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An Analysis of the Social Stability and Resolution of the Conflict Since Macao Sovereignty Returns to China*

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Abstract

Review-based on the basic situation of social stability since the return of Macao's sovereignty to China, this paper discusses the manifestations, forms, and causes of social conflicts hidden behind the economic and social prosperity and stability of Macao, and analyzes the dissolution of social conflicts in Macao. The author holds that economic prosperity is accompanied by different social contradictions or conflicts and constitutes the normal state of Macao society since the return. From the point of view of the social conflict, Macao's social conflicts mainly include actual conflicts and non-real-life conflicts, primary group conflicts, and sub-group conflicts, and internal and external conflicts. The root causes are the dominance of Macao's gaming industry and the influence of community politics. There are mainly three ways to resolve the problem. Firstly, the government of the Macao Special Administrative Region Government of Macao spoke widely and listened to the public's voice through policy advice and publicity to maximize response to the people's livelihood. Secondly, keep pace with the times and communicate through online and offline messages to explain communications in a timely manner and eliminate negative impacts. Thirdly, the various departments of the Macao Special Administrative Region Government have made full use of the portal website of the Macao Special Administrative Region Government to respond to events with large impact, wide coverage and high degree of concern, timely release official opinions, guide public opinion, clarify facts, and reduce social conflict risks. However, to truly avoid the risk of conflict between the social security in Macao, social stability, and social stability, it is also necessary to build a structural protection system from the inside out and through the bottom-up and top-down Adaptation, through the meso-level of social stability to achieve a two-way integration of macro and micro. The main contribution of this article is based on the combing of local media in Macao, and from the perspective of social conflict theory, the relationship between the social conflict and social stability of Macao's sovereignty has been analyzed since the return of the sovereignty of the Chinese mainland.

Keywords: Macao; Post-Return Era; social stability; social conflict; social security valve; public management; social governance

Since the return of Macao sovereignty to China on December 20, 1999, its society as a whole has been relatively stable, but there have been some social conflicts or conflicts. However, as the Macao Special Administrative Region (abbreviated as MSAR) focuses on building a "sunshine government," it is necessary to resolve social conflicts or conflicts, strengthen the construction of social safety valves, and promote the good governance

*The first article of a series of papers on social ecology and social change after Macao's sovereignty return to China.

and public governance of the MSAR. This article intends to analyze the forms, manifestations, causes and conflict resolution of social conflicts in local social stability since the return of Macao and puts forward corresponding countermeasures and suggestions in order to benefit the deepening study on social stability in MSAR.

I. Literature Review

With the development of social security in Macao during the period 1998–2008, It has been found that the making of the social security policy was marked by three regulatory roles of social policy with respect to promotion of economic development and restoration of the government's legitimacy: legitimization, reproduction, and disciplinization (Dicky Lai, 2010). Hao (2015) examines the changes in ethnic and class politics before and after the handover of Macao in 1999, he uses statistical data from various sources and applies the critical approach in sociology, namely, historical-comparative analysis, to the study of ethnic and class politics. Macao and Hong Kong have differed markedly in the productive welfare regime, the Hong Kong Government spends a larger amount on social assistance provision and imposes tougher controls on the recipients, compared to Macao (Dicky W. L. Lai, 2017). Hong Kong Man has always been forced to make uncomfortable decisions to solve short-term problems (Hugh D. R. Baker, 1993).

Since the establishment of the Social Security Fund of Macao from 1990 to 2005, a major regulatory function of legitimisation, reproduction, and disciplinisation was better. There was a watershed year in 2002 in which the predominant regulatory forms displayed a qualitative shift from legitimisation to reproduction and disciplinisation (Wai, 2008). Tinsley & Brett (2001) hold that conflict norms explained the cultural differences that existed between reaching an integrative outcome and reaching an outcome involving distribution, compromise, or higher management; however, conflict norms did not fully explain the cultural differences that existed between reaching an integrative outcome and reaching no resolution. The results of structural equation modeling and mediation analysis show that in particular uncertainty avoidance and long-term orientation influence preferences for the conflict handling styles of compromising, obliging, and integrating through emotional intelligence (Marjaana, Christopher, and Vas, 2016). The previous scholars' research on Hongkong and Macao society, especially in Macao society, is mainly based on theoretical analysis and quantitative research, but it lacks the analysis of the perspective of social conflict theory and is not enough to use the fresh material of local media in Macao. This article is based on the combing and analysis of local media materials in Macao, which makes up for previous research shortcomings from the perspective of social conflict theory analysis.

II. The basic situation of social stability since the return of Macao sovereignty to China

For more than eighteen years after returning to China, Macao's society has been generally stable. There has been no social "ripped" like the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in the neighboring regions and social movements such as "Zhanzhong" attracting attention.

From the various reports on the 5th, 10th, and 15th anniversary of the return of Macao's sovereignty to China, the leaders' speeches, and the related studies of experts and scholars, we can understand the basic situation of local social stability since the return of Macao.

On the eve of the 5th anniversary of the return of Macao's sovereignty to China, a reporter from China Central Television's "Focus on the Interview" went to Macau to interview the Chief Executive of the Macao Special Administrative Region, Mr. Ho HauWah, the official of the Central People's Government's Liaison Office in the MSAR, Bai Zhijian, and his in-depth investigation of the lives of the people of Macau. "Over the past five years, Macao's economic development and social stability have made remarkable achievements in all aspects." (CCTV, 2004) Prior to this, the MSAR government faced four consecutive years of negative economic growth and 7% unemployment and high crime rates.

On December 20, 2004, the first Chief Executive of the MSAR, Ho Hau Wah, addressed the reception to celebrate the 5th anniversary of the establishment of the MSAR: "We have tried to re-adjust the concept and positioning of public services through improvement and innovation; The opportunity to further open up the economic and social environment; to overcome some of the challenges of individual areas and to try to deal with some of the more in-depth topics. In this process, ...we insist on a stable philosophy of governance. As a freshman, young Special Administrative Region, maintaining the continuity of history can avoid the impact of drastic changes brought about by our lack of experience in order to ensure social stability and solidarity and ensure the long-term stability of the MSAR" (Pan Guojun, 2004a).

In his speech at the 5th anniversary celebration of Macao's return, Hu Jintao said: During the five years since the return of Macao to the motherland, Macao has "overcome various difficulties and challenges brought about by the *Asian Financial Crisis*, changes in the external economic environment and the *SARS* epidemic, and properly solved a series of relations. The major issue of Macao's overall and long-term development is that today's Macao has a stable and peaceful society, sustained economic growth, and people's livelihood. The practice has proved that the people of Macao are totally wise, capable, and capable of managing, building, and developing Macao" (Hu Jintao, 2004).

The Macao economy grew rapidly in 1999-2003, and its GDP increased from 49 billion patacas before the reunification to 63.37 billion patacas in 2003, an increase of up to 30%. Per capita GDP increased from \$14,300 in the same year to \$17,800 in 2003, an increase of 24%. "With the rapid economic growth, Macao's social undertakings such as education, culture, science and technology, health, sports, environmental protection, and social security have made great progress. Social stability, good public order, and ethnic harmony have truly achieved a peaceful and happy life" (Wang Hongyu & Pan Guojun, 2004). The patriotic forces and Ai-Ao Force are the main force of the Macao society and the foundation for the healthy development of the Macao community. It has enabled the "Macao community to form a socio-political environment in which the regulatory agencies and the citizens, as well as different ethnic groups, different beliefs, and different sectors, live in harmony" (Pan Guojun, 2004b). Social security also changes from the "inaction" recognized before the return to "good" in the MSAR.

When Macau's sovereignty was reunited with China's 10th anniversary, Macao's GDP increased from 42.7 billion patacas in 1999 to 171.8 billion patinas in 2008, an increase of 2.6 times. In 2008, the per capita GDP of Macao reached 39,000 U.S. dollars. 3 times before the return. The MSAR has signed visa-free or visa-based visas for MSAR passport holders with 78 countries or regions, and has attended more than 420 international conferences as a member of the Chinese delegation or "Macao China" and has participated in an independent inter-governmental organization in the name of "Macao, China." There are 13. These achievements have enhanced Macao's international influence and also raised Macao residents' satisfaction with the implementation of "one country, two systems."

The "Global Economic Freedom Index" released jointly by the American Heritage Foundation and the Wall Street Journal in January 2009 shows that Macau ranked first among the 21 micro-economies that were firstly included in the survey and ranked 21 among 179 economies worldwide.

The large-scale public opinion survey report released by the "One Country, Two Systems" Research Center of the Macao Institute of Technology shows that 81.84% of Macau residents are very satisfied with and satisfied with the implementation of "one country, two systems" in Macao; the total satisfaction with the Central Government's policies on Hong Kong and Macao is as high as 97.36%. At the same time, the unemployment rate in Macau fell from 6.3% in 1999 to 3% in 2008 (Xinhuanet, 2009).

Hu Jintao said in his speech at the 10th-anniversary celebration of Macau's return to China and the inauguration ceremony of the 3rd government of MSAR: "The 10 years since the return of Macao to the motherland have been the successful implementation of 'one country, two systems' in Macao for 10 years. In the 10 years since its implementation, people from all walks of life in Macau have actively explored the development path that has been consistent with Macao's actual development and made continuous progress for 10 years" (Hu Jintao, 2009a). During these 10 years, the five

"must" are important guarantees for ensuring the stability and stability of the MSAR. These five "must" include: The principle of "one country, two systems" must be fully and accurately understood. We must strictly abide by the basic law of Macao and must concentrate on promoting development. We must insist on maintaining social harmony and stability, and we must focus on cultivating various types of talents.

In addition, maintaining national security is also a fundamental prerequisite for the stability and prosperity of Macao's society. On February 25, 2009, the Legislative Council of the Special Administrative Region approved with an absolute majority the details of the "National Security Law" submitted by the MSAR Government. On March 3, the "National Security Law of the People's Republic of China" came into effect. The "Maintenance of the National Security Law" is based on Article 23 of the "Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China." There are 15 articles in this Act, which stipulates seven kinds of crimes that endanger national security, such as treason and secession, and their corresponding penalties (Xinhuanet, 2009b).

In the nearly 20 years since the establishment of the MSAR, it has gone through three stages of governance: "strengthening the basics, stabilizing development," and "improving the residents' overall quality of life" and "scientific governance and a sunny government." There is no deviation, "but overall, the three phases of governance focus are practical and correct. The strategy is also largely successful. Today, Macao has enjoyed great political development, economic prosperity, social stability, improved people's livelihood, advancement of culture and education, and the greatness of 'one country, two systems.' The cause has made remarkable achievements" (Zhang Yanling, 2014).

Statistics show that from 1999 to 2013, Macao's GDP grew from 50.27 billion patacas to 413.47 billion patacas, an average annual increase of 16.2%; fiscal revenue increased from 16.94 billion patacas to 175.95 billion, Growth of 18.2%; Macao's per capita GDP increased from 15,000 US dollars to 87,000 US dollars, an increase of 4.8 times, according to the World Bank economy ranked second in Asia and fourth in the world.

The unemployment rate of residents dropped from 6.3% at the beginning of the return to 1.7% year-on-year and was below 4% for 7 consecutive years. The median monthly working income of residents rose from 4,920 patacas in the early stage of return to the current 15,000 patacas; the life expectancy of residents has returned from The early 80.7-year-old increased to about 85 years old, ranking second in the world. At the same time, Macao's social welfare system has become increasingly sound. Cash-only benefits include cash-sharing, medical vouchers, exemption from housing tax and some stamp duty, exemptions from occupational taxes and additional tax rebates.

Since the return of Macao to China in the past 20 years, with the strong support of the Central Government of China, remarkable achievements have been made in economic

and social development. Firstly, the economic and trade relations between the Mainland and Macao have become increasingly close. Before the return of Macao in 1999, the trade volume between the Mainland and Macao was 730 million U.S. dollars, and U.S. capital of 310 million U.S. dollars was actually used. The mainland contracted projects in Macao completed a turnover of 118 million U.S. dollars. In 2013, the trade volume between the Mainland and Macao was 3.57 billion U.S. dollars, 3.9 times more than before the reunification; the actual use of Macao capital was 460 million U.S. dollars, 48.4% higher than before the reunification; the Mainland's contracted projects in Macao completed a turnover of 420 million U.S. dollars, 2.6 percent higher than before the reunification. Secondly, the implementation of the "Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement between the Mainland and Macao" has achieved remarkable results and has effectively supported the economic and social development of Macao (Shen Danyang, 2014). At present, Macao's economic development has achieved a clear development orientation from "restorative growth" to "developmental growth" and "world tourism and leisure centers" and "international, regional economic and trade service platforms" (Qi Pengfei, 2014).

Looking back at the history of the establishment of the MSAR, it can be found that giving priority to economic development, maintaining social stability, and applying scientific management to building a sunny government is the "most important priorities" of the MSAR government.

Economic development promotes social stability, safeguards social stability, promotes economic development, and promotes economic and social prosperity in Macao by creating a government of the sun and scientific governance. Comrade Xi Jinping, General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the People's Republic of China, in his speech at the inaugural ceremony to celebrate the 15th anniversary of Macao's return to the motherland and the 4th inauguration of the MSAR, affirmed the fruitful results of the "one country, two systems" practice in the 15 years since the return of Macao, and also raised four points. He Hopes: Firstly, continue to work hard and continue to improve the ability and level of governance in accordance with the law in the special administrative region; secondly, continue to make overall planning and actively promote Macao's economically moderate and pluralistic sustainable development; Thirdly, continue to build a solid foundation and strive to promote social harmony and stability; The fourth is to continue to look to the future and strengthen the education of young people (Huo Xiaoguang, Zhao Wei, Niu Qi, 2014). These hopes have important guiding significance for realizing the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao and the Chinese dream of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

Economic development is an outstanding achievement since the return of Macao, but it also lays roots for many social contradictions. "In the past, the MSAR Government has taken a big view and may be the only way for many backward regions to gain time and grasp opportunities to accumulate primitive wealth and lay the foundation for long-term

development. Only when Macao's fiscal reserves increase from 10 billion patacas to 4 more than 100 billion patacas is enough to cope with the economic basis of fiscal expenditure for more than 70 months, but in the course of development, previous governments did ignore and delay some social conflicts and people's livelihood problems, but local private wealth has also been in the past decade or more. Successfully achieved accumulation and improved endurance in response to industry and economic adjustments" (Chun Geng, 2015a). It can be said that economic prosperity is accompanied by different social conflicts or conflicts, which constitute the normal state of Macao after the return.

III. The manifestations and causes of social conflicts since the return of Macao sovereignty to China

Social conflict is an important factor affecting the social harmony and stability, and it is also an important measure of social stability. The modern conflict theory emphasizes the theory reconciliation between the early structural function conflict theory and the traditional conflict school. Based on the theory of persisting that dissonance is the inherent characteristics of society, it is believed that social conflicts can be mitigated by adjusting the social order and in the interaction between conflict and mitigation. Seek social dynamic balance and harmony.

The American sociologist L.A. Coser holds that conflict is a struggle between values, beliefs, and the distribution of scarce status, rights, and resources. The positive functions of conflict highlighted by L.A. Coser, he proposed the five positive functions of the conflict: the conflict has the function of internal integration of the society and the group; the conflict has a stable function for the society and the group; conflict for the new society The formation of groups and groups has the function of promotion; conflict has an inspiring function to the establishment of new norms and systems; conflict is an important balance mechanism in society.

It arises from uneven distribution of social compensation and people's uneven distribution. The disappointments displayed are as beneficial to society as they are, and not as destructive as long as they do not directly involve basic values or common ideas. L.A. Coser once classified the types of social conflicts and focused on the analysis of three types: "real and non-real conflicts," "primary group conflicts and sub-group conflicts," and "internal and external conflicts." From the perspective of Macao, there are different degrees of social conflicts under its "social stability."

1. The Real Conflict and Non-reality Conflict in Macao Society

From the discussion of Georg Simmel Statement on "Conflict as Means" and "Conflict as Target," L.A. Coser developed the type of "real conflict and non-reality conflict" of social conflict. In L.A. Coser view, the real-life conflict refers to "the conflicts that arise because some kind of requirements in the relationship is not met, and because of the valuation of other participants." It is to achieve a certain goal. By means of means, the conflict itself is

the goal; non-reality conflicts are just the opposite. Conflict itself is the goal. Based on this understanding, the social conflicts in Macao since the reunification are basically "real-life conflicts" rather than "non-real-life conflicts."

The actual conflicts in the Macao society are basically based on the people's livelihood issue. Among them, public housing demand and supply, land development and planning and other issues are more prominent.

There has a large population and small localities in Macau, and their land resources are scarce, affecting the supply of public goods such as public housing and the development of the economic industry based on land resources. For most low- and middle-income residents, the construction, and supply of public housing are their important appeal for the people's livelihood of the MSAR government. The Macau Special Administrative Region Government also responded to this demand for livelihood. After the return of Macao, the 19,000-unit public housing project was proposed. On August 11, 2011, Chief Executive Chui Sai-On explained the Macao public housing policy at the Q&A session of the MSAR. He stated that the goal of the housing policy of the MSAR government is "the people have their place in the community." It is expected that the construction of the Ten Thousand Homes will begin in September 2011. In addition, in addition to the 10,000-unit public housing program, "more than 3,500 units have been reserved at the design time and more than 2,500 units. In addition to these 6,000-plus units, public housing will be reserved in the new reclamation area in the future land"(Macao News of Xinhua, 2011).

From May 3 to July 1, 2012, the Inter-departmental Working Group of the Government of the MSAR conducted a public consultation on the public housing development strategy (2011-2020) for 60 days. During the consultation period, there were 423 social opinions and received 1,048 views. During the consultation period, the MSAR Housing Bureau also commissioned an independent third-party investigation agency to conduct an effectiveness evaluation, and successfully interviewed 1,384 opinions collected by traditional media, 239 opinions collected by Internet mining, and telephone surveys. 1,007 18-year-old or older Macao residents' opinions were classified and summarized, and the key issues that the public was more concerned about were "prioritizing the establishment of social housing and regular application mechanism and setting the waiting period" and "establishing public housing land reserve system and new town planning to reserve future public housing sites. "Continuously improve the public housing environment to enhance the quality of life," and "promote coordinated development of public housing and the private real estate market," and "public housing policies."

In the 2013 fiscal year policy address of the MSAR, "Promoting the Well-being of the People's Livelihood, based on long-term development", Chief Executive Chui Sai-On pointed out that the MSAR Government attaches great importance to the basic housing needs of residents and adheres to the principle of "having a place to live and live and

work," setting up a short-term policy. Targets for the medium-term work, and to maintain a balance between public housing and the private market from long-term planning, and respond to the housing needs of residents of different strata through the cooperation of economic housing, social housing, and private housing.

"In terms of short-term measures, the MSAR Government has completed the ten thousand public housing projects as planned, and the waiting-for-nation families have successively gone upstairs and focused on improving the social facilities and transportation facilities around the newly completed public housing estates. In the first quarter of next year (2013). The waiting list for housing estates and social housing estates will be restarted. The government has adjusted the income ceiling for housing applications so that the conditions of application for housing estates can cover 80% of the residents in Macao. In terms of medium-term measures, the planning of public housing projects after 19000-unit public housing projects will be completed. In addition to the announced plans for more than 6,300 PRH units, the government will continue to allocate land reserves for the construction of public housing; establish a regular social housing acceptance mechanism and set a waiting period. The Government has already started tendering for Area A in the five reclamation areas is expected to be completed in 2015. The area is 137.8 hectares, and land reserves have been reserved for the construction of public housing estates; Area E with an area of 60 hectares will also be tendered early next year. In the long-term, the government will reserve a certain amount of land reserves for the construction of five land reclamation areas. Provide more home ownership options for residents of Macau residents to help them live and work in peace" (MSAR Government Spokesperson's Office, 2012).

However, due to the slow construction of public housing in Macao, the demands of Macao residents for public housing have not been met in a timely manner, triggering heated discussions and even parades in the public opinion in Macau. Around the year of 2013, the discussion on "Macao residents and the Macau area" frequently saw the Macau newspaper. When Su Wenxin, an associate professor of social work at the Macao Polytechnic Institute, attended the Forum held at the New Macau Academy on February 3, 2013, he said: "After the reunification, the government has no concept of Australians and Australians, and has no means to start. The Macau land has always been sold for speculation by others. At present, different people in society require the implementation of the policy of the Macao residents and the MSAR. "The goal of Australians and Macao is basically to transfer the existing resources of Macao to the people of Macao" (Macao News of Xinhua, 2013a).

Wu Guochang, a member of Parliament, said: "the Macao residents and the MSAR need long-term planning.... We demand that the newly-reclaved housing estates be purchased, owned or resold by Macao residents until the 50th anniversary of the MSAR, that is, until 2049. It is a general principle, followed by a policy level. We built not less than half of the land for the construction of public housing estates, and the housing estates of the public housing estates. The other half divided them up so that they did not need to consider the

use of the housing estates. This does not mean that they The houses built on these lands can be rented or bought first, or the elderly homes, temporary housing centers, etc." (Macao News of Xinhua, 2013).

In addition, there are also residents of Macau who believe that "the Macao residents and the MSAR can only allow permanent residents of Macao to buy land. Now many local residents may be speculators. In the past, there have been many investment immigrants in Macau. Many have access to Macau, and some have come to Macau. There are too many lands to build casinos and luxury homes in Macau, and there are not enough small and medium-sized units that are suitable for Macao people. If the number of the Macao residents and the MSAR is insufficient, they can't solve the housing needs of Macao people. The government must quantitatively build public housing. At the same time, the vacant house tax must be imposed to restrict the purchase of Macao houses by outsiders, all of which must be managed. The key is to deal with the problem of supply and idle land. Otherwise, land buildings will fall into the hands of capitalists" (Macao News of Xinhua, 2013).

"Macao residents and the MSAR will help increase residents' sense of belonging to Macao and prevent waste of resources by collusion between the government and business." It is hoped that during the MSAR government's policy of studying on Macao residents and the MSAR, they should not secretly grant land for a land exchange. "Because many people are now Price awarded for building hotels or luxury homes" (Macao News of Xinhua, 2013).

Regarding the demands of Macao residents for legitimate public demonstrations on October 18, 2015, the MSAR government expressed respect and understanding. It also reiterated that "having a place to live and work" is the policy idea and goal of the MSAR government's housing policy." The MSAR Government has always attached great importance to and focused on residents' housing needs. According to the work plan for the 2015 Financial Year Policy Address, we will strengthen the construction of a long-term housing protection mechanism and try our best to solve the housing problem, including the introduction of research. New types of public housing units, group drawing lots, speeding up the progress of public housing construction, reviewing and revising the "Economic House Law" and "Social Housing Legal System" to further collect opinions and suggestions from various sectors of society and improve the allocation and management system of public housing" (MSAR Government Spokesperson's Office, 2015). In view of the shortage of public housing in Macao and the current economic downturn, Guan Yuzhao, member of the Hong Kong Long Term Housing Strategy Steering Committee, stated that Macao should refer to Singapore to increase land supply through reclamation and at the same time regulate fiscal revenue. Resources should be used to increase public housing supply, giving priority to 55 residents above the age of the draw. As for residents aged 45-54, they may be given more quotas, and other applicants will be drawn by lot (*Macao Daily*, 2015a).

Urban planning and land development in Macao are also an important topic of controversy among Macao residents in recent years. Some people think that "the enactment of the "Urban Planning Law" has always been one of the appeals of Macao's society for many years, and it is also one of the factors that the community is dissatisfied with the administration of the MSAR government. Because of the lack of urban planning in the past, people have become increasingly dissatisfied."(Chen Guansheng, 2012) The controversy over the planning of the light rail route in Macao has "the key lies in the conflicts of interests. The main reason for the dispute is that the people question the opaque government decision" (Chen Guansheng,2012). Therefore, during the second round of public consultation on the second round of the comprehensive tourism project of Sai Wanhu Plaza on January 20, 2013, the speakers held opposing views, and they also questioned whether the previous consultations were black box assignments or the management of public opinion by a vested interest group (Macao News of Xinhua, 2013b).

The new land law passed by the Macau Special Administrative Region's Legislative Council in 2013 stipulates that the government will not renew the temporary lease once it exceeds the utilization period. Luo Liwen, Director of the Ministry of Transport and Public Works of the MSAR, said that he has "noticed that some developers have already reflected that 3,000 units have already been sold. If the land is not renewed, the interests of small owners will be damaged." In this case, he believes that the "promise" can be fulfilled. The relevant provisions of the transitional arrangements in the Legal System for the Transfer of Buildings under Construction shall be dealt with (Luo Liwen,2015).

Of course, the social conflicts in Macao also contain certain non-realistic conflicts. For example, a Portuguese incumbent, Mr. Gao Tianci's election to the Portuguese Parliament sparked a heated debate in Macau. He Yicheng, chairman of the Macau Special Administrative Region's Legislative Council, said in an interview with a reporter from the "Macao Daily" that the members of the high heavens are permanent residents of Chinese Macao. In accordance with the "one country, two systems" policy and the special provisions of the Basic Law, the Macao Legislative Council is guaranteeing that Chinese citizens should be the mainstay. Under the premise of allowing individual foreign nationals to enjoy the right to vote and stand for election because they are permanent residents of Macao, they may serve as members of the Legislative Council. According to Article 101 of the Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region, members of the Legislative Council must uphold the Basic Law of the MSAR of the People's Republic of China, perform their duties with integrity, perform their duties honestly, pledge allegiance to the MSAR of the People's Republic of China and swear by law.

"This is a principle involving national sovereignty and security, and it is a major constitutional issue that is a matter of principle. The parliamentarian Gao Tiancai, as a Portuguese citizen, has the authority to stand for election to the Portuguese national

parliament, but should first resign from the legislation of the MSAR. It was only after the position of the member of the meeting that the Portuguese National Assembly was elected. The Legislative Council deeply regrets the actions made by the high-ranking members of the Parliament that do not meet the correct understanding of the provisions of the Basic Law" (*Macao Daily*, 2015b).

Gao Tianci said in an interview with the media that "there is no legal provision that cannot be part-time. The question is whether there are time and level to take into account the work of the members of the two places." The key to participating in the election is to help the people of Macao and improve the quality of life of the residents. Whatever the outcome is, it is important to initiate discussion. "Become a topic of discussion among experts, scholars, constitutional teachers, and universities. It also attracted the Portuguese government's ruling party and the opposition's historic first-time vote in Macao" (*Macao Daily*, 2015c). From the standpoint of Mr. Gao Tianci, whether he can be elected as a member of the Portuguese Overseas Parliament is secondary, and what is important is whether the Macao Legislative Council members and other public officials participate in the conflict of objectives caused by the discussion of the value concept and the unconstitutionality of the public officials of other countries. It is worth paying attention to.

2. The conflict between primary groups and sub-group conflicts in Macao society

L.A. Coser holds that the participants in the primary group are closely related and have strong feelings. They will try to suppress their dissatisfaction without revealing it. However, hostile emotions will accumulate over time, either without conflict or with bursts of intensity very tragic. In contrast, subordinate groups (such as co-workers in a unit organization) have significant emotional involvement in interpersonal interactions, and do not need to suppress individual emotions, making hostile emotions relatively freely expressible, and therefore not easily outbreak of conflict.

Industrial structure is relatively simple, but gaming companies have long been a pillar industry in Macau. Despite the fact that Macau has been making efforts to moderately diversify its economy after the reunification, the gaming industry is still dominant in one industry. This industrial structure has an important industrial impact on Macao's political ecology, employment, and social security. Among them, issues such as economic aid and employment, public transport and security are more prominent.

Table 1 Revenue and Expenditure of Macao Gaming Industry, 2009-2013

(Unit: Macau Pataca)

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Enterprise(room)	10	10	10	10	10
Gambling and related service gains (millions of Macao dollars)	121 360	190 621	270 113	306 487	363 066
Purchase, commission and customer return	39 337	65 436	94 757	102 516	115 737
Operating expenses	10 361	11 886	14 203	17 561	21 167
Employee expenditure	10 266	10 706	12 403	14 325	16 178
Total added value	71 697	113 336	161 128	186 432	225 870
Total fixed capital formation	2 948	1 099	2 241	3 188	2 153
profit	61 430	102 630	148 726	172 108	209 692
Profit ratio(%)	50.6	53.8	55.1	56.2	57.8

Data sources: Macao gambling industry survey (2014), bureau of statistics and census of the government of the Macao Special Administrative Region.

Since June 2014, Macau's gaming industry's profits have continued to fall, but actual spending has increased. According to statistics, the total revenue of the gaming industry in 2014 decreased 2.5% year-on-year to MOP 35.406 billion, which was the first time since the survey was launched in 2004. Gaming and related services (such as catering, foreign exchange, etc.) earned 353.64 billion patacas, a year-on-year decrease of 2.5%, of which gaming revenue decreased 2.6%; catering service revenue rose 8.8% to 610 million patacas.

At the same time, interest income increased by 28.3% to 410 million patacas. The total industry spending of Macau's gaming industry was MOP150.9 billion, a 3.7% year-on-year decrease. Expenses were mainly represented by purchases, commissions and customer rebates, accounting for 68.8% (103.84 billion patacas), a year-on-year decrease of 10.3%; operating expenses (24.56 billion patacas), up 16%, among which free accommodation provided to guests (6.90 billion MOP) increased by 21.7%, marketing and surveys (5.41 billion patacas) increased by 31%, employee spending (18.97 billion patacas) rose by 17.3%, and depreciation and interest (35.4 billion patacas) declined slightly by 0.8% year-on-year. The total value-added contribution of the industry to the economy was 225.25 billion patacas, a slight decrease of 0.3% year-on-year. The industry's profit (between gaming and related service revenue plus inventory changes, minus expenditures) fell 1.6% year-on-year, while profit margin edged up by 0.5% to 58.3%.

On the other hand, the total fixed capital formation in the industry increased by 22.8% year-on-year to 2.64 billion patacas due to large-scale fitting-out projects and the addition of electronic gaming equipment. Although the overall revenue of Macau's gaming industry has been growing, its growth rate has slowed or even declined, and the

growth in 2014 has mainly come from industries such as catering and foreign currency exchange.



Data sources: Macao gambling industry survey (2014), bureau of statistics and census of the government of the Macao Special Administrative Region

Figure 1 Revenue and profitability of Macau's gaming industry and related services, 2010-2014

Table 2 Key Indicators of Macau Gaming Industry, 2013-2014

	2014	2013	Change(%)
Enterprise(room)	10	10	0
Full-time staff	57 757	55 779	3.5
Total income (millions of Macao dollars)	354 056	363 066	-2.5
Total expenditure	150 899	156 647	-3.7
Total added value	225 247	225 870	-0.3
Total fixed capital formation	2 645	2 153	22.8
Profit	206 279	209 692	-1.6
Profit ratio(%)	58.3	57.8	0.5

Data sources: Macao gambling industry survey (2014), Bureau of Statistics and Census of the government of the Macao Special Administrative Region

Table 3 Revenue of Macao Gaming Industry and Related Industries, 2013-2014

Industry income	millions of Macao dollars		
	2014	2013	Change(%)
Total income	354 056	363 066	-2.5
Gambling and related service gains	353 645	632 745	-2.5
Gambling	352 375	361 610	-2.6
Restaurant	613	564	8.8
Foreign currency exchange	100	96	4.6
others	556	475	16.9
Interest income	412	321	28.3

Data sources: Macao gambling industry survey (2014), Bureau of Statistics and Census of the government of the Macao Special Administrative Region

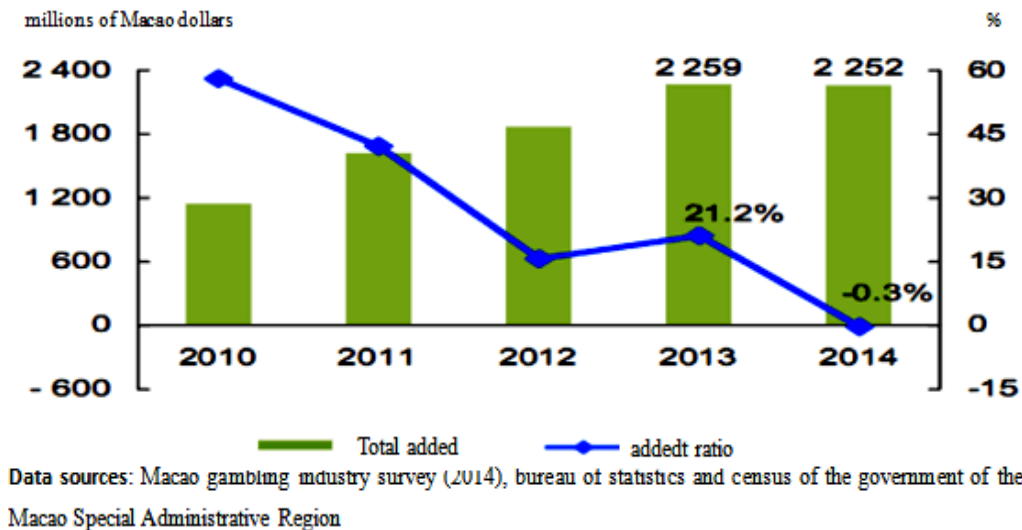


Figure 2 Trend of Growth and Growth Rate of Gaming Industry in Macau, 2010-2014

From the data in Table 1 and Figure 1, although the overall revenue of Macau's gaming industry and related industries are stable, the growth rate between 2014 and 2013 is slow, only 0.5% increase, but in Table 2, Table 3 and Figure 2 The data shows that the total revenue and profit in 2014 have been declining, and the growth rate of total added value has dropped to -0.3%.

The gaming industry's revenue impacts the Macau's cash-sharing scheme. Since the implementation of the plan in 2008, most people in Macau have welcomed it. However, some experts, scholars and community members have also expressed different opinions. As the revenue of Macau's gaming industry has fallen this year, Chief Executive Chui Sai-On indicated that it should be careful in granting community funds, but he also hopes to share in cash in the coming year that "the individual hopes to have it."(*Macao Daily*,2015c)

The single industrial structure in Macao has a great influence on the employment of youth groups. There have been young people in Macau who frankly stated on the internet: "Everybody in Macao based on the economic structure can only choose a very limited type of work. It may be police, dealers, salesmen, etc. Other professional positions in Macau are not mature enough in education systems, and large companies are mostly Hong Kong-owned and land-based. Many posts have been occupied by foreign employees brought by them. For decades, Macao has had 'useless theory of reading.' I think this is basically because business is conducted in Macau and it is more concerned about 'relationships.' Too fine, you know me, I know your mother, and it happens every day. The government basically approves the land, and as small as the officials move up, it is really easy to see the role of 'relationship' in the middle. The Chinese people have 'fat water without leaving other fields.' It's true, but Macau has long been known for its unfair justice and confusion, its wealth, and the fact that it knows everything and all people have a lot of connections, and that "human touch" is only a word of beautification. Therefore, when employers use people, they value this person

more. Is it credible, because it is very difficult for employees to commit fraud. I am not saying that before the reunification, even today, the 'relationship' context, in the government, the judiciary, private companies and other joints It is still clear that 'reading and uselessness' is indeed practiced every day in Macau, and that in the past, Macao had a single type of work, few professional positions, and a low level of academic qualifications. At this time, whether employees were trustworthy was a first consideration freedom, but there is a huge artificial gap between different types of work. I don't agree that it is very common in Macao."(Zhihonet,2015)

From this netizen's forum post, we have seen young people's understanding of the Macau community. In his view, the single economic and industrial structure in Macau has led to the "relationship" that has permeated all areas of the society in Macau and has become the touchstone for work choices, marriage choices, and life choices. Of course, in the primary group society, because of the "relationship," participants with strong feelings will not easily express their dissatisfaction, but try to suppress it. However, with the declining revenue from Macau's gaming industry and the downgrade of the annual cash-sharing proposal by the Macau government, "it has caused a great uproar because many people's lives depend on this cash. I have a friend who is a poor family in Macau. His college tuition is largely dependent on cash-sharing programs, so there is a very strong reaction to this." (Zhihonet,2015)

"A friend from Macau told me that although he does not need to do a great job when he comes to study in the mainland, he feels that there is no problem in his studies and he is going to go to Macau for a postgraduate exam. But he mentioned that he thinks that the people in Macao are the least The people on the mainland are self-motivated, because life is really no fight, and your peace of mind is also very good, and fighting hard won't be as rich as several big family members in Macau." (Zhihonet,2015)

For the sole negative consequences of Macau's gaming industry, local youth also have their own understanding: "At present, Macau is faced with a situation that must be transformed. Economically, one of the dominance of the gaming industry must be broken. Otherwise, the unsustainable economy Growth has always been a head start, and when a serious political and social crisis occurs, it will be troublesome. Similarly, the democratic development of the city needs to be built on a more healthy economic environment. Now it is more troublesome that the land in Macau is limited. There is also a lack of foundation for many attempts to transform, and this city is not suitable for industrial development itself. For the people of Macao, this is a big problem." (Zhihonet,2015)

The public transport and safety issues in Macau are also hotly debated by the residents of Macau. "Every time when buses such as the Australian Grand Bus Station in *Hengqin* Island go to the urban areas, my heart is often collapsed. Until now, public transport there has not been able to keep up with demand, not to mention one year's delay. The light rails and the taxis that were counted in the year are considered lucky taxis. By the

way, the Transportation Affairs Bureau is almost the most unpopular government department in Macau. Of course, other departments are not so good. , a disaster, and another example of urban planning that has been accused of being opaque every day..." (Zhihunet, 2015).

Of course, whether the netizen has actually said it needs to be verified. However, it also reflects, to a certain extent, the satisfaction of Macao residents with local public transportation. The related public safety issues have also caused the attention of Macao residents in recent years. The Northern District Social Advisory Committee Li Jinlian and Zhou Yixin once stated that the "legal system for video surveillance in public places" (commonly known as the "celestial eye method") was approved by the Legislative Council as early as in 2012, but the installation process was not completed at the latest and crimes in Macao have increased in recent years. It is close to the border gate of the North District. It has a large floating population and complicated public security environment. There are many hidden dangers in law and order in the area. Smuggling, drug canteens, theft, illegal hotels, and hooligans have always plagued residents, and Macao has opened up new roads in recent years. Less, the road environment is complicated, and traffic accidents and black spots are increasing. It is very urgent to use the "eye of the eye" to assist the police in investigating traffic accidents.(*Macao Daily*,2015d)In addition, there are also some residents of Macau who suggest that the SAR Government install "Tianyan" to counter illegal immigrants (*Macao Daily*,2015e; Xia Yun,2015a).

In the second round of public consultation on the second round of the comprehensive tourism project of the West Bay Lake Plaza on January 20, 2013, many speakers believed that the authorities claimed that they had consulted for this project and now they have conducted public consultation. The majority of residents objected and doubted the accuracy of earlier consultation results. They think that the black box operation before the Civil Affairs Department was manipulated by the relevant industry and vested interest groups. The opinions reflected by the traditional society and the real public opinion fell. Some even criticized the consultation of the Civil Service for favoring the industry and traditional societies. The enemy thinks that the responsible officials should "fall off."

In addition, since the consultation of the third stage of the reclamation of the New City, representatives of different classes have expressed opinions on reclamation advice for the New City in different forms. "However, the overall perception of consultation is not like consulting. It is not too much to describe it with wrestling force." District B has always been the focus of controversy on the entire consultation of the reclamation of the New Town. The main reason is the development and conservation of District B. It involves The development problems in the districts of districts C and D in South Bay "are rooted in the moderate diversified development of the Macau economy and the residents' living demands."(zifeng, 2015) In this way, we can see the existence and transition of social conflicts in the primary and secondary groups in Macau from the

same level of consultation at different levels and in different stages of the same hierarchy. As a result, dissatisfaction in the primary groups is vented and outbreak in sub-groups.

3. Internal Conflicts and External Conflicts in Macao Society

Internal conflicts are conflicts that occur within groups, and their intensity is positively related to the depth of participation of group members. External conflicts are conflicts that occur between groups. On the one hand, they strengthen internal self-identification on the one hand, and on the other hand, they also strengthen competition and coordination with the outside of the group.

In recent years, Macao's constitutional reform and election issues have also aroused widespread concern and discussion in Macao's society. The political culture of Macao is "partly rooted in the corporate culture. The relationship between the candidates and the communities behind them is inextricably linked. If the daily activities of the association are not inconsistent with the law, they generally do not require special regulation, but when participating in political elections, they should be subject to Constraints: How to clarify the relationship between the two, and how the electoral law regulates the behavior of societies during the election period requires careful consideration, and in particular, distinguishes between the campaign activities that provide benefits and the daily activities of the pure community." (Xia Yun, 2015b) As each community has its own interest appeal and value orientation, competition within and outside the community is inevitable.

Before and after the return of Macao to the motherland, the Macao associations played an important role in promoting the smooth transition and successful return of Macao. They laid a good foundation for the successful practice of "one country, two systems," "Macao people govern Macao" and "a high degree of autonomy" in the MSAR. However, as Macao's society is both traditional and modern, stable, and conservative, Macao's communities have also, in varying degrees during the process of participating in Macao's politics, the awareness and actions of integrating the internal forces of the community and opposing the external forces of the community, making Macao's society tends to be alienated in the political reforms in Macau.

Some scholars believe that in the new historical period, Macao organizations must reposition themselves as "depoliticized" "interest groups" or "pressure groups." The key to achieving a smooth transition from community politics to democratic politics lies in the central government and Macao. The recognition and recognition of democratic politics by the MSAR Government and the Macau community. "If the Central Government and the MSAR Government are satisfied with the status quo of community politics and do not carry out political reforms, Macao citizens will feel alienated by the government. Some citizens who are dissatisfied with the status quo will vent their dissatisfaction with the government with violence or other extreme means. In the long run, It is not conducive to the prosperity and stability of Macao" (Yu Zhen, 2000).

At present, there are already many articles about Macao's community politics and the reform of Macao's political system. This article is not intended to go into details. It is only taking community politics as an example. It emphasizes that there are also basic characteristics of internal conflicts and external conflicts of social groups in Macao's social stability.

IV. The Resolution of Social Conflict Since the Return of Macao's Sovereignty to China

Social conflict is one of the driving forces for social existence and continuous development. Looking at the management practices of Macao in its return to China for the past two decades, there are roughly three ways to resolve social conflicts:

Firstly, The government of the MSAR has spoken extensively and has listened to public voices through policy advice and publicity to maximize response to people's livelihood appeals. For example, the Director of the Department of Administration and Justice, Chen Haifan, led the leaders of his department to exchange views on governance issues. On October 14 and 16, 2015, he visited the Macao Federation of Trade Unions and the Women's Federation of China, and the Hong Kong Federation of Workers' Federation He Xueqing. President Chang Chung, President Zheng Zhongxi, President He Dingyi of the Women's Federation, and Director Lin Xiaomei and more than 50 representatives met and exchanged opinions and suggestions with the two groups on administrative work in the area of administrative law. (Director of the Department of Administration and Justice, MSAR,2015)After extensive listening to opinions and investigations and studies, the MSAR Government learned that residents in Macao are mainly concerned with the construction of public housing, property prices and inflation. "The MSAR Government is highly concerned about the property market in Macao and for the use of land for the construction of private residential buildings. As in the past, it also insisted on auctioning at auction. At the same time, in response to the real estate market situation, the MSAR government decided to suspend the release of two privately-owned lands that will be auctioned recently"(Citizen Daily, 2011). Chief Executive Chui Sai-On said that he received a lot of opinions in the near future referring to consultation forms. There is room for improvement. Many public announcements and consultations are intended to arouse the concern of the public and stimulate the expression of opinions. It is a good idea for the government to make statistics and publicize the opinions expressed by the public (*Macao Daily*, 2015f).

Secondly, Keep pace with the times, communicate and interact through online and offline messages, explain communications in a timely manner, and eliminate negative impacts. In addition to accepting the submission of requests from representatives of various communities, the various departments of the MSAR Government also allow residents to express their personal opinions in public spaces such as "square posters" and broadcasts in public spaces such as squares and neighborhoods. Even chief executives will accept questions from Legislative Council

members. "A lot of government departments have set up WeChat accounts, timely online postings, offline initiatives and public services, and clarifications and corrections in the event of administrative or decision-making mistakes, reducing the chance and degree of criticism and fermentation into conspiracy theories and discrediting" (Chun Geng,2015). Macau is positioned in the World Tourism and Leisure Centre. "As the number of tourists increases, although Macao residents are concerned about the lack of carrying capacity of small towns, the relationship between residents and tourists has not deteriorated. Once upon a time, the local social networking sites also expressed their discontent with the tourists. Fortunately, local residents who have always been harmonious have not been shaken" (Chun Geng,2015). It should be said that this is also related to the efforts of the MSAR government to do a good job in tourism promotion. Although there have been Macao tourist security attacks on Macau's tour guides during Macao's siege, there has been no excessive negative due to timely and appropriate processing influences.

The various departments of the MSAR Government make full use of the portal website of the MSAR Government to respond to events that are of high impact, wide coverage, and a high degree of concern, timely release official opinions, guide public opinion, clarify facts, and reduce social conflict risks.

In response to the recent media reports that the Macao gaming industry has experienced deviations, the MSAR Government has timely published information on the government's website. "We reiterate that we have always adhered to the existing gaming industry policies and labor policies that are supported by the community and the industry, and we will never change them lightly. Expressing its regrets, the government reiterated that the right to examine and approve gaming tables and foreign employees belongs to the administrative power of the MSAR Government, and the industry must be clear. The government has been maintaining good communication with the industry through the exercise of relevant powers and the implementation of policy measures. The industry also respects, cooperates with and abides by. As the pillar industry in Macao, the healthy development of the gaming industry will benefit the overall economic development of Macao. The MSAR Government will improve the institutional development and standardize the management of the industry to promote the orderly development of the gaming industry. We will encourage gaming companies to increase their non-gaming elements, increase their non-gaming elements, cooperate with the MSAR to implement economic development, establish a world tourism and leisure center, accelerate the moderate and diversified development of the economy, and enhance its international competitiveness. In order to promote the healthy development of the industry, it is necessary to improve gaming. Corporate and Intermediary Supervision, Government Day Internal guidelines have been issued to the industry to require the industry to cooperate with compliance, operate in accordance with the law, and optimize management to enhance corporate image and competitiveness. Optimizing Macao's industrial structure, promoting moderate diversity in the economy, and appropriately regulating the scale of development of the gaming

industry is a consensus of Macau's society. The MSAR government is unwavering in its governance policy. With regard to the application for new gaming tables, the government continues to observe the principle that the average annual increase in the total number of gaming tables will not exceed 3% from the year after 2013. According to the market development situation, whether the project will cooperate Whether the goal of establishing a world tourism and leisure center, the situation of non-gaming investment, whether it is conducive to the improvement of the international competitiveness of the industry, whether it will promote the development of local SMEs, and other factors, and strict examination and approval" (MSAR Economics and Financial Secretary's Office,2015).

For another example, regarding the issue of the rights and interests of small owners of "one home, one home" and the recovery of unused land for building public housing, the MSAR Government's Information Bureau responded to the government's website with a statement made by the chief executive. "The MSAR government attaches great importance to residents' concerns and demands for public housing policies. Apart from the land reserved for the construction of about 28,000 public housing units in Area A of Xincheng, the government has been trying hard to find land. After judicial proceedings, the government eventually won the case and successfully recovered. The idle land will be used first for the construction of public housing estates. The Chief Executive "understands the residents' housing demands, and the government will work hard to increase the construction of public housing. When he was running for the fourth term Chief Executive, he clearly stated that he would New Town A District has reserved a large number of land for public housing, which is estimated to provide 28,000 units and is committed to finding more land for public housing; at the same time, the public housing units mentioned in this year's policy address continue to work;" In the case of a successful litigation involving the recovery of idle land and the right to use the relevant land, it will be used first as a public housing project; "The MSAR Government will review the relevant laws on economic housing and social housing through the previous consultation. The government understands that the public's opinions on the application of housing estates for nuclear families, non-nuclear families, and individuals, especially young people, The Government will take into account the proposals for signing and scoring upstairs, and will analyze as soon as possible the actual needs of more than 40,000 applicants in the application for housing developments." "The parade people hope to meet with the Director of Transport and Public Works to reflect public housing advice. He will communicate with the Director of the Department. In fact, all five Directors are happy to reach out to people from all walks of life to listen to public opinions and attach importance to strengthening two-way communication. This is regarded as one of the Directors' own important tasks." (MSAR Government Information Bureau,2015)

Regarding the reuse plan of *Ai Du* Hotel's original site, the government will then "according to the regulations to conduct consulting work, collect opinions from various sectors of the community, and are now waiting for the results of the analysis. The

relevant report will be announced and introduced to the public so that the community can clearly see the residents' love for the capital. The expectation of the future use of the hotel's original site and the new garden swimming pool. As for the request of the person to initiate the cultural heritage assessment procedure on the site of the *Ai Du Hotel*, he pointed out that the "Writing Law" has clear guidelines and established legal procedures. The government will legally deal with" (MSAR Government Information Bureau, 2015).

Regarding the recent land expiry of part of Macau's use, Chui Sai-On said he understands the appeals of the small owners. "The MSAR Government will implement the new "Land Law," and it cares and protects the rights of the small owners according to law." And he "early Previously, the Administrative and Legal Affairs Department, together with the Department of Economic Affairs and Finance and the Department of Transport and Public Works, have jointly studied and analyzed the issue of the rights of smallholders who have purchased relevant uncompleted buildings under construction. The work team is now working hard. After completing the research plan, it will introduce it to the society" There are many examples such as this one. (MSAR Government Information Bureau, 2015).

Macao is a culturally diverse society. Different community organizations and citizens have different interests. However, these different appeals have been expressed differently in different primary and secondary groups, as well as in the internal and external cooperation and competition of groups (organizations). The actual and non-realistic social conflicts have further deepened the complexity of conflict resolution. Of course, there are ways to resolve social conflicts in Macao. This article only briefly analyzes the three major ways of eliminating social conflicts.

V. Conclusion

In the past two decades since the return of Macao's sovereignty to China, the social economy has generally been more prosperous and stable in Macao. However, from the reports of Macao's real society and the media in Macau, it seems that behind the economic prosperity there are many social conflicts and conflicts. However, due to the flexibility and diversity of conflict resolution adopted by the MSAR Government, the conflict is basically controlled within a controllable range, basically eliminating the negative impact of social conflicts on local social stability. In this sense, proper social conflict is an important engine for promoting the good governance of the MSAR government.

The "safety valve" theory is an important result of modern conflict theory. The conflict itself can be seen as a mechanism to release hostility and maintain the relationship between groups. Social tension can not only vent to the disgruntled original object, but also can vent to the alternative target. It allows the free expression to prevent the clogging and accumulation of hostility tendency. It is Social dissatisfaction provides legal

mechanisms and ways to release conflicts. Therefore, the "safety valve" mechanism can not only shift the contradictory focus to a certain extent, avoid the accumulation of contradictions, but also avoid the impact on the system and the overall disharmony. The MSAR government's resolution of local social conflicts is actually the role of its social safety valve.

Of course, the social "safety valve" is not absolutely "safe." Relieving the tension of the actors does not mean solving the dissatisfaction and contradiction. The long-term and stable society needs not only "safety valves," but also problems found in the safety valve and self-improvement. Wisdom and courage. In recent years, no matter whether it is the night market planning of *Sai Wan Lake* in Macau, the disputes on the light rail route, or the disputes over the tall buildings in *Xiaotanshan*, etc., policies have been widely publicized and heatedly discussed since the introduction of the policy. The cohesion of social consensus and the formulation of policies from the bottom up are the basic directions for the government to manage good governance.

Some of the social conflicts in Macao are shallow (such as social security issues, etc.), some are deep (such as political systems and elections), and some are transitional layers (such as economic and political) between the surface and the deep layers. And social stability under the influence of cultural factors). How to circumvent social security, social stability, and the risks of conflict in the social stability and social stability, obviously also need to build a structural protection system from the inside out, through the bottom-up and top-down two-way adjustment, through the society The stability of the meso-level reached a two-way integration of macro and micro.

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Globalization of Terrorism: A Transnational Threat in Asia

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Abstract

This article examines the phenomenon of terrorism in Asia and how its implication is further linked to the global spread as well as fight on terror. The developmental challenges faced by many countries in Asia have led to socio-economic marginalization, unemployment, ethnic nationalism and religious extremism. Living in an ever changing globalised society, it has become ever so important for nations to find a common initiative in order to tackle the issue of terrorism. The lack of cooperation between major nations worldwide such as Russia, China, and the United States has presented a problem. With these nations possessing great soft power influence worldwide their opposition to one another in policy, ideology and rhetoric only allow for further issues such as terrorism to flourish. Many scholars have pointed to this East vs. West (Neo-cold war) syndrome as a major contributor to the issue of global terrorism. It is from conflicts in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, Libya and other major conflict zones that these extremist fighters from Asia and the world over receive training and eventually return home were another battle has the potential to begin. This article focuses on and takes into account recent developments in Asia regarding the battle against terrorism and how a few selected countries that have been greatly impacted as well as those countries that have greatly impacted the fight against terrorism regionally have adjusted to the exponential growth of this 21st-century menace. The measures that nations of the region have taken to combat terrorism will be explored as well as prospects for a terror-free Asia. Furthermore, a synopsis of the battle of Marawi and the Philippine military response will be explored as a prime example of how terrorism has taken a globalized trend.

Keywords: Counterterrorism, Globalization, Coalition, Cooperation, ASIAN, Shanghai Cooperation Group.

Introduction

Many find it hard to see the connection between globalization and terrorism. Some scholars have pointed to the fact that marginalization and poverty, are all bi-products of globalization. East Asia is a region that has been most transformed by global economic forces over the last two decades. At present Asia is seeing a rise in terrorist activities that are not limited to just one particular state. After the September 11th terror attacks against the United States, the discourse in regards to international relations and global politics sharply changed. Prior to the September 11 attacks, the dominant issues revolved around geo-economics globalization and humanitarian issues which occupied the agendas of international summits and international

organizations. Of late geopolitics and security concerns have once again become the central issue and the "old language and institutions" of the cold war are shaping our thinking about global politics. It is truly ironic that global terrorism, the phenomenon of terrorists operating in and against several nations simultaneously was facilitated by globalization. Global terrorism inevitably depends on the success of globalization. In fact, one may come to the conclusion that global terrorism is a facet of the global culture resulting from globalization.

All Throughout Asia, there are a whole host of terrorist organizations, insurgencies, and revolutionaries of all kind. Yet what differentiates terrorist groups operating in Asia from in other regions is the intricate nature of cooperation amongst groups. Most groups do not share the same ideologies and objectives, yet their cooperation across national boundaries create an economy of scale for logistics, training, and safe havens. A prime example of this is the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) who have trained with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in the camps in the southern Philippines. The smuggling of weapons has been a specialty of GAM with the Thai terrorist group Pattani United Liberation Organization (PULO).

Transnational threats refer to the activities that threaten the national security of any nation (Reyes, 385). These activities may include terrorist operations, mass drug trafficking or the creation and dispersal of weapons of mass destruction. Terror activities have recently proven to be amongst the most critical transnational threats that are affecting the Asian continent. Terrorist groups have been growing and carrying out their activities regularly throughout the Middle Eastern countries, and this has posed a grave threat in the region. Transnational threats go across borders to threaten the political and social integrity of a nation, and not forgetting the safety and health status of the individuals in the country (Reyes, 385).

Terrorism in Asia did not end by the closing of the cold war, as a matter of fact, terror activities have intensified. This has been contributed greatly by the intensification of globalization and the inter-connectedness of terror groups' ideologies and resources worldwide with the sole ambition to cause havoc (Sandler, 7). Still, various terror groups have learned new tricks and tactics over time with the incorporation of new technologies in their activities. In Asia, a range of terrorist groups works together to supply each other with firearms and money used in carrying out the training of new recruits beyond any one particular border. Terrorism in Asia is usually accompanied by drug trafficking which has proven to be a major financing method in regards to their operations. The fight against terror has proven to be an uphill battle for a multitude of reasons. One of these reasons is due to the fact that human rights organizations do not advocate for extreme measures when dealing with terrorist groups or a terrorist individuals. The fact that many of these terrorist organizations operate beyond vast borders does not make things any easier.

In recent years terrorist attacks have occurred in Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, and Thailand. ISIS-affiliated operatives attempted but failed to conduct additional attacks in Indonesia, and a number of other terrorist attacks were foiled by the arresting or the deporting of individuals who were in various stages of attack planning in these countries, as well as in Australia and Malaysia. Terrorism has the propensity to create further conflict amongst

populations by initiating a situation in which internal conflict amongst people further destabilizes the countries safety (Lee, 173). When a terror attack has been carried out in a region, there is a destruction of life and property. The little resources that are left become a center of interest for everyone who is in that region. This potentially results in the dominance of some citizens over the few resources available. This does not go well with other citizens hence rivalry begins which may result in clashes between the people in the region. This affects the safety of the country. Furthermore, the government is forced into using more resources to fight these internal clashes thus slowing the growth of the country even more.

It has become common knowledge that terrorist attacks are conducted with the intention to have as many casualties as possible (Lee, 170). No person is immune to an attack by terrorists. Anyone can be a victim of terrorism. Terrorist attacks take place mostly in places where large numbers of people congregate such as shopping malls, markets, and public transport. It affects safety in East Asia in that people are afraid of being in places where there is a congregation of people. The fear of inhabiting places and locations that are not secure heightens public sentiment in regards to the topic of terrorism. Terrorism has further affected safety in East Asia by making some areas in East Asia unsafe for visits by tourists which eventually takes a toll on regional economies and their tourism sectors. A good example of this is the repeated Bali attacks from 2002 till as recent as 2017 that have claimed the lives of many local and foreign visitors and has greatly impacted Indonesia's tourism sector.

Measures for fighting terrorism in Asia

With the increasing global threat of terror attacks, Asian countries are continuously increasing measure to ensure they are well prepared to fight these attacks. Governments in East Asia and the Pacific continue to work to strengthen legal frameworks, investigate and prosecute terrorism cases, increase regional cooperation and information sharing, the addressing of critical border and aviation security gaps. Cooperation between domestic law enforcement and judicial authorities throughout Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, resulted in high numbers of terrorism-related arrests and in many cases successful prosecutions. Despite these efforts, Southeast Asia remains a target for terrorist group recruitment. East Asian countries actively participate in regional and international efforts to counter terrorism. In recent years Australia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan have worked increasingly closer as partners in the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS. Recently Australia and Indonesia concluded their co-chairmanship of the Global Counterterrorism Forum's Detention and Reintegration Working Group. Japan has also identified counterterrorism as one of its priorities for its G-7 presidency and joined the UN Security Council as an elected member in 2016-2017. The Japanese government has continued to participate in international counterterrorism efforts at global, regional, and bilateral levels.

China

With China being the second world's largest economy and the largest economy by far in Asia, the Chinese government has put forth a lot of effort in fighting terrorism. The primary focus of China's counterterrorism effort has been focused on the East Turkistan Islamic Movement

(ETIM); The ETIM has continually been accused of influence in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region (XUAR) these claims extend over responsibility for several domestic attacks leading to the heightening in security nationwide. ETIM was also accused of being linked to an attack on the Chinese Embassy in The Kyrgyz Republic. In July, the XUAR became the only provincial-level government to pass specific implementing measures of a new counterterrorism law. At present China continues to put forth concerns that Chinese citizens have recently traveled to Iraq and Syria to associate with known terror groups such as ISIS.

The Chinese government has continuously listed terrorism as amongst the "three evils." Along with terrorism separatism and religious extremism, the Chinese government made it clear that they intend to engage these issues so they may no longer pose a threat to domestic stability. China's counterterrorism efforts focus primarily on the East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM), an organization that advocates independence for the Uighurs, China's largest Muslim ethnic minority. In the past years, there has been an escalation of the Chinese security and surveillance in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region (XUAR). China's first comprehensive counterterrorism law came into effect on January 1, 2016. This law explicitly endorses China's longstanding counterterrorism efforts. This has proven to be a political hot topic in which some mostly western observers have openly claimed difficulty in the distinguishing of suppression of terrorist groups and or ethnic minorities, most often ethnic Uighurs who the Chinese Communist Party has previously deemed politically subversive (UNHCR2016).

In regards to countering the terror threat, China has implemented a multitude of regional and global moves which include the proposal of working together with many groups. Some of the groups include ASEAN trade group of which China is a member as well as the Shanghai Cooperation Group. The collaboration of China with this group will deal greatly with terror attacks that may affect the China border and the region as a whole. The ASEAN trade group is a large entity with a lot of member countries. In case of an attack in China or the greater region, the group could come together and combine efforts to deal with the problem. The main goal for the formation of ASEAN was to make a podium for Asian integration and co-operation that work with Asian nations to bring unity, development, and sustainability among the member countries as well as solve disputes and other problems that may arise in the region (Hänggi 2014). The ASEAN group is quickly becoming one of the world's most influential and successful entities and is proving to be a great powerhouse that is not limited only to economic and infrastructure transformation in Asia. Good relationships within such the organization would positively impact countries in the region in the fight against terror.

China has proposed various regional organizations such as the Silk Road Initiative. China is spending a lot of money on this project that involves developing the infrastructure of the countries along the old Silk Road (Wei 2016). This initiative aims to improve the relationship of China and other foreign nations greatly. The objective of these many organizations is inevitable to bring together nations in the region in times of difficulty such as when facing the threat of terrorism. It has become unanimously clear that terrorism cannot be dealt with by a single state rather. It is an initiative that involves the cooperation of many countries. With the

Silk Road Initiative, China strengthens ties to promote relationships with other countries with the aim of bringing more stable cooperation on the war against terrorism.

China has been very instrumental in the proposing of the Shanghai Cooperation organization which is a security, economic and political organization. The organization cooperates with its member countries to deal with security concerns, mostly terrorism, and conflict. It works together in the training of militaries and in the sharing of any intelligence about militia groups that might have the violent capability within the region. It also engages in fighting the terrorist groups that may target its member countries (Sandler, 12). These initiatives have improved the counter-terror speed response within China and other regional countries.

There were also indications that ISIS was beginning to pose a threat to China in 2016. An ISIS song published in Mandarin called for Chinese Muslims to take up arms against China because of its alleged religious suppression. The Chinese government reported that some Chinese citizens have joined ISIS and other terrorist organizations in the Middle East, and are concerned these foreign terrorist fighters could return to China with increased skills. As a result, China has attempted to prevent some of its citizens from traveling to Syria, Iraq, and Central Asia.

Cooperation between China and the United States on issues of counterterrorism has remained limited. The United States hosted in 2016 the third bilateral Counterterrorism Dialogue with China and the second expert-level exchange on Countering Improvised Explosive Devices. United States officials claim that Chinese law enforcement agencies remain apprehensive about conducting joint investigations or sharing specific threat details with U.S. law enforcement partners. In this regard, the U.S. has repeatedly claimed to have issues with what they allege as a lack of transparency that has complicated efforts to verify details of terrorism and other violent acts inside China (UNHCR2016). In this regard, it is clear there is much more room for improvement on all sides in regards to cooperation on global terror efforts.

In relation to legislation, border security and law enforcement counterterrorism measures enacted in 2015 that intensified enforcement, surveillance, and security throughout the country continue till today. These measures increased inspections at all main transportation hubs, including bus and train stations, railways, airports, and ports. The measures also include an enhanced and expanded video and data surveillance network. Chinese law enforcement and security forces in Xinjiang have occasionally conducted raids and unannounced house searches, body searches and mobile phone searches in public venues according to international and Chinese state media sources.

In addition to these counterterrorism measures, the National People's Congress passed the country's first counterterrorism law on December 28, 2015, to "provide legal support for counterterrorism activities, as well as collaboration with the international community." The law, which took effect on January 1, 2016, broadened China's definition of terrorism beyond internationally accepted definitions and intensified the scope of its counterterrorism measures (UNHCR2016). The law further made provisions to establish a counterterrorism intelligence

center to better coordinate terrorism response and information sharing across government agencies.

In December, the XUAR People's Congress adopted amendments to its border management regulations, tightening rules for individuals crossing to and from neighboring countries and granting local authorities the power to close border crossings to address "defense management, counterterrorism, and stability maintenance needs."

In regards to the countering the financing of terrorism, China has been a member of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF), the Asia/Pacific Group on Money Laundering, and the Eurasian Group on Combating Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing. The Chinese government has strengthened preventive measures to counter terrorist financing, such as making suspicious transaction reports more comprehensive. Based on current law enforcement investigations, the United States had previously expressed concerns about China adequately controlling terrorist financing. Chinese law enforcement has moved toward increasing their ability to freeze funds and investigate suspicious banking transactions in regards to countering violent extremism in China. China does not have an official strategy or program explicitly designed to counter violent extremism. China has stated, however, that policies that promote economic growth and increased official presence in rural communities would help address the drivers of terrorism in the XUAR. The government implemented a number of other programs aimed at "stability maintenance," many of which promote cultural assimilation in the XUAR and place restrictions on the practice of Islam (UNHCR2016).

China remains engaged in counterterrorism efforts in Central Asia, conducting bilateral and multilateral joint exercises with regional neighbors and through frameworks, such as the Shanghai Cooperative Organization, comprising China, Kazakhstan, The Kyrgyz Republic, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. In July, the militaries of China and Russia held joint counterterrorism exercises in Moscow, according to Chinese official media. Recently, China and Tajikistan held four days of counterterrorism exercises involving a mobile company of Chinese soldiers in Tajikistan. In September, China announced plans to assist in strengthening the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border to bolster counterterrorism efforts. Following this exercise, China held the inaugural meeting of the Quadrilateral Cooperation and Coordination Mechanism in Counterterrorism with Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Tajikistan (UNHCR2016).

Malaysia

Other significant regional players such as Malaysia who have also suffered from terrorist attacks in recent years have supported the efforts of international and regional organizations involved in countering terrorism, to include the United Nations, the GCTF, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the ASEAN Regional Forum, the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, and the East Asia Summit. In recent years, Malaysia hosted an International Conference on De-radicalization and Countering Violent Extremism for ASEAN member states and strategic partners. The Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism hosted a number of multilateral events during the year, including ones on preventing the flow

of foreign terrorist fighters, countering ISIS narratives, and the radicalization of undergraduate students.

On April 7, 2015, The Prevention of Terrorism Act was passed through Malaysia's high court. This act has proven to be controversial due to the fact that this law enabled the Malaysian authorities to detain terror suspects without trial for a period of two years. POTA also does not allow any judicial reviews of detentions. Instead, detentions will be reviewed by a special Prevention of Terrorism Board. The POTA bill has been criticized by opposition elements as a reincarnation of the former International Security Act, which was revoked in 2012. The passage of POTA coincided with the arrest of seventeen suspected militants who were involved in an alleged terror plot in the capital Kuala Lumpur.

Australia

In 2016 and at present, Australia continues to strengthen counterterrorism laws; investigate and disrupt suspected terrorists; and maintain high levels of cooperation with the United States and international partners, including through the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS. Australia plays a major role in the coalition as a leading contributor of military support, humanitarian assistance, and efforts to disrupt foreign terrorist fighters. Australia contributed more than 300 personnel, including a Special Operations Task Group, to provide training and advising capacities in Iraq; and provided strike operation capability in Syria and Iraq by contributing F/A-18 Hornet fighters, a tanker aircraft, and an airborne control aircraft. In July, Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull announced that Australia would expand training to paramilitary police agencies, including Iraqi federal and local police and border guard forces. Additionally, Australia works with a number of partners in Southeast Asia to build capacities and strengthen the response to the foreign terrorist fighters and ISIS threats in the region (UNHCR2016).

Michael Keenan, the Minister Assisting the Prime Minister for Counterterrorism, noted in November that the preeminent terrorist threat in Australia is from individuals or small groups who use simple attack methodologies. These lone offender threats were not exclusive to violent Islamist extremism; a violent right-wing extremist was also charged with terrorism-related offenses in Melbourne.

In regards to Legislation, Law Enforcement, and Border Security: The Australian government continues to apply its comprehensive counterterrorism legislation against domestic threats and passed additional legislation to strengthen national security protections. In December, the Australian Parliament passed the Criminal Code Amendment (High-Risk Terrorist Offenders) Bill 2016, which allows for the ongoing detention of high-risk terrorist offenders, approaching the end of their custodial sentences, but who pose an unacceptable risk of committing a serious terrorism offense if released. Another amendment this year to the Commonwealth Criminal Code empowered the Australian military to target a broader range of ISIS operatives, consistent with international law (UNHCR 2016).

In recent time Australia has launched the Australian Criminal Intelligence Commission (ACIC), which combined Australian law enforcement and criminal information agencies to provide a broader picture of imminent threats and help identify links between organized crime and national security investigations, including foreign fighters, terrorists, extremists, and their supporters. The Australian Counterterrorism center was restructured in 2016 to better coordinate Australia's counterterrorism efforts and to countering the financing of terrorism: Australia continued its regional and global leadership in counterterrorist finance. As a member of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) and a co-chair of the FATF's Risks, Trends, and Methods Group, Australia recently obtained observer status in the Middle East and North Africa's Financial Action Task Force, a FATF-style regional body. Australia is a founding member and co-chair of the Asia/Pacific Group on Money Laundering (APG), a FATF-style regional body, and a co-chair of the APG Mutual Evaluation Working Group. Australia's financial intelligence unit, the Australian Transaction Reports and Analysis Centre (AUSTRAC), is a founding member of the Egmont Group of Financial Intelligence Units, and assisted Southeast Asian countries in developing a regional profile of financial characteristics of foreign terrorist fighters. Australia also serves as the chair of Egmont's Information Exchange Working Group and is a core member and major contributor to Egmont's multilateral ISIS project (UNHCR2016). That Commonwealth agencies work together on operations, policy challenges, and capability development.

In recent and past years Australia has strongly supported efforts in counterterrorism on a multilateral, regional organizational level. Australia has proven itself to be viable, regionally and globally as a member of the United Nations, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum, the Pacific Island Forum, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF), and the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism. Recently Australia has been privileged also to volunteer to chair the Counter-Terrorism Working Group of APEC. As a member of the GCTF, Australia co-chairs with Indonesia the Detention and Reintegration Working Group, which focuses on capacity building for corrective services officials and prisons officers; strengthening the security of detention facilities; detention and correction programs for terrorist detainees; and developing pre-release and post-release/aftercare programs.

Philippines

The southern Philippines has for an extended period of time been seen as breeding ground in regards to extremist activity. Extremist organizations such as the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Abu Sayyaf Group operate in the eastern most island of Mindanao as well as in the Sulu archipelago. In these areas due to various problems such as a weak rule of law as well as it's rugged terrain, poverty and the fact that a Muslim minority groups in the area have generally felt a sense of marginalization the Philippine government has found great difficulty in its fight against extremist groups and the perpetuation of terror acts in the region.

In recent years, the Philippine government has made significant progress in combatting terrorism, due in part to counterterrorism aid provided by major regional players such as China and the United States. In 2007, Philippine officials killed 127 alleged members of Abu

Sayyaf and arrested an additional thirty-eight. The same year, Philippine courts sentenced fourteen members of Abu Sayyaf to life imprisonment for their role in the May 2001 Dos Palmas kidnapping of twenty people. The Philippine government also passed the Human Security Act (HAS) in 2007, which allows for the wire tapping of members of judicially designated terrorist organizations. The Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs has also issued digitized, machine-readable passports as part of its counterterrorism initiative.

The passage of 2007 HAS promoted concern among human rights groups about the status of human rights in the Philippines. Human Rights Watch warned that the law went overboard and engaged in spurious prosecutions. The UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedom also opposed the legislation, arguing it "undermines the rule of law" and "could have a negative impact on human rights in the country." The Philippines government insists that the HAS preserves civil liberties, though activists have cataloged rights violations that have allegedly occurred under HAS (Bhattacharji 2018).

Introspect Marwari Siege

On May 23rd, 2017, In the southern Philippines ISI overtook the city of Marawi were they laid siege in a five-month long conflict. This conflict is a prime example of how terrorism has now taken on a global face. Terrorists have connected themselves through global networks which as of yet fly under the radar of many state security apparatuses. With many of these militants receiving training, funding and weaponry in and from lands half a world away, conflicts such as this one have proven to have the ability to cripple a whole nation. Further more the globalization of terror sees militants from various countries world wide aligning themselves with local fighters in regions that have little or no connection to their country of origin. This particular conflict was fought between the Philippine government security forces and militants affiliated with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Lavant including the Maute and Abu Sayyaf Salafi jihadist groups. The battle also became the longest urban battle in the history of the Philippines. In the year prior to the Battle of Marawi in 2016 the flow of foreign terrorist fighters to Iraq or Syria from the region declined consistent with global trends. As a result, regional concerns shifted to foreign terrorist fighters potentially returning to southeast Asia and using their operational training, skills, connections, and experience gained in Iraq or Syria to launch domestic attacks. According to the Philippine government, the clashes began during an offensive in Marawi to capture Isnilon Hapilon, the leader of the ISIL affiliated Abu Sayyaf group. After receiving reports that Hapilon was in the city, possibly to meet with militants of the Maute group, an operation by Philippine government forces was launched. These militants were alleged to be an armed group that pledged allegiance to the Islamic State and were believed to be responsible for the 2016 Davao City bombing.

The attack in Marawi City has proven to be a stark reminder of the threat of globalised terrorism to the world at large but to the Asian region in particular. It was observed during this conflict that a multitude of the terrorists were foreigners who had been in the country for a longtime, offering support to the Maute group in Marawi. Their objectives included the raising of the flag at the Lanao del Sur Provincial Capital and the declaring of a "*Wilayat*" or

provincial ISIL territory in Lanao del Sur. The deadly result of the Battle of Marawi showed to many the dangers of globalised extremism. Over 87 civilians were killed along with 165 government forces. On the other hand, 975 militants were killed with about only 11 being captured. Those affected by injuries were in their thousands. Furthermore, destruction of property and the local economy had made the situation evermore direr with estimations of damages in the tens of millions of dollars.

Prospects of Terror Free Asia

Proposed solutions in regard to the terror threat in Asia are numerous, yet the objective of all regional states should firstly be in accordance with international resolutions against terrorism and states that harbor terrorism. The uniformity of policy in the region should be a major objective. This uniformity will allow nations of the region to share vital information in regards to border security, economic security, arms, drugs and contraband trade, etc.... as well as the pooling of regional resources towards the handling of a unique and clear objective. With nations agreeing to give a portion of their mandate to an autonomous regional organization made up by a quota system that takes into account all regional nations and their capacity, terrorism within the region can be defeated. This regional organization should be allowed to work within the confines of international, regional and domestic law unimpeded. For such an organization to function all nations within the region must agree on basic initiatives that will allow for the integration of certain laws referring to areas of economic security, border security, immigration, arms trade, drug enforcement and a whole host of other issues. At present there is no full spectrum regional organization dedicated to combating terrorism and other major security issues. Such an organization has not been able take shape due to the lack of cohesion and willingness of regional players to move towards uniformity as well as the giving up of certain security responsibilities that have traditionally remained in the domain of individual states to a regional mandated task force. Presently the politics of nationalism and that of the individual state and its regional aspirations supersedes the issue of regional security and this is why terrorism continues to be a major unresolved regional issue.

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The Effectiveness of a Domestic Violence Prevention Program in Japanese Agricultural University

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Abstract

In Japan, the Gender Equality Bureau, which is part of the Cabinet Office, conducted a survey in 2018 on the state of harm suffered by domestic violence (DV) victims regarding crimes perpetrated by a current or former spouse. In this survey, 31.3% of women and 19.9% of men experienced serious violence at the hands of a current or former at least once. In addition, 21.4% of women and 11.5% of men encountered serious violence from dating partners at least once. Although both men and women are subject to DV, the literature does not include studies on the effects of DV prevention education among Japanese university students. Thus, it is necessary to offer DV prevention classes to university students, irrespective of gender. The participants consisted of 353 Japanese university students majoring in agriculture. They took part in our DV prevention program, we examined its effects using a questionnaire, which we administered before, directly after, and six months following the class. In the preliminary questionnaire, 21.5% of university students had heard some story on DV damage from people close to them. On a positive note, 51.3% had taken a class on DV previously, and 10.9% had learned about DV from reading books. Following the class, the students became more aware of DV and retained their knowledge even after six months, as indicated by three statements out of the questionnaire's seven items: 3) Violence from a woman to a man is not DV, 6) Even someone close to you could suffer from DV, 7) DV perpetrators sometimes apologize after acting violent, but it is common for them to use violence again. The conclusion is that it is important to offer DV prevention classes at universities.

Keywords: DV, Preventive Program, University Students

1. Introduction

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines domestic violence (hereafter DV) as spouse abuse or past-spouse abuse, and dating violence as an early form of partner violence, occurring primarily in adolescence and early adulthood, and experienced within a dating relationship (WHO 2013). According to the Department of Justice of the United States, DV is defined as a pattern of abusive behavior that used to take power, control or authority over

another intimate partner. The definition divided DV to physical, sexual, emotional, economic DV can be physical, sexual, emotional, economic, or psychological actions or threats of actions that influence another person. This includes any behaviors that intimidate, manipulate, humiliate, isolate, frighten, terrorize, coerce, threaten, blame, hurt, injure, or wound someone (Department of Justice of the United States 2015).

To have a complete understanding of DV in a society, it is necessary to identify different factors and conditions result in DV. Among various sources provoking the DV, one may refer to cultural pressure, gender inequality, insufficient legal and protective system, lack of financial support and incomes, social and religious factors, marriage patterns, etc.(Boujarian et al. 2016). In Japan, the most recent large-scale survey on the current state of the damages caused by DV was conducted by the Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office in 2018 on violence from a spouse or a past-spouse (participants were 3,376 individuals, 1,807 women, and 1,569 men). In this survey, 31.3% of women and 19.9% of men reported experiencing serious violence from spouse or past-spouse at least once. Additionally, 21.4% of women and 11.5% of men reported experiencing serious violence from dating partners at least once. Given these circumstances, it is necessary to implement DV preventive education programs for youth (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office 2018).

In Japan, the effectiveness of implementing DV preventive education for high school boys against coercive acts was reported (Suga 2017). In the USA, five preventive education programs were identified: Safe Dates (Foshee et al. 2005), the Fourth R (Wolfe et al. 2009), Shifting Boundaries (Taylor et al. 2010), Coaching Boys into Men (Miller et al. 2010), and the Katie Brown Educational Program (Joppa et al. 2015). These programs were conducted for high school students, and significantly less victimization was reported after their implementation. The effects of DV prevention education for university students have not seen in the USA. However, a report cited factors related to dating violence among university students (Shorey et al. 2015). Because studies have not explored the effects of DV prevention education among university students in Japan, I measured knowledge level before, directly after, and after six months after a DV preventive education program in this study.

2. Method

2.1 Participants

The study had 353 participants (248 male, 105 females) majoring in agriculture in the Hokkaido region in Japan at a private university. Their ages ranged between 18 and 21.

2.2 Survey

Two questionnaires, "Preliminary Questions about DV" (Table 1) and "Understanding DV Characteristics (Suga, 2018)" (Table 2) were administered to all participants. "Preliminary Questions about DV" sought to assess the participants' experiences of hearing or studying

about DV, and the “Understanding DV Characteristic” questionnaire was used to assess their views on DV characteristics.

2.3 The DV Preventive Education Program

The DV program was based on situations that occur in schools or universities. The main principle behind the program was that as people respect each other, there would be no violence or DV; therefore, I named the program “A Program for Mutual Respect: Learning about Domestic Violence in Order to Value Our Relationships.” I also introduced violence topics (Walker 1997) and the effects of abuse on children (Kaufman & Zigler 1987). This program was composed of the following fifteen parts.

Lesson 1, “Meeting People”: This lesson provides students an introduction to human relationships by discussing how feelings such as “I’m glad I met this person” or “Being with this person makes me tired” are normal and important.

Lesson 2, “What Does It Mean to Respect Others?”: In this lesson, students discuss things that their friends have said to them in class that made them feel good.

Lesson 3, “What Kind of Person Can’t Respect Others?”: In this lesson, we discuss how a disrespectful person constantly comments on the flaws in others, never attempts to use their words to explain things clearly, or uses physical or verbal abuse to get their own way emotionally.

Lesson 4, This lesson includes narrative examples describing DV among young people. I prepared two stories: one about a boy abuser deliberately kicking a girl's bicycle in order to brow beat her, and the other about a boy abuser who grabs a boy's phone and checks his usage history. I presented both sides to show that both boys and girls are capable of being abusers and that both are capable of becoming victims.

Lesson 5, “Relationships”: This lesson focuses on how it is all right to “be yourself” and on how people need to learn how to maintain the appropriate amount of distance.

Lesson 6, “What Is Violence?”: This lesson teaches that violence is fundamentally about control. Violent people tend to deny their violence or make light of its effects.

Lesson 7, “Types of Violence”: This lesson provides an instructors’ list and explains different types of violence and abuse: physical, psychological, sexual, and economic.

Lesson 8, “Cycle of Violence”: This lesson describes the Acute Battering Incident, where after violence occurs, the abuser feels a sense of relief from the tension, causing him/her to apologize and behave kindly to his/her victim in what is called the Honeymoon Phase. However, this, in turn, leads to the Tension Building Phase, wherein violence occurs again. Instructors explain that this pattern is dating violence.

Lesson 9, “What Is Domestic Violence?”: This lesson defines DV specifically. It refers to violence perpetrated by one member in an intimate relationship (such as a spouse or a lover) against another. Students are told that this type of violence has a distinctive trait: the closer the relationship becomes, the stronger the emotions become, and the more severe the abuse becomes.

Lesson 10, “DV by the Numbers”: The students were told that in a 2012 study by the Japanese government, 29.1% of women and 15.6% of men reported that they had been brutally abused at least once. The aim was to help students understand using statistics showing that DV can occur at home or to someone close to them.

Lesson 11, “What Should I Do if Someone I Know Is Experiencing DV?”: This lesson explains that DV is not something that one should ignore or treat as “not my business,” as well as the importance of noticing that abuse is occurring.

Lesson 12, This lesson introduces Japan’s DV counseling hotlines.

Lesson 13, “How Violence Affects Children”: This lesson discusses that some children who are victims of DV or other abuse do sometimes go on to become victims or perpetrators of violence later in life, and providing care for these children breaks this chain of abuse (Kaufman & Zigler, 1987).

Lesson 14, “Creating Mutually Respectful Conversations,” and Lesson 15, “Role-Play”: In these lessons, students create conversations themselves and engage in role play in class, fostering empathy among participants. In terms of the program format, a combination of lectures with opinion exchange on the role plays was used.

Table 1. Preliminary Questions about DV

-
1. Do you know of someone close to you who could suffer from DV or dating violence?
 2. Have you ever taken a class or attended training related to DV?
 3. Have you ever studied DV (books, etc.)?
-

Yes/No 2-point scale

Table 2. Understanding DV Characteristics

-
- *1. DV occurs because of a fight with one’s partner.
 2. DV can occur between dating partners, too.
 - *3. Violence from a woman to a man is not DV.
 4. DV is not a consequence of acting impulsively from anger, but rather of the chosen method of violence.
 5. The true nature of DV is dominating one’s partner.
 6. Even someone close to you could suffer from DV.
 7. DV perpetrators sometimes apologize after acting violent, but it is common for them to use violence again.
-

“I think so”: 4 points, “I somewhat think so”: 3 points, “I don’t really think so”: 2 points, “I don’t think so”: 1 point,

*Reverse items “I think so”: 1 point, “I somewhat think so”: 2 points, “I don’t really think so”: 3 points, “I don’t think so”: 4 points

Figure 1. Research Design

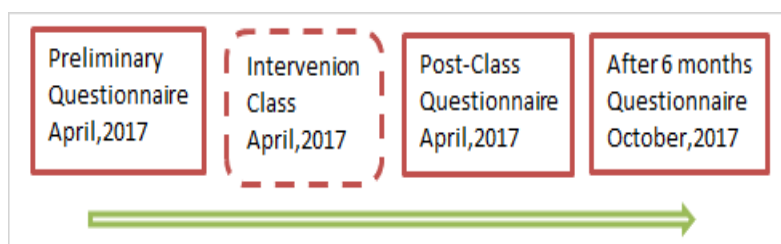


Table 3. Results of Preliminary Question about DV

	Yes. (%)	No. (%)
1. Do you know of someone close to you who could suffer from DV or dating violence?	21.5	78.5
2. Have you ever taken a class or attend training related to DV?	51.3	48.7
3. Have you ever studied DV (books, etc.)?	10.9	87.7

2.4 Research Design (Figure 1)

The study design is presented in Figure 1. Prior to the class, participants completed the “Preliminary Questions about DV” (Table 1) and the “Understanding DV Characteristics” (Table 2) questionnaires. After the intervention, students completed “Understanding of DV Characteristics.” The “Understanding DV Characteristics” questionnaire was answered three times by students, once before class (henceforth referred to as “preliminary survey”), directly after class (henceforth referred to as “directly after survey”) and after six months (henceforth referred to as “after six months survey”). The intervention class was held once for a 90-minute duration.

2.5 Data Analysis

The results of “Preliminary Questions about DV” were analyzed using descriptive statistics. For the results of the “Understanding DV Characteristics” questionnaire, I performed 1-factor analysis of variance (repeated measures) for the before, directly after, and six months later comparisons. I used IBM SPSS 22.0.

2.6 Ethical Considerations

This study was conducted with the permission of the Rakuno Gakuen University Research Ethics Committee. I explained the study by giving a written explanation to the participants. Students’ responses were anonymous, and study participation was voluntary. The questionnaire clearly stipulated that any data provided would not be used for any purpose outside of this research study. Further, the class for the study was conducted during the educational psychology period, as were the preliminary, directly after, and after six months surveys. I administered these questionnaires in the school classrooms, and I distributed and collected the responses personally.

3. Results

3.1 Preliminary Questions about DV (Table 3)

Results of preliminary questions about DV showed in Table 3.

3.2 Changes in “Understanding DV Characteristics”

I performed a 1-factor analysis of variance (repeated measures), with a time of measurement (before, directly after, and six months after) as independent variables.

For Question 1, the program did not affect "DV occurs because of a fight with one's partner." (Figure 2).

For Question 2, the program did not affect "DV can occur between dating partners, too" (Figure 3).

For Question 3, the participants scored 3.62 ± 0.75 (hereafter $M \pm SD$) on the preliminary survey, higher (3.73 ± 0.72) on the directly after survey (significant difference, $p < .01$), and 3.80 ± 0.54 on the after six months survey (not significantly different). The program affected "Violence from a woman to a man is not DV" (Figure 4).

For Question 4, the participants scored 2.65 ± 0.97 on the preliminary survey, 3.23 ± 0.97 on the directly after survey (significant difference, $p < .01$), and 2.95 ± 0.86 on the after six months survey (a significant difference, $p < .001$). The program had an effect on “DV is not a consequence of acting impulsively from anger, but rather of the chosen method of violence” directly after, but this effect was not retained after six months (Figure 5).

For Question 5, participants scored 3.13 ± 0.88 on the preliminary survey, they scored higher at 3.63 ± 0.61 on the directly after survey showing a significant difference ($p < .01$) and obtained a slightly lower score of 3.40 ± 0.80 on the after six months survey showing a significant difference ($p < .001$). The program affected "The true nature of DV is dominating one's partner" directly after, but this effect was not retained after six months (Figure 6).

For Question 6, participants scored 3.54 ± 0.70 on the preliminary survey, slightly higher (3.76 ± 0.56) on the directly after survey (significant difference, $p < .001$), and 3.80 ± 0.46 on the after six months survey (not significantly different). The program affected "Even someone close to you could suffer from DV" (Figure 7).

For Question 7, participants scored 3.61 ± 0.70 on the preliminary survey, slightly higher (3.80 ± 0.46) on the directly after survey (significant difference, $p < .001$), and higher (3.85 ± 0.38) on the after six months survey (not significantly different). The program affected on "DV perpetrators sometimes apologize after acting violent, but it is common for them to use violence again" (Figure 8).

Figure 2. DV occurs because of a fight with one's partner.

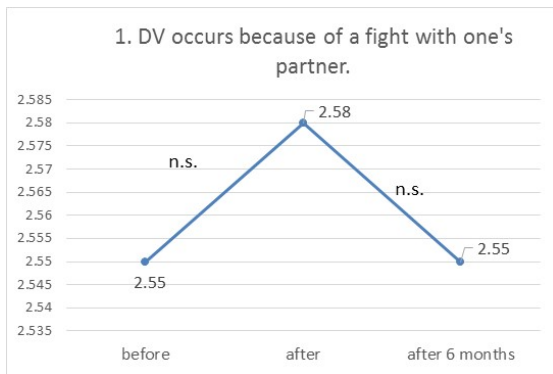


Figure 3. DV can occur between dating partners, too.

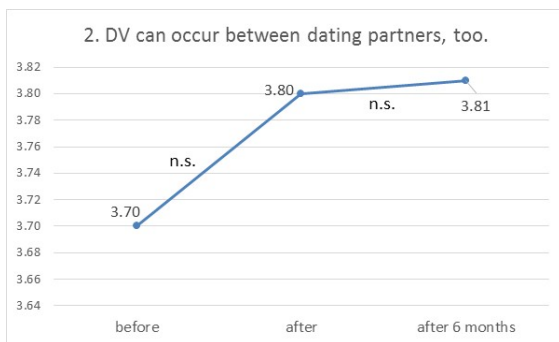


Figure 4. Violence from a woman to a man is not DV.

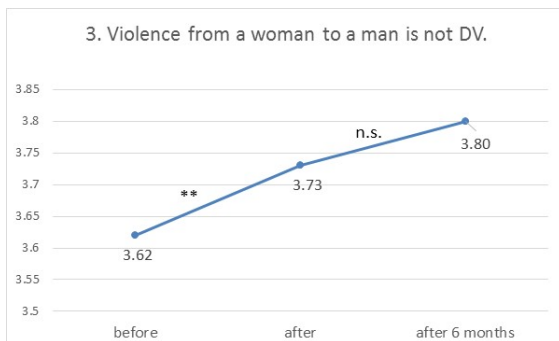


Figure 5. DV is not a consequence of acting impulsively from anger, but rather of the chosen method of violence.

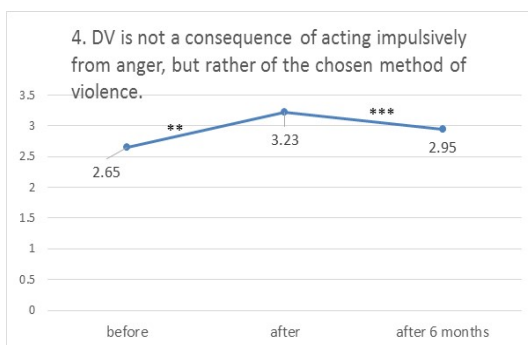


Figure 6. The true nature of DV is dominating one's partner.

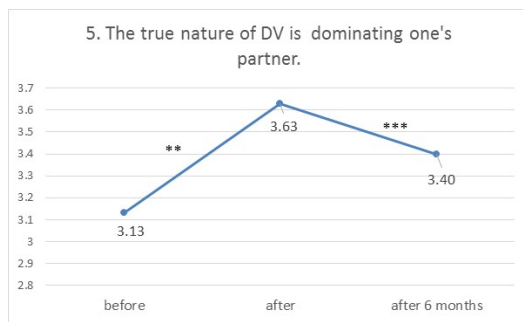


Figure 7. Even someone close to you could suffer from DV.

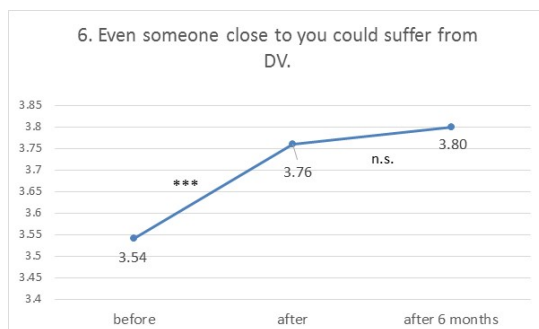
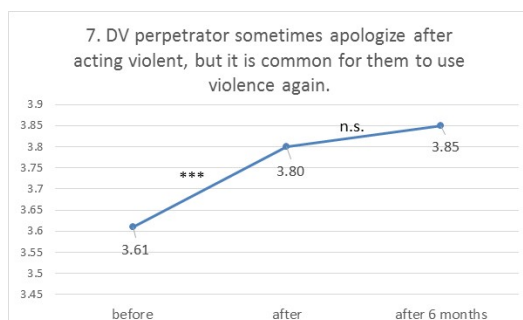


Figure 8. DV perpetrator sometimes apologize after acting violent, but it is common for them to use violence again.



4. Discussion

In the preliminary survey, participants indicated that 21.5% knew of someone close to them who had suffered from DV or dating violence. The results of the survey were consistent with the results of the violence damage rate indicated by the Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office in 2018 (16.7% from a dating partner and 26.1% from a spouse). This reveals that the information about DV damage among Japanese university students is accurate. Of the students, it is positive to note that 51.3% had taken a class on DV. When compared with the approximately 30% of Japanese teachers (average age of 40) (Suga 2018) who have taken a DV class, the proportion of the younger generation who had attended classes was comparatively higher. In addition, it was found that 10.9% of students had learned about DV

from books. Overall, comparatively more teachers (34.0%) (average age of 40) had learned about DV from books. As many young university students were acquiring knowledge about DV from classes. Therefore, I implemented a DV prevention education program for university students and imparted them knowledge about DV.

As a result, the effect of the intervention was found to continue until six months later for the following. “3. Violence from a woman to a man is not DV,” “6. Even someone close to you could suffer from DV,” and “7. DV perpetrators sometimes apologize after acting violent, but it is common for them to use violence again”. Therefore, those DV contents were effective to educate about DV prevention program.

However, “4. DV is not a consequence of acting impulsively from anger, but rather of the chosen method of violence” and “5. The true nature of DV is dominating one’s partner” did not retain the effects of the program six months later. This appears to indicate that continuous education is necessary to address gaps in knowledge.

In Nigeria, 67.7% of married women are treated violently by their husbands (Izmirli et al. 2014). Turkey reports serious violence against females perpetrated by males (Uzuegbunam 2012). The Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office of Japan revealed in 2018 that although women are predominantly the victims at 31.3%, men are victims as well as 19.9% suffering violence perpetrated by a spouse. DV victims in Japan consist of both men and women. In a study conducted on American dating violence, alcohol use and marijuana use were found to have a strong relationship with physical and sexual violence (Shorey et al. 2015). Therefore it is necessary to include contents that address these aspects in DV prevention programs for university students.

5. Conclusion

The study results revealed the type of knowledge that continued to be important in the long term in the context of DV and established the importance of DV prevention programs in universities. As the study was conducted in only one Japanese university, it needs to be extended to other universities and departments.

Acknowledgments

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Civil Society: The Complexity of a Concept

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Abstract

The civil society is not reduced to a state structure, but it does not constitute its antimony. It is the scenario in which private interests interact in a complex relationship with the public apparatus, in an always deliberative way, with fluid democratic expressions and solid bases of participation in collective affairs. Democracy is only possible in society and society is only viable when the interaction of the various agents that compose it. State and society, under the parameters of pluralism, are the condition of the development of civil expressions. Therefore, democracy and freedom determine the existence of a political system in which civil society is not reduced to the periodical and mechanical electoral event in which political preferences are manifested, nor to the individualistic apathy of the neoliberal world. The example of this reduction to simply procedural practices is given by countries like Colombia, Mexico, Peru, among others in Latin America. And in the developed world, the United States is a paradigm of show democracy in front of a civil society superficial and far from the real daily problems. Article result of the research project "Latin American Social Thought" executed within the framework of doctoral studies in Political Science of the Universidad del Rosario, Argentina, whose purpose is to determine the validity of the concept of civil society

Key words: State, Civil Society, Politic Party, Democracy, Participation.

Introduction

The relationship between the State and society has been a constant topic of reflection throughout history, which goes back to ancient Greece for whom the polis was a whole, while the individual, just a part of it, moving on to medieval times with a fragmented society but whole in faith (as far as the West goes, all the way to modernity in which the civil society has gained such usual and problematic vigor in its analysis and comprehension. Due to the rise of neoliberalism in the 90's and the beginning of the XXI century, in which the market-based

relationship has wiped out the characteristics of the political and social perspective; additionally, has placed some sort of economic despotism denoted by competence and gains and has been established as a way of renaissance of power of that which is named but not precisely defined: civil society. This essay is an effort to determine its nature and reach, founded on four current theories even if its sources date back to the XIX century. First of all, Cohen and Arato (1992) with a challenging interpretation of Hegel's *Elements of Philosophy of Right*, specifically the sections regarding the civil society.

For Cohen and Arato (1992) Hegel is the original theorist of modern civil society, not a defender of an absolute State which protects both the family and the society. Both authors propose that it is the creation of a civil society that responds to modern demands of the organization, without being controlled by the state institutions, nor being reduced to satisfying that which Marxist language has classified as the world of needs. In order to do so, both authors analyze different conceptions of civil society, all the way to the scholar of Jena whose works they consider as the theoretical support of their thesis. In second place, they work on Habermas' theory (1993), that establishes a model to build democracy called *deliberative democracy* (his main work is *Theory of Communicative Action*), and whose main statement tries to constitute a procedural system of democracy, based on society and without disregarding the civic virtue of republicanism, nor the importance of constitutional norms in a liberal paradigm, takes place in the public space of deliberation, as the opportunity of decision making, with a previous discussions of real conditions of pluralism.

In the third section, there is Michael Walzer (2010), who perceives civil society as a scenario of different scenarios, that is, a space in which diverse collective organizations hold a place, in order to avoid excesses in Marxist, liberal and nationalist points of view which end up generating extremist positions; even though, the author is aware that in such a multi-phased space of association there is place for all and each one of those manifestations. Finally, there is Charles Taylor (1995) who proposes a civil society that displays the ideals of Montesquieu and Locke, and also those of Tocqueville, regarding the strengthening of independent organizations that foster self government as a way to counteract against despotism and at the same time a way to ensure freedom in the western democracy, threatened by the empire of economic activity over the State.

1. **Hegel or the Civil society in vigor.** In Hegel's thinking system there is a conceptual development

of the civil society in relation to the State, which is considered the start of the modernity in this field. The unifying model of the German philosopher according to Cohen and Arato (1992) "is based on two pillars: ethics in life (ethos o Sittlichkeit) and freedom in politics" (pp. 120-121), relates the intimate sphere of individuals with their political dimension. In summary, in the most dialectic of meanings, it is not a perfect elaboration, free of contradictions, but one that constitutes moving forward since it has been, since Aristotle, going through the middle ages, the search for a theoretical configuration of the human community. The aspiration of a representative State of the absolute spirit, along with the defense of an environment free of absolute interferences, according to Cohen and Arato (1992), establishes one of the irreconcilable contrasts in Hegel's design of civil society. Can

ethos or Sittlichkeit be intervened from a normative point of view? Cohen and Arato (1992) ask or is it an exclusive sphere which excludes an exercise of individual autonomy? (p.121), it is Hegel, who when describing the civil society grants it a bare media nature because it lacks an end itself, which is a matter of the state. This statement is based on paragraph 18 of the elements of the philosophy of right, in which Hegel (1999) explicitly explains the meaning:

"The civic community is the realm of difference, intermediate between the family and the state, although its construction followed in point of time the construction of the state. It, as the difference, must presuppose the state. On the self-dependent state, it must rely for its subsistence. Further, the creation of the civic community belongs to the modern world which alone has permitted every element of the idea to receive its due. When the state is represented as a union of different persons, that is, a unity which is merely a community, it is only the civic community which is meant"(p. 303-304).

The individual, working in groups, establishes some sort of group that is halfway between family, the nuclei of society, and the *summum* of human organization: The State as the highest sphere of rationality. It is important to highpoint an apparently contradictory point-among others-in the Hegelian scheme according to Cohen and Arato (1992), thus described:

For Hegel civil society is perceived as the disintegration of the alleged natural way of ethical life represented by family in a world of selfishness and alienation. Nonetheless, when there are ethical roots in the State, it refers to family and corporation, the latter one rooted in civil society. (p.124)

Civil society is not the true unit itself, it is only for appearances, since according to Hegel: "the State is the effective reality of the idea of ethics, the ethical spirit as a substantial will revealed and precise by itself" (p. 370, paragraph 257). The state is in reality, not as determination but as totality itself; and civil society is the external state of that sphere of a particular interest. However, for Jena, the individual by itself without society is nothing, since society is a totality. One belongs to a group of people not only as a numeric aggregation but as an ethical entity. For Hegel (1999) ethics is possible through acknowledgment, which overcomes the singularity of the individual (p. 478, paragraph 430).

The important thing in Cohen and Arato's analysis of Hegel's conception of civil society fundamentally relies on the society-state antinomy which has its genuine expression in the private and public spheres. The latter one is not totally developed in the State, which according to Cohen and Arato (1992), "Incongruously" Hegel (p. 125), but covers a wider scenario. It is called *Statism*, which opposes public government institutions to civil society, contributing to this confusion. Nevertheless, it is important to be aware that in the civil society sphere, the first phase is the system of necessities, Hegel acknowledges the existence of the non-private category: the economic politics. The system of necessities gives way the external activity of the will of individuals and the will of the State through law. Cohen and Arato (1992) stated that:

The institutionalization of subjective law and the objective law protect the liberty and dignity of modern individuals in the way they can mutually acknowledge private

people instead of isolated individuals who have come together in a public process (p. 129).

This is the way the sphere of necessity arises -to use the economic term of our times- asymmetries that ought to be regulated by the State through universal rights. In the social dynamics, specifically in aspects related to culture, there are rights that stand by themselves, without State intervention, however, they lack strength. Cohen and Arato (1992) name Hegel as the forefather of the State of wellbeing due to his conception of the law as the first correction of the civil society's messes and it is extremely unequal. The idea of the universal institution (bureaucracy) is the scenario to resolve all the contradictions that specific institutions in civil society hold. It is necessary to point out that the necessity needs looks to satisfy individuals that in associations or corporations according to Hegel is achieved through the commitment of its members: "this way, the member of the civil society is depending of specific skill, a member of a corporation whose purpose is totally concrete and has no other extension that business or industrial interests" (Hegel, 1999, p. 356, paragraph 251). Even if the state is the substantial unit that holds all the particular determinations: "this substantial unit is the resolute and unmovable purpose in the freedom that is guaranteed in the superior right of the individual, whose supreme right is to be a member of the State" (Hegel, 1999, p. 370, paragraph 258). The consensus is reached by approaching Hegel as a supporter of the total State, and that converge in different determinations of the dialectic process, even as an enemy of the so-called *open society*, the Western liberal as Karl Popper would state.

Regardless, Cohen and Arato (1992) take a stand of the previously mentioned perspective and analyze Hegel's work as a dualism that points out that the State is the executor of the law, without disdaining the power of civil society in its solitary nature (p. 136). They question the common idea that Hegel assumes that the State is an inclusive space of the general will and social integration, on the contrary, the government as representative gather the diverse differences that make up civil society:

In the deliberation and election process of deputies, associations and assemblies in social life acquire a relation to politics in the same act that gives politics a fundament in organized social life. Cohen and Arato (1992)

The assembly, what we know as parliament or congress, takes in the different expressions of civil society. It is the universality that entails the coming together of a particular institution in one public body. The legislative (assembly) is not the government, nor is it the civil society. Therefore, it rises as a mediator institution between both of them Cohen and Arato (1992 p. 138). Hegel (1989) illustrates this issue of the legislative branch:

The objective of this representative institution is not such that due to its mediator role it considers or resolves every issue related to State business in the best possible way, this way the institutions themselves become an addition, but its defining function is to stand up for these members of the civil society that do not participate in the government during the time of *formal* liberty, by informing, deliberating with them and making joint decisions about general issues. (p. 464, paragraph 314).

The assembly is the debate forum, it is not a hierarchical imposition, a debate that will focus only on general issues and brings different particularities together. However, such mediation is the result of an ample discussion regarding the points in which members of particular institutions converge. Therefore, the law that comes as a result of the deliberation expresses in its content the diverse will result in each individuality. It does not come as a consequence of privilege in the public sphere of civil society or vice versa but the reciprocity in them that is evidenced in the public debate of issues that will be contained in the general and abstract norm. In every case, if Hegel's Statism is clear in its exposition on the universality of law that the government proclaims for Cohen and Arato (1992) it is not totally true that the people are fully identified with the government, specifically with the executive power; it deals with the work carried out with the legislative branch where there are collective manifestations of the civil society: corporations and public opinion (p. 140).

What Cohen and Arato (1992) name "the process of generation of a collective rational identity" (p. 141) oppose the generalized comprehension of Hegel's idea regarding the attribution to civil society a lower role to that of the state. Public freedom is not a concession of the State, but a right of individuals play a stellar role in the formation of the identity; a liberty that Hegel defended. For Ilting cited in Cohen and Arato (1992) in the philosophy of law underlies the purpose of joining the negative freedom considered so by modern liberalism with the positive freedom of old (p. 141), that is, the coming together of unbreakable individual determination for the State and the sphere in which political power has incidence upon. It is not only the political that comes as a result of public freedom; it is also in the corporations, in the legislative scenario, in the publicity of legal processes that imply debate (p. 141). Deliberation spaces that cannot be held, as Hegel (1999) is usually interpreted, as an all-hands authority, but are terrains to develop the freedom of ethical identities:

In our modern states citizens have a restricted participation in the general issues of the State; however, it is necessary to provide for the ethical man, besides other private interests, a universal activity, that the State does not always offer, it is found in association (...) only in through association can the level rational, and awareness of ethics can be reached. (p. 367-368, added to paragraph 255)

In conclusion, Cohen and Arato (1992) try to carry out an interpretation of civil society in Hegel, far from the general way of thinking that thinks of it as an Irreducible statist and instead they see the change in the preconception of a scenario for a democratic construction through the "integration of social and public freedom" (p. 144). In Hegel there is the civil conscience of duty, conscience that is set towards getting State goals, it is the individual who is mediated between that and civil society. Modern civil society according to Cohen and Arato (1992) is tributary of Hegel's work, and it is about to improve itself. Both authors propose a theory of civil society that answers to current needs of democratic development and they establish an extended timeline through different approaches on the matter in order to point out the determining figure of collective participation in the construction of a democratic model with Hegel's philosophy of law as the prime reference.

2. **Habermas discourse theory.** Habermas (1993) opposes the discourse theory or deliberative

Politics to both classical political paradigms: democrat and republican. That is, between the individualist model that circumscribes its social dynamics to acknowledging the particularities of a system of markets and its sociability is based on an ethical resources of Republicans; Habermas (1993) states that there is a third option to this issue of citizens without many major possibilities of action. It is important to analyze the democratic models that Habermas criticizes and what he proposes as the formula for the construction of civil society.

The State is in the liberal conception an organization that serves society, made up of individuals who have on the one side negative rights, that is those that are limited by the power of the State, and on the other hand, the political rights that enable them to participate in public decisions that will have a direct affect on private relations. Along with this, the center of society is the market in which transactions are carried out in a permanent plane of competition and are not held back like in the bureaucratic institutional scenario. In the traffic of their own mercantile relations, subjects actually agree with the instrumental reason in which their personal interests come before those of others. Law is likewise a rational instrument of the needs and aspirations of the individuals which are elaborated and executed by the State. It is not like that in the Republican perspective which perceives society in terms of the common interests. The rights are the positive key for republicanism, according to Habermas (1993) because: "they do not guarantee the freedom of external coactions but the participation of a common practice only by exercising what citizens wish to be" (p. 233-234). What differentiates civil society in liberalism from republicanism is the community sense in the latter, which is the confluence of the purposes of shared goals. While the defense of the individual is focused on the rights acquired because they are people, but not given because of the state, this position actually places it as an ontological opponent and of another individual as well if there is a dispute of the guarantees that each one claims; the republican conception defends the interests of the community.

From the liberal perspective, the individual is responsible to themselves while in the Republican perspective there is also the group that one belongs to. It shows the difference that Hanna Arendt (1998) points out on the types of government since its nature shows some form of civil society with three types of the originating agreements. The first one is religious, specifically a biblical one signed by accepting the divine right; the other dealing with the vertical characteristic established in Hobe's model in which there is an obedience pact in exchange for the guarantee of individual rights and the last one identified by Locke, which Arendt names as horizontal, founded on the power of society without sacrificing individual guarantees (p. 94-96). Within this type of agreement, each person as a part of society is joined to other citizens, not the way it is done in the liberal individualism that they behave as atoms, but through societal ties. Thus, society is a category that exceeds the government apparatus, which comes before and after it, as it is explained by Lock in Arendt (1998) "the power that each individual gives to society when they become part of it, cannot be returned to the individual while society exists, but it will forever be part of the community" p. 94

The emphasis of republicanism regarding social relations does not ignore the individual guarantees that prevail in the liberal discourse; in fact, it admits the importance of subjectivity as the possible condition of individual development, but at the same time points out the necessary union of wills within a social body that looks to be recognized. According to Habermas (1993): “this political conception brings about the legitimacy of law to the democratic procedures, from its origin; and maintains an internal connection between the practices of self-determination of the people, as well as, the impersonal power of the law” p. 235. Civil society would only be a predicate, without meaning if it lacked the participation, the genuine self-management of public affairs, that is, if the individual action became the only horizon of human activity.

Tocqueville’s *consensus universalis* in Arendt 1998, regarding the construction of democracy in the United States, entails the inclusive element in which all people involved pact on, to live by and to act as a social body (p. 96). It is not possible to carry out a joint task in the sphere of civil society with segregated individuals or groups due to their economic condition, race, religion or politics. In fact, what is considered the good life in the liberal individualism is determined by the particular wellbeing conditions in an environment of natural selfishness, in the game of competing that the system of markets imposes on society. The work for republicanism, on the contrary, is the common good come to life through the set of rights that express the needs of the social group. (Habermas, 1993, p. 235). The human organizations choose their way of being and how they are part of the world; however, the purposes of their members in remaining together becomes a basic element in their development as a society. Likewise, those who live under the same roof try to do so in harmony and share common objectives while acknowledging the differences, or those who work the same path and become part of a social body require consensus, not only for personal interests but to be able to exist in human conditions. It is, therefore, the relation through dialogue more than the electoral competency for the privilege in power, which according to Habermas (1993) is the characteristic of community idealism regarding the political education of society.

Now, Habermas (1993) points out the value of social organization through a communicative model in republicanism, P. 238, the liberal conception of civil society is absent. This creates ties of unity that go beyond the simple rivalry of markets in the participants, more than individuals with common goals, they act as agents placed in a stage in which actors fight a selfish battle for the supremacy of their interests. The fault, however, lies in the fact that community places their hopes of consolidation in the ethical value only (Habermas, 1993, p. 238). In fact, a society that does not build bridges of understanding and depends on the capacity to reach a collective agreement in electoral terms is incomplete because it does not understand, that at the heart of the human conglomerate, there are counteracting interests that cannot be reconciled only on the ethical virtue of the discourse.

Habermas (1993) considers that consensus can only be reached through basis, obviously ethical, but mainly pragmatically, in functional terms, that is achieving a “common will, not only through ethical self-comprehension but also by reaching interest and agreements and commitments through rational election of the means to reach an end” (p. 239). The deliberative politics it’s not just about communication, it needs a verifiable application

component of the norms, that is what the German philosopher names "discourse theory" (p.240). It is a conception that takes from liberals the reference of universal rights and from Republicans the need of understanding in a confluence scenario of disparity of interests. While the republicanism is known for the collective action or "human action" (the political action par excellence) as Arendt names it, understood as the control that each society takes of their own destiny in order to build a group life, the liberal modal requires that the state guarantees that, what each individual has. Thus, the liberals take up norms, law as a realization of juridical decision –state work—on what is considered as one's property and each one that is not required in societal construction, but that belongs to the private environment. Each of these individual right or natural rights justify the existence of the state apparatus. Habermas' theory of discourse acknowledges the importance of citizenship education based on deliberation; however, it ought to go beyond the ethical element and match the liberal approach to the necessary normative structure of such will. It is what Habermas 1993 refers to as "procedural institutionalization. (p. 242).

That way society is not only focused on the state that materializes the will originated in the deliberation and or mutual acknowledgement, nor in normative-technical regulation of the mercantile activity (Habermas, 1993, p.242) for the private satisfaction of those that materialize the education of the political will but the normative structure of such set of wills, that is, its expression in judicial terms. The theory of discourse does not refer to idealized figures as the total social of community or the anonymous will of the state that is limited to regulating the particular will, it is the institutionalization of the collective will in which can bring about the purpose of democracy that the civil society wants to be. Deliberation becomes a norm in parliament; but at the same time, it is the expression of the will that was born and developed through diverse manifestations of the civil society. The *public opinion* acquires a vital importance for Habermas (1993), as it is an essential element political education that "brings about institutionalized electoral decisions and legislative resolutions for whom the power, that is procedure through communication, is transformed into an administratively usable power (p. 243). This is the pragmatic procedural factor in Habermas, the resources to carry out a social integration that is verified in legal command from the base, without ignoring the power of the state and without their own exclusion from the electoral market system. Civil society, thus understood, and structures would go from being an entelechy into something verifiable because according to Habermas 1993, "the power of the solidarity ought to be established before the other two powers, that are money and the administrative power" p. 243

The model of civil society proposed by Habermas establishes a balance between social power, parliamentary deliberation and executive normative disposition. Referring to the social environment, it is the place for public opinion, the basic deliberation space for affairs that ought to be studied in Parliament as well as in a posterior intervention by the executive power. Notice that there is a distance between Habermas model and the liberal conception regarding the state that transcends their simple role of executor of the electoral will and turns into a permanent receiver of the aspirations and projects of civil society. Habermas (1993) thus warns that "the political system specializes in making collective decisions" (p. 244), civil society is the source of such determination, not in the liberal way in which individuals as

apolitical subjects give their rules a mandate thought; he limited mechanism of elections so their interests can be seen in the norms that the State proposes, but, as a space of permanent deliberation. It is not so much a bourgeoisie space that has lost its political criteria and is ready t for the circumstantial t procedure of their particular affairs and their discussion regarding when we can get some feedback on the decisions of the state apparatus. Civil society does not simply decide, it deliberates, proposes and offers the raw material as the basis to create norms. Consequently, civil society is the politics but they are not the state, because its power is not an administrative one even if it is determinant in the configuration of juridical actions Issued in the state sphere. Habermas takes distance from the republican sovereignty model in which the states cannot perform as a delegate of the people, since citizens maintain the power of deciding their own destiny; this is the true constitutional power. Likewise, he distances himself from the liberal model that assumes the elected politician as a subject of the will of individuals expressed during the election process. Not the most extreme sociological communitarian or the minimal normative of liberals are the ways to build on democracy; For Habermas the people do not hold all the power, nor does the power of the norm guarantee individual rights that replace popular initiatives.

The popular sovereignty comes from the interactions between the creation of a common will, which is institutionalized through techniques of the Estado de Derecho, and public culturally dynamic scenarios, that find a solid basis on associations of the civil society that has distanced itself both from the government and from economics as well (Habermas 1993, p.245).

The equidistance from both the private sphere -as the economy- and the bureaucratic apparatus -as the state- that Habermas (1993) proposes for the civil society, explains the way the author assumes the space of institutional politics as a tight circle, which is overcome by the social dimension in which deliberation is the natural element of public life. This is the way the “political system” (p. 246) in Habermas (1993), is a part of the of the political activity that depends on the categories such as the fiscal viability or an economic moment, both in the deliberative activity without any restriction from institutional imperatives. It is the “world of real life” p. 246 as Habermas (1993) puts it in order to differentiate it from the limited cosmos of juridical decisions. In civil society specifically in reference to the public opinion, that reason through the natural way for the aspiration and goals of the community and do not require the deliberative exercise proposed by Habermas on budget authorizations, nor on the regulative technicality of the words to be communicated. There is a need to deliberate around public life, liberty and a certain political education that is possible only through socialization. Along with this, Habermas (1993) develops a true democratization of the political culture because it goes beyond the technocratic specificity of the line between state and society and in which professionals of any field of politics hold debates, make decisions and carry them out in the name of a mass that has no political knowledge; we can state that civil society is ignorant of its own nature.

3. Walzer and the power of social organization. Michael Walzer (2010) bases his civil society

theory based on two questions: what is the preferred setting, the most supportive environment, for the good life? What sorts of institutions should we work for? (P.178). He responds them

based on four antagonist ideological models, which he actually considers incomplete. First, he points out two answers from the left perspective, one that ponders on community life as the formula to reach social harmony. Harmony is based on consensus but at the same time on the debate; not as in imposition from the power of the state. It is only in a collaborative space that it is possible to build on citizenship from the different groups whose identities derive from organizations or unions, which work under a common solidary interest. It is the unbreakable iron that Marx stated but the coexistence of the diversity that is natural to communities. However, Walzer (2010) points out that this vision of democracy and good life is not a realist one, because the state is a giant that cannot be controlled by citizens, it is uncontrollable both as an institution or a reference. The modern state is a bureaucratic apparatus of such complexity, which considering the possibility of citizens being able to control it, is an illusion and does not go beyond a romantic idea of those who consider their existence in history. The local community powers are each less influential and more scarce when they do not co-opt with the bureaucracies. Besides, the civic virtue for republicanism is to work for political life and leave aside the economic emergencies, but it is not the path that people want to follow. Another leftist answer provided by Walzer (2010) is the concentration on the economic activity and leaving aside the political action, this socialist theory has been attributed to Marx (p.181). The State is an instrument of temporary class that can be overcome when the differences that determine the struggle between the owners of mass production, a minority, as well as workers who are the majority and own the labor force. Marx thinks of a society free of ties to the mandatory work and thinks of a system of exploiting man by man. Thus, the political activity is a transitory one, such as the state, that once it becomes obliterated, allows a man to spend time on leisure that leads to creation without the alienation of capitalist production.

The real socialism of the XX century fortified the State and labor discipline to the extreme of making its extinction impossible; it is frozen in time and has given way to options, that without abandoning the social their socialist ideals, opt for a midway negotiation between economy and politics (democratic socialism) and according to Walzer (2010) is progressive in relation to the option of communism and Marxism (p. 183). The third response in search of the good life is found in the markets, a space of personal choice, freedom and initiative, free competency and without the guidelines of planned economy or in any situations directed to control the effects of free exchange. Such strange paradox, the market model coincides with the Marxist utopia in the aspiration to become a society without politics. The individual ought to have full freedom to choose both in producing and consuming and the state apparatus is not the appropriate dimension of human happiness, on the contrary, it hinders it. Nevertheless, the market universe is not that of creation, as in the communist paradigm, but in the consumer one, that will be as dynamic as the duality of supply and demand is, the law of the mercantile world. Freedom is a value whose fullness is in direct proportion to the options of the market Walzer (2010 p. 184). It is not citizenship that characterizes individuals in everyday relationships, but the creativity of the supply and the acquisition capacity. This apparent *Arcadia* has a dark side: the market is as free as unequal and in consequence, leads to the loss of freedom. A free person is able to buy and produce to sell, not everyone has such ability, it is limited to some.

Therefore, the universal freedom in this theory becomes an exclusion of everyday facts. The market economy finds public institutions and their repressive control apparatus to be bothersome; but they are good for the State to protect their interests, that are at times at risk due to the poverty that results from the system.

The fourth response is nationalism, that is, the power of a figure that is as powerful as it is diffused. The identification with traditions, values, and common goals is the distinctive feature in this model. One can say that the past and traditions hold more importance for the present or the future. It requires an ethnic and cultural identity and political consequences in order to strengthen the ties that make up a nation. Identity has deep roots in history, and it is therefore unmodifiable. Nationalism ends up being a mere act of faith in a specific activity, because “Nationalists are not forced to carry an authoritative legal corpus or a set of holy texts” (Walzer 2010, p. 187), which leads to a weak societal and political relationship and tradition brings them together through a liberation commitment. Nevertheless, this fragility has been violently transformed in several occasions as a reaction to a situation and the only way out, turns out to be the expulsion or extermination of those who do not share the common legacy of the group. Nationalism has the capacity to absorb all other categories, for example, citizen, consumer, worker as evidence of the lack of strength of the cited responses.

For Walzer (2010) previous solutions to the problem of good life are partial because they ignore the “complexity of society in human life” (p. 187). The most appropriate response is, according to Walzer (2010), who states that “the good life can only be lived in civil society” (p. 187) answering to the Aristotelic *dictum* that man is a social animal, that is, one who is condemned to share vital space with others. Regarding this point, Walzer (2010) assumes sociability as the guarantee that a community is free. (p. 188). If life in society is not optional, according to the Stagira conception, but it is due to nature, there is no other way to strive for a good life; for Walzer (2010), through political, economic and cultural activities that are solidary (p.188) that can only be achieved by fortifying diverse associations.

Civil society, as Walzer (2010) understands it, incorporates other proposals that not only conceive a part of what, as a whole, would be a better way of co-existing. Not the exclusive or the excluding market, nor the absolute state, nor civic virtue, but an efficient combination that covers the positive aspects in each one. If citizenship were accepted as the democratic formula and good life, it ought to be acknowledged that contemporaneity hinders what could be done in Pericles’ Athens, according to the sweet history of communitarians, that is: gather at the agora, debate and decide. Current societies are gigantic, and states are pachydermic, and the common man is immersed in issues that focus on bringing about their sustenance, all other activities take a second place. The organizations (associations) would provide a better service since without being a determinant factor in the State, they do influence in some of its enforceable actions in the sectors.

Civil society, seen as a set of purposes, offers the guarantee of community and displaces selfish individuality from the human scenarios, that is proposed in the neoliberal theory, at the same time it channels social activities outside of institutional bureaucracy. Likewise, for Walzer (2010) civil society operates as a solution to the nationalist excesses, as a diverse

association has groups with members of different nationalities, this leads to pluralism and awareness of differences. Such associations, religious, ethnic, professional, workers, at least should be free, and that would be one way to avoid fanatics and hate due to pressure.

Along with this, Walzer (2010) points out how dangerous it is for civil society to be based on associations that strive for freedom, that is, it is not tied down to a specific sketch as the only possible salvation, the market, nation, virtue, state that might fall into the pruritus of anti-politics. This is expressed through a disdain of public affairs, a sort of abomination of the state, as if it could be left out. Civil society cannot exist without the state and state also depends on it. Walzer (2010) states that in the multiple tasks carried out by the state and without them, several associative organizations, including the basic one that is the family, could not exist (p. 196). At the same time, civil society is the base of a political, state, democratic organization; on the contrary, they would be reduced, like in Eastern Europe, a set of dead but repressive institutions, without any kind of referent of legitimacy with the people, even though they can threaten and create terror: "only a democratic state can create a democratic civil society; only a democratic civil society can uphold a democratic state" (Walzer, 2010, p. 197).

4. Charles Taylor and the classic conception of civil society. The Canadian philosopher asked himself whether the western civil society that for decades desired what Eastern Europe had, is ideal. He traces a timeline through the different historical phases in its development, based on theories that have made an effort to describe the best possible version of a figure, that without depending on the state falls into the extreme of total privatization, and therefore of the loss of all political sense. The first version provided is the "medieval idea of society" (Taylor, 1995, p.276), without being tied down to the political power, and in which the political authority was a decision instance, among others. Another one, based on this, was the conception of the two swords or the two powers, one temporary and the other one eternal, such dispute between the political power and that of the church was even bloody. The roman Christianity took their idea of independence to the extreme of a power that they despised. Based on this notion of power, not issued of a terrain ruler, there is the idea of subjective rights, from the beginning based on the positive right and then described as the natural rights of the XVII and XVIII centuries (Taylor, 1995, p. 728).

However, according to Taylor (1995), the road of the natural rights of the so-called liberal democracy was sinuous because in becoming so, absolute monarchies were placed and defended by thinkers like Jean Bodino and Thomas Hobbes. Both philosophers held the notion that the need of iron-like power in which "if a society wishes to exist, it should be held together by the sovereign power, that is, by a power that is not limited by other powers" (Taylor, 1995, p. 278-279). The state, in symbiosis with society, rises as absolute power, a necessary formula against this internal war. For example, in Hobbes, there is the antithesis of the political organization known as State that is not civil society, but an environment of insecurity and death: the state of nature. The condition of life is the contract that gives sovereigns limitless power, or with few restrictions. This model of the political community fell apart due to social revolutions (England and Netherlands), and the primacy of the

economic factor will be imposed as determinant circumstances in the rising of civil society in later centuries.

Taylor (1995) points out the anti-absolutist theory that will not be the seed for the liberal system but the dichotomy between state and society that still stand, that of John Locke. In Locke, individuals come together to create a society that is, before the state "the society comes before the government, it comes from the first contract that brings individuals in the state of nature and into the body of recent formation sets up the government" (Taylor, 1995, p. 270-280). The state of nature in Locke does not have the unfortunate connotation that does carry in Hobbes; the construction in the political unit is due to the wish of greater security and guarantee of the natural rights. The state will be the appropriate frame for the social development in Locke, not for the survival like in the Leviathan author. On the other hand, according to Taylor (1995), and as the alternative in the anti-absolutist position is in *De lésprit del lois* by Montesquieu, in this book, the French author concedes power to the monarch, limits it with a set of social organizations that operate as counter powers in the balance that must have to avoid the excesses in an absolute government. The right of the monarch to govern along with the unalterable rights of the subjects, that hold the dichotomy state/society, which is Montesquieu's contribution to the reduction of the all manner will of the sovereign. This is the way Locke offers the model of a society on the edge of the political space, it could even be called pre-political, and Montesquieu states that the power of the monarch but restricted by the association that arise outside the state. From Locke, Adam Smith, according to Taylor (1995) comes the figure of the economy as a non-political scenario or at in any case independent from the state: it is the strength of the market in Schmitt, along with his law of iron in supply and demand that self-regulates the mercantile relationships between men. Taylor (1995) establishes that this sphere is "the development of an image of society as an economy, that is as an entity of interrelated acts of production, exchange and consume, with their autonomous law and an internal dynamic" p. 282.

In the XVIII century rises a current that stands parallel to that of the economy: the public opinion. It is manifested as the space in which topics of social interest are presented and debated, including of course political issues. Newspapers, journals, and books are the expression channels of the educated classes, and more than a personal perspective of each individual, they approach topics of general interest (Taylor, 1995, p. 284). The public opinion will not be limited by the authority of the State, nor by the political parties, but it will stand against the establishment. It is a spontaneous and free manifestation that, just like the market, operates in an external scenario to that of the institution. Both the self-regulated economy and the public opinion become an alternative to the central power of politics, at other times the only body of social definition. Newspapers challenged the Omni power of the State, based on that some of the currents of opinion that had major collective support even in non-educated classes. The press, more than the cannon or sword, became an effective and collective counter power voice. Therefore, civil society made up of these two perspectives—the economy and public opinion—is according to Taylor (1995) "public dominion but not a politically structured dominion" (p.286). These are not just autonomous state spheres as they have been understood, but expressions of a dynamic social being who is independent but aware of their destiny as a receiver of state decisions.

Nevertheless, what Taylor (1995) names factor L, to refer to Locke's theory of civil society as a pre-political community and which has been understood as a fall back into the private sphere, along with self-regulated economic activity has another face in Montesquieu's model whose disciple Tocqueville Revindicates, in order to point out the need for a civil society, even if is not co-opted by political institutions, neither does it hide from the state. The independent organization that Montesquieu proposed as alternatives to a monarch's absolute power represent for Tocqueville elements of pressure and political determination. It is not homogeneity with the state, nor is it private indifference but a combination of particular interests and public objectives that Tocqueville highlights in Montesquieu's vision of civil society. Regarding the influence of the author of the Spirit of Law on Hegel, Taylor (1995) points out: "in the case of Tocqueville, Montesquieu's legacy is even more precise: the only stronghold against moderate despotism is the independent associations" (p. 290).

Taylor's perspective holds that what civil society ought to be, is a combination between Locke's and Montesquieu's theories. In his opinion, any model whether it is Locke's or Montesquieu's were valid to demolish the Leninist dictatorship, in which the state totally absorbed the social body, but ended up not being functional in the liberty system of the western democracies. Taylor favors a civil society that follows Tocqueville's directions, which will not be just be reduced to an apolitical organization that does hold their own independence and development, through a constant deliberation that influences the preservation of freedom and institutional decisions without blending into institutional bureaucracy.

Conclusion

The common factor in all the theories that were analyzed is that civil society ought to be a space of democracy and freedom equidistant from the state. They all agree on this even with subtle differences in the procedures and the importance that associations might have in the deliberation of different issues of interest and the impact that they might have on state decisions. However, it is important to understand that civil society, so hard to locate politically wise, cannot be absorbed by the parties nor can it fall into apathy for state affairs. It is healthy to maintain a distance that should be present with bureaucratic institutions their independence and the strengthening, but they cannot move into fully opposing state affairs. It is about building a network of strong, deliberative and democratic associations and especially dynamic in the materialization of their goals and to reach them the state without a doubt is determinant.

The opposite situation would be to fall into Anarchist daydreams or into economic positions, just like the neoliberal model proposes. That is the reason why Habermas considers that the future of the State goes through the nature of the society that supports it and likewise the institutional structure on which it relies for juridical decisions. Democracy is not born, nor can it be improved on in bureaucracy, this can only take place in society; however, it cannot rise nor mature if an authoritarian system smothers society's multiple expressions. For them, society ties must be strengthened indifference more than in sameness and discussed in

different spaces, but this right cannot be fully yielded to professional politicians. Nevertheless, at the same time, the State ought to be the terrain for the last determinations of the legitimate strength of the normative configuration. If the State does not follow this mandate civil society must take action to ensure it is carried out, this implies the action duty so that the word becomes the reality of rights.

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Nigerian 2015 General Election: The Successes, Challenges, and Implications for Future General Elections

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Abstract

The Nigerian 2015 General Election is one of the elections in the world that drew lots of attention and analysis as a result of its uniqueness and the many successes and challenges recorded which provide a lesson for future elections in Nigeria and other countries in the world. The aim of this work is to investigate the successes and challenges recorded in the election with a view to providing a better alternative for an improved election in future. The problem is the way many Nigerians and those outside Nigeria overwhelmingly are carried away by the defeat of the incumbent by the opposition which made them to perceive the election wholeheartedly as credible despite many challenges that it faced. The research used qualitative method of data collection and analysis. It is a qualitative particularistic case study which used primary and secondary data. The primary data was interview from different stakeholders that are involved in the electoral process, and the secondary data is the use of available literature on the subject matter. The data obtained was presented in tabular and figurative forms and analyzed using thematic analytical interpretations for findings. The research discovered that the 2015 General Election is an improvement on the previous elections especially in the Fourth Republic as a result of the techniques adopted in the conduct, but there are still challenges that must be looked into in future to make the election more credible. The research recommends that the areas that recorded significant improvement should be maintained while in the areas of challenges it should be looked into against the next election.

Keywords: Election, Nigeria, Successes, Challenges, Implication, 2015.

1.1 Introduction

The 2015 General Election in Nigeria differs from the previous elections in the Fourth Republic (1999-Date) because it recorded some significant improvements in the conduct and outcome of the election at local and national levels. It has been adjudged a credible election because of the manner and procedure in which it was conducted (Nwachukwu, 2015). Elections in Nigeria are usually bedeviled with irregularities such as violence, corruption,

rigging, ballot snatching and stealing, ballot stuffing, vote buying, manipulation of results and ethno-religious politics (Isma'ila & Othman, 2015).

The 2015 General Election in Nigeria was conducted in an atmosphere of intense fear, insecurity, political alliance and re-alliance while the campaign was dominated by great issues of national concern such as: insecurity, corruption, unemployment, and poverty as observed by many scholars. These scholars also stressed that the Boko Haram insurgency, corruption, poverty, unemployment and poor economic policies compelled for the campaign process to be on matters of national interest and that has made a significant impact on the outcome of the election (Centre for Public Policy Alternative 2015, Africa Centre for Strategic Studies 2015, Ewi 2015, Orji 2015, Ayanda & Odunayo 2015, Chukwudi 2015, International Republican Institute 2015, Omilusi 2015, Ahar 2015 and Oji 2015).

There are many factors that made the 2015 General Election successful famous among them is the use of smart card reader which was believed to have drastically curbed rigging and the merger of major opposition parties to form an alliance which successfully challenged the ruling party squarely and the burning national issues of poverty, corruption, insecurity, unemployment and insurgency which made the electorates to become determined for change (Nigerian Civil Society Situation Room, 2015: 10). The above are some of the successes and factors that made many scholars as observed above to conclude that the election is credible. However, there are many challenges faced which must be addressed if the future elections are to be more credible and successful such as the excessive campaign spending unregulated (USAID/UKAID 2015), the failure to use card readers in many places during the election which allowed for manipulation, insecurity and other factors. Thus, this research studied academically these successes and challenges and provided an alternative framework for future elections in the country.

2.1. Methodology

The research methodology adopted for this work is qualitative data collection and analysis. Qualitative data method is the use of research philosophy and paradigm not only for the collection of data but for generation of ideas and meanings from words and other sources which can be qualitatively interpreted to give a sound outcome. In other words, it is the gathering of a rich few data that can be analyzed and interpreted using different approaches and multiple idea presentation and analysis (Sekaran & Bougie, 2013). This work is a case study type of qualitative data and particularly particularistic case study because it studied a particular case study of the 2015 General Election.

The research generated data from two major sources; primary and secondary. The primary data was gathered through a personal in-depth interview with selected informants/participants from selected categories that are directly related to the area of study. Informants were selected from politicians, party stakeholders, senior officials of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), academicians and members of civil societies. In the section of politicians, 6 were selected across the various ranks of elective offices one from each, 4 from

party stakeholders of the major political parties that participated in the election across the nation, 3 were selected from the INEC senior officials who are directly related to the operation and conduct of election, 3 were selected from academicians who are experts in the area of study and 8 were selected from eight different civil societies which are base in Abuja Nigeria for accessibility. A total of 24 informants were obtained relying on the maximum number of qualitative interview provided by Sharan (2002) of 30 for data collection. Other primary documents were also used such as the Nigerian 1999 Constitution, Electoral Act 2010 and reports by international organisations and agencies. The secondary data involves the use of textbooks, articles in journals and internet sources for literature review and formation of the theoretical framework.

The data obtained were coded and analysed. The informants were coded into five groups with category A as politicians, and each is given a number meaning category A1 to A6 in this group, category B is party stakeholders also coded as B1 to B4, category C is senior INEC officials coded as C1 to C3, category D is Academicians coded as D1 to D3 and category E is Civil Societies coded as E1 to E8. Their views are summarised and presented using thematic analytical interpretations and tables and also models where applicable.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

The work adopted Rational Choice Theory of Election to explain the context of the literature, the methodology and the research findings and discussions. The Rational Choice Theory of Election is a political economy approach to understanding and explaining behaviourally why and how voters and candidates behave or choose their actions and make a decision during elections based on some economic factors or considerations. The theory was derived from the economic root of the theory of consumer behavior which explains the rationality in choice by consumers and the desire or decision of manufacturers to maximize profits even amidst an intense competition (Downs 1957 and Arrows 1986).

It is assumed that, if the rational choice can explain consumer behaviors, choice and decision making and also the producers of goods and services in a market, it can also explain clearly the economic benefits, performance and other indicators of rational benefits of the electorates and politicians during an election. The theory established a similar correlation between consumers of goods and services and voters and between enterprises and political parties. This is because if corporations seek to maximize profit while consumers seek to maximise utility, then it can be theorised that, voters seek to maximise the utility of their votes as the parties act to maximise electoral gains obtained from their political proposals (Downs, 1957 and Arrow, 1986)

The Rational Choice Theory of Election is built on two major foundations; evaluative and non-evaluative. The evaluative is anchored on voting by the electorates on regime performance while the non-evaluative is based on clientelistic considerations such as patronage, ethnic belonging, family ties and material benefits obtainable (Lindberg & Morrison, 2008). Animashaun (2015) believed that both evaluative and non evaluative rational choice took place during the 2015 General Election in Nigeria. Farber (2009)

emphasised that individuals derived utility from voting a certain candidate or party just the way consumers derive utility in spending their money for a particular products in such a way that they are aware that their votes determine the winner either the one they chose or the or the loser.

Swing-voting can also take place under Rational Choice Theory of Election which is a voting pattern based on certain criteria or rationality in new democracies like that of Nigeria in which political parties and candidates that can give maximum satisfaction to the voters' ethnic identity, clientelism, poverty eradication persuade voters to vote for them instead of common public goods (Lindberg & Weghorst, 2010). Three basic assumptions of Rational Choice Theory of Election are identified (Antunnes 2010) as follows: I. All decisions are rational; II. The democratic political system is consistent and III. There is a level of uncertainty in the process of choice.

This theory is a good explanation of elections in Nigerian context in general and in particular in the 2015 General Election. The political parties are expecting a maximum utility to derive in their emergence as winners in the contest. While the then; ruling PDP continued to build on the status quo and want to maintain power at all cost amidst several corruption charges, the APC is capitalising on political and socioeconomic changes it was anticipated to bring to the electorates through a decisive stern promise of an anti-corruption crusade. Thus, the two major strong political parties in the 2015 General Election in Nigeria have a rational for their contest and the maximum utility they sought to achieve on assuming office. The other political parties that contested the elections though; knew probably that might not win, they stillaverational choice reason that influenced their decision to participate.

On the other hand, the electorates or voters are like consumers in the market under a competing demand for patronage. They voted in the 2015 General Election based on rationality for the maximum benefits that they will derive when the outcome of the election is favorable to them. Many electorates are believed to have voted for the opposition political party; the APC as a result of their high expectation of the utility they will maximize from the outcome of the emergence of APC's Presidency. The APC contestant for Presidential Election built is campaign promises on three major issues: fight against corruption, fighting the insurgency and reinstating economic development of the country. Many voters from all the six geo-political zones subscribed to the ideas of the APC Presidential candidate and were expecting a positive change and a better restructuring of political and socioeconomic sectors of the country. The outcome of the election results proved so.

4.1 Literature Review

In this section, various scholastic literature was critically reviewed on the subject matter of study in thematic forms. It is pertinent to examine briefly the concept of election, rules of election conduct in Nigeria during the 2015 General Election, challenges of election conduct, the issues and features of 2015 General Election, the 2015 General Election conduct and outcome and the results.

4.1.1 The Concept of Election

The election is considered as the backbone of democratic rule, and it is the system or an institution that sustains democracy and provides healthy competition for power and control of the government. An election is a periodic event that is prepared in which an individual is elected or voted for a given office (Kapur, 2009:142). The periodic election is an accepted norm and standard of global practice and method of that determines who gets power or control policy making. The election has been the normal practice in which modern representative democracy operates (Almond & Verba, 1963: 63).

The election is a legitimising phenomenon which has the role of giving leaders the authority to govern. In a democratic regime, there is provision for participation through a periodic election where citizens are allowed to vote for their leaders and where the leaders compete for power through selling their ideas in a competitive contest (Dahl, 2000). Hence, the election is a major requirement for a healthy and sustainable democracy irrespective of the system of democracy operated. As observed above, the election in Nigeria has been taken place periodically since the resumption of democratic rule in 1999. The problem with the election in Nigeria is the conduct and the procedure in which it is undertaken and the outcome which has not been encouraging since 1999 until in 2015 General Election which has been perceived as an improvement from the previous ones.

4.1.2 Rules of Election Conduct in Nigeria

There are basically two major sources of laws for the conduct of the election in Nigeria during the Fourth Republic; the 1999 Constitution and the 2010 Electoral Act. The 1999 Nigerian Constitution as Amended and the Electoral Act 2006 and the amended Electoral Act 2010 are the electoral legal document specifically that have several provisions targeted for electoral conduct, electoral offences, parties' activities, political party financing and other regulations related to the election as provided in Section 227 and its Sub-Sections in the Nigerian Constitution and Section 82 to 90 of the Electoral Act 2010 which were used during the 2015 General Election.

Thus, all the requirements for the contest in an elective office, political party activities especially financing and campaign expenditure, offenses and their sanctions, powers, and role of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and electoral procedures are all designed and stipulated clearly in the sections and the sub-sections mentioned above.

4.1.3 The Challenges of Election in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

One of the major issues of election conduct in Nigeria is the transition process itself which is faltering and faulty from the inception of the Fourth Republic. The transition is perceived by many as pseudo transition organised, supervised and ushered in by military in militaristic style. Candidates were imposed, and election results were pre-determined in which electoral process was violated, and democratic governance was not in accordance with democratic principles (Yagboyaju 2011). The electoral body is another major challenge of the election in the Fourth Republic. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was designed

to be neutral and independent in its structure and function, but it has been compromised on many occasions by politicians to manipulate the results (Yagboyaju 2011).

The politics of ethnicity, religion and regional sentiments are other problems of election conduct in the Fourth Republic. Voters voted in most of the elections not based on performance but according to candidates that belong to their ethnic, regional and religious sentiments (Adeyemi 2012). Violence characterized elections in the Fourth Republic where politicians established ethnic militias to intimidate and harass opposition to win at all cost (Abdullahi 2015). The nature of political parties also constitutes a problem in the conduct of the election in the Fourth Republic with the parties devoid of ideology or any democratic principles except capturing of power for personal gain at all cost (Auwal 2015).

Another major challenge of election conduct in Nigeria in the present democratic dispensation is the influence of money politics and excessive spending which discredit the electoral process and led to corrupt practices in the procedure because politicians engaged in bribing of electoral officials, security agents and vote buying, as well as the money bag godfathers who sponsored their godsons that are not competent and this, led to the emergence of unqualified and poor leadership as well as misgovernance (Adetula 2008).

4.1.4 Issues and Features of 2015 General Election

The 2015 General Election in Nigeria differs from the previous elections in the history of Nigeria since political independence in 1960. There were ten General Elections that took place since 1960 with two of them in the First Republic, two in the Second Republic, one in the Aborted Third Republic and five in the current Fourth Republic. What made the 2015 General Election unique are combinations of many factors that were not hitherto, obtainable in the previous ones. These factors include: the emergence of strong opposition political party never witnessed in the history of Nigeria, the first time an opposition political party won the Presidential Election against the incumbent and other majority seats at the National Assembly and State levels, the use of electronic voting system in the process of the election, campaign activities based on issues instead of the usual traditional ethno-religious and regional alliance, the emergence of awareness on the issue of political financing and campaign promises and many other issues. All these were not applicable in the previous elections.

Party positioning is an important feature of the 2015 General Election the PDP ruled for sixteen years on the zoning arrangement between the North and the South with the South starting in 1999 for 8 years, but when Yar'Adua died in 2010 the PDP violated the rule, and the Southerner continued in 2011 which led to fraction in the party, and the North opted for another party against the PDP (Paden, 2015: 7). There was the merger of strong opposition parties including Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) and a faction of All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) and new PDP to form a new party All Progress Congress (APC) which emerged strong enough to challenge the PDP in the election (Paden, 2015: 8, IRI 2015 and Adibe 2015).

A concern was displayed prior to the 2015 General Election on the security of lives and properties during the election and the level of preparedness of the electoral body as revealed by a study (CLEEN Report 2015). The Report also revealed that 74 % of the people surveyed indicated that the performance of the PDP government was poor in key economic sectors such as employment, poverty, corruption and other areas of development. The Report concludes that the election took place at the most challenging time of insecurity in the history of the country with the insurgency in many parts of the country.

The lingering North-South dichotomy still exhibited a division during the 2015 Election with the North being the majority Hausa/Fulani dominated, the Southeast and Southsouth being a Christian dominated and the Southwest being a mixed Muslim/Christian region and the election took place along this pattern in most cases. The General Election was expected to witness the influence of money, incumbency power and other dominant factors (Adibe 2015). Parties contested election faced many challenges such as logistics, delays, low turnouts, the incidence of violence, as well as procedural irregularities in some states, still, the 2015 General Election, as transparent and credible expression of the will of the Nigerian people (IRI Report, 2015). The INEC preparation was generally commendable according to IRI report (2015).

The 2015 General Election was the first time an accurate prediction took place by a pre-election poll. In another study conducted by ANAP FOUNDATION; NOI Polls (2015), (a Polling Analytic Databank Strategy) ahead of the coming 2015 General Election, the opinion poll revealed a tightly contested race between the incumbent President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan of the ruling PDP and Muhammadu Buhari of opposition APC. All the interviewers selected were those who registered and have collected their voters' card ready for the election. From the results, the respondents were asked on who they are going to vote between Muhammadu Buhari of APC and Goodluck Jonathan of PDP. They responded in this way: 32 % Muhammadu Buhari of APC and 30 % Jonathan of PDP. This showed a slight margin of win in favor of opposition APC.

4.1.5 Nature, Dimension, and Conduct of the 2015 General Election

The March 28 and April 14, 2015, General Election marked another turn in the history of Nigerian politics as it was the first time that the opposition unseats the incumbent President in a successful election. Of the sixty-seven million and four hundred and twenty-two thousand and five (67, 422, 005 million) registered voters, only thirty-one million and seven hundred and forty-six and four hundred and ninety (31, 740, 490 million) disagreed 2015 Presidential Election. Twenty-nine million and four hundred and thirty-two and eighty-three (29, 432, 083 million) of the votes were cast with 97% of the votes valid. The 2015 General Election and the outcome were entirely different from the previous elections in Nigeria in many different ways (CPPA, 2015).

In the 2015 Presidential Election, 14 (fourteen) political parties contested for the post of Presidency, less votes were cast in 2015 than in 2011 by 25%; the incumbent lost to the

opposition by 45% to 54%, the opposition won more States 21 out of 36 (CPPA, 2015). The above analysis showed that the 2015 Presidential Election in Nigeria set a culture of departure from the previous norm of the incumbent always winning in every re-election without a serious challenge. It was also the first time that campaign activities were dominated by issue-based politics and the voters voted across all regions, unlike the previous situation where every contestant was elected by voters from his geographical region and religion. The election also pointed to many changes that will continue to impact on the future elections in the country. The summary of the 2015 General Election was presented below.

Table 1: 2015 Presidential Elections Results in Nigeria

Candidate	Party	Votes	Percentage
Muhammadu Buhari	APC	15, 424, 921	53.96 %
Goodluck Ebele Jonathan	PDP	12, 853, 162	44.96 %
Adebayo Ayeni	APA	53,537	0.19 %
Ganiyu Galadima	ACPN	40, 311	0.14 %
Sam Eke	CPP	36, 300	0.13 %
Rufus Salau	AD	30, 637	0.11 %
Mani Ahmad	ADC	29, 665	0.10.%
Allagoa Chinedu	PPN	24, 475	0.09 %
Martin Onovo	NCP	24, 455	0.09 %
Tunde Anifowose Kilani	AA	22, 125	0.08 %
Chekwas Okorie	UPP	18, 220	0.06 %
Comfort Sonaiya	KP	13, 037	0.0 5%
Godson Okoye	UDP	9, 208	0.03%
Ambrose Albert Owuru	HP	7, 435	0.03 %
Invalid votes	All Parties	844, 519	-
Total	14 Parties	29, 432, 849	100 %
Registered voters		67, 422, 005	100 %

Source: INEC 2015 (Computation into percentage was made by the Researcher).

The 2015 Presidential Election disclosed a low voter turnout of less than 50 % despite all the high anticipation from the electorates of a free and fair election. The final results disclosed that Muhammadu Buhari of APC won the election in an unprecedented electoral victory making history as the first opposition party to win the Presidency and dislodged the incumbent party from power. The 2015 General Election also showed that the tradition of PDP winning the majority of the seats in the Governorship election and National Assembly was upturned as the opposition APC went ahead to win the majority of the seats. The results of the Governorship elections are presented below (see table 5.14).

Table 2: 2015 Governorship Elections Results

Party	Seats	Percentage
APC	19	61.29 %
PDP	12	38.71 %
Total	31	100 %

Source: INEC 2015 (Computation into percentage was made by the Researcher).

The above results indicated that state Governorship election took place in 31 of the 36 states in the country as the calendar for election in other states differed. The newly ruling party APC won 19 out of 31 making a total of 61.29 % of the states while the newly opposition PDP won 12 or 38.71% of the seats. There was already a state controlled by APGA Anambra and Osun controlled by APC, Ondo Labour Party, Edo APC and Bayelsa PDP which made a total of 36 states if added together. In total, APC controlled 21 states (58.33%), PDP has 13 seats (36.11 %) with APGA and Labour Party each controlling one state (2.78%).

Thus, APC set the record of capturing power at all levels within less than three years of its formation from 2013. Such feat was obtainable also in the National Assembly (see table 5.15 below).

Table 3: 2015 National Assembly Elections (Senate and House of Representatives)

Party	Seats (Senate)	Percentage
APC	60	55.05 %
PDP	49	44.95 %
Total	109	100 %

Party	Seats (House of Reps)	Percentage
APC	225	62.5 %
PDP	125	34.72 %
Other parties	10	2.78 %
Total	360	100 %

Source: INEC 2015 (Computation into percentage was made by the Researcher).

One of the distinguishing features of the 2015 General Election is; it is regarded as the most credible of all the previous elections in the Fourth Republic much that position (Nwachukwu, 2015, Ayanda & Odunayo, 2015, Nigerian Civil Society Situation Room, 2015). Such position is also agreed upon by many of the informants in this research that were consulted during the field work that the 2015 General Election as the most credible in the Fourth Republic. And this position has been agreed upon by both the ruling and opposition parties after the election.

5.1 Discussion and Findings

In this section, it is discussed in detail the major factors that led to the success of the 2015 General Election and the major challenges faced by the election so as to project into the future the best method of conducting elections in Nigeria with an improved procedure and more credibility. The analysis was done using thematic analytical interpretations where the informants' views, scholastic discourses, and theoretical underpinnings are combined in the discussion as presented below accordingly.

5.1.1 Campaign Issues

The 2015 General Election campaigns took place based on issues of performance and prevailing socioeconomic and political situation in the country instead of the usual business of ethno-religious and regional sentiments. According to the views of the informants with 4 out of the 6 in category A (politicians), 3 out of 4 in category B (party stakeholders), 3 out of the 3 informants of category C (INEC officials), 2 out of the 3 in category in category E (academicians) and 4 out of 6 in category F (focus group discussion) which represents a sum of 16 out of 21 agreed that the 2015 General Election campaigns took place based on issues of performance. Many studies also confirmed the above position, for instance, CPPA 2015, Africa Centre for Security and Strategic Studies 2015, Ewi 2015;, Orji 2015, Ayanda & Odunayo 2015 and Chukwudi 2015 all concluded that the campaigns were issue-based and ethically conducted based on constructive criticism while Nwofe 2015 and Chukwudi 2015 hold a contradictory opinion citing many cases of hate speeches and campaign of blasphemy as evident in the build-up to the election. The Rational Choice theory of Election is expressed in these views of the informants where they subscribed to the ideas of campaign promises and the burning national issues that are the major concern of the electorates such as unemployment, poverty, insecurity, infrastructure and other services of life instead of what used to dominate the campaign process in Nigeria before which are ethnicity, religion, and region.

5.1.2 Money Politics

In the previous elections in the Fourth Republic, money played a decisive role in determining the winner. It is alleged that the 2015 General Election witnessed the highest flow of money politics during the campaign process. However, whether the use of money influences the outcome or affects the credibility of the elections or not, is a major concern here. In an interview with the category A, B, C, D, and E, the informants in their totality agreed that huge sum of money was used in the electoral process and campaign activities of the ruling PDP and opposition APC during the 2015 General Election. In support of the above views, there were many works which supplemented the notion that money was massively used unprecedented in the history of Nigeria during the 2015 General Election. For instance, Ahar (2015) reiterates that the 2015 General Election was the most expensive in the history of Nigeria and Africa indeed in terms of spending for both the electoral body and the politicians

in their campaign. Similarly, other scholars (Ukase 2015, Transparency International 2015, Innocent & Nkechi 2014, Olorunmola 2016, USAID/UKAID 2015, Omilusi 2016 and Adibe 2015) supported the above position that campaign expenditure by both the APC and PDP in 2015 was never witnessed in the history of the country. In addition, the Rational Theory of Election is applicable here when one considers how much money was spent by the two major contenders; the APC and PDP with the PDP believed by most or almost all the informants to have spent higher than APC yet, the APC won in a landslide victory. It means the voters and various political groups became rational in their choice by collecting money from the ruling PDP and voting for APC instead.

5.1.3 Electoral Reforms

Under the provision of the 2010 Electoral Act, the use of electronic card reader was introduced in the 2015 General Election where accreditation and voting exercise was conducted electronically to checkmate rigging and alteration of results. All the informants interviewed pointed emphatically to the role of these reforms especially the card reader in the credibility and reliability of the conduct of 2015 General Election. In addition to the above primary information by the informants, there are much existing literatures that supports the position that electoral reforms and the introduction of card readers made the 2015 General Election credible and acceptable with minimal malpractices as compared to the previous ones and these studies include: Jega 2014, IRI 2015, CPPA 2015, Africa Centre for Security and Strategic Studies 2015, Nigerian Civil Society Situation Room 2015 and Orji 2015.

5.1.4 Electoral Management

In the 2015 General Election, the INEC was applauded by both the ruling party, opposition, voters, observers, analysts and the international community for the first credible handling and management of the election successfully which averted the country of a political disaster should it failed to succeed. In this regard, all the categories of the informants from both the APC and PDP and other groups particularly the INEC officials agreed in their responses that the INEC did a credible job of handling Nigerians a reliable election and restoring confidence in the country's electoral system. Only President Jonathan debunked the proper handling and management of the conduct of 2015 General Election in the interview that was conducted with him by the editor of "This Day Newspaper" which was later published as a book (Adeniyi 2017). Many scholars (Nwachukwu 2015, Ayanda & Odunayo 2015, Adibe 2015 and IRI 2015 all supported the fact that, the electoral body (INEC) deserves credit and a big applause for an improved management of election which ushered in an election that first time to as the most credit and fair in the history of Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

5.1.5 Civil Societies

In the interview conducted with the informants from category C (INEC officials), category D (academicians) and category E (Civil Societies and general public), it is observed that, civil

societies played a significant role in the entire process of the 2015 General Election starting from the voters' registration, parties' activities, civic voter education, collaboration with INEC in awareness and also collaboration with international observers and international donor agencies. The above views of the informants were supported by various existing works on the subject matter such as Mohammed (2015), Blanchard (2015) and Nigerian Civil Society Situation Room (2015). They have all agreed in consensus with the views above and their submissions in their works that, civil societies played an important role in the 2015 General Election and it was one of the pillars behind the credibility or success of the election.

5.1.6 Opposition Parties

The opposition APC consists of a merger of Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), faction of All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) which was formed in 2013. The party was later joined by new PDP members. Thus, history was made where the strongest opposition party was formed. According to many informants and scholars, the emergence of APC as a stronger opposition party was what made the election fair and also what led to the successful defeat of PDP in the election. In an interview with informants in category A, B, D and E, all the informants except two (one from category A politicians and the other from category B party stakeholders) agreed that the emergence of APC as a strong party helped immensely in the defeat of the ruling PDP and the credibility of the 2015 General Election. The above views of the informants are supported with many scholastic views particularly the first category that believed that the APC was a great factor in the defeat and credibility of the 2015 General Election. Works such as Paden 2015, Adibe 2015, Auge 2015, Blanchard 2015 and Omilusi 2015 all agreed without any contradiction that the merger of APC and its strength in terms of financial strength and incumbency factor checkmated rigging successfully and challenged PDP squarely. The Rational Choice Theory used in this work also supported the same notion here since the voters decided to alter the rationality of their choice from the usual tradition of voting for money only or their tribal sentiments towards a better perceive candidate. The theories used in the study can be seen practically applied in this theme. First, the Rational Choice Theory of Election is explained here in the sense that, the different political parties realised that until and unless they rationally used their chance and united under one strong umbrella to face the ruling party, they will be defeated by the powers of incumbency, and they will lack the leverage of having a strong financial and other campaign strength to tackle the challenges of unseating a ruling party.

5.1.7 Card Readers

In one of its reforms in the build-up to the 2015 General Election, the electoral body introduced the use of card readers' computer gadgets to accredit and conduct the voting. This has been one of the widely accredited sources that made the 2015 General Election commendable and credible in terms of voters' transparency and curbing of rigging. Informants that were interviewed in all the categories except category admitted that card readers were central to the success of the election in 2015. The same views held by scholars also in their works including Orji 2015, Chukwudi 2015, Ayanda & Odunayo 2015 and Adibe 2015). In

the above scenario, the Rational Choice Theory featured in from the informants' views where the electoral body (INEC) felt that a good decision of using card reader will lead to an improved election or possibly a credible one. Also, the voters welcomed the process overwhelmingly seeing it as a rational policy that will prevent rigging and give them the opportunity to elect the leaders that they wish without any manipulation as it happened in the 2015 General Election.

5.1.8 Electoral Umpire

Many informants that were interviewed and scholars that investigated the 2015 General Election believed that the INEC became more credible and transparent in its conduct and the electoral administration of the 2015 General Election which made it successful and credible. The opinions of the informants in the categories listed represented their consensus on the subject without any of them disagree on the position raised above. However, there was an interview conducted by a journalist Adeniyi (2017) with former President Jonathan which was later published in form of a book titled "Against the Run of Play: How the Incumbent President Lost the Election in 2015" in which President Jonathan lamented that the INEC was biased against him and the election result was skewed in favour of the opposition. Furthermore, the works that were conducted on 2015 General Election by many scholars and organisations (Nigerian Civil Society Situation Room 2015, Adibe 2015 and Orji 2015) disclosed that the elections were credible, and the electoral umpire was more credible and better organised in its administration of the election than the previous ones in the Fourth Republic.

5.1.9 International Observer Monitoring Groups

The international observer monitoring groups were present in Nigerian territory for election monitoring since 2003 and were part of the electoral process as they conducted pre-elections and post-elections assessment and reports of the situation in order to identify the challenges that were faced and how to avoid them in future and also to suggest ways of improving the elections in future. The informants consulted in all the categories except the category D almost unanimously agreed that international monitors played an important role in making the 2015 General Election credible and transparent. The views of the informants also were supported directly by the existing knowledge on the subject matter as many works indicated the positive role of international observer monitoring groups in the success of the 2015 General Election including the works of Blanchard (2015) and INEC (2015).

5.1.10 Role of Social Media

Many users of these media including Facebook; Whatsapp; Twitter and other social media were used in the build-up to 2015 General Election. One of the research organizations Betelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index (BTI) and ANAP FOUNDATION NOI Polls conducted a pre-election study in Nigeria in 2015 using social media to sample the views and opinions of the electorates towards their favorable candidates. The informants that were consulted in the interview identified social media as one of the most vital tools that were used

in making the 2015 General Election credible and fair. In addition, scholars (Nwofe 2015, Chukwudi 2015 and Bartlett, Jones, Daniel, Fisher & Jespersen 2015) all presented an argument in favor of the role of social media in the success and credibility of the 2015 General Election in agreement with the above informants' views. Here, the Rational Choice Theory is applicable both within this context. In the first instance, the parties, contestants, voters, and INEC as well as civil societies utilized rationally the platform of social media to advertise their parties and supporters and also to display their manifestoes which reached people in all nook and crannies easily than before where the relevance of social media was less influential. It succeeded in convincing many voters who were before undecided to choose in favor of certain candidates as a result of information and enlightenment in the sphere of social media.

5.1.11 Fair Play in Campaign Process

In the build-up to the 2015 General Election, one of the credits given to the ruling PDP was that it allowed for opposition to play their politics without much intimidation and also they were allowed access to media and other means of the campaign with less intimidation. Many of the informants here agreed that such a scenario led to the credibility and success of the 2015 General Election. Despite the majority opinion of the role of fair play in the electoral process in 2015, two of the informants (one in category A and the other in category B) have a contrary view to the notion that, a fair play ground was provided in the campaign process of the 2015 General Election. Many scholars agreed that there was a fair play in the conduct of 2015 General Election such as Chukwudi (2015), IRI (2015), Africa Centre for Strategic Studies 2015 and Omilusi 2015. It simply means that there was an improvement in the fair play and free opposition politics in Nigeria and that made the 2015 General Election credible than the previous ones.

5.1.12 Socioeconomic Settings

Prior to the 2015 General Election, Nigeria faced the most critical condition in its history of socioeconomic challenges in terms of insecurity, corruption, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, disease, ethno-religious crises and deep social division among the major ethnic and religious groups in the country. These issues led to the campaign and the conduct of the 2015 General Election to be the most challenging and different one from the past. Many electorates from all parts of the country decided to oust out PDP irrespective of their candidates because of the high level of the critical situation. Majority of the informants or almost all of them from all the five categories (A, B, C, D, and E) agreed without any contradiction that the critical socioeconomic situation in the country before the election made the electorates to vote the way they did. In addition to the above information, many works were conducted before and immediately after the election on the credibility and success of the election that attributed the socioeconomic and political situation in the country as one of the major determinants of the prediction of the outcome of the election and the results outcome proper. Such works include Paden (2015), Auge (2015), House of Commons Report (2015), Africa Centre for Strategic Studies (2015) and Orji (2015). Furthermore, one of the theories used (the Rational Choice Theory of Election) also explained clearly the situation as the socioeconomic and political

conditions made the voters more rational in choice and behaviourally more wiser in making choice along a different line in comparison with the usual tradition that was obtainable in the previous elections in the Fourth Republic .

5.1.13 Voters' Determination

The voters in the 2015 General Election in Nigeria displayed great zeal for making their votes count and also for choosing leaders or parties that they feel will rescue them from the malaise of socioeconomic underdevelopment. This is one of the arguments of the informants that made the election credible and fair. The IRI Report (2015) and Animashaun (2015) expressed the view that, one of the key factor that led to the success of the 2015 General Election and the defeat of the incumbent by the opposition has to do with the way in which the electorates became self-determine in the voting. Again, the above views and propositions of the informants and scholars support the Rational Choice Theory of Election in the sense that, it shows how wiser and rational the voters became where despite the crazy spending alleged in billions or trillions by the ruling party higher than the opposition, yet, they chose the opposition instead of the ruling party because of their determination for change.

5.1.14 Desire for Change

One of the slogans of the campaign in the 2015 General Election is changed. The opposition APC used to change to attract voters and to secure victory against the ruling PDP. This really attracted many votes for the opposition. The informants consulted all of the five categories believed that the word "change" was instrumental in the APC ride to power in the 2015 General Election. There are writings by IRI (2015), Paden (2015), CPPA (2015) and Isma'ila & Yusuf (2016) that supported such view on the burning desire by Nigerians to replace the ruling PDP with a better leadership as a result of corruption and poor socioeconomic policies that made the life of a common man wretched and miserable for sixteen years. In this context, Rational Choice Theory of Election is derived from the views above since the desire for change from the voters led to a different pattern in the election's outcome and it also shows how the electorates became more rational in their voting behavior.

5.1.15 Politics of Decamping

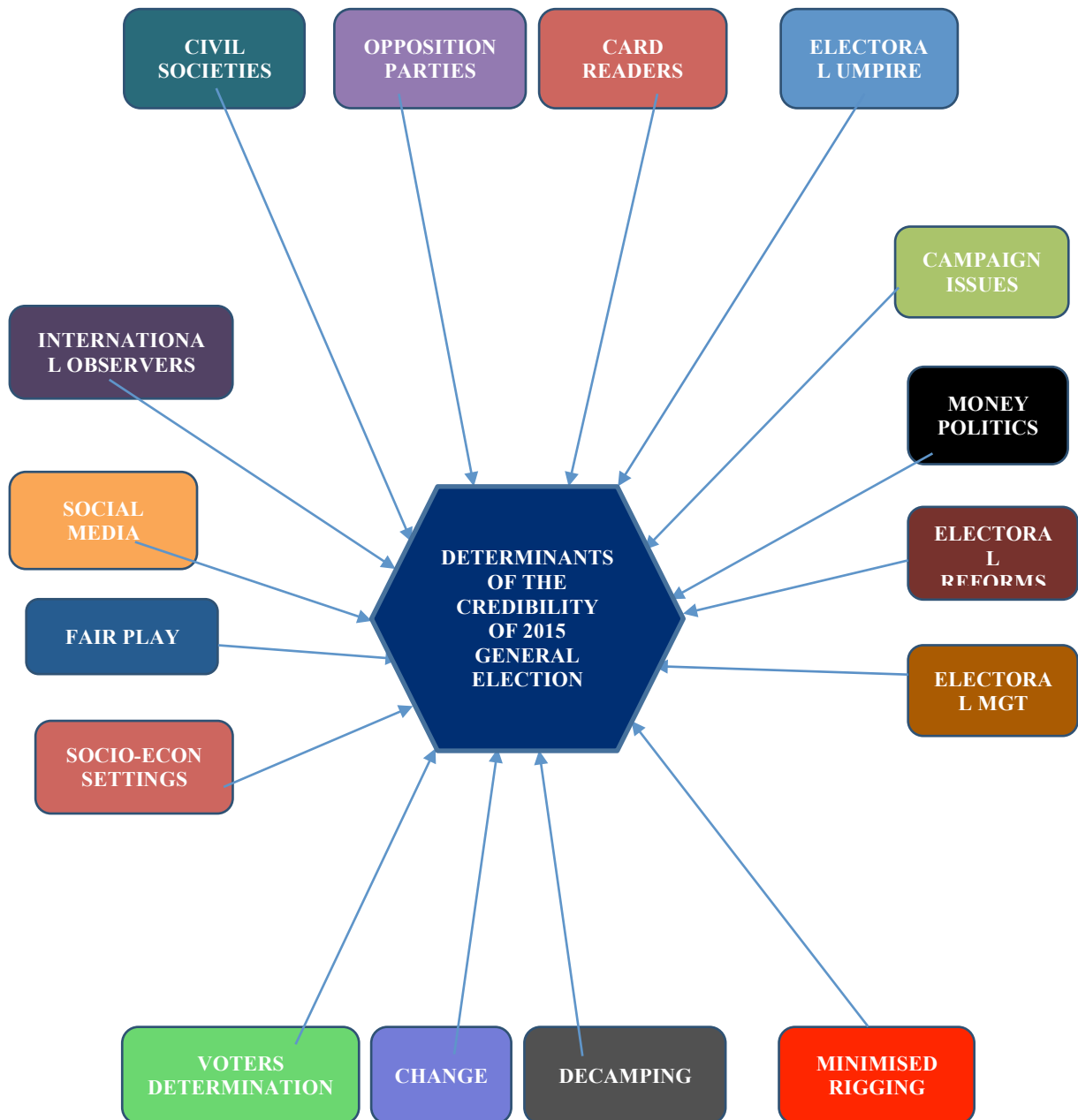
The 2015 General Election witnessed the zenith of decamping in Nigerian politics where five serving State Governors, former President, ten serving Senators, 22 serving members Federal House of Representatives decamped from the ruling PDP to APC between 2013 and 2015 in addition to many prominent politicians in all parts of the country (Jiddere, 2015). Many of the informants agreed that it was the decamping of these top serving and retired politicians that handed APC its victory in the 2015 General Election. This position has been stated by scholars (Jiddere 2015, Paden 2015, Omilusi & Adu 2016, Olorunmola 2016, Lucky 2017 and Adeniyi 2017) that the decamping has helped immeasurably to the success of APC in the 2015 General Election.

5.1.16 Minimised Rigging

The 2015 General Election was given credibility for the ability of the electoral body to employ measures that prevented rigging using card readers, the determination of the voters to protect their votes and the powers of the opposition APC in checkmating rigging. Most or almost all the informants agreed that the 2015 General Election witnessed the low level of rigging. It was also supported by many scholars (Isma'ila & Othman 2015, IRI 2015, CPPA 2015 and Blanchard 2015) that the ability of the INEC, APC, and voters to prevent rigging minimised the chances of manipulation of the electoral results and that gave the APC an upper hand in securing victory during the 2015 General Election.

All the above are summarised in a model below to show practically how credible or successful the 2015 General Election is.

Figure 1: Model Illustrating the Major Factors that determine the credibility of 2015 General Election



Source: Developed by the Researcher 2017

5.2 The Challenges of 2015 General Election

Despite the above mentioned recorded success which made many scholars to perceive the 2015 General Election as successful or credible, there are many challenges that it faced which

must be identified and address in order to avoid such mistakes in future. Some of these challenges are identified below.

5.2.1 Violation of Election Rules and Regulations in Campaign Spending

The Constitutional and Electoral Act 2010 provisions on sources of campaign funds from legal sources and maximum spending limit were violated as narrated by all the informants in all the categories to that effect. A study (USAID/USAID 2015) discovered that there was a violation of campaign regulations and other conduct related to parties and candidates during the 2015 General Election in Nigeria and this must be addressed in future otherwise money politics and credibility of the procedure will remain in doubt. As observed by Rational Choice Theory of Election, politicians can use any means possible even if it is illegal and dubious to secure victory at all cost including breaking the norms and rule. Therefore, it is rational to review the maximum spending limit upward to avoid much illegality in the future.

5.2.2 Excessive Spending

This is closely related to the above with slight difference, it has been discovered by some studies (USAID/USAID 2015, Olorunmola 2016 and Sule, Azizuddin & Mat 2017) that the 2015 General Election in Nigeria faced the greatest obstacles of excessive political party financing and campaign expenditure that amounted to billions of USD and trillions of Naira which was unprecedented and affected the outcome negatively as well as questioned the rationale and credibility of the election with such huge spending which should have been used for provision of critical national infrastructure which is lacking. Again, it can be seen clearly that the theory used in this study, the Rational Choice can explain this future implications in the sense that, parties and their contestants, as well as the electorates, will find it rational in their own choice and think to continue to use money during the elections and the only way out is strict measures that should be put on ground as a rational approach by policymakers to sanitise the electoral process.

5.2.3 Bribery and Corruption

Despite the claim that the 2015 General Election is the most credible so far in the Fourth Republic, it is also the most corrupted election where bribery and corrupt practices permeated the entire process especially from the politicians and other stakeholders that are involved in the process. For instance, the former National Security Adviser Rtd. Colonel Sambo Dasuki diverted USD 2.1 billion (N777, 133,624,337, 580.00 billion) meant for procurement of weapons to fight Boko Haram for PDP campaign in 2015 shared among various stakeholders and electorates in order to win at all cost. In addition, a report in 2017 indicated that many INEC staff in all the six geo-political zones were bribed during the electoral process in order to twist the elections results in favour of the then ruling PDP where about N 23 billion (\$63, 822, 813.191 million) was allegedly distributed to the selected INEC officials by the former

Minister of Petroleum Mrs. Diezani Allison Maduekwe (EFCC, 2017 & INEC, 2017). This trend must be stopped in future elections, or Nigerian election will become a clear contradiction of democracy which promotes transparency.

It can be seen here that the Rational Choice theory is applicable here because some of the proponents like Lindberg & Weghorst (2010) postulated that, not only rational choice is possible in terms of voting for a party or a candidate that can give them better leadership but, also the electorates can go for a candidate that give them material benefit or ethnic leaning and also the parties and their candidates can go to any extent no matter how rational or irrational to win the elections. The theory can help in amending because it assumes that if voters are enlightened and are more wiser in the choice like consumers in the market, they can vote for better and credible transparent, responsible leadership and this is what the government should do and the electoral body.

5.2.4 Insecurity

Another great challenge that the 2015 General Election faced was its conduct in an extreme condition of insecurity especially in Northeastern Nigeria where many voters were disenfranchised as a result of their condition of being in IDP camps and also in which there were threats of attacks and prevention of election from taking place by Boko Haram terrorists as in the case of their attacks in Northeastern city of Gombe on 14th February where they warned that anyone that comes out for election would be killed. Such threats of insecurity should be addressed in the future election to enable for all qualified citizens to vote freely without harassment or fear of attacks.

5.2.5 Failure of Smart Card Readers in Some Places and Manipulation at Local Levels

There were many reported cases of the failure of card readers to operate effectively in some parts of the country during the Presidential and National Assembly Elections and also during the State Governorship and State House of Assembly Elections. This enables for some level of manipulation of results especially at the local level during Governorship election where it was alleged that many of them rigged the election in favor of the incumbents in their respective states. Much litigation followed, but the judiciary is one area that the country needs to seriously rework in order to ensure that justice prevailed for the disputing parties. It is also observed that while voting was made using accreditation with card readers, collation of results was made manually which also provide room for some manipulation where the politicians got the chance. The Rational Choice explains that even manipulation and illicit conduct in electoral process can be a rational choice to the electorates and the politicians in some circumstances and where they use excuses to evade due process as in the case here with the use of card readers. The Rational Choice theory can be used in addressing the future implications of Nigerian elections in the sense that, the INEC can insist that any election that is not carried out using card reader is null and void and must be conducted again.

6.1 Conclusion and Recommendation

The research concludes that the 2015 General Election is overall improvement and a significant success compared to what was obtainable before in the previous elections especially in the Fourth Republic due to many factors that were discussed above which contributed to the success of the election. Some of the factors were obtainable before while other factors were introduced as reforms which worked well in making the procedure of the election better. However, the research also concludes that there were many challenges faced by the election and it was not that totally successful as many scholars, local and international observers and commentators speculated or concluded in their analysis. There are many serious challenges that hindered the smooth operation or total success of the election and these challenges are legal, procedural and logistical which must be looked into and address by the electoral body, policy makers, civil societies, international supporting agencies, parties, contestants, electorates and all stakeholders that are involved in the electoral process in Nigeria in the future. As a result, the research recommends the following:

1. The Electoral Act 2010 should be reviewed to provide additional rules especially increase on maximum campaign spending limit to provide a flexible room for the legal backing of campaign expenditure and also to meet the reality of the nature of Nigerian money politics and current inflationary trend;
2. INEC and policymakers should ensure that the use of card reader was constituted into law for any election and it must be followed, and they should be made effective to avoid disappointment during the election period, and collation of results should also be done electronically;
3. All those caught in the act of bribery and corruption or diverting national resources for illegal campaign spending must be severely punished to deter others in future from doing the same;
4. Laws should be made to denote that any party or contestant caught breaking electoral regulations should be banned from participating in politics in Nigeria;
5. The civil societies and international donors should intensify political socialization in local language on the evil of vote buying and
6. The incumbent government must guarantee the security of lives and properties across the country to make the next election safer and credible.

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Nigerian Federalism and the Clamour for Restructuring: Is It the Structures or the Leadership

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Abstract

Restructuring is a topical issue that is making news headlines in Nigeria. The restructuring debate has divided the Nigerian political elites into two groups. First, the proponents of State and Local Government creation. The second are those advocating for devolution of powers to the component units. Dialectically opposed to the above two groups, is the separatist agitation by the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) and the Indigenous Peoples of Biafra (IPOB) with divergent strategies for actualizing their intention of seceding from the Nigerian federation. They wanted an independent country for the Igbo ethnic nation. However, they are diametrically opposed to each other in their modus operandi. The MASSOB are favorably disposed to peaceful and consensual separation, while IPOB chooses to be armed with an aggressive confrontation with the Nigerian state. The fundamental question raised in this paper and attempt made to provide answers to is, what is wrong with the federal structures of Nigeria. Is it the structures or the governance process. The paper concluded that corrupt and inept leadership cutting across regime type in Nigeria is responsible for the dysfunctional federal system of Nigeria. The paper suggested among others that more Local Governments be created with the condition that Nigerians of proven integrity should contest election at the local council, while they still retain their jobs in the public and private sectors, only to resign when they emerge victorious in the poll.

Introduction

On the 12th of November, 2017, an erudite scholar, Dr. Kasim Waziri (katukan Borgu), Associate Professor of property law, University of Abuja, stated that "You would not appreciate the value of divorce until you have a cantankerous husband." Since then, I began to search for the attributes of a cantankerous husband, only to realize that, a cantankerous husband is bad-tempered, but has enormous wealth with farms and fruit orchards where rivers flow. His resources can be diversified at will to numerous profitable economic ventures, but he always battered his wife. He deprived her of her legal matrimonial entitlements of better shelter, food, and clothing. She is always faced with starvation in her wealthy husband's house, yet she remains patient and calm in the face of all denials of right.

The cantankerous husband would come at night to sleep with her, and if she used that conjugal relationship to ask for her basic needs, he would react negatively. In this scenario, instead of the battered wife, it is the cantankerous husband that is asking for a divorce (satire emphasis is mine).

This scenario is the replica of the Nigerian situation where the vultures (Selfish Politicians) that devour the commonwealth of the nation and impoverished her citizens are the people asking for the restructuring of the Nigerian Federation. Let us reawaken our consciousness by first defining the concept of federalism and the reasons for adopting federal system anywhere in the world so that we can contextually see, if Nigeria satisfied the necessary conditions for federalism and asked the fundamental question of why are the federal structures not functioning the way they should?

Federalism: A Conceptualization

Federalism is a governmental arrangement that allows the federating units to develop along their cultural identities giving room for even development to the component units. It is a system that divides power among the three arms of the federal government (Legislature, Executive, and Judiciary) and also divides power between the Federal Government, the States and Local Governments. In this arrangement, power is reserved for the state government which makes both state and federal governments co-ordinates to each other and independent in certain aspects and exercise power as prescribed by the constitution

The 2003 version of the *Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia* defines federalism as a national or international political system in which two levels of government control the same territory and citizens. Dicey, (1939), conceived federation as a political contrivance aimed at reconciling national unity and power while maintaining state rights. Dicey, emphasized further that, federalism means the distribution of the force of the state among a number of coordinate bodies each originating in and controlled by the constitution.

In a different perspective, Jega in Elaigwu and Akindele, (1996), said in a plural society like Nigeria, federalism is theoretically about equality and equity, justice and fair play among both the constituent units and the communal groups that comprises it. Nigerian federalism, even though a colonial creation, has satisfied some of the basic pre-requisite for a federal system of government, such as Geographical proximity of the constituent units, Fear of domination, i.e., stronger nations dominating the smaller ones, Economic advantage, Cultural diversities, etc.

Background Information on Re-Structuring

Restructuring is a political game that has metamorphosed over time from colonial period to date. Each time the elites lost the grip of power at all levels of governance, they frame new political lexicon to gain political relevance. Such deceitful framework changes nomenclature from Minority Question, Indigene/Settlers, Ethno-Religious crisis, Niger Delta Avengers to the recurrent re-structuring clamor. Re-structuring is an endgame played by the selfish Nigerian political elites particularly those from the Southern and Middle belt extraction.

These class of politicians sees the North dominating the political scene, without making a concerted effort to traverse the length and breadth of the Northern part of the country to see poverty, deprivation, and denial of constitutional rights, even among the families of the Northern political oligarchy that dominated the political scene since independence. If not the recent voice of Atiku Abubakar in support of re-structuring resulting from his political diminishing return, the Northern political elites have been silent over the issue of restructuring. Their silence is occasioned by the oil wells they primitively acquired in the Southern part of the country.

Since re-structuring is an end game, the first act of the colonial lords when they came on their exploitative mission was to restructure the existing traditional political structures of what later became known as Nigeria. The centralized and total submissive political system of Northern Nigeria was modified by the British colonial lords to accommodate the indirect rule system which further enhanced their exploitative mission. In the same vein, the semi-centralized traditional political system of South Western Nigeria and the fragmented republican system of the Igbo speaking people of South East were re-structured although with some fierce resistance from some quarters.

At independence in 1960, the country adopted the West Minster's Parliamentary democracy with three (3) regional structures (North, East, and West). By 1963, the Mid Western region was created increasing the federal structure to four. Three years after the creation of the Midwestern region, the five Majors of Igbo extraction struck and terminated the first republic. This then brought to the fore some salient issues of Nigerian federalism such as suspicion, fear of domination, fear of social distance, etc

Amidst the fear of one region dominating the other, the military government under the leadership of General Gowon called for an ad-hoc Constitutional Conference in 1966. The conference was bedeviled by divergent interest as it is usual of Nigerian Constitutional Conferences, as such consensus was not reached by the delegates of the four regions. The North wanted a confederation with four regions but later settled for a federal system with more states to be created. The Eastern Region also advocated for a confederation with more states in the regions. While the Western Region came with two proposals to the conference. One, to restructure Nigeria into Eighteen (18) the Federal States. Two, they also advocated for a confederation. The newly created Midwestern Region made a case for a federal system of government with Twelve (12) States. Consequently, General Gowon took into cognizance, the submissions of the regions and therefore created twelve (12) states in 1967. The states were Benue-Plateau, East - Central, Kano, Kwara, Lagos, Mid Western, North-Central, North-Eastern, North- Western, Rivers, South- Eastern and Western- States.

In February 1976, General Murtala Muhammad created a Nineteen (19) State Federal structure with Abuja as the new federal capital. Anambra, Bauchi, Bendel, Benue, Borno, Cross River, Gongola, Imo, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara, Lagos, Niger, Ogun, Ondo, Oyo, Plateau, Rivers, and Sokoto. Alhaji Aliyu Shehu Usman Shagari retained the 19 state-federal structure created by General Murtala.

Apparently, relying on the strength military decree, on 23rd September 1987, General Babangida created Akwa Ibom and Katsina states and on 27th August 1991, created Abia, Enugu, Delta, Jigawa, Kebbi, Osun, Kogi, Taraba, and Yobe making a total of 30 state-federal structure. General Abacha increased the states to 36 in 1996 by creating Ebonyi, Bayelsa, Nasarawa, Zamfara, Gombe, and Ekiti.

As it is the case with a federal system, powers were constitutionally shared between the federal government and the constituent units created by successive military governments. However, it is instructive to note that, federal system does not operate in a vacuum. It is operated by human beings with divergent interest particularly in the case of Nigeria where primordial sentiments override the sense of reasoning. The operators of the system are therefore expected to be fair in the distribution of the Commonwealth of the nation. In this instance, without a collective mental transformation of leaders and the led in Nigeria, any structural changes in all spheres of the Nigerian federation will be subverted by the negative mindset of the selfish individuals cutting across the divides of the masses and the leaders.

Is it the Structures or the Governing Process?

This is where the leadership question comes in because there is nothing wrong with the federal structures of Nigeria. The problem lies with individuals saddled with the responsibility of operating the structures. Achebe (1985) submitted that the trouble with Nigeria is that of leadership. He said there is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian character. There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land, water, air, or anything else. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of her leaders to rise to the responsibilities and challenges of personal examples, which are the hallmark of true leadership .

Nigeria is a lucky nation endowed with abundant natural resources, both human and material. In terms of land mass apart from Mali and Niger republics, no nation in West African sub-region has the land mass of Nigeria. Nigeria occupies a total land area of 923, 768 square kilometers (356, 669 square miles). The upland covers 910, 768 square kilometers, while 13 square kilometers is covered by water. The longest distance from East to West is about 767 kilometers, while from North to South is 1, 605. Kilometers, Nigeria shares a boundary with the Benin Republic on the west, the Cameroon Republic on the East, Niger and Chad Republics on the Northern axis and on the southern axis, it is a vast coastline of the Atlantic Ocean measuring about 800 kilometers into the gulf of guinea. Nigeria is the number eight oil producer in the world accounting for about 21.9% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), 56.4% of the foreign exchange receipts and 88.6% of government revenues (Charles, Englama and Adebusuyi, 2010). Solid mineral deposits also abound all over the 774 local government areas of the federation(News Watch Magazine, 1993)

However, these natural gifts did not translate into better lives for the larger proportion of Nigerians. An enormous amount of public money running into trillions of naira have been allocated to States and Local Governments from the federation account since the oil boom to the Buhari bailout. The intention is to provide basic welfare services and infrastructure such as Roads, Schools, Health Facilities, Water Supply, etc. Unfortunately, the Commonwealth of

the nation did not have a trickle-down effect on the rural and urban poor in Nigeria. The reason is, the ruling elites whom Buhari described as "Spoilt Children" including his own governors and ministers determine how the resources are shared to their own parochial advantage with the resultant effect of pervasive corruption and poverty in the land.

With the departure of the colonial lords from Nigeria over fifty years ago, the nation is still filled with discontentment. There is discontentment because the Nigerian Government cutting across regime time has been the government of Looters, Exploiters, Connivance, and Oppressors. While the Nigerian politics has been politics of Lies, Deceptions, Collaborators, Cabals and unfulfilled promises. This is what informed the submission of Jega (2007) that :

Nigeria has grappled and battled with a profound paradox. The country's enormous human and material resources have been wasted, squandered and vandalized. Except in few cases, credible, competent and patriotic leadership has eluded the nation. Very few inept, corrupt and selfish individuals in sensitive positions of responsibility, decides for over One Hundred and Eighty Million Nigerians.

Given this antecedents, the governing process became corrupt and subsumed by primitive capital accumulation. The military, whose constitutional role is to manage violence and safeguard the territorial integrity of the country, became deeply rooted in Nigerian government and politics with glaring cases of corruption. Since 1966, military regime accused its predecessor of corruption. It is instructive to note that the oil boom of the 70s did not only entrenched corruption in successive military governments but also influenced the thinking of military policymakers to embark on many capital intensive public projects that later became uncompleted and abandoned. Adeyemi (2001) is of the view that, the failed and abandoned projects littered the national landscape. The enormous amount of public fund wasted in such projects could have otherwise been put to productive use. While a huge amount of resources have been sunk into such failed projects, a lot of basic needs of the Nigerian masses such as education, health, and road infrastructure are still left to be desired.

Such failed, and underutilized projects in various subsectors of the economy include, the National Center for Agricultural Mechanization Ilorin, established in 1974. The Strategic Grains Silos Programme, commissioned in 1988. The National Fertilizer Company (NAFCO) at Onne and the Fertilizer and Superphosphate Plant in Kaduna. The River Basin Development Authority etc. In the manufacturing subsector, there is the Nigerian Machine Tools Industry, Oshogbo, the Jebba, Iwopin and Oku-Iboku Paper Mills, the multi-billion Dollars Ajaokuta Steel Plant, the Delta Steel Plant, the Oshogbