaceful transition of power, foreign intervention and the absence of free will. Perhaps these are the reasons to why the Arab Spring is chiefly an Arab Autumn drainage with blood, and lost hope.

**Keywords:** Bouazizi, Oppression, Islamists, Arab Region, Brotherhood, Foreign Intervention, Freedom

## 1. Why Call it a Spring?

The so-called 'Arab Spring' is a series of peaceful demonstrations that erupted in several Arab countries in late 2010. The name 'Arab Spring' is very controversial, and many politicians and critics argued that it is a misnomer. Whilst others explain that using the term is merely as a metaphor that represents hope, rebirth fecundity, and a symbol of a better world (Dabashi, 2012). According to Zimmer, using the metaphor 'political spring' to indicate renewal and change dates back to ancient times (2011). He further illustrates with an example of using 'seasons' to refer to political changes in Shakespeare's Richard III play (2011):

*"Now is the winter of our discontent, made glorious summer by this sun of York."*

Likewise, Cook claims that throughout history, using the metaphor 'spring' to refer to political changes and movements was to signify the birth of a new life (2014:1). In addition, its use extended to the modern era where it was used to refer to 'the Prague Spring,' which refers to the liberalisation of Czechoslovakia from the Soviet Union in the late 1960s (2014:3).

In an attempt to address the origin and meaning behind this label, Gelvin (2012:240) claims that people are mainly using the metaphor 'Arab Spring' due to its popularity and for recognition purposes. He further argues that the term is misrepresentative of the uprising and justifies his argument with three reasons. First, all of these uprisings started in winter, which would not make an inspiring and appropriate title. Second, the metaphor that the word 'spring' refers to is joy and renewal, which was proven otherwise by the ongoing catastrophes in the Middle East. Finally, the mere reason that this title is already taken, since the phrase was originally used in 2005 to refer to certain events that occurred in the Arab World as a response to the American invasion of Iraq back in 2003 (Gelvin 2012:241).

Al-Safty (2011) offers a comprehensive analysis of the 'Arab Spring' phenomenon and the reasons behind its controversial name. He writes (2011), unlike the many names the events were described with such as revolution, uprising and rebelling that has a negative connotation to it, the word 'spring' has a neutral, positive and a poetic connotation. Al-Safty added (2011); there are several reasons behind choosing the title 'Arab Spring.' Firstly, how the word *spring* is usually associated with change and youth, and this is especially true because there were a large fraction of youths among the protesters, and they demanded the change. Secondly, the term *spring* usually represents hope and optimism, which all of these uprising countries were hoping for a new life (Al-Safty 2011).

Similarly, Whitehead (2014) gives an account of how the term 'Arab Spring' is a result of an article by Marc Lynch (2011), who associated the term to Obama's administration equivalent of the 2005 Arab Spring in response to the number of different uprisings and demonstrations that appeared in the Arab region during different times. Regardless of the popularity of the term 'Arab Spring,' other people used different names such as 'The Youth Uprising.' This is due to the huge role the youth played in mobilising these demonstrations and encouraging all factions in the society to engage in the uprising (Sadiki, 2014). Amongst the other names are these related to social media for the huge part it played as a tool in organising these uprisings are 'Facebook Revolution,' 'Twitter Revolution' and 'Social Media Revolution' (Bossio, 2014:22).

## 2. The Tunisian Spark

The blossoming of the Arab Spring was unfolded to the world by the end of 2010; and it was then followed by a sequence of events. Tarek el-Tayyib Mohamed Ben Bouazizi, a young Tunisian man, who was born to a poor family in the town of Sidi Bouzid in 1984 was unable to complete his studies, therefore started working and became a fruit-seller in the marketplace. Bouazizi was harassed by council inspector Faïda Hamdy, who requested money to allow him to keep his business. In this regards, Stokel-Walker states, Bouazizi refused to pay her 'hush money,' and began arguing with him to protect his only livelihood, Hamdy ended up slapping Bouazizi in the face. A cultural earthquake occurred" (2011:27). It was not merely a matter of livelihood to Bouazizi, but rather his pride and dignity; thus, he went to the council to complain, demanding that he meets the governor. Surely, Bouazizi was not able to resolve his problem or meet any officials, thus he was irritated, shattered, and upset about how unfair the situation has become in his country. Sadly, he set himself on fire right in front of the governor's building, and died days later on 4 January 2011 (Filiu, 2011). This incident sparked the Tunisian revolution, and was the ignition the region was waiting for.

Shortly after Bouazizi's death, Tunisian men and women, both elderlies and youth began took to the streets, and the demonstrations began. In late December 2010, the mass mobilization began, and clashes between protesters and the police grew. People protested against marginalization, high rate of unemployment, and the regime's corruption and demanded the resignation of Ben Ali (Al-Saleh, 2015). Only a few days later, on January 14<sup>th</sup>, President Ben Ali decided to flee the country and seek asylum in Saudi Arabia. This was an unprecedented day in the Arab world, where the will of the people toppled the regime. After witnessing the success of the Tunisian revolution, many countries like Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria decided to protest against the dictators and overthrow the regime.

In Egypt, there were many political movements and protests throughout the years, but unfortunately, they were never successful. *Kefaya* for instance, was among the very popular movements that were established in 2004-2005

to demand political reform, and was the first to demand the overthrow of Mubarak's regime (Jones, 2007:16). Observing how the events unfolded in Tunisia, Egyptian activists called for a protest on January 25, to protest the horrendous conditions the country have reached of poverty, corruption, diseases, oppression, lack of healthcare, unemployment, and deteriorating education.

A wave of demonstrations erupted on January 25, 2011, where protesters were heading to Tahrir Square in Cairo and camped there. Three days later, on Friday 28, 200, 000 people flooded Cairo to join the demonstration (Gerbaudo, 2013:27). Clashes arose between pro-Mubarak demonstrators and protesters in Tahrir Square leading to the killing and injuring of many civilians. After days of demonstrating against Mubarak's regime, threats arose of marching to the Presidential Palace. Mubarak finally responded and announced his resignation in a speech delivered by the vice president of Egypt and chief of intelligence Omar Suleiman on February 11.

In Libya, all political parties were banned, thus there were not any political activities, and any political activists would be dealt with harshly (Sullivan, 2009). Nonetheless, people felt the glimpse of hope watching neighbouring countries overthrew their regimes. On 17<sup>th</sup> of February, protests spread across the country from Tripoli to Bani Walid to Al-Bayda, demanding Algaddafi to resign. The Government forces responded with live ammunition at protesters in Benghazi, killing approximately 100 civilians (Haddad, Bsheer, and Abu-Rish, 2012:139). Throughout the months, soldiers and government personnel start to defect from the regime leading to its gradual collapse. On 17<sup>th</sup> March 2011, the NATO authorised a UN military intervention, due to the UN authorized military intervention the increased number of clashes among protesters and the regime and the killing of civilians. During that time, the rebels started to contain the situation in Libya slowly and the manhunt for Algaddafi, who was hiding in Tripoli, began. Several months later, on 20<sup>th</sup> October 2011, Algaddafi was captured and killed.

Similarly to Egypt, the demonstration in Yemen dates back to 2007, where thousands have been killed, injured, or imprisoned. Ali Abdullah Saleh attempted to control the situation and stop the demonstration in Yemen by calling for debates and negotiations with the public and attempted to kill protesters by hiring thugs. Yemenis, however, were defiant and took to the streets in February in front of Sanaa University and many other landmarks to demand reform. Saleh was forced to leave the country on June 3, 2011, due to an attack on his presidential palace and because he was injured.

Unfortunately, this was not the case in Syria, where the peaceful demonstration turned into a brutal war and have not yet ended. The demonstrations started on March 18<sup>th</sup>, and quickly spread around different parts of Syria. However, the military viciously killed millions of Syrians and forced many others to flee the country.

### **3. What Triggered the Arab Spring?**

"Why now" is a question that has always been asked by many people around the world, when they first heard about the demonstrations in the Arab region. This was not an abrupt Arab awakening; on the contrary, it was a result of years of tyranny, suffering, and unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the corrupted regimes. Throughout the years, and after numerous attempts of revolution, 2011 was a defining year to the entire Arab region, as it established change and gave hope of a better future. It could be argued that the domino effect played a significant role in initiating the uprisings, particularly because these countries shared similar motives. Regardless to each country's unique and local factors, they all shared oppression, corruption, population growth that led to unemployment and famine, and evidently a decline of living standards. This section will explain the following factors: oppression and lack of freedom and famine and unemployment.

#### *3.1 Oppression and the Hunger for Freedom*

Unfortunately, the Arab region has always been deprived of democracy, where freedom, equality, and social justice are meaningless words. For years and years, many Arab countries suffered from the regime's injustices, repression, and tyranny. Bamyeh (2012:50) suggests that the idea of 'president for life' was the common rule in the Arab

region, since most of the presidents rule for over 10 years. For example, in Tunisian president ruled for 20 years, Mubarak in Egypt for 30 years and AlGaddafi for 40 years (Howard & Hussain, 2013:1). Perhaps this is why Arab nationalism and passion for freedom is one of the most potent ideological forces in the region.

Unfortunately, the region lacks some of the most important rights such as freedom of expression, regardless to the fact that it is guaranteed by international human rights treaties. Arafa (2013:170) explains this as follows:

*Most Arab countries scored poorly on indices of freedom of expression, including press and academic freedoms; freedom of assembly, demonstration, and open public discussion; freedom of association and civil society organisation; the rule of law, including an independent judiciary, fair trials and freedom from exile and/or torture; and personal social freedoms, including gender and minority equalities.*

### 3.2 Famine

Even though the Middle East region is known for its agricultural resources, many Arab countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Lebanon, Morocco, and Sudan were considered vulnerable to a food crisis (Gelvin 2015:21). This is might be due to the sudden increase in the food prices. For instance, in 2007, there was a 'bread riot' in Morocco, Syria, Jordan, Yemen, Egypt, and Lebanon (Gelvin 2015:22). The crisis was not mainly revolved around the spike in the prices, but also the shortage of food. "Egyptians fought each other in bread queues, and soldiers were drafted in to bake loaves" (Noueihed & Warren 2012:24).

### 3.3 Unemployment

The number of youth unemployment in the region spiked as the World Bank report in 2008 states that the youth unemployment was estimated of 30% and about 45% for a university graduate in many Arab nations (Zemni, 2014). The unemployment dilemma led to poverty and famine, and most importantly, increased the gap between the rich and poor, only to empower the ruling elite. For instance, the rate of unemployment was estimated of 24% among youths of 15-24 years old in Egypt (Feiler, 2013). According to Nour, the number of unemployment in the Arab region due to the challenges of unstable economic growth is indeed is nearly three times the average of the world (2016:49).

### 3.4 Social Justice and Corruption

It is clearly evident that social justice and providing equal opportunities and equality among citizens was not a privilege in many Arab countries, who called for social reforms, including human and political rights. Social injustices can be attributed to the vastly spread corruption in the region since only people close to the regime can get opportunities and take advantage of varied resources. For example, in Libya, the regime attempted to provide a sense of social justice that fell short on the human rights scale, this can be clearly observed of Saif Al-Islam ownership of about 95% of the oil, and its distribution to his circle (Gelvin 2012:76).

## 4. The Aftermath of the Arab Spring

Eight years later, there is a controversy of the Arab Spring success and how it has been hijacked by the very same regimes or Islamists. Many political analysts, such as Bradley (2012:3), describe these uprisings as a failure. Bradley argues that these uprisings were anything but democratic; in fact, it was an Islamic movement that aimed to impose Islamic laws (2012: 3). On the other hand, some relate the failure of these uprisings simply to the lack of freedom, understanding social justice, and most importantly the absence of democratic institutes that would facilitate the transition of power or honest elections.

Looking at the Arab region today, one can only wonder about the consequences of the mass mobilisation, the protests, the killings of civilians, and the overthrown regimes. Perhaps Tunisia is the only country to escape the anarchy and gained some democracy, elsewhere though, very little has changed. While progress in reaching political reforms and establishing stability has been made in Tunisia, there remain critical issues related to

unemployment, economic reforms, corruption, and police brutality to overcome. According to the International Labour Organization, youth unemployment remains high at 37% (Merino 2014: 132).

Unlike Tunisia, Egyptians are still fighting for political and economic reforms, Yemenis, Libyans, and Syrians are living in a malicious civil war until today. These countries have been suffering tremendously, where the economy has dropped, killings, impressments have increased, and life has become impossible to bear. In Libya, the uprising created a blood-soaked catastrophe of civil war and the emergence of a military group led by Khalifa Haftar after Libya's failure to adhere to a peaceful political transition. Haftar and an array of Libya's powerful army started fighting the Tripoli revolution to establish himself as the recognised regime of the country. Likewise, the fierce Syrian revolution exposed the illegitimacy of the regime and how lethal and adamant it is, leaving Bashar al-Assad as the last president standing still after the Arab Spring.

The atrocities the Arab region witnessed, and the drastic changes of toppling tyranny was not enough to label the Arab Spring as a successful movement, but rather criticised and labelled as the Arab Autumn by the world. I hereby, suggest the reasons behind the 'failure' of the Arab Spring uprisings. *First*, overthrowing the president was not enough to overthrow the entire corrupted regime. In countries like Libya and Egypt, people were not familiar with the concept of an honest and free election process, thus, there was a huge absence of political institutes to observe the transition, and ensure a democratic and peaceful one. On the contrary, people drifted from their main goal of political and democratic change, to religious and political conflicts. In Egypt, many people supported the Muslim Brotherhood, which is a big political party in the country oppressed by Mubarak's regime and was awaiting the chance to emerge and participate in the political sphere. As a result, the people elected Egypt's first democratically elected president Mohamed Morsi, who was later overthrown by a military coup d'état in 3 July 2013 and replaced by a regime similar to Mubarak's. On the other hand, Libyans had no political parties or an independent military base but rather military detachments governed by Algaddafi's sons, hence there was an absent of an author which would help to elect a democratic president. Thus, after the revolution, Haftar gained the support of many military personnel, and gradually gained control of many Libyan cities. Also, in Yemen, due to the absence of an army that would facilitate the transformation process of the current regime, there was a rise of Al Qaeda and Houthis, which initiated an ongoing civil war.

This leads us to the *second* factor, which is the foreign and international intervention, where foreign powers played a major role in meddling with these countries' internal affairs. For instance, the war in Libya began due to the intervention of many Arab countries each supporting particular religious or political parties, such as Qatar and Turkey and their support to the Muslim Brotherhood, against other countries who are openly against the Arab Spring and the Brotherhood such as the United Arab Emirates and Egypt. This is also the case in Yemen and Syria, where people are engaged in civil war due to their support to the current regime or simply to oppose it. In Syria, the regime remained intact, constantly killing civilians by live ammunition, and relying on international intervention to gain more power against the rebels.

*Third*, the absence of free will and democracy. Sadly, the region is strongly governed by conservative and religious norms. This led to the emergence of sectarian movements and extremist groups that were dominating the political scene, and divided the people into different sects. This is clearly evident in Egypt, during the 2011 elections when the Brotherhood party won 235 chairs, the extremist Salafists 121 seats, and only 35 out of 508 to the main secular party in Egypt (Moghadam, 2013: 402).

## 5. Conclusion

This article presents a comprehensive account of the political circumstances prior to Tunisian uprising, which was the spark the Arab region was ripping for. The Jasmine revolution led to a drastic change in the Arab region, and the uprisings in Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria. The article provides the common factors that gradually led to these revolutions. Surely, the Arab region suffers a great deal of corruption, where only people in power are the ones to benefit from the country's resources and wealth, whereas the people are suffering from poverty, unemployment, and injustices. These factors alongside oppression and years of dictatorship led to the sudden

awakening of Arab countries that probably was not prepared to engage in honest political elections, a peaceful transition of power, a complete overthrow of the regime and its followers, and most importantly a secular election. Unfortunately, this was not the case, instead, countries suffered internally from the emergence of various oppressed parties that were fighting for control, in addition to the external intervention from neighbouring countries. I believe that the Arab Spring succeeds in what it initially aimed to, which is to overthrow the regime, but its aftermath is what went wrong.

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# An Empirical Study of Potential Breach of Psychological Contract of Hong Kong Journalist Towards the Swift of Editorial Direction Between June and July 2019 After the Announcement of Fugitive Ordinance in Hong Kong

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## Abstract

This paper is to apply psychological contract theory to interview the perspective of editors in Hong Kong in local privately-owned company regarding whether there is a breach of bonding with their media company from change of editorial direction set by the upper management and shareholders towards the news choice and reporting perspective different from what they expect the company to do. Hong Kong has experienced social instability between June and July 2019 since the announcement of Fugitive Ordinance from the Hong Kong government, and newspaper are forced to take a side during the political movement. Article 27 of Basic Law of Hong Kong stating that Hong Kong residents shall have freedom of speech, of the press and of publication; freedom of association, of assembly, of the procession and of demonstration; and the right and freedom to form and join trade unions, and to strike. Despite that there is no fundamental constitutional change on Article 2017, a number of local media have been purchased by mainland China capital, and the executives or shareholders of those companies are offered honorary positions in central government which may have had an impact on their control on the editorial staff. As a result, Hong Kong's ranking dropped by 18<sup>th</sup> in 2002 to 70<sup>th</sup> in 2018 on the press freedom index ranked by the Reporters without Borders on the World Press Freedom Index. 10 news workers from Hong Kong-privately-owned newspapers were interviewed anonymously for this research. The media companies they work for are considered to be pro-democratic and liberal and is not in line with the government's stand.

**Keywords:** Hong Kong Journalist, Psychological Contract Theory, Fugitive Ordinance

## Introduction

Hong Kong has experienced social instability between June and July 2019 since the announcement of Fugitive Ordinance from the Hong Kong government, and newspaper are forced to take a side during the political movement. Hong Kong's ranking dropped by 18<sup>th</sup> in 2002 to 70<sup>th</sup> in 2018 on the press freedom index ranked by the Reporters without Borders on the World Press Freedom Index. The rapid decline on the ranking reflects on the change of editorial independence being eroded by a number of factors which have a direct impact on the change of editorial direction.



Article 27 of Basic Law of Hong Kong stating that Hong Kong residents shall have freedom of speech, of the press and of publication; freedom of association, of assembly, of the procession and of demonstration; and the right and freedom to form and join trade unions, and to strike.

However, the editorial independence remains subject to changes as the Hong Kong media company is mostly privately held. As such, there are a number of factors from commercial consideration such as shareholder interest, advertising revenue, and political pressure, which may lead to a change of editorial direction.

This paper is to apply psychological contract theory to interview the perspective of editors in Hong Kong in private company regarding whether there is a breach of bonding with their media company from change of editorial direction set by the upper management and shareholders towards the news choice and reporting perspective different from what they expect the company to do. 10 news workers from Hong Kong-privately-owned newspapers were interviewed anonymously for this research.

### **How does psychological contract theory applied in Hong Kong Media industry**

Ideology-infused psychological contract is one of the constitutive elements of the psychological contract theory. Development in the ideology infused psychological contract opened up many new opportunities to examine the intrinsic values for an employer to evaluate successful fulfillment and adaptation for an employee to integrate into the general ideology of an industry and a company.

Editors in Hong Kong private media industry show great concern the impact on the different political ideology on the editorial decision and the media's role in the supervision of the government.

This study is to apply the model of Rousseau (2001) conceptualization of psychological contract to examine whether there an intrinsic value of expectation for employer and employee to form a psychological contract for the successful employment relationship.

The psychological contract has been further developed by Thompson and Bunderson (2003) through introducing of the concept of intrinsic values of the ideology-infused psychological contract. Ideological contract is founded on intrinsic motivation, and ideologically infused psychological contracts have implications for perceptions of contract breach and outlined that ideology may infuse into psychological contract to lead to a direct impact on employee's role on an organization.

Hong Kong has a tradition of press freedom due to due to the confluence of historical and social background from the British colonial government. The maintenance of a high degree of press freedom is important to maintain Hong Kong's status quo as a world city Lee (2007).

Hong Kong has been in the struggle for press freedom to uphold the value of liberal journalism. In addition, there is motivation for journalists to stand against political pressure because the media industry ethic and social expectation towards journalistic ethic is to reveal wrongdoing of government and adverse information regarding politicians and anything worth for public interest to play the role of social supervision. (Lee 2007).

The ideology-infused psychological contract is, therefore, an important concept to be applied on this study as (Lee, 2015) notes that media freedom is a very special element of industry practice in Hong Kong media industry.

Thus, (Bingham et al. 2014) suggested that successful fulfillment of obligations from the psychological contract is essential for an individual's relationship with his or her employer to form positive attributions of friendship and influence within the organization.

Therefore, this paper only looks at the ideology-infused psychological contract as intrinsic values for the employment bonding creation for the maintain of the same editorial direction which draws a journalist to join the current media company they work for.

### Question Setting

This paper takes the widely-used survey from Reporter without Border for the measurement of press freedom index to apply in Hong Kong. 12 questions were asked to editors regarding their perception of whether their media company remain the same editorial direction with the factors of editorial interference from management and shareholder and government as well as financial supporter during the reporting from June to July 2019 after a series of demonstrations and political activities in Hong Kong following the announcement of fugitive ordinance.

#### Question 1

What are the factors apparently preventing the creation of independent, privately-owned media? Note: "1" signifies that the factor plays no part in preventing the creation of a media company; "10" signifies that the factor makes forming a media company impossible.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Political factor (political position, closeness to the opposition)										

#### Question 2

How difficult is it to launch an independent private media company in light of the following constraints? Note: "1" signifies no difficulty; "10" signifies an insurmountable obstacle

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Administrative constraints (tax reporting procedures, professional competence requirements etc.)										

#### Question 3

How difficult is it to launch an independent private media company in light of the following constraints? Note: "1" signifies no difficulty; "10" signifies an insurmountable obstacle

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Financial constraints (start-up costs, production costs, bank credit, etc.)										

#### Question 4

Is the process for granting TV and radio licenses transparent? Note: "1" signifies no difficulty; "10" signifies an insurmountable obstacle

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Is the process for granting TV and radio license transparent?										

#### Question 5

What is the extent of official interference in appointments to these posts? Note: "1" signifies no difficulty; "10" signifies an insurmountable obstacle

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Directors of the TV and radio regulatory agency (1)										

## Question 6

How easy is it for authorities to force the firing of a... Note: '1' signifies that authorities are powerless to force a firing; '10' signifies that authorities can force a firing at will.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
private media executive?										

## Question 7 Do private media have to adjust their content in exchange for state subsidies?

Note: '1' signifies a situation in which officials show no favoritism; '10' signifies that favoritism is firmly established.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Do private media have to adjust their content in exchange for state subsidies?										

## Question 8

Is government advertising distributed equitably among different media? Note: All state-paid publicity campaigns in the media should be considered together: public education (health, traffic safety, etc.); information (operations of public services, new legislation, etc.); employment (recruitment campaigns); public works (bid invitations).

Note: '1' signifies a situation in which officials show no favoritism; '10' signifies that favoritism is firmly established.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Is government advertising distributed equitably among different media										

## Question 9

Does the government pressure advertisers to favor certain media?

Note: '1' signifies a situation in which officials show no favoritism; '10' signifies that favoritism is firmly established.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Does the government pressure advertisers to favor certain media?										

## Question 10

Do officials favor certain media (access, interviews, etc.) because of...

Note: '1' signifies a situation in which officials show no favoritism; '10' signifies that favoritism is firmly established.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
favourable editorial policy?										

## Question 11

Do officials favor certain media (access, interviews, etc.) because of...

Note: '1' signifies a situation in which officials show no favoritism; '10' signifies that favoritism is firmly established.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
financial ties between politicians and media owners?										

## Question 12

Do you have any additional comment over the pressure of change of editorial direction?

## Response and Analysis

The 10 editors were given the survey and replied on an anonymous basis with the following reply

### Question 1

What are the factors apparently preventing the creation of independent, privately-owned media? Note: "1" signifies that the factor plays no part in preventing the creation of a media company; "10" signifies that the factor makes forming a media company impossible.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Political factor (political position, closeness to the opposition)								7	3	

### Question 2

How difficult is it to launch an independent private media company in light of the following constraints? Note: "1" signifies no difficulty; "10" signifies an insurmountable obstacle

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Administrative constraints (tax reporting procedures, professional competence requirements etc.)							6	3	1	

### Question 3

How difficult is it to launch an independent private media company in light of the following constraints? Note: "1" signifies no difficulty; "10" signifies an insurmountable obstacle

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Financial constraints (start-up costs, production costs, bank credit, etc.)								7	1	2

### Question 4

Is the process for granting TV and radio licenses transparent? Note: "1" signifies no difficulty; "10" signifies an insurmountable obstacle

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Is the process for granting TV and radio license transparent?										10

### Question 5

What is the extent of official interference in appointments to these posts? Note: "1" signifies no difficulty; "10" signifies an insurmountable obstacle

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Directors of the TV and radio regulatory agency						6	2	1	1	

### Question 6

How easy is it for authorities to force the firing of a... Note: '1' signifies that authorities are powerless to force a firing; '10' signifies that authorities can force a firing at will.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
private media executive?		1	1	8						

Question 7 Do private media have to adjust their content in exchange for state subsidies?

Note: '1' signifies a situation in which officials show no favoritism; '10' signifies that favoritism is firmly established.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Do private media have to adjust their content in exchange for state subsidies?									9	1

## Question 8

Is government advertising distributed equitably among different media? Note: All state-paid publicity campaigns in the media should be considered together: public education (health, traffic safety, etc.); information (operations of public services, new legislation, etc.); employment (recruitment campaigns); public works (bid invitations).

Note: '1' signifies a situation in which officials show no favoritism; '10' signifies that favoritism is firmly established.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Is government advertising distributed equitably among different media										10

## Question 9

Does the government pressure advertisers to favor certain media?

Note: '1' signifies a situation in which officials show no favoritism; '10' signifies that favoritism is firmly established.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Does the government pressure advertisers to favor certain media?					7			1	1	1

## Question 10

Do officials favor certain media (access, interviews, etc.) because of...

Note: '1' signifies a situation in which officials show no favoritism; '10' signifies that favoritism is firmly established.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
favourable editorial policy?									9	1

## Question 11

Do officials favor certain media (access, interviews, etc.) because of...

Note: '1' signifies a situation in which officials show no favoritism; '10' signifies that favoritism is firmly established.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
financial ties between politicians and media owners?										10

## Question 12

Do you have any additional comment over the pressure of change of editorial direction?

News worker 1	There was no sudden change of editorial direction between June and July 2019, but there has been a gradual change in the past years from the management as news direction has been less conservative to maintain the advertisers who are afraid of getting into the attention of political affairs and forcing to take a side. The newspaper is 100% dependent on advertising revenue and subscription so that getting conservative is understood although there are different position of extreme views amongst editorial staffs, but management prefers to play down the radical views to avoid antagonizing any side and advertisers.
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News worker 7	My company is considered to be the most pro-democratic. Although it has almost not received any advertisement from government and pro-government organizations, the fee-based subscription and commercial remain sufficient to maintain the newspaper operation. The paper is based entirely on reader's support, and any departure from its pro-democratic stand may result in an immediate abandonment from advertisers and readers as well as trust and commitment from news team who shares the same pro-democratic ideology.
News worker 8	Despite the newspaper has been taken over by the mainland China-capital, it has largely maintained the tradition of editorial independence and not to avoid the sensitive political issue. Private newspaper as long as it is dependent on advertisers and readers can not completely the market and interest of readers. There has actually been
News worker 9	My company has been the most used platform for the posting of the government announcement, which accounts for a great portion of revenue. With that on the ground, the editorial management has avoided radical pro-democratic reporting to avoid losing the large source of revenue. It strives to maintain a balance of view with an equal portion of reporting from all sides.
News Worker 10	The management holds a position in Hong Kong and mainland government so that the political stand has been well-known in society and existing and new staff are all aware of position and background on this newspaper positioned as the newspaper for the middle class. No sudden change of political stand on the newspaper at all and editorial staff normally in the company largely shares the same view of management and some just

## Conclusion

The research shows that no sudden editorial direction change for major privately owned-newspaper in Hong Kong because private newspaper are bound by the shareholder's political stand, source of advertising revenue, the traditional base of readership and existing management culture.

There is a great continuation of the existing editorial stand which does not destroy the intrinsic values of the ideology-infused psychological contract of journalists such journalists are well-aware of the political position of the media company they work for prior to joining.

There is no licensing requirement for a newspaper to publish in Hong Kong, but the government has the authority to issue a license for radio and TV channel. As such, journalists interviewed all agree that the government holds a great influence on radio and TV channel and the process for granting TV and radio license was not transparent.

The government does not have any direct influence on the appointment of executives in newspaper and government's influence at the maximum can only bring the influence of placing government notices of its favored press as an indirect way of financial subsidies to control the editorial stand of the certain press which relies on the government source of revenue.

However, a pro-democratic newspaper which relies on advertisers and base of readers can afford to completely ignore the government's influence as it is financially self-sufficient from its existing sources of revenue which however also bounds the newspaper's editorial direction from its readers.

Due to the existing established market position of each newspaper, no sudden editorial change takes place, and there has been no breach of intrinsic values of ideology-infused psychological contract during the period of the announcement of fugitive ordinance.

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# Rural Banditry, Regional Security and Integration in West Africa

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## Abstract

Rural banditry is increasingly becoming one of the worst forms of domestic insurgencies affecting West African sub-region. The prevalence and severity of rural banditry has contributed to the rising increase of regional insecurity with a potential threat on regional integration of West Africa. With reference to Nigeria, this paper examines the nature and dynamics of rural banditry and its overall international security implications as well as describe how it inputs into West African states efforts towards regional security and integration. Using secondary sources of data, the study revealed that rural banditry is a resource-based conflict compounded by elite conspiracy, the primitive quest for wealth and general poverty situation which affected the people of West Africa. It has become a lucrative business accentuated by bad governance, political clientelism, the gradual disappearance of grazing lands and routes, urbanization, climate change, and absence of effective conflict resolution mechanisms. The paper revealed that rural banditry has gradually evolved into a sub-regional conflict with socio-economic and political implications on efforts towards West African security and integration. The study found that some of the implications of rural banditry with consequences on regional integration of West African include radicalization of youth, increase rate of youth unemployment and their subsequent involvement in illicit gun and narcotic drug trade across the sub-region, the emergence of a network of miscreants groups, gradual collapse of agricultural and livestock development with effects on income, trade and commerce, proliferation of small firearms and light weapons, bastardization of traditional institutions and hostile ethnic and tribal relations among ethnic groups, illegal migration and refugee problems across the sub-region as well as proliferation and networking of domestic insurgency groups threatening regional peace and stability of the sub-region. In this regard, the paper recommends a comprehensive review of regional security and integration initiatives, regional security and intelligence cooperation among security agencies of ECOWAS countries, increase surveillance and border security, awareness creation and dialogue among local communities as some of the ways of reducing the scourge of rural banditry across West African sub-region.

**Keywords:** Rural Banditry, Regional Security, Integration

## Introduction

One of the major forms of domestic insurgencies which accompanied the West African development process is the phenomenon of rural banditry. It is one of the worst forms of domestic conflicts affecting peaceful co-existence of West Africa and thus become a threat to sub-regional integration, peace, and security in the region. Rural banditry began as a resource-based conflict, and over time evolved into a regional conflict manifesting itself in the form of farmers/herders conflict, village raids, rape, and kidnapping. Empirical evidence revealed that millions of lives and properties were displaced and lost due to the prevalence of rural banditry in West Africa. Scholars and



students of African politics alike argued that rural banditry is more upon than not a form of identity conflict which affects social relations among ethnic and tribal groups in West Africa. This is evident in the way rural banditry created fear, suspicion, hatred as well as lack of trust among tribal and religious groups with consequences on peaceful co-existence and stability of the sub-region. The ethnic and/or identity dimension of rural banditry indicated that it is not only a security threat but also an impediment to national and regional integration in West Africa. Perhaps this explains why Olaniyan and Yahaya (2016) argued that cattle rustling as a form of rural banditry has significantly contributed to integration challenges faced by some countries in Africa. It compounded the problem of identity conflicts and sowed the seed of hatred among people who hitherto lived as brothers keepers and in an atmosphere of peace and harmony. Regrettably, scanty attention is given by West African states and governments towards providing policy solutions to the problem of rural banditry in the region. Poor handling of rural banditry provide a fertile ground for rural bandits to establish and operates in deserts and forest as routes and training camps for membership recruitment. They carved out forest and desert as their territories with the objective to overthrow the prevailing political system in countries like Benin, Chad, Niger, and Nigeria.

It is against this backdrop that this paper interrogates the rising increase of rural banditry in Nigeria and its implications on regional security and integration of West Africa. It is an undeniable fact that Nigeria is a strategic and an important country in West Africa. Thus, the escalation of rural banditry in the country could affect the development of West Africa. To achieve the objectives of this paper, the study is divided into five sections. Section one is this introduction, followed by a discourse on the nature and pattern of rural banditry in selected countries of West Africa. The third section is a historical overview of ECOWAS regional integration initiatives and their effectiveness in surmounting the challenges of regional security and integration, the fourth section investigates rural banditry in the Northwest, and its implications on regional security and integration of West Africa and the last section concludes the paper.

### **Nature, Pattern, and Causes of Rural Banditry in Selected West African Countries**

It is significant to note at the onset that any meaningful discussion about rural banditry and its implications on regional integration and security would not be complete without interrogating the concept. Conceptually, banditry is a derivative of the term bandit meaning an unlawful armed group terrorizing people and confiscating their properties. It is synonymous with the establishment of gang groups who used small and light weapons to carry out attacks against people. In this regard, banditry could mean a set up criminal activities deliberately designed and carried out for personal gains. Due to the complex nature of rural bandits' activities, Egwu (2016) narrowly described rural banditry as a practice of stealing cattle and animals from herders or raiding of cattle from their ranches. However, where the term banditry is connected to rural, it implies a group of rural outlawed involved in illicit activities such as raiding of villages, kidnappings and cattle rustling for primitive accumulation of wealth. Thus, rural bandits are gang groups terrorizing local people or travelers of their valuable items or properties such as merchandize, money, cattle, camel, sheep, etc. They operate within and along rural borders with the assistance of their local collaborators including in some cases, state agents deployed to work for the safety and security of the people.

From the historical point of view, rural banditry is not something novel to West Africa. Its origin and development are as old as the sub-region itself dating back to inter-tribal periods characterized by conflicts and wars over scarce economic resources and territorial expansion for political influence. Most parts of Africa experienced these forms of conflicts during the slave trading, colonial, and post-colonial periods. Even though there have been remarkable changes on the nature and pattern of rural banditry and other forms of conflicts in West Africa, yet socio-economic and political reasons remain significant in explaining the prevalence of the phenomenon in the sub-region. Perhaps, this explains why the struggle for political independence and the subsequent establishment of the post-colonial state in West Africa were considered as some of the major events which shaped the pattern of rural banditry in the sub-region. It also suggests that socio-economic and political realities could be used to explain the intensity, prevalence, and the dynamics of rural banditry as evident in different parts of West Africa. For instance, in Tillaberi and Tahoua region of Niger republic, rural banditry such as cattle and sheep rustling as well as the killing of

innocent citizens in border communities has a strong connection with the general poverty situation of the people arising from poor governance of the country. In Mali, the evolution and development of rural banditry have been related to religious extremism by sectarian religious groups but further aggravated by weak state institutions as it relates to service delivery. According to UNOWAS report (2018), weak state institutions, insurgency, and lawlessness have pushed more pastoralist into religious extremism, leading to rising in bandit activities in northern Mali. The frequency of rural bandits activities have created tensions between farmers and herders as well as exacerbate the proliferation of armed groups in different regions of Mali. However, in Mauritania, trans-border banditry by the local groups as well as challenges relating to resource management and distribution of pastoralist lands explains the nature and pattern of rural banditry in the country. Unlike Mali and Niger, competition over resources, particularly water resources, pasture, and animal feeds led to a rapid increase of rural banditry in Mauritania (UNOWAS, 2018). Similarly, livestock theft is becoming a trans-border criminal activity affecting movement and relations along Burkina Faso and Ghanaian border. Local bandit groups mostly Burkinabe connived with traditional elites to rustle livestock and share the proceeds of their criminality. The foregoing suggests that rural banditry has affected livestock development, revenue generation, and separate many families with their only source of income and/or living across West Africa.

### **An overview of ECOWAS Regional Integration Initiatives**

Regional integration is not a novel idea in African governance and development discourse. It has been a major strategy adopted by African countries since independence for their socio-economic and political development. The rationale for regional integration initiatives in Africa was influenced by several factors. From the historical point of view, the desire for collective action against colonial rule in Africa was largely responsible for the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Moreover, the same platform of OAU was utilized by more powerful countries such as Nigeria to support the struggle against colonialism in Mozambique, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, among others. Impliedly the idea of unity and continental integration towards colonial rule was perhaps the most important factor which contributed to the formation and continued the existence of the OAU up to the end of the 1990s.

In view of the desire to push for regional development of Africa, the OAU before its demise has served as a continental platform upon which African countries engaged the global community on their political development particularly on how to end colonial rule and establish an indigenous political leadership capable of transforming the continent. In fact, the over-reliance of African countries on the OAU explains why Diallo (2016) maintained that integration in Africa is an idea which arises as a form of resistance and struggles against external aggression that the continent and its people have suffered throughout history. In addition, the transformation of the OAU into African Union (.AU) further shows the indispensability of regional integration, particularly for African countries which are in dire need for a practical solution to their development predicament. More importantly, the increasing influence of globalization is making it compelling for African states to look for better ways of establishing collaborations which could create more opportunities for their population while also expanding harmonious relations with each other.

The second explanation for regional integration relates to the character of post-independent African leadership. Most African countries experienced military intervention and authoritarian leadership after independence. This type of leadership involved itself in human right abuses, intimidation of perceived political opponents, killings, and culture of impunity in order to sustain itself in power. This style of leadership eventually led to identity conflicts and/or civil wars with devastating consequences on unity and stability of the continent. For example, the civil war in Nigeria from 1967 to 1970, the apartheid regime in South Africa, the Liberian civil war, etc. were some of the product of bad leadership in Africa. In this regard, regional and sub-regional initiatives were developed to among things improve the quality of leadership and by extension, enhance the quality of governance in Africa. Innovation such as the formation of sub-regional initiatives such as the South African Customs Union in 1910, East African Community in 1919 and the Economic Community of West African States (EOWAS) in 1975. This was further complemented by the creation of governance instrument like New Partnership for African

Development (NEPAD) and African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) to deal with the problem of bad leadership in the continent.

Specifically, the formation of ECOWAS is to promote trade and enhance integration among member nations. According to UNECA (2015) report, the objectives of ECOWAS were to promote cooperation and integration in the economic, social, and cultural domain for the overall development of the sub-region. The concern of ECOWAS at its formative years is purely economic integration, and thus not much pay attention is given to issues relating to conflicts, security, and governance. According to UNECA report (2015), issues relating to regional peace and security were only incorporated into the ECOWAS protocol in the 1990s due to the growing forms of conflict across the sub-region. This initiative translates into the formation of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). The ECOMOG since inception intervened in countries like Liberia in 1990, Sierra Leone in 1997 and in Guinea-Bissau in 1999. To strengthened peace and security and consolidate the achievements of ECOMOG, ECOWAS adopted in December 1999 a mechanism for conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping, and security with a view to resolving issues relating to peacemaking and keeping, humanitarian support and curtail trans-border crimes. While ECOWAS was critical of issues which concerns peace and security, it is equally mindful of the growing acceptance and influence of democratization, hence, the adoption of a supplementary protocol on democracy and good governance in 2001 (UNECA, 2015). ECOWAS argued that the achievement installation of a democratic system of rule is instrumental to the promotion and sustenance of peace and stability in the sub-region. In this regard, ECOWAS has at a different point in time constituted high powered delegations to observe and monitor elections and consequently negotiated the promotion of democracy, peace, and stability in Mali, Ghana, and Cote d Ivoire as well as recently in the Gambia. It established a sub-regional election body known as ECOWAS Network of Electoral Commission (ECONET). The task of ECONET is to regulate, assess, and identify ways of raising the quality of election in West Africa. ECOWAS through the ECONET is currently working towards the establishment of central election logistics data bank in Senegal. The foregoing efforts of ECOWAS suggest that there is a strong link between democratic governance, integration as well as the promotion of peace and stability in the sub-region.

The dynamics of international economic and political systems are gradually influencing the focus and direction of ECOWAS. The dynamics compelled ECOWAS to pursue governance reforms, economic liberalization, and structural adjustment programmes with a view to protecting West African countries from the negative implications of globalization and technological development. In this regard, ECOWAS has introduced different initiatives such as the single currency initiative, ECOWAS Parliament, ECOWAS transportation, trade, and commerce initiatives and free movement through the adoption of ECOWAS passport. These initiatives were desirous of promoting integration and protecting ECOWAS members from security and technological challenges associated with globalization. Even though some member nations have reservations on some of these initiatives due to their socio-economic and political realities, many of these initiatives have already been implemented while many others are due for implementation in no distance time. As these initiatives forced ECOWAS countries to open up through globalization, challenges of global and domestic insurgencies and conflicts are accompanying this development and thus become a threat to regional peace and security, particularly in Africa. The accompanying conflicts and their severity made regional cooperation as the alternative for sustainable peace and stability in the sub-region and Africa at large. Gupta (2015) argued that the rising increase of insecurity and conflicts across the sub-region influenced the emergence of reforms in the structure and focus of regional institutions to include safety and security of lives and properties of the people.

The foregoing suggests that regional integration in Africa and West Africa, in particular, is a deliberate response adopted by the political leadership to the problems and challenges facing the continent. However, the overall assessment of the African integration efforts could be said to be below the expectation of the people of the continent partly due to the over-ambitious nature of the programmes of integration, poor leadership, inadequate funding and lack of cooperation from among the countries of Africa.

### **Rural Banditry in the Northwest: Implications on Security and Integration of West Africa**

The Northwest is one of the largest geopolitical zones in Nigeria in terms of landmass and population. The zone covered 192, 689 km equivalent to 83, 415 sq mi of land with a combined population of about 40 million of Nigeria's 200 million people (NPC and ICF, 2014, NBS, 2017). Hausa and *Fulani* ethnic groups are the predominant groups in the Northwest with minority groups across the geo-political zone. The zone comprises up to seven states of Sokoto, Zamfara, Kebbi, Katsina, Kaduna, Kano, and Jigawa. A significant part of Northwest is dry land, but the land is fertile and agrarian for farming and livestock development. In spite of the potentials of the Northwest, the zone has since the return of democracy experienced devastating rural banditry which claims thousands of lives and properties. It began as localized disputes between headers and farmers over access to land and water resources. However, poor handling of the rural banditry has significantly contributed to its transformation into a deadly conflict posing a major threat to national and regional security and integration. The pattern and intensity of rural banditry in the Northwest are connected to socio-economic, environmental, and political forces which shape the development of the geo-political zone. The first is what could be described as environmental forces caused partly by climatic conditions and changes that the sub-region is faced with. The Northwest has, at different point been affected by drought, food insecurity, flooding and shrinking of rivers due to changes in climatic condition. This changes influenced herders and farmers' movement from one area to another in most cases beyond the zone in search of water resources and grazing land. Where this movement coincides with the harvesting period, it becomes a source of conflicts between farmers and herders with devastating effects on agricultural and livestock development of the Northwest. Farmers and herders who lost their farmlands and products or herders who lost their cattle resort to rural banditry as a means of survival. Added to the growing tension over resources between farmers and herders is a rivalry between self-help groups mostly the Hausas who are deployed by local communities to curtail the insurgency on the one hand and the herders predominantly the *Fulanis* and who are accused of rural banditry across Nigeria. The rivalry, particularly in Zamfara and Katsina states, was a product of long-time incessant and indiscriminate handling of grievances between the two ethnic groups by the local traditional rulers. Each of group accused leadership of one another of maltreatment and outright indiscriminate on matters involving land and cattle ownership. This was further aggravated by hate speeches, name-calling, and the failure of the state to handle the problems effectively. Thus, as the rivalry intensified both groups resort to sexual assault of women and female children and burn local food reserves in villages. The rivalry increase tribal tension raised credibility questions of traditional institutions, and eventually led to the loss of lives and properties from the two groups. According to Egbejule (2018) farmers and herders conflicts arising from loss of farms and/or cattle as well as inter-tribal rivalry turned to bandits and resort to indiscriminate kidnapping, murder and abducting women as well as forcing them into sex slavery.

Closely connected to the foregoing is the gradual disappearance of grazing land and routes caused by the indiscriminate allocation of lands and poor implementation of urban and regional development plan across the Northwest. In the past, colonial and post-colonial governments across Nigeria have made deliberate institutional and livestock development policies for acquisition and maintenance of grazing lands and routes. Regrettably, the discovery of oil and the subsequent neglect of the agricultural sector contributed to the gradual confiscation and handing over of grazing lands and cattle routes for urban and land development programmes. State governors who are constitutionally responsible for land allocation and development blatantly abused and misused such powers for political benefits. Some state governors moved around with land titles and certificates as a political tool to generate support from elites and the electorates. Political patronage, tribute and prebendalism guide the allocation of lands and development in most part of the Northwest. Empirical evidence shows that some of these lands located in places such as Birnin-Gwari Kaduna, Tureta in Sokoto and Birnin-Magaji in Zamfara state were used for the construction of farm houses and filling stations. While some of these urban development programmes are desirous, many others were of no relevance to rural development as it only intensified agricultural capitalism for easy access to agricultural facilities and loans from financial institutions. The dynamics associated with the disappearance of grazing lands and routes altered agrarian relations and further complicate social relations among occupational groups across Nigeria. This forced *Fulani* herders, farmers and other occupational groups to employ banditry

tactics to compete for scarce land and water resources which sometimes degenerate into rural banditry and other forms of domestic insurgencies in Nigeria (Egwu, 2016).

The third factor which sustains rural banditry is elite conspiracy influenced by the quest for primitive accumulation of power and wealth. For instance, political elites across political parties who lost the election and are dissatisfied with the state leadership support and conspired bandit groups to discredit political leadership and erode its legitimacy in the eyes of the electorates. Apart from political elites, traditional rulers were also involved in aiding and abating rural banditry in the Northwest. Empirical evidence shows that some traditional rulers provide safety to bandits groups to carry out their illicit operations. They were accused of blatantly refusing to take action against rural bandits' activities in their communities. It is no longer something new that rural bandits enjoyed unprecedented immunity from traditional rulers and were seen around local markets working freely with dangerous weapons. They attacked innocent people, impose toll collection and demand ransom from traders and buyers on local markets days in Shinkafi, Birnin Magaji and other local communities in Zamfara state. In some cases, traditional rulers appoint their agents to negotiate terms and conditions of collaboration with the bandits on their behalf. In this regard, cases of banditry brought before the traditional rulers were either discharge without any serious interrogation or backfire on the communities.

Public officials in state security institutions are also becoming part of the conspiracy through out right misappropriation of funds meant for the welfare of security personnel and supply of arms to fight banditry in the Northwest. This is evident in the series of allegation cases of misappropriation and out-right embezzlement of funds meant for military and police operations across Nigeria. This was further compounded by the failure of the Nigerian police and military leadership to monitor their operations in areas devastated by rural banditry closely. Most senior military officers in charge of field operations hardly go to the field to have an on the spot idea on welfare, operational and technical challenges affecting their personnel, instead, they were mostly lodged in hotels and government guest houses at the instance of the state. This idea of using hotels and guest houses as control centers of the army affects command, control, and operations of the war against banditry in the Northwest. It also denied the military hierarchy opportunity to have transparent and credible intelligence that would improve military operations in the affected areas. Closely connected to the foregoing is a poor inter-agency collaboration between the major segments of the army on one hand and other security agencies such as the Nigerian Police and Department of State Services (DSS) on the other. There were reported cases of lack of information sharing and poor coordination between the land army and air force in most areas affected by rural banditry in Nigeria. This poor handling of the conflict coupled with the terrible working condition under which officers and men prosecute the war has raised capacity and credibility questions on the sincerity of political leadership in dealing with the conflict. Added to elite conspiracy was the involvement of families and relations of victims of banditry in providing information to bandits in exchange for monetary incentives. Many families were confirmed to serve as an errand to bandits groups by providing them with information on the location, time, and where about of their victims. This indicates the degeneration of moral, cultural, and ethical values of brotherhood and communitarian tradition of African societies. It has created suspicions among families with negative consequences on state-society relation in the continent.

Apart from the elite conspiracy, state and non-state institutions have also contributed to the rise of rural banditry in the Northwest. One of such institution is the Nigeria media which have become polarized and biased in their reporting and coverage of rural banditry in the sub-region. The conflict is under-reported, and little attention is given to it in popular public discourse. In addition, hate speeches, name calling, and the use of offensive language, particularly in the social media by politicians and private media owners further complicate public order and the problem of rural banditry. Indeed the Nigeria media have become part of the conspiracy which escalate farmers-herders conflicts and other forms of domestic insurgency in the country. It is in this regard, Ibrahim (2016) argued that the narratives of rural banditry by the media and in popular discourse are becoming part of the drivers for expanding conflicts in Nigeria. The biased nature of the Nigerian media reports on rural banditry could be seen as a grand design meant to create public disorder instead of serving as a medium of providing a solution to the problem of banditry in the country.

Poor service delivery and poverty situation of the people in the Northwest arising from bad governance was identified as a major factor for the development of bandit groups across the region. The Northwest geo-political zone, as explained at the beginning of this section, is vast in terms of land size and population compared to other geo-political zones in Nigeria. While Nigeria accounts for about 2/3 of the 320 million people in the ECOWAS region, the Northwest constitute about 1/5 of Nigeria's population. In spite of its population endowment, the Northwest zone was reported to be the most poorest with serious infrastructural and social service deficit compared to other parts of Nigeria. According to the United Nations, 2015 statistics on multi-dimensional poverty index 80.9% of people in the Northwest Nigeria lives in absolute poverty which is higher than those of the southern region and national average (UN, 2015). In this regard, many families lived without access to quality education, health care, and basic security. Empirical evidence revealed that a large proportion of the youth in the zone have no access to quality education and are without any meaningful employment. Some of these desperate youth transformed themselves into rural bandits groups and were used by some elites as a political tool for the actualization of their personal interest. They were created into foot soldiers by some desperate politicians to control and maintain political power. This dastardly act further compounded the problem of rural banditry and create political tension across local communities in the zone and the country at large.

The foregoing suggests that rural banditry can be classified into two ways. First, there is rural banditry based on need, and second, there is also banditry based on greed. Rural banditry on need is perpetuated by those that lost their means of livelihood such as peasant farmers and Fulani herders due to either natural or manmade factors. The second is perpetuated by elites for primitive accumulation of power and /or wealth. Regrettably, Nigeria's political leadership paid more attention to the first form of banditry neglecting the second, which is more severe than the first. Perhaps, the inability of the state to recognize banditry by greed is increasingly transforming rural banditry into a major form of the domestic conflict ravaging the Northwest. It is gradually evolving into trans-border crimes with the increasing involvement of non-Nigerians in the conflict. This is evident in the way rural bandit activities are rising long border communities in countries like Niger, Chad, and Mali, etc. The bandits' groups formed alliances and networks and infiltrate the sub-region, particularly border communities. The increasing nature of banditry along with border communities and its transformation into trans-border conflict could be related to the porosity of borders, common language, and religion among border communities as well as weak or absence of state security institutions. This changing nature of rural banditry has added to the prevalence of identity conflicts, armed politics and accelerate religious fundamentalism as well as ethnic hatred across West Africa. It has made regional security and integration elusive and fragile with effect on the development of the West African region and Africa at large.

The prevalence and transformation of rural banditry into a sub-regional conflict have implications on regional security and integration. It is no doubt that regional security and integration were among the major challenges affecting the stability and development of West African sub-region. The sub-region has for the last four to five decades experienced proliferations of rural banditry. The protracted nature of these conflicts has intensified village raids, illegal toll collection, rapes, kidnappings, and cattle rustling. Specifically, cattle rustling has escalated and continued to remain a source of rural banditry in West Africa. Scholarly studies revealed that there are over 62 million cattle, 227 million sheep, and goats, and 4.6 million camels in West Africa (UNOWAS, 2018). This shows that the pastoralist sector is central to the development of the sub-region. The sector has contributed to raising the standard of living of the individual pastoralist and the communities where they lived in terms of income and supply of beef and milk requirements. Regrettably, millions of cattle have been rustled from Nigeria, Mali, Niger, and Mauritania, among others. Due to the violent nature of rural banditry in West Africa, farmlands and grazing routes have been deserted, and farmers and pastoralists were denied the opportunity to utilize their farmlands and livestock respectively as their source of livelihood. This has significantly affected agricultural and livestock development across the sub-region. One of the implications of rural banditry is the gradual decline of beef and milk production, which denied farmers and herders the needed income to improve their condition of living. The lost of the source of income contributed to worsening poverty situation of famers and herders as well as their subsequent involvement in banditry activities, including the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the sub-region. Some of the affected pastoralist and farmers' plea to other potential conflicts prone areas and joined

forces with other domestic insurgency groups such as *Boko Haram*. The gradual decline of milk and beef production also gave rise to food insecurity, which further inflicts hunger and wants among the population of the West African region. In addition to its negative effect on revenue generation drive of West African states. All these worsened poverty situations increases refugees and migration problems in West Africa and affect ECOWAS effort towards economic and political integration of the region. Given the proximity of West African countries, it is significant to note that regional security and integration could not be achieved without proper utilization of agricultural endowments that the sub-region is blessed with. Indeed economic and political integration within the context of agricultural development is the foundation for sustainable peace and security in the sub-region.

The blame game, hate speeches, and name-calling syndrome accompanying rural banditry is gradually transforming the conflict into ethnic and religious conflicts with adverse effects on peaceful co-existence among tribal groups that lived together for centuries. For instance, rural banditry like cattle rustling in ethnically highly diverse and volatile areas such as Plateau, Benue and Taraba states in Nigeria have compounded ethnic and religious tensions between the *Fulani* Muslims who are considered as settlers and Hausas, Birom, Tivs and Jukuns who are often described as the indigenous tribes in the affected states. The International Crisis Group (2017) reported that the *Fulani* herders who are predominately Muslims and pastoralist from the north were described as an Islamization force and as such any confrontation with other ethnic group by the *Fulanis* is perceived as an agenda for extending the frontiers of the *Fulani* caliphate. Similarly, political leadership from different extraction, including *Fulanis* were not also left out in the blame game as they were alleged to have aided and abated the perceived atrocities of their ethnic groups in the affected states. The coloration of rural banditry as ethnic agenda has an implication on state-society relations in the sub-region as *Fulanis* from other West African countries like Benin, Niger, Burkina Faso, and Chad were often described as criminals and were denied rights and privileges in other ECOWAS countries as contained in ECOWAS protocol. In this regard, the ECOWAS efforts of regional integration and the establishment of hybrid socio-economic and political institutions such as the ECOWAS Parliament, ECOWAS Central Bank, ECOWAS Court and ECO currency, etc. may be difficult to realize in an environment characterized by heightened mutual distrust, suspicion and fragile relations among the ethnic and religious group. Regardless of ethnic coloration of rural banditry, the fact of the matter is that rural banditry has nothing to do with religion or ethnicity as evidence revealed that different groups *Fulanis* and non-*Fulanis* have lived together and carried out their economic activities for several centuries. Beside both groups have embraced and immensely benefitted from farming and transhumance pastoralism across West Africa. Some *Fulani* pastoralists became sedentary through crop cultivation, in addition to grazing. On the other hand, wealthy farmers and industrialists invest in cattle husbandry and in some cases, entrust their cattle to herders (Manu et al., 2014). The participation of different ethnic groups in both farming and cattle husbandry has contributed about 5 to 10 percent of the G.D.P of countries such as Nigeria, Niger, and Chad, among others. It is obvious that the branding of rural banditry as ethnic and/or religious conflict is not only a fallacy but could also be regarded as a diversionary strategy to destabilize countries with diversity in West Africa. It is significant to add that the root causes of rural banditry and general insecurity in some parts of West Africa relate to the question of social injustice and exclusion, the primitive quest for power, lack of respect for the rule of law and weak democratic institutions. Regardless of the perspective, one takes in explaining the phenomenon, and rural banditry has affected social relations among people with diversities in different parts of West Africa.

The growing intensity of rural banditry in Nigeria has affected the country's efforts and ability to contribute meaningfully to the stability and integration of West Africa. This could be seen in the way Nigeria has turned into a transit route as well as the destination for the supply and proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Arms proliferation has contributed significantly to the radicalization of youths and the creation of gun runners' syndicate who moved in and across the West, Central, and East Africa to cause conflicts and instability. These syndicate groups create supply chain and sales routes from Nigeria, Niger, Mali, and Libya, thereby increasing access to guns and other weapons to bandits and religious extremist groups. An ECOWAS expert reported that Mali had become an established transit route for weapons heading from West Africa's increasingly peaceful coastal states to active conflicts west and central Africa (IRIN, 2018). Affirming the foregoing argument, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (1999) maintained that armed groups from Niger and Chad

were crossing into Nigeria supplying and assisting domestic insurgents groups such as *Boko Haram* in the Northeast and rural bandits in the Northwest to attack public interest and killed innocent citizens. This has contributed to the rising increase of banditry in border communities with implications on border stability and control as well as diplomatic relations among countries of West Africa. In fact, border banditry has created a tense and fragile security situation along with border communities of Nigeria, Niger, Chad, and Benin. It also distorted informal trading relations which have been in existence for decades and has been contributing to economic growth and development of West Africa and Central Africa. It is significant to note that informal cross-border trade around 70 percent of the G.D.P of countries like Benin and Niger Republics (Blum, 2014).

The involvement of traditional rulers in cattle rustling and other forms of banditry has changed the narratives about the conflicts and its implications on the legitimacy of traditional institutions in West Africa. It is argued that prior to the colonial conquest of Africa, traditional institutions were recognized as the most important institutions of conflict mediation and resolution as well as the general administration of Africa. They have been regarded as the custodian of African traditions and value system. Due to their strategic significance, the traditional institutions have also been used by the political leadership in resolving communal and other forms of conflict across the sub-region. In fact, people across the continent respect traditional institutions more than any other and thus described the institutions as a symbol of hope and unity, particularly in times of emergencies. Unfortunately, the credibility of traditional institutions and the societal values of respect, dignity, integrity, and mutual co-existence which, have been aiding and contributing to the stability and security of the region are gradually declining. This is so because of the perceived involvement of traditional rulers in providing safety to rural bandits, especially in some states in the Northwest zone of Nigeria. This gradual decline of traditional values and institutions has implications state reconstruction and nation-building particularly in conflict-prone areas of West Africa, and it also has an implication on political culture and socialization of the emerging political leadership of sub-region.

Infrastructural development, trade, and foreign direct investment have also been adversely affected by the rising increase of attacks and kidnapping of foreign nationals by rural bandits in different parts of Nigeria including the oil-rich Niger Delta region. Egbejule (2018) revealed that one expatriate engineer working on a project in Zamfara state was kidnapped and kept for 12 days until a ransom of ₦30 million equivalent to \$83,100 was paid by his employer. Similarly, two foreign expatriates, together with their police escort, were kidnapped and killed on their way to their project sight in Sokoto state. Some of the affected road construction companies such as K & E and CGC were forced to abandoned projects and relocate to other African countries which are relatively peaceful and attractive for investment. Similar cases of banditry have also been experienced by expatriates and native Africans working in oil and gas as well as telecommunication companies across Nigeria. The rising trend of banditry has to become a lucrative business amid the rising increase of poverty and hunger across West Africa. It is significant to note that one of the major initiatives of ECOWAS is the massive construction of roads linking different countries of ECOWAS. The increasing rate of kidnapping and killings of foreigners has affected infrastructural development, which has been one of the major priority areas for economic integration initiated by ECOWAS. Impliedly infrastructural development across the sub-region is meant to facilitate trade and guarantee the free movement of people, goods, and services into ECOWAS countries without hindrance. Where infrastructural development opportunities are not available, resulting from the problem of insecurity, the menace of banditry will be on the rise with implications on security and integration of West Africa.

## Conclusion

This paper examines the nature, pattern, and implications of rural banditry on security and integration of West Africa. The study identified salient factors surrounding the rise and intensification of rural banditry in West Africa with a focus on Northwest geo-political zone of Nigeria. The paper concludes that rural banditry is a product of resource conflicts over land and water resources. While some of the drivers of rural banditry and in particular cattle theft are attributable to poor governance and bad leadership, elite conspiracy and the primitive quest for wealth and power further compounded rural banditry in Nigeria. Given the strategic significance of Nigeria to West African effort towards regional integration and security, the unabated rise of rural banditry in the country if



left unchecked would affect regional integration and stability of West Africa. In this regard, there is the need for a joint effort by political leadership under the ECOWAS to come up with a comprehensive regional policy that would provide grazing lands and routes as well as cattle ranches in order to curtail encroachment into farmlands which serves as a major driver for intensification of rural banditry. Political leadership must aggressively pursue, institute, and enforce severe sanctions on public officials involved in the mismanagement of funds and other resources meant to fight rural banditry. Traditional rulers directly involved should be dethroned and be made to face the wrath of the law. In addition, efforts need to be intensified to mobilize financial and human resources to fund disarmament, and de-radicalization programmes to curtail the problems of arms proliferation across the sub-region. Adequate supply and installation of modern technology as well as increase surveillance of border security are urgently needed to check trans-border crimes as one of the igniting factors for cattle rustling and other forms of domestic insurgencies in West Africa. While joint and effective coordination of security agencies by a regional military initiative is needed to guide surveillance and intelligence gathering, awareness creation and integration of traditional institutions and youth groups into the security architecture are required so as to strengthen security networks, particularly in rural West Africa. This would no doubt help to reduce or eliminate rural banditry and by extension, influence regional integration and security in West African sub-region.

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# China's Role in Afghan Peace Process

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## Abstract

To end the long war in Afghanistan, the International Community has been making efforts to resolve the Afghan crisis peacefully by negotiation with the Taliban. China, being the neighbor of Afghanistan and emerging power, has a very important role to play. China also has the logic to engage with Afghanistan: Security of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous region that is adjacent to Afghanistan border, economic interests including newly initiated Belt and Road initiative (BRI) and stop rival countries to get influence around the periphery of China. With the significant economic, political, and security contributions to Afghan governments, China is in the position to steer the Afghan governments to peace initiative. With implied support from China, the Taliban also have a positive attitude of China. Pakistan is also very supportive in molding the Taliban into a China-led peace initiative. With sagacious policies not to irk the interests of big powers, China is heading towards the positive direction in the resolution of the Afghan crisis amidst international support. China's way of handling all concerned parties is admiring. Till yet, the Afghan problem is unsolved, but China has been doing its best to end the long bloodshed in Afghanistan.

**Keywords:** China, Afghan Peace Process, South Asia

## 1. Introduction

Since its inception in 1949, People Republic of China (PRC) has been maintaining cordial relations with Afghanistan except for the interval of 10 years when USSR installed communist government (1979-1989) which China did not render recognition due to its pro-soviet stance amidst the burgeoning tension of cold war. After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989 and the emergence of mujahedeen alliance, 'the Islamic State of Afghanistan' in 1992 led to the normalization of Sino-Afghanistan relations (Rashid 1999). From 1996 to 2001, China's relations with Afghanistan remained officially inactive because of the Taliban regime. After the 11 September 2001, the US-led coalition attacked Afghanistan and toppled the Taliban government.

China established relations with the new Afghan government with economic, political, security, and diplomatic support. China is one of the biggest foreign investors in Afghanistan. In 2007, Metallurgical Corporation of China (MCC), Jiangxi Copper Corporation (JCCL), two state-owned enterprises of China, made the largest investment in the history of Afghanistan to date \$ 4.4 billion when they won the world second largest underdeveloped copper deposit at Aynak in Logar province, 35 Kilometers of Southeast Kabul (Downs 2012). In 2011, China National

Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) and its Afghan counterpart Watan Oil and Gas secured the rights of three oil blocks in the province of Sari-i-Pul and Faryab in northwest Afghanistan with the investment of \$ 400 million initially (Najafizada 2011). China's economic interests, after the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013, increased manifold due to the position of Afghanistan around the periphery of Major routes of BRI. China included Afghanistan in May 2017 in China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). China intended to link Peshawar to Kabul and Kunduz deep into central Asia (Dasgupta 2017). Afghanistan is also a very crucial factor in the security of far western china's Xinjiang province. East Turkestan movement, a separatist militant Uyghur organization in Xinjiang, has strong links with Afghanistan Jihadist organizations. On 3 July 2016, the first time in the domain of security cooperation, the Chinese government gave Afghanistan security equipment, including a Russian cargo plane, ammunition, vehicles, and weapons (Kishore 2016).

Anticipated withdrawal of US and NATO forces from Afghanistan, this situation requires a concerted and comprehensive strategy by the big and concerned powers to manage the situation effectively. China is playing this role. China's active engagement with the Afghan peace process started in 2014 when China endorsed the talks between Taliban and Government (Yongbiao 2018). With the increasing engagement in Afghan affairs particularly 'Peace Process,' China confronts many problems: big power politics, management of Taliban and Afghan government negotiations and maintenance of China's image as a benign rising power. It is a genuine Challenge to Chinese diplomacy how china promotes peace by securing her interests as in a way that all parties interests are secured that is the prerequisite for sustained peace and development. This study will explore how the government of China is managing this delicate balance among all concerned parties. This study will also investigate the practices of China in this regard and consequently, their effects on the Peace process.

## **2. What Is the 'Afghan Peace Process' and Why China in It**

Afghanistan is a very important country situated at the junction of South, central, east, and West Asia. American-led military coalition attacked Afghanistan after the twin attack on the World Trade Center. Initially, the Peace talks were a very controversial issue with the Taliban. The International Community and the Afghan government were reluctant to accept it (Fazli 2017). However, as the war prolongs, due to burgeoning military resistance, the US initiated the Peace Process to solve the Afghan crisis with negotiations. America also invited the International community to help steer the Afghan Peace Process in a positive direction. In 2009, President Obama announced the Afghan-Pak policy and urged Afghanistan's neighbors (including China) to work for the stability of Afghanistan (Obama 2009). This was the first time when the USA urged China to take interests in Afghan affairs. China also persuaded Pakistan to help implement the Afghanistan Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and solidarity of Afghanistan (Shams 2018).

China's engagement with the 'Peace process' started in 2014 when it endorsed the talk between Taliban and Government (Yongbiao 2018). In Oct 2014, China hosted a fourth Ministerial conference "Istanbul Process" on Afghanistan. China adopted the multilateral approach by inviting all concerned countries of the region to discuss the Afghanistan issue. In Feb 2015, Wang Yi, Chinese Foreign minister, in a press conference in Islamabad, said that "we will support the Afghan government in realizing reconciliation with various political factions including the Taliban." (RT-News 2015). In 2015, China arranged three or fourth times tripartite and quadripartite meetings with Russia, Pakistan, and India to discuss the Afghan problems (Azeemi 2019). In Murree process, Taliban and Afghan government representatives met and discussed the ceasefire between Taliban and Afghan forces. This meeting was convened under the supervision of US, China, and Pakistan. Taliban guaranteed further cooperation if China and Pakistan provide a guarantee to it (Khan 2015). China also supports Russia in her efforts for 'the Afghan Peace process' and was the active participant in 'Moscow Format.' In Oct 2017, the 1<sup>st</sup> China-Afghanistan-Pakistan Foreign Minister's dialogue held in Beijing to discuss the Afghanistan problem. On Dec 2018, the second Afghanistan-China-Pakistan Foreign Minister dialogue held in Kabul to discuss the Afghanistan issue. At the end conference, Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi urged the Taliban to participate in the 'Peace Process' (Saif 2018). In April 2019, the representatives of China, Russia, and the US met and decided to withdraw the foreign forces

from Afghanistan and urged in return, Taliban will not allow any foreign terrorist organization to operate on its soil and attack on neighboring countries (RFE/RL 2019).

After observing a visible diplomatic shift in Chinese foreign policy to Afghanistan that was less active before, there are certain questions that need to be answered before proceeding further. The first question that comes to mind is that what incentives or necessities forced Chinese policymakers to reactivate policy towards Afghanistan?

A number of books, articles, and reports link China with Afghanistan through the prism of Chinese security problems i.e., Xinjiang autonomous region. Domestic stability is one of the most important factors in Chinese engagement with Afghanistan. East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) can use Sino-Afghan border to launch a terror attack on Xinjiang or elsewhere (Akhtar and Sarkar 2015). There is a visible shift in Chinese foreign policy after the 9/11, China's approach towards Afghanistan and Central Asia has been shaped by two factors: security in Xinjiang and geopolitical advantages in Central Asia (Clarke 2016). Hugo Chéné has of the view that China's involvement in Afghanistan is not only economic but also a strategic one. China involved itself with the Afghan peace process on the request of Afghan President Ashraf Ghani and China strictly maintains the non-interventionist policies in the relations with Afghanistan. Moreover, China believes that Afghanistan should be integrated with the regional framework in order to create a stable environment for BRI (Chéné 2015). Thomas Eder explains that Chinese involvement in Afghanistan is due to its economic interests. Moreover, the main focus related to the economic interests is energy security. In order to secure the energy interests, China laid down extensive networks of pipelines and energy corridors. Chinese are making efforts to link Afghanistan with Central Asia and South Asia energy networks (Eder 2018). Tiffany P. Ng ascribed these mineral resources as one of the reasons for the Chinese involvement in Afghanistan. He further says that mineral wealth binds more strongly China with Afghanistan (Ng 2010).

Some scholars are of the opinion that under 'New Neighborhood Policy' of President Xi Jinping 2013, Afghanistan has assumed immense importance being the western part of China (Zongze, Chen-Jianxue, and Song-Jinyue 2016). Whereas some scholars are of the view that China engagement in Afghanistan is Indian centric. China will not allow India to establish its influence in Afghanistan. It will be a very difficult position for India to establish hegemony in Afghanistan without the help of China (Hanif 2010). So, the study can be summarized in followings major objectives of Chinese foreign policy towards Afghan affairs:

- a. Promotion, protection, and initiation of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in Afghanistan.
- b. Economic interests, including energy and minerals.
- c. Security Interests: anticipated US withdrawal and its possible spillover effects on neighboring countries, particularly Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.
- d. To stop rival countries, particularly Indian, to get a hegemonic role in her western periphery, Afghanistan.

### **3. How Does China Manage Taliban in 'the Afghan Peace Process'?**

Taliban assumes an important role in the Afghan Peace Process. For the successful peace talks, the Taliban's presence and approval are necessary. In the words of Courtney Cooper, "a peace process with the Taliban is almost certainly the best way to end the war in Afghanistan" (Cooper 2017). China has demonstrated more influence with the Taliban than the most other countries. Taliban are the key to the peace process and to manage them effectively is very important to keep the peace track maintained. The question arises how China maintains that and the next question, attached with the previous one if China maintains that is it China's own relations with Taliban or go through Islamabad? By understanding both these questions, we can better evaluate the situation.

China backs the international coalition against 'war on terror' in Afghanistan, it also provides diplomatic and material assistance to the Afghan government and provides training to Afghan officers and policemen (Huasheng

2012). However, the Chinese Government's approach towards the Taliban is very cautious and calculated. Because of geography, political, economic, and security reasons, China has always been very modest in dealing with the Taliban. Zhao Huasheng, a senior Chinese analyst, says that the Chinese government is not against the Taliban but is opposed to Terrorism, separatism, and extremism (Huasheng 2016). Although China's relations with Afghanistan during the Taliban regime were officially inactive, China always resorted dialogue and engagement policy in dealing with the Taliban. At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many ETIM members were present in Afghanistan, but due to the strong pressure from the then American administration, Taliban leaders saw to China as a relief and consequently a substantial decrease in militant activities in China at the start of the century (Fishman 2011). In December 2000, Mullah Omar and Chinese ambassador to Pakistan Li Shulin met in Kandahar and Mullah Omar assured Chinese that the Taliban would not allow anyone to operate against China from Afghanistan (Small 2013). On 11 September 2001, China reportedly struck a deal with the Taliban on economic and technical assistance (Toops and Starr 2004). After the 9/11 attack, China maintained relations with Quetta Shura, and it was China and Pakistan that have this kind of relationship with the Taliban (Small 2013). Moreover, in reciprocity, the Taliban showed its willingness to Chinese investment in Mes Aynak copper mine and directed its militants to safeguard and protect the mine (Amini 2016). Not to antagonize the Afghan in general and Taliban in particular, China adopted the policy not to send the troops to Afghanistan on the frequent requests made by America and its allies. Northern Distribution Network (NDN), a network of transportations from Black and Baltic Sea through Russia and Central Asia to Afghanistan to provide non-lethal supplies to International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), China also refused to be the part of this network (Huasheng 2012).

Because of possible consequences for the security of China after western forces leave Afghanistan, instead of criticizing harshly to the Taliban by name, China adopts a low key approach in criticizing the Taliban (Huasheng 2012). Moreover, another fear that the Chinese policymakers believe that too much alignment with the US policies in the region can spoil their image in the Muslim world. Chinese are avoiding this trap because the population of Muslim is very large in China. So, in this way, they are not inviting the ire of Muslim militant organizations (Swaine 2010). Moreover, China is among those few countries which believe in dialogue with all Afghan factions, including the Taliban. Yang Cheng of East China Normal University in whose words is the best depiction of how China is supporting the Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace process. He says that China may maintain relations with all political and economic forces in Afghanistan, not the central government only (Kley October 2014 ). In some ways, Chinese diplomacy in Afghanistan is limited, Beijing has no attention to take on security role in Afghanistan due to the fact that it will create hostility among different Afghan groups against China. Its principal objective is economic and diplomatic (Small 2014). The rising importance of China in Afghan Peace Process can be assuaged from the fact that a Pakistan based Cleric Maulana Sami ul Haq, who is also known as the 'Father of Taliban,' requested China to participate and promote Afghanistan peace (Imaduddin 2018). Yao Jing, Chinese ambassador to Pakistan, addressing in Peshawar University, said that his country accepts 'Afghan Taliban' as a political force because of their participation in ongoing Afghan Peace process with the US and other multilateral forums (Ali 2019).

China's approach to Afghanistan since 2014 has been the promotion of political reconciliation between the Taliban and the government. Many key figures from the Taliban visited China and discussed the peace process. On December 27, 2016, three representatives from Russia, China, and Pakistan, excluding Afghan government, met in Moscow and talked about the stalled 'Afghan Peace Process.' Moreover, reaffirmed their support for an inclusive Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace process. In order to intensify efforts in this regard, they adopted the measures to remove the names of certain Taliban leaders from sanction lists (Jazeera and Agencies 2016). In May 2015, it was reported that China, with the help of Pakistan, arranged an unofficial secret meeting between Taliban and Afghan representatives in Urumqi Chin (Wong and Mashal 2015). In Murree process, Taliban and Afghan government representatives met and discussed the ceasefire between Taliban and Afghan forces. This meeting was convened under the supervision of US, China, and Pakistan. Taliban guaranteed further cooperation if China and Pakistan provide a guarantee to it (Khan 2015).

China is a very important country having relations with all parties concerned with 'Peace Process' including the

Taliban. China is also an "all-weather friend" of Pakistan, which holds the key to bring the Taliban to the negotiating table (Ramachabdran 2017). Ashraf Ghani, partially reversing the Karzai anti-Pakistan policies, assumed a posture towards Pakistan less volatile and more friendly. By correctly analyzing the strategic partnership between Pakistan and China, Ghani went straight to Beijing after assuming the Presidential slot. His assessment in using 'China Card,' before the Fourth Ministerial Conference of the Istanbul Process on Afghanistan on Oct 31, 2014, of peace talks between Afghan government and Taliban by using its leverage with Pakistan was well received in Beijing (Hiro 2015). Yao Jing, Chinese ambassador to Pakistan, expressed satisfaction and praise for Pakistan's initiatives for facilitating talks between US administration and Taliban in Dubai (Ali 2019).

#### **4. China's Relations with Afghan Governments after 9/11 and Afghan Peace Process**

China condemned the attack on USA twin tower on 9/11 and backed US-led ISAF initiative against terrorism in Afghanistan and endorsed the UNSC resolution 1373. China supported the military operation against Taliban and Al Qaeda, but due to its non-interventionist foreign policy did not become the part of any alliance. After the new government of Hamid Karzai established in 2002, China-Afghanistan relations changed. China supported and provided aid to the new government of Hamid Karzai (Huasheng 2012). In 2006, China and Afghanistan signed the "Treaty of Good Neighborly Friendship and Cooperation" that treaty came into effect from 14 Aug 2008 (China 2008). In 2007, Metallurgical Cooperation of China (MCC) and Jiangxi Copper Cooperation (JCCL) made the largest foreign investment in Afghanistan of the USA \$ 4.4 billion in Aynak Cooper deposit (Downs 2012). In 2009, President Obama announced the Afghan-Pak policy and urged Afghanistan's neighbors (including China) to work for the stability of Afghanistan (Obama 2009). In 2012, China-Afghanistan relations were upgraded to a strategic partnership. In 2012, Afghanistan was admitted to SCO and connected more closely to Chinese framed structure. In January to April 2013, China-Russia-Afghanistan completed many rounds of discussion of talks on regional and Afghan issue. (Yongbiao 2018). At this stage, the Chinese government also increased the aid to Afghanistan, including infrastructure construction, police surveillance equipment, humanitarian assistance, etc.

Chinese policy is more tilted towards the Afghan government. Under 'National Unity Government' (NUG) of Ashraf Ghani, China's relations with the Afghan government became more friendly. China first time gave military aid to Afghanistan: non-lethal military equipment (Khalil 2017). In Oct 2014, China hosted the 'Fourth Ministerial Conference of Istanbul Process' on Afghanistan. China also endorsed the 'Peace Talks' Between the Afghan government and Taliban. Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi, in a press conference in Islamabad, said that "we will support the Afghan government in realizing reconciliation with various political factions including Taliban" (RT-News 2015). In 2016, China also supported and participated in 'Murree Talks' between the Taliban and the Afghan government. On June 8, 2017, on the sideline of SCO summit in Astana, President Xi met with President Ashraf Ghani and said that, "China will mediate and ease the tension between Afghanistan and Pakistan and hold a trilateral summit" (CGTNews 2017). China also supported Russian efforts of peace in Afghanistan. On Dec 2018, the second China-Afghanistan-Pakistan foreign minister conference held in Kabul to discuss the Afghan situation.

As the discussion as mentioned above shows that China's relations with the Afghan government is good. China's ability to affect the outcome of the peace process is greater than most of the other countries. However, before proceeding further, one question is needed to be answered to fully grasp the complicated situation: what is the understanding of Chinese policymakers about the role of the Afghan government in 'peace processes? In 2014, China hosted the 'Fourth Ministerial Conference Istanbul Process' with the Afghan government participation. In May 2015, the Afghan government envoy Muhammad Masoom Stanekzai, an important member of Afghan Peace Council, and Taliban representatives met in China secretly for exploring peace with the mounting insurgency. This meeting was arranged by China and Pakistan for initiating a peace process to end the conflict in Afghanistan (Wong and Mashal 2015). The 'Murree Process' both the Afghan government and the Taliban were present, including also Chinese officials (Khan 2015). In 2017 and 2018, China-Pakistan-Afghanistan foreign minister conference held in Beijing and Kabul, respectively (Saif 2018). All Chinese initiatives for peace were inclusive. China's approach towards peace is inclusive and believes that all parties are part of it.

## 5. Favorable Regional and International Environment for Chinese Peace Initiative

The Chinese initiated peace process seems to have the support of all regional and international players. China's rising international stature compels it to be an arbitrator in the Afghan peace initiative that concerns all regional and international community. After burgeoning Chinese diplomacy towards peace in Afghanistan, the most important thing is that the relevant players saw it positively.

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 neighboring 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, the Quadrilateral Cooperation Group with the participation of China, US, Afghanistan, and Pakistan was formed for promoting peace in Afghanistan. US and China share a common security objective in Afghanistan: containment of ISIS and Al Qaeda from exporting violent extremism. In deploring militancy and extremism in Afghanistan by Taliban, AL Qaeda, ISIS, and other militant groups in 'Xiamen Doctrine' at the end of BRICK summit in 2017 in China, China's approach towards Afghan security is compatible with US (Rank 2018). Also, American diplomats are trying to convince the government to cooperate with the Chinese for successful peaceful initiatives in Afghanistan. David Rank, a US diplomat, who also worked in US embassy in China, is of the view that if the US wants to maximize the outcome of peace in Afghanistan, then it will have to work with China (Rank 2018). A state department official told to the journalists that "we welcome the positive role of Russia, China, and any other country in the Afghan peace process. Both the US and China believe that to end the Afghan conflict, peace talks with the Taliban is the prerequisite. Chinese ambassador to Afghanistan Liu Jinsong backed US talks with the Taliban (Tass 2019). China is also included among those countries in Afghanistan with the highest economic investments. China invested in Aynak mining project and state oil excavation in Northern Afghanistan. China also started a Confucian institute in Kabul. These investments will bring positive effects on Afghan economy and definitely will bring new jobs. This situation will also be good for the USA in efforts to bring stability in Afghanistan (Ng 2010).

China and Russia have strong interests in Afghanistan. Both countries want to end the terrorist groups resurge in Afghanistan. ISIL, Al Qaeda, and ETIM are the threats to the security to both countries. Intelligence Agencies of Russia, China, Pakistan, and Iran, decided to closely collaborate intelligence operations in Afghanistan against rising ISIL threats (Staff 2018). Mr. Lavrov, Russian foreign minister, gave a statement that is particularly significant amidst the allegations that the US is sponsoring terrorist organizations at the gate of China and Russia. He says that "we are proud to carry out technical military cooperation with China and cooperation between the security services of the two countries in the fight against terrorism, drug trafficking, and organized crime" (Staff 2019). Both countries believe that to end the conflict in Afghanistan, the Taliban's participation is necessary. Russia was the first country which invited Taliban in 'Moscow Format' along with 11 countries, including China (Hussain 2018). Recently, China and Russia agreed on the point that to end the 18 years long war in Afghanistan, withdrawal of foreign forces consented (RFE/RL 2019).

India views China's role in the Afghan peace process as a positive peace partner. On 11 May 2019, Chinese special envoy for Afghan peace process Deng Xijun met with Indian officials including Foreign Secretary Vijay Gokhale and agreed on cooperation in the Afghanistan peace process (TV 2019). Before this meeting, China and India decided to cooperate economically in Afghanistan. In May 2018, in Wuhan summit, China and India decided to undertake the joint economic project in Afghanistan (Varma 2018). Before these meetings, there was less Indian participation in Afghan peace process such as Chinese initiated Foreign Ministers conference as cited above. Hence, it is the remarkable shift in Chinese approach by including India in the peace process.

Iranian perception about the Afghan peace process is based on the slogan 'Afghan-led' and 'Afghan-owned.' So, Iran shares the perception of Chinese about the peace process. Both Iran and China wants sustained peace in Afghanistan. In May 2019, Chinese special envoy for Afghanistan peace process Deng Xijun and Iranian Deputy



Foreign Minister for political affairs Abbas Araqchi met in Tehran. Two sides agreed to boost the Afghan peace process and a common mechanism for the lasting stability of Afghanistan (News 2019).

Another influential neighboring country that can play an important role in the Afghanistan peace process is Pakistan. US state department spokesperson Robert Palladino also said about the important role Pakistan can play in Afghan Peace process (Digital 2019). Pakistan's ability to influence the Taliban is very important in the resolution of the Afghan crisis. China has a strategic partnership with Pakistan. From 2014 till today, all Chinese initiated and participated in peace initiatives Pakistan is an important member. Afghan President Ashraf Ghani also used 'China Card' to influence Pakistan in Afghan Peace process as cited above.

## 6. Conclusion

Since 2001, Afghanistan has been embroiling in a war that has engulfed thousands of people. To end this longstanding conflict, big powers initiated peace talks with enraged parties to end the conflict. Since the peace talks started, no major breakthrough occurs. To influence the peace talks to a logical conclusion, America invited many influential countries to bring the disgruntled elements on the negotiation table. China is among those countries that have significant influence over all elements involved in Peace initiative.

Chinese involvement in the 'peace process' brought significant positive improvements to the resolution of the Afghan Crisis. Chinese inclusion in the peace initiative was remarkable in the sense that China has good relations with the Afghan government, directly and indirectly with the Taliban and a positive attitude from regional and international powers. China-Taliban relations dated back even before 2014. China, with the help of Pakistan, many time remained successful in bringing Taliban on 'negotiation table' with the Afghan government or without the Afghan government. However, still, China's efforts are going on to convince the Taliban to renounce violence. China's approach in Afghan peace initiative is more tilted towards the Afghan government. China has political, economic, and military relations with the Afghan government after Sep 11 with evolving robustness. Even 'Afghan Unity government' president Ashraf Ghani approached China, due to its all-weather friendly relations with Pakistan, to convince the Taliban to come to the negotiation table. Till today, China always insists on Taliban-Afghan government negotiation. Chinese led peace initiative is inclusive of regional and international players. Chinese envoy does regular consultations with regional countries Iran, Central Asia, Pakistan, and India. Even China planned joint projects with India in Afghanistan. On the International level, China is augmenting US efforts to foster peace in Afghanistan by negotiation and investments.

So, the Chinese approach towards peace initiative is 'Afghan-led' and 'Afghan-owned' and inclusive of regional and international players. Till yet, Afghan crisis is unresolved but with consist efforts, China has been making her maximum efforts to restore the peace in Afghanistan.

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# Manning up and Staying Buff: Expanding the Embodiment of Masculinity among Filipino Spornosexual Men

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## Abstract

The perception and portrayal of masculinity has morphed over time, leading to a modern classification of man, the Spornosexuals. Through a phenomenological research design, the lived experiences among Spornosexuals residing in the rural province of Southern Leyte, Philippines, were explored, with emphasis on the challenges and rewards upon their embodiment of masculinity, and the struggles they encountered in developing their ideal muscular physique. The coping mechanism exhibited by these individuals in handling the struggles they encountered in their day-to-day lives were uncovered. Their personification of masculinity is under the theory of Social Constructionism. A face-to-face, a semi-structured interview was employed to gather meaningful responses that were analyzed through Colaizzi's (1978) strategy. It was evident that despite the negative experiences they encountered upon reconstructing their physicality and expressing their masculinity, the rewards they gained, accompanied with their forward-looking motivations, continue to ignite their momentum in owning and expressing who they are. In general, Spornosexuals are unique individuals who need to be understood and embraced just like any other member of the society.

**Keywords:** Spornosexuals, Masculinity, Social Constructionism, Muscular Physique, Phenomenological Analysis, Southern Leyte, Philippines, Asia

## Introduction

### Rationale of the Study

Men have been considered a prime member of our society and are ought to obtain ideal attributes and essentialities in order to maintain its symbol and image of what a man is, and how a man should look like in their everyday lives. Our definition and characterization of a man has morphed through time and continues to evolve relative to what is being imposed in our society (Francis, 2015). Masculinity is greatly influenced and is shapeshifted primarily by culture and society which men live and interact. Through the history of mankind, masculinity has been fabricated practically around the concept that men are wage-earners, defenders, strong, and responsible in the family.

In this day and age, together with the escalation of neologism, our ideology of manhood, with its attributes, has now evolved to a whole new perspective uncovering a new variation of what a man is. Men who are imbued with

a good physique, toned, and sculpted muscular built have paved a greater value of attractiveness and higher appeal in today's society. This newly-established social barometer of masculinity gave birth to a modern-day man which was termed as spornosexuals. Simpson (2014) coined spornosexuality as lads who aspired to have a pumped and chiseled body as depicted from idyllic men found in magazines, social media, commercials, sports, and even in pornography by lending ample amount of resources and time in the gym. Additionally, they take pride in their developed body by showcasing it through direct social interaction with others and by parading it in their social media platforms (Hakim, 2015). These men believe that having a fit body is more desirable in terms of showcasing one's body rather than wearing accessories and fashionable clothes.

In the Philippine setting, our understanding of these individuals and their way of living seems to be minuscule. Introduction of such new-fangled terminology in our consciousness transpired through a featured report in national TV news anchored by Jessica Soho four years ago showing identified Filipino spornosexuals in conjunction to their distinctiveness as well as the misconceptions they received from the people in our society as it collides with our definition of what a typical Filipino man should act and look like thus hindering their self-expression about who they are (Bangeles, Serentas, Tik-ing, & Tarusan, 2015). This social impediment befalls due to people's lack of familiarity and understanding about their nature as a prevailing member of our society.

The hindrance of expressing and owning who they are and how they think they should be perceived in our society resulted in the reluctance of their emergence. In the province of Southern Leyte, Philippines, there have been no recognized spornosexuals nor researches conducted pertaining to spornosexuals and their nature resulting in the existence of gaps as little is understood about them, the spornosexuals. Consequently, these individuals need to be respected and accepted as a prevailing member of our modern society, which can be achieved through a comprehensive inquiry and boosting societal awareness relative to their (spornosexuals) attitudes.

Considering the existence of this another classification of a contemporary man, the researcher was opted to dive in the lived experiences of spornosexuals with a focus on the existence of these individuals coming from the selected municipalities of Southern Leyte. Particularly, this research was driven to examine the impact of being a spornosexual, their definition of masculinity, and how being such affects their day-to-day. Further, this study determines the struggles they experienced in the process of developing and maintaining their ideal physique. The coping mechanism exhibited by these individuals in handling the struggles they encountered in their day-to-day lives were uncovered. This research, as a whole, aims for better understanding and facilitate social acceptance for these individuals.

## **Review of Related Literature**

As with the barometer of what a man is with its essentialities, how the society discerns masculinity through time has fostered with the ideology of male dominance and is predominantly crafted by the culture and society (Ceballos, 2013; Stergiou-Kita, Lafrance, Pritlove & Power, 2017; MacKenzie, & Foster, 2017). Before the unveiling of these newly-termed lads, metrosexuals, straight-identified men who have heightened aesthetics and a fashionable sense that is linked with increased femininity and somewhat associated with homosexuality were dominant (Mitchell & Lodhia, 2017). However, metrosexuals died as men continue to morph in the past decade from the existence of lumbersexuals, mandrogenouse men, to the body-obsessed men, which are called spornosexuals (Francis, 2015). This meytamorphosis of men's portrayed masculinity simply shows that the depiction of masculinity changes and evolves through time bearing in mind its portrayal, nature, and how the member of society perceived them.

Simpson (2014) further defines these men as people who aim to attain and maintain a meticulously pumped and chiseled physic as well as having muscle-enhancing tattoos, well-styled beard, and pierced bodies. Spornosexuals uses their body as the ultimate accessories in this contemporary society, and they consume an ample amount of time fashioning and developing it at the gym (Hakim, 2015). In this newly developed terminology and

classification of a modern man, spornosexual shares inert characteristics that are unique to these people and are distinguishable from other sub-classification of men.

The rise of these individuals having a distinctive behavior is being driven with various forces which can be elucidated in the theory of social constructionism. This theory explicates an individual with their gradual manifestation and formed through the result of cultural influence and exposure to various societal factors such as language and socialization (Edwards, 2015; Cheryan, Cameron, Katagiri & Monin, 2015; 2018; Galbin, 2014). This is coherent with the embodiment of masculinity/femininity (Ashraf, 2018), and gender expression and lifestyle (Vogl & Baur, 2018). The norms and shared behavior to a common group serve as a driving force in changing an individual's behaviors to be aligned or to be one with the group members in order to evade conflict and maintain harmonious relationship (Bangeles et al., 2015).

The postmodernist view of this theory indicates how a society with its milieu influenced the views of individual about reality through socialization. Social media and various commercial ads platforms influenced the sprout of spornosexuals (Simpsons, 2014) as media plays a vital role in the portrayal of an individual's various description of masculinity (Yu, 2010). In the advent of social media, men are highly predisposed on how they should look like which resulted to, objectification as well as a positive and negative social comparison which led to body modification (Arya & Rai, 2017; Norton, 2017).

Spornosexuals gain self-esteem and connections to people by posting their body on different social media platforms, thus motivating them in fostering their individuality (Wisetsri, 2017; Hirramoto & Lai, 2017). Asian News Monitor (2014) explicated how images and portrayals of what is "sexy," in the agreement of having a muscular built in the different platforms such as in social media and pornography geared the younger generation to be obsessed in developing their body. As observed in western countries, economic condition and stability of a country greatly inclined towards the manifestation of spornosexuals as an upshot of austerity and economic oppression as lads seek value by reconstructing their body and using it to elevate themselves (Jaime, 2018; Phil's Stock World, 2016). This scenario drove men to be physically appealing and to have a more superior physique in order to gain better job opportunities and higher rewards (Sierminska, 2015). Furthermore, in accordance to the concurrent society, these men engaged in re-shaping their body as a means of rendering oneself legible to fit in the up-to-date culture and trend (Winter, 2015).

Filipinos have a different view of what is perceived to be an ideal man and what he should look like in a Filipino context. Filipino men who are physically attractive or good looking are considered to be a prime preference as an ideal partner as Filipino associates them with having better job opportunities and having a healthier body with a lesser chance of having an illness (Bernarte, Jalandra, Jarquio, & Sanggo, 2016). Additionally, Filipino characterization of what a man is, with the concept of "machismo," is highly influenced by the western view due to media exposure and the domination of internet (Cañete, 2015).

However, in the context of the Filipino culture and milieu, spornosexuals are less explored leaving an unexplored angle for these individuals. Filipinos uphold the conservative ideology of how a Filipino should act like (Alexander, 2014) which contradicts with the nature and behavior of spornosexuals. Relative to the preponderance of existing empirical studies about the spornosexuals, this study aimed to answer the following research questions; (a) what were experiences encountered by spornosexuals upon their embodiment of masculinity?; (b) what are the struggles they encountered in developing their ideal muscular physique?; and, (c) how do these spornosexuals cope up with the challenges they experienced in their day-to-day lives?.

## **Methodology**

### **Research Design**

This investigation employed a phenomenological research design as it has the capability to study people's experience, how people construct meaning in their lives, and commonalities which transverse individuals

experiencing a specific phenomenon (Edmonds & Kennedy, 2017). Particularly, this study utilized Transcendental phenomenology which aimed to seek understanding in human experience which is performed by laying aside prepossessed ideas in order to view the phenomena to be investigated through a new lens allowing it to immerse giving its distinct meaning and form (Moustakas, 2004). Additionally, this particular approach of phenomenology allowed the researcher is to gain an understanding of the participant's subjective significance of their everyday lived experience (Heindel, 2014). This qualitative design enabled me to expand the embodiment of masculinity among spornosexual with the aim to capture their live experiences in their manifestation and reconstructing their body towards their ideal physique.

### **Research Setting**

This qualitative study was conducted in the Philippines, particularly in the province of Southern Leyte, where the focus participants were residing.

### **Sampling**

The focus participants of this investigation were five self-identified spornosexual men with age ranges from 21-29 years old and came from different walks life from an undergraduate student to participants working in white-colored jobs such as in education and in business who were selected through purposive sampling. This phenomenological study selected 5 participants that fit the suggestion of Creswell (2013) as an ample number of participants to generate meaningful themes and useful interpretations. To strengthen the selection of participants, I conducted a preliminary interview which aimed to verify if the selected participants are indeed spornosexuals based on the criteria taken form Simpons (2015).

### **Data Collection**

After selecting the five focus participants, the semi-structured interview was conducted. I subjected the instrument for validation to an expert and was pilot tested to a sample participant who shared the same demographics to the target participants in order to bolster the quality of the instrument used. The said instrument contained questions that are open-ended in nature and enabled the researcher to unveil the lived experiences among spornosexual. The interviews were carried out one-by-one, and their responses were recorded using an audio-recorder that usually lasted from 15 to 20 minutes. The verbatim transcriptions of the audio recordings were done after the interview. The verbatim transcriptions were translated into the English language and were peer-reviewed by an English critic.

To impose the confirmability aspect of the study, I carried it out by maintaining accurate written notes, and by persistently checking and rechecking the data. Moreover, through the use of bracketing with its application in phenomenology, personal biases were minimized to examine the data from a new and different perspective as guided the suggested techniques taken from Chan (2013).

### **Data Analysis**

The gathered data were analyzed using Collaizzi's Method (1978) with detailed steps as cited by Abu Shosha (2012) which were the carried out by organizing the gathered qualitative data from the interviews into categories on the basis of themes, patterns, concepts, or similar features.

Relative to the data analysis used, member checking was employed in the form of focused group discussion to verify if the generated themes and structure of the phenomenon captured the feelings and life experiences of the participants establishing data credibility. Additionally, for dependability, the audit log was utilized elucidating the procedures used in data collection and analysis (Cutcliffe & McKenna, 2004).

## Ethical Considerations

The protection of the participants is the prime responsibility of the researcher as human subjects were used in this study. I performed the collection of data following a systematic procedure that encompassed securing permission to the conduct of the study to the participants by sending them the letter of permission, and orally-recorded agreement to allow me in gathering the vital data for this investigation. These selected individuals were told that participating in the study was voluntary, and the purpose and procedures of the study were explained to them. The collected data in this study were kept confidential to protect the identity of participants. I also asked for the guidance and permission of my professor in Qualitative Research from the University where I'm undertaking my doctorate degree in Social Science Research to screen my manuscript if it's ready and imbued with the necessary ethical considerations to proceed for the data gathering procedure.

## Researcher's Reflexivity

I identify myself as someone who also regularly workouts with the intention to achieve a toned body. Though I classify myself as a homosexual man which removes me on the demographics of being classified as spornosexual as these men are heterosexual in nature, my experiences as someone who also re-shapes body may interfere to the everyday experiences of the spornosexuals with how I gathered and analyzed the data. To enforced reflexivity relative to my situation, I performed member checking as I went back to the participants again to verify the transcribe statements if it was the one being shared during the interviews, and after the data analysis where the significant themes where generated if it really captured their experiences as spornosexuals.

## Results

The results were grounded in 4 major themes: (a) Challenges expressing their masculinity, (b) Recompense of being a Spornosexual, (c) Struggles in Achieving and Maintaining their Muscular Physique and (d) Resiliency of being a Spornosexual. The following themes are represented with sample significant statements (SS) taken from the five participants (P). The major themes were combined synthesizing the structure of the phenomenon.

### Challenges in Expressing their Masculinity

The embodiment and expression of their masculinity in different avenue have gone through leaps and bounds as they experienced different challenges. A spornosexual in nature commonly showcases his masculinity by posting half-naked photos in different social media platforms such in Facebook and Instagram. This, however, resulted in the upsurge of an overwhelming affection and attention from people that exasperated them as they shared that:

*"I usually received numerous private messages every time I post topless photos on my day or in my status—it irritates me" [P4][SS37]*

*"I received a lot of private messages and attention from Bisexuals and gay men as well as the girls. And it can be overbearing at times." [P5][SS13]*

Moreover, this overwhelming affection they received from people resulted in an unstable relationship as their partners misconstrued them as being not loyal and entertains others despite them being in a relationship with someone. Participants shared their struggle in having and sustaining a relationship with a person as they shared that:

*"My girlfriend would become jealous and is doubtful of my loyalty as I received a lot of notifications and comments from girls online" [P5][SS48]*

*"Woman does not like it because it gives them the idea that I'm an untrustworthy person"[P3][SS25].*



Gaining positive attention and affection from people due to having a muscular built is a positive thing, but receiving numerous private messages, comments, and pokes from girls, bisexuals and gays can be annoying to them. Additionally, the affection they gained from people resulted in relationship doubt as they question their security and loyalty to their partner. It also affects them in finding a prospective partner as they are being judged as a womanizer and untrustworthy. These scenarios show how people perceived their image and portrayal of masculinity as highly attractive, and in some angles, impacted them negatively.

As these individuals openly showcase their half-naked muscular body in different avenues, being judged as a highly-sexual or promiscuous was experienced by these individuals as they mentioned that:

*"Because of my muscular body, they thought I am a sexually aggressive person, and my libido is always high." [P3][SS16]*

Additionally, relative to their expression of masculinity, the identification of these individuals as someone who sells sex as a way of earning money is a common prejudice as people as they shared that:

*"I get to be misidentified as a "call boy," particularly to the people of the gay community because of my built." [P5][SS46]*

These views and perception of having a muscular body simply show how people superficially associates sex based on the physical image of an individual. Having a perceived "sexy" body and openly expressing it to the public is stereotypically misidentified as someone who is sexually aggressive and offers sex in exchange for a pay transpired to the Filipino conservative view of sex and maintaining an image imbued with high morale and dignity is important.

Experiencing forms of unsolicited sexual touching or locally known as "tsansing" from the people they interact with is one of the unfortunate circumstances these people experienced. They shared:

*"I experienced being touched in public in my chest and abdominal parts, and I don't like it because it is disrespectful." [P3][SS26]*

As these individuals usually wear body-accentuating clothing like fitted t-shirts with plunging necklines and slim fit jeans accompanied with their open expression of their body in the social media platforms, experiencing sexually-related unsolicited touching to gain sorts of sexual favor or gratification is a likely behavior from the people they interact. This is in relation to how the society views them as they are considered be a "masturbatory aid" due to their attractive physical attributes (Simpsons, 2014).

It is evident that spornosexuals, upon the embodiment and expression of their masculinity in the different avenues resulted in several challenges which they experienced and negatively affecting some aspects of their daily lives. Prejudice, stereotyping, and lack of understanding about who they were the prime causes on how the society negatively views them. Bolstering societal awareness, gaining public support would greatly improve the way society perceives and treats them (Cherry, 2018).

### **Recompense of being a Spornosexual**

The appreciation they gained by being physically attractive is a triumph being considered by them as they shared:

*"There a more people who liked me because of my good-shaped body" [P4][SS38].*

This triumph, as being physically attractive by means of having a muscular built also revealed to be a leading, motivating factor for them to reconstruct their body as they shared that:

*"My motivation why I'm doing this is to look attractive and to look better" [P2][SS17].*

The being physically attractive based from the positive response they received from people corroborates their development, thus improving the way they perceived themselves. Boosting their self-esteem by being a better version of themselves is one of the rewards they gained from embodying and expressing their masculinity. They became more confident with who they are as they from the positive response from people as they mentioned that:

*"I gained more appreciation in my own body as I find it sexy the same with how people around me perceived it" [P5][SS49].*

The responses also show how overcoming insecurities and improving their physical appearance drives them to develop their body as they shared:

*"I grew up with a lot of insecurities and having a good built made me feel better as I received compliments from people" [P4][SS41].*

Their self-perceived development and the validation they received from people whom they interact with in relation to the attainment of their ideal physic enhances their confidence and improves their self-esteem.

As they become a better image of themselves, this in return motivates others to work out as well with an aim for a fit and healthy body. They consider it as a reward as they shared:

*"In my case, there are comments of appreciation from my facebook friends, and I get to influence them to work out. In fact, there were females who asked me about my routines and diet" [P2][SS20].*

This reward also motivates them to improve further and maintain the body that they as they shared:

*"Inspiring others to workout also pushes me to do well in my workout and maintaining my target body" [P3][SS29].*

Aside from the appreciation, they gained in attaining a good physique, being a good exemplary to others in pursuing a healthier lifestyle continues to drive these individuals to maintain their ideal muscular physique.

Embodying their definition of masculinity was able to give them circumstances of triumphs. This simply implies that being a spornosexual is more than just having a good and an aesthetically pleasing body as portrayed by their well-defined muscular physique. Attainment of their ideal physique accompanied with the validation from people improves their self-esteem, thus pushing them more to further foster and maintain the body that they have. Moreover, being a model of aspiration to others in having a healthier lifestyle boosts their morale and self-appreciation knowing that what they are doing is also motivating other people.

### **Struggles in achieving and maintaining their Muscular physique**

With the eminent nature of spornosexuals in molding their body and utilizing it to fashion themselves, the process of reconstructing their natural form and transforming it to their ideal chiseled body is more than just the act of going to the gym as they experienced challenges. Proper time-management is one of the struggles they encountered in developing and maintaining their muscular physique as they shared that:

*"Time-management and scheduling of my workout is a struggle since I'm working from 8:00 to 5:00, which forces me to work out during night time, which is very exhausting. Sometimes, I have to skip and under time from my work just to compensate my need to work out" [P3][SS44].*

This only shows that they spend a considerable amount of time in the fitness gym, which resulted to time-management ordeals as it competes with their work and other daily activities.

As they subject their body to highly rigorous activities to build their muscles, these people constantly experienced intense muscle pains or delayed-onset muscle soreness (DOMS) as their muscles repair itself after exposing it to an extraneous muscle-building routine (Ingraham, 2018). They shared that:

*“The pain that I experienced was a struggle when I started working out—It affected my daily activities”[2][SS8].*

This struggle affected some of their daily activities because of the muscles soreness they experienced after their workout routines. Muscle-building exercises usually involve heavier weights to be added in different workout equipment which pushes their body to their limits attaining the development they sought.

Developing their body also entails them to be familiarized with the specific routines for them to undertake in order to achieve the ideal results. However, executing it was a challenge among spornosexuals, especially during the earlier stages of their development as they aired:

*“The lack of knowledge about the proper routines and its execution exercise programs and proper diet to be undertaken were my struggles when I first started working out.”[P3][SS34]*

For them to target the desired muscle groups to developed, they need to be oriented with the quintessential routines accompanied by various apparatuses and strict diet plan to gain the looked-for outcomes. These require them to hire a gym instructor to assist them, thereby entail additional expenses. Additionally, to enhance the efficiency of their routines, taking up muscle-building supplements (whey protein powder and capsule) are an important part of their development. On the other hand, spornosexuals experienced irregular supply of these important supplements due to its unavailability as well as its high cost considering that Southern Leyte is a province and access to these resources are scarce.

Owning their definition of masculinity is rooted in the biological aspect of developing and shaping their body. Achieving and maintaining the body that they have was not an easy feat for spornosexuals as they experienced a lot of challenges in terms of their bodily limitations and lack of resources needed. This simply shows how persistent and determined these individuals are in achieving there sought after body which goes beyond their physical appearance of what a typical spornosexual should look like.

### **Resiliency of being a Spornosexual**

Despite the hurdles they experienced both in the social perspective and in the process of reconstructing their body, they were able to sustain their image and continue to reconstruct their body to their ideal portrayal of masculinity. Maintaining mental fortitude is one of the ways in ignoring the negative responses they received from people as they shared that:

*“I ignored what people say about me because I know that it is not true, and it may influence me negatively.”[SS45][P1]*

They also shared that instilling a good motivating factor enabled them to push through the different struggles they encountered. They mentioned that:

*“Being a good inspiration to others and having friends who also share the same objectives pushes me to work out more and having the desired body” [SS41][P3].*

As they experienced various struggles, coping with these different challenges in order for them to maintain focus in developing their body and to continue to express their definition of what a man is important. This is important to keep them on track towards achieving their looked-for physique and how they want to be perceived to the people around them.

### **Emerging Theme: Synthesis of the Phenomenon**

After arriving at the themes, a structure of the phenomenon was extracted, which shows that spornosexuals experienced both rewarding and challenging outcomes upon their embodiment of masculinity. Their individual experiences played an important role in providing fuel for motivation in reconstructing their physicality towards becoming a spornosexual (Bangeles et al., 2015). Even if they had good motivations and drives in reconstructing their physical appearance together with its expression, they still experienced unfavorable circumstance which affects them negatively. The challenges they experienced went beyond with their interaction with people in different avenues, the process of shaping and maintaining their physique pushed their body to their limits, which resulted in the different unfavorable circumstances. Regardless of these challenges, the triumphs they were able to experience accompanied their coping mechanisms of becoming a resilient individual continue to motivate these individuals in maintaining and conveying their definition of what a man is.

### **Conclusion**

This investigation expanded the life of spornosexuals and was able to uncover a glimpse of their life. In social perspective, as they manifest their definition of what a man is which is characterized by having a muscular and fit body complemented with body-extenuating clothing, tattoos, piercing, and beard, they experienced negative encounters as they interact with people in the society in different avenues (e.g. social media platforms). People's lack of understating towards their behavior as a spornosexuals resulted in prejudiced, misconceptions, and negative associations towards who they are, which deleteriously affected their personal well-being and their good relations to people around them. In terms of rebuilding their physical appearance, achieving and sustaining their ideal physique are not an easy feat in performing their necessary regimen as this requires ample time allocation, knowledge in proper routine execution, proper dietary meal plan, and quintessential source of muscle-building supplements. Despite those struggles, they also gained positive rewards since reconstructing their image boosted their self-esteem as they gained affection and validation from people relative to their progress of them being physically pleasing and being a better version of themselves. Coping mechanisms were exhibited by these individuals, which empowered them in preserving their identity and characterization as a spornosexual amidst negative experiences and remarks from others.

### **Recommendations**

The salient findings of this study resulted in the following recommendations. Educating people and making them aware of their nature is vital for them to be treated equally with equal respect just like any other members in our society. Family members, friends and people who get to intermingle with these individuals should understand their behavior incoherent to their ways of expressing their masculinity and be enlightened with their day-to-day routines and diet plans in order to interact with them appropriately relative to their nature.

This study can also give light for other spornosexuals on how to handle challenges they might encounter by fostering and modeling the coping mechanisms exhibited by the focus participants which enabled the latter to sustain their nature of being a spornosexual and to be continuously motivated them to own their characterization of masculinity.

Fitness gym establishments could impose a more flexible time frame of schedule for these lads to work out. As most of them are working on day jobs, accompanied with their household obligations, having more extended time in the evening would be more convenient and would greatly allow these individuals to follow their ideal workout

routines without compromising their quality time spent in their respective job and good relation to people around them.

In the light of the future researchers, considering that spornosexuals in the context of the Filipino culture is less-explored and researches relative to these individuals are minuscule, further examination about these individuals are crucial in order understand their behavior. They may study the impact of them being a spornosexuals in their workplace. Expanding the dynamics of how the people around them (e.g. family, friends and workmates) interacts with them and being impacted considering their unique behavior is also worth exploring.

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# Belt and Road Initiative: An Overview of Intellectual Property Protection and Cooperation

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## Abstract

One Belt One Road (OBOR) is currently known as Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) which was initiated by China and considered a game-changer mega project not only for the regions attached with but also for the whole world. BRI is going to connect the continent Asia, Middle East, Europe, and Africa through the different routes of roads, railway tracks, optic cable and gas pipelines fiber, and so on. The development of the routes has consisted on the land and sea routes. The land routes called the Silk Road Economic Belt, and the routes through the sea are called Maritime Silk Road. It is also levitating the many questions about the validity, influence at the vicinity, and its implementation. Legal rights of China should be protected in the BRI countries, and the element of IP violation also engaged with. This research study has an emphasis on the intellectual property protection, cooperation, promotion, and awareness regarding the BRI. Through the BRI, Chinese corporations and firms are spreading and establishing their commercial enterprises in all BRI countries. That's the way the highly belongings intellectual property rights protection, and concerned cooperation with BRI is essential to aware and enhance IP protection and cooperation between the BRI countries and China.

**Keywords:** Belt and Road Initiative, IP rights, IP Rights Cooperation, IP Rights Protection

## THE BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE

The idea of Belt and Road was suggested for the first time by the President of Peoples Republic of China Mr. Xi Jinping, during his visited to Kazakhstan 2013. In October 2013 at the informal meeting of APEC leaders "The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road" was put forward by Xi Jinping firstly for enhancing maritime cooperation with ASEAN countries. BRI is a compressed form of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, and the Central Committee of CPC of the Communist Party of China and the State Council of China has made its great strategic decision accordance with worldwide fluctuating in command to head up the international and domestic complete situation. Cooperation between China and the BRI countries in every field is a necessity of the time to complete the initiative in its true nature. It is an important characteristic of the Chinese vision to wants to enhance the cooperation with the BRI countries on the equality basis as the, Asif & Ling (2018), described that the BRI is going to connect the many regions, and the Win-Win is a slogan of the mutual cooperation among the BRI countries also with the China.

## INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS AND BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE

Intellectual property rights are acknowledged everywhere in the global because of the significant reasons. Intellectual property law included the laws relating to the patents, copyrights, trademarks, utility models, industrial designs, geographical indications, trade secrets, and the laws relating to the internet (Information Technology), etc. IP rights basically recognize to offers an incentive to the creators or inventors of new creations and guarantee of the material reward for belonging. It ensures the supply of the original products. For financial growth and advancement in technology area safety of IP protection is essential. It does well for the growth of the business in the science and technology field<sup>i</sup>. Wu (2017) concluded that the innovation is an important force which plays a vital role in the continuous development of the country as well as for the whole human being. He also expressed that the innovation is a soul of the nation and the formation of the whole social wealth. As the China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 become its 143<sup>rd</sup> member<sup>ii</sup> and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) in 1980<sup>iii</sup>. Intellectual property (IP) is a priority of China regarding the implementation of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and given its value in the cooperation among countries enroute<sup>iv</sup>. According to the current statistics available (2018) on the website of WIPO in term of most applications filed by the Patent Cooperation Treaty (PCT) for international patent rights, China is just after the United States. Chinese based ZTE Corporation and Huawei Technologies among the corporate applicants, respectively at number 1<sup>st</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>, having largest volumes of international patent applications. In the list of international trademarks applications under Madrid Agreement Concerning the International Registration of Marks and its related protocol, China also at ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> with an increase of 36.3%. At global innovation index ranking 2018, the China was at 17<sup>th</sup> position with scoring 53.06<sup>v</sup>.

## INFRINGEMENT OF CHINESE INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

An IP protection in one country is not necessary to protect in the other region or country. Most of BRI countries are redeveloping countries have cultural, racial, and linguistic differences. BRI countries have no international IP cooperation mechanism, varied IP development, and protection level system. So that there could be a great risk for Chinese companies and enterprises regarding the technology lost and infringement in those countries due to their weaker IP protection system. There is an example of Chinese brands for example ["Wang Zhi He" in Germany, "Gui Fa Xiang 18th Street" and "Liu Bi Ju" in Canada, "Gou Bu Li," "Tong Ren Tang" and "Yi De Ge"] in Japan got registration by other entities. The cases like this also could be happened in the BRI countries<sup>vi</sup>. Due to the violation of the IPs, companies lost their revenue, damage brand, IP costs as well as decrease the innovation incentives. It also effects the job creation, reduce the level of economic growth, and deteriorate the competitiveness in the nation<sup>vii</sup>. According to the statistics related to Chinese overseas investment, there is another example which showed that the Chinese IP stolen by foreign companies abroad in the past, Due to that Chinese companies lost their hundreds of trademarks ownership rights because those trademark rights were snapped up first by foreign companies. There are also some examples of Chinese IP rights snapped up like The German company was bought up the "Hisens"; an Indonesian company was taken the "Flying Pigeon" bicycle trademark; "Lenovo" was elected because "Legend", was already registered in many number of countries was the favored name for the Chinese tech company<sup>viii</sup>. From the Eastern China port cities to Madrid London and other European ports, a freight train already is carrying a wide range of goods containing specialized electronic goods and automobiles. So that the Chinese brand owners especially needed to make the cost-effective strategies regarding to protect their IPs and get the benefits of the initiative<sup>ix</sup>.

## IP RIGHTS PROTECTION & COOPERATION AND BRI

IP cooperation among the BRI countries is very important as the Yu (2019) said that the Belt and Road Initiative could play an essential role regarding IP rights cooperation matters at regional and international level. Deputy Director of the international cooperation department at China National Intellectual Property Administration (CNIPA) Mr. Liu Jian, said that the administration already established cooperation with forty BRI countries and concerned organizations. He also added that the administration also organized the series of intellectual property



training for the improvement of the patent examination capacity for the official of 30 BRI countries<sup>x</sup>. Chinese government organized a High-Level Conference on Intellectual Property for BRI Countries in July 2016. The two-day conference was co-organized by the Chinese government and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO). A jointly initiative was taken by the BRI countries for the IP cooperation strengthens and promotes the innovation, which got positive response and opened the new chapter of cooperation in the region regarding IP. At the conference State Councilor, Wang Yong said that the countries have to work together for the promotion and to share the benefits of the intellectual property. He also expressed the four IP related areas for BRI assistance could be available, "services regarding IP cooperation, IP rules harmonization, joint human resource (HR) and inter-operability of databases." Mr. Francis Gurry who is a Director-General of World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) said that the IP is an essential part of BRI and offering many chances to spread the ideas, cultural products and science and technology<sup>xi</sup>. In May 2017, China also entered into the agreement with WIPO regarding Intellectual Property Cooperation enhancing through BRI<sup>xii</sup>. China has signed a memorandum of understanding regarding IP cooperation with a large number of BRI countries and also cooperation IP education, information exchange, training, and publicity<sup>xiii</sup>. In 2018 High-Level Conference on Intellectual Property for Countries along the BRI was held in Beijing in 2018. The Conference highlighted the cooperation; strengthen of IP mutual benefits, for industrial promotion, effective use of IP, global IP system development, discussion on IP problems and protection of the traditional knowledge effectively in the BRI countries<sup>xiv</sup>. Mr. Francis Gurry who is a Director-General of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) said that the China had established a high-quality IP rights protection system which deals with the foreign and Chinese companies on equality basis<sup>xv</sup>. Recently in 2019 the Second Belt and Road Forum (BRF) for International Cooperation which was attended by 90 international organizations, 150 countries and more than the 5000 participants, Chinese president XI Jinping said that the efforts for international cooperation regarding the intellectual property protection should be enhanced. He also said that China will also strengthen the IP cooperation and protection with the other countries, to create innovation environment for the promotion of technological exchange and cooperation according to rules of law with other countries<sup>xvi</sup>. In the Forum the WIPO Director General Francis Gurry said that the BRI is an important initiative and will increase technological innovation and help to strengthen the world innovation network<sup>xvii</sup>. Mr. Gurry also attended the National Publicity Week of China and highlighted the importance of intellectual property awareness to promote the creativity and innovation. Ali & Geng (2018) was conducted a study on "Legal Cooperation in Perspective of Belt and Road Initiative and China Pakistan Economic Corridor." It was concluded that to avoid the legal disputes arise in future, BRI countries and China have needed to develop the homogeneous commercial codes and legal cooperation mechanism to secure the initiative from legal disputes before to rise. To avoid the international forums, it has needed to make arbitration mechanism in case of disputes with BRI countries. The Beijing has also needed to open legal cooperation centers in the BRI countries, which will be helpful for mutual legal exchange programs.

Most of us whenever think about the intellectual property, we considered that its affect is technology-based only, and companies also have IP protection at some levels. It is not important that what is the size or the type of the company you have but it is important, is there any IP law part, phrase, and aspect which is related to your company. If there is any aspect of IP law that touches your company, those rights have need of protection<sup>xviii</sup>. There are many ways by which IP rights have essentially needed to protect the business at national as well as international level, and the weak IP protection is also dangerous for the company and its business.as the Mansfield, Edwin, & Mundial (1994) was conducted a survey of one hundred U.S. firms, and he founded that the weak protection of intellectual property rights of a country discourage the foreign direct investment as well as joint ventures. Gould & Gruben (1996) concluded that the stronger IP rights protection links to higher economic growth rates in a cross-country sample. There is also seen in some evidences that the technologies producing foreigner firms decline to license of their latest innovations into firms in weak IP protection countries and it also have fear about the violation of the licensing contract which will ultimately not enforceable (Sherwood, 2019). A weak IP protection in the country can also affect the ability of the firms which purchase technology in the country. Hina et al. (2017) conducted a research study after the reviewing of collected data they were founded that the awareness about intellectual property is essentially required for the improvement of the protection of IPs. And an effective IP rights protection also enhances the innovation and novelty.

President of China Council for the Protection of International Trade (CCPIT) Mr. Ma Hao said in the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation that the office would continue to assist, provide efficient IP rights services and the IP professionals to the companies invest and trade in BRI countries. Ma said that that the office will also help the companies regarding the IP rights protection & management and increase the cooperation with the IP rights organizations in BRI countries. He also cited here an example of how the office help out the Chinese oil company Sinopec's in its illegal trademark registration in Africa, and now the African court has declared Sinopec trademark void and null<sup>xix</sup>. Most of the BRI countries are developing countries and of their status regarding the IP protection is also weaker than the developed countries as the Chen & Puttitanun (2005) conducted a study on "Intellectual property rights and innovation in developing countries" they concluded that the weaker IP protection allowed copying the foreign technologies which also decrease the market power of the companies. They also determined that the increase in the protection of IP rights in the developing countries will increase the innovation and the developing countries also increase the level of protection of IP rights due to the pressure from the international organization and developed countries. Intellectual property rights violation made a great effect on the companies in the United States. Due to the violation and improper IP rights (patents, trademarks, and copyrights) protection measures in abroad, the companies suffer losses. According to the data collected from 244 firms in the United States by the International Trade Commission for the comparison of the IP violation. The analysis expressed that the losses are the greater than the profit due the violation of the IP in foreign countries<sup>xx</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

By law, we should encourage and support the creations and inventions; and IP is nothing other than the mechanism for the promotion and protection to support creation and innovation. So that it is required to enhance the efforts to strengthen the IP rights in the BRI countries. It will help to protect the Chinese IP, help in economic growth, and encourage the foreign direct investment in the BRI countries and China. Wu (2017) also concluded that the present stage, China must pay attention to the protection of intellectual property rights in this situation. The protection, promotion, and transformation of intellectual property rights are the need of enterprise innovation and an umbrella for the economic development of China. For IP strengthen, it is also required that to aware the public and related legal organizations or institutions in BRI countries to arrange the conferences and workshops to increase the awareness and importance of IP rights. So it is essential to meet IP challenges to promote the IP rights awareness among the public as well as in the concerned institutions in BRI countries regarding the IP rights. Social media and the government of the BRI countries should be play its role to promote the IP rights protection campaign. As the most of the BRI countries are developing countries but the awareness of the public regarding IP still limited. So it is essential to aware the public about the IP to secure the legitimate rights of the companies and enterprises by starting an IP awareness programs and campaign by the government, media, national and international law organizations. In the BRI countries also required to organize the IP awareness programs, conferences and workshops for student, faculty, lawyers, prosecutors, other stakeholders and also boost the IP protection; through the judicial system in BRI countries. In the current age of science and technologies development, like artificial intelligence and internet, is posing a new challenges and measures for the protection of Intellectual property rights protection. The most of the BRI countries are developing countries so that the awareness of the IP among the public is limited. To avoid from the IP disputes and violation in the BRI countries the cross-culture experienced legal advisers should be hire to investigate and assess the IP and other risks there but also to minimize the risk in the case of if dispute occurs negotiation, dispute settlement and enforcement mechanism in the BRI countries permitted by law, for example, the clause needed for international arbitration to disputes settlement. Lastly, in order to achieve the objectives of High-Level Conferences, it is essential to boost the IP rights services, perfecting the relevant rules and regulations, improve the IP dispute settlement mechanism, and enhance the IP rights related policies related to BRI.

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# Niger Delta Migration: The Trials and Triumph of Rivers Folks in Diaspora

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## Abstract

In 1900 Rivers State people were merged with easterners to form Eastern Region. The Rivers State was created in 1967, and it was not until 1996 the state was divided into two states, Rivers State and Bayelsa State. Rivers State Government recognizes the value of diaspora populations in seeking ways to magnify financial resources, contribute to the welfare and development in their local communities. This reflects a common understanding that the investment of Rivers people in diaspora should not only be financial, but should also include knowledge transfer and social relationships. There is a need for Rivers in Diasporas' contribution, thus the Rivers State Government has a bigger responsibility. However, Diasporas trials and triumphs is complicated, confusing, and dynamic, it is a burdened with uneasiness, difficulty, and discomfort. This article briefly discusses the historical overview of Rivers state, methodology, theoretical framework, Diasporas Engagement, and Immigrants, recommendations, and conclusion.

**Keywords:** Rivers State Immigrants, Rivers Diasporas Engagement, Niger Delta Development Board, Rivers State Associations in United States

## Introduction

The trials and triumphs of Rivers state people in diaspora are complicated, confusing, and dynamic, it is a difficult discussion especially for those in the USA without looking at the broader picture of tensions and challenges. Rivers state people in diaspora are folks that come from the Niger Delta area of Nigeria. Niger Delta is a wetland and one of the ten most important coastal marine ecosystems in the world (Aghalino, 2011). The population of the Niger Delta area of Nigeria is 31 million people (Report of the Niger Delta Technical Committee, 2008, Pg. 102). The Niger Delta has enormous oil and gas hoards, which have been browbeaten since 1956 (Aghalino, 2011).

Most of the people in the Niger Delta oil-producing region are evidently underprivileged. According to United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2006), the Niger Delta area of Nigeria suffers from the Federal Government of Nigeria neglect, disintegrating community infrastructure, and services, extraordinary unemployment, community dispossession, miserable poverty, and pervasive struggle (UNDP, 2006). The Niger Delta region is one of the peril areas of Nigerian politics and holds Nigeria's predominantly oil reserves and as a result, holds the national wealth. Like other oil-producing countries in the world, the region is also referred to as

the geopolitical significance in the framework of worldwide oil politics and has not been freed from the torment of violent struggles connected with the management of oil resources (Oyefusi, 2007).

## Background

In 1960 before Nigeria started seeking independence from Britain, the campaign for the creation of Rivers State movement had existed. In the 60's chiefs in coastal communities were recognized during the colonial period, therefore, the colonial masters had to sign agreements of security with many chiefs around the Atlantic Ocean communities. These chiefs from the Atlantic communities anticipated that the agreements of security they signed would lapse and the communities in the Atlantic communities would become independent states. In 1958, these chiefs were disappointed because the constitutional conference of 1958 confirmed Nigerian nationhood, but agreed on some procedures to alleviate the concerns of the indigenous minorities in the coastal communities (Willink Commission Report, 1958).

In the 40s and early 50's the Ijaw league which later became the Council of Rivers Chiefs in 1953 campaigned for the formation of a separate Rivers Region. In 1954, the Council of Rivers became known as the Rivers Chiefs and Peoples' Congress in 1954, later called the Rivers Chiefs Peoples Conference in 1956. The leaders of the association of Rivers Chiefs Peoples Conference united with the Calabar Ogoja Rivers (COR) State Movement. The Calabar Ogoja Rivers (COR) State Movement was formed in late 1953, and they later separated from Rivers Chiefs Peoples Conference to push for their own situation before the Willink Commission (The Willink Commission Report July 1958).

As Nigeria was campaigning for independence from British colonial rule, three groups were highly favored politically that subjugated the three colonial Provinces - North, East, and West, that the British imperial Government had divided Nigeria. Willink Commission was created by the British Imperial Government because the Hausa ruled the Fulanis' and controlled the affairs of the Northern Province and persecuted the Tiv and numerous other minorities, in the east, the Igbo mistreated the Ibibio and the minorities in the coastal communities. The same in the West, the Yoruba were very hostile towards the Urhobo and Benin especially. Due to the dominance in the North by Hausa, mistreatment in the East by the Igbos and the hostilities in the West by Yorubas, there were widespread worries expressed by political minorities as a concern of the 1954 federal arrangements in Nigeria (The Willink Commission Report July 1958).

The minority group along the coastal communities worried that they would become politically in danger of extinction following Nigerian political independence from Great Britain. As a result, the British Imperial Government appointed a minority's commission the "Willink Commission" in 1957, which was named after the Chairman, to look into the worries by minorities in Northern, Eastern, and Western Regions of Nigeria (The Willink Commission Report July 1958). The Willink Commission goals were to produce some important maps and to recommend procedures for reducing these worries (The Willink Commission Report July 1958). These five maps have historic value. They are the last important maps left behind by the departing British colonial authorities. In 1958, Willink Minorities Commission completed its report, thus at that time Western Cameroon was still part of Nigeria.

To alleviate the worries of the coastal minorities under the dominant Igbo ethnic groups in the eastern Nigerian, the British imperial Government agreed to set up a Commission commanded by Sir Henry Willink to address the concerns of the ethnic minorities in the three provinces. The Willink Commission recommended the formation of the Niger Delta Development Board (NDDDB) to address the issues of underdevelopment of the minority areas east province (The Willink Commission Report July 1958). This resulted to the development of two cities in the then Eastern Region, which motivated the Rivers people to fight for separation from the Eastern Region.

## **Niger Delta Development Board (NDDB)**

The NDDB were unable to meet the goals of the Rivers Chiefs Peoples Conference therefore, some of their members decided to take the legal route to achieve the organization's goal. Some citizen of the coastal community decided to take the law into their hands. Isaac Boro, Sam Owonaro and Nottingham Dick with their followers declared a "Delta Peoples Republic "in February 1966. The Federal Government of Nigeria under the administration of Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi the Head of State and Eastern Nigeria Governments leaders, led by Lieutenant Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu who was the Military Governor of the Eastern Province, brought this rebellion to an abrupt end and sentenced them to die.

## **History**

Rivers state lies in the tropical rainforest with many mangrove swamps towards the coast of Niger Delta environment. The state was named Rivers state because there are many rivers that border its territory, and it covers 11,077 square kilometers (Nigerian Gallery, 2017). The Rivers State people come from indigenous ethnic groups such as Abua, Andoni, Ekpeye, Engenni, Etche, Ibani, Ikwerre, Kalabari, Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni, Okrika and Ogoni (Rivers State, 2017). Rivers State was one of the 12 states created in 1967, and in 1996 became one of the 36 states of Nigeria when Bayelsa was carved out of Rivers State.

Port Harcourt is the capital of Rivers State. Frederick Lugard founded Port Harcourt in 1912. As the governor of both the Northern Nigeria Protectorate and the Southern Nigeria Protectorate, his goal was to use Port Harcourt to export coal found in Enugu in 1909 (Okafor, 1973). In 1912 the people of Diobu, Oroworukwo, Mkpogua, and Rumuomasi gave up their land to build Port-Town (Okafor, 1973). In 1958, Port Harcourt shipped the first crude oil from Nigeria after the discovery of crude oil in Oloibirin in 1956, which made Port Harcourt the center of the Nigerian economy till today. Port Harcourt is the commercial center and foremost industrial city of the Niger Delta region (Okafor, 1973) because of its position in the Region; and it is the center of social and economic life in Niger Delta area. After the defeat of the Republic of Biafra by the Nigerian army in 1967 Port Harcourt fell to Nigerian forces on the 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1968. In 1914, Port Harcourt occupied the area of 15.54 km<sup>2</sup>, today Port Harcourt has grown to an area more than 380 km<sup>2</sup>.

Port Harcourt is the deep-water port city-capital of Rivers state, Nigeria and it is bounded on the South by the Atlantic Ocean, to the North by Imo, Abia and Anambra States, to the East by Akwa Ibom State and to the West by Bayelsa and Delta states (Wolpe 1974). It lies along the, 66 kilometers upstream from the Gulf of Guinea, about 40 feet above sea level and a very few degrees above the equator. It is located at the edge of the Niger Delta's mangrove foreshore and swamplands (Wolpe 1974, p. 15). It is the largest and most significant urban center in the Niger Delta and an important industrial and commercial center in Nigeria.

The Rivers State people in diaspora migrated from these areas to become immigrants in the United States of America. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, this group has been one of the growing immigrants all over the world through pursuit for education, visa lotteries, chain migration, and assisting family members (Nigerian Gallery, 2017). With the growing population of these group in diaspora, you are more likely to run into a person from these communities in diaspora who lives, works, doing business or in pursuit of education in the USA or UK.

Thousands of these folks live outside their State, and these are immigrants that live in other States in Nigeria, African, the United States, the United Kingdom, and many more nations in the world. The population of Rivers State indigenes in Diaspora is equivalent to or greater than one of its major local government areas in the State (Rivers State, 2017). These group that migrated are seeking to advance themselves in education and career, as a result, migrated from a land filled with natural resources to settle outside their state or overseas. Some took advantage of the opportunity presented to them by their state and the Nigerian government through scholarship to get educated and decided to live and participate in a democratic society to put themselves forward for public service in diaspora in a wide range of areas irrespective of the fact that their homeland was filled with natural

resources. In the late 19th century, Rivers people in diaspora settlement overseas started to increase compared to early 19<sup>th</sup> century, when they were part of the former Eastern Region of Nigeria.

Rivers State was created May 27<sup>th</sup>, 1967 under General Yakubu Gowon administration. General Yakubu Gowon, was a Nigerian military leader, who served as Head of State from 1966 to 1975. General Gowon is from now plateau state in the middle belt of Nigeria, educated in England at Royal Military Academy Sandhurst in Surrey where all officers in the British Army are trained to take on the responsibilities of leading the soldiers under their command (Floud et al. 1990). Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst in the 19th century, were primarily of middle and upper-class origin of United Kingdom (Floud et al. 1990).

After the coup of January 1966, Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi appointed General Gowon his chief of staff. After a counter-coup by Northern officers in July 1966, the same year, General Gowon emerged as the compromise Head of State of Nigeria. General Gowon tried to resolve the ethnic tensions that threatened to divide Nigeria fatally. On May 27, 1967, General Gowon declared a state of emergency and divided Nigeria's four regions into 12 states to resolve the ethnic conflict. Three days later, after the creation of Rivers State, General Odumegwu Ojukwu emerged as the leader of the Eastern region and declared itself the independent state of Biafra which started an armed conflict in July 1967. The creation of Rivers State in 1967, came with fifteen Local Government Areas (LGAs) in the State and in 1996, additional LGAs were created with a total of twenty-three LGAs.

The author of this article is trusted on his experience, expertise, and knowledge of relevant literature of the creation of Rivers State and his comprehensive knowledge of historical evaluation of Rivers State in preparing this article. This paper gives a synopsis of Rivers state people in Diaspora trials and triumphs in the USA, brief introduction of Niger Delta and history of Rivers State. It interrogates the Niger Delta Development Board (NDDDB), Diaspora and Diaspora at work, Economy of Rivers State, Rivers Diaspora remittance and mobilization, Defining success, and Policy and incentives. It is not solely or even largely about the unraveling of a socio-economic and political order in the state but, about the legitimacy of the Rivers in diaspora triumph and trials. It further shows the Rivers state People in Diaspora Engagement, Self-Development, Educational Quest, Challenges, Professional relations, and Rivers state people in diaspora immigrant. This paper concluded by reviewing the Rivers State people associations in the USA. Rivers state people in diaspora trials and triumphs in the USA cannot be fully understood and revealed unless you are part and parcel of the Diaspora as a whole or confronted with unforeseen circumstance as an immigrant.

## **Methodology**

Trials and triumphs presents major challenges for Rivers state people in diaspora. Rivers state people in Diaspora should not only have the experience but also be ready to deal with the challenge of living outside their homeland and willing to support other cause, other than personal challenges. Within the literature related to Diasporas' trail and triumph, a gap exists. This gap identified in the literature presented the researcher an opportunity to examine Rivers people in Diaspora, their trial, and triumph in the United States. The author used a generic qualitative research approach to describe the Rives State people challenges and success in the United States. This generic qualitative study investigated Rivers people in diaspora in the United States, their trials and triumph and contribution to their local communities in their homeland. The purpose of this generic qualitative research design was to examine how River State people in Diaspora manage challenges and are motivated to support their family, local communities, and encourage State government in their homeland. Literature on Diasporas trial and triumph reveals that Diasporas support and contribute to the family, local community and their Government in their homeland (RAD, 2015)

## **Research Design**

Generic qualitative research was used to collect and analyze data from Rivers State people in diaspora in the United States. Rivers State people in diaspora's personal viewpoint, perspective, reliance, or experiences of issues in trials



and triumphs cannot be measured in the statistical sense, as a result, requires a qualitative approach (Aronson, 1994). Trials and triumphs of Diasporas are complex, thus generic qualitative analysis was an appropriate approach to gather data to determine their trials and triumphs as they work through to manage struggle and challenges they face trying to integrate into a foreign land. Merriam (2014) stated that generic studies seek to understand how Rivers State people in Diaspora interpreted, constructed, or make meaning from their world and their struggle and challenges. The author's theoretically interpretive perspective was to examine; how Rivers State people in diaspora describe their trial and triumph, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their struggle and challenges.

The author used a generic qualitative research approach to interview the Rivers State people in the diaspora to recognize their trial and triumph and how they manage their challenges and still support their family and make a contribution to improve their local community in their homeland. Generic qualitative approach provided opportunities for this author to identify trials and triumphs in the participants' interpretive and descriptive responses with the most logical platform to examine the people of Rivers State, Nigeria and also examine the subjective opinions of the Rivers state people in diaspora's challenges and success (Percy, Kostere, & Kostere, 2015). Generic qualitative approach enabled this author to gain a deeper knowledge about how the Rivers state people in diaspora managed their challenges and also contributed to improve their local community and support their family in their homeland.

The author used generic qualitative approach because the focus of this article is on understanding Rivers state people in diaspora, their trials and triumphs and what motivates them to contribute and support their community in their homeland. According to Cooper and Endacott, (2007) generic qualitative research is used more frequently than in the past and about an in-depth understanding of Rivers state people in diaspora, their trial and triumph through the eyes of participants in this study (Merriam, 2011). The author used generic qualitative research design to describe participants' trials and triumphs and how they contributed and supported their family and the local community in their homeland. Caelli, Ray, and Mill (2003) asserted that generic qualitative inquiry has no adherence to a particular methodology or philosophical viewpoint.

### **Sample**

The sample for this study were Rivers State people in Diaspora who live and work in the United States. Rivers State people in Diaspora are the participants in this study who migrated from Rivers State, Nigeria and are members of one or two Rivers state people associations in the United States. Rivers State people in Diaspora participants were chosen from Rivers State Foundation Inc. members, who have lived in the United States for at least ten years and must be a Rivers State Foundation Inc. member that belong to one other Rivers state people in diaspora's association in the United States. The sample size was determined on the response received by the author. In a qualitative research, the standard sample size ranges from 10 to 12 respondents (Creswell, 2009; Lincoln & Guba, 2000); participants were selected from Rivers State Foundation Inc. that have experienced challenges.

The sample size for this article depended on the study, interview questions and the author's knowledge and exploration were necessary (Merriam, 2011) to describe efforts made by Rivers state people in the diaspora to improve their local community in their country of origin. It is important to note that generic qualitative research involves this author's desire to affect understanding and relate knowledge to action (Goldkuhl, 2012). The author terminated data collection when the information obtained was the same, thus reaching saturation. According to Percy et al., (2015), the collection of data for a generic qualitative research has to focus on real events and issues. Percy et al., (2015), asserted that information is sought from representative samples of people around real-world events and about their experiences. The author chooses this approach to explore and describe the experiences of Rivers state people in diaspora in the United States. The idea was to explore rivers State people trial and triumph, as regards to their understanding of transformational, transitional, or developmental changes.

## **Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical underpinning for this research was based on governmental change (Anderson & Anderson, 2010; 2011). Rivers State people in Diaspora go through various types of challenge and change (Anderson & Anderson, 2010; 2011). The theoretical framework that was used by the author of this study was governmental change. The reviewed literature makes known the common types of governmental changes are developmental, transitional, and transformational change (Anderson & Anderson, 2010) that occurs with Rivers State people in Diaspora. The acceptance of the governmental change has been a concept that Rivers State people in diaspora have had a constant struggle within times past, even though it's occurrence has been in operation for ages (Rothwell, Stavros, Sullivan, & Sullivan, 2010). However, Rivers State people in Diaspora are still interested in the management of challenges to improve and advance their community in their homeland (RAD, 2015). Notwithstanding this interest, there is little or no study on how the Rivers State people in Diaspora deal with their challenges and still contribute to improving the lives of their family, and the local community in their State.

## **Diaspora**

The word Diaspora is the migration of people from their country away to another country to settle. Others may describe it as people that left their homeland to other locations outside their birth home for various reasons and having the desire to return back to their homeland to contribute and be part of economic activities. There is an understanding that once a 'Diaspora' always a 'Diaspora.' The irony about this is that no one wants to remain a 'Diaspora' for the rest of his/her life but for lack of interest or a clear understanding of returning back to their homeland they decided to accept the term 'Diaspora.'

Today, many Rivers state people are living outside of their indigenous homes or place of origin. Many Rivers people in diaspora fear that their offspring will conform to the culture in their new home and lose the family ties and connection to their parents' cultural identity. It is difficult for parents to teach an offspring to learn the history and the culture of the indigenous homeland when that offspring are spread around the world. Simulation of rituals, memories, and stories from parents, community conventions, and short visits from family member cannot take the place of living in a physical community.

## **Diaspora at Work**

In the United States, Rivers state people in diaspora express renewed interest in their family, local Government, State as well as their Nation. This includes development benefits, education, health care, and security. Most ethnic associations of the Rivers state people in the diaspora send resources home to assist their local communities. For example, their website promotes medical missions, mobile clinic to combat common health issues, and face the problem of the epidemic in local government and States. In 2016, the Rivers State foundation Inc. of the United States, co-sponsored by other Rivers State community associations went on a medical mission to combat common issues that need immediate attention for Rivers state people. Recently, in late 2018, Usama Ekpeye USA Inc. completed a humanitarian responsibility by donating food items and other household materials to flood victims in Ekpeye land to help the underprivileged and people displaced by the flood.

Similarly, it is the assumption of the Rivers state people in Diaspora and their various associations that most of the elementary, secondary and higher institutions in Rivers State are universally faced with the shortage of books and basic learning materials. These associations in the diaspora, USA raised money to pay school fees for the underprivileged family and provide basic learning materials to the pupils in their local government areas, which is an indicator of their beginning journey back home with development. Some started with the construction of sinking boreholes and boiler tanks, building schools, health centers, and supporting churches in their community.

These acts validate the fact that there is a crucial relationship that needs to be maintained between the Rivers state people in the diaspora and their Government. It is upon the Government of the Rivers State to see that the efforts

made by the Rivers state people in the diaspora succeed. These efforts and success will only help redirect fund and attention of our government for other purposes in whose areas the aids will be mostly needed.

### **Economy**

Rivers State has one of the largest economies in Nigeria, crude oil being the main resource. The State has two major refineries, two major seaports, International airports, and various industrial estates spread across the state, particularly in Port Harcourt the State capital. Port Harcourt is accessible by road, rail, air, and sea. Port Harcourt has two seaports, railway terminus, and one of the busiest international airports in Nigeria (Rivers State, 2017). The capital, Port Harcourt was named "Garden City," because of its beautiful layout and peculiar landscape. It is the nerve center of all the famous Nigerian Oil industry and accommodates over ninety industrial concerns, including the Shell Petroleum Development Company of (Nigeria) Limited, AGIP, Texaco, Elf, NPRC, Michelin, West African Glass Industry, Alcan Aluminum, Metaloplastica, Risonpalm, NAFCON, Pabod Breweries, to mention a few.

The contributions of the Rivers State people in the diaspora to their local communities and the State Government for development have long been recognized (International diaspora Engagement Alliance, 2012). Studies have documented the importance of funds sent from the United States by Nigerians in Diaspora to their homelands in the 20th and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries to be in Billions of Naira (International diaspora Engagement Alliance, 2012). Rivers State people of Nigeria in Diaspora, particularly those in the United States, recognize their dream is to finance projects and impact their local community, just as the role of the Jewish people in diaspora financing construction of the state of Israel (Hispanics In Philanthropy, 2011, Modern Diasporas in International Politics, 1986). It is expected that the growth of Rivers state people in Diasporas, will stimulate expectations that their descendants will continue to finance the development of their communities and State of origin.

Rivers State Government increasingly recognizes the value that diaspora populations bring to development efforts and are seeking ways to magnify the financial resources this group contribute to the welfare and development in their state and local government areas. Other than sending money to relatives, which boost the state economy, the Rivers state people in diaspora fulfill a key development role in Rivers State. Rivers State needs the Diasporas in terms of investment in critical areas such as health, infrastructure, security, importation, tourism, and in the development of human resources.

### **Diasporas Remittances**

Remittances to Rivers State, perhaps the most widely recognized form of Rivers state people in diaspora engagement, have increased intensely and are expected to continue to rise in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (International diaspora Engagement Alliance, 2012). According to the Hudson Institute, money remitted from the United States to developing countries in 2009 were about Ninety-six billion dollars (\$95.8 billion), which triples what the U.S government spent on official development assistance (Hudson Institute Center for Global Prosperity, 2009).

There is no doubt that the Rivers people are maximizing and channeling the large amount of remittance that flows from the United States (Hudson Institute Center for Global Prosperity, 2009) into Rivers State as an important objective of the Diasporas. Remittances have an impact in the inflow of funds to Rivers State, and represents a substantial portion of uncultivated local item for consumption (Hudson Institute Center for Global Prosperity, 2009) in Rivers State. Additionally, Western Union, new cell phone money transfer technology combined with increased mobile phone infiltration in Nigeria has improved the remittance process and made it much easier to send and receive money in the homeland state capital, Port Harcourt.

The individuals that receive this transferred money use it to fill their instantaneous needs, including food and medicine purchases, and other healthcare expenses, consequently these remittances have an impact on household and extends to local and the State Government. The Rivers state people in Diaspora love their communities and

are committed to their people, culture, and heritage, these are undoubtedly the vital elements to encouraging profitable, long-term, and lasting transformation in Rivers State.

### **Defining Success**

There has been a misconception about what constitutes successful Diasporas and their investment in their homeland. The Rivers state people in diaspora, particularly in the United States want their success to include their non-economic influences such as their ties to the community, their participation in their homeland concerns and not limited to investments, when evaluating their service. This may include the progression of professional services that have transferred and can transfer to the forthcoming relationship. It is clear that the social cohesion and identity between the diaspora and the people in the homeland has an impact that cannot be measured in monetary terms.

This reflects a common understanding that Rivers people in diaspora's success and investment should not just be financial, but should also include knowledge transfer and social relationships. There should be a dialogue with the people in diaspora and the people in the homeland participants to establish "social cohesion" that measure and create accountability around the non-economic goals of both parties. We can all agree that the Diasporas' investments in their local areas are intended to address long-term economic development that must be sustained.

### **The Policy and Incentive**

Some of the policy and incentives of Rivers State Government have not had an impact in encouraging the Diasporas to plan to return home to enjoy the rich natural resources and privileges in their State. Most of them want to go back to their homeland to contribute or payback to their community that has given them so much. Also, most Diasporas recognize that their education was sponsored and funded by the Rivers State Government through scholarship in the 70's and early 80's. Considering the feedback from most Rivers people in diaspora that migrated in the 70s and early 80s, confirmed that their education was paid by the Rivers State government. The most pressing question with them is what policies and incentives are being implemented by the State Government that will enhance their lives to want to make them return back home while the society creates a new group. According to Lewin's (1997) model of the change process, motivate your followers to change by helping them understand the importance of change, offer incentives, and guide them to identify the attitudes, behaviors, and values that will support new vision (Armenakis & Bedeian, 1999; Burnes & Cooke, 2013).

It is important to point out that these groups are not looking for any special privileges, over their counterpart in the homeland to return home. However, the State Government needs to understand that these Rivers state people in diaspora have acquired a wide range of experience and exposure that will be beneficial to Rivers State government. It is natural as human nature that once this experience and knowledge have been acquired, people are encouraged and would want to use that knowledge and experience to make an impact in their various communities. It is clear that these Rivers state people will be returning from a very comfortable environment with good healthcare, easy access to basic needs, and excellent kids' education, regardless of their current situation.

Where and when incentives are provided, the respondents in this study noted that the Rivers State people in diaspora would be attracted and willing to give up comfort to return to their homeland for the development of their community. In the 60's and early 70's, for example, The Military Governor of Rivers State, Nigeria Alfred Diете-Spiff, a member of the Supreme Military Council (SMC) under General Yakubu Gowon's administration offered good incentives to Rivers state people in Diaspora, and most Diasporas returned back to their homeland to support the State.

It is understood that there are negative inferences, and discernments, that are connected with the Rivers state people in diaspora and the focus bestowed to them, just like any Diasporas. It may be comfortable to assume that the present administration are moving towards creating incentives to bring back the Rivers state people in diaspora

back home, so that their knowledge, the experience can be tapped, technology transfer, local capacity building in their area of expertise in the State and their local areas.

Rivers State Government extending investment incentive schemes to attract Rivers state people in Diaspora is a starting point. Research has shown that the Rivers state people love their State (Rivers State, 2017) and would prefer to return to their oil-rich homeland than be labeled Diasporas. As a result, any effort to bring the Rivers state people in the diaspora back to their homeland will be worthwhile, and the community can be rest assured that they are back home for good, because it's home for them. It will be accurate to say that every investment made by Rivers State people in diaspora to the State has an impact in local capacity creation, impact on knowledge transfer, and impact on creating a home-grown business.

### **Rivers People in Diaspora Engagement**

According to respondents in this study, the Rivers State people in diaspora associations in the USA play an important role when it comes to addressing issues concerning their communities. With the understanding of their community economy, culture, and their deep commitment to seeing their local government areas flourish, the Diasporas investors tend to be more committed than the average outside investors.

There is so much unexploited knowledge, experience, and skills in Rivers state people in diaspora. This Diasporas, particularly those in the USA, want to return back home and be part of the growth planning of oil-rich Rivers State and believe that their impact will be enormous. They feel the pressure to return home, engage, and help their community, and if they don't who would? Most of the Rivers state people in diaspora, particularly in the United States of America have three major objectives: development; make money and make an impact in their homeland. As a result, the respondents in the study wish the Rivers state government creates incentives to attract the untapped knowledge, skill, experience, wealth, and do everything possible to attract them to return home.

### **Self Development**

All the respondents in the study agreed that the Rivers State people associations in the diaspora should plead with every member of their association to be the best on whatever they do, wherever they are. One of the participants stated that "Our success begins with us, as a result, we are effectively confronting our trials, which leads to our triumphs."

### **Educational Quest**

According to the Rockefeller Foundation-Aspen Institute Diaspora Program (RAD) analysis (2015), Nigerians in the diaspora are the best educated of the 15 groups in their study. The Rivers people in diaspora are part of these Nigerians in the United States that are highly educated (RAD analysis, 2015). Large proportion of Rivers people in diaspora hold bachelor's or advanced degrees thus, Rivers state people in diaspora value and cherish education. All the respondents believed that the Rivers State people's associations in diaspora support education and are strategically searching for ways to advance education in their homeland. Education is the search for knowledge and wisdom that helps youths to survive and succeed economically, as a result, minimize insecurity and reduces violence in every community.

Rivers state have over 2,805 Government primary schools and 243 secondary schools. Other institutions are the University of Port Harcourt, the Rivers State University of Science and Technology, the School of Health Technology, Port Harcourt, the federally-owned polytechnic at Omoku and the state-owned Rivers State Polytechnic at Bori, the Rivers State University of Education (Ignatius Ajulu University) at Rumuolumeni, Nkpolu Oroworukwo and Ndele and the School of Nursing and Midwifery at Rumueme, Port Harcourt (Rivers, 2017).

## **Challenges**

All the participants in the study agreed that survival is one of the major challenge every Rivers state person in diaspora worldwide deals with. The challenges come from personal, family to the national to global. Rivers state people in the diaspora, also individually grapple with daily issues of life, mowing your lawns, baby sitting, wash cars, run errand, and work almost every day. Some deal with health issues, others fight diseases, educational frustrations, family issues, and others. These are all challenges which we as human face. Rivers people in diaspora like people in the homeland address the same exact issues as everyone anywhere in the world.

## **Professional Relation**

All the respondents agreed that the Rivers people in Diaspora are capable and competent professionals in multitudes of careers as their equals at home and appreciate the importance of professionalism. They are doctors, engineers, educators, lawyers, businessmen, accountants, environmentalist, agriculturalist and lot more informal profession. Therefore, the Rivers State people in diaspora need to be mobilized and organized for community good. The participants suggested that the professional relationship between the Rivers state people in diaspora and those at homeland become a critical and an essential component to break new frontiers and capitalize on the professional connection.

## **Rivers in Diaspora Immigrant**

According to RAD analysis (2015), the largest numbers of Nigeria immigrants in the United States reside in Texas, Maryland, and New York, and this reflects the settlement of the Rivers People in Diaspora. By metropolitan areas, New York, Houston, Dallas, Atlanta, Washington DC, and Miami has the largest Rivers State immigrant population. Rivers people in Diaspora have built and are building a network of organization through North America. These Rivers people in diaspora groups are all volunteer-led organizations with unique and one common objective to give back, encourage the development of Rivers State, the arts and culture, homeland, women and youth empowerment, or the provision of health and other social services to Rivers' most underprivileged populations.

## **Rivers State Associations in Diaspora Mobilization**

The main goal of all Rivers state people in diaspora associations are to mobilized those from the same tribe and culture, to raise awareness and fund in a time of crisis and coordinate relief efforts to save lives back in their homeland. Rivers State foundation Inc. proved this during their medical mission in May 2017. The primary message from these associations was that Rivers in diaspora communities need help, and they need to come together to affect change. Once these associations are unified around a goal and their desire to make a difference in diaspora, the impact of their efforts are dramatic, even when addressing a crisis in their homeland, which is thousands of miles away. Understanding the historical account of Rivers State people in the United State of America is essential to appreciate their trial and triumph, this article discusses the goals of few of the Associations that constitutes the Rivers People in Diaspora. These Rivers state groups identify themselves by their shared dialect and cultural tradition.

## **Goal for Excellence**

The purpose and objectives of Rivers State's associations are to focus on environmental degradation, public health and economic development of the State; to promote peace and stability in the region; to promote understanding between the Diasporas and the people in homeland, Rivers State Nigeria on matters of social-cultural significance to both entities; to create a forum for exchange of professional ideas and mobilization of resources among Rivers State indigenes in the United States, and to assist in the creation of a forum for responsible advocacy of the problems of the Rivers People

Rivers State foundation in the United States go back to the nineties. The current Rivers State Foundation, Inc. (RSF, Inc.) was founded in 2010 at the Houston Convention coordinated by a Court-appointed Care Taker Committee established to resuscitate its predecessor, the Rivers State Foundation. Its predecessor was established in 1991 as an umbrella organization for Rivers State indigenes now residing in the Americas. Initially called the "National Association of Rivers State People," the name was changed to The Rivers State Foundation at the association's Chicago Conference of 1992. Since its formation in 1991, the Foundation has organized itself around regional chapters. At its peak, the foundation had representatives and chapters in all regions of the United States. Its membership base consisted of highly respected professionals from diverse academic and vocational backgrounds - medicine, engineering, banking, state and federal government employees, education, accounting, entrepreneurship, to name a few. Fourteen years after the formation of the foundation, conflict within the Board of Directors led to its dissolution.

The mission of Rivers State Foundation Inc. is the advancement of education, economic development, cultural and environmental issues in the Oil Delta Region of Nigeria. The Region is the richest oil and gas producing area in Sub-Sahara Africa. It includes 23 oil-producing Local Government Areas; namely: Abua/Odual, Ahoada East, Ahoada West, Akuku-Toru, Andoni, Asari-Toru, Bonny, Degema, Eleme, Emohua, Etche, Gokana, Ikwerre, Khana, Obio/Akpor, Ogba/Egbema/Ndoni, Ogu/Bolo, Okrika, Omuma, Opobo/Nkoro, Oyigbo, Port Harcourt, and Tai.

This paper list few of the Rivers State local government/ethnic association in the United States America and their goals are on their website. The local government/ethnic association included AbuaOdual USA, Corp; Kalabari National Association an umbrella organization for the Abonnema Foundation; Kalabari Association of Washington; Houston Kalabari Community Inc; Buguma Community USA; Obama (Bakana) Development Association; Kula Community; Obuama Community USA Inc; Kalabari Belema – Awo of North Carolina; **Ndoni National Association USA Inc.**; Ogbakor Ikwerre USA (OIUSA) Inc.; **Ogoni Charities, Inc.**; Usama Ekpeye USA Inc. and more, all are non-profit 501(c)(3) organizations. These organizations serve as a platform for all sons and daughters of Rivers people residing in North America to combine their resources to address and solve common problems effectively and efficiently here and in their homeland. Their goals are to foster unity, enhance the growth, promote education, culture, human services, and Healthcare among all people of their heritage. The members of these associations are volunteers that represent a group of like-minded people who saw the need for combining their individual strengths, diverse profession and educational backgrounds to embark on charitable and philanthropic causes for the underprivileged in their homeland and displaced Diasporas in the United States.

### **Recommendation**

The advancement of technology makes the world shrink, however, skills and growth are increasingly becoming more comprehensive. The Rivers state people in diaspora community's organizations and their members play a significant role in promoting stronger desire to make a difference, development, deeper interest is addressing crisis, women and youth empowerment, the provision of health and other social services, as a result, are looking for more effective bilateral collaboration with the Rivers State government. A partnerships that will build on existing linkages to Rivers State and draw on the talents, creativity, resources, and networks of Rivers state people in diaspora communities.

One way to do this and be effective is to start a Diaspora office in the United State to coordinate other Diasporas in other continents to carry out the mission of the Rivers in diaspora and collaborate with the state government to assure that the Rivers state people in the diaspora's concerns are addressed, and their safety when they visit homeland is assured. The Diaspora office should be able to collaborate with policy formulation for Rivers state people in Diaspora and those in the homeland to enable intercultural skill initiative to be developed and so much more. It is important to clarify that the Rivers people in Diaspora concerns and contributions to their local governments are personal and a moral obligation by individuals to assist their local community in their homeland.

## Conclusion

About a hundred thousand or more Rivers state immigrants and their children live in the United States, and are the lowest source of Nigeria immigration. The size of the Rivers states people population that migrated from Rivers State had grown from the 80's, when the Rivers State Government was awarding scholarship for educational purpose to the United States, United Kingdom and other parts of the world. According, Rockefeller Foundation Aspen Institute Diaspora Program (2015), Nigerian immigrants account for about 0.6 percent of the United States' overall foreign-born population, and less than 0.1 percent are Rivers state immigrants.

Through partnerships of Rivers State Government and the diaspora associations, diaspora communities in the USA can strategically invest in their indigenous ethnic groups, supporting innovative projects that are scalable and sustainable and greatly improve quality of life in their local government (International diaspora Engagement Alliance, 2012). Conversely, to promoting scalable and sustainable development in Rivers State economies, the state will need people with knowledge, skills, and commitment, because remittances alone will not suffice (International diaspora Engagement Alliance, 2012). These commitment to help their people's civil society groups strengthens transfers of knowledge, money remittance to improve and foster growth.

An employer that may want to invest overseas often turns to their diaspora member employees to identify new market opportunities and understand the cultural preferences of their diaspora communities and culture (International diaspora Engagement Alliance (2012). The Rivers in diaspora in the U.S. have saved tens of thousands of lives through Community association conventions providing a platform for most Diasporas and Americans to contribute to the creative and productive project. The Rivers in Diaspora communities serve as an "ambassadorial association," helping to reaffirm and strengthen diplomatic relations during political mayhem and change.

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# Post-Secularism in Politics of Turkey: A Comparison with Habermas' Post-Secularism Theory

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## Abstract

In the progress of modernization and Westernization, secularization has been reported in various areas such as politics, among individuals and even religions themselves. Theorizing and explaining such situations, scholars have argued that religious things should be excluded from the public sphere. However, a trend to doubt such secularization theory has recently appeared, which regards society as a "post-secularized" place. This article explores to what extent that the view of "post-secularization" can be adopted to the actual society by focusing on politics in Turkey as one of the examples of "post-secularized" society. While Turkey is known as a country which had experienced a severe secularization in the 1920s by Ataturk, when it comes to the recent political situation, the impacts of Islam cannot be ignored. This article explores the relation between the recent Turkish politics and the "post-secularization" theory, also comparing it with the leading democratic theory argued by Habermas (2008).

**Keywords:** Turkish Politics, Islam, Post-Secularism, Post-Islamism, Habermas

## 1. Introduction

Since the enlightenment movement in Western countries, secularization has been reported in various places such as politics, individuals, and even religions themselves. Many classical sociologists and religious scholars have tried to theorize such phenomena, and some of them argued that in order to modernize and democratize the society, religious things should be excluded from public places. However, after the progress of globalization and the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, the trend which doubts the westernized secularization theory has emerged. This reflecting dynamic is often referred to as 'post-secularism.'

Turkey is known as a country which was drastically secularized in the early of 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, recently, the increasing influences of Islamic parties have been reported (Somer 2007). Focusing on the appearance/revival of Islamic influences and opposing forces against them in the politics of Turkey in the the 1990s, this article

explores how and to what extent Turkish political situation has been 'post-secularized' from combined two perspectives: post-Islamism and post-secularism. Building on the historical analysis, this article sees the political situation as a result of self-reflection of both Islamists and secularists. Furthermore, to the extent its argument and to clarify the problems of the current situation, it compares with Habermas' (2008) leading theory on the relationship between politics and religion.

The structure of this article is the following: it begins with historical analysis to review the background of Turkish politics and its secularization. Then, it is followed by the theoretical approach to analyse how the attitudes of politics have changed, comparing them with Habermas' post-secularism theory in chapter 3. Finally, chapter 4 summarizes and provides conclusion and implications from the two analysis.

## 2. Historical Analysis

It is said that Turkey is a secularized country but at the same time, Islamic country. It is important to understand the history of this unique state in order to analyze the today's large religious influences.

### 2.1. First Secularization by Ataturk

It was Mustafa Kemal, also referred to as Ataturk or 'Father of Turks' that stepped in as a Turkish ruler of the new republic after the first World War, in 1923. His prior reform was to separate the religious, Islamic beliefs from public lives. He would like to change Turkey, based on the brief: 'nationalism, secularism, reformism, statism, populism, and republicanism' (Ansary, 2009, p.302). His drastic secularization, usually referred to as 'Westernizing' (Ibid. 2009), implies that religion is a symbol of 'non-civilized' society, and totally an obstacle of modernization.

His government removed Islamic things from judicial and educational systems, which was then designed after the Western countries to 'civilize' people. For instance, the Islamic calendar and Arabic scripts were replaced by the Gregorian calendar and the Alphabet respectively, and people were encouraged to be educated in the Western music and paintings in schools (Mardin, 1997, p.200). Differentiated from the principle of politico-religious separation in other countries in which politics does not intervene religion and vice versa, Kemal's government-regulated religion through using the power of the parliament, and non-Islamized the public systems (Sawae, 2001, pp.254-255). This includes the abolition of Caliph system and *Shariat*, which is the Islamic law, deletion of statement from the Constitution to establish Islam as a national religion, and so on. The Parliament was predominately ruled by the Republican People's Party which is the party established by Kemal as People's Party and renamed after the declaration of a republic in 1924. According to Sawae (2001), while there were opposing movements against the radical reforms, he regarded them as enemies of modernization and suppressed with the arms, establishing the Maintenance of Public Order Law enacted in 1925.

### 2-2. Post Ataturk Period

In 1945, since the multi-party system was introduced, Democrat Party which derives from Republican People's Party took the rein of the government. Although Democrat Party certainly added some revisions to the secularization policies by Ataturk, the Democrat government kept them strict in response to the reemergence of Islamic revival groups. For instance, it introduced 'The Law Concerning Crimes Committed Against Ataturk' which restricts the freedom of speech related to the praise of Islam, in particular against the Ataturk reforms to protect memories of him (Bali 2007).

Even after the period Ataturk had died, under the internationally tense circumstance due to the Cold War, the Turkish secularization was held upon by the unique structure, in which the policies suppressing Islamic revival groups were positively or virtually supported by Westernized, Secularized groups, and the Western countries, and Islamic groups admittedly supported the government suppressing communism groups, with Turkish nationalistic

and pro-American groups (Sawae 2001). As shown by this, Turkey still continued to have the peculiar structure of secularization in which the government progressed secularizing policies, consciously intervening, and controlling the influences of religion.

### *2.3 Emergence of Islamic Parties*

The transition to democracy in Turkey had important consequences in terms of the struggle between the secularists and the Islamists. The revolutionary politics was replaced with the democratic ones because of the balanced, and hence, peaceful politics by Democrat Party including the legal systems stipulated in the Constitution not subject to amendment. This is the reason that the recent studies (Toprak, 2005) argue that Islamic movements in Turkey have not been associated with violent but have been democratic and relatively moderate.

During the period of the 1960s to the 1970s, the rise in Islamic identity and the revival of the Islamic group were observed. Among the reports, Sawae (2001) clearly shows the dynamics of Islamic groups in this period.

The Equity Party took the government in 1965 as a post of the Democrat Party, as it gained power by occupying reaping profits grown through policies to develop the domestic capital. During the period of this change of power, although religious things were still restricted in the public sphere, the Islamic groups in Turkey were admitted to be valuable by the government to sustain its power. This is because the Islam was clearly against the leftist communism group, which is fundamentally atheistic, and the government as a part of NATO needs their supports to keep a solid international relationship. The Islamic groups were allowed to reestablish an Islamic institution for higher education as a result of compromise of the Equity Party. However, as long as they were under control by the country, the rise in Islamic movements in Turkey was inevitable, following international Islamic events such as the Kashmir War and the Israel-Palestinian conflicts. This leads to the controversy over headscarves worn by Muslim female students in the university, which is admittedly incompatible with Ataturk secularization. This kind of social movements would move up to the political field from the end of the 1960s (Sawae 2001).

By the campaign period of the general election in 1969, Necmettin Erbakan who would be a top of the National Order Party and at that time ran independent of any party, had strengthened the relationship with the pro-Islamic group within the Equity Party, and eventually won the election. Then in 1970, he founded a new party, the National Order Party. Many of supporters of the party reacted against the radical secular reforms as well as hoped that it would raise their social and particularly economic status for reviving Islamic spirits. What his party aimed was to consider social justice through social welfare, to be free from the social and economic dependence on the Western countries and to develop the country based on "values of Muslim" rather than modernization by Westernization (Sanbay 1985; Sawae, 2001). In 1975, Erbakan published 'Milli Gorus' in which he indicated the perspective of Muslim community. Referring to the secularization/Westernization started from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, he said that national identity (milli suur) had been lost after 200-years foreign invasion and the local cooperation for it (Erbakan 1975: p.9). According to this book, 'reconstruction of great Turkey' is employed as a slogan. Moreover, he suggested that the goal of his party was to accomplish material development based on values of Muslim, which emphasized faith in Islam (Erbakan 1975, p.17). As the National Order Party often referred to the Quran or Hadith as a part of manifestos, it explains the necessity of policies depending on the Islamic view of the world. Here, Erbakan's argument represented by 'Milli Gorus' provided justification to bring religious things into the political fields in Turkey. He continuously showed this political view through the lectures to students from around 1970. These Islam-centered ideas were carried on by the National Salvation Party (NSP, 1972-1980) and the Welfare Party (RP, 1983-1998), which are both Islamic parties afterward (Çarkoğlu & Rubin 2006).

### *2.4 Expanding Influences of Islam in Turkish Politics*

In the end of the 1970s, three Islamic parties, the National Order Party, the National Salvation Party and the Welfare Party, were illegalized by the armed intervention, because they were apparently incompatible with the principle of secularism. After the military coup in 1980, Turkish politics was run by the military government.

Despite the series of suppression of Islamic parties, the new government employed the 'Turkish-Islamic' ideology, which encourage people to strengthen their national identity based on both Turkish identity and Islamic identity. The 1982 Constitution drafted by the military government included the religious education in public elementary and middle schools (Sawae 2001). Although the military administration ostensibly supported the politico-religious separation policy since Ataturk, at the same time, the military officially made use of the Islamic power as its expanding influences could not be ignored.

### 2.5 Emergence of Erdoğan

The greatest crisis for the Islamic groups in Turkey was 'February 28<sup>th</sup> Process' in 1997. This was a suppression of Islamists, particularly who are led by the pro-Islam Welfare Party, from various secularists such as the military, the judicial forces, the economic circles, the journalists and even the universities. The movement expanded to boycotts of the products made by Islamic companies and banning to wear scarfs in universities. At that time, there were few people who criticized such suppression by secularists (Burak 2011). However, from the early 2000s, the idea which opposes to the series of secularism campaign emerged and started to spread out even among the secularistic scholars and intellectuals, following the spreading values of a diverse community, and reflecting on a series of ethnic problems about Armenian and Kurdish people living within Turkey. Furthermore, as Turkey proceeded with accession negotiation with EU and faced the global standard of respect to multiculturalism, there arose a stream that secularists reflected upon contradiction between approval of the political intervention into religion for the purpose of "protection of democracy" and of military power which was based on undemocratic logic (Sawae 2001).

In order to form a sustainable government, the Virtue Party (FP, 1997-2001), taking over the outlawed RP, made a concession to secularists and built good relationships with the Western countries. At the same time, FP tried to form the public system in which religion is not excluded from the public sphere. However, because of this attempt, FP was recognized as an Islamic party by secularists and eventually, was also outlawed. After the dissolving of FP, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who had been one of the younger generation, known as "reformists", founded the Justice and Development Party (JDP, 2015-), which gained power followed by the landslide victory in the 2002 election despite the fact that the JDP was seen to be a successor of the Welfare Party and the Virtue Party. However, Erdoğan, the current Turkish present prime minister and also a leader of the JDP, has consistently shied away from public questioning and discussion of the role of Islam in Turkish society. The JDP called itself as a 'center-right conservative party'. After the election, he and his party were continuously attacked by the secularists in an outlawing trial (Burak 2011). This, counterproductively, strengthened the party's solidarity and undermined the legitimacy of the conventional secularism.

Erdoğan began to be a president in Turkey in the 2014 election, and then won again the 2017 election, in which he asked people to expand the power of the president, which could keep him being in office until 2029 (BBC 2017). Despite the JDP officially claiming itself as not an Islamic Party, the presence of the religion has been increased in public sphere so much after the JDP that it managed to legitimize to wear Islamic headscarves in public places, which had been one of the most controversial issues among the secularists and Islamists. Additionally, when we see the Turkish electoral campaigns in the 2000s, a strategy of the JDP can be found: balancing between secularism and Islamism. On the one hand, it brought religious policies into political fields. For instance, it suggested to restrict alcohol in public places and restaurants<sup>1</sup> during the campaigns for the 2001 and 2002 elections in order to collect the votes from Islamists (Hurriyet Daily News 2013). On the other hand, the JDP employed females who did not wear scarves in the parliament to show its secularized aspect and to avoid being criticized on scarf issues (Sawae 2001). As shown in its balancing attitudes towards secularism and Islamism, it can be seen that the JDP sets the goal in establishing a long-lasting government apart from having a radical ideology.

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<sup>1</sup> Alcohol restrictions were officially adopted by the Turkish Parliament in 2013. According to Hurriyet Daily News (2013), the bill was proposed by the Justice and Development Party. Alcohol retailers are no longer allowed to sell alcohol beverage between 10 pm to 6 am in Turkey.

### 3. Theoretical Analysis

Building on the historical analysis described in chapter 2, this chapter theoretically analyses the relation between politics and religion in Turkey. In particular, it critically explores how and to what extent the Turkish politics has been secularized and not secularized from two perspectives: post-Islamism and post-secularism.

#### 3.1. *Post-Islamism*

There is no substantial definition of the idea of post-Islamism. Its usage and definition varies by scholars, but this article borrows the definition by Bayat (2013) who is a professor of Sociology and Middle Eastern studies. In contrast to the conventional Islamism which strongly emphasizes universal control of states based on the exclusive and mandatory thoughts, the post-Islamism includes pluralism and is tolerant to various rights. Although Islamic governments, as a principle, run the state with little compromise, post-Islamism gives a wide range of compromises in order to last its governing. In Turkey, the Virtue Party and the Justice and Development Party made an effort to get wide supports by compromising to secularists and the Western countries and hesitating to express Islamic statements particularly avoiding officially referring to the scarf issues. This religious situation is close to the post-Islamic state described by Bayat (2013).

The policies by the JDP are conducted along with the idea of post-Islamism. When Erdoğan visited Egypt in September 2011, when the Arab spring had already started, he expressed his opinion that "secularism" is not "anti-Islam" and advised Egypt should form a new government which is based on (post-)secularistic ideology. Additionally, to show its liberality, the JDP has adopted policies contributing to the improvement of women's social status, such as revising the civil law to achieve equal right between husbands and wives, encouraging to send girls to schools and conducting an education project for mosques and teachers to eliminate abuse or violence from education. These policies may not be carried out without post-Islamism.

According to Sawae 2016, this trend emerged from the economic growth. With the rapid economic development especially after the Second World War, people who support Islamic revival were raised upon the upper to middle class. This social mobility gradually grew the inclusive culture rather than exclusive, which allows more diversity in the Turkish public sphere. Furthermore, as the increasing number of women received higher education and worked with men, the general social norm was developed with the post-Islamic culture.

While the JDP positions itself as a center-right party, as shown in chapter 2, Sawae (2001) points out that the higher proportion of the member of the JDP who deeply involves in Islamism. According to her, when looking at their academic careers, family backgrounds and acquired languages, most of them are educated or grown up in Islamic institutions or groups. Besides that, they are engaged in politics while sharing Islamic beliefs both privately and officially. However, the beliefs are much less radical than before and put distance from the extreme thoughts to maintain political supports both domestically and internationally. This represents the post-Islamic way to involve in politics while believing religion.

#### 3.2 *Post-secularism*

The characteristic of post-secularism in Turkey can be found in the variation of secularists groups. As I described above, the groups represented by Atatürk, the military forces, the Westernized elites and intellectuals progressed drastic reforms based on Westernization and modernization as a 'defender of democratization'. This attitude was represented the most in the 'February 28th process', in which the government ignored political intervention by the military forces. According to Sawae (2016), secularist groups had used the Islamic parties as 'scapegoat' by making them illegal to distract attention away from the undemocratic ways. In contrast to the pretext of a protection of democratization, the radical Turkish secularization has been strongly associated with undemocratic ways particularly after Atatürk.

After the 2000s, however, conflicts between the resolute 'democratization' and 'undemocratic' actions by secularists appeared in the public and even within themselves, leading to criticisms and self-reflection for themselves. This reflection was accelerated by touching the global standards such as the importance to diversity and multi-culturalism. Under such circumstances, they could not stop falling their approval ratings without changing themselves. When we look at elites and scholars in the 2000s who used to be the center of secularism supporters, you can find changes in the undemocratic way of governing. For example, it appeared in some reforms including abolishing the post of various departments of servicepersons and reorganization of National Security Council which was practically a supervisory bodies of the government by the military forces (Sawae 2016).

Changes not only in undemocratic ways of secularists but in the attitudes towards religion can also be found in the degree of tolerance to it. This is mostly represented by the permission to wear Islamic headscarves in public places by the JDP government. Since the Ataturk reforms, headscarves were prohibited into wearing in public, which was a symbol of secularism and the most controversial issues between secularists and Islamists. However, as shown in chapter 2, women were eventually allowed to wear scarves following the religious rules from the period between 2010 and 2013 to respect diverse cultures and values. This tolerance represents the post-secularistic way of politics in Turkey.

### *3.3 Theoretical Analysis of Turkish Post-Secularism/Islamism from Habermas' Theory*

Although having some features as an Islamic party, the Justice and Development Party has provided a common ground with secularists, which would never be abolished unilaterally. They partly achieved post-secularized politics ideally that Habermas (2008) argues in that there has been an interaction between politics and religion. Despite these self-reflections of Islamists and secularists, however, it is still hard to say that Turkish politics has completely changed to post-secularism that Habermas (2008) suggests.

First, he claims that religious language should not be brought into national systems. While religion can or should exist in the public sphere, it has to be translated into neutral languages in terms of the world view (Habermas 2008, p.29). According to him, in the public sphere especially in political fields, it is necessary to conduct deliberation (conversation) under the circumstance where both religious and secularized things are equally and mutually admitted. In today's Turkey, the presence of Islamic things in politics cannot be ignored. For instance, the establishment of the crime of adultery by Erdoğan in 2004 is still criticized as an Islamic rule. At the final stage of advancement of women's status, he declared that adultery would be subject to punishment in Turkey. This law amendment has caused a lot of criticisms among domestic secularists, EU countries and even academic fields. Although others argue that it is just Erdoğan's authoritarianism or traditional clientelism rather than Islamism (Sawae, 2011), it is generally seen to derive from the view of the Islamic world. Here, Turkish politics is incompatible with what Habermas thinks of the ideal post-secularized politics.

Second, when considering post-secularized politics, Habermas put emphasis on deliberation between the Sacred and the Profane, namely, Islamists and secularists in this case. The JDP has been taking the government for three terms since 2002, which could deflect the balance in the public sphere between religious and political opinions to the former. Furthermore, Erdoğan has continuously expanded executive privilege and extended his term of office, and actually, as described before, some laws related with Islamism are submitted under the present of Erdoğan. There seem no rooms for deliberation between him and others from the equal position in the public sphere. Therefore, it should be suspended to affirm that Turkish politics has realized post-secularized society which Habermas idealized.

## **4. Conclusion**

This article described the Turkish history of politics from the perspective of the relations between politics and religion. Turkish government drastically introduced secular reforms, strongly restricting religious things. After the Ataturk reform, the government used Islamic groups to confront the communism as a part of the West country. As

the presence of Islamic revival groups increased within such situations, the Islamic parties gradually gained power. After the February 28<sup>th</sup> Process, the Justice Development Party has taken the government as a technically Islamic party since 2002, balancing to get supports between Islamists and secularists.

Building on the historical analysis, it theoretically analysed how far Turkish politics has been secularized and not secularized until today from two perspectives, post-Islamism and post-secularism. On the one hand, reflecting upon its too radical world view, Islamists have adopted to secular and liberal policies to secure their political power. On the other hand, secularists come to show a certain compromise, touching the globally spreading liberal thoughts such as respecting cultural diversity. Despite their self-reflection, this article points out problems Turkish politics still has, referring to Habermas' (2008) argument. According to him, to achieve the ideal post-secularization, introducing religious view of the world should be avoided in public sphere. Rather, those things should be translated into neutral language in order to carry out deliberation or conversation between secular and religious groups from mutually equal position. In contrast to this view, however, there is actually little deliberation between them, mainly because the Justice and Development Party under Erdoğan has been keenly interested in sustaining their political resources. In this sense, this article concludes that although post-Islamism and post-secularism have been developed well in Turkey, Turkish politics has not completely been post-secularized yet.

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# The Floating World of Ukiyo-e Prints: Images of a Japanese Counterculture

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## Abstract

Ukiyo-e, or “pictures of the floating world,” were woodblock prints that, among other subjects, depicted the “women of pleasure” and Kabuki actors of Japan’s Edo Period pleasure quarters. The pleasure quarters, or yukaku, were popular gathering places for the chonin, or urban working class. This essay contextualizes ukiyo-e images of courtesans, geishas, and Kabuki actors, and discusses how such countercultural artworks often came into conflict with the ruling Tokugawa shogunate’s dominate social order. The essay also includes a brief discussion of historical relations between eastern ukiyo-e art and differing western traditions. The essay concludes with a comparison of significant, related ukiyo-e and western modernist prints.

**Keywords:** Ukiyo-e, Japanese Art, Woodblock Print, Tokugawa, Courtesan, Kabuki

## 1. Introduction: The chonin floating world

Ukiyo-e is a Japanese term usually translated into English as “pictures of the floating world.” Historians and collectors use the term to refer to woodblock prints that depicted the libertine denizens of pleasure quarters, such as courtesans and Kabuki actors, during Japan’s Edo Period (1615-1868). The urban middle-class, known as the chonin (meaning “persons of the town”), were the primary patrons of ukiyo-e woodblock prints. Although the chonin class did not occupy a high position on the Edo Period’s social hierarchy, these “persons of the town” soon became Japan’s most powerful economic force. This presented a threat to Japan’s feudal system under the Tokugawa shogunate. The chonin spent much of their wealth in diversions, such as attending the Kabuki theater and collecting ukiyo-e prints. “Alongside the official culture of the feudal aristocracy, which was geared to China and Confucianism, they developed a flourishing urban culture” (Schlombs 2007: 28). Chonin art reflected lifestyles that lay in opposition to the prevailing feudal order and was, in effect, Japan’s counterculture.

The term ukiyo-e has three Japanese characters: 浮世絵. The first character, 浮 (pronounced “uki”), can be translated as “float”; the second character, 世 (“yo”), translates as “world”; the third character, 絵 (“e”) translates as “picture,” “painting,” or “print.” Therefore, the basic translation of 浮世絵 (ukiyo-e) is “pictures of the floating world.” Ukiyo-e prints represented passing (or floating) life; they represented common, everyday existence (Fiorillo 1999-2001).

Long before the Edo Period, however, there was another term that was also pronounced ukiyo: 憂世. This earlier term can be translated “world of sorrow.” Buddhist literature of Japan’s Heian period (794-1185) used this earlier term to express melancholy and sorrow toward the transience of everyday life and the inevitable loss of its beauty. By the Edo Period, the chonin rarely used ukiyo to lament the passing of life, in a Buddhist sense. Rather, the chonin used ukiyo to celebrate the joys of life, and the secular world of pleasure and entertainment. Asai Ryoji (ca. 1612-1691), an Edo era Buddhist priest, embodied this transition. Ryoji reveled in the urban life of his contemporary Kyoto. In his 1661 novel *Story of the Floating World (Ukiyo monogatari)*, Ryoji wrote,

Live for the moment, look at the moon, the cherry-blossom and maple leaves, love wine, women and poetry, encounter with humor the poverty that stares you in the face and don’t be discouraged by it, *let yourself be carried along on the river of life* like a calabash that drifts downstream, *that is what ukiyo means* [emphasis added]” (see Inouye, 2008).

Japan’s last feudal military government, the Tokugawa shogunate, or Tokugawa *bakufu* (1600-1868) fought to control and preserve the country’s social structure during the Edo Period (figure 1). The shogunate limited foreign influences and supported the dominant social system and a strict class hierarchy, which the Imperial Regent, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) had imposed in the sixteenth century. The Tokugawa government promulgated a hereditary Confucian ethic, which compartmentalized society into three descending classes: 1) the ruling class of shoguns and feudal lords (or *daimyo*), 2) farmers and rural peasants (the vast majority of the population), and 3) the artisans and merchants of the chonin class. Itinerant artists, various basic tradesmen, ordinary prostitutes, and beggars lived outside these classes. Over time, however, the influence of the dominant feudal lords and warrior-caste (*samurai*) declined as the chonin rose in prominence. The ability to support the floating world and to support a market for woodblock prints, of the floating world, manifested the rising economic prosperity of Japan’s merchant class.



Figure 1. Utagawa Yoshitora (1836-1882). The Tokugawa Shoguns, ca. 1875. Public Domain.

## 2. From the country to the city

Woodblock prints came in many categories: historical scenes, portraiture, *genres* (scenes of everyday life), still lives, and landscapes. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858) and Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) are revered as two of Japan’s finest landscape artists, and the last great masters of the ukiyo-e landscape tradition. Hokusai’s series Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji (c. 1830-1832), which included the iconic “Great Wave” (figure 2), and Hiroshige’s series Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaido (1833-1834) initiated a distinguished era of landscape for ukiyo-e woodblock printmaking. Before Hiroshige and Hokusai, landscape served merely as a stage for the

activities of historical heroes or as a theatrical backdrop. Hiroshige and Hokusai, on the other hand, used people merely as picturesque elements within vast, sublime panoramas (notice the tiny rowing figures at the bottom of figure 2) or as diminutive visitors to famous temples, monuments, or other sights.



Figure 2. Katsushika Hokusai. Under the Wave off Kanagawa, 1833.  
The Art Institute of Chicago. CC0.

*Meisho-e*, or “pictures of famous places,” celebrated unusual sights and destinations around Japan. The locations in *Meisho-e* imagery often had literary and historical associations or featured particularly awe-inspiring natural phenomena. Pilgrims and sightseers flocked to these locales during specific seasons. For centuries, artists of Japan’s classical styles of painting decorated screens and sliding doors in the homes of the court nobility with *meisho-e*. *Ukiyo-e* landscape artists, however, like Hokusai and Hiroshige, created prints for popular consumption (Schlombs 2007). Hokusai and Hiroshige sold their prints individually or as sets, or fulfilled commissions for illustrated travel publications. People traveling through the countryside bought landscape prints as mementos of the famous sights they visited and people stuck in the city bought prints and illustrated travel books in contemplation of visiting the same famous sights someday.

Widespread urbanization began during the Edo Period, as Japan’s provincial castle towns grew into merchant cities. By 1800, Japan was one of the most urbanized countries in the world and Edo (the former name of Tokyo) was among the world’s most populated cities (Sorensen, 2002). “The river of life” described by Asai Ryoji frequently carried Japanese from the countryside into the urban areas of Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka. *Ukiyo-e* printmakers documented travelers’ journeys from the country into the city, and their stops along the way (figures 3, 4).



Figure 3 (left). Utagawa Hiroshige. The Fifty-Three Stations of Tokaido: Otsu. 1834.  
Cleveland Museum of Art. CC0.



Figure 4 (right). Utagawa Hiroshige. The Sixty-Nine Stations of Kisokaido: Shimosuwa. 1838.  
Cleveland Museum of Art. CC0.

The Tokugawa shogunate issued an edict requiring the daimyo feudal lords to keep residences in Edo to maintain close connections with the central authorities. The shogunate constructed five highways leading from major provincial cities to Edo, which stimulated travel by daimyo dignitaries, merchants, religious pilgrims, entertainers, sightseers, and others (The Library of Congress (a), 2001). The Tokaido route (and the alternate Kisokaido route) ran three hundred miles between Kyoto and Edo. In figures 2 and 3, Hiroshige portrayed *shuku-eki*, way stations along the routes, where travelers stopped to rest. In figure 3, a weary band has stopped for the day at a *shuku-eki* in Shimosuwa to share a meal at an inn. The proprietor looks on with satisfaction as her patrons enjoy their feast. In the background, through an open door, another traveler soaks in a wooden tub filled with warm spring water. Shimosuwa had the only *shuku-eki* along the Kisokaido route with a natural hot spring (The Cleveland Museum of Art (a) 2019).

Travelers from Kyoto on the Tokaido and Kisokaido highways eventually arrived at the terminus *shuku-eki* in the Nihonbashi district of Edo (figure 5). This terminus sat just outside the Edo Castle, where Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) established the Tokugawa shogunate's political and military headquarters. Today, Tokyo's Imperial Palace occupies the same spot. Many Edo Period travelers eventually made their way from the Nihonbashi district to the Yoshiwara (or "good luck meadow"), a pleasure quarter approximately three miles away (see Seigle 1993).



Figure 5. Utagawa Hiroshige. Fifty-three Stations of the Tokaido Road: Nihonbashi. 1833-1834.

### 3. The pleasure quarters

Throughout history, the world's larger cities have had designated entertainment and pleasure districts, which government authorities have tolerated (or even encouraged) to varying degrees. These districts have supported *bohemian* communities and fostered underground subcultures that created unconventional forms of music, theater, and literature (see Morosi 2019). This was the case during Japan's Edo Period, though the cultures of the pleasure districts of Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka have proven to be particularly significant. They produced art forms, such as the Kabuki theater and ukiyo-e prints, that constitute an important part of Japan's tangible and intangible cultural heritage (see UNESCO 2019; Koyama-Richard 2014).

Ukiyo-e prints reflected the ethos of a segment of the *chonin* class (Schlombs, 2007). That social segment regularly escaped into the *yukaku*, or *red-light districts*, of Edo (Yoshiwara), Osaka (Shinmachi), Kyoto (Shimabara), and, on a somewhat more limited scale, Nagasaki (Maruyama). These districts provided merchant-class visitors with sensual diversions, free from the expectations and restraints of a feudalist society.

The Tokugawa shogunate circumscribed the practice of prostitution to strictly delineated, walled-in areas. Access was limited, employees were licensed, and customers were taxed (Akane, 2018). *Yujo* ("women of pleasure," or prostitutes) fulfilled carnal desires at preset rates. *Yujo* adhered to their own hierarchy with high-ranking *oiran* courtesans and ultra-high-ranking *tayu* at the apex. When a *tayu* retired, she passed down her professional name to another woman working in the same establishment. *Oiran* and *tayu* were skilled in traditional Japanese arts,

such as the tea ceremony (*sado*), flower arrangement (*ikebana*), poetry, and calligraphy. They were also entertainers, who often enjoyed celebrity status outside the pleasure quarters.

Edo's Yoshiwara was the largest and, arguably, the most culturally significant yukaku. Edo (meaning "entrance to the bay") grew rapidly from an obscure fishing village into one of the world's largest cities. The founder of the Tokugawa shogunate, Tokugawa Ieyasu chose Edo as his headquarters in 1590. By 1720, there were one million inhabitants. By 1750, there were one and a half million. Edo's densely congested districts fostered a vibrant urban culture.



Figure 6. Postcard showing Yoshiwara Great Gate, ca. 1910. Public Domain.

Yoshiwara, Edo's only licensed red-light district, was a twenty-acre walled compound surrounded by a moat. The district was established near Edo's center in 1617, but was forced to move to the northeastern edge of the city forty years later. Visitors entered Yoshiwara's Great Gate (or *oman*) via Nakanocho Street (figure 6). Yoshiwara was a cluster of shops, fashionable teahouses, theaters, and over one hundred government-sanctioned brothels neatly arranged along a grid of smaller streets. Posted signs pointed the way to specific brothels, restaurants, theaters, and other entertainment venues. By 1800, approximately four thousand *yujo* worked in Yoshiwara, from the elite *tayu* and *oiran* down the social spectrum to numerous women providing quick, inexpensive services in very modest structures. Although in pleasure quarters the limitations of social class could be set aside, *Ukiyo-e* artists tended to distinguish *yujo* in their images according to their rank, costumes, and more refined social tasks, overlooking the exploitation and psychological misery caused by the prostitution trade (Asian Art Museum 2012).

In Utagawa Toyokuni's late eighteenth century *triptych* (a three-sectioned artwork) (figure 7), three *tayu* and their attendants promenade down Nakanocho Street at sunset. An unaccompanied courtesan sits on a porch to the left, smoking a slender pipe, watching the procession. On the right, a samurai, concealing his identity behind a fan and hooded cloak, admires two courtesans pretending they do not notice his attention (The Cleveland Museum of Art (b) 2019). Perhaps this man of the ruling class did not want his face seen in Yoshiwara. After the government began requiring feudal lords to maintain a presence in Edo, their retinues started spending their time and money in Yoshiwara, away from the constraints of their provincial communities and families.



Figure 7. Utagawa Toyokuni (1769-1825). Courtesans Promenading on the Nakanocho. ca. 1790. Cleveland Museum of Art. CC0.

To contemporary eyes, Toyokuni's scene of promenading courtesans does not seem particularly disturbing, but Tokugawa authorities may have thought otherwise. Even though samurai and daimyo administrators patronized the pleasure quarters, the government officially disapproved of the *erotic culture* the chonin class fostered in yukaku. Beginning the same year Toyokuni created figure 7 (1790), ukiyo-e artists were required to submit their work to government censors and have an stamp of approval, or *kiwame*, placed on their prints (see Thompson, 2012). The chonin were at the bottom of the feudal system, but they possessed great wealth and they spent lavishly on art and entertainment. The more austere members of the shogunate tried to limit chonin extravagance and lasciviousness through sumptuary laws and censorship.

From the early seventeenth century onward, Tokugawa rulers regularly issued injunctions intended to rein in the distribution of "dubious materials" (Thompson, 2012, p. 56). The chonin idealized the more famous courtesans as standards of beauty and trendsetters and many Kabuki actors enjoyed similar reputations. Government censors were circumspect of the influence of celebrities on the public and, therefore, placed restrictions on what ukiyo-e could portray and even on how many colors could be used (McLelland 2015: 403-404). Briefly, during the Reform Period of 1841-1843, Tokugawa censors banned all portraits of female entertainers, all portraits of Kabuki actors, and prints of any subject featuring more than seven colors. The goal was to "stem the tide of luxury, immorality and opposition that seemed to challenge [the government's] position." During the Reform Period, depictions of historical heroes were allowed, because they did not offend the "virtues of courage, loyalty and Confucian filial piety" (Schlombs 2007: 41).

Authorities also censored poetry and other forms of literature (Suzuki 2012). Censors were especially wary of a type of ukiyo-e called *uta-e*, or "poem pictures." Uta-e images illustrated or captured the essence of poetic texts, which the artist wrote above or beside the image. In many ways, the playful form of verse called *haikai no renga* (or "comic linked verse") was the literary analogue to ukiyo-e imagery. The popular haikai form evolved in the sixteenth century from the traditional *ushin renga* poetic genre. In a similar way, the popular Kabuki theatrical genre evolved from the more aristocratic Noh theater. By the seventeenth century, chonin urbanites had embraced haikai's informal qualities and its use of the vernacular language of everyday life. Haikai poetry was celebrated and incorporated into woodblock prints called *surimono*, or "printed things." Friends and family members exchanged surimono as special gifts on important occasions such as holidays. Figure 8 is a surimono print showing the poet Hisagataya dancing with a geisha on the stage of a teahouse theater in the Furuichi district of Osaka. Hisagataya's poem is barely distinguishable in the print's black background.



Figure 8 Yashima Gakutei. The Dance at Furuichi for the Hisagataya Group, ca. 1825.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. CC0.

#### 4. The process and makers of ukiyo-e prints

Today, ukiyo-e prints are thought of as the individual works of the artist, but they usually resulted from the joint-efforts of a publisher, artist, carver, and printer. The publisher supervised the process, from the planning stage through the sale of the finished prints. Publishers commissioned artists to design a single image or series. When the artist was through, a carver (or *horishi*) pasted the image onto a woodblock, usually cherry wood. Cherry woodblocks were favored for their hardness and durability; they could be printed many, many times. The carver incised the artist's contour lines into the *key block* with a sharp knife and dug out the areas that were not to be printed. A printer then inked the block with black ink called *sumi* and laid a dampened sheet, handmade from mulberry pulp, on top. The printer (or *surishi*) then transferred the impression by rubbing the paper with a baren. The key block impression established the outlines and guide marks (*kento*) for the application of subsequent colors. The first woodcuts were monochromatic, black impressions, although hand coloring could be applied (see figure 9). Full-color prints (called *nishiki-e*), became common in the 1760s. For each additional color, the carver carved a separate block, which the printer rubbed with the new color and transferred onto the key block impression (see Folks 2018). Producing ukiyo-e prints could be a quite laborious process.



Figure 9. Torii Kiyonobu I. Courtesan painting a screen, ca. 1711.  
The Art Institute of Chicago. CC0.

Each participant in the production of ukiyo-e prints was a member of the chonin class, though even in this arena there was a hierarchy. The publisher financed the project, paid for advertising when necessary, and distributed the prints. Successful publishers were highly influential. They promoted works by established masters, discovered new artists, and detected and set trends within the print market. The leading artists were celebrated master craftsmen with widespread name recognition. They usually printed their names into their designs. The block carver and printer, conversely, were anonymous artisans, though their skills were integral to the production of a successful print.

*Machi-eshi*, early precursors of ukiyo-e artists, were active during the Nanboku-cho and Muromachi periods of Japanese history (roughly, 1330-1580). During this time of social upheaval, many artists lost the patronage of the shoguns and religious communities, so they migrated to cities to sell their work to urban merchants. *Machi-eshi* worked in anonymity fulfilling inexpensive commissions for monochromatic prints. Common subjects included stylishly dressed women, actors, and erotica. The leaders of Japan's established schools of painting, the Tosa and (Chinese inspired) Kano, did not recognize such work and later ukiyo-e masters somewhat condescendingly referred to the *machi-eshi* as "primitives."

The Torii and Kaigetsudo schools of painting were immediate precursors to the ukiyo-e movement. The Torii school specialized in Kabuki actor and theatrical prints; the Kaigetsudo school was known for prints of "beautiful women dressed in elaborately patterned *kimono*" (Harris, 2010: 14-15). The founder of the Torii school, Torii Kiyonobu I (1664-1729) was a transitional figure, whose career fits between the *machi-eshi* and ukiyo-e eras.



Figure 9 is the frontispiece of Kiyonobu's famous set of twelve erotic prints, ca 1711. A reclining man looks on admiringly as a courtesan paints a floral scene on a folded screen. Another woman mixes pigments in the background. Though condemned by the Tokugawa authorities, erotic art, or *shun-ga*, was a popular, though underground, ukiyo-e genre.

### 5. *Bijin-ga*

Before the advent of the Meiji era, the ideal of female beauty in Japanese art was “expressed in the description of the costume, [cosmetics], and performance” (Tadashi 2005: 83). This was in contrast to western art's emphasis on the nude figure and the beauty of the body itself. *Bijin-ga* (“images of beautiful women”) was a mainstay of ukiyo-e. *Bijin* translates as “beautiful person,” though in art historical analysis the term specifically denotes beautiful women (or *bijyu*), usually courtesans and their attendants, including geishas.

A geisha (or “art person”) was a female entertainer and hostess, who provided companionship at dinner parties and at teahouses (*chaya*). Geishas were often talented poets, calligraphers, and musicians. They were especially noted for playing the *shamisen*, a traditional three-stringed instrument. Geishas' fashionable costumes, “their skill in music and dance, and their spirit and dash appealed to Yoshiwara [and other yukaku] clients. Gradually, they replaced courtesans in popularity and prominence” (Seigle 2005: 121).

Many people visited the pleasure quarters during festivals to see the geishas entertain. Figure 10 shows five geishas of Yoshiwara performing the *binzasara*, a ceremonial springtime dance performed during the annual Niwaka Festival. The dance called on the agricultural deities to bring a fertile growing season. The women wear special flowered hats and kimono and create loud cracking sounds with *hyoshigi*, simple musical instrument consisting of two pieces of bamboo held together with an ornamental rope. Attendees took home woodblock prints of the performance, such as figure 10, as souvenirs to remember the occasion.



Figure 10. Eishosai Choki (active 1786-1808). *Binzasara, A Dance with Clappers*, ca. 1800. The Cleveland Museum of Art. CC0.

*Abuna-e* (translated literally as “dangerous images”) were one of the forerunners to *bijin-ga*. *Abuna-e* also depicted *bijyu*, though the women portrayed tended to be quite scantily clad, caught in moments of reverie while bathing or washing their hair. Such prints were especially sought after during the 1720s, after government censors placed a ban on even more explicit *shun-ga* (or “spring images,” a euphemism for erotica). *Shun-ga* gradually reemerged, however, and the government conducted similar crackdowns in the 1770s and later on.

Kitagawa Utamaro (c. 1753-1806) was the acclaimed late master of *abuna-e* and *bijin-ga*. The woman in Utamaro's *Woman Drying her Hands* (figure 11) turns her face into a three-quarter pose. Utamaro did not intend the delicate lines delineating her eyes, nose, and "petal-like" lips to suggest a particular individual, but rather to portray a specific character and mood (The Cleveland Museum of Art (c) 2019). Utamaro's print came from a series of "physiognomic portraits," assessments of character through outward appearance. The woman in figure 11 represents "*floating ch'i*," a "light-hearted type [of personality] defined as a flighty and fickle" (Davis 2005: 151). Utamaro's renown was based on his ability to capture the subtleties of a woman's disposition, whatever her social status.



Figure 11. Kitagawa Utamaro (ca. 1753-1806). *Woman Drying her Hands*, from the set *Ten Types in the Physiognomic Study of Women*, c. 1793. The Cleveland Museum of Art. CC0.

Utamaro has an interesting life story, though his childhood is something of a mystery. Apparently, a relative brought him as a young man to Edo from a small provincial town. Utamaro may have studied with the scholar and artist Toriyama Seiken (1712-1788) for some time. In 1804, after he achieved considerable fame, Utamaro was embroiled in a public controversy when he created an image of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) and his five concubines. Hideyoshi served as the Imperial Regent of Japan and is considered one of the country's "great unifiers." The Tokugawa authorities considered Utamaro's work disrespectful, because he showed the national hero informally cavorting with his female companions. The authorities arrested the artist and he was briefly imprisoned (Davis, 2007). This had an adverse psychological impact and Utamaro died soon thereafter. This unfortunate episode, however, had no impact on his artistic legacy in Japan and elsewhere. His enduring influence will be mentioned again later.

Over time, women of each social class appeared in *bijin-ga*. During the early eighteenth century, high-ranking courtesans and historical figures were the norm; later, lower-ranking courtesans, geishas, and fictional characters became common subjects. Women were shown engaged in many types of activities, in both public and private settings. Artists, however, consistently attempted to capture the current ideal of beauty, again, usually in terms of "costume, [cosmetics], and performance" (figure 12). The women in *Bijin-ga* varied, from tall and statuesque models to "petite, waif-like *ingénues*," but, consistently, they were sophisticated and stylish, following, and setting, the latest "fads in feminine beauty" (The Library of Congress (a) 2001). Courtesans and geishas flaunted their ornate kimono, complex hairstyles, and seemingly carefree lifestyles, and served as excellent models for the fashion industry (Seigle 2005: 120). In fact, kimono and other fashion merchants frequently incorporated *bijin-ga*

images into their advertisements. The cult-like celebrity of courtesans was somewhat akin to that of actresses, singers, and models of contemporary culture. Indeed, fashion trends continue to echo *binjin-ga* exemplars (figures 12, 13).



Figure 12. Kikugawa Eizan. Courtesan beside Kimono Rack, c. 1860. The Cleveland Museum of Art. CC0.



Figure 13. Tokyo fashion week, 2016. Public Domain.

## 6. Kabuki

Yukaku were also home to large Kabuki theaters, where visitors sought vicarious pleasure through the uninhibited performances of Kabuki actors. Top Kabuki actors, like the top courtesan entertainers, attained celebrity status.

By the early eighteenth century, the Kabuki theater was the *chonin* class' most popular form of mass entertainment (along with *sumo* wrestling). Both Kabuki and *ukiyo-e* printmaking started in the mid-seventeenth century and flourished until the nineteenth century. The two art forms grew in tandem. Kabuki originated in Kyoto, and nearby Osaka, at the center of the Kamigata region (a colloquial term for the modern Kansai region). Kamigata was the traditional focal point of Japanese government and culture. Many *chonin* art forms began in Kamigata, before the Tokugawa government selected Edo as their base.

Kabuki contrasted with the older, more aristocratic Noh theater (figure 14). Noh, which featured more refined dancing and music and less comedic elements than Kabuki, was favored by the Tokugawa shogunate. The term *kabuki* can be translated as “shocking” or “unusual,” and in the seventeenth century Kabuki theaters were reputed to be excessively raucous and somewhat disreputable. As Kabuki became more popular in the Kamigata region and eventually in Edo as well, it became associated with prostitution (Harris 2010: 86-103). Although both males and females originally performed in the Kabuki theaters, the shogunate eventually banned public female performers on moral grounds. Thus, Kabuki became an all-male endeavor. A specialized group of male actors called *onnagata* played the female characters.



Figure 14. Scene from a Noh Play, ca. 1725. Kyoto School.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. CC0.

Theater owners commissioned artists to create Kabuki actor prints (or *yakusha-e*) to sell at play openings or for specific special performances. Today individual Kabuki actor prints can be very expensive, but originally theater promoters used them as inexpensive promotional items, as ephemeral souvenirs. They could be bought for the cost of a bowl of noodles. Artists also produced sets of prints for (more costly) *banzuke*, printed programs sold at *kaomise*, the ceremony that opened the new season of a Kabuki theater and introduced the new troupe of actors.

*Yakusha-e* and *banzuke* were very popular because many Kabuki actors were viewed as “cultural icons,” a few were “superstars” (The Library of Congress (a) 2001). Audiences familiarized themselves with the intricacies of plots and characters and joined “fan clubs that followed the careers and performances of actors and their ability to interpret commonly known stories. [In Kyoto, fan clubs] would attend performances *en masse*, sometimes dressed in outlandish costumes to give the theater a festive atmosphere, and would try to occupy the front rows” (Harris 2010: 88).

*Ukiyo-e* artists went to Kabuki troupes’ dress rehearsals, so they could accurately represent actors’ facial characteristics, makeup, costume, and poses. Artists typically portrayed actors at the dramatic climax of a play, when the actor froze himself for several seconds in a contorted pose called *mie* (figures 15, 16). As the actor held the *mie* pose, he opened his eyes very wide and, if he was to appear angry, he crossed his eyes as well (figure 16). In actual performances, the actor’s fan club and other appreciative members of the audience applauded and shouted the actor’s name and words of praise as he struck the *mie* pose.



Figure 15. Katsukawa Shunko (1743-1812). Actor Ichikawa Yaozo.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. CC0.

Figure 16. Gototei Kunisada. Ichikawa Danjuro as Kan Shojo in the Mt. Tenpai Scene, 1814.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. CC0.

Mie was an important component of the vigorous style of acting known as *aragoto*, which translates as “rough stuff.” The basic forms of *aragato* derived from Japanese martial arts and from Shinto religious dances. *Wagoto*, or the “gentle style,” was a more realistic and refined method of Kabuki acting that was diametrically opposed to *aragoto*. The “leading man” of Hollywood’s *golden age* of motion pictures, was the equivalent of the Edo Period *wagato* character: the romantic hero who falls in love with the leading female character. Often in Kabuki performances, the leading female character (played by a male actor or *onnagata*) represented the most beautiful courtesan of the pleasure quarter. In a typical storyline, the *wagato* and female lead escape together from dire circumstances only to realize their love affair is doomed. At the end of the play, they might commit *shinju*, or “double suicide,” like William Shakespeare’s tragic lovers Romeo and Juliet. Members of the *chonin* class thrilled to Kabuki’s intense melodrama, its passionate acting style, elaborate costumes, and the prestige of its star performers, and they prized *yakusha-e* prints.

## 7. International influences

Although *ukiyo-e* prints were central to Japan’s visual counterculture from the seventeenth century onward, they were virtually unknown in the western world until the mid-nineteenth century. The reason for this was Japan’s prolonged era of isolation under its *sakoku*, or “closed country,” policy (1614-1854). The policy was part of the Tokugawa shogunate’s effort to strengthen its authority, by excluding the practice of Christianity, drastically curtailing international trade, and prohibiting Japanese nationals from traveling abroad. The isolation was not complete though; the shogunate granted Dutch, Chinese, and Korean tradesmen limited access to Japan. However, only one port, Nagasaki, was open to Dutch and Chinese ships. The Dutch operated their trading post on an artificial island named Dejima in Nagasaki’s harbor.

The Tokugawa authorities allowed sporadic interactions between the Japanese people and the Dutch on Dejima. In 1740, the ruling shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684-1751) sent scholars to Dejima to translate European books into Japanese. Artists used this opportunity to produce woodblock reproductions of the western engraved illustrations. The foreign aesthetics proved influential on a few *ukiyo-e* artists. Italian Renaissance techniques for

suggesting depth on a two-dimensional surface, such as *vanishing points* and *linear perspective*, began to appear in Japanese *uki-e* prints. *Uki-e* translates as either “flowing pictures” or “floating pictures.” “Flowing” alluded to the phenomenon “whereby the gaze of the viewer was drawn [or flowed] into the depth of the composition. “Floating” suggests the manner in which objects or people in pictures seemed to float outward toward the viewer” (Schlombs 2007: 35). The artists who created figures 17 and 18 used these western artistic methods. Figure 17 shows the interior of Edo’s Nakamura Kabuki theater; figure 18 shows the Nihonbashi Bridge at the Edo terminus of the Tokaido Road. The Nihonbashi Bridge is also in figure 5.

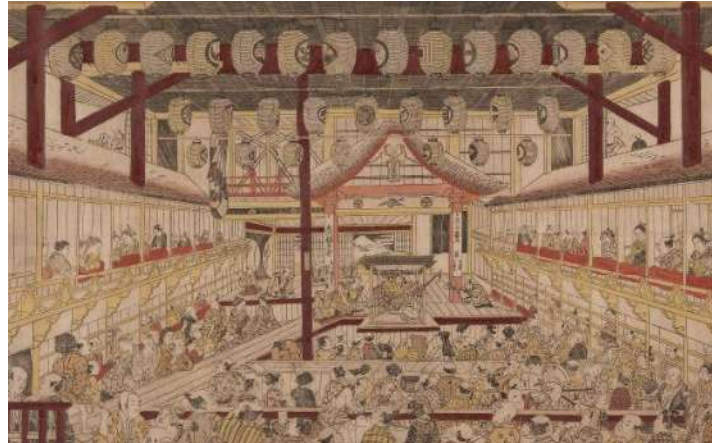


Figure 17. Okumura Masanobu (1686-1764). Perspective View of Nakamura Theater, 1740.  
The Cleveland Museum of Art. CC0.



Figure 18. Katsushika Hokusai. Nihonbashi, Edo, from Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji, 1830s.  
The Art Institute of Chicago. CC0.

Japan’s period of isolation lasted until 1853, when American Navy Commodore Matthew Perry (1794-1858) landed in Edo Bay and used *gunboat diplomacy* to force Japan to open its ports to American trade. When Yokohama’s port opened to foreign trade in 1859, artists of the Utagawa school came to feed a local demand for images of the foreign visitors pouring into the city. The artists created a sub-genre of *ukiyo-e*, called *Yokohama-e*, by fusing Japanese printmaking traditions with novel aspects of western art (figure 19). *Yokohama-e* was produced even after the Tokugawa shogunate came to an end and practical imperial rule resumed under the Meiji Restoration (1867-1868). Figure 19 is a Meiji Period landscape, rather than an Edo Period landscape. It shows an American *clipper*, a type of merchant sailing ship, leaving Yokohama harbor laden with merchandise headed for a European or American port of trade.

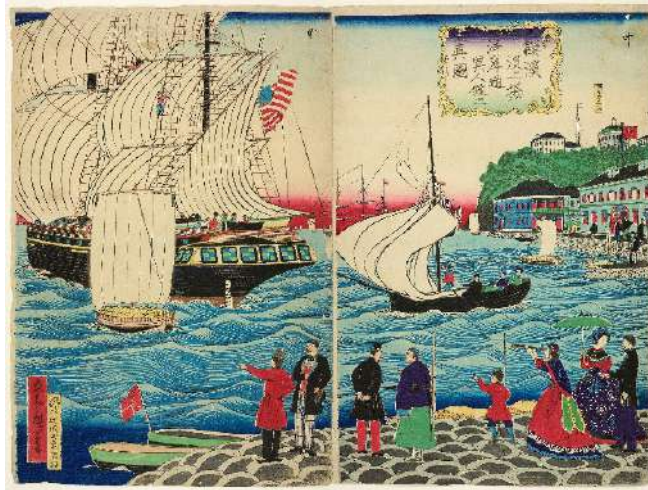


Figure 19. Utagawa Hiroshige III (1842-1894). True View of Yokohama, 1875.  
The Art Institute of Chicago. CC0.

Immediately after the opening of Japan, “a tidal wave of imports flooded European shores” (Ives 2004). Japanese *bric-à-brac*, craftwork, and art objects became ubiquitous. They were in every ethnographic museum, art gallery, *curiosité* shop, and private collection in London and Paris. After visiting Japanese pavilions at the Great London Exposition (1862) and the Paris Exposition Universelle (1867), French art critic Philippe Burty (1830-1890) coined the term *Japonisme*. Burty was an important critical supporter of the French Impressionists. Japonisme described a new field of western artistic, historic, and ethnographic inquiry, borrowing from the arts of Japan. Critics now use the term more bluntly, to denote European and American appropriation of Japanese artistic techniques and styles (The Ronin Gallery 2016).

Ukiyo-e had an immediate impact on avant-garde artists, particularly in France. The pictorial strategies of Japanese prints offered an attractive alternative to the techniques and styles that the western art academies had taught since the Renaissance. Ukiyo-e prints arrived in Europe at the precise moment early French modernists were initiating a revolution in the arts. Modern artists challenged the assumption that images should be veristic and moved beyond the limitations of painting and sculpture to explore other media, such as experimental printmaking. Emulating Japanese aesthetics and methods seemed like one avenue to achieve modern art’s goals. In addition, ukiyo-e art and early modern art sprang from similar social contexts. The Japanese prints reflected the chonin class’ unconventional counterculture of Kabuki theaters and pleasure quarters. Similarly, the early modern art movements most affected by ukiyo-e, particularly Impressionism and Post-Impressionism, reflected the decadent, theatrical world of Paris’ bohemian district of Montmartre.

Mary Cassatt (1844-1926) was an American painter and printmaker. She moved to Paris and became a close associate of the French Impressionist Edgar Degas (1834-1917). Today, Cassatt is beloved for her portrayals of the intimate lives of women. In 1890, Cassatt and Degas viewed an exhibition of Japanese prints at the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts in Paris. The show included over seven hundred prints owned by prominent French collectors. Cassatt was entranced and began her own collection of prints by Hiroshige, Hokusai, and Utamaro. She also began a series of ten *aquatint* and *drypoint* prints, she said, “with the intention of attempting an imitation of Japanese methods” (Warchol 2013). Cassatt’s experiments impressed one of the leading Impressionists, Camille Pissarro (1830-1903). “The result[s],” Pissarro proclaimed, “[are] admirable, as beautiful as Japanese work.” *Woman Bathing* is from Cassatt’s series (figure 20).



Figure 20. Mary Cassatt. Woman Bathing, 1891.  
The Art Institute of Chicago. CC0.



Figure 21. Kitagawa Utamaro. Takashima Ohisa, c. 1795.  
The Art Institute of Chicago. CC0.

Kitagawa Utamaro was among the first ukiyo-e artists to gain widespread fame in Europe. Utamaro's innovative, elegant renderings of women captivated Impressionists, Post-Impressionists, and Symbolists (Ives 1974; see also Mikhaiova & Steele 2008: 39-40). Figure 21 is Utamaro's portrait of Ohisa, a member of the Takashima family. Ohisa looks into a mirror and studies the arrangement of her hair and the application of her cosmetics. Utamaro employed a clever compositional trick: the two mirrors allow viewers to see Ohisa from behind and to see her face simultaneously. Ohisa was a favorite subject for several ukiyo-e artists. Her father owned a chain of Edo cake-shops named Takashimaya, and she served tea at the cake-shop located near the Ryogoku Bridge, which spanned the Sumida River very near the Nihonbashi Bridge (see figures 5 and 18). The Takashima family crest, with three encircled oak leaves, is on the back of one of Ohisa's mirrors.

Karabana Tadaaya celebrated Ohisa's beauty in a poem of 1792 (The British Museum 2019), which is translated,

Charms and tea are brimming over  
And neither gets cold!  
Let me not wake  
From this lucky dream of the New Year  
At Takashimaya.

Mary Cassatt's *Woman Bathing* shares many qualities with Utamaro's portrait. Cassatt presents her model in what would have usually been a private moment, as she dips her hands into a ceramic basin on a washstand and bathes herself. Cassatt paid special attention to the lovely curving line of the model's exposed back, but also suggested her face in the mirror's reflection. As mentioned earlier, western artists tended to emphasize the beauty of the nude figure or the body itself, while ukiyo-e artists expressed female beauty through descriptions of costume, cosmetics, and performance.

Cassatt's Japanese influences are evident. The golden floral decoration on the pitcher at the model's feet is Japanese, as is the matching decoration in the blue carpeting. Furthermore, the general flattening of forms, compression of space, and bold patterning of the woman's robe reveal an awareness of Japanese aesthetics. *Woman*



Bathing was included in Cassatt's first solo exhibition at the Durand-Ruel gallery in Paris, which critics warmly praised. The exhibition helped establish Cassatt's lasting reputation as a leading modern printmaker.

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864-1901) was one of the most colorful French avant-garde artists. Upon reaching the age of 21, he received a stipend from his father, an eccentric nobleman, and he set up a studio in Montmartre. Toulouse-Lautrec's favorite subjects were the prostitutes working in Montmartre's brothels and the performers entertaining in Montmartre's theaters and music halls, particularly at the famed Moulin Rouge cabaret. The artist was also an avid collector of Japanese prints and he incorporated their characteristics into his own work. Like ukiyo-e prints, Toulouse-Lautrec's images celebrate the "women of pleasure" and entertainers of an urban counterculture (Myers 2007).



Figure 22. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. Jane Avril, 1899.  
The Art Institute of Chicago. CC0.

Figure 23. Toshusai Sharaku. The Actor Sawamura Sujuro III as Nagoya Sanza, 1794.  
The Art Institute of Chicago. CC0.

In 1899, Toulouse-Lautrec created a lithographic portrait of Jane Avril (1868-1943), a legendary singer and dancer who performed at the Moulin Rouge (figure 23). Avril entranced audiences with her idiosyncratic serpentine style of dancing; she slowly swayed and twisted in a manner evoking the writhing of a snake. In Toulouse-Lautrec's lithograph, the blue and yellow snake printed on her dress wraps around Avril's body, seemingly menacingly, accentuating her movements.

The French artist's portrait shared many of the conventions of Toshusai Sharaku's portrait of Sawamura Sujuro III, a famed actor of Edo's Kabuki theater (figure 23). Figures 22 and 23 each depict a performer striking a melodramatic pose, as well as flattened forms, a monochromatic background, and stylized, calligraphic text. Toshusai Sharaku is a mysterious figure. He produced over 140 woodblock prints, mostly of Kabuki actors, during a ten-month period and then disappeared from the historical record. Art historians speculate that conservative Tokugawa censors condemned Sharaku's dramatic portrayals and controversial subject matter, and put an end to his career (Davis, 2005, pp. 158-160). The character shown in figure 23, Nagoya Sanza, is from the play *Keisei sanbon karakasa* (or "The Three Parasols of the Courtesan"). The character Nagoya Sanza was a samurai of the ruling class who battled his rival, Fuwa Banzaemon, for the love of a courtesan named Katsuragi on the streets of Edo's Yoshiwara pleasure district. The government censors clearly did not want the samurai class to be so intimately associated with Yoshiwara's chonin counterculture in ukiyo-e prints (see figure 7).

## 8. Conclusion

Ukiyo-e's great influence on Cassatt, Toulouse-Lautrec, and other western modern artists occurred after the Edo Period ended. In the late 1860s, following years of struggle, the Tokugawa shogunate surrendered its authority and the Meiji Emperor (1852-1912) was elevated to the position of head of state and symbol of authority. By the start of the Meiji Period (1868-1912), many of the great ukiyo-e print designers, Utamaro, Hiroshige, and Hokusai, for example, were dead. The Meiji era was a time when cultural traditions were called into question or were abandoned altogether. "Print artists were no longer bound by a single avenue" (Merritt 2010: 241) and many Meiji printmakers adopted styles that included or, in certain instances, were dominated by western characteristics.

New printmakers also signified a changing society. The early Meiji Period witnessed the breakdown of the old Tokugawa social hierarchy, and many members of the chonin class rose to high official positions (Norman 2000: 61-62). As Japan reengaged with the rest of the world, Yoshiwara and the other pleasure quarters began a steady decline in popularity. Yukaku cultural practices, including the Kabuki performances, seemed increasingly disconnected from a quickly evolving modern society. The government passed an "anti-prostitution law" in 1956 and closed down Yoshiwara and the other pleasure quarters, effectively ending Japan's distinctive courtesan culture (Graham, 2016, p. 209). The vibrant world of the Edo Period's floating world, however, continues to live on in the printed images of ukiyo-e.

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# Protected Area-People Relationships in Tanzania: A Case Study of Saadani National Park and its Neighbouring Communities

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## Abstract

The importance of understanding relationships between protected areas (PAs) and surrounding communities in a specific context has received increasing attention. However, studies examining such relationships are rather limited for Tanzania. Using the case study of Saadani National Park, this paper examines the extent to which the approaches of park - people relationships (benefit-sharing, mitigating human-wildlife conflicts, managing PAs in collaboration with local communities, and opening limited access to park resources), widely applied by PA managers worldwide to foster positive relationships with local communities, have been applied by managers of national parks in Tanzania, including views of neighbouring communities on such approaches. Fieldwork involved a multiple-method approach of qualitative research based on focus group discussions with village leaders, in-depth interviews with park officials, informal discussions with key informants, document analysis and a four-month period of field observations coupled with my experience with the wider community. The results indicate that benefit-sharing is the main approach to foster positive PA - people relationships in Tanzania's national parks. Other approaches (mitigating human-wildlife conflicts, managing PAs in collaboration, and opening limited access to park resources) are also important in shaping such relationships. Some are also applied, but with great variation in the extent of application. Others (e.g., opening limited access to park resources) have not been considered at all, despite their relevance. There are hindrances to these approaches such as policy issues, financial limitations, their importance to the local community, and logistical difficulties associated with them. The major stumbling blocks to local communities' collaboration in PA management are widespread poverty, low level of education, and maintenance of hunting tradition. These reflect the limited capacity for the local communities to conserve biodiversity. Poverty is one of the main contributors to biodiversity degradation - often reflected in overdependence on natural resources for a living, low level of education implies limited knowledge on conservation issues to make significant contribution to the protected area, and a tradition of hunting can lead to species extinction or a decline in species population - thereby threatening wildlife conservation.

**Keywords:** PA-People Relationships, Biodiversity Conservation, Local Communities, Park-People Relationships, Protected Areas, Saadani National Park, Tanzania

## 1. Introduction

Protected area-people relationships are critical to achieve conservation objectives (Stankey & Shindler, 2006) because the future of protected areas (PAs) depends much on the cooperation and support of local communities (Mcshane & Wells, 2006; Allendorf et al., 2012; Nagendra *et al.*, 2010). Contention in the relationships between PA managers and various social actors, particularly local communities who live adjacent to PAs threaten the sustainability of PAs and biodiversity conservation in general (Madden & McQuinn, 2014; Hammill & Brown, 2006; Neumann, 2002).

### 1.1 Concerns over the place of people in protected areas

Concerns over the place of people in PAs have been the main source of conservation conflicts (Neumann, 2002). There have been growing concerns mainly regarding four major issues. First, the unilateral establishment of such PAs - often associated with forceful eviction of natives from their traditional lands (Walpole & Goodwin, 2001; Bobo & Weladji, 2011). Second, the denial of access to resources in such PAs (land, wildlife, forest products, etc.) - upon which local communities depend for subsistence needs, and criminalization of their practices when accessing such resources (Bobo & Weladji, 2011; Thapa, 2010). Third, wildlife damage such as crop damage or costs inflicted by crop raiders and dangerous wild animals, livestock or human attack by wildlife (Kepe et al., 2001; Madden, 2004; Marshall et al., 2007; Ogra, 2008; Thapa, 2010; Warner, 2000). Fourth, the unknown 'place' of people in those PAs (Bobo & Weladji, 2011; Thapa, 2010).

The debate over such concerns has been on how to build and sustain good relationships with local communities, particularly those living adjacent to protected areas while addressing their concerns over PAs. The consensus has been that while PAs are recognized as essential for maintaining biodiversity, their survival, particularly in the Global South, will only depend on whether they address those human concerns (Madden & McQuinn, 2014; Hammill & Brown, 2006; Seely et al., 2003; Neumann, 2002; Shahnawaz, 2002). Countries in this region have a set of common challenges (widespread poverty, rapid population growth, hunger, and political instability) that complicate the management of PAs and biodiversity conservation in general (Naughton-Treves et al., 2005). Protected areas are, therefore, expected to directly contribute to community development, poverty reduction, improvement of quality of life, and social well-being, apart from their contribution to national economies (Homewood et al., 2010). The need to internalize development concerns into biodiversity conservation is, therefore, inevitable (Sayer, 2009; Brown, 2002; WB, 1994).

Theoretical debates on how to address human concerns have led to a number of principles that are key to effective protected area management while ensuring biodiversity conservation. They broadly include the consideration of the needs of poor people who live adjacent to PAs, integrating development concerns into biodiversity conservation, forging linkages between conservation and other sectors of the economy, and creating positive relationships with local communities (Ali, 2007; Lewis, 1996; Madden, 2004; Songorwa, 2004; Thapa, 2010). Such principles intend to incorporate the local communities into biodiversity conservation through their involvement and participation, share conservation benefits with the local communities, and reconcile biodiversity conservation and rural economic development (Ali, 2007; Songorwa, 2004; Lewis, 1996). They are normally discussed in the literature under the wider concept of community-based conservation, park-people relationships, and conservation and development, from which they evolved over time.

### 1.2 PA-people relationships: frameworks and approaches

Numerous studies have been undertaken to understand PA-people relationships (see, for example, Allendorf, 2010; Allendorf et al., 2012; Brechin et al., 1991; Zube & Busch, 1990). Such studies have been useful in guiding policy interventions and best practices to achieve effective conservation of PA resources. These studies indicate that PA/people relationships have been contentious in some places. Three major reasons behind contentious relationships can often be discerned. The first is wildlife damage, including crop damage or costs inflicted by crop

raiders and other animals, and livestock or humans being attacked by wild animals (Kepe et al., 2001; Madden, 2004; Marshall et al., 2007; Ogra, 2008; Thapa, 2010; Warner, 2000). The second main reason is the unilateral way that PAs tend to be established, which is often associated with forcefully evicting local communities from their traditional lands (Walpole & Goodwin, 2001; Bobo & Weladji, 2011). The third reason for the conflict is how local inhabitants are denied access to resources in PAs (land, wildlife, forest products, etc.) and how that access becomes criminalized, especially when those communities depend on those resources for their subsistence needs. The local people perceive this denial of access as ignoring their dependence on natural resources for their physical survival and for their spiritual practices, such as accessing sacred sites (Norgrove, 2003; Ali, 2007; Thapa, 2010).

Such issues ignore or threaten local communities' interests and livelihoods, and have raised a public outcry over the place of people in relation to biodiversity conservation in such PAs (Kideghesho et al., 2007). The outcomes have often been conflicts, contentious relationships between PA managers and the PA's neighbours, and a reduction in the support on conservation offered by various social actors (including local communities), particularly people who have traditionally used PA resources (Lewis, 1996; Madden, 2004; Neumann, 2002; Thapa, 2010).

The PA/people relationship is critical to achieve conservation objectives (Stankey & Shindler, 2006) because the future of PAs depends much on the cooperation and support of local communities (Mcshane & Wells, 2006). As such, building and sustaining good relationships with local communities is increasingly becoming an important consideration for PA management (Walpole & Goodwin, 2001). The need to integrate local communities' needs and concerns in biodiversity conservation has become crucial (Bobo & Weladji, 2011), but it is complex and context-specific (Allendorf et al., 2012; Dearden et al., 2005). Various models have been developed to achieve such integration.

Such models try to integrate local communities in the PA management in various ways with the view to foster positive PA/people relationships (see Brechin et al., 1991; Zube & Busch, 1990; and Table 1 below). These models provide a valuable description of PA/people relationships and are key aspects of inquiry toward understanding the relationship that people have with PAs (Allendorf, 2010). Four major approaches capture these models: (1) benefit-sharing; (2) mitigating human-wildlife conflicts; (3) opening limited access to park resources; and (4) managing PAs in collaboration with communities (Table 1).

Table 1: The relationship between sources of contentious relationship, models and approaches positive PA/people relationship

<b>Main sources of contention in PA/people relationships</b>	<b>Models of PA/people relationships by Brechin <i>et al.</i> (1991)</b>	<b>Models of PA/people relationships by Zube and Busch (1990)</b>	<b>Approaches towards positive PA/people relationships</b>
Wildlife damage	Planning and decision-making for resource management and social change	Participation of local communities in PA management	Mitigating human-wildlife conflicts
Unilateral way of establishing PAs	Displacement of people Historical and institutional context	Services delivered by PA to local communities	Managing PAs in collaboration with communities
Denial of access in and to resources in PAs	Nature preservation and ecodevelopment	Maintenance of traditional land use within the PA	Opening limited access to park resources
The unknown 'place' of people in PAs	Use of PA resources by local communities	Participation of local communities in PA tourism activities	Benefit-sharing

Sources: Brechin et al. (1991), Kepe et al. (2001), Madden (2004), Marshall et al. (2007), Ogra (2008), Thapa (2010), Warner (2000), and Zube & Busch (1990)

These four approaches are now widely applied by PA managers worldwide. The approaches have been used effectively to resolve and avoid conflicts with local communities, to win their support for conservation, and to foster positive relationships between people and PAs (Madden, 2004; Lewis, 1996; Thapa, 2010). All of these approaches revolve around two key issues: (1) providing benefits as incentives for people to conserve nature, and (2) mitigating the adverse impacts of PAs on local communities (Madden, 2004; Lewis, 1996; Roe *et al.*, 2000). The type of benefits and mitigation varies depending on the context, but the underlying assumption is the same in all situations: positive relationships are created or sustained when local communities believe that PAs serve, rather than ignore, their interests (Madden, 2004; Sifuna, 2011; Lewis, 1996).

Most PA managers use a variation of the four approaches discussed above. The framework of PA-people relationships in Table 1 outlines the potential links between those approaches, models of PA-people relationships, and the cause of the contention between PAs and people. For example, 'wildlife damage' is one source of contention. This PA-people problem can be managed using the 'planning and decision-making for resource management and social change' model, which suggests 'participation of local communities in PA management' in finding means of 'mitigating human-wildlife conflicts' relevant to specific PAs. However, the correlation of variables is not as linear as presented in Table 1 above. In practice, they often cross-cut each other and have multiple outcomes. For instance, sharing PA benefits with local communities could help to address the economic aspect of denial of access to resources in the PA.

### 1.3 Theoretical perspectives on approaches of PA - people relationships

**Benefit-sharing approach** is widely adopted and is considered an important motivational factor in securing local support to conservation (Distefano, 2005; Kideghesho et al., 2007), increasing people's tolerance to wildlife damage (Sifuna, 2011), and creating positive relationships with people (Sifuna, 2011; Walpole & Goodwin, 2001). In this approach, protected areas share tangible benefits from conservation with the wider local communities to offset the opportunity costs of protection, including problems with wildlife, and restrictions on land use and utilization of natural resources (Walpole & Goodwin, 2001). These incentives are often in terms of community services provision of social services such as building schools, health centres, water supply, improved education programmes, assistance in improving existing agricultural activities and introduction of new activities, among others.

However, the major challenge has been the limited funding by some protected areas to meet community demands on development initiatives, thereby being seen by local communities as a form of tokenism and so limited that they are not adequately compensated for the brunt of wildlife damage they bear (Distefano, 2005; Strede & Helles, 2000).

Benefit-sharing approach can also be demonstrated by offering employment opportunities to locals on a preferential basis (Sifuna, 2011), encouraging local communities involvement in investment opportunities available in the industry such as tourism development (Goodwin, 2001; Tosun, 2006). Despite local communities' desire to grab such opportunities, the drawbacks have always been their poverty level, and low level of education often expressed in limited capital and skills (Cole, 2006). The PAs could also help to promote products from or made by local communities such as local arts and crafts for sale to tourists, and encourage tourism businesses such as hotels to purchase locally, tour companies to incorporate itineraries for tourists to visit local villages and support local businesses (Ashley & Haysom, 2005; Meyer, 2007). However, the promotion of local arts and crafts for sale to tourists has been criticized as leading to commercialization and loss of quality and local pride (Strede & Helles, 2000).

**Mitigating human-wildlife conflicts** entails controlling crop damage, livestock predation, property damage, and attack of humans by wildlife. These undermine local communities' support for conservation, ruin the positive

relationships between people and protected areas, and make the future of these areas unpredictable (Madden, 2004; Lewis, 1996; Thapa, 2010). Such outcomes are often evidenced by the damage inflicted upon wildlife by humans, including habitat degradation and deliberate killing of wildlife (Ogra, 2008).

The literature unveils various preventive and responsive methods for managing and mitigating such damage, including provision of compensation to local communities for losses they incur (Lewis, 1996), insurance (Ogra, 2008) as well as using sophisticated wildlife damage control equipment and materials such as fencing wires, repellents, firecrackers, and chili pepper (Sifuna, 2011). While these are usually provided by governmental agencies, donors and NGOs, their nature and scope often vary depending on the situation of a particular country and its protected area in general (Madden, 2004; Lewis, 1996; Thapa, 2010). There are also traditional methods used by local communities, including local fencing, guarding, use of fire, noise-making, scarecrows, and predator models (Sifuna, 2011).

It is, however, important to note that some of these methods (e.g., all kinds of crop guarding) are labor-intensive and time-consuming (Ogra, 2008). Others such as crop guarding by shouting or throwing laming sticks are considered dangerous, especially for wildlife such as elephant and rhino as these could chargeback and even kill when disturbed or when they find humans in their way (Ogra, 2008; Thapa, 2010). Other methods such as the use of sophisticated wildlife damage control equipment and materials, including fencing wires, repellents, firecrackers, and chili pepper, are dearly costly for the local communities to afford - given their widespread poverty (Sifuna, 2011). The use of a single technique is ineffective and insufficient to control all wildlife species, especially those responsible for crop damage. Methods involving noise-making through different means are hardly successful and work only for a short time, and then eroded over time as wildlife get habituated (Sitati et al., 2005).

These shortcomings highlight the need for a site-specific study to be able to understand what works where and how effective a particular management technique could minimize the crop damage problem (Madden, 2004). This goes along with consideration on more intensive measures such as electric fencing and wire mesh fencing for effective mitigation and management of wildlife damage (Madden, 2004).

**Opening limited access to park resources** has its bearing on the importance of including local communities' subsistence needs as a consideration in park management, especially following rapidly increasing population and demand for natural resources (Heinen, 1993). Access to park resources that are needed for subsistence such as fuel-wood, building materials, and animal fodder has been central for creating good relationships between protected areas and adjacent communities (Heinen, 1993). However, this has been criticized as being a short-term satisfaction at the expense of the long-term survival of the same resources, hence compromising nature conservation and hampering the potential of the resource base to supply a future flow of benefits (Strede & Helles, 2000).

**Managing protected areas in collaboration with local communities** is another approach, which can be used to create good relationships between people and protected areas, win local communities support to conservation, and avoid conservation conflicts. This is crucial since the interests of local communities are often affected by conservation decisions (Walpole & Goodwin, 2001) while they are regarded as legitimate and moral stakeholders in biodiversity conservation (Scherl & Edwards, 2007). Thus, they should be involved in decision-making regarding the establishment of a particular protected area (Niezgoda & Czernek, 2008; Sanoff, 2000; Walpole & Goodwin, 2001). This is important to avoid difficulties during implementation, which can significantly influence the success and outcome of the process (Niezgoda & Czernek, 2008). Studies indicate that in situations where protected areas have been established without prior involvement of local communities, conflicts have been the predicted outcomes. The opposite has been true for situations where local people have been part of the decision-making body (Lewis, 1996).

Local communities should also be involved in managing protected areas. This is important to create a sense of responsibility among local communities and enhance the enforcement capacity of the protected area Walpole &



Goodwin, 2001). Enforcement is labour-intensive and costly such that it remains inadequate in many protected areas in the Global South, given insufficient resources and personnel (Lewis, 1996). Thus, using local community members as part of the enforcement personnel would reduce costs for the protected area.

However, the approach to managing protected areas in collaboration with communities has been viewed by some as unrealistic given the notion that local communities do not have the will or capacity to conserve biodiversity (Roe et al., 2000). This is partly due to their limited knowledge on conservation issues to make a significant contribution to the protected area (Roe et al., 2000). In addition, they are generally so poor that they find it difficult even to meet their basic needs – food, clothing, and shelter, hence increasing their dependence on natural resources (Sifuna, 2011). In fact, excluding people living in poverty from needed resources has inherent issues and conflicts since poverty is one of the key drivers of biodiversity degradation (Elliott & Sumba, 2010). Given these barriers, the degree of involvement of local communities in the management and their power to influence decision-making and demand their legitimate stake has been questionable (Scherl & Edwards, 2007). Their participation has hardly gone beyond mere consultation - often in community meetings to ownership and management of the resources (Mannigel, 2008; Matarrita-Cascante et al., 2010).

In addition, the approach to managing PAs in collaboration with communities depends on the management systems of the PA in question - whether state, community, private or co-management (Kellert et al., 2000). In the case of partnership between local communities and the state, the level of inclusion of local communities in managing the PA, the responsibility for sustainable use of the resources in the PA, management decisions, and ultimately the access to benefits, would obviously differ due to varying legal rights, institutions, and economic incentives (Kellert et al., 2000; [http://cbnrm.net/resources/terminology/terms\\_cbnrm.html](http://cbnrm.net/resources/terminology/terms_cbnrm.html)).

When the PA is owned and managed in partnership between local communities and the state, it is under a co-management system, or it is maintained under 'joint resource management.' The PA is under community management when it is maintained by the community. Normally, the community consults the government for policy, legal, or any other professional advice. However, in either case, there is normally an institutional arrangement that coordinates or runs the day-to-day activities of the PA. Both community and co-management systems are the outcomes of the popular concept of Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM). In general, CBNRM seeks to involve local communities in the management of natural resources and share with them the benefits of such resources (Songorwa, 2004). One of the key motivations of the government to opt for CBNRM is sharing management responsibility between local communities and the state – through a particular Department or Agency such as Forest, Wildlife, Fisheries, etc. - depending on the resource in question (Kellert et al., 2000).

On the other hand, the PA is under state management when it is owned and managed by the state, and the same applies for private PAs. It is worth noting that the inability of the state to meet costs associated with monitoring and enforcing controls over access to state-owned natural resources is one of the factors underlying governments to opt for CBNRM in which such costs are both lowered and borne in part by local communities themselves (Leach et al., 1999). However, this type of tenure regime normally happens in low-value resources while state-ownership is most likely for high-value resources – especially when viewed in relation to the relative costs and benefits of managing exclusion (Leach et al., 1999). It is from this perspective that all national parks in Tanzania are categorized as high-value resources and are owned and managed by the state.

While these models and approaches of PA – people relationships are useful reflections, strategies or techniques for protected area managers worldwide towards positive relationships with neighbouring communities, it remains to be demonstrated whether they are being applied by managers of these areas, and if so, to what extent. For the case of Tanzania, for example, there are no reports yet that document whether the approaches of PA – people relationships are actually being applied by PA managers in the country, and if so, to what extent. This paper, therefore, wants to contribute to filling out this gap by examining the park – people relationships in the context of Tanzania's national parks. As pointed out, the paper does this by using the case study of Saadani National Park (SANAPA).

Broadly, the objective is to understand to what extent SANAPA has explored approaches widely applied by PA managers worldwide (benefit-sharing, mitigating human-wildlife conflicts, managing PAs in collaboration, and opening limited access to park resources) in shaping its own relationships with neighbouring communities. The central question of the paper is to assess which models of PA-people relationships are embraced by SANAPA management and whether there are approaches or practices undertaken by the SANAPA management to foster positive park-people relationships, and if so, to what extent these have shaped its relationship with neighbouring communities.

#### 1.4 Case study area profile

Saadani National Park (SANAPA), the case study area, is located along the Indian Ocean beach-front roughly 100km (60 miles) northwest of Dar es Salaam, the country's commercial capital (Figure 1). The park, which covers an area of 1,100 km<sup>2</sup> (430 square miles), was gazetted in 2005. It is one of the most recently gazetted National Parks in the country. The park is unique, in the sense that it is the only marine and terrestrial national park in Tanzania ([www.saadani.org/aboutsaadani.html#](http://www.saadani.org/aboutsaadani.html#)).

The purpose of the Saadani National Park is to protect and conserve: the coastal zone and its diverse resources and range of activities (including the beach); the green turtle and its habitat; the lowland forests, especially Zaraninge Forest Reserve; endemic, rare and endangered species; the estuaries and mangroves, especially the Wami River; historical and cultural sites (both inside and outside the park); and the interesting mix of scenery in Saadani (TANAPA Website, 2009).



Figure 1: Map of Tanzania showing the location of Saadani National Park and other 15 national parks in the country

Source: [http://www.tanzaniaparks.com/tanzania\\_map.html](http://www.tanzaniaparks.com/tanzania_map.html)

## 2. Methodological approach

While a detailed methodology was designed for the wider study that examined conservation conflicts in the study area between 2011 through 2016 (see <https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/8060669>), it is worthwhile to give a bit of an overview of the methodological approach specific for the fourth research question (to what extent SANAPA has considered the models of PA-people relationships?) this paper discusses. The paper is rooted in the fourth phase of fieldwork for the study, but data collection was not restricted to this particular research question.

Fieldwork involved qualitative approaches: three focus group discussions with 32 village leaders; in-depth interviews with two park officials who had a rich experience with park management and had extensive knowledge of relevant community issues; 19 informal discussions with ordinary members of the local community; document analysis (previous studies, project documents and government reports); and field observations I made during my three-month stay in the study area, supplemented by my previous experiences in the area. This multiple-method approach helped to bundle the perspectives of the local communities and PA managers.

A set of questions reflecting each of the approaches (benefit-sharing, mitigating human-wildlife conflicts, opening limited access to park resources, and managing PAs in collaboration with communities) were asked to study participants to explore the extent of application of a particular approach, including their views regarding the approach in question.

I gathered verbatim responses during focus group discussions, performed in-depth semi-structured interviews, and held informal discussions. This source material was then sorted into four categories: (1) benefit-sharing, (2) mitigating human-wildlife conflicts, (3) opening limited access to park resources, and (4) managing PAs in collaboration with communities. These categories were created after considering the responses gathered in light of the widely applied approaches of PA/people relationships discussed in the literature review. The categories are also used as a framework for presenting the findings in this paper.

To discuss these results, I integrated the findings from one technique of data collection and compared them with those from other techniques. This process of triangulation verifies, strengthens, and greatly increases the validity of the findings while drawing together views from multiple stakeholders and the wider community (Simmons, 1994). In the following section, the findings from this case study are presented and discussed in detail. The different approaches of the park – people relationships are presented, their nature and extent of application discussed alongside their underlying reasons for the extent of application.

## 3. Results and discussion

The results indicate that all four major approaches widely applied by PA managers to foster positive relationships (benefit-sharing approach, mitigating human-wildlife conflicts, opening limited access to park resources, and managing PAs in collaboration with communities) are important in shaping relationships between SANAPA and adjacent communities. However, the PA managers of SANAPA do not use all four approaches equally. These managers tend to focus more on the benefit-sharing approach. They have also considered two more approaches (mitigating human-wildlife conflicts and managing PAs in collaboration with communities), but these have been or are being only partly applied. They have not considered at all the fourth approach - opening limited access to park resources. The extent of application of each of these approaches is discussed separately in the following sections.

### 3.1 Benefit-sharing approach

Interviews with SANAPA officials and the analysis of various documents issued by SANAPA and TANAPA revealed that the park had established a benefit-sharing approach in the form of an outreach programme called Community Conservation Service (CCS). The programme is available in all national parks under the Tanzania

National Park Authority (TANAPA) and is funded by income raised by TANAPA. The main source of funding for TANAPA is park gate revenues generated through tourism, but this is limited and is often supplemented by external donors. Gate revenues are centrally managed by the TANAPA Head Office in Arusha, and are redistributed across all parks based on their annual budgetary activities, including CCS activities. Through CCS, national parks in Tanzania share conservation benefits with surrounding communities. When commenting on revenue collection, one park official said,

“Our role here is to collect everything [gate revenues] and send it to the Headquarters in Arusha [TANAPA Head Office], that’s the way we operate! .....you know what? Some parks, including ours [SANAPA], do not collect enough to run by themselves, they collect little compared to what they need to operate. If left to depend on their revenue, they will surely die. So to help them, everything has to go into a common basket, and then each park is allocated its share based on their activities” (Park 2).

Document analysis further indicated that the CCS programme started in 1988 as a pilot project in Serengeti National Park before it grew to cover more national parks in early 1991. Today the programme is implemented in all 15 national parks, including SANAPA. The CCS is now a full-fledged department with permanently employed staff at the TANAPA headquarters and at park level.

While CCS facilitates benefit-sharing between neighbouring communities and national parks in Tanzania, its objectives are primarily two-fold: (1) to improve relations between national parks and local communities; and (2) to ensure that the interests of TANAPA regarding conservation and community welfare are expressed at all levels. Conservation education is a vital part of the CCS programme. The programme offers conservation education to various groups of local communities to create awareness of conservation values associated with the park so that they can support protection measures. But this could also be a strategy to make local communities accept compromises that may be necessary in favour of biodiversity conservation in the area (Lewis, 1996).

The programme also trains local communities on project management and accounting and the use of appropriate technology – such as improved wood fuel-saving stoves. The goal here is to enable them to implement alternative livelihood activities as substitutes for those that adversely affect biodiversity. The increased benefits from the other livelihood activities help to reduce the likelihood of the local communities threatening conservation efforts. Also, the programme establishes conservation clubs at local schools, and organises and runs conservation films shows in such villages from time to time. It also arranges familiarisation park visits for local community groups and students of all ages as part of its broader conservation education mission. The aim is to instill conservation values and encourage future support for conservation measures.

To ensure that the parks make a meaningful contribution to community development while at the same time avoiding a top-down approach, CCS stresses support for community-initiated projects. The programme's funding scheme is called Support for Community Initiated Projects (SCIP). It was established in 1992. The SCIP fund currently amounts to 7.5% of each park's annual budget. The funding is used to support or construct school facilities, medical dispensaries, health centres, youth centres, training centres, roads, water projects, children's rights, and many other community development projects. Generally, the park contributes up to 70% of the project cost, and the community contributes the remaining 30% - normally in terms of labour - to create a sense of ownership of the project among local communities.

Through the SCIP programme, SANAPA has managed to contribute to various community initiatives in many villages around the national park. In the focus group discussions, participants made reference to a number of projects that SANAPA contributed, including construction of a dispensary and a secondary school in Matipwili village. Generally, local communities seem to appreciate SANAPA’s contribution to improving their livelihoods. They acknowledge such efforts and appreciate the importance of conservation. One village leader noted,

“It’s just that we have so many needs, but to be honest TANAPA is doing a great job! Look at the school in Matipwili.....at least now our children go to secondary school. Before they ended up in standard

seven and just stayed in the village with nothing to do!....yeah, it is hard and expensive to get a chance in other schools elsewhere. And yes, we are still in discussion with them so that they help us dig a water well...so at least we have got a place to start with.....imagine if this park was not here, where could we have gone for help? They [TANAPA] have built I think one or two classrooms for our children. So I think they have the capacity to do things. Personally, I don't understand if there people who blame them [SANAPA] - maybe poachers - of course I know these don't want to see them [SANAPA] here as they block their evil motives!" (Village leader 7)

In general, CCS has fostered a positive perception of the park from the local communities' point of view. This is especially true when comparing the benefits they receive from the PA in its current status as national park with the time when it was a game reserve. However, as Strede & Helles (2000) observed, park officials, highlighted insufficient budget as the major hindrance to support each village's community development projects submitted to the park for funding. Also, there has been some deliberate movements by sub-villages to push for a place in the list of 'adjacent villages' recognized by SANAPA. First, they lobby the responsible government agencies for official upgrading and recognition of their sub-villages to stand-alone villages. Then, by virtue of sharing geographical boundaries with the park, they automatically find their way in the CCS list. This not only disturbs CCS's plans, but also increases the financial burden on, and complicates allocation of the already limited funding. On the other hand, this allows a larger group of people to benefit from the park. Also, it suggests the need to increase the budget allocation for CCS, since biodiversity conservation is for the betterment of people – for economic gain, poverty reduction, improvement of quality of life, and social well-being (Collins, 2013; Homewood et al., 2012).

Similar benefit-sharing schemes have been used by various PAs worldwide. For example, Chitwan National Park and Annapurna Conservation Area in Nepal have received wide recognition and have been outstanding models for many countries in the Global South for their success in benefit-sharing (Wells & Sharma, 1998). Local communities are empowered to take advantage of opportunities available in related industry, particularly ecotourism. The PA revenues contribute significantly to community development (Sharma & Shaw, 1993; Heinen & Mehta, 1999).

### 3.2 Mitigating wildlife damage

Given the dense strips of thicket cover of the predominantly forest, woodland and wooded grassland seen in the buffer zones of SANAPA that overlap with village lands, it was not surprising that participants of the focus group discussions as well as informal discussion with local communities indicated that they experience losses due to wildlife. The majority of losses were due to crop raiding and livestock predation by wildlife, although some cases of wild animals attacking humans, destroying property, and being a general nuisance were also reported. A variety of wild animals were implicated in crop-raiding: elephant, baboon, warthog, monkey, bush-pig, rodents and birds. According to the local communities, the most troublesome species for attacks on livestock and humans include lions, leopards, hyenas, and snakes. However, incidences and vulnerability to such problems differ between and within villages depending on the season and location of a particular village with respect to the park.

At the time of data collection for this study, several groups of baboons and monkeys were frequently observed on villagers' farms, and some warthogs were frequently seen wandering through residential premises, especially in Saadani Village, which is situated in the middle of the park. The villagers appeared vividly annoyed by such animals. Commenting on such animals, one member of Saadani village for example said,

"....these animals have been here with us since then, they are always in our premises walking around, eating what they found, playing around, and annoying sometimes....in general, they live with us all the time, there is nothing we can do with them, we just protect our holdings, guard our crops and live moves on.....how can we do to them? sometimes they [baboons and warthogs] sometimes run from lions there [in the park] and come to us to hide and save their lives.....they sleep in our premises in places like abandoned houses or unfinished buildings....in short, we coexist with them...not because we like but because there is no option."

Nevertheless, the inhabitants of the study areas have daily interaction with wildlife and have learned from their long-time experience on how to handle the wildlife damage they encounter. For example, they employ various traditional methods to combat crop damage, including fencing their farms using locally available materials such as old fishing nets, and deploying family members to guard their farms. They also use fire, noise-making, scarecrows, and models of predators. However, due to the variation in the body size of the animals, their feeding habits, the variety of crops, and differences in the proximity of farmland to the park boundary, there is no single measure that was sufficient to scare off all wildlife species responsible for crop damage. Similar to what Thapa (2010) observed in Bardia National Park (Nepal), a combination of these methods was preferred and was seen effective for crop protection, although the work is labour-intensive and time-consuming (Ogra, 2008).

Sometimes wildlife such as elephants destroy and damage the fences, but local communities do not complain to the park management about the repairs. The park management does not take any initiative to repair the damaged fences. Instead, the villagers have learned to tolerate the damage problem and accept the situation as part of their life because they cannot afford sophisticated wildlife damage control equipment and materials. But when damage exceeds their tolerance, such as when elephants, buffalo, lion, or leopards have entered the village or threatened human life, they notify the park management and ask for help. In such cases, the park management immediately sends armed rangers to help out. At the time of writing this paper, this was the only assistance offered by the park management to mitigate wildlife damage.

Park officials, however, maintained that such human-wildlife conflicts in SANAPA are a result of encroachment, blockage of migratory routes, and destruction of dispersal areas by farming and human settlement, coupled with increasing in human population pressures in the area. One park official lamented,

“...I hope you know about wildlife movements, how they move from one place to another on seasonal basis. So what do you expect if, for example, villagers have established farms in elephant routes, and you know how destructive these creatures are, so it's obvious you will notice considerable damage within a short period of time! ...you know, we need to be objective and stop talking these politics, the reasons are clear...” (Park 1).

In support of this argument, field observations revealed that SANAPA has roads on all sides, and settlement has grown fast. These are challenges that increase isolation of the park from larger animal populations in other PAs of Tanzania. The issue of isolation of SANAPA from other biologically rich areas is discussed in detail in <https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/8060669>.

Measures to either prevent or mitigate wildlife damage (e.g., compensation, insurance, equipment, and materials) were not adopted by SANAPA. In the absence of such measures, loss of food leading to food insecurity, the increased workload associated with removing or replanting damaged crops, and diminished wellbeing become obvious outcomes (Ogra, 2008). Study participants reported such outcomes, but they did not mention food insecurity or any kind of compensation schemes available for losses from wildlife damage. Although reportedly not very effective, financial compensation schemes have been used to increase people's tolerance to wildlife damage while coexisting with wild animals (Sifuna, 2011).

Payment of compensation, for example, has been used by Kenya Wildlife Service to manage human-wildlife conflicts in Kenyan PAs. Compensation is paid where a person has been injured or killed by a wild animal. However, no compensation is offered for damage to crops, livestock, and other (man-made) farm infrastructure because of the logistical difficulties associated with such claims (Distefano, 2005).

While management decisions on managing human-wildlife conflicts (controlling crop damage, livestock predation, property damage, and attack of humans by wildlife) for the case of SANAPA would require further in-depth research, it is important to note that the current responsive measure by SANAPA is not sufficient to minimize wildlife damage in the study area. A combination of both preventive and mitigation tools, both traditional means (such as the use of fires, scarecrows, and predator models) and sophisticated tools (repellents, firecrackers, and

chili pepper) could work better. However, the wisest strategy for wildlife conservation could be co-management of human-wildlife conflicts by PA managers, local communities, researchers, and local governing bodies (Weladji & Tchamba, 2003). The involvement and participation of local communities are crucial for preventing and mitigating human-wildlife conflicts since acceptance of the problem by the local community is essential because such conflicts can never be fully eliminated, but can be reduced (Distefano, 2005).

### 3.3 Managing PAs in collaboration with communities

While the literature recognizes the inclusion of local communities in PA management (Walpole & Goodwin, 2001), the findings of this research revealed that sometimes managing PAs in collaboration with local communities is not possible, even if PA managers are willing to involve them. The findings show that local communities in the study area are not directly involved in managing SANAPA. They have remained 'observers' and 'recipients' or 'listeners' of what is being decided by the park managers. The focus group discussions, however, revealed that the local communities seem to have learnt to accept such exclusion because they consider themselves unable to contribute in managing SANAPA due to their certain inherent factors. They pointed out hindrances such as their poverty, low level of education (reflecting limited expertise), and some of their livelihood strategies (e.g., a tradition of hunting for bush-meat) that threatened wildlife conservation. For example, during informal discussions one member of the local community said,

.....you know how poor we are, we have not even gone to school [no formal education], and some of us are poachers, particularly our fellows in Kwamsisi [a village in the northern part of SANAPA where poaching is much more rampant] ... so what do you expect if we are to be involved in managing this park [SANAPA]...what are we going to contribute in the first place? Or you want us to clear everything from the park! Ooho in just a year you will find no forest, no animals, no anything!!.....things like this [conservation] are for people like you who are professionals [conservationists by profession].

Although the local communities did play an important role in establishing the PA (they initiated the establishment of SANAPA) and have supported biodiversity conservation and have been positive towards this PA since it was first established as a game reserve, their actions do not always support this positive view of conservation. In particular, some traditionally embedded practices or livelihood strategies in the study area negatively impact wildlife conservation. In the north of SANAPA, for example, poaching is rampant because communities in that place have a tradition of hunting mainly for bush-meat. As mentioned in Muganda (2018), the northern side of the park is the most unsafe side of the park for the wild animals. Study participants, particularly the local inhabitants, identified poverty, lack of education and traditional practices as the main stumbling blocks to the participation of local communities in PA management and in the conservation of biodiversity in general.

The local inhabitants' above statements reflect Elliott & Sumba's (2010) observation that poverty is one of the main contributors to biodiversity degradation, and they reinforce the argument by Roe et al., (2000) and Haukeland (2011) that local communities do not have the capacity to conserve biodiversity. On the other hand, these statements also reflect the argument by Lewis (1996) that local communities are likely to be happy with a particular PA if it has been established with prior consultation or dialogue with them regarding the reasons for, and benefits of, the PA. Park officials had a similar viewpoint when asked to respond on whether they were managing SANAPA in collaboration with local communities. But they were a bit skeptical if that could make a difference in their context. This standpoint is related to, and reflected in, the management structure of the PA itself. SANAPA is not a community-based natural resource; it is purely state-run, and therefore, community-based input is viewed as being less important to the management of the park. One park official said,

"I don't see that as a problem and a need for our park because these people [local communities] actually want land, want charcoal, want timber, want wildlife [meat and trophies], etc. .... they need them for a living, to make money! ...of course, we know some are just being used by politicians, business people or someone else.....by taking advantage of their poverty and greedy for quick money!.....but these are what they need from the park, it's not about being in the decision-making or being part of the management team.....it's all about access to those resources [mentioned]" (Park 1).

Such standpoint has its bearing on the nature of the protected area itself. As Kellert et al., (2000) argues, managing PAs in collaboration with communities depends on the management systems of PAs in question, whether state, community, private, or co-management. It should be noted that SANAPA is not owned or managed under a community – based natural resource management system, which would require sharing management responsibility between local communities and the state – through SANAPA (joint resource management). Instead, SANAPA is a state-run PA and is virtually considered a high-value resource in the context of PAs management systems in Tanzania. State-ownership is most likely for these kinds of PAs given their high-value, especially when viewed in relation to the relative costs and benefits of managing exclusion (Leach et al., 1999). In the concluding remarks of this section, I will debate a little more on this approach ‘Managing protected areas in collaboration with local communities’ in the context of national parks in Tanzania.

On the other hand, the literature maintains that to win local communities’ participation and support of conservation activities, they should be involved from the establishment of the PA in question (Niezgoda & Czernek, 2008; Sanoff, 2000). However, this not always the case, at least from the findings of this research. When SANAPA was established in 2005, local communities in the study area were involved in decision-making, and even some villages even contributed part of their lands to the newly established park - to include areas for potential biodiversity conservation and eventually to increase the size of the park area. But, despite this involvement still, their relationship with the park management appears uncertain due to a number of conflicts between the two sides. Local communities had the feeling that their interests and livelihoods were threatened by SANAPA. The findings revealed that the management of SANAPA and adjacent communities are confronted with enormous conservation conflicts (boundary conflict, resource-use conflict –demands for land and poaching for trophy and bush-meat, and tree-cutting for firewood, charcoal, and building materials; human-wildlife conflict, and conflicts related to encroachment and blockage of wildlife corridors) requiring urgent actions. These conflicts have ecological, social, and economic costs to the parties involved (Madden, 2004; FAO, 2008; Distefano, 2005; Muruthi, 2005; WWF, 2008).

While such conservation conflicts are discussed in detail in Muganda (2018), it is important to note that although there are still some land disputes going on between SANAPA and villages whose land was annexed to establish the park, the local communities had offered their land willingly following a series of consultation meetings. Later, however, they discovered some inconsistencies in the annexing process. This led to boundary disputes which eventually ruined the relationship between the park and villages in question. This reinforces the view that local communities cannot support PAs if their interests are threatened (Kideghesho et al., 2007; Thapa, 2010). As Muganda (2018) noted, during the time of data collection for this study, a mediation process was underway to resolve these disputes.

In my view, however, the approach ‘Managing protected areas in collaboration with local communities’ does not perfectly fit for SANAPA. This is because SANAPA is purely a state-owned protected area in which management responsibility is fully vested in the state through TANAPA. There is no partnership between local communities and the state. For this reason, the level of inclusion of local communities in managing this PA is likely to be minimum or no inclusion at all. This is due to the lack of legal rights or institutions that often exist in partnerships (Kellert et al., 2000). In fact, the park management is likely to see no point of involving the local communities in managing the park given their low level of education- reflecting limited expertise or knowledge on conservation issues to make a significant contribution to the protected area (Roe et al., 2000). In addition, national parks in Tanzania have the highest level of conservation status and protection amongst wildlife protected areas in the country. They are relatively far better when it comes to monitoring and enforcing controls over access to their resources. Park management would, in most cases, involve local communities in management principally to foster a positive relationship and local communities’ support to conservation needed to achieve effective and sustainable conservation and relations between people and protected areas (Bobo & Weladji, 2011; Mcshane & Wells, 2006). To some extent, SANAPA uses its benefit-sharing approach (discussed above) to achieve this.

But this does not imply that the approach ‘Managing protected areas in collaboration with local communities’ is irrelevant for the case of SANAPA. Its relevance lies on the fact that all PAs in Tanzania, including SANAPA,



are not fenced. Wild animals are free to move within the entire area and beyond the boundaries of the PAs into their buffer zones. These buffer zones (dispersal areas) belong to particular villages as part of the village lands. It is, therefore, important that villagers are involved and encouraged to participate in conservation of such wild animals, particularly once they are in the village lands. As such, the approach is still important in shaping relationships between SANAPA and its neighbouring communities.

### 3.4 Opening limited access to park resources

As pointed out in the introduction section of this paper, opening limited access to park resources involves allowing local communities limited access to PA resources to meet their subsistence needs - often fuel-wood (firewood), building materials and animal fodder (Heinen, 1993). This is an important recognition of their dependence on natural resources for a living, rapidly increasing population and demand for natural resources, and for creating good relationships between protected areas and adjacent communities (Strede & Helles, 2000). Discussions with villagers throughout the fieldwork period and observations made in the field confirmed that opening limited access of collection of firewood from SANAPA is not particularly important to most local communities around the park. Most villages have plenty of firewood at their disposal from their village forest resources available within daily walking distance. Allowing a limited collection of firewood is important only for people in Saadani village because their village forest (the only place where they are allowed to collect dead wood) is a long-distance away, on the other side of the park. The villagers, therefore, minimise transportation time and expense by collecting firewood from the park forest, which is closer by and borders their village, even though this is illegal. Commenting on the opening limited access to firewood, one villager said,

“That would be much appreciated, it’s a great idea, good for us because we have got nowhere to get them [firewood] to be honest!...I think you also see the real situation....on this side [pointing to the south] there is Sea [the Indian Ocean], and the rest of the area is national park [SANAPA]..... our forest is far away from here, you need to cross the park to reach it....besides walking in the park is dangerous and is prohibited....so you can imagine how difficult it is for us to get firewood from our forest...”

The approach of opening limited access to firewood is working well in Royal Chitwan National Park in Nepal and has proved to enhance the local livelihood, solidify park-people relations, and give local communities a more positive perception of biodiversity conservation in and around the park (Sharma & Shaw, 1993). Because the illegal collection of firewood is already a problem in SANAPA, opening limited access to local communities around the park (especially the Saadani people) could help to address the problem while fostering positive relationships between the park management and these people who live nearby. And with effective control, monitoring, and evaluation to assess field situation and conservation attitudes, opening limited access to park resources can work well with minimum loss of biodiversity (Madden, 2004; Sayer, 2009).

Similarly, opening limited access of collection of building materials (mainly timber and poles - commonly used to construct local shelters) from SANAPA is not particularly important to local communities around the park. As mentioned before, such materials can be obtained from their village forest resources. And since construction is one-off activity (happens once in a while), even local communities from Saadani village (who I suggest be considered for limited access to firewood) can obtain building materials from their village forest located a few kilometers away (about 30-minute drive). However, as I pointed out in Muganda (2018), many village forest resources are at risk of disappearing due to unsustainable utilization that threatens the existence of such forests. The forests suffer greatly from extensive trees harvesting for timber, poles firewood, and charcoal production promoted by village leaders and politicians.

Furthermore, the results indicate that opening limited access of collection of animal fodder is also not particularly important to local communities around the park. This is because the majority of local communities surrounding SANAPA are peasants, whose main economic activity is agriculture. Field observations and interviews with village leaders revealed that there are very few inhabitants of the villages surrounding SANAPA, who are pastoralists or who practice both agriculture and pastoralism and have few livestock. However, their number could

not be immediately established since there was no such statistical data at village offices, the village leaders had no such information, and had never bothered to collect such data. Thus, given the small numbers of their herds against the dense strips of thicket cover of the predominantly forest, woodland and wooded grassland seen in the buffer zones of SANAPA that overlap with village lands, it implies that there is plenty of pasture at their disposal for their livestock.

But there is a high demand for animal fodder, especially during dry seasons when additional pasture is needed beyond the borders of the village for the migrating pastoralists (Barabaig pastoralists), who flock around SANAPA with their huge herds of livestock in search for pasture. While this issue of migrating pastoralists is discussed in detail in Muganda (forthcoming), it is worth noting that these pastoralists are not residents of the villages around SANAPA. They simply arrive in the area due to their nomadic lifestyle while searching for pasture for their large herds of livestock, mainly cattle. To them, large herds of livestock expresses personal worthiness and insurance to survive through periods of stress such as drought and disease epidemics (Boku, 2008). These Barabaig pastoralists have been in conflicts with SANAPA managers over encroachment into the park to pasture their herds of livestock. Informal discussions with some villagers revealed that local pastoralists, village leaders as well as politicians in the area often invite such pastoralists from other areas in the country. This creates an influx of pastoralists with huge herds of livestock in and around SANAPA.

Interviews with SANAPA officials revealed that it is difficult for the park management to reconcile with the pursuit of the agenda of opening limited access to park resources. The management seems to embrace what Sayer (2009) called threat-based kind of conservation - which focuses on protecting biodiversity against perceived threats rather than desired outcomes i.e., outcome-based approach. During interviews, one park official, for example, narrated,

"...Our role is to conserve biodiversity, and there are conservation policies and laws we abide to.... There is no way we can allow such a thing [opening limited access to park resources]... it's contrary to the laws and contrary to our role as conservationists [of conserving biodiversity].....our fellows in Udzungwa National Park tried it [opening limited access to firewood] but failed badly..... people were collecting heaps of firewood and sell them, so to some people it turned out to be a loophole for a business....I personally don't buy the idea because it will encourage encroachment, it will encourage overdependence, it will encourage poaching and everything!.....I always say if we want really to help our people then let us start with poverty alleviation programmes, to me poverty is everything, poverty is all that brings all these problems and tensions we have with local communities....also lack of education is another factor, but let us start with poverty first! ....Short of that we still have a long way to go, to be honest..."

Although grazing in Tanzania's national parks is prohibited by law, a consideration for allowing limited grazing of livestock within specific sections of the park during drought periods could be a good approach to internalize pastoralism into biodiversity conservation while fostering positive relationships with pastoralists. However, this network (or chain) of pastoralists could stall SANAPA from considering such an approach due to the possibility of attracting more influx of pastoralists into the park. Also, their practice of free-range grazing (nomadic lifestyle or mobile way of keeping livestock) alongside big herds of livestock makes the issue even more complex, especially when considering the associated risks: depletion of the natural vegetation and loss of habitat due to overgrazing and transmission of diseases such as anthrax and rabies. In addition, the local communities do not generally welcome pastoralists because the free-range grazing and large numbers of uncontrolled livestock cause substantial crop damage and degrade the soil (making it compact and hard to dig with hand hoe) in the fields leading to farmer-herder conflicts. On the other hand, the approach 'opening limited access of collection of animal fodder from SANAPA' for such pastoralists is simply unpractical, insufficient, and laborious given their huge herds of livestock. This approach works well to pastoralists with few numbers of livestock, practicing zero-grazing or low – intensity livestock farming, which is highly valued ecologically and economically (Bignal & McCracken, 1996; Rosen & Bakker, 2005).

Integration of local communities' subsistence needs (through opening limited access for gathering firewood, building materials and animal fodder) is common in Himalayan national parks, including Royal Chitwan,

Sagarmatha and Langtang in Nepal, and the Great Himalayan National Park in India in response to a rapidly increasing population and demand for PA resources (Sharma & Shaw, 1993; Heinen & Mehta, 1999). Such opening of limited access has been used to solve park/people conflicts and improve relationships with people living adjacent to these PAs (Heinen & Mehta, 1999).

#### 4. Conclusion

The focus of this paper was the nature and extent of PA-people relationships in Tanzania. Evidence from SANAPA demonstrates that the major approaches widely applied by PA managers to foster positive relationships - benefit-sharing, mitigating human-wildlife conflicts, opening limited access to PA resources, and managing PAs in collaboration with communities - are also important in shaping relationships between national parks in Tanzania and their neighbouring communities. While the extent of application of these approaches varies considerably, the focus of park managers in Tanzania has been predominantly on the benefit-sharing approach. Other approaches (e.g. mitigating human-wildlife conflicts) have also been considered, but their applications remain partial. Yet others (e.g. opening limited access to park resources) have not been considered at all, despite their relevance. This raises the question whether SANAPA has fully exploited all the opportunities to improve PA-people relationships, although there are hindrances such as policy issues, financial limitations, their importance to the local community, and logistical difficulties associated with such approaches.

Although the findings from SANAPA should be considered only within the specific cultural and geographical parameters of this park, some implications may be applicable to similar scenarios elsewhere in Tanzania and globally. The findings can help to guide policy and management decisions on how to resolve and avoid conflicts with local communities, to win their support for conservation, and to foster positive relationships between them and management of PAs. First, the factors (widespread poverty, low level of education, and traditional livelihood practices) that hinder the involvement of local communities and their participation in conserving biodiversity need to be addressed before effective collaboration will become possible in managing SANAPA. Such factors reflect the limited capacity for the local communities to conserve biodiversity (Roe et al., 2000; Haukeland, 2011). Poverty is one of the main contributors to biodiversity degradation - often reflected in overdependence on natural resources for a living, low level of education implies limited knowledge on conservation issues to make significant contribution to the protected area, and a tradition of hunting can lead to species extinction or a decline in species population - thereby threatening wildlife conservation.

These highlights the need for comprehensive conservation programmes that would integrate conservation while addressing such issues. For example, programmes that aim to alleviate poverty at the family level and improve access to formal education could reduce their dependence on natural resources for a living. Conservation education and consciousness-raising campaigns are needed among local communities to increase their capacity to conserve wildlife and change their cultural traditions related to the use of bush-meat. Also, the SANAPA management could consider allowing limited hunting access as another option for the bush-meat hunting people even if hunting in national parks is prohibited by law. This could be achieved by setting aside special hunting area(s) for these people such as in the dispersal areas or buffer zones. These are areas outside protected areas that animals use for a significant length of time, and are normally part of the village lands (Jones et al., 2009). Setting up community-owned wildlife areas - commonly known as Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) on village lands surrounding SANAPA could generate income for the villages through tourism activities while serving for the bush-meat hunting people as well.

Second, crop damage is a very important issue to the livelihood of local residents. SANAPA's responsive measures do not sufficiently minimise wildlife damage in the study area. The park management, donors and other conservation organisations with an interest in wildlife conservation should support local communities in acquiring sophisticated wildlife damage control equipment and materials (e.g., fencing wires, animal repellent, firecrackers, and chili peppers), which are generally more effective than the traditional means currently used by communities. In the absence of adequate preventive or responsive measures, crop damage can result into food insecurity.

Third, opening limited access to park resources is an important consideration in park management. The managers of SANAPA should consider allowing limited collection of firewood for local communities living in Saadani village, given the limited amount of firewood nearby. Livestock keeping is an integral part of Barabaig life and is heavily intertwined into their culture and value systems, but pastoralism as they practice it is damaging the conservation area and surrounding communities. Education programmes and consciousness-raising campaigns are needed to change their way of life and their mindset toward free-range pastoralism. These should aim to convince them to adopt environmentally-friendly models of keeping livestock such as zero-grazing, and transform these into more profitable ventures. In the end, this could be a stepping stone towards allowing limited collection of animal fodder from SANAPA, especially during drought periods, and building infrastructures for livestock keeping, such as dips and dams.

Pastoralists seem to be unwanted in the study area due to increasing crop damage and soil degradation by livestock (they make the soil compact and hard to dig with hand hoe) attributed to uncontrolled entry of herds of cattle in the area. If left unchecked, this could spur conflicts between pastoralists and farmers. A space should be set aside for local pastoralists, but many villages in the study area have no land-use plans. The influx of other pastoralists from other regions should also be controlled.

Fourth, although the focus of park managers in Tanzania has been predominantly on the benefit-sharing approach, a larger group of people still do not benefit from the conservation of these PAs. The approach has limited funding allocation to allow all villages surrounding SANAPA to benefit from the park. There is, therefore, the need to increase the budget allocation for this approach (the park's CCS budget) to enable larger group of people to benefit from the park. This is important since we conserve biodiversity for the betterment of people – for economic gain, poverty reduction, improvement of quality of life, and social well-being (Collins, 2013; Homewood et al., 2012). This case study of SANAPA has revealed important aspects of PA-people relationships in one of Tanzania's PAs. Similar studies in various PAs of Tanzania and in other countries of the Global South still need to be done. This is important for the consideration of specific PAs and country-level differences in terms of PA-people relationships. Such studies would provide the basis for comparison and contextualizing the findings for a particular country or region. Indeed, such case studies are useful in the sense that understanding PA – people relationships from a particular protected area provides specificity, allows comparison, and capture the heterogeneity that exists across protected areas - given cultural and geographical differences between and within countries and varying levels of conservation status (Allendorf, 2010; Allendorf et al., 2012; Dearden et al., 2005). This is fundamental to park managers for gauging, improving and furthering research into such relations to achieve objectives of biodiversity conservation (Allendorf et al., 2012; Bobo & Weladji, 2011; Mcshane & Wells, 2006). Such case studies can provide guidance for policy and management decisions and a baseline for assessing PA-people relationships in other PAs in Tanzania and elsewhere.

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# The Realization of People Living with HIV/AIDS Commitment to Participating, and The Benefit and The Challenge of HIV/AIDS Control Program in Surakarta Indonesia

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## Abstract

The management of AIDS is a collective responsibility, including People Living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA). This research aimed to study the realization of PLWHA commitment to participating, and the benefit and the challenge of HIV/AIDS control program in Surakarta Indonesia. This was a qualitative research with case study approach conducted in Surakarta Indonesia. The data was collected through observation, in-depth interview and documentation related to PLWHA being administrators and members of Solo Plus Peer Support Group, People Affected by HIV/AIDS (PABHA), Surakarta AIDS Commission, Health Workers, NGO and people concerned with AIDS as its data source. To validate the data, source triangulation was used. The explanatory analysis in this case study was conducted using Azjen's Theory of Planned Behavior. The involvement of PLWHA in HIV/AIDS control program in Surakarta is like a pyramid. Generally, they serve as participants of socialization; facilitators in HIV/AIDS Communication, Information, and Education; caretakers and attendants of PLWHA; counselor and peer educator; and policy makers. The benefits of the Greater Involvement of People living with or Affected by HIV/AIDS (GIPA) were: HIV/AIDS control will run more ethically and effectively, socialization by means of elaborating PLWHA and PABHA's experience can reduce stigma and discrimination within community, reinforce the organization, and provide more responsive healthcare service, therefore, improve PLWHA's self-confidence and quality of life. The constraints or challenges included personal, social, and institutional one, for example, the difficulty of revealing HIV status before the public, inadequate material mastery and communication skill, some organizations supporting PLWHA inadequately, negative stigma and community's discriminative treatment leading GIPA in HIV/AIDS control program to run less optimally. PLWHA involved in HIV/AIDS control program can get some benefits, but they should also face readily such challenges as negative stigma, social isolation, and discrimination. There should be comprehensive support from family, government, and community to HIV/AIDS control program to make PLWHA acceptable and contributing actively to end AIDS epidemics.

**Keywords:** Benefit, Challenge, GIPA, HIV/AIDS Control, Participation, PLWHA



## 1. Introduction

The targets of Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) in 2030 are to end AIDS, epidemics. For that reason, HIV/AIDS controlling strategy and policy are formulated and implemented from global to regional levels aiming to achieve zero new infection, zero AIDS-related death and zero discrimination by 2030 (Osborn et al, 2015; UNAIDS, 2016; Haghdoost & Karamouzian, 2012; World Health Organization, 2016; UNAIDS Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2017; UNAIDS, 2017). This strategy is implemented as well in Indonesia, including Surakarta, but HIV/AIDS case number increases continuously. Cumulatively, there are 232,323 HIV and 86,725 AIDS cases in Indonesia in the period of April 1, 1987- December 31, 2016, with 14,608 deaths. Considering the data of Republic of Indonesia's Ministry of 2017, the cumulative number of HIV/AIDS cases reaches 23,311 cases, including: 16,867 HIV and 6,444 AIDS cases. Surakarta AIDS Commission reported that the cumulative number of HIV/AIDS cases is 2528 consisting of 859 HIV, 1669 AIDS, and 701 death cases during October 2005-December 2017.

As the number of People Living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) increases continuously, the HIV/AIDS control program should be optimized (Joulai & Motazedian, 2013). It can be done among others, by realizing the principle of Greater Involvement of People Living with or Affected by HIV/AIDS (GIPA) as the responsibility and right of People Living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) to determine their own fate and to participate in AIDS management (UNAIDS, 1999). HIV/AIDS control program requires GIPA to make a decision, to design, implement, monitor, and evaluate the program, and to develop policy thereby improving relevance, acceptability, and effectiveness of the program (UNAIDS, 2007). GIPA is important because PLWHA is those directly experiencing anything, making them vulnerable to HIV infection. Having being infected, they understand better the disease they develop and the strategy to manage it (Buse et al., 2016). GIPA can encourage the more responsive, comprehensive, and sustainable program, because PLWHA can contribute to achieving universal access. Active and meaningful participation of PLWHA will encourage a high sense of belonging to HIV/AIDS control program as something very essential (Asia-Pacific Network of People Living with HIV/AIDS (APN+) and Asia-Pacific Council of AIDS Service Organisations (APCASO), 2005).

The application of GIPA principle in HIV/AIDS control is an attempt of breaking simplification and the less appropriate assumption that those serving as a service provider are only the ones infected with HIV, while the clients are those infected with HIV only. According to the GIPA principle, PLWHA should be involved in all levels of intervention, ranging from the inter-personal level to the policy making level (UNESCO Kingston Cluster Office for the Caribbean and Education Development Center (USA), 2010; Travers et al., 2008). In such countries as Canada and even in several developing countries, PLWHA can show its existence (Cain et al., 2014; Cornu & Attawell, 2003). In Norway, they redesign the organization of outpatient clinic to PLWHA and develop a set of services. Its main targets are optimum health, comprehensive treatment, and medication, and PLWHA empowerment as an organized action, for example, PLWHA nurse coordination. This program is evidently effective and sustainable (Berg et al., 2015).

In Indonesia PLWHA generally are affiliated with Peer Support Group (PSG), the one supporting the PLWHA socially and psychologically. Nowadays, there are about 307 PSGs, one of which is Solo Plus located Surakarta. As an individual, PLWHA can be the member of PSG and participate in HIV/AIDS control program. However, because PLWHA is vulnerable to be infected with opportunistic infection related to its body immunity system and to deal with psychological, social, and economic problems such as stress and depression, can get negative stigma and discriminative treatment from community, and should assume their treatment and medication costs, and etc., their participation is affected (Bunn et al., 2007; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Zukoski et al., 2011; Akena, 2016; Masoudnia, 2015; Dejman et al., 2015). Theory of Planned Behavior stated that individual or group's intention to participate in a behavior in certain time and place is affected by attitude toward the behavior, subjective norms, perceived behavioral control and intention (Ajzen, 1985; 1991; 2005). In this context, PLWHA participating in HIV/AIDS control program is affected by both internal and external factors.

## 2. Aims and Objectives

The realization of PLWHA's commitment to participating, and the benefit and the challenge of HIV/AIDS control program in Surakarta Indonesia are studied in this research.

## 3. Material and Methods

### 3.1 Study design and area

This qualitative research with case study was conducted in Surakarta Indonesia during July-September 2017 because there are PLWHA from various risks factor and PSG members participating in HIV/AIDS control program (Yin, 2002).

### 3.2 Data Source

Primary data in this research consisted of 17 informants, including key, main, and supporting informants. Key informant included Program Manager of Surakarta AIDS Commission (A1) and Chairperson of Solo Plus (A2). Main informant included 8 PLWHAs, 5 of which have high risk of being infected with HIV/AIDS: B1 (a female sexual worker), B2 (a gay man), B3 (a transsexual), B4 (a High Risk Man) and B5 (an Injection Drug User) and 3 PLWHA coming from ordinary people (B6, B7 and B8) affiliated with Solo Plus. Meanwhile 7 supporting informant consisted of 2 People Affected by HIV/AIDS (PABHA): C1 (B1's older sibling) and C2 (B2's older sibling); 2 health workers: C3 (a counselor from Voluntary Counseling and Testing Division of Dr. Moewardi Hospital) and C4 (a nurse of Manahan Public Health Center or *Puskemas*), and an activist of SPEK-HAM NGO (C5); and 2 people concerned with AIDS: C6 (from *Kelurahan Punggawan* or Punggawan village) and C7 (from *Kelurahan Banjarsari*). Meanwhile, secondary data derived from documents related to GIPA and HIV/AIDS control program. The characteristics of the key, main, and supporting informants are presented in table 1, 2, and 3.

Table 1. Characteristics of Key Informants

No.	Informant	Sex	Age (Year)	Education Level	Position	HIV Status
1.	A 1	Male	47	Bachelor Degree	Program Manager of Surakarta AIDS Commission	-
2.	A 2	Female	38	Diploma	Chairperson of Solo Plus	+

Table 2. Characteristics of Main Informants

No.	Informants	Sex	Age (Year)	Education Level	Position	Risk Factor of being infected with HIV	HIV Status
1.	B 1	Female	25	Senior High School	Member of Solo Plus	Heterosexual (Female Sexual Worker)	+
2.	B 2	Male	28	Bachelor Degree	Member of Solo Plus	Homosexual (Gay Man)	+
3.	B 3	Transsexual	22	Senior High School	Member of Solo Plus	Homosexual (Transgender)	+

4.	B 4	Male	40	Bachelor Degree	Member of Solo Plus	Heterosexual (High Risk Man)	+
5.	B 5	Male	21	Senior High School	Member of Solo Plus	Heterosexual (Injection Drug User)	+
6.	B 6	Female	30	Diploma	Member of Solo Plus	Heterosexual (Nurse)	+
7.	B 7	Female	35	Senior High School	Member of Solo Plus	Heterosexual (Housewife)	+
8.	B 8	Female	36	Diploma	Member of Solo Plus	Heterosexual (Entrepreneur)	+

Table 3. Characteristics of Supporting Informants

No.	Informant	Sex	Age (Year)	Education Level	Position	HIV Status
1.	C 1	Female	27	Senior High School	B1's older sibling	-
2.	C 2	Female	30	Senior High School	B2's older sibling	-
3.	C 3	Male	32	Bachelor Degree	Counselor in Voluntary Counseling and Testing Division of Dr. Moewardi Hospital	-
4.	C 4	Female	30	Diploma	Nurse of Manahan Public Health Center	-
5.	C 5	Female	36	Bachelor Degree	Activist of SPEK – HAM NGO	-
6.	C 6	Female	44	Bachelor Degree	Chairperson of People Concerned with AIDS in <i>Kelurahan Punggawan</i>	-
7.	C 7	Male	47	Bachelor Degree	Chairperson of People Concerned with AIDS in <i>Kelurahan Banjarsari</i>	-

### *3.3 Technique of Collecting Data*

Data was collected through conducting an in-depth interview with all informants and observing their behavior, and studying documents related to GIPA in HIV/AIDS control program in Surakarta (Flick et al., 2004; Miles et al., 2014).

### *3.4 Data Validity and Reliability*

To test data validity and reliability, source triangulation was conducted by means of clarifying the data obtained from the main informant with other informants, thereby obtaining valid and reliable data (Creswell, 2014). For example, B4 and B5 stated that they actively socialize HIV/AIDS to the people in *Kelurahan Punggawan*, and then the statement was clarified for its truth with C6 as the one living in *Kelurahan Punggawan*.

### *3.5 Data Analysis*

Primary and secondary data collected were then analyzed with an explanatory analysis technique constituting the result of repeated theoretical statement or early proposition about Planned Behavior, GIPA and HIV/AIDS control program that compared the finding of PLWHA's involvement in HIV/AIDS control program in Surakarta and the statement aforementioned, corrected the statement, compared one case and another to correct the statement, and then compared the facts of other cases. It can be repeated if necessary, until obtaining enough data to explain it (Yin, 2002).

### *3.6 Research Ethics*

To ensure the informants' confidentiality, the research was completed with informed consent document related to data obtained (Faden & Beauchamp, 1986). To protect the PLWHAs/PABHAs as the subject of research, all data and information obtained from the informant are safeguarded for their confidentiality and only used for research purpose.

## **4. Results**

### *4.1 GIPA in HIV/AIDS Control Program*

#### *4.1.1 HIV/AIDS Control Program in Surakarta*

Surakarta government has organized and implemented a policy related to HIV/AIDS control program and activity, including HIV/AIDS prevention, Care Support, and treatment, HIV/AIDS effect mitigation in the form of psychosocial and economic support, and creating a conducive environment to its program and activity implementation. The implementation of HIV/AIDS control program so far has involved all stakeholders including government, non-government, and community including PLWHA, in this case, Surakarta AIDS Commission as its coordinator. A1 stated that: "The involvement of PLWHA in HIV/AIDS control program in Surakarta significant changes many people's attitude to PLWHA. So far, Surakarta AIDS Commission has conducted training for facilitators of HIV/AIDS Communication, Information, and Education to the public, including PLWHA (e.g. B4, B5, and B7), counselors, nurses (caretakers) and attendants (e.g. B6) of fellow PLWHA to make PLWHA complying with antiretroviral (ARV) therapy and knowing its effect".

A1 said that PLWHA serves as persuasive advocates that can lobby other PLWHA to improve Care Support and Treatment at both individual and group levels. This statement is confirmed by C3 and C4, stating that PLWHA trained to be counselors are more sensitive and empathic to their fellow PLWHA and the public, so that counseling can change the perception on the fear of HIV diagnosis.

#### *4.1.2 The Existence of Solo Plus*

A2 explained that as an independent group, Solo Plus was established to respond to and to fulfill the need and to support psychosocially PLWHA and PABHA in Surakarta and surrounding. Its main objectives are to fight for the

equality of right and opportunity for PLWHA in order to get access to healthcare service, and to remove the stigma and discriminative behavior within the community. In its inception, Solo Plus has only 6 members and in the period of December – Today it has had 290 PLWHA being its members, but only 30 of them are active. Solo Plus's platform related to HIV/AIDS control program includes improving organizational capacity and PSG's members, giving advocacy about policy and socialization to the public about HIV/AIDS, improving Care, Support, and Treatment services to PLWHA with case management, and developing network and supporting the members of PSG's livelihood sustainability. Routine agenda of Solo Plus includes conducting routine meeting every end of the month in Manahan Public Health Center, Surakarta, attended by administrators and members of Solo Plus, healthcare service, and PABHA. This activity is intended to discuss PLWHA's medication and compliance, support to new members, fund, stigma, recent HIV/AIDS issues, and etc. PLWHA should take care of their health and prevent HIV/AIDS actively.

#### 4.2 PLWHA's Involvement

B1 admitted that she did not participate actively in the HIV/AIDS Control Program, because she worried that others would know her HIV + status. Meanwhile, B2 and B3 stated that: "We do not have experience with HIV/AIDS control program; therefore we serve as participants only when the activity to socialize HIV/AIDS is held by a government or non-government institution."

However, some PLWHA gives instrumental and psychological supports, reward, social integrity, and information actively to other PLWHA. They are B4, B5, and B7. B4 and B5 stated that: "I give HIV/AIDS education actively in some *Kelurahan* (villages) because I have trained to be a facilitator by Surakarta AIDS Commission."

B4 and B5 have ever been informants in an HIV/AIDS socialization activity in *Kelurahan* Punggawan, Banjarsari, and etc. It is confirmed by C6 and C7 stating that: "Punggawan people become concerned with AIDS because they often get communication, information, and education about HIV/AIDS from Health Service, SPEK-HAM as NGO concerned with AIDS and even involved PLWHA such as B4 as the members of Solo Plus. They give testimony about how they are infected with HIV/AIDS and undertake ARV therapy, and etc. So, Punggawan people become wary of and concerned with HIV/AIDS".

Meanwhile, C7 argued that: "B5 explained clearly that promotive, preventive, curative, and rehabilitative services related to HIV/AIDS and PLWHA in Surakarta. Even B5 showed an attractive example, figure, and video so that Banjarsari people were interested in and posed many questions when he became a facilitator in HIV/AIDS education activity in *Kelurahan* Banjarsari".

B4, B5, and B7 revealed that they are motivated to give HIV/AIDS education to the public in order to prevent them from being infected with HIV/AIDS like them. Therefore, people should have knowledge, positive attitude, and behave healthily to prevent them from being infected with HIV/AIDS. This statement was confirmed by A2 stating that their experience is the best teacher from which others can take a lesson to prevent them from being infected with HIV/AIDS.

B6 stated that: "Having gotten training about treatment and facilitation for PLWHA from Surakarta Health Service and Dr. Moewardi Hospital, many of my fellow PLWHA friends consulted me about ARV, supplementary food, viral load test, and etc. But, when I had no knowledge about something, I recommended them to go to VCT clinic in Hospital or Surakarta Public Health Center". B6, as the nurse, supported Solo Plus activity by conducting treatment and medication for PLWHA infected opportunistically. Meanwhile, B7 with communicating skill participated in conducting socialization about HIV/AIDS prevention continuously to make the people understanding HIV/AIDS, thereby removing stigma and discrimination against PLWHA. Thus, PLWHA can be peer educator and community, encourage the participation of new members or participate only by sharing the experience with others, and look for an external resource. However, according to C5, generally, PLWHA in Surakarta serve only as of the object of socialization activity and receive healthcare service. But PLWHA with

open statuses like B4, B5, B6, and B7 are involved in health behavior-changing intervention activity within the community or society. Nevertheless, they serve only as a peer educator or reaching officer, but they do not participate in designing HIV/AIDS control program.

A1 said that the chairperson of Solo Plus (A2) serves as information, knowledge, and skill sources equivalent to professionals in planning, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating HIV/AIDS control program in Surakarta. She represents PLWHA Surakarta in making policy. Her argument is appreciated equivalent to other members' in Surakarta AIDS Commission during developing a strategic plan of HIV/AIDS control program, including increasing the budget for PLWHA treatment and medication. This is justified by C5, C6, and C7, and supported fully by all PLWHA in Surakarta. The pyramid illustrating PLWHA's involvement in HIV/AIDS control program in Surakarta can be seen in figure 1.

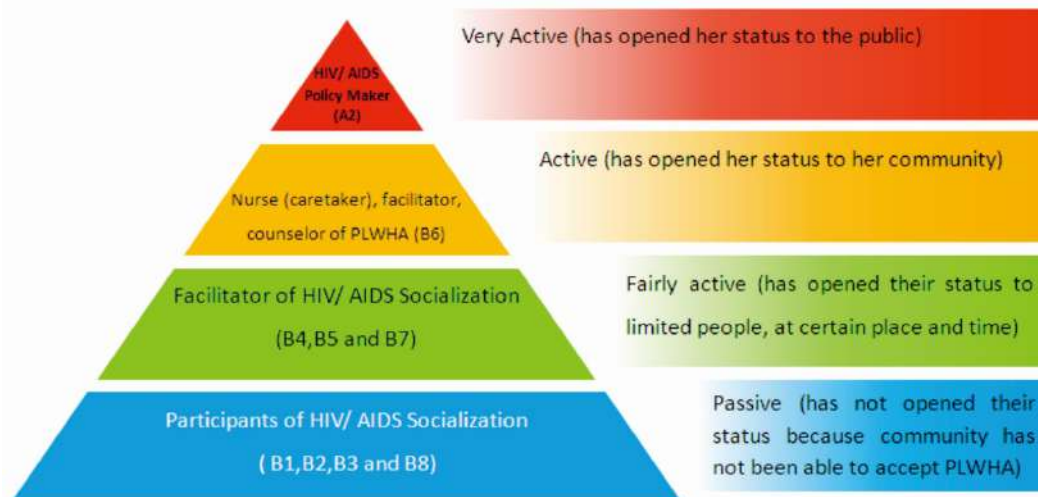


Figure. 1. PLWHA'S Involvement in HIV/ AIDS Control Program in Surakarta

#### 4.3 Benefits of GIPA to Community

B1, B2, and B3 stated that: "In the presence of Solo Plus, PLWHA are supported both socially and psychologically, so that they can share a feeling, information, and be facilitated in order to accept their HIV status. Solo Plus helps PLWHA reveal their HIV status to their family or beloved people and even become counselor, educator, and, facilitator to other PLWHA". In relation to GIPA in HIV/AIDS control, physicians and VCT counselors cater to us friendly so that they we comply with ARV consumption and never discontinue our medication and become healthy. It is suggested by B1, B2, B3, B4, and B5.

C6 and C7 argued that: "In the presence of GIPA in HIV/AIDS control, the people become concerned with AIDS and have a positive perspective on PLWHA, and the health workers provide service corresponding to the specified standard without discriminating their clients." Meanwhile, B4 stated that: "I change my health behavior from formerly changing sexual partners frequently into being loyal to my wife."

Having acquired information from a member of Solo Plus, B1 now always uses a condom when she caters to her guests to avoid HIV/AIDS infection. B2 and B3 stated that through correct knowledge and information about the importance of condom and lubricants to prevent HIV/AIDS, the LGBT community becomes alerted and behaves healthily and safely in their sexual intercourse.

A2, C3, and C5 argued that: "GIPA is useful to make the service more humanistic and personal. Health behavior-changing intervention will run more effectively by involving PLWHA, so that compliance with medication will improve and counseling will be more credible and interesting to the targeted group". A1, A2, B8, C3, and C4 added that: "There is a greater awareness of HIV/AIDS issues PLWHA leading to the expansion of advocacy activity related to PLWHA's right, self-confidence, physical health, and wellbeing."

However, A2, B4, B5, B7, C4, and C5 argued that most importantly GIPA can reduce stigma and discrimination against PLWHA, activists of HIV/AIDS Control Program, and health workers within the community. Meanwhile, A1, A2, and C5 stated that: "GIPA can develop HIV/AIDS-related planning and policy, as PLWHA can cooperate with other stakeholders. It means that PLWHA's involvement exerts a positive effect on the policy". The benefits of GIPA to the community are presented in table 4.

Table 4. Benefits of GIPA to Community

No.	Informant	Benefits of GIPA
1.	A1	HIV/AIDS Control Program runs more ethically and
		Effectively
2.	A2	Government becomes more HIV/AIDS responsive in the
		presence of policy and budget supporting the program
3.	B1	Using condom routinely during catering to her clients
4.	B2	LGBT behave healthily and safely
5.	B3	Transsexual community uses condom and lubricant during
		sexual intercourse
6.	B4	Being loyal to his wife
7.	B5	Reducing stigma and discrimination against PLWHA
8.	B6	Complies with ARV consumption.
9.	B7	Consuming ARV continuously and no longer stressed
10.	B8	Aware of HIV/AIDS issue
11.	C1	Being sympathetic and emphatic to PLWHA.
12.	C2	Having no negative perspective on PLWHA.
13.	C3	Counselor becomes more sensitive and emphatic to
		PLWHA.
14.	C4	There is a change of perception within community on the
		fear of HIV/AIDS diagnosis.
15.	C5	Reducing stigma and discrimination against PLWHA, and
		HIV/AIDS activists.
16.	C6	People become concerned with AIDS.
17.	C7	People become concerned with AIDS.

#### 4.4 The Challenges of GIPA

##### 4.4.1 Constraints to PLWHA

There are some constraints with GIPA in HIV/AIDS control, including personal, social, and institutional dimensions. B1, B2 and B3 faced personal constraints such as worsening health condition, worry with

opportunistic infection risk, stress, and fear of stigma and violence, so that they have not been able to meet GIPA commitment optimally. Meanwhile, B5 and B7 were less active, because they have poor communication skill, inadequate technical skill, and less self-confidence.

Meanwhile, social constraint relates to stigma, discrimination, and poor solidarity among fellow PLWHA. B1, B2, B4, B5, and B8 have indeed supported by family, but they feel that the support has not been optimal yet, because generally, the community has not been able to accept their condition with HIV diagnosis. It affects their mental development, personality maturity, and quality of life. B4 and B5 with open status stated that: "Stigma and discrimination are directed not only to them but also to their family members and friends. We always encounter this when we will begin HIV/AIDS socialization in a place. People are always cynical to us, but after we have explained well, the audience will begin to be interested in and pose question, so that we become self-confident. Even they then invite us to be the speaker in other places."

Meanwhile, the constraint coming from institutional dimension includes inadequate supporting healthcare service system. In addition, some organization like Public Health Center gives PLWHA inadequate opportunity of and information to contribute, as it underestimates PLWHA's capability and considers them as patient or victim. It is confirmed by B6. A2 stated that the supporting health workers affect GIPA in HIV/AIDS control and PLWHA's quality of life. Health workers serve to conduct a home visit, to provide counseling about compliance, and then to get feedback related to PLWHA's health status. However, communication has not been established maximally with the patients, so that access to medical treatment has not run optimally yet. A1 and C5 revealed that the discriminative policy also constrains GIPA in overcoming AIDS, for example, the obligation for undertaking HIV-test during recruitment, the limitation of PLWHA's moving space, and the inadequate organizational fund. The constraints with GIPA of PLWHA can be seen in table 5.

Table 5. Constraint with GIPA of PLWHA

No.	Informant	Constraints with GIPA
1.	B1	Worsening health
2.	B2	Worry with opportunistic infection
3.	B3	Stress, fear of stigma and violence
4.	B4	Often getting negative stigma and discriminative treatment
5.	B5	Having poor communication skill
6.	B6	Mass organization gives PLWHA inadequate opportunity and support
7.	B7	Having poor technical skill and self-confidence
8.	B8	Community has not been able to accept PLWHA.

#### 4.4.2 Constraints with GIPA within Community

The difficulty of revealing an individual's HIV status, according to A1, is the severest challenge to PLWHA, as it can generate negative stigma against them. It may come from family, community, surrounding environment, and public. In addition, there are discriminative treatment and even physical abuse, making PLWHA/PABHA worried and afraid. Some HIV/AIDS activists and health workers have encountered this.

C5 suggested that some organizations' less preparedness to involve PLWHA/PABHA in HIV/AIDS control program becomes a distinctive challenge. It is because of poor awareness or inadequate information in organization, and even discrimination and unconscious prejudice against PLWHA. Some organizations are infeasible to PLWHA/PABHA, having no policy to pay or to involve them, having limited supporting facilities



and circumstance for their involvement such as health facility, health benefit, and psychological support. B5 and B7 admitted that inadequate communication skill and material mastery related to HIV/AIDS make PLWHA uninvolved in socialization activity.

In addition, according to C4 and C5, there is still skepticism related to PLWHA's health condition. Organization doubts the sustainability of HIV/AIDS control program when PLWHA are involved within it. Meanwhile, all members of organization have risk of being sick, developing severer disease, or even death. However, this risk will more likely occur in PLWHA than in other individuals or groups without HIV/AIDS. This problem is a big challenge to organization feeling threatened with the reduced work hour of sick PLWHA or the lost human resource due to death. Table 6 shows the constraints with GIPA within community.

Table 6. Constraints with GIPA within Community

No.	Informant	Constraints with GIPA
1.	A1	Open status related to PLWHA's health.
2.	A2	Stigma and discriminative treatment from community.
3.	B1	Healthily behaving consistency
4.	B2	Family and surrounding environment's support to PLWHA.
5.	B3	Negative perspective on PLWHA.
6.	B4	Self confidence and positive thinking about the existence of PLWHA.
7.	B5	The improvement of self communication skill.
8.	B6	Community's perception on HIV/AIDS.
9.	B7	The improvement of skill and HIV/AIDS material mastery
10.	B8	The improvement of PLWHA's role within community
11.	C1	Removing negative stigma against PLWHA
12.	C2	Removing negative stigma against PLWHA
13.	C3	Perception on and acceptance to PLWHA.
14.	C4	Perception on and acceptance to PLWHA.
15.	C5	The improvement of PLWHA's knowledge and skill in order to beinvolved in organization activity.
16.	C6	The improvement of community's knowledge on HIV/AIDSs and its acceptance to PLWHA.
17.	C7	The improvement of PLWHA's role within community

## 5. Discussion

GIPA in HIV/AIDS control program is encouraged with PLWHA's intention including attitude, behavior, subjective norm, and behavior control. PLWHA with a positive attitude and the subjective norm will have greater behavior control. Realizing that they have the opportunity and can perform such behavior, PLWHA will have the intention to be involved within it, for example, attending routine meeting and activity of PSG, becoming the facilitator of HIV/AIDS socialization beneficial to themselves, other PLWHA and community (Ajzen, 1985).

GIPA in HIV/AIDS control is highly defined by a situational factor, norm, group role and support, culture, and etc. Such condition relates to PLWHA's attitude and behavior (Ajzen, 2005).

However, positive attitude unsurely guarantees PLWHA to intend and to behave positively to HIV/AIDS control, because other factors contribute to creating their active behavior. The factors include culture developing in their environment, differentiation of PLWHA's experience supported with age, HIV/AIDS knowledge, and PLWHA's trauma. Inadequate material mastery, self-confidence, and support from surrounding environment prevent PLWHA from being involved in HIV/AIDS control program. Several factors lead to the change of PLWHA's attitude and motivation, so that an intention arises to be involved or uninvolved in HIV/AIDS control (Ajzen, 1991). So, PLWHA's attitude to HIV/AIDS control is affected by varying experience, education level, social status, and environmental culture.

Subjective norm of PSG is also affected by PLWHA's intention to be involved in HIV/AIDS control (Barbara et al., 2014). PLWHA affiliated with Solo Plus has better quality of life than those not affiliated with, because they have self-confidence, basic knowledge on HIV/AIDS, access to healthcare service, treatment, support, and medication, do not transmit the virus to others, and conduct positive activities (Pickles et al., 2017). There is a significant relationship between PSG's role and compliance with ARV consumption, because PLWHA affiliated with PSG feel more comfortable and opened, and get more support in undertaking their life (Igumbor et al., 2011). PLWHA trust PSG because they share the same misery, thereby complying with medication system and ARV consumption. PLWHA undertaking either inpatient and outpatient treatment and medication need PSG's role, such as monitoring ARV and supplementary food consumption, and giving social and psychological support. In addition, PSG serves as a motivator to make PLWHA keep fighting against their disease and doing physical activities corresponding to their ability (Kipp et al., 2011).

Being a speaker in an activity socializing HIV/AIDS is not easy, moreover being involved to be planner, decision-maker/policy maker, and evaluator of HIV/AIDS control program. Therefore, PLWHA needs certain knowledge and skill in order to be sure with their ability. The improvement of PLWHA's communication skill and HIV/AIDS material mastery enables PLWHA to deal with stigma and discrimination wisely, to be willing to reveal their HIV status to their close friends and family, to speak up in classroom, to discuss in debate either locally or nationally (Kidd & Clay, 2007; Tran et al, 2019). GIPA in HIV/AIDS control program creates supporting and inclusive environment, thereby reducing stigma and discrimination and resulting in greater involvement level (Aggleton et al., 2003; Carr & Gramling, 2004; Cornu, 2006). The strategy taken to reduce stigma and discrimination is to explain the community's misperception on HIV/AIDS and PLWHA based on information, by means of using advertisement, leaflet, video, and other media, and presentation in school and photovoice exhibited in public space (Brown et al, 2003; Demartoto et al, 2017).

As known, those closest and most valuable to PLWHA's life are family, including parents, partners, and other members of the family. PLWHA need family support, including emotional, instrumental, and informational supports. Emotional support needed includes the family's attention, support, and love related to their health condition, for example, encouraging the compliance with ARV consumption, therefore improving PLWHA's life expectancy and quality. It indicates that people care about and consider them as a part of the family and love them despite HIV/AIDS disease (Nkhoma et al., 2015).

Instrumental support to PLWHA includes fulfilling daily and financial needs and taking care of them during their sickness. Recommendation or information related to the improved health is a part of informational support. PLWHA expect that the presence of recommendation and information from family makes them feeling not being left alone in dealing with and improving its health condition. Family support can also reduce stress due to physical, psychological, and social problems the PLWHA often encounter. Social support functions as preventing strategy to reduce stress and negative effect and to improve the individual or family's mental health directly. Family can motivate PLWHA not to cease all of their activities (Silva & Tavares, 2015). Meanwhile, health workers' support in revealing HIV status will improve self-confidence and reduce PLWHA's negative perception on HIV/AIDS

(Arem et al., 2011; Alamo et al., 2012). In organization, PLWHA's participation can change the perception and give valuable experience and knowledge. Within the community, it can break fear and prejudice by showing that PLWHA are productive members and contributors of the community (Asia-Pacific Network of People Living with HIV/AIDS (APN+) and Asia-Pacific Council of AIDS Service Organisations (APCASO), 2005). In the presence of personal, social, and institutional constraints and challenges, PLWHA needs material and emotional supports, reward, social integrity, and comprehensive information from such sectors as family, PSG, health workers, Surakarta AIDS Commission, and community, to make GIPA in HIV/AIDS control running optimally.

## 6. Conclusion

PLWHA will contribute actively to the HIV/AIDS control program when they benefit from it. However, in addition to benefit, there are also other consequences the PLWHA should assume: personal, social, and institutional challenges such as negative stigma, social isolation, and discrimination from the community. Therefore, GIPA in HIV/AIDS control will be accomplished with some consideration and planning.

## 7. Recommendation

Belief, capability, and powerfulness in HIV/AIDS control should be inculcated inside PLWHA, therefore having positive intention and activeness in HIV/AIDS control program. It can be a guideline to the HIV/AIDS Control Program, thereby reducing HIV/AIDS incidence rate and improving PLWHA's quality of life.

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# The Role of Psychology in the Study of Social Reconciliation: a Review of Existing Relevant Literature on Inter-Personal, Inter-Group and Inter-State Conflict

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## Abstract

Traditionally, reconciliation includes conflict resolution and peacemaking process primarily focusing on the methods and mechanisms involved in facilitating the peaceful ending of intra- or inter-group conflicts such as negotiation, mediation, arbitration, and other. Practically, states can normalized relationship fairly rapidly and achieve government-to-government reconciliation, but factually the former adversaries cannot build a stable peace even if the military actions have been stopped. States can become friends fast, but societies not. Therefore, the study of reconciliation slowly has been moved to social-psychological approaches viewing reconciliation as a more comprehensive phenomenon than only conflict resolution. The article examines the concept of reconciliation and the role of psychology in the study of conflict settlement with the emphasis on social reconciliation and identity change as a core element of building deep stable peace between former rival-parties portraying the existing relevant socio-psychological and political literature on inter-personal, inter-group and inter-state conflict.

**Keywords:** Social Reconciliation, Government-to-Government Reconciliation, Conflict Resolution, Concept of Trauma, Inter-Group and Inter-State Conflict, Identity Formation

## 1. Introduction

The concept of reconciliation as an academic field is relatively new. Nevertheless, it attracts scholars' interests from the different research areas. Due to the ambiguity of the definitions, the term reconciliation is quite blurred and requires to provide a clear description. The concept of reconciliation has been known and used in a different direction, starting from political and social science and ending at the interests of psychology.

Reconciliation cannot be perceived and identified by the state and the individuals identically. For instance, on the state level, it could be enough to conclude a peaceful agreement and strengthen economic cooperation for getting governments-to-government reconciliation, nevertheless, on the societal level economic ties and conflict

resolution do not erase society's negative sentiments toward the former enemy. States are political actors, and unlike humans deprived of emotions and feelings, in addition, states cannot apologize or forgive, all these actions are a prerogative of human beings who constitute societies. Practically states can normalized relationship fairly rapidly and achieve government-to-government reconciliation, but factually the former adversaries cannot build a stable peace even if they conclude a peaceful agreement and stop military actions. The main reason for such failure is the absence of social reconciliation. States can become friends fast, but societies not. Therefore, nowadays, the study of the reconciliation process slowly has been moved to the social-psychological researches area viewing reconciliation as a more comprehensive phenomenon than only conflict resolution and signing of a peaceful agreement.

## **2. Method**

The study is based on the content analysis to examine the existing relevant socio-psychological and political literature on inter-personal, inter-group and inter-state conflict, in particular reviews fundamental psychological researches regarded as a basis for the analysis and evaluation of the social reconciliation determining the deep reconciliation states in the post-conflict period.

The article is structured as follows. Firstly, the article introduces the concept of reconciliation with the emphasis on social reconciliation as a core element of building deep stable peace between former rival-parties, besides, portrays the distinctions between conflict settlement, conflict resolution, and reconciliation itself. Secondly, the article examines the existing relevant social, psychological and political literature on inter-personal, inter-group and inter-state conflict, in particular, portrays fundamental researches as well as analyses main contemporary works investigated personal development, interactions between small groups and the study on the large social groups such as states. And finally, the article concludes that the reviewed literature regarded as a basis for the analysis and evaluation of the social reconciliation and should be used in the complex by researches as well as by teachers and students.

## **3. Reconciliation Process and Conflict Resolution: the Levels of Analysis and its Connection With Psychology**

Traditionally reconciliation study covers up conflict resolution and peacemaking process with the focus mainly on methods and mechanisms involved in facilitating the peaceful ending of intra- or inter-group conflict such as negotiation (Kriesberg and Thorson 1991; Jeong 2016), mediation (Diehl and Greig 2013), arbitration (McAuliffe 2017; Jeffery 2017; Clamp 2016), conflict management (Ohanyan 2015; Ofstad 2015; ed. Lundy et al. 2014), peacekeeping (Ndulo 2007; Murphy 2007; Villa-Vicencio 2009) and others, including a formal peace agreement as the main goal of conflict resolution between rival parties (Ross 1993; Jeong 2005; Bercovitch and Jackson 2009; Richmond 2008).

Nevertheless, if the conflict settlement is compromised only of the peaceful agreement, the conflict between the parties cannot be solved completely. In particular, evaluating the progress of the reconciliation most social psychologists and sociologists prefer to combine different levels of analysis and examine not only state-to-state relations but interactions between societies and individuals too. For example, one of the pioneers of conflict resolution analysis Herbert Kelman, Professor of Harvard University, contributes a lot to the study of conflict transformation and peacebuilding highlighting different levels of research such as international and intra-societal. Kelman divides peacemaking into three "qualitatively distinct" but interconnected processes such as conflict settlement, conflict resolution and reconciliation pointing that "conceive of conflict settlement as operating primarily at the level of interests, conflict resolution at the level of relationships, and reconciliation at the level of identity" (Kelman 2004:117), in addition he emphasizes that reconciliation goes beyond conflict resolution and "requires parties to change an element of their identity" (Kelman 2004:120).

The fundamental role of identity change also has been emphasized by Daniel Bar-Tal. He regards reconciliation "as a psychological process, which consists of changes of the motivations, goals, beliefs, attitudes, and emotions of the majority of society members," and emphasizes that the former adversaries cannot "establish lasting peaceful relations" without such psychological change (Bar-Tal and Bennink 2004:17).

Arie Nadler and his colleagues also regard reconciliation as a compound process and divide it into instrumentalist and socio-emotional. While instrumentalist reconciliation is aimed "to change adversarial relations into positive relations that will allow the parties to coexist in a conflict-free environment" and also consists of repeated acts of cooperation for achieving common goals; the socio-emotional reconciliation "is predicated on the premise that recurring episodes of pain and humiliation pose a threat to identity, which often results in preoccupation with feelings of guilt or victimhood that constitute barriers to ending conflict" (Nadler, Malloy and Fisher 2008:6-7). Thus the socio-emotional reconciliation "seeks to remove the emotional and identity-related barriers to the end of conflict through the successful completion of an apology-forgiveness cycle" (Nadler and Shnabel 2008:42).

Generally, reconciliation is rooted in two primary levels of analysis, such as governmental and social. If governmental reconciliation deals with the political interests of the state and refers to peaceful conflict settlement and economic cooperation between former enemies; social reconciliation covers peoples' emotions, beliefs, and attitudes toward each other. According to studies on the reconciliation process mentioned above, the crucial aspect of social reconciliation is a psychological one, which requires identity change as well as changes of beliefs, attitudes, perceptions, and emotions toward the former enemy-society. Being a part of identity change, social reconciliation deals with real persons, their feelings and emotions, consequently the reconciliation process between people, societies or even states requires a deep understanding of group psychology as well as personal psychology too.

And if political interests facilitate governmental reconciliation and provoke states to neglect some cultural misunderstandings or historical issues on the way of mutual economic cooperation, people-to-people reconciliation directly depends on political and social discourse created by states toward each other as well as demands the wiliness of societies to adopt such state's politics to move on the direction of acceptance of former enemy-society.

With this in mind, we provide a review of the existing relevant psychological literature, which is salient in the analyses of the social reconciliation process due to its direct impact on identity change. As the reconciliation process explores the relations between the former-enemies states and enemy-groups based on inter-personal conflicts, the study of social reconciliation aimed to analyze not only state-to-state relations but also rooted in people-to-people interaction, wherein personal development as well as contacts between in-group's and out-group's representatives are salient for peacebuilding. Therefore social reconciliation includes three units of analysis such as individual, social and state one, thus it is necessary to portray major works and researches exploring the role of psychology as one of the main factors of understanding of the structure of social reconciliation as well as the possibility of achievement of peace, stability, and security.

Firstly, we represent significant works on personal and small group psychology, since any research requires a strong theoretical basis in order to avoid being incomplete or biased. Thereby the analysis of person-to-person reconciliation cannot neglect the socio-psychological studies on personal development. Secondly, we move to the works exploring the role of psychology in the reconciliation process between large social groups, in particular states.

#### **4. Psychodynamic Approach and the Role of Culture and Society on Personal Development**

The psychodynamic approach includes all the theories of psychology studying human behavior, feelings, emotions and how it relates to early experiences based upon the interaction between the different structures of the personality, conscious motivation and unconscious motivation. In general, the psychodynamic approach focuses



on the Freudian psychoanalytic theory of personality and Neo-Freudian theories. Working with physiological foundation of research, the main part of analysis should be related to Sigmund Freud as the founder of psychoanalysis, nevertheless contemporary mostly psychoanalytical researches on reconciliation process rely on the Neo-Freudianism as a group of psychiatrists and psychologists who worked under the influence of Sigmund Freud ideas but extended his theories adding social and cultural directions.

Freud's psychoanalysis (Freudianism) constitutes a systematized explanation of unconscious links and motives through the associative process. Divides the human mind into three levels such as conscious, preconscious and unconscious levels, Freud put forward a model of psychic structure comprising of "ego," "superego" and "id," which is called the theory of personality. All psychic states, all human actions, all historical events, and social phenomena Freud (2014,2015,2017) interprets as a manifestation of unconscious and primarily sexual drives. The concept of the unconscious is central to Freud's theory, and it is unsurprisingly that Freud's followers knowing as Neo-Freudists accept this basic tenet of psychoanalysis, but modify his theory by adding the social approach to it. Actually, the role of small groups and interpersonal communication in identity formation is crucial and undoubted; nevertheless, persons by themselves do not create historical and social norms, values, attitudes, and needs. All these and other substantial elements of social psychology arise from the basis of historical experience, large group experience, cultural and ideological systems where the persons were born and exist. Consequently, by the mean of interpersonal communication in small and big groups, individuals receive the above-mentioned experience. Therefore, psychological analysis of the individual psyche was slowly modified and integrated with social and cultural aspects. A vivid example of such analytical changed had been done by the Neo-Freudian group in the 1920s and 1930s. Adopting the foundations of Freud's theory, they shift key concepts from the basis of sexuality as the main postulate of the human psyche to the social and cultural one. Representatives of Neo-Freudianism believe that the leading role in the human position is played by socio-cultural influences, thus why the works made by such representatives of Neo-Freudianism as Alfred Adler, Carl Jung, Karen Horney, Erich Fromm, Harry Stack Sullivan, and Erik Erikson are significant for the social reconciliation study too.

Later the theory of the unconscious was partially modified by the Swiss psychiatrist Carl Jung (2012, 2014). He develops the doctrine of the collective unconscious as the second layer of the mind alongside the personal unconscious layer. Regarding collective unconscious as the deepest level of the psyche, he sets archetypes that define the behavior of individuals and large social groups. Also, Carl Jung introduced extraversion and introversion as two main personality traits based on the degree of openness, which direct not only the person's character but his worldview too. For instance, his work on the difference between Eastern and Western thinking (Jung 1969) is remarkable for the understanding of the perception and cognition process, and thereby his psychological contributions are vital for the analysis of the reconciliation process between the enemy-parts represented by the different races and cultures.

Alfred Adler (2013) also marks out the crucial role of social influence on person and introduces the role of the social factor as the main determinant of human behavior: the character of a man is formed under the influence of his lifestyle, thus the system of purposeful aspirations developed in childhood force person to achieve superiority, wherein the self-affirmation acts as compensation for feelings of inferiority. Thus, the inferiority complex, term introduced by Adler, plays a key role in personality development and a person's pursuit of power. As for Harry Stack Sullivan, his theory of interpersonal psychoanalysis has a great influence on social psychology initiating numerous studies on the characteristics of perception in interpersonal relations. Modifying and combining psychoanalysis and behaviorism, Sullivan (2013) points the idea of the prior influence of communication on the development of personality paying attention to the formation of images of others, the role of stereotypes in people's perceptions of each other and its influence on the process of communication.

Erik Erikson, a German-born American developmental psychologist, known for his theory of stages of psychosocial development of human beings, develops a new view on the individual relationship with parents within the cultural context in which the family exists. If Freud is interested in the influence of parents on the formation of the child's personality, Erickson emphasizes the historical conditions in which a child's personality

formed. Erikson (1959, 1993, 1998) observes that people belonging to different cultures and personality is closely related to the changing features of social prescriptions and cultural system of values.

In addition, the Neo-Freudians remains the idea of unconscious emotional motivation of human activity (Freud's pattern) but put forward the statement that psychopathology is relative and specific for each culture. Representatives of psycho-cultural Freudianism Karen Horney and Erich Fromm recognize the role of the unconscious in peoples' behavior, but also emphasize the role of social factors including social ties, interpersonal relations, material, and spiritual culture. In their opinion, the socio-cultural conditions of people's lives equally determine the motives and content of human activities and behavior. For example, Karen Horney (1937, 1950) after emigrating to the US in 1932 found that the background of patients' neurotic conflicts in the US is significantly different from the neurotic conflicts of patients in Germany and Austria. The comparison and comprehension of these facts led Horney to abandon the Freudian theory of instincts and recognize the socio-cultural conditioning of psychopathology (also see Carley 2015).

Erich Fromm also marks out the importance of the impact of society on human physiological development, behavior, fear, and anxiety. The nature of Fromm's socio-psychological method is the application of psychoanalysis to the study of society as a whole, not only an independent person. According to Fromm (2013), one of the most important factors of human development is a result of the contradiction of the dual nature of man: man is a part of nature and is a social being with reason. The person is likely to come into conflict with society, especially if despotic relations dominate in this society (Fromm 2011). Fromm mixes Freud's ideas with Marxism regarding the person as the product of society and underlines freedom as one of the driving forces of human nature. Fromm's "Escape from Freedom" (1994) reveals the correlation between a person and social influence on humans, in particular how society creates a person's psychological orientations in the world and forms his social character. Besides, he introduces the concept of social character represented by such types as the authoritarian personality and the automaton conformist.

As for conformism, the contribution made by American psychologist Solomon Asch and American social psychologist Stanley Milgram to the understanding of the conformity factor is significant and essential for the analysis of personal development and inter-personal relations. The change of behavior or even opinion due to the social pressure and group influence, is demonstrated by the Asch's conformity experiments (1955) and Milgram's experiment on obedience (2017).

Even if the construction of different psychological and psychoanalytical theories is fairly different and diversified, nevertheless, the Neo-Freudian group preserves the concept of the unconscious, which is regarded as a motivating element of human behavior and cognition. It should be noted that the Neo-Freudian group focuses their attention on social and cultural processes. In their opinion, exactly social and cultural aspects have a significant impact on the occurrence of intrapersonal conflicts between individuals as well as the principled conflictual relations between individuals and society. They regard a person as a complex of interpersonal social relations, which can determine social reconciliation, thus why researches of the peacebuilding and conflict resolution should pay more attention to this theoretical foundation.

## **5. Social Psychology and Inter-Group Conflicts: the Studies on Mass Psychology and Nationalism**

Despite the presence of a relatively developed framework of individual psychology, examining social reconciliation as a process between small and big groups, the mass psychology theories should be taken into account too. Except for several works such as Dusan Kecmanovic's "The Mass Psychology of Ethnonationalism"(2013), works of Russian researcher Daniil Raygorodskiy (2010), and influential research on collective narcissism and its impact on human behavior and inter-group relations made by Agnieszka Golec de Zavala, Aleksandra Cichocka, Roy Eidelson, and Nuwan Jayawickreme (2009), the field of mass psychology is not well elaborated. Therefore, the study of the psychology of large social groups and its correlation with other disciplines is quite complicated.

On the one hand, the development of social psychology precisely begins with the study of large social groups. In the middle of the XIX century a German philosopher Moritz Lazarus and a linguist Heymann Steinthal distinguish ethnopsychology as an independent science in Germany, they study peoples' psychological character in the cultural and historical frameworks pointing the existence of the spirit of the folk (Smith 2013:208). Later a German physiologist Wilhelm Wundt (2010) also lays the foundations of the study of social psychology as a product of joint existence and interaction of people. The ideas of French sociologists Gabriel Tarde (2011) and Gustave Le Bon (2001) form the basis of the concept of mass psychology. On the other hand, all these studies of the founders of social psychology have a theoretical nature. Only from the significant contribution of Sigmund Freud's analysis of group psychology the field of mass psychology has begun its development. And even if the field of mass psychology is not examined broadly contemporary, Sigmund Freud's "Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego" (1922) is still actual and vital, as the work of Elias Canetti (1978) and Serge Moscovici (1998).

As for the most vivid contemporary contributions to the understanding of social conflicts has been done by the Turkish-American social psychologist Muzafer Sherif. Sherif and his colleagues believe that social conflicts arise from intergroup competition for limited resources, not because of the fact of the existence of the groups. Sherif (2010) confirmed that inter-group rivalry leads to conflict, aggressive behavior, and negative stereotyping, while joint activities and common goals can destruct stereotypes and reduce inter-group's differences and in-group favoritism. His Realistic Group Conflict Theory (1966) shows that the inter-group hostility triggered by inter-group interaction, not by individual motivational factors. It is a new step in the understanding of inter-group relations and conflict, but Sheriff's study does not take into account such psychological characteristics as cognitive and emotional processes regulating different aspects of inter-group interaction. For this reason, the Sheriff's understanding of inter-group conflict has been reversed from the positions of cognitive orientation.

Thereby, Henri Tajfel, a Polish social psychologist, proposes the cognitive aspects of prejudice in inter-groups relations and founds the Social Identity Theory. Insisting on the importance of cognitive processes in inter-group relations, Tajfel shows the establishment of positive attitudes towards members of a group ("in-group favoritism") and negative attitude to "others" ("out-group hostility") can be observed in the absence of conflict between groups. During the experiments, Tajfel (1970) concludes that a person tends to maintain a particular social identity because people tend to perceive their group better than other groups, and this tendency leads to intergroup bias. Moreover, he finds that only the awareness of belonging to a group as well as cognitive and perceptual processes related to the group can cause inter-group conflict.

Tragic realities and the consequences of the Second World War redirects studies of individual and mass psychology to its correlation with nationalism, inter-group aggression, hostility, and ethnic prejudice. Therefore the combination of the analysis of mass psychology with researches on nationalism becomes burning and extremely necessary for the study of social reconciliation.

One of the earliest works possessed as the basic one is the analysis of the Fascism made by Wilhelm Reich (2013). Beyond that, we cannot neglect Hannah Arendt's contribution and her interpretation of the role of masses and description of the mechanisms of totalitarian movements focusing on Nazi Germany and Communist Russia in "The Origins of Totalitarianism" (1966). As a German-American philosopher of Jewish origin, a political theorist and historian, she is the founder of the theory of totalitarianism and her works until our days play a huge role in the understanding of the transformation of classes into masses, the role of state's propaganda, mass-state correlations and dichotomy between totalitarian obedience and guilt-responsibility tie (Arendt 2008: 39-56).

The Frankfurt School continues studying the inter-group aggression and correlation between society and individuals under the frameworks of ethnonationalism. Main representatives of the Frankfurt School such as Theodore Adorno (2002), Max Horkheimer (1972, 2002), Herbert Marcuse and Erich Fromm, the scholars and the intellectuals of the Institute for Social Research at Goethe University of Frankfurt, combine philosophical concepts with political and sociological. They regard contemporary society as a mass-controlled moving to the standardization of the mind characterized by recessive socio-anthropological changes such as disappearing of the

reflection and replacing it with stereotypical reactions and mental clichés. For example, Herbert Marcuse the brightly illustrates the standardization of the mind and its manipulation in his "One-Dimensional Man" (2007), the study of the ideology of the industrial society. As for Erich Fromm, it should be highlighted that he is not only New-Freudianst but also associated with Frankfurt School too. For example, Theodor Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik and Daniel Levinson in their book "The Authoritarian Personality" (1993) used the term "authoritarian personality," which was designed earlier by Erich Fromm, as the basis for their study of antisemitism, where the inter-group hostility is interpreted as a personality trait.

Except for western researches on ethnic intolerance and prejudice towards different national and ethnic groups, some Soviet and Russian studies are also essential for the investigations on social reconciliation and should be mentioned too. For example, Soviet and Russian sociologist and psychologist, one of the founders of modern Russian sociological school, Igor Kon, is the first academic who begins to examine the psychology of prejudice. His study on the nature, social origins, and psychological mechanisms of ethnic prejudices based on the analysis of the anti-Semitism play an essential role in the formation of Russian racial psychology (1966: 187-205). Besides, Kon's researches on the ethnic stereotypes and national character are still significant and can contribute to studies of ethnonationalism (1968: 215-229). At the present most leading studies on the psychology of mass behavior, mass (national) trauma and its transmission to the next generation are made by Mikhail Reshetnikov, Professor and rector of Eastern European Institute of Psychoanalysis (St. Petersburg) and Honorary Professor of Vienna University. Combining classical and contemporary psychoanalysis and socio-political approaches, Reshetnikov (2004, 2006) analyses the impact of interstate conflicts on individuals and societies on the basis of the case-study of deteriorated relations between Russians and Ukrainians during the Ukrainian crisis as well as its outcomes to person-to-person interactions. One of the most significant contributions to the analysis of public consciousness and its correlation with authorities made by Sergey Kara-Murza, Soviet and Russian science theorist and sociologist. In his book "Manipulation of Consciousness" (2004) he describes the forms and methods of manipulation of public consciousness and pays attention to the influence of social institutions, mass culture, and mass media on the formation of the manipulative semantics and rhetoric.

## **6. The Role of Socio-Psychology in Political Research: the Interdisciplinary Approach to the Study of Social Reconciliation between Large Social Groups and the Concept of Trauma**

The socio-psychological study of large social groups faces a great number of challenges. A broad range of research methods applied to the study of various processes in small groups usually stands in contrast with the lack of such approaches for analyzing large groups, in particular, social classes, ethnic groups, and even nations. Nevertheless, like small groups or individuals, large groups have specific features determined by their identity construction, particularly by its historical experience, cultural characteristics, social features, and state politics.

Specifically, the reconciliation process between states is rooted in passed war conflicts. Historical issues, divided memory, and different representation of the war hostilities generated by inter-state conflicts have a huge impact on social reconciliation between the former enemy-states. And even if states achieve conflict resolution and conclude peace agreement a long time ago, the people-to-people reconciliation can fail.

Generally, the reconciliation process between states remains uncompleted because of traumas generated by societies and state leadership's policy. Nowadays, such terms as political memory or historical memory become crucial in the reconciliation process between states. Currently, such a notion as "trauma" being adopted from psychological studies and integrate into the political sphere. Expanding the limits of researches on political topics, the concept of trauma links psychology with reconciliation studies and requires a deep understanding of the psychological approach.

The discourse of trauma is becoming more and more popular among the representatives of reconciliation process studies. Recently the scholars began to adopt the concept of trauma for the analysis of the impact of war memories on the individual identity as well as shaping social one. As a part of national identity, traumatic memories can

politicize the history of state and impact on its interstate relations. However, in some cases, states build the fundament of the historical consciousness of society from the psychological point of view.

In political literature, such psychological choices are divided into "chosen traumas" and "chosen glories" and passed from generation to generation. Analyzing large-group psychology, professor of psychiatry Vamik Volkan (1998:48) reveals that the societies after mass-traumatic events tend to shift their identities to a traumatic one or identify themselves as victors. He examines the psychological links between massive large-group traumas and regression. Besides, primarily focus on how traumas can be manipulated by political leaders and the political ideology of states, and how to deal with such traumatic effects to gain peaceful coexistence in traumatized societies. As a result, Volkan (2014) introduces two main psychological terms such as "chosen traumas" and "chosen glories," where "chosen traumas" connected with the horrors of the past and "chosen glories" represents the triumph of the past as core elements in the process of construction of identity. Both of these elements of large-group identity provide the state with society's support. Volkan (2008) sees the role of "chosen traumas" in supporting large-group identity and its cohesiveness is more complicated than the role of "chosen glories."

Volkan (2004) claims that "chosen traumas" and "chosen glories" "can then be manipulated by political/religious leaders and, associated as it is with an entitlement ideology, may itself become a source for further human tragedy." Thus chosen traumas and chosen glories can be regarded as a myth and become a pillar of war memory and the ideology of the particular state. It also can penetrate not only into society but became a part of the international behavior of the state (also see Gong 200; He 2009; Galtung 200; Bell 2006; Hunt, 2010).

For instance, after the Second World War, Russian-German and Sino-Japanese relations have had a complicated evolution and faced a lot of challenges standing in the way of reconciliation and cooperative relations. Nevertheless, now we can see progressed deep reconciliation and well-established cooperation between Russia and Germany; while Sino-Japanese relations stuck in the process of mutual distrust generating conflicts, distrust and social hostility. One of the main reasons explaining such diversity is rooted in the different representations of the traumatic past, which consequently produce different outcomes providing improvement or deterioration of interstate relations, especially in the case of former enemies. And for instance, despite China and Japan concluded the peaceful agreement and their economic ties are strong, the social reconciliation is fragile, and termly transforms into anti-Japanese movements in China.

Also, there is a quite wide range of researches on the role of traumatic memories and its manipulation in the decision-making process of states. The misuse of history can provide some special changings in foreign policy and impacts on cooperation between states. In 1976 Robert Jervis wrote a classic work "Perception and Misperception in International Relations." Jervis shows how historical events can impact on perceptions of other states and how it can be interpreted by countries. Besides, he explores the influence of "pre-existing beliefs" rooted in historical memory and domestic politics as well as the impact of such beliefs on countries' views of each other. He believes that "decision-makers tend to see what they expect to see...and that these expectations are often driven by the stereotyped lesson of history, analogies." Arthur Stein (182:16) also points attention to misperceptions between states and their impact on the state's behavior on the international scale.

Exploration of perceptions and misperceptions is closely related to one more important topic in International Relations academics relied on psychology such as trust and mistrust between states. The main reason, as Andrew Kydd (2000: 325) explains, is that "mistrust and fear play a crucial role in many explanations of international conflict." Social psychology literature examines how trust-building lies in individuals and leads to a strong sense of group identity, but these researches generally do not focus on the problem of trust-building between states. Nevertheless, International Relations academia and decision-makers recognize the link between trust and reconciliation, and also identify it with "part of the cement upon which peaceful relations are built" (Deutsch 1957:375). There is also some theorizing about trust in the International Relations literature, which usually related to the game theory (Kydd 1997: 371-400; 2000: 325-58; Stein 1982: 299-324) or rational choice approach (Hoffman 2006; Luhmann 1979; Sztompka, 1999).

Further American social psychologist James Pennebaker (1997) focuses on the relationship between collective memory, traumatic history, and social behavior. For instance, there is a big amount of influential researches focused on traumatic narratives related to the Holocaust. For example, Jeffrey Alexander and his colleagues (2004) propose a theoretical model of cultural trauma as a central pillar for social groups identification emphasizing the role of rituals in collective remembering and identification. Alexander underlines that "cultural trauma occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (2012:6).

In contrast, triumphant memories also have an impact on identity formation, thus consequently impact on interstate relations and reconciliation process. Triumph and trauma, as noted by Bernhard Giesen, Professor of Sociology at the University of Konstanz in Germany, represent the historical experience of nation thereby constitute national identity (2015:9). Giesen defines several cores of the constitution of collective identities such as the triumphant hero, tragic heroes, perpetrators, and victims. And all of them can "be considered as an ideal typological field." Nevertheless, "the positions of historical persons within this field are not fixed and immutable - triumphant heroes can become tragic ones, heroes can be turned into perpetrators, and victims, can, later on, get the sacral aura that before was the mark of heroes" (2015:7).

States can use historical representations to escalate the conflict or to foster reconciliation between the former enemies. As Tomas Berger claims "historical memory as it is embedded in the political culture of a nation both conditions and becomes a constitutive element in the concrete interests of states and political leaders and can have far-reaching consequences for the possibilities of conflict and cooperation, war and peace, in the international system" (2012:3). Currently, political scholars elaborate on such topics as politics of memory in different frameworks of remembering historical events. It can be in the form of constructing the feeling of guilt, for instance, "The Guilt of Nations" (2001) written by Elazar Barkan is one of the fundamental books on the role of guilt in interstate relations after the Second World War. While politics of regret clearly examine by Jeffrey Olick (2013) showing the correlation between collective Memory, historical responsibility, and post-conflict societies. Besides, state can choose to implement politics of apology (Rotberg 2006: 33-50; Brinks, Timms, Rock 2006), or choose to forget and forgive the former enemy (Levy and Sznajder 2006; 83-102; Helmick and Petersen 2002; Shriver 1995; Winter and Sivan 2000), or have some kind of historical amnesia (Barkan 2001; Berger 2012).

Nevertheless, states are not a human being and cannot forgive, regret, or forget. But states are constituted of humans, thus why the psychology is required to be counted by political scholars in the study of international conflicts.

Daniel Levy and Natan Sznajder (2006:84) argue that "the political significance of forgiveness is contingent upon a set of historical and institutional circumstances that condition the respective meanings forgiveness can (cannot) assume." The main specificity of forgiveness is that it does not only depend on one conflict side's actions. If one of the states is not interested in promoting reconciliation and cooperation with a former adversary, another state cannot get any positive result in peacebuilding even in spite of all attempts that this state makes for being forgiven. Forgiveness can be useful for the normalization of relationships between former enemies in the post-war period, but it is also related to apologies. The main idea of an apology is that it can "help heal the wounds of past injustices" (Blatz and Ross 2009: 231) and can "usefully create the possibility of closure in post-conflict transitions" (Rotberg 2006: 33). Factually it is difficult for a person to recover from traumatic memories without getting an expression of regret from the hostile nation, and as for government-to-government reconciliation, it works similarly. Some countries can get an apology because it is in the interest of the former enemy to feel deep remorse to restore trust in a relationship. Others demand an apology, but there is no hope to get it if the adversary does not regard apology to the victims as a necessary element of reconciliation.

Craig Blatz and Michael Ross give evidence of necessity and the disutility of apologies between states in the post-war period as well as between state and society. Blatz and Ross (2009:234) conclude that it is hard to identify the

role of apology in the process of reconciliation and rebuilding cooperative relationships between states, because "the political and psychological motives that are met by manipulating history can be satisfied by apologizing and atoning for a group's past misdeeds", but mostly it depends upon a certain circumstance in a certain situation, and for some states, apologies are not enough to take a step forward to reconciliation. However, "apologies may have the power to alter historical memories" and facilitate societies to erase negative attitudes toward each others.

Apology plays a huge role in the process of reconciliation and the trust-building process in the post-war period. As Tomas Berger argues, "apologies and efforts at reconciliations seem to lead to more stable interstate relations, in other cases, any progress that has been made remains tentative and short-lived" (2010:10). But it is not the main factor in building normal cooperative relations after conflicts between countries, because apology has to be in combination with other diplomatic and political attitudes (Volkan 2006:117). It has to be a knot of multiple factors supporting the process of apology and its acceptance by another conflict party.

As for the social amnesia as a state's choice in the post-war period, Kумыков Aues, Doctor of Philosophy, Professor of the Department of Philosophy of Kabardino-Balkarian State University claims that "phenomenon of social amnesia is ontologically inscribed in the social reality and becomes apparent in periods of social and cultural crises" (2012:190). In addition, social amnesia leads to disorganize social memory as a symbolic reconstruction of the past in the present. Furthermore, the process of social amnesia can be harmful not only to the concrete society via losing its national identity and sense of correlation across generations, but also has a dramatic effect on interstate relations and delays reconciliation, especially in post-war periods when the peace between former enemies is too fragile. For instance, the confirmations of it can be found in well-elaborated works on Japanese politics of memory and the choice to neglect the historical facts in the construction of Japanese historical consciousness of the Second World War resulting in a lack of trust and worsening of inter-state cooperation (Berger 2012; He 2009; Tian 2002; Wang 2009; Ming 2006; Gong 2001).

Obviously, there are a lot of works covering the role of traumas in historical memory, particularly with the preference to divided societies or West Europe post-war development (Humphrey 2002; Bell 2006; Budryte and Resende 2013; Galtung 2001; Pennebaker 1997; Hunt, 2010), but there is a lack of researches examining exactly "chosen glories" as a dominant factor in construction of national identity and politics of memory or combination of both these dimensions. Nevertheless, most of the states passed through the war hostilities cannot distinctly identify war as an only traumatic event or only triumphant event. Indeed, cultural trauma researches mostly focus on German and Israel cases as well as on the role of the Holocaust in traumatic narratives in politics of memory and interstate relations. And even if the case of these two nations the trauma concept is deeply explored, the role of trauma in national identity construction and historical consciousness narratives of other countries is less examined in academics and deserves attention to be elaborated more complexly.

## 7. Conclusion

Given the abundance of works that directly explore the role of psychology in inter-personal conflicts and the possibility of small groups peaceful coexistence, the absence of similar studies on the interconnection between psychology and state's (large groups) reconciliation process is too sufficient. Particularly, the lack of works exploring the process of identity change as a main part of social reconciliation process in post-war period as well as the impact of politics of memory in the shape of such psychological dimensions as apology, forgiveness, regret and its consequences to the inter-state relations and inter-societies interactions create a big gap in the field of conflict resolution study.

On the other hand, being a complex phenomenon, social reconciliation covers a lot of academic fields and represents as an interdisciplinary concept, thereby it requires a more deep understanding of the personal and social psychology in order to establish trustful relations not only on the state level but between societies too. In addition, studies bringing the psychological analysis of the roots and narratives of politics of memory are too tiny, while

exactly the traumatic component in inter-societal relations plays a crucial role and determines the future of people-to-people reconciliation.

Thus, analyzing the relationships between the former enemy-states in post-conflict, researches are required to rely not only on political approaches but also should use socio-psychological methods. Such a combination of different approaches with the psychological studies can contribute to the formation of strategies for achieving reconciliation in post-conflict periods and avoid reactivation of negative attitudes toward the former enemy-state. In addition, detailed analysis of personal development, social identity, interstate relations from the psychological point of view can reveal more details which can be explored only by political analysis, and thereby psychological approaches should be required to use in next researches on such serious and crucial topic as social reconciliation process.

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# Capital and Capacity in Reproduction of The Community of *Masjid Kampung Jogokariyan Yogyakarta*

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## Abstract

This study aims to describe capital and capacity in the community of the community of masjid kampung Jogokariyan, Yogyakarta. Supported by life-history data, the Islamic education space is a reproduction of the community, while capital and capacity are energy for the sustainability of the community. The historical-sociology studies an approach in observing time diachronically for daily social life. Sociologist Giddens supports the study of historical-sociology because it is able to track the interdependence between action and structure. Time is an integral part of the discussion of social reproduction (Giddens, 2001). The rules and resources used by actors are re-formed through the process of community use and sustainability. Capital comes from the management of Muslim merchants who support the community, while capacity building comes from empowerment actions in the form of increasing skills and placement of educational credentials. The results of this study indicate the relationship between actors is a network of managerial systems for sustainable communities. The masjid kampung community is the agent for solving social problems in the Kampong Jogokariyan area such as the inability to try micro-economic areas. The aspirations of the community experience the transmission of knowledge between the younger generation. The space for Islamic education has increased the spirit of development as well as being a cultural legacy with a homogeneous type of experience in the realm of the religious communities of the cities of Yogyakarta.

**Keywords:** Capital, Capacity, Reproduction

## 1. Introduction

Colonialism of Westphalia era jurists made religious leaders such as the Pope, King of the Arabs and Emperors equal with territorial leaders and generalized legal equality among countries, but the capacity of each citizen to simply search for a dignified profession experienced structural obstacles due to the generalization of the application law (Rosecrance, 1991). In Indonesia, which has held independence for 73 years on the codification of law is not equivalent to the capacity of citizens in reaching professions such as access to employment information or just earning a living. This causes instability in historical changes (Rosecrance, 1991: 85).

In 1980s for post-fordism era depicted milieu of young people who had an indication of vulnerability due to the threat of layoffs from a new wave of industry that was pioneered by Henry Ford. Burrows and Gilbert (1992) describe the 1980s as the impact of global economic restructuring. From the economic restructuring, there is a crisis transition for third world countries. This gave birth to donor agencies from superpowers such as the United States, British and Saudi Arabia, which eventually gave birth to NGOs ( Non Governmental Organizations) to develop communal capacity. Social workers (social workers) from university graduates who have a background in cultural political variants. This means that social workers are involved according to the network paths such as Saudi Arabia and Qatar channeling aid for community empowerment funds through social workers in the campus mosque community (Rahmat, 2008). Like the *Ministry of At-Tijarah* (National Shipping of Saudi Arabia) and the Qatar Foundation. Likewise vice versa NATO countries have interconnection of donor agencies such as OXFAM (British), HIVOS (Netherlands), and Ford Foundation (United States) (Yudotomo, 1986).

The efforts of these donor agencies are only to develop the capacity of individuals or local actors adjusted to developing capital even though it is not value free. This narration shows citizens in the third world incur debts to the alliance of large capitalist countries in Europe, North America and West Asia, especially in support of industrialization and manufacturing. This raises the pattern of actors and agents in launching the transmission of knowledge and technical models of alumni who go to high school in the modern orientation. The relationship of religion in educational institutions becomes relevant because the Indonesian people uphold religious principles in social reproduction (Thoyibi, 1995).

Religion and spirituality become a unit of study in the industrial development of countries in Asia because they have a correlation with service attitudes, reputation and honesty for service products. Then the network of the Islamic community in Indonesia became the epicenter of the theology of industrialization centered on the role of the young Muslim generation (Thoyibi, 1995).

The young muslim generation came from *alumni pesantren* or high school oriented towards the development of Islamic society (Thoyibi, 1995). These alumni have even become agencies of donor agencies from superpowers. Imdadun Rahmat from the University of Indonesia (2008) said that former West Asian college students and campus mosque alumni gave birth to integrated Islamic schools that created social circles. From this, then the community of Jogokariyan village mosque emerged. During the post-reform era, this community grappled with several changes, such as the upheaval of political Islamic thought, the practice of Islamic education, the empowerment of village economic welfare, and the formation of a network of Islamic communities. However, towards the end of the decade now the form of economic development of the village such as the expansion of service businesses that create production units.

As a comparative study of the empowerment community from South Korea, Saemaul Undong in 1970 oriented to "living well," or living well means material and spiritual prosperity through modernization by building community development (Kyungwoon, 2008). With the direction of the spirit of perseverance, independent assistance, and Saemaul Undong cooperation remained unchanged (Kyungwoon, 2008). Conceptualization Literature "Community Development" provides the main reference for community development through the application of social empowerment (empowerment people). The two authors of the book, Jim Ife and Frank Tesoriero, are lecturers of sociology as well as social work practitioners from Australia. This reference is used because in the beginning the community began with social empowerment, namely religious education and the development of local economic potential.

The literature in this study is a narrative of the "New Right" movement and the dominance of military corporatism so that it is able to erode (distort) the concept of citizenship (citizenship). Then sociologists Jim Ife and Frank Tesoriero tried to trace the characteristics of "community" with the following forms of social organization (Ife and Tesoriero, 2014: 191): First, the process of getting acquainted with each other and permanent interactions on a human scale. Secondly, the accumulation of emotions of feelings of belonging (*sense of belonging*) in acceptance

and appreciation that lead to collective action. Community is a form of a group formed for the efficiency of sustainable administration (Ife and Tesoriero, 2014).

Third, the maintenance model comes from the participation of community members through transparent budgets. Fourth, the community becomes a space for the exchange of talents and abilities between actors and community members. Fifth, community is a phenomenon of "mass culture" from the transfer of local experience to diversity to enable the creation of new values, production, and expression of a local or community-based culture. So from that culture allows productivity rather than passive consumers (Ife and Tesoriero, 2014). Sixth, communities are formed on the basis of geographical and functional factors.

Alice Sullivan states there are three components of the theory of Bourdieu's cultural heritage, namely: the cultural heritage of parents transferred generatively to teenage children (Sullivan, 2001: 895). Cultural capital is a big trust (credential) for the regeneration of children (Sullivan, 2001). Educational credentials are the main mechanism in cultural heritage, social reproduction, and developing capital society (advanced capitalism). Educational credentials refer to an environment that can be accepted as a qualification of skills, work, involvement and work experience.

In this study time is the historical range of community change and assets are a legacy contribution from local Muslim merchants who are managed with a community management system, then the main key concept of the community is the application of education (Corrigan, 1997). The longer a person attends an educational institution and the more elite these institutions become the center of attention. Bourdieu made a combination of these two different types of capital, so as to name the four main possibilities of certain social groups. I) High in economic and cultural capital II) High in economy but low in cultural capital III) Low economic capital but high cultural capital IV) Low in economic and cultural capital. Community forms can combine all types of intermediaries (Corrigan, 1997: 27).

## **2.Method**

### *2.1 Research Design*

The life-history method focuses on key informants and key informants because it relates to interactions that make communal changes (Denzin, 1970). In this research, there are two (2) key informants and three (3) key informants. Key informants are informants whose supply of information provides access to recommendations and serves as a guide for getting data from the village mosque community. Researchers conducted a historical-sociology studies on a temporary basis, namely late 2015 and early 2018.

In tracking and combining historical and sociological evidence, a systematic method is used in the form of taking three steps of field data, namely: observation, recollection of historical documents, and recording (Denzin, 1978: 244). Not mentioning the sociologist's own perception of the testimony that took place in the field. Geographical and temporal factors for community action influence these three steps. Historical historical data material includes all records and documents, including track records of social institutions, which highlight the subjective actions of individuals or groups (Denzin, 1978: 205).

### *2.2 Observation*

Researchers adapt the situation by trying to blend in with members of the community, especially those who sit in *angkran* stalls or in the foyer of village mosques. From the act of sitting together the researcher began to ask the position and presence of the informant. Then after getting the information, the researcher begins to prepare the arrangements and preparation for the interview by conducting requests, notices, and introducing the researcher to the informants and community members. In this process, researchers ask for time to be interviewed. After being confirmed by the informant, the researcher submitted persuasive interview questions to the informant and at leisure time for the informant. Researchers began to activate the recording with the mobile application. Then do the questions based on interview guidelines. The researcher conducts a situation definition so that it does not become

the subject of attention by community activities. At this time, the researcher records the findings of the facts of the joint action of community members with a summary of the words inferred from the field concept findings through the field notes.

The researcher asked the community members and management to lend mosque takmir archives and institutional documents. After giving the document to the researcher. Researchers began to study the document in the form of a magazine for a limited circle containing documentation of activities and broadcasting of the village mosque to the citizens of Yogyakarta, there are types of content published in this magazine in the form of: advertising donors of village mosques, rubrics of village mosque activities, zakat financial reports, infaq , and alms, a rubric of the profile of members and community administrators, Malay news, birth news, and remarks from the head of takmir and mosque youth. The document was dated July 11, 2015, with the 2036 edition of 1436 Hijriyah (in the Islamic calendar year).

### 2.3 Data Recollection

After the interview with the informant, the researcher began to select data based on the informant category, namely key informants, main informants, and supporting informants. Informant data selection through the presentation of tables.

In conducting data validation, researchers began checking the authenticity of archival documents based on synchronizing the names of the administrators who endorsed the limited circle magazine and the authenticity of the paper used as the magazine. Then synchronize the magazine logo based on the testimony of community members' testimonies. This examination is called external criticism. The next examination is based on the reality of the magazine content in the form of language and idioms used by the management or community members. This examination is called internal criticism.

In anticipating internal and external validation problems, the ability to observe becomes an important part in conducting data selection. External validation can be overcome through time and location restrictions (Denzin, 1978: 236). Then do the type of difference between the description of cultural activities with the exposure to the ongoing historical conditions (Denzin, 1978). Internal validation consists of distinguishing categories between private and public (community) records so that they cannot triangulate in this process. Then the triangulation is done for the informant's acknowledgment of the information of other informants. Then the historical factor in the form of recognition of the subject's perspective needs to be provided if the subject defines a particular situation as a reactive expression that is considered important or disturbing to the sustainability of the community then requires recording of the reaction.

### 2.4 Recording

This is a recording of the interview category of informants namely: key informants, key informants, and supporting informants. Technical recording uses Samsung's record.wav application with M4A format data output with an average size of 8,000 KB along with a duration of 1 hour 5 minutes and dated May 28, 2018. Audio data specifications in the following table:

Table 1. List Audio Data

No	Kode Informan	Waktu Rekaman	Jenis Files	Ukuran
1	Jazir ASP ( 001 )	28/04/2018. 15 : 11	M4A	8.897 KB
2	Tejo Raharjo ( 002 )	08/01/2016.00:49. 21/03/2016.15 : 31	AMR MP3	13.931 KB 34.828 KB
3	Anjang Nurrohman ( 003 )	26/12/2015. 09 : 14	AMR	9.373 KB
4	Rizal ( 004 )	10/01/2016. 19 : 16. 29/03/2016. 12 : 53	AMR MP3	1.627 KB 2.603 KB

This becomes the audio data selected in the recording transcript listed in the appendix to the interview guide column. Data purely based on the results of interviews were analyzed through a historical approach (life history).

The life-history method presents the experiences, meanings and definitions that guide an actor with his group or community when the group interprets the experience. Howard Becker states that the composition of the presentation of the life-history method is a series of field notes, documents, and information from informants involved in the community as an agency so that they are able to carry out leadership over subjective-individual or community actions (Denzin, 1970). Presentation of life-history data with regard to the scope of social science journals, the data display in the form of a representation model of three young generation actors who manage the community (Pace, 1978).

Conceptualization of cultural heritage based on the theoretical conception of Pierre Bourdieu (1977), namely cultural reproduction which explains cultural heritage is an effort determined by the education system for the reproduction of structures of power relations and symbolic relationships between classes (Bourdieu, 1977). Relationship systems that provide relational ties both to pre-existent and to those who survive. Generalizations cannot be drawn in the analysis of relations to particular generations (Bourdieu, 1977). The application of the concept of cultural heritage by narrating three young generation actors who manage (managers) the Jogokariyan village mosque community. The three actors are representations of relatively young ages.

Parental cultural heritage is transferred generatively to teenagers (Sullivan, 2001: 895). Cultural capital is a big trust (credential) for the regeneration of children (Sullivan, 2001). Educational credentials are the main mechanism in cultural heritage, social reproduction, and developing capital society (advanced capitalism). Educational credentials refer to an environment that can be accepted as a qualification of skills, work, and work experience. As happened cultural inheritance in Indonesia that educational credentials play a role in determining individual careers. For example Kamila Andini is a young director, the daughter of famous director Garin Nugroho. Al-Ghazali is a young musician and son of famous musician Ahmad Dhani.

The method used is an inductive analysis method by selecting based on historical historical topics that depend chronologically (Denzin, 1978: 218). Retrieval of historical historical data based on two categories, namely: public archival records and private archival records (Denzin, 1978: 219-221). In this research using public archives by taking from the media accounts (media accounts) type advertising magazine a community business entity (Denzin, 1978: 219). In the advertising media contained various kinds of evidences (reports) activities and activities of the Jogokariyan village mosque community. The evidence is used as a historical narrative structure for diachronic analysis.

Diachronic analysis is based on inductification by selecting based on historical historical topics that depend chronologically (Denzin, 1978: 218). Retrieval of historical historical data based on two categories, namely: public archival records and private archival records (Denzin, 1978: 219-221). In this research using public archives by taking from the media accounts (media accounts) type advertising magazine a community business entity (Denzin, 1978: 219). In the advertising media contained various kinds of evidences (reports) activities and activities of the Jogokariyan village mosque community. Historical history method has the specificity of writing research results in the form of the "origin of the community" which is part of history (it is a part of history). In the next explanation regarding changes in the socio-cultural structure that occurred in the historical period and present-day phenomena.

Analysis base of field data (raw data) from recorded interviews and field notes in the form of a narrative structure based on historical chronology. Analysis uses social representation theory, namely the elaboration between exploration of actions, beliefs, and values (Wagner, Farr, Jovchelovitch, Lorenzi-Cioldi, Ivana, and Rose, 1999). From these three aspects a knowledge for actors is created based on educational qualifications and skills. The baseline model of the narrative representation of the three actors is based on the findings from the recordings of the main informant interviews and public archive records (Wagner et al. 1999).



Raw data base from recorded interviews and field notes in the form of narratives based on historical chronology. Then reinforced with visual data in the narrative series. The composition of the writing of this study is in the form of a description of external factors that put pressure on the community and then the narratives of actors, the relationship between actors, a description of education space along with worship and ownership assets as a communal achievement. The description in this study is an effort to compile the relationship between location and community (Hamilton and Clare, 2003), while the narrative in presenting life-history is an attempt to tell each event or event in the historical record and then relate the events in the order of time to their significance (Hamilton and Clare, 2003).

Presentation of data analysis from this study is based on narrative products, then data reduction then builds a panel for theoretical explanation, after which the identification stage of causality (Denzin, 1978; Yin, 2009). The data presented have gone through the process of reducing data to fit the problem formulation in this study. Stages of data reduction is the process of selection or focus on efforts to simplify, abstraction, and processing field data (raw data) arising from field notes. At this stage, the researcher selects relevant and unrelated data by categorizing the aspects to be tracked (Miles and Huberman, 1992: 16).

### 3. Conceptual Framework

The location factor of the village mosque adjacent to the Yogyakarta tourism area created an economic business unit pioneered by Muslim merchants in Jogokariyan. By providing halal business mentoring, social empowerment along with the support of undergraduate qualified resources (Field Notes, 3 June 2018). The effort created a business ecosystem for Muslim merchants based on village mosque facilitation, which was then supported by political networks from campus mosque spaces. Community management is increasingly legalized through the principle of professionalism in the form of Mosque-Owned Enterprises (Jazir, 2018). The operationalization of this business entity moves through a transparent subsidized donation system. While the managerial attention to the actions of participation and recruitment of workers.

Rite action model of new employee training course with the aim of action introducing norms and values so that introductory interactions occur. The existence of the tradition of halal bi halal, namely the purpose of building an expression of togetherness, then it creates an integral working bond. Appreciation of community members who are employees that aims to motivate employees towards enhancement. The decision to replace the operational manager to renew the direction of the business entity so that new creativity occurs (Winarno, 1996: 164).

From this ongoing process, the village mosque community has a role in capital development. The next factor is an increase in the capacity of Muslim citizens in Jogokariyan village, which relies on providing business capital along with their direction, fostering small businesses, and procuring an afternoon market bazaar during the fasting month (Brochure of Jogokariyan Mosque, 2018). Whereas among the youth of the village mosque in the form of fostering trade and journalism skills. Then the masses of Islamic broadcasting and branding "village mosque", then the masification of the involvement of village youths through organization and skills training (Buletin Idul Fitri Jogokariyan, 2015).

The study of historical-sociology is an approach in observing time in a dichronic way to social analysis on a daily basis. Anthony Giddens supports the study of sociology-history because it is able to track the interdependence between action and structure (Giddens, 2001). Giddens challenges sociologists to track time in spatial and temporal manifestations in establishing social interaction agreements (Giddens, 2001). Time becomes an integral part of the discussion of social reproduction (Giddens, 2001).

Structuring in the study of historical change is useful in tracking social systems that work to produce and reproduce interactions through the application of general rules and available resources. The rules and resources used by the actor are reformed through the process of using them. The structuring of the community system is a medium as well as a practical measure of achieving the prevailing system. This is called Giddens as structural

conceptualization. The main drivers of structuration are human actors and the form of community as an agency means that structurally there are actors (Giddens, 2001). The following chart outlines the concept of historical-sociology studies:

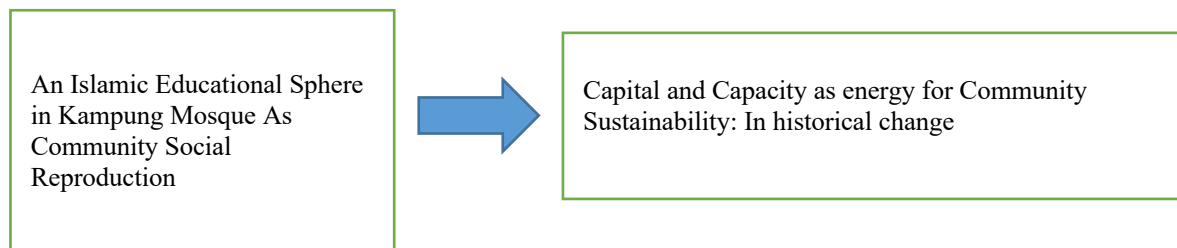


Figure 1. Conceptual Research framework

#### 4. Findings and Analysis

In the beginning, the brotherly relationship between Muslims was a bond in how far they knew the depth of knowledge and practice of Islam. From a number of meetings in the interests of exploring the depth of Islamic knowledge, it sparked inner interest for Jogokariyan villagers from the 1965 transition era to the 1970s, especially for villagers who were retired civil servants (*PNS*). Retired civil servant groups need spiritual needs to simply guide the day of death with happiness (Jazir, 2018).

Muslim merchant groups in the local villages try to support these needs, so they provide assistance. This group originated from Batik and Weaving merchants who are members of the "Karang Tunggal" Batik cooperative and the "TRI JAYA" weaving cooperative, which were mostly supporters of the Muhammadiyah and sympathizers of the Masyumi Party, at the beginning of July 1966 were able to purchase land of approximately 600 m<sup>2</sup> in the south of the mosque's current location (Jazir, 2018). When the committee wanted to start construction, there was a thought that the mosque would be better and monumental if it could stand on the side of the road at the intersection in the middle of the village.

In conditions outside the village, namely tourism areas such as Prawirotaman village and the Mantrijeron sub-district area, there are several entertainment venues for tourists such as discotheques, places to play games (*ding-dong* and playstation), small drug transaction places (*nyimeng*), and cafes who sells liquor. Whereas children who attend junior and senior high school often fight (brawls) between schools (Tejo Raharjo Records, 8 June 2018). These environmental conditions have caused concern for parents in Jogokariyan village to educate their children so that they are not affected by relationships that are considered detrimental to the family. From things like this, parents finally need a religious space like the foyer of the mosque to increase the spiritual knowledge of religion.

Concerning from the group of parents in Jogokariyan village creating an Islamic education space in the Jogokariyan village mosque. The basis of the existence of Islamic education space is the continuation of the Al-Quran Education Park (TPA) program, Integrated Islamic School, Halal Business Mentoring, Learning Guidance (*Bimbingan Belajar*), General Recitation (Prophet's Trace Assembly), and the Recitation of the Prayer of Dhuha Prayer is a series of Islamic education spaces which provides cultural inheritance in the historical transition (Buletin Idul Fitri Jogokariyan, 2015).

The capital and capacity are the energy of historical change in the Jogokariyan village mosque community from the following three periods:

Table 2. Historical change in *Masjid Kampung Jogokariyan* community

1997-2004	2001-2017	2001-2018
Empowerment Actions Social Network Management By Hajj Jazir ASP and the Religious Leaders' Fraternity Group from the campus mosque network, Haji Toto Tasmara	Rental Assets Kampung Mosque Complex By Admin Haryo Galih (Representation of the younger generation)	Governance Kampung Mosque and empowerment through Mosque-Owned Enterprises By Rizki Rahim and Tejo Raharjo (Collaboration between actors)

Notes. Data analysis, 2018.

On the basis of formation at tourism area, the idea was created to rent village mosque accommodation for Muslim tourists. Managers of this mosque lodging are Tejo Raharjo and Haryo Galih. Wahyu Tejo from the old circle, while Haryo Galih from the young circle. Wahyu Tejo is an accounting expert regarding the treasury of mosque lodging, while Haryo Galih manages the entrance finances and accommodation equipment of the guests who stay overnight. Then, this inn practices the principles of sharia. The average guest who stayed at this homestay traveled to the beach, the Yogyakarta palace, visited the site of the Kauman Muhammadiyah Village and the Krapyak Islamic Boarding School and had a friendly relationship with Ustadz Jazir (Field Note, 3 June 2018).

The money received from this guest is used to clean the mosque complex, to improve cleaning facilities and cooking utensils, money for caretakers and builders and building lodging rooms. Haryo Galih is also an administrator and manages social media for lodging and the Jogokariyan mosque. The results of the payment amount from the unit are used to increase empowerment cash and welfare money (*ikhshan*) for community administrators both young and old who have long been raising broadcasts and maintaining Jogokariyan mosque.

Table 3. Actors and agency in *Masjid Kampung Jogokariyan* community

Rizki Rahim Representation of Muslim merchant's son	RR is a young generation figure who is quite smart in managing finances and assets. He graduated from the UGM Faculty of Engineering but was able to create a trustworthy financial system for the village mosque. Donations are also not insignificant from the futsal rental business and the sale of automotive equipment. He can be a substitute for the leadership of the village mosque takmir from the young. RR had been prepared since he was a teenager by his father to return to spiritual activities, even though when he was a teenager he was playing games too. His father was indeed a merchant who owned a teak wood processing business in Jogokariyan village (Recorded Tejo Raharjo, 8 Juni 2018).
Gustami A private Representation Islamic affiliated party support groups	SG was very militant in protecting his friends in the Jogokariyan village mosque, he was even quite respected by Fuad Andreago, one of the leaders of the youth of the United Development Party. Even though SG from his family cannot afford it, he managed to get through at the State Islamic University (Recorded Tejo Raharjo, 8 Juni 2018)
Haryo Galih A representation Social Media Administrator	HG is a young figure who is tenacious in managing and creating an asset management system in the Jogokariyan village mosque complex. He also handled the official social-media account of the Jogokariyan village mosque. His talent is indeed in line with his education, namely information technology majors (Recorded Tejo Raharjo, 8 Juni 2018)

Notes. Data analysis, 2018.

The existence of Islamic norms and values in this community gives rise to Islamic education spaces where capacity development takes place within the framework of community norms and morals. Then the logical consequences of this reality require a psychological learning approach to social learning theory *as a knife of analysis*.

In this study, the community there is a "hidden talent" there is a process of cultural inheritance through educational credentials (training and skills) from the learning process model of the social conditions of parents, families, and the friendship of the younger generation (Muslim, 2014).

Borrowing from Albert Bandura's (1971) social learning process theory that there are four components in an effort to understand capacity, namely (Bandura, 1971): the attention (attention), retention (memory), reproduction, and motivation. The Islamic education room designed by the community pays attention to the type of age that is then created by sub-communities such as the Jogokariyan Mosque Youth (RMJ) and the Jogokariyan Mosque Youth Alumni Family (KURMA). Retention is modeling or exemplary attitude that is practiced repeatedly so as to cause collective memory or memory in the community. Exemplary attitude needs to be carried out by religious leaders, community managers, and community members (pilgrims) of all ages in communal behavior. Reproduction means the accumulation of collective memory and the transfer of communal values in each generation of village mosque communities. Source of motivation is encouragement from the past, encouragement promised in the form of incentives, and obvious encouragement through success stories that become role models.

The basic requirement for capacity building is the ability to read issues and make calculations from all trade negotiations. The individuation process of social learning is an effort to balance images, thoughts, and language. Capital in this study is a contribution (*charity*), inheritance, endowments (*assets*) in large numbers that are managed professionally through a business entity owned by the village mosque that creates an integrated financial and donation management system. Groups or individuals who make donations can be given appreciation and reputation in an effort to donate their financial assets in significant amounts. The significance of the amount of donations ranges from 5 million to 100 million rupiah (Buletin Idul Fitri Jogokariyan, 2015).

Capital development begins with the establishment of Islamic financial institutions based on the management and inheritance of Muslim merchants. The injection of funds came from donations, endowments, and infaq management. Capacity building is an effort to train skills and performances to be trusted by consumers and service users. Management strength as capacity building.

The findings of managerial practices in the sustainability of village mosque communities are based on the following points:

- a. Give a trust and mandate to participants or community members who have struggled for a long time.
- b. The provide job positions (jobdesk) in accordance with their fields of expertise.
- c. Mapping the work segmentation between the elderly and the younger generation.
- d. Open sphere for participation for all generations.
- e. A provide skills improvement training in starting micro small businesses (*UKM*).
- f. Mentoring the halal business while providing loan funds as pioneering capital.
- g. Collecting data and creating data centers.
- h. Give appreciation and reward to participants and worshipers who have dedication.
- i. Delegating efforts at the human resource training forum to management who have long contributed to the sustainability of the community.

## 5. Closing

In the development of capital in the form of social network management or between actors in the form of the creation of the Ramadhan village market and communal distribution. Equipped with social empowerment efforts

to create a Muslim middle class businessman (*Saudagar Muslim*) ecosystem in the Jogokariyan village mosque. Whereas capacity building is in the form of placement of educational qualifications, fostering trade skills, and journalistic training for disadvantaged youth.

The communal meaning reflects the expression of existence and ownership in the community in educating the younger generation and finding the spirit of social services. The spirit of cooperation enables community members to voluntarily participate and communal solidarity by recognizing religious and community values. The main findings of this study are strengthening internal self-capacity through social activities organized by the community. Then the relations between actors are interwoven managerial systems for sustainable communities. The village mosque community became an agent for solving social problems in the Jogokariyan village area, such as the inability to work in the micro-economic area. The aspirations of the community experience the transmission of knowledge among the younger generation. Islamic education space makes the spirit of development at the same time a pattern of cultural legacy with a homogeneous type of experience.

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# Silence in the Islands; An Exploratory Study of Employee Silence in the Maldives

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## Abstract

Organizational silence is interpreted as a collective phenomenon that acts as a barrier to the development of the pluralistic organization. Communication and the flow of information between employees and different departments are strategic factors to achieve organizational goals. Free flow of communication without any obstruction between managers and employees contribute to a more open and vibrant workplace. However, many employees often decide to remain silent rather than expressing their opinions and concerns. Employee silence results in negative impacts for both the employees and the organization. As employee silence hinder organizational progress, proper mechanisms have to be implemented to ensure that employees can voice out and be open about their concerns, without fear of penalization. In line with this view, the starting point for this would be to find out the reasons for silent behavior. The Maldives being among the developing countries, it is important to identify the factors which may hinder organizational development. Hence the main aim of this study is to identify whether employee silence exists among the group of employees in the Maldives and identify the reasons why employees remain silent. This study is a qualitative study where data was collected by conducting face to face interviews with 10 employees who work in various public organizations in the Maldives. The results of this study point to the existence of employee silence among the sample group in the Maldives.

**Keywords:** Employee Silence, Employee Voice, Organizational Silence

## 1. Introduction

Employees are regarded as the most important assets in the organization. They play a key role in change, creativity, and innovation which are strategic factors to achieve organizational goals, but employees often decide to remain silent rather than conveying their valuable opinions and concerns about the problems in their organizations. Milliken, Morrison, and Hewlin (2003) drew attention to the fact that employees frequently choose not to speak up about problems and concerns in the workplace. They describe this as employee silence.

Morrison and Milliken (2000) define organizational silence being "for employees to withhold their opinions and concerns about organizational problems." Pinder and Harlos (2001) refer to it as "the withholding of any form of genuine expression about the individual's behavioral, cognitive and/or affective evaluations of his or her organizational circumstances to persons who are perceived to be capable of effecting change or redress." Remaining silent creates negative consequences both for employees and the organization.

Park and Keil (2009) examine this silence in three dimensions. First, silence can be intentional. Employees remain silent even if they are aware of the problem and know of a better solution. Second, silence can be a defense mechanism. Employees can remain silent to protect their interests or not to contradict others openly. Finally, silence can be a collective decision of employees; a collective reaction of not sharing ideas, thoughts, or knowledge with others.

Organizational silence is interpreted as a collective phenomenon that acts as a barrier to the development of the pluralistic organization (Morrison and Milliken, 2000). It is often seen that in some cultures, employees face difficulty to openly communicate with their superiors about organizational problems or issues that concern them. The phenomenon of employee silence has been studied from many perspectives. However, the concept has not been studied in the Maldivian context. Hence the main aim of this study was to identify whether employee silence is prevalent in the Maldives and to shed light on the reasons why employees prefer to remain silent.

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1. The concept of silence

The concept of silence has a long history in organizational science. In the past, researches have conducted various studies in similar areas which eventually led to employee silence. Following the historical overview, the phases of silence concept are categorized in to three periods or waves; (1) the initial wave, consists of research conducted in the 1970s to the mid-1980s; (2) the second wave, consists of research conducted in the mid-1980s to 2000; and (3) the current wave, consists research conducted in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. These waves were categorized based on the themes studied during a particular period of time (figure 1).

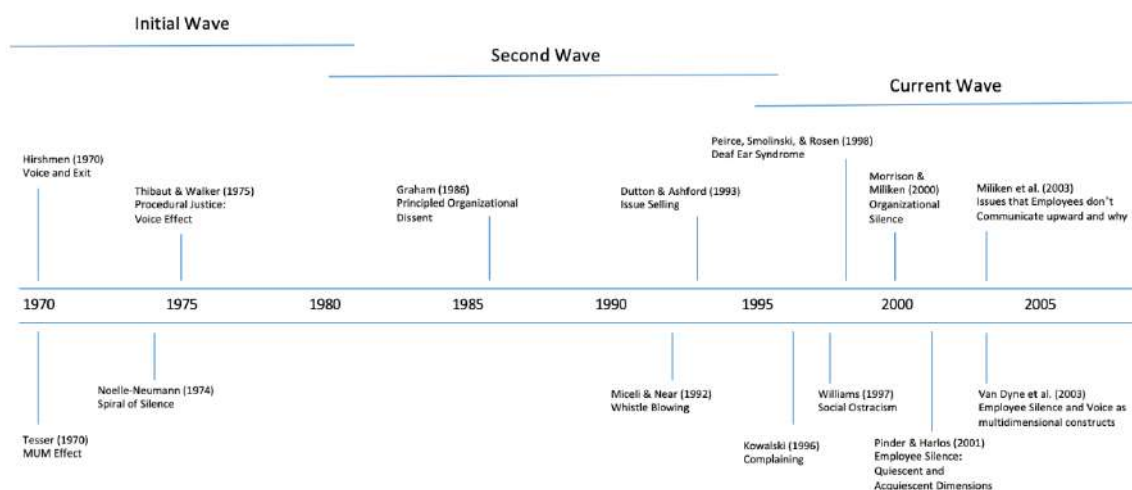


Figure 1 - Waves in the Literature of Silence and Voice in Organizations

Source: Brinsfield, C.T., Edwards, M. S., and Greenberg, J. (2009). Voice and Silence in Organizations: Historical Review and Current Conceptualizations. Greenberg, J. and Edwards, M.S. (Eds.). In: Voice and Silence in Organizations, p.9.

### 2.1.1 Initial Wave

During the 1970s to the mid- 1980s, the researcher recognized that silence in organizations exists in various forms. Among the earliest concepts, the main focus was on the studies of MUM (keeping mum about undesirable messages) effect and analysis of spiral of silence.

Albert Hirschman (1970) was the first social scientist to study the concept of voice concerning organizational dissatisfaction. According to him, consumers will respond to dissatisfaction in two ways. They either exit by discontinuing their relationship with the organization or voice by complaining and making an active attempt to investigate change. Hirschman (1970) defined voice as “any attempt at all to change, rather than to escape from, an objectionable state of affairs, whether through individual or collective petition to the management directly in charge, through appeal to a higher authority with the intention of forcing a change in management, or through various types of actions and protests, including those that are meant to mobilize public opinion” (p. 30). Furthermore, Hirschman claimed that the use of ‘exit’ and ‘voice’ depends on loyalty. To date, Hirschman’s framework of voice has been used as a basis of most studies in employee voice and voice is considered a universal concept that could be applied to all employees.

#### The MUM effect

The MUM effect was a concept proposed by Abraham Tesser, followed by the first works of Hirschman (Rosen & Tesser, 1970). The MUM effect defines an individual's reluctance to express negative thoughts because of the expectation of psychological discomfort associated with negative effects (Conlee and Tesser, 1973). This has been identified as the main reason why employees do not speak up about problems faced in the workplace (Milliken, Morrison & Hewlin, 2003). Researchers have identified that an individual feels discomfort when it comes to communicating bad news as it may result in harming one’s relationship with recipients (Morran, Stockton, & Bond, 1991) and also due to the guilt associated with not sharing recipient’s misfortunes (Tesser & Rosen, 1972). In the workplace, power distance and status seem to intensify the Mum effect (Millikan et al., 2003). Results of a research conducted by Millikan et al., (2003) showed that employees feel more concerned and uncomfortable if they are to report wrongdoing to their superiors and in many cases, employees tend to withhold information or distort information to reduce its negative effects. Fear of communicating negative news is not entirely limited to upward communication, however, it is also observed in downward communication. For instance, sometimes, managers delay or try to avoid giving feedback to poor performers (Benedict & Levine, 1988). Similarly, the managers avoid communicating negative news to subordinates by delegating the task to others (Rosen & Tesser, 1970).

#### The Spiral of Silence

Studying the historical background of silence, one of the most prominent theory is the theory of the spiral of silence (Noelle- Neumann, 1974). According to this theory, individuals remain silent due to their perception of weak public support, fear of isolation, or self –doubt. In these situations, individuals feel hesitant to speak up, and as a result, it further makes their perception of weak public support stronger. Over time this cycle may develop into a spiral of accumulative silence in association to a given issue. This theory also states that in situations where public support seems stronger, individuals tend to disclose their views more freely. In the past, the spiral of silence theory has been applied in various research to identify the reasons why individuals are reluctant to express their views (e.g., Donsbach & Stevenson, 1984; May; Glynn & McLeod, 1984; Salmon & Neuwirth, 1990; Salmon & Oshagan, 1990).

Bowen and Blackmon (2003) proposed the study "vertical spiral of silence." According to their study, the spiral of silence may become more pervasive and spread on other issues. For instance, if an employee decided to stay silent about one issue, it increases the likelihood of that employee staying silent about other issues. This behavioral tendency is higher in matters related to personal identity and sexual orientation (Bowen and Blackmon, 2003).

### 2.1.2 Second Wave

During the mid-1980s and 2000, several new constructs were incorporated to voice and silence concept. At the end of the 1990s, two important silence related constructs, deaf ear syndrome, and social ostracism were



developed. These additions boosted the growth of more research in the organizational sciences resulting in more paradigms of silence.

### Social Ostracism

Social Ostracism is often referred to as "the silent treatment." Although social ostracism and silence have rich literature, these themes were not given much attention in organizational sciences until the past decade. In recent literature, William (2007) stated that ostracism involves ignoring or excluding people and it has been functioning as "a process that is characterized as an unfolding sequence of responses endured while being ignored and excluded." The silent treatment is a common problem faced in the workplace. An employee may choose not to speak up about issues at the workplace if he/she feels the fear of being ostracized. Hence based on the research findings, it is said that social ostracism is an example of silence in organizations or it could be regarded as behavior which has the potential to lead to silence. William (2001), highlighted two main types of ostracism; (a) physical ostracism which involves being forced to withdraw from or leaving the situation (leaving a room during an argument, being put in solitary confinement, and being exiled) and (b) social ostracism which involves the emotional withdrawal that occurs in the physical presence of the target (removal of eye contact, not talking, and not listening).

Ostracism and employee silence are similar concepts. Employee silence involves mainly remaining silent on issues or situations related to one's job or organization. Whereas an individual who practices ostracism may refrain from communicating about a wide range of issues and may remain silent in many different contexts. These behaviors show how silence could be used as a tool to affirm the power and cause distress in a socially unacceptable manner (Briensfield et al., 2009).

### Deaf Ear Syndrome

In the 1990s, researchers were interested to study the factors that shape employee's reluctance to engage in speaking up behavior. In particular, reluctance to speak up was studied in the context of harassment. The term deaf ear syndrome was introduced by Peirce, Smolinski, and Rosen (1998) to describe an organizational norm that discourages employees from engaging in open expression of dissatisfaction. Based on the literature, Peirce et al. (1998) identified three reasons which enhance the "deaf ear syndrome"; "(1) inadequate organizational policies (cumbersome or unclear reporting procedures), (2) managerial rationalizations and reactions (denying the claims, blaming the victim, minimizing the seriousness of the offense, protecting a valued employee, ignoring a chronic harasser, retaliating against the victim), and (3) organizational characteristics (family-owned businesses, rural locations, male-dominated industries)" (Briensfield et al., 2009).

"Deaf ear syndrome" was further studied by Harlos (2001). Research by Harlos stated that some voice systems such as formalized complain reporting systems, open-door policies, suggestion boxes, etc. cause what they are intended to prevent, intensifying employees' perceptions of unfairness, discontent, and frustration. The voice systems give the impression that organizations take complaints seriously. However, if the voice systems fail, it may lead to a violation of the psychological contract and may result in negative feelings about employment relationships (Rousseau, 1995). According to Harlos (2001), safety, credibility, accessibility, and timeliness of outcomes are keys to building an effective voice mechanism in the organization. The "deaf ear syndrome" is the foundation that contributed to the development of quiescent and acquiescent silence (Pinder and Harlos, 2001).

### *2.1.3 Current Wave*

Since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the concept of voice and silence has been studied in a broader context. Particularly, researchers focused on the concept of silence. Common to many studies, it is considered that silence is not a mere absence of voice, and it is more meaningful. Although there was a growing interest in the silence and voice topics, not much was accomplished in terms of construct development and empirical research related to moderating factors. Most prominent studies on silence were conducted by Morrison and Milliken (2000). They proposed the concept of "organizational silence" and individual level silence behavior, i.e., "employee silence." This paper focuses on the individual level of silence behavior, employee silence.

### 3. Types of Silence

The literature review about the types of silence has classified employee silence into major three types, namely Acquiescent Silence, Defensive Silence, and Pro-social Silence (Van Dyne, Ang & Botero (2003). The three types of silence are summarized in the following table (table 1);

Table 1- Types of Silence

<b>Nature of Behaviour</b>	<b>Primary Motive</b>	<b>Specific Type of Behaviour</b>
<b>Employee Passive</b>	Acquiescence (submission)	Acquiescent silence
	Self- protection (fear)	Defensive silence
<b>Employee Proactive</b>	Other-oriented (cooperation)	Prosocial silence

Source: Van Dyne, L., S. Ang, and I. C. Botero. (2003). Conceptualizing Employee Silence and Employee Voice as Multidimensional Constructs. *Journal of Management Studies*, 40.6, 1359-1392.

#### 3.1. Acquiescent Silence

Pinder and Harlos' (2001) has defined Acquiescent Silence as withholding views, relevant ideas, information, or opinions, based on resignation. Acquiescent silence advocates disengaged behavior. Therefore, it is a passive behavior (Van Dyne, et al. 2003). In the case of acquiescent silence, employees commend the status quo and prefer not to speak up. They do not try to change organizational circumstances. This is a voluntary behavior that the employees choose when they believe that speaking up will not make any difference (Karacaoglu and Cingoz, 2008).

#### 3.2 Defensive Silence

The feeling of fear is one of the common reasons for individuals to remain silent. Pinder and Harlos (2001) used the term Quiescent Silence to describe deliberate omission based on personal fear of the consequences of speaking up. This is consistent with Morrison and Milliken's (2000) emphasis on the personal emotion of fear as a key motivator of organizational silence. Based on the work of Pinder and Harlos, Morrison and Milliken, Defensive Silence is defined as withholding relevant ideas, information, or opinions as a form of self-protection, based on fear. Defensive Silence is an intentional behavior with the aim of protecting one's self from external threats. In contrast to Acquiescent Silence, Defensive Silence is more proactive, involving awareness and consideration of alternatives, followed by a conscious decision to withhold ideas, information, and opinions as to the best personal strategy at that particular moment (Van Dyne, et al. 2003).

#### 3.3 Prosocial Silence

Prosocial silence is "withholding work-related ideas, information, or opinions with the goal of benefiting other people or the organization, based on altruism or cooperative motives." The primary reason for this type of silence is a concern for others. Prosocial silence is intentional and proactive. Unlike defensive silence, prosocial silence is others oriented, rather than fear of negative personal consequences of speaking up (Van Dyne, et al. 2003).

### 4. Reasons for employee silence

There are various reasons employees remain silent in organizations that emerge from an individual, organizational, and cultural factors.

The literature on individual factors leading to silence is scrutinized, it shows that there is a significant relationship between employee silence and personality traits. Le Pine and Van Dyne (1998) considered silence as a product of individual personality characteristics. For example; individuals high in neurotic personality traits tend to remain silent, whereas an individual high in extroverted personality finds it easy to communicate (Brinsfield 2013). Research also shows that a person's self-esteem has a rather important and positive effect on an individual's

behaviors at the workplace (Le Pine, Dyne 1998). Individuals whose self-esteem are high are more willing to bring the change. Individuals whose self-esteem are low are more concerned about self-protection. They do not allow themselves to be in defenseless status. Thus, they withhold their ideas and information due to the risk that they perceive (Premeaux, Bedeian, 2003). Similarly, an individual's perceived communication fear and negative consequences that may arise from communicating and perceived status in terms of authority and control influence employees to remain silent in the workplace (Brinsfield 2009). Employee's lack of experience and low status also hinder open communication (Milliken et al. 2003). Likewise, emotional breakdown and psychological lethargy experienced by individuals also hinder communication (Whiteside & Barclay 2013).

In addition, employees may remain silent if they feel that speaking out will not bring any changes and that they may find themselves in a dangerous situation (Gephart et al. 2009; Morrison, Milliken 2000; Brinsfield 2013). The injustice employees experience (e.g., discrimination, nepotism) in their workplace develop silent behavior in employees (Whiteside, Barclay; Cemaloğlu et al. 2014). Due to the fear of workplace isolation or social isolation, employees express ideas which are parallel to the ideas of the majority. This behavior prevents the employees from expressing their opinion or ideas genuinely (Bowen & Blackmon 2003).

National culture, as well as Organizational culture, plays a crucial role in employee behavior. Hofstede (1991) stated that in large power distance societies, managers and co-workers consider each other existentially unequal. Due to the hierarchical system in such societies, it is believed that the manager is always right, and there is no room for open communication. The relationship between managers and co-workers in large power distance organizations are normally loaded with emotions. In a low power distance organization, it is more likely to see a supportive culture. A supportive culture is more open to ideas and enhances communication (Dutton, 1997). The cultural infrastructure of top management influences how they perceive their employees. If the organization comprises executives from high power distance cultures as the Maldivian culture, managers will rely on superiors and formal rules. Especially in the public sector, organizational functions such as decision making are limited to the management of top executives (Calpham & Cooper 2005). Hence, executives from collectivist and high power distance cultures are considered as a motive of employee silence. In high power distance societies, silence is accepted as a cultural norm ((Huang et al. 2005).

Manager's negative feedback facilitates the creation of a climate of silence. Argyris and Schone (1978) stated that many managers want to avoid embarrassment, threat, and vulnerability. Therefore, managers try to avoid information that might harm their self-image negatively (Argyris & Schone, 1978). Another reason managers want to avoid negative feedback, especially from subordinates, is the fear of being perceived as unsatisfactory. People exhibit various strategies to satisfy their fundamental need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). For some people, how they are perceived by others is immensely important, and they often wonder if they are socially acceptable (Leary, 2001). In their relationships, they might follow self-image goals to construct, maintain, and defend desirable self-image (Crocker & Canevello, 2012). In that case, managers create a climate that inhibits negative feedbacks from subordinates (Slade, 2008). Different opinions are not welcome in such situations because if communicated, it may lead to conflict between manager and subordinate. Due to the fear of confrontation, subordinates usually prefer to remain silent and express opinion parallel to those of his/her manager (Perlow & Williams 2003). However, taking into account cultural differences, it is essential to question whether self-image goals exist in Maldivian culture in the same way. Is the manager's negative feedback a reason for employee silence in the Maldives? This question is important because reasons for employee silence varies depending on the culture. A result of a study conducted in Japan shows that people brought up in collectivistic cultures such as Japan tend to give priority to communal over personal goals (Bresnahan, Chiu, & Levine, 2004; Yamaguchi, 1994).

Morrison and Milliken (2000) proposed two organizational structures that reinforce employee silence. One is the High centralization of decision making, and the other is the Lack of formal upward feedback mechanisms. Some organizations are structured in a way that gives executives the sole authority and initiative in decision making. If managers feel that their employees are untrustworthy, they prefer an autocratic management style rather than a

participative management style. Since an autocratic management style does not involve employees in the decision-making process, it may be a reason for employee silence.

Leadership style is one of the significant concepts affecting an employee's attitude and behavior. For instance, previous research on the transformational leadership approach has indicated a significant relationship between transformational leadership style and follower's positive attitude. Particularly transformational leadership style enhances speaking up as it boosts the self-confidence of employees (Wu et al. 2010). A transformational leader may encourage voice behavior by personally interacting with employees and providing them room for expressing their concerns (Sevendsen & Joensson, 2016). On the other hand, authoritarian leaders tend to determine what is to be done. This leadership style may hinder voice behavior, as there is no room for open communication (Aryee et al., 2007). Therefore, the style of leadership could be one of the reasons for employee silence.

An empirical study conducted by Yalçın and Baykal (2012) identified that fear, lack of experience, fear of isolation, and fear of undermining relations are among the reasons why nurses remain silent in Turkey. Another study by (Bayın et al. 2015) revealed that the relationship between supervisor and nurses, negative perception about having a voice, belief of speaking doesn't make a difference, negative consequences and manager doesn't allow speaking up are also reasons for employee silence.

Employee silence is intentional behavior that is widely a result of many cultural, political, and other factors. In the Maldives, silence or not voicing out is believed as a means where employees show respect or obedience to their supervisors and superiors. An employee who voices out concerns is always seen as a threat or someone who is against the set rules and beliefs. This naturally leads employees to work as guided and instructed by the very few people in the top positions with no questions asked or a willingness to express themselves. Though the new generation workforce indirectly expresses themselves, there is no proper mechanism in the system that allows or encourages employees to participate in the decision making. As a result, a large number of employees still remain silent or are not encouraged to voice out. This very much affects organizational efficiency and hinders progress. This study aims to confirm the existence of employee silence in the Maldives further and to identify the reasons and factors.

## **5. Methodology**

### *5.1 Sample*

At first, interviews were conducted with 10 people who work in different public organizations. Data is collected from 10 people using convenience sampling. 4 females and 6 males participated in this phase. In terms of age, 5 of the respondents were between ages 20 – 25 years, 4 respondents between 26 – 30 years, and only 1 respondent was above 30 years. 4 respondents work at a managerial position, and 6 were junior-level employees. In terms of tenure, 6 of the respondents had worked 0 – 5 years, 3 respondents have 6 – 10 years of work experience, and there was one employee who had worked for more than 10 years. Out of the 10 respondents, 3 of the respondents had completed postgraduate level education, and 6 of the respondents were undergraduate level, and only 1 respondent was a high school graduate.

### *5.2 Procedure*

10 interviews were conducted individually, on a face-to-face basis at offices where the employees work.

### *5.3 Survey Instrument*

Interview questions were structured based on the interview guide used by Milliken (2003) in various qualitative studies. The following are the questions asked during the interview.

Q1. Demographical characteristics of interviewee which includes gender, education level, age, position, and tenure

Q2. How comfortable do you feel in communicating your boss or to the top management?

Q3. When you raise an issue or a problem, do you get attention to the issues/problems from your boss or top management?

Q4. Have you ever preferred not to talk about an issue and keep silent instead of expressing your opinion and why?

Q5. In your opinion, what is the reason for employees remaining silent?

Q6. What are the likely consequences if you raise your “voice” in your organization?

Q7. What do your colleagues think about keeping silent?

#### 5.4 Statistical Analysis

In this study, content analysis was used to identify the variables which contribute to employee silence in the Maldives. Content analysis is a method of analyzing written, verbal, or visual communication messages (Cole 1988). Through content analysis, it is possible to filter words into fewer content-related categories. It is assumed that when classified into the same categories, words, phrases, they share the same meaning (Cavanagh 1997). Hence, all the answers were categorized into different groups (e.g., job security, fear, injustice, etc.) and descriptive analyses were conducted.

## 6. Results

### 6.1 Demographic Characteristics

Demographic characteristics of people interviewed are presented in frequency Table 1 below:

Table 2- Demographic Characteristics of Interviewees

Gender	Age	Education Level	Tenure	Position
Females 4	20 -25 years 5	High school 1	0 – 5 years 6	Managerial 4
Males 6	26 – 30 years 4	Undergraduate 6	6 -10 years 3	Non-managerial 6
	Above 30 years 1	Postgraduate 3	11 – 15 years 1	

2. How comfortable do you feel in communicating your boss or to the top management?

Out of the 10 respondents, five stated that they felt comfortable and had no problems communicating with their superiors. Three of the respondents stated that they felt comfortable to communicate with their immediate supervisors but not with the top management. One of the respondents stated that initially, it was difficult, but after several years in the organization, it became easier to communicate. One of the respondents stated that it was very difficult to communicate and even to get documents signed.

3. When you raise an issue or a problem, do you get attention to the issues/problems from your boss or top management?

Five of the respondents stated that they could get attention. Two of the respondents stated that sometimes they got attention depending on the type of issue or manager. One of the respondents stated that he expressed concerns, but no action was taken. Two of the respondents stated that the junior level was not the priority and especially regarding change issues top management responded aggressively.

4. Have you ever preferred not to talk about an issue and keep silent instead of expressing your opinion and why?

Seven of the respondents stated that they kept silent instead of expressing issues. Two of the respondents stated that they usually expressed their ideas unless it was a political issue. However, one of the respondents stated that since she worked with the top management, it was easy to talk about the issues she faced. These results point to employee silence in the Maldives.

4. In your opinion, what are the reasons for employees remaining silent?

Several different answers were given by the interviewees. Some of the most repeated answers were; fear and insecurity, politics, job security, and trust. It is seen that the reasons employees choose to remain silent are in line with the findings in the literature of Milliken et al., (2003). The answers were categorized, and the frequency table is presented below (see table 2).

Table 3- Reasons employees remain silent

Reasons for Employee Silence	n=10
Fear and Insecurity	9
Nepotism / Favouritism	4
Job Security	8
Trust	7
Poor relationship with supervisor	2
Values and beliefs (e.g., respecting elders )	5
Injustice (e.g., discrimination )	7
Managerial Practice	6
Politics	9

5. What are the likely consequences if you raise your “voice” in your organization?

In general, all interviewees stated that they might face negative consequences if they raised their voices. Some of the likely consequences are;

- Cannot survive in the workplace (e.g., too much pressure)
- Limiting employee rights (e.g., Maybe difficult to get leave)
- Discrimination within the workplace
- Affect employee appraisal/Evaluation
- Labeled negatively
- Employee Dissatisfaction
- Affect career advancement
- Isolation
- Disturbance (e.g., Additional workload)
- Job termination

7. What do your colleagues think about keeping silent?

Nine of the respondents stated that usually, their colleagues remained silent. Only one respondent stated that his colleagues expressed issues, as they were close to their manager. But they communicated some issues indirectly (e.g., using social media to express dissatisfaction).

## 7. Discussion

The findings of this research provide important facts about employee silence among a group of employees in the Maldives. The reasons identified in this study are; fear and insecurity, politics, job security, trust, injustice,

managerial practices, nepotism/favoritism, values and beliefs (e.g., respecting elders) and poor relationship with the supervisor. These reasons are in line with the findings in the literature of Milliken et al., (2003).

When employees were asked how comfortable they felt in communicating with their superiors, three of the respondents stated that they felt comfortable communicating with their immediate supervisor but not with the top management. This could be due to a large power distance between the top executives and subordinates. The hierarchical system is based on its existential inequality which obstructs open communication. One of the respondents stated that initially, it was difficult to communicate, but after several years in the organization, it became easier to communicate. This finding is consistent with Milliken et al. (2003) statement, which concludes that employee's lack of experience hinders open communication. Among the ten respondents, one respondent stated that his colleagues expressed issues as they were close to their manager. This finding indicates that upward communication is affected not only by the organizational context but also by characteristics of the supervisor-subordinate relationship. In order to facilitate open communication, there should be a good relationship between the managers and subordinates.

The research has also shown that employees fear negative consequences such as discrimination at the workplace and isolation if they raise their voice. Employees' silence due to the fear of isolation is in parallel with the theory of the spiral of silence (Noelle-Neumann, 1974). Over time, the cycle develops into accumulative silence eventually increases the likelihood of employees remaining silent. Another reason employees highlighted is fear being labeled negatively. Since this reason is associated with psychological discomfort, it is consistent with Morrison and Milliken's (2001) emphasis on the personal emotion of fear as a significant motivator of employee silence and the MUM effect.

Employee silence and voice behavior are also associated with psychological safety. The feeling of being unappreciated often encourages employees to engage in employee silence behavior. Some of the respondents in this study have highlighted that, even if they raise their concerns, no action was taken. The feeling of lack of support leads to employee silence. Two of the respondents highlighted the fact that junior level staff are not involved in decision making when it comes to matters such as organizational change. In collectivistic and high power distance cultures, organizational functions are limited to the top management. In high power distance cultures, authority in decision-making is vested to top executives, and delegation is avoided (Sagie & Koslowsky, 2000). In addition, in high power distance organizations, decision-making is perceived as a privilege of top management executives, and participative decision making is considered as an infringement to management prerogatives.

## **8. Conclusion**

Employee silence results in negative impacts for both the employees and the organization. The organizations lose the benefits of open communication, such as the intellectual contribution of employees, feedback, information exchange, and problem-solving. These obstruct effective decision making leading to restraining organizational change and development (Morrison & Milliken 2000; Premeaux 2001). At an individual level, employee silence can negatively impact commitment, trust, job satisfaction, and eventually lead to job resignation (Detert & Edmondson 2006; Milliken & Morrison 2003).

Employee silence causes disruption or barriers to the creation of any healthy feedback mechanism. An absence of a feedback system causes managers to make flawed decisions based on limited or distorted information, which can be costly to organizations.

Organizations should encourage their employees to express their opinions freely. In some cases, the existence of feedback mechanisms alone does not perform effectively or encourage employees to speak up. Some employees need support or help from managers to speak up and to feel confident that their opinions will be taken into consideration. The relationship between managers and employees is important for any organization to flourish. It

is important that confidence and mutual respect exist and the gap between managers and subordinates is decreased to ensure a healthy feedback mechanism. Panahi et al. (2012) state that establishing an appropriate reward system for creative ideas and facilitating development and skill-building can break employee silence. Other changes such as reorientation of rules, collaborative studies, restructuring the harvesting of institutional knowledge, and other human resource management programs for executives are important to minimize employee silence.

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# Display for Theme of Color and Geometry in the Art Sultanate Hunt and Sultan Hussein Bayaqlra's Party in Garden

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## Abstract

This article contains and expresses (analysis of Kamaledin Behzad Herawi's two arts) including Sultanate hunt (Kingdom's Hunt) and Sultan Hussein Bayaqlra's party in garden. The aim is to enrich public awareness and social familiarity on Kamaledin behzad's arts, beside its values and specifications. The method is qualifying by collecting information in librarian and observatory methods. Behzad's social class and characteristics of its arts value and importance highlights in this article in which develops the importance of historical and cultural aspects of its arts. Familiarity with characteristics of color usage in Behzad's arts with the most color usage, combinatory and geometrical of Kamaledin Behzad's arts based on circle, oval and triangle usages with conclusions gained of analysis. The conclusion of this article could be a help for students.

**Keywords:** Theme of geometry, Color, Combination, Frame, Picture, Statue

## Introduction

Herat Art Class brought out after Kamaledin Behzad appeared and made vast changes in miniature art in which always attracts researchers' minds towards the arts' specifications. Using complementary colors, warm and cold, dark and light lightened his arts and expresses his art ingenuity. Theme of geometry of Behzad's arts introduces his arts formulated in which is not accidentally and is the spring of Behzad's art knowledge.

The motivation in which laid to select these two arts is that the recorder reviewed and studied around of Behzad's arts and found out there are a lot of hidden points in his arts in which needs more research to clarify.

## Aim

Develop public awareness on Behzad's arts by presenting his arts' specifications and clarifying unknown and vague points of these two arts to put scientific and technical rules into the actions.

## Approach

This article is done in librarian and observatory manner. Two arts of Kamaledin Behzad was analyzed in qualifying methods in a way that his arts were intensely observed and general rules of colors was described and extracted his figurative formation by putting triangle, circle and oval frames on the arts.

## Research Question

Main Question: Rules and regulations from the point of aesthetics of color and theme geometric in the art of (Sultanate hunt and Sultan Hussein Bayaqlra's party in garden).

## Side Questions

What rules made the color harmony in the art of Sultanate hunt and Sultan Hussein Bayaqlra's party in garden?

What forms came out for theme geometric of Sultanate hunt and Sultan Hussein Bayaqlra's party in garden?

And what points made the harmony and balance in composition of the arts of Sultanate hunt and Sultan Hussein Bayaqlra's party in garden?

## Kamaledin Behzad Herawi

Judge Ahmad Qomi, writer of *Golestan Honar*, mentioned about Behzad as follow while there were about fifty years between Behzad and Qomi; a rare of its time, wonder of its time, the best of painters, Ustad Behzad is from Herat Dar-Ul-Saltana (Sultanate) (Qomi, 134, 1366=1987)

Behzad was born in a poor family, and got familiar with people's sense and behavior from his childhood in which made his artistic sprit. Behzad was called Kamaledin because of his smart genius in which shows mostly because of his artistic place and clarifies his spiritual and epistemic place. Behzad was an Aref (mystic) who did not care about the world and materials and his life passed all in Khanqa Pir Tariqat (place of peace and pray for Aref and Sufi) Khoja Abdullah Ansari. He never got married and selected art path for his thoughts and wills to find secrets and truth.

Behzad was in a tough life era but his contemporaries were always encouraging of his life path and tried to get away sadness from him. His majlesses (meetings) were with Arefs like Mullah Hussein Waez Kashefi, Abdul Rahman Jami the poet and Aref of the era in which were guidance for his path. Another person who encouraged him was Mir Alishir Nawaei with a series of wisdom and art specially poetry in which named for himself and also was a person who advertised for Behzad's works and brought his valuable art to Sultanate of Sultan Hussein with a lot of efforts. And also Sultan Ali Mashhadi one of calligrapher artist, poet and Aref was Behzad's friend and companion and brought Behzad's in his poets. (Rajabi, 1, 1382=2003)

Behzad was under supervision and brought up of Mirak for a long time and used his guidance, hence he could use of Sultan Hussein's library in which was under control of Mirak. And Behzad also was a while under Mir Sayed Ahmad's supervision. At this era Behzad showed his talent and proficiency at art and paint but he did not ban himself in recent framework of paint and made his innovations and brought wonderful revolution in miniature art. His talent and skills brought to the Herat's elders consideration and Sultan Hussein called him Seconf Mani and his intense development and progress in short time cause to be attested by others as Ustad (instructor). (Nili, 20, 1359 = 1980)

"Behzad was the first Timor's era painter who is obliged to sign his arts" (Habibi, 54, 1355 = 1976)

"Behzad was familiar with some sports specially power lifting, but he was sound of disapproval and opposition of the time government in sixteenth century (dissatisfied of political situation)" (Konbay, 75, 1381= 2002)

Behzad had a life of full dignity and respect at Shah Tahmasb Safavi era and finally deceased in Tabriz and was buried next to Koml Khojandy the late poet. And also have been said that he deceased in Herat and was buried there. (Husseini Rad, 359, 1382 = 2003)

### **Behzad's arts specifications**

Art specification and provision of artistic characters in which shows independency with modern thoughts are highlighted in Behzad's arts and now can be find the thought and motives of artist based on today's critic methods. (Shirazi, 10, 1385=2006)

The best arts of Sultan Hussein Bayaqla belongs to Behzad's paints. Most of artists were under influence and effect of traditional Bayesnqazi (related to Bayaqla era) and were limited to that forum, while Behzad broke the lines with his vast insight and realism. He considered humanism factors, natural body movements and people emotions in his arts. In most of Behzad's arts the framework is in a way that there is frame for spaces, lots of things and variety of active people with no miss-disciplinary. Another factor for Behzad's works is strong plan, descriptive figures of bodies, place bodies in a circle order, enrich colors and scientific use of colors, variety of positions, faces and their colors with general stylized for academic inflexibility of bayesnqar inherits, elegance considering detail prohibition, use of nature and architecture as place of use. (Rahnaward, 58, 1388=2009).

Christian Praise expresses about Behzad's characteristics as follow: (Behzad's paint is full of movement and attempt beside story and realism. Theme of people with well shapes are not dream and hunters and camels are the same and seems to be drawn from the nature). (Praise, 133, 1389= 2010)

Zaki thinks behzad's color combination and storytelling derived from the nature and is obviously seems distinction of persons individually with interpreting of different motions to each other and the excellency of its work is the horse picturing. (Zaki, 84, 1364=1985)

Qarawi thinks miniaturist aforetime of Behzad did their best of attempts with encourage of fans they were unable of real face painting (stimulation) and they just could determine cloths with same face paints. The things differed were just women's hair and beard of men but eyes were the same format. Behzad was the first person who could amend picturing and painted pictures of king and courtiers with different face and bodies. (Qarawi, 23, 1385=2006).

Wilber believes character of Behzad's works is the elegance of provision of small frames and plans in bigger frame in which seems beautiful. And also another one is the harmony of colors between light colors like blue and green with dark colors. (wilbers, 71, 1374=1995)

Fatema Shah Kolahi writes about Human Body characteristics in Behzad's arts as follow:

In general, body shapes in Behzad's painting is in three artificial types; Lyrical, Darwish, Public (TAQAZOLI, DARWISHI, AMA). The main subject of Lyrical body derived from story literature and poem of Persian. Dariwish body paint is based on thoughts and symbols of Sufism (Tasawof) an is somehow related to the Naqshbandia Ferqa (religious class) related to a Sufism class in which enriched in Herat Majless (religious meetings) and Behzad's relations with experts of the related class. Public body painting is the review and show the work and attempts of medium social class. (Shah Kolahi, 8, 1394 = 2015)

### **Picture analysis for color and geometry (Sultanate hunt picture)**

This picture is in the first and second page of preface (Dibacha) of Hasht Behesht poem for Amir Khosrow Dehlawi. This copy is held in Topoqapo Sara, Istanbul Library Museum number (16) H 676 date October 1496. (Tathiri Moqadam, 246, 1383=2004)

This two-page picture is one the busiest arts of Kamaledin Behzad. This art pictures a hunt view in a mountain area. Animal forces are collected together by sultanate hunt style in one area and consisting a circle, in a way there is no run away path. Some of hunters are busy with animal hunts and the young Sultan stands his red horse down the picture. These two arts express opposite emotion. Hunters made a stand circle with no move in the middle and center hunters are active and exited with hunt acts. The view is populated with upward view angle. (pic. 1 & 2)



Sultanate hunt picture (2): Bahari, 1996, P. 100



Sultanate hunt picture (1): Bahari, 1996, P. 99

### Color Selection

Use of complementary color for cold and warm provides passion, excitement and special movement in the picture. Neutral and cold colors for theme is opposite with warm and pure theme colors for hunters' cloths and animals. Theme color of red, orange and brown of hunter's cloths and horses are darkness and lightening opposition theme of art in which brought harmony. Colors have variety, but Behzad keeps the harmony, with combination of some colors that made neutral motion in which highlights pure colors with special effects.

### Theme Geometric

Here we talk about the theme geometric of the art with shape usage. Plan for framework of the picture for Sultanate hunt picture stands for oval and circle. Body of hunter sets in a way that looks the frame of circle and repetition of circles. Animals in which are under hunt or hunted, located in the middle of circle as the main subject of panel; hunt. Behzad selected center of circles for animal body. (pic 3 & 4)

Some of human and animal bodies are framed in one triangle in which united two page of panel. (pic 5)

Also, some of bodies in the center of the picture are on one oval in which the oval united two page of the panel. (pic 6)

All the hunt picture located in one frame of oval in which expresses the overall geometric frame of the picture. (pic 7)



Pic (5) Bodies on the Triangle Frame (Same Art) Pic (4) Bodies on the Circle Frame (Same Art) Pic (3) Bodies on the Circle Frame (Same Art)



Pic (7) Orval Shape, unifying two picture (Same Art and Page)



Pic(6) Bodies on Orval Shape (Sane Art and Page)

### Picture analysis for color and geometry (Sultan Hussein Bayaqlra Party in the Garden)

This two-pge-picture is in Golshan scrapbook 14/24 aged 1488, Golestan Palace in Tehran. (Konel, 221, 1382=20043)

This picture shows one of fun party of Sultan Hussein Bayaqlra in which is in two pages with two different space. The first page Sultan Hussein is shown with maids; one siting two knees and with respects and presenting drinking and Sultan presented her a red flower (rose) and other maids doing a service, the second page in the left presenting servants and musicians and servants doing service.

### Color Vitality

The picture shows Sultan Hussein Bayaqlra in the promenade and invites its audiences' minds for having fun from the interpretation of colors selection. Using colors based on the subjects provide joy for audience mind and expresses skills and artist's color familiarities. This picture contains complementary colors in most of bodies in which transfers happiness, joy and excitement for people who are with Sultan Hussein Bayaqlra in the promenade because of complementary use of color in which makes motives and brings joy for audiences.

One of obvious factor of Sultan Hussein Mirza in the Garden is the opposition of dark-light in which brought dark green of theme in front of light color of clothes of Sultan Hussein Bayaqlra's companions in which is an opposition of dark-light in this art and audience would concentrate first on the light color of bodies by this trick. Cloth color

of bodies in this art used first hand and second hand colors to attract joys in the picture in which is a subject success. (pic 8)



Pic (8) Sultan Hussein Bayaqla Party in Garden: Bahari, 1996, PP. 53/ 54

### Theme Geometric

In the second page in left the picture of (Water Spring), the picture divided into two parts in which down the picture there are musicians and in the bottom there are servants and each one is doing a special service for the Sultan Hussein Bayaqla and the Water Spring in the first part of the picture is continued and actually united two pictures in one. (pic 9)



Pic (9): Same Division of the picture with spring (Same Art and Page)

Carpet that is down the picture divided the picture into two similar parts (pic 10). Based on frames, shape of heads located on the frame of circle including and starting with six head of table belongs to Barbat Nawaz (musicians of oud) (Barbat or oud is a music tool similar to dutar (two strings)) in which is located down the picture on the left and go through the yellowish cloth man with shovel. (pic 11)



Pic(11) Body Sets on Circle Frame (same art)



Pic(10) Same Picture Division with Carpet Width

Page one and two of this picture contains eleven bodies located on semi-circle in which starts from the musician of oud down the picture on the right and go through the second picture on the down and left where there are two maids and they read book. (pic 12)

In the first page of this picture there are nine bodies located on one oval frame and Sultan Hussein with maid is in the center of this oval. (pic 13)

Theme geometric of this art leads audience's eyes on Sultan Hussein Bayaqla as the main subject of picture.

#### Same distance between flowers and leaves in the theme of picture

One of Aesthetics principle in which is noticeable; place of flowers and bushes with principled distance in garden's area in which filled the theme. Therefore, the compression principle is seen here; principled distance between flowers and bushes in which shows the ideal nature of Behzad art that combined objective world with mental world. The nature objective integration with artist mental derived from Behzad's orientation to geometric and disciplined frameworks. At the same time, flowers and bushes gets natural shapes individually and filled the table with same distances. (pic 14)



Pic(12): Set Bodies on Semi-Circle (Same Art)





Pic(12): Set Bodies on Oval Frame (Same Art



Pic(14): Same Distance for Flowers and Leaves (Same Art)

### Discussion

The point for discussion is the painted curtain in the picture in which Behzad painted it with natural threes. Painted threes are the same as flowers and leaves of threes in the garden from the sight of shape and form, in which tells the importance of harmony between elements of the paint. On the other word he wants to show the proficiency of curtain painter in the picture that decorated curtains in a way have harmony with garden threes for the time Sultan visit the garden or run a party prevent him to be bored of different decoration.

Kamaleddin Behzad lived sixty hundred years ago, when the science had no obvious development, but his arts in comparison with today's scientific regulation have special and valuable place. Today's sciences constants the effect of color on human mind when observes complementary colors by sides, and Behzad used this scientific principle in his art at his era.

Hidden or theme geometric of Behzad's arts have scientific points in which make the audiences to follow them by their sight and mental sense. This geometric theme is not accidental and shows the existence artistic sense with determined plan to paint his arts.

### Conclusion

Result of comparison between Sultanate Hunt and Sultan Hussein Bayaqla Party in the Garden paints analysis are as follow:

Behzad uses opposite complimentary color in these two arts; cold and warm, beside dark and light, with proficiency in harmony of nice and joyous color to use appropriately and use of these opposition is compatible with the human mental and brings color harmony in mind.

Geometric theme of two arts contains shapes of circle, oval and triangle and used vertical and horizontal line to strengthen the frame with keeping the sight and mental balance and harmony of them by using bodies on the shapes of circle, oval and triangle.

From the aesthetics point of view, these two arts of Behzad have color and geometric theme harmony framework in which is a combination of natural objective with mental to use nature for new bodies, specially these two arts of Behzad, make the audience find point in which exists around them and is compatible with their taste factors.

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## Social Media and New Politics in the Middle East

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### Abstract

Social media determined dramatic changes in the balance of political power in the Arab world and in Israel. In the new politics of the Middle East the political environment and the communications between people are different than what used to be before 2011. Two major civil demonstrations – the Arab Spring and the Israeli Social Justice movement - were motivated by the masses through social media and received tremendous media coverage. The revolutions proved that the internet is truly a powerful tool that changed the world in ways that no government can stop social movements. The research finds similarities between the uprisings in the Arab world and in Israel, which created a new environment of "new politics." The uprisings that began on Facebook, and Twitter changed the way societies function and caused governments to change old policies. Despite the long-lasting conflict in the Middle East, involving the Palestinian issue, which traditionally occupied governments and public agenda, the uprisings raised social and economic issues. The events started with isolated acts of young people through social media and brought together people from all walks of life and across all political spectrums. The legitimacy of the protest to be considered as social revolution came only after the media started live transmissions – global media of the Arab Spring and Israel's national media services of the Social Justice movement. This proves the crucial role of traditional media, since only after the social media revolution was accepted by the media, a new reality could be created, in which the public rather than governments and social media and not the traditional media are dictating public agenda and enforcing political changes.

**Keywords:** Arab Spring, Social Justice, Facebook Twitter, Uprising

### Introduction

In the age of smartphones, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, we are able to witness historical events unfold around the world – instantly, live and unfiltered by traditional media or governments. The world is now much more connected due to social media. It was not long ago that protests and revolutions were only seen on the evening news and in newspapers or magazines, which presented a version of events consistent with the bias of the media. However, starting with the Arab Spring, and followed by the Social Justice movement in Israel, social media became the new and improved way to present the events in the Middle East, contrary to what governments and traditional media wanted to present.

The protest in the spring of 2011 was a series of pro-democracy uprisings that in the Arab world, mainly Tunisia, Morocco, Syria, Libya, Egypt, and Bahrain (The National, 2011). The uprising was organized by activists which used the Internet as a dynamic vehicle to maintain broad-based support in the streets. The protests across the Arab world seemed to have appeared from nowhere, organized by Internet activists with a powerful social agenda

(Hemple, 2016). The nature of each pro-democracy uprising varied wildly from country to country, and yet they had one defining characteristic in common: social media. The term Arab Spring became interchangeable with "Twitter uprising" or "Facebook revolution," as global media tried to make sense of what was going on (Shearlaw, 2016).

Following that, the turmoil in the Middle East continued with the Israeli Social Justice movement of summer 2011, which was identified as a "social media revolution." What began as a private initiative on Facebook, turned into an unprecedented wave of socio-economic protest featuring tent encampments and mass rallies (Rosenhek, 2013). Hundreds of thousands took to the streets calling for "social justice," following the Arab Spring and associated too with the impact of social media – bypassing the traditional media and turning directly and without filters to the government (Schejter and Tirosh, 2015).

The research examines the role of the social media revolution in the Middle East while examining similarities in the events of 2011 in the Arab world and in Israel. It examines the impact of social media on the turn of events and the social and political changes that followed the demonstrations. The research claims that the environment of "new politics" that was created in the Middle East and spread around the world caused significant changes. As was evident in the historic events in the Middle East, communications between political institutions and publics changed as social media bypassed governments and traditional media services. Social media increased the involvement in political processes, and the Israeli public was inspired by the Arab movements.

### **The Spread of Social Revolution**

The social revolutions of the Middle East began with one protester and sprang through social media, demonstrating the new political reality, where ordinary citizens force governments to change the political course. The Arab Spring started when Mohamed Bouazizi, a Tunisian street vendor, received a ticket for his unlicensed vegetable cart and could not afford to the fine, though he tried to pay. When he gave what he could, the police officer spat in his face and slapped him. He appealed to the municipality, but they did not see him. In protest, he set himself aflame. Other citizens related to him, and soon the recognition came as people watched and uploaded YouTube videos about the abusive state, read foreign news coverage of political corruption online, and shared jokes about their aging dictators over social media sites. Pictures of Bouazizi, in the hospital and covered with burns, were shared online, and soon Internet campaign began as citizens and unions setting up groups to support the uprising (Abouzeid, 2016).

What started in just one country, Tunisia, rapidly spread via social media and inspired citizens of other countries to protest, including Egypt, followed by Libya, Algeria, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. Common to the protests in these countries is the spread of social revolution and the reaction of governments. The Tunisian government, attempting to control its citizens, tried to block social media networks from the country, although within a few days hackers outside the country were able to break through the firewalls (Ghannam, 2016). In Egypt, Facebook and Twitter were the protesters' most powerful weapons that helped them to spread messages and set up demonstrations, demanding accountability and democracy. The uprising escalated after the government cut off access to the internet: four internet providers simultaneously went dark, and mobile phone service in many areas went down. The move had unintended consequences, as security forces killed hundreds of people in clashes and the military mobilizes amid unrest. Soon hackers focused on getting around the block, using proxy computers to beat government censors. They set out to "anonymise" online data and focused on getting information to the Internet by bouncing content to computers in other countries (Shearlaw, 2016).

The protests in Israel also began with one protester, when Daphne Leef, a 25-year-old freelance video editor based in Tel Aviv, received a notice from her landlord that she'd have to vacate her apartment while renovations were taking place. Searching for a new residence, she found herself priced out of the city due to her inadequate monthly income. Determined to reside in Tel Aviv, she created a Facebook event calling on her neighbors to pitch tents on ritzy Rothschild Boulevard to protest Israel's out-of-control real estate prices (Bronstien, 2016). According to the 2012 Mercer cost of living survey, Tel Aviv was the most expensive city in the Middle East and the 24th most

expensive city in the world. Real estate prices were high, especially in the larger cities such as Tel Aviv (Weizmann Institute of Science, 2013).

What began in June as a Facebook-driven rebellion against the rising cost of living, turned in July into tent encampments protesting soaring real estate costs and became a full-scale Israeli social movement (Steinberg, 2011). Leef's call for action struck a chord, particularly among leftists. Dozens of tents went up on Rothschild, while other tent cities sprouted in dozens of locations around the country. In a matter of days, larger groups adopted Leef's cause, including the National Union of Israeli Students and the Socialist-Zionist youth movement (Bronstien, 2016). At the first public demonstration, a week and a half after Leef pitched her tent, the number of protestors already numbered in the tens of thousands. Inspired by the increasingly visible sense of unity throughout the country, Israelis enthusiastically joined the movement. Tent cities appeared across the country and protesters rallied behind the slogan: "The people demand social justice." Among the issues raised were the cost of housing, transport, childcare, food and fuel, the low salaries paid to many professionals, including doctors and teachers; tax reform; and welfare payments (Simons, 2018).

The movement had the support of about 90% of the population, according to different opinion polls. About 430,000 people took part in marches and rallies across the country in Israel's biggest ever demonstration to demand social justice, a lower cost of living and a clear government response to the concerns of an increasingly squeezed middle class (Bronstien, 2016). The large demonstration followed 50 days of protests that raised hopes for a new social movement that would transform Israeli domestic politics. (Sherwood, 2011). The demonstration became the issue that was mostly discussed on Facebook and was transmitted live on all national TV channels, to what became a social celebration with the participation of celebrities and leading singers and with wide public support. The success of the social movement was amazing: with the initiative of a single protesters, a total of about 5% of the Israeli population from all segments of society actively participated in the large demonstration.

### **Revolutions of Young Protesters**

The social revolutions in the Middle East proved to belong to young protesters. In Tunisia, the average age is 30, and approximately 23% of the 10 million population is under 14 years old. There are 93 cellphones for every one hundred people. The cellphone became the weapon of choice for spreading the word of revolution as virtually everyone with a phone had access to the outside world and could send or receive information. In Egypt, social media was well embedded in the culture of the country's overwhelmingly young population – 60% under the age of 30. Because of the nature of the revolution, it was much easier for women in the Arab world to join the conversation, and Arab women finally felt empowered to be included in the political conversation. 30% of Twitter threads from inside Tunisia, and 33% from Egypt had female participants during the revolution (Mourtada, 2016). In covering the events that started on Facebook or Twitter, global media focused heavily on young protesters with smartphones mobilizing in the streets in political opposition. The importance of social media was in communicating to the rest of the world, as Twitter and Facebook data-informed international audiences and mainstream media reporting (Aday, Farrell, Lynch, Sides and Freelon, 2012).

The movement in Israel, which also started by young activists and continued with the support of student organizations, can be referred to as a social media campaign. The protests, which sparked the first demonstrations, began because of a Facebook protest group that initially led hundreds of people to establish tents in the center of Tel Aviv, an act that soon gained momentum, media attention and began a public discourse in Israel regarding the high cost of housing and living expenses (Levin, 2011). The rapid accumulation of issues fed into the overall demand for social justice aimed at the government and its economic and social policies (Simons, 2018). The protest was a tremendous success that brought more citizens into the streets than any demonstration in Israeli history (Bronstien, 2016). The movement received media coverage for almost two months on all news outlets, despite the protest's broad demands and its overall radical indictment against the economic system (Shoshan and Shultziner, 2017).

The success of the Social Justice movement is in changing the course of public agenda that identified Israel since its establishment. Security issues and terror threats undermined all other issues, despite high-income inequality and high poverty rate (Khattab, Miaari and Stier, 2016). The socio-economic gap is one of the most important issues that encourage the struggle in Israeli society, including differences in income and educational level ((Grinberg, 2013). The roots of the social revolution are the result of the country being one of the most unequal economies in the Western world, according to OECD report (Dattel and Maor, 2015), with significant gaps between the rich and poor. In 2011, it was second only to the United States among developed nations in inequality (OECD, 2011). Even though efforts made into shrinking the socio-economic gaps among the population, Israel is still today one of the most unequal economies. Despite efforts by the government to shrink the socio-economic and digital gaps, Israel is still one of the most unequal economies, as it was in 2011, with high inequality and socio-economic differences among the different groups of the population (Dattel and Maor, 2015).

As the Arab Spring spread across the Middle East, the government said that Israel is an island of stability”, remarkably secure amid revolutions, being the Middle East’s only stable state where everybody is equal. But as the protest escalated and the government’s approval rating tumbled, official response had to be taken with the government forming a national advisory forum to tackle the demands for social justice (Simons, 2018). The consent of the government ended the protest and proved how deep the changes to Israeli politics ran. The social movement succeeded to derive its power directly from the public and engage that public in direct dialogue, bypassing the traditional media and the government. Perhaps this is the biggest achievement of the movement, which maintained its power from on social networks, using them as alternative media to the traditional networks.

### **The Role of Social Media**

The new politics of the Middle East, which followed the social media revolution, changed the way we use and consume media. It changed the way people around the world consume information and form political opinions. Especially in the Arab world, it changed the public agenda and politics. Twitter had a loyal population of followers who resided in mainly larger cities in Tunisia and Egypt. While the traditional use of Twitter conversations prior to the revolutions were used by networks of family and friends to discuss issues related to everyday life, it became a political vehicle following the Arab Spring. Likewise, with Facebook, which was used to share articles, clips and personal messages with many friends at once, became a useful political tool because demonstrators used it to deliver information to the world (Howard, 2018). The wide political use of Facebook and Twitter also created new global political trends, since demonstrators could bypass the limitations imposed by governments and traditional media and deliver instant information to the world. When looking at Egyptian college education, use of social media for obtaining political information is wide. 84% of those who are online say they visit social networking sites for news about Egypt's political situation. These findings point to social media's important role in spreading information and a mobilizing force in the uprisings (Brown, Guskin and Mitchell, 2012).

The new politics of social media changed the course of political discourse, emphasized the power of the public and social media while describing the impact of governments. Bloggers and journalists finally had a way to post political opinions and credible information without endangering their lives and upload information online anonymously. The Muslim Brotherhood, a militant organization that opposed the Egyptian government, set up platforms and blogs from servers in the United Kingdom, so that the government could not turn them offline. This proved an effective method and was used throughout the revolution. Even though the Muslim Brotherhood was deemed illegal by the Egyptian government, they used Arabic and English publications, claiming that they want to keep an equal and prominent presence in online Egyptian politics as a way to counter legally sanctioned parties (Aday, Farrell, Lynch, Sides and Freelon, 2012).

The revolution in Israel was different in that the government did not restrict social media, and demonstrators used Facebook as the main tool to promote the Social Justice movement and encourage the general public to join the protest. But what is similar to the Arab Spring is the important and critical role of social media and the change of political atmosphere in favor of new politics. Same as in the Arab world, new media increased the role of the

public, who could influence political issues by bypassing the monopoly of the political establishment and traditional media on the political discourse (Simons, 2018).

The extensive role of social media in the protest was since Israel has high rates of Internet usage, and a vast number of online news and information websites and Facebook pages have sprung up during and after the 2011 protests. The wide use of social media is evident in that Israel has one of the highest household broadband penetration rates in the world and nearly three-quarters of the Jewish population have access to the Internet and use it regularly. More than half of all Internet users take active part in social media sites (Freedom House, 2016) and the time spent on Facebook per visitor per month among Israelis is one of the highest in the world. Israel is ranking seventh globally, with around 68% of all Israeli Internet users active on social media. Israelis spend an average of eleven hours daily on social networks, almost double the world average of six hours, and ahead of countries like the US and the UK with seven hours (Goldenberg, 2015).

The popularity of social media is also related to the fact that Israel is composed of different ethnic groups and considered a country of immigrants (Kaplan, 2015). While past movements had almost always been about defense issues or the peace process, this one was on social issues, supported by vast majority of Israelis (Bronstein, 2016). The combination of technology advancement and socio-economic gap provided for the disparities of social groups and a major cause for their perpetuation (Kaplan, 2015a). This set the stage for the movement that involved hundreds of thousands of protesters from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds opposing the continuing rise in the cost of living. This can be considered as the main success of the social media revolution in Israel – the change in public discourse from security to social issues and forcing the traditional media to join the protest – and as a result establish the recognition that was required to question the traditional policy of the government.

## Conclusion

The Arab Spring and the Social Justice movement changed the face of how political issues are presented to the world and caused people to come together in support or opposition online, starting from Facebook and Twitter. The uprisings tremendously changed the political establishment in the Arab world, leading to new environment of “new politics” in the Middle East. The political and social impact of the Arab Spring proved to be significant to the social revolution in Israel, which brought the biggest civil demonstration in Israel’s history – the Social Justice protest. Social media revealed, in a way that was never possible before, the deep socio-economic problems that spread across Israel’s, with a widening gap between rich and poor and high cost of living to the entire population. As can be seen from the Arab and Israeli experience, even though the main channels for public debate remain the traditional media, the exposure of the public to social media is accelerating a wide unmediated debate which takes place as young people participate in the political discussion or are activity online. What started with a genuine initiative of single demonstrators in both the Arab Spring and the Israeli Social Justice movement, was inflamed via Facebook and Twitter and accelerated to mass demonstrations which received the recognition of civil uprisings with live and massive reporting of the traditional media. As a result, one major participant in the triangle was missing – governments, with the other two actors – social media and the people – forcing governments to change traditional policies to what the demonstrators demanded. However, as the research concludes, social media alone does not help, and in order for a civil demonstration to be recognized and gain real attraction, the mainstream media must pick it up as well.

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# Halal Food Diplomacy in Japan and South Korea

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## Abstract

This research discusses the comparison of food diplomacy halal strategy conducted by Japan and South Korea. Japan and South Korea were selected in this study as both countries in the last five years showed increased activity in promoting their halal products. This research focuses on answering the question of how to compare the halal strategy food diplomacy Japan and South Korea? This research is a qualitative study with data gathered through interviews and observations of documents and sources of Internet both primary and secondary data. Data in analysis with content analysis techniques. To discuss the results of the study, researchers used two concepts of public diplomacy and gastro diplomacy or food diplomacy.

**Keywords:** Halal Food, Diplomacy, Japan, South Korea

## 1. Introduction

Japan and South Korea have some similarities and differences. Japan and South Korea are categorized as monoculture countries, or countries with a single ethnic majority. In Japan, Japanese ethnic became a majority although there are also indigenous peoples and immigrants from overseas. Meanwhile, South Korea is mostly inhabited by Koreans ethnic and some ethnic groups from China. In connection with this monoculture situation, most Japanese people are Shinto and Buddhist, while South Korean society adheres to Buddhism and Christians. However, people in both countries follows Confucianism philosophy. Moreover, there are also some other religions adopted by the people in both countries such as Islam and Catholicism.

Although it is not a Muslim-majority country, but Japan and South Korea have relations and cooperation with Islamic countries and countries with a majority of Muslims such as Indonesia, Malaysia, or United Arab Emirates. This relationship and cooperation is primarily related to economic and trade relations.

On the other hand, the industry and technology advances in both countries, in addition popular cultures coming from these countries, inviting many foreign tourists to come to both countries, including also from Islamic countries and Also Muslims. Seeing these developments, the two countries strive to improve relations and cooperation, including the influence of rising tourists from the Islamic State and Muslims with the production of halal food. The production of halal food is not only aimed at international trade in the meaning of exports, but also as a service for tourists who come so they want to get the predicate as a country that is Muslim friendly.

The two countries compete to increase the number of Muslim tourists visiting their country. The Japanese government targets the arrival of 60 million tourists in 2030 with Muslim tourists are expected to increase by 1 million per year or an increase of about 8.7% per year (Kunio, 2002). The Government provides support to Japanese Muslim Association (JMA) for halal certification to Japanese products and the certification has been recognized by some halal certification bodies such as JAKIM in Malaysia. and MUI in Indonesia. In addition to the JMA, the institution that provides halal food certification in Japan is Japan Islamic Trust (JIT), an Islamic organization in Japan. In the meantime, specifically to handle halal certification in general, Japan has established the Japan Halal Association (JHA) which is tasked to provide halal certification to Japanese producers both for domestic and foreign markets. JHA also participated in several international exhibitions such as Malaysia 6th World Halal Forum in 2011 and 2012, Paris Halal Expo in 2012 and 2013, Malaysia Halal Exhibition at 2013, Turkey First Time Halal Approval Forum on 2013 and Asia Food Show 2015 -Halal Japanese Live Cooking Exhibition. Meanwhile, in 2016, Muslim tourists visiting South Korea reached 980 thousand or about 5.7% of the total foreign tourists visiting South Korea (KTO, 2017). Korean Tourism Organization (KTO) aims to increase the number of Muslim tourists to 1.2 million and target the Muslim market amounting to 1.7 billion by using a "Muslim friendly Korea" campaign with a focus on K-halal food. The Korean Muslim Federation (KMF) is a Muslim organization instrumental in the development of the halal food industry in South Korea. The organization is working with halal food certification agencies such as JAKIM from Malaysia (Cochrane, 2017) and MUI from Indonesia (Park, 2017). The South Korean government itself also provided support by conducting several activities such as cooperation with the United Arab Emirates in 2015 with the Korea-United Arab Emirates Business Forum in Abu Dhabi (Korea Steps Towards UAE Halal Food Market ) and 2016 Korea Halal Conference (Korea Halal Conference Will Present Global Halal Certification Trends and policies).

Japan and South Korea are not Muslim-majority countries but have intertwined strategies to become a Muslim friendly country and compete in Muslim country markets that reach 1.7 billion people. One of the steps used is to popularize the halal food industry. Halal labels listed in food products in Japan and South Korea are not only viewed as a trading product or in economic context only, but also as a tool in diplomacy. This research will discuss about the development of halal food industry in Japan and South Korea from the side of diplomacy. Diplomacy conducted by a country involving and or leading to society can be classified as public diplomacy. In addition, because discussing about food products, the research will also explain the development of halal food in Japan and South Korea in the context of gastro diplomacy which focuses on diplomacy by using food.

## 2. Literature Review

Islam began to flourish in Japan along with the era of post-disclosure of the Meiji restoration. Previously, during the reign of Tokugawa Shogunat, Japan was enclosed from foreign countries so it was difficult to obtain information and influence from other countries (Suryohdiprojo, 1987). Entering the Meiji era, Japan opened itself and established relationships with the outside world, including with Islamic countries such as Turkey (Olgun 1997). Turkish and Japanese relations have begun in the early 19th century. The relationship between the two countries allows Japanese people to become acquainted with Islam. However, Japanese society had previously known Islam as a knowledge of Western literature that was translated in Japanese during the Meiji period (Ishomuddin, 2016).

The inclusion of Islam to Japan was also influenced by external factors, the Bolshevik revolution in Russia which resulted in many refugees from Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan entering Japan (Fathil, 2011), War Japan-Russia where Japan received assistance from several Egyptian soldiers, World War I which resulted in the inclusion of refugees from South Asia, World War II where Japan was concerned to study Islam in order to expand their Asian Southeast. A Muslim community from South Asia, many settled in Kobe and established the oldest mosque in Japan in 1935.

After World War, Japanese Muslims are growing. In 1953 the Japanese Muslim Association was established in Japan and in the year 1966 Japan Islamic Center which consists of non-Japanese Muslim. Both institutions have

the same purpose as a Muslim container in Japan and spread the message of Islam to Japanese society. At the same time, Japan established a close relationship with the Islamic countries of the Middle East, especially when the oil crisis occurred in the 1970s. This relationship also provides support to the development of Islam in Japan (Dowty, 2000). The next development was when Japan opened for foreign workers in the 1980s where many foreign workers came from Islamic and Muslim countries such as Bangladesh, Iran, Indonesia and Malaysia, as well as students from those countries (Fathil, 2011). Currently, the Japanese Government is increasingly aware of the importance of Muslims in the country and abroad so that they issue a policy to support the Muslim community. Some of these policies include worship facilities in public places such as Narita Airport in Tokyo and Kansai in Osaka (Yokoyama, 2013), providing visa-free to citizens of Muslim countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Turkey and Saudi Arabia (MOFA, 2017), gave the development permit of Halal restaurant which currently reaches about 896 restaurants, as well as doing halal certification (Halal Gournment Japan, 2019).

As in Japan, Muslims in South Korea are dominated by foreigners. Muslims in South Korea currently reach about 100.000 people and are dominated by foreigners from Pakistan and Bangladesh (Bae, 2007). Among them, the number of Koreans who embraced Islam alone was only about 35.000 people. Again, Turkey also played an important role in spreading Islam in East Asia. The Turkish army was involved as an army of guard reconciliation under the United Nations during the Korean War and the existence of the people also spread Islam in South Korea (Fathil, 2011). In its development, South Korea re-opened itself to Muslims precisely when hallyu or wave of Korean pop culture increasingly popular. The popularity of Korean pop culture invites people from Muslim countries and Muslims to come to South Korea. Meanwhile, from the historical side, the first entry of Islam to Korea was during the time of Koryo kingdom where 100 Arab merchants came to Korea, followed by the arrival of the people from central Asia which they eventually formed the Muslim community (Nam, 2012).

The development of Muslim communities in South Korea is similar to that in Japan. Their development began to appear during the post-World War II. The Muslim community in South Korea established the first mosque in South Korea in Itaewon area in 1976 with the support of the South Korean government. The support of the Government is not without cause, but is associated with the increasingly rapid trade cooperation between South Korea and the Middle East countries (NAM, 2012). Muslims in South Korea also founded the Korean Muslim Federation as an organization that hosted them. South Korea also sees Muslims as a chance both domestically through tourism and abroad as a South Korean product market. The South Korean Government therefore encourages relations with Muslim countries and provides support to the halal food industry.

Japan and South Korea are racing to get the attention of the world's Muslim communities. The Japanese government played an active role in increasing foreign tourists' visits, including Muslim tourists to Japan by providing some special policies (Handerson, 2017; Resjito, 2017). Halal food strategy is one of the chosen besides providing facilities Muslim tourists and once again the Government provides full support to the tourism business actors where the support is known by the halal boom (Adidaya, 2016). Nevertheless there is a problem where the Japanese people themselves are still lacking knowledge of Islam (YUSOF and Shutto, 2014).

The effort to make Japan as a Muslim-friendly country is carried out by various parties both State and non-state (Septianingrum, 2018). Meanwhile, South Korea utilizes the popularity of their pop culture industry or Hallyu as a tool to improve their economy (Darmawan, 2015). Not only pop culture, but also to their food industry that became popular and become a South Korean power or soft power (Alexandra, 2014) including then penetrated to halal food (Paraswati, 2017). The South Korean government also plays an important role in the internationalization of halal products by working with South Korean Muslims, including as an export product (Riyanti, 2017). While domestically, Muslim concern encourages the emergence of halal tourism policy in South Korea (Kusumaningrum et al, 2017; Megarani, 2016).

Based on some of the above studies, between Japan and South Korea had similarities in their contact with Islam. First, historically, Japan and South Korea have known Islam for a long time, but the biggest developments precisely when the post-World War II. The development of Islam in the next two countries is heavily influenced by

immigrants from Islamic countries and Muslim countries as both workers and students. Secondly, the two countries also have a perception and a similar purpose is to see Muslims as a opportunity in the country through tourism and abroad through the marketing of halal products. Both countries also have similar objectives to be Muslim-friendly countries. These equations, in the eye of the researchers impacted the competition of the two countries in gaining attention from the world Muslim community so that the research focuses on the competition of both countries in fighting for the world Muslim market through Halal food strategy in their diplomacy. Thirdly, the government's role appears to be dominant and important in this Japanese and South Korean venture. Therefore, the use of the concept of diplomacy was chosen in this study to demonstrate how the Japanese and South Korean governments used this halal food industry as part of their diplomacy.

Diplomacy is a way for a country to communicate with other countries. In the world of diplomacy, it is known to be a two-lane diplomacy, which is the first route diplomacy focused on diplomacy conducted by state or government actors, and the second-line diplomacy, which is diplomacy conducted by non-governmental actors. Although it is done by non-government actors but the purpose of the activities they do is in the context of the country, or it can also be said that there is a role of state or Government in it either directly or indirectly.

Public diplomacy is a diplomacy undertaken by the Government, but not directly to the Government of other countries, but to the public of other countries. In this context, public diplomacy can be done by the Government such as by conducting exhibitions, scholarships or exchange activities supported by the Government, or by utilizing the public itself, the government, sometimes Use the activities undertaken by the public for diplomacy activities by providing support or facilities. In this context, the public can play a role as an object or a target of diplomacy, as well as the subject or perpetrator of the diplomacy itself (Effendi, 2011).

The main objective of public diplomacy is the creation of understandings and understandings aimed at creating a good image of the country in question. In this context, public diplomacy relates to the country's image or nation branding (Scondi, 2008). The relationship between public diplomacy and nation branding appears in five models i.e. public diplomacy is part of nation branding, Nation branding is part of public diplomacy, public diplomacy and nation branding sharing a particular activity, public diplomacy is completely different from nation branding and the last public diplomacy is the nation branding itself. In the implementation of public diplomacy, Mark Leonard (2002) noted there were four main stages. The first is to create known information about the country or in other words make the country known first. Secondly, it is increasing appreciation about the country in question and when it is doing activities to strengthen relationships such as cooperation, exchanges, scholarships, tourism and others. The last is to influence the investment, and strive to obtain the support of the State Government that is the goal of public diplomacy.

This research uses the concept of public diplomacy due to three main reasons. Firstly, although it analyzes the industrial activities of the halal food industry in Japan and South Korea, the research focuses on how the governments of the two countries use this phenomenon as their diplomatic tool with Use public that is the Muslim community of their country and industry engaged in halal food products, to build a positive image as a Muslim-friendly country. Secondly, in relation to the relationship between public diplomacy and nation branding the position of this research is on the model whereby public diplomacy shares one activity with the nation branding in this research is the halal food industry. Thirdly, the public diplomacy approach is judged to be appropriate for use as it includes two actors at once namely governments and communities. In the halal food industry in Japan and South Korea involving governments and communities.

Nevertheless, because the phenomenon discussed in this study is the use of food as a tool in diplomacy, it needs to be added one more concept related. Another concept used is gastro diplomacy. In general, gastro diplomacy is defined as diplomacy activities using food as its main tool (Wilson, 2015). Some countries have realized that their traditional food, or their typical food has one power to be used as a diplomatic tool.

### 3. Method

This research is a qualitative research. The study examined social phenomena by structuring a holistic description of words, conveying information and written in scientific writings (Silalahi, 2009). Qualitative research is an inductive process in which information is then categorized to explain the phenomenon examined based on patterns in theory. In general, qualitative research is a study where the process of collecting and analyzing is done to non-numeric data and is used to gain a better understanding of what is happening in the world around us, including an understanding of the ongoing process in international politics (Lamont, 2016).

Based on the above definition, this research is qualitative research because the data used is non-numeric and not conducted statistically. However, based on the research characteristics of international relations which are divided into empirical and interpretive, this study belongs to empirical research because it is used to describe a phenomenon, and not to explaining the meaning in the phenomenon. The research aims to explain, or rather, compare halal food diplomacy conducted by Japan and South Korea.

### 4. Results And Discussion

#### 4.1 Halal Industry In Japan

In building images as a Muslim-friendly country, Japan's country relations with other Muslim countries cannot be ignored. The cooperation between Japan and the countries has led to the implementation of Muslim-friendly policies. Visa-free applications for tourists of Muslim countries such as Turkey, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Malaysia increase the number of tourists visiting Japan. After Japan promoted as a Muslim friendly country in 2013, Muslim tourist visits continued to experience an increase (JNTO, 2017). Cooperation for the development of halal food sector is increasingly onslaught done by the Japanese government, for example the cooperation of the Department of Islamic Development Malaysia (JAKIM) with the Japanese Halal Certification authorization (JMA, JHA, JHUA, JIT, and others).

Several Muslim community organizations in Japan have an active role in spreading Islamic values. There are several associations that are listed as having halal certification namely Japan Muslim Association (JMA), Japan Islamic Trust (JIT), and Japan Halal Association (JHA). These three bodies have been recognized by JAKIM (Malaysia), MUI (Indonesia), ESMA (UAE), MUIS (Singapore), and GCC Accreditation Center (Saudi Arabia). This agency provides halal certification on Japanese products that will be exported to Muslim countries such as Southeast Asia and the Middle East. In addition, these agencies are also actively participating in promotional activities in the products, exhibitions, international conferences in various countries such as Malaysia World Halal Forum, Paris Halal Expo, Turkey Halal Approval Forum, Japan Halal Expo, and others.

In introducing Muslim friendly branding, the Japanese government through the Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO) and the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) actively promoted Muslim-friendly images in conjunction with the Tokyo Olympic 2020 promotion. With its branch offices around the world, JNTO and JETRO provide information and socialization of halal tourism and also promote trade and investment to maximize the potential export of halal products ' *made in Japan* '. JETRO also combines the Cool Japan Initiative with Muslim friendly promotions in several events held such as Halal Food Project in Indonesia, Halal Market Fair, and Japan Halal Expo (JETRO, 2017).

The innovative policy continues to be encouraged by the Japanese government both inside and outside the country. Visa-free policy in some countries with Muslim majority increasingly simplifies the arrival of Muslim tourists. In recent years, Islamic images are smudged by the issue of terrorism, Japanese people themselves have a certain skeptic attitude with this issue. However, the Government continues to promote themselves as a Muslim-friendly country for example the integration of halal tourism in several cities in Japan, ranging from the provision of Mushala, Muslim-friendly hotels, halal-certified restaurants are not uncommon Found in Japan. Initiatives are also demonstrated from local governments, such as Kyoto City which has its own tourism promotion office in Dubai.

In the official website of Kyoto City Tourism Association, we can find a guide to halal hotels and restaurants in Kyoto.

JETRO predicts the growth of halal products around 2.53 trillion USD in 2019. Japan was also expected to reach its target exports up to 28 billion USD in 2030 (Maierbrugger, 2015). In order to increase the number of halal product exports, Japanese food retail companies are facilitated by the Japanese government by opening the expansion to countries in Southeast Asia and the Middle East. For example, in 2014 Japan opened a partnership with Capital National BHD Malaysia, which provides capital assistance for Japanese and Malaysian SMEs in the field of food and agriculture. Japanese food companies also differentiate the products of choice that will be exported to Muslim countries, for example chocolate biscuit Kabaya Food and UCC Ueshima Coffee which get halal certificate from the Emirates Halal Center so that the product can be sold in the UAE. Nippon Beer LTD also releases halal beers which are already sold in the UAE, Taiwan, Thailand, UK, Bangladesh and Singapore under the brand Ninja Lager which has got halal certificate.

In the aspects of halal tourism, Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism (MLIT) provides services that can attract Muslim tourists such as easy access to worship, Muslim-friendly hotels, restaurants serving halal food, and Halal tour packages. One of the halal hotels can be found in Kyoto. Hotel Granvia Kyoto provides accommodations and services that help Muslim travelers to enjoy their journey in Kyoto starting from Mushala, café and restaurant that has registered halal certificate from Malaysia Halal Cooperation (MHC). Applications and websites that provide halal food related information can also be found easily.

#### *4.2 Halal Industry in Korea*

The popularity of Korean Wave has become one of the major factors of growing number of Muslim tourists visiting South Korea. South Korea became a dreamland for K-Drama lovers and K-Pop fans from around the world. In 2016 KTO recorded a tourist increase of 30.3% from the previous year. The biggest increase of tourists is from countries in Southeast Asia and China. Tourists who donate the highest number come from Muslim countries (KTO, 2017). The rise of Muslim tourists is in line with Korean government targets to attract 1.2 million Muslim tourists to South Korea. The number of tourists of Muslim tourists recorded is increased five times greater during the period of 2012 to 2017.

The Halal Food policy by the South Korean government was released by the Ministry of Agriculture Food and Rural Affairs in June 2015 focusing on three main points namely Halal industry development policy, second export increase, and last Distribution network. In developing the halal industry sector, infrastructure development is done through the provision of information center services about halal products, construction of animal slaughtering and production facilities. The improvement of halal products to be exported must also be through the halal certification screening process in accordance with the certification standards. To expand the network, the Government established cooperation with the Islamic State and the country with a majority of Muslim population.

The initial implementation by the Korean government in 2015 was to cooperate with the United Arab Emirates with the Korea-United Arab Emirates Business Forum in Abu Dhabi. The main reason for the UAE's selection as a strategic partner is the cooperation of the economic field, especially the export/import of food that has long been established between the two. The cooperation opportunity also continues to be done by South Korea in the field of halal industry with countries that the majority of the population are Muslims, such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. This is done as an effort to expand the network of Korean products in these countries. Because of Korean pop culture influences are quite thick in southeast Asia.

The main thing to expand the halal food sector is to have Halal certification issued from a trusted agency. Halal certification is a guarantee to Muslim consumers. The certification process should include all processes ranging from animal slaughtering production, packaging, storage, distribution, and storage (Park, 2017). In halal certification, South Korea is in cooperation with third party, namely state exporting certification agency. Actually,

in South Korea itself, there are two authority in charge of giving halal label, namely KMF and KHA (Korean Halal Association).

The Korean Muslim Federation, established in 1967, has been directed by JAKIM Malaysia and MUI Indonesia. The halal certification by KMF has been established since 2010, recorded 148 Korean companies that have been labeled Halal (Rulistia, 2017). Meanwhile, some companies also get halal certification from foreign organizations. The Korean Halal Association which was formed in 2014, not only issued Halal certification but also conduct promotional activities in the form of festivals, exhibitions and international conferences to establish relationships with international Halal organizations such as The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OKI), the Association for the Regional Cooperation of South Asia (SAARC), and United World Halal Development (UNWHD).

Korea Food Research Institute established an agency that has the responsibility of analyzing the standard of halal food in Muslim countries and making guidelines for the producers of Korean halal food. These guidelines are expected to be used by Korean food companies in fulfilling the halal certification standards so as to meet the needs of Muslim consumers in the destination countries.

Large Korean food export companies have generally obtained halal certification. Pulmuone Company For example, has obtained halal certification for its products with halal certification from JAKIM since August 2013. CheilJedang (CJ) also obtained the same halal certification from JAKIM. Nongshim, a company known for its Ramyun (instant noodle) has also exported its products to the Middle East (Park & Lee, 2017). Meanwhile, Daesang company became the first company to set up halal food factory in Indonesia in 1973 with halal certification from MUI (Tempo, 2017).

The distribution of Halal Food Network has been growing since the beginning of the 2000-an. Post-11 September 2001 against immigrants originating from Pakistan and Bangladesh have impacted the rise of Indonesian immigrants who tend to be less religious (Song, 2011). The decline of halal wholesale products from Pakistan and other countries impact on the start of the halal food market by Korean company itself. This is done for the efficiency of products that can be exported to various countries (Song, 2011). Imported Halal food products are the main consumption of Muslim immigrants living in Korea. Coupled with the development of standardization of halal food in the world, the existence of halal retail products from global companies such as Nestle in Korea also encouraged the real Korean food retail company to do the same thing. Year 2015 is the beginning of halal food exports from Korea. Recorded from 2010 to 2014, there was a halal export increase of 69.3% (Park, 2017). Muslim immigrants in South Korea who open the opportunity to grow production and processing Halal food. Initially, these immigrants produced their own food for example by slaughtering their own animals, which brought out some of the slaughterhouses in some cities. To get Halal products, online applications like Yes! Halal! Increasingly facilitate foreign immigrants and students. Although the government business and Korean companies are fairly large enough in the distribution of halal food, the role of immigrants cannot be considered trivial. In Itaewon, several halal food restaurants are also open, the owners are immigrants from Pakistan, Bangladesh, or Turkey. This restaurant has to meet the KMF certification test in the form of paper screening and field inspection. This certificate must be renewed periodically.

The Korea Tourism Organization released its first halal restaurant handbook and Tourism map in 2015. This book contains information on halal restaurants in Korea. In it, KTO divides the restaurant into several categories. This information is quite helpful to Muslim tourists because it is available in Arabic and English and is available on the official page of Visit Korea website.

KTO also periodically holds a series of events such as Halal Restaurant Week Korea and a halal product degree exhibition in collaboration with Korean Food Federation. K-Food Fair is also held in various countries to introduce Korean food products facilitated by Ministry of Agriculture, MAFRA, and Korean Agro-Fisheries and Food Trade Cooperation). To facilitate the access to information on halal restaurants and products, KTO and Korean Food

Federation also develop the application ' Halal Korea ' supported with complementary features such as location of the mosque, prayer times schedule, and Compass qibla direction.

In cooperation with Indonesia, Malaysia, and the UAE, the Korean government also promoted through short films starring actors Korean and Indonesian, titled Lunch Box which was used as a promotional media of K-Food Fair 2015 in Indonesia.

## 5. Conclusion

Japan and South Korea, although not Muslim countries and have a minority Muslim population trying to build imagery as a Muslim-friendly country to bring economic and political benefits. For both countries, Muslim travelers who come is one of the potential things. In addition, to meet the needs of the market, with fewer domestic markets, open the distribution network of halal food to the global market where the world Muslim population market is growing every year.

It can be concluded that the two countries, focusing on the development of the Muslim friendly image in several ways, namely the first efforts of the Government that is innovation and integrase between the tourism sector and the trade and investment sectors. It can be seen from the active participation and collaboration of KTO and JNTO, with MAFRA and JENTRO. Second, Muslim community organizations in both countries are actively promoting and encouraging the creation of halal certification bodies such as KMF in Korea and JMA Japan. Cooperation and mentoring with certification bodies in other Muslim countries such as JAKIM Malaysia and MUI Indonesia also help Japan and Korea to prepare halal standards for their products. Thirdly, the promotion is not only conducted by the central government but also local governments and communities in general. This promotion can be seen from the number of exhibitions and exhibits Halal products and applications and websites that facilitate information about restaurants, places of worship, and Muslim-friendly accommodation.

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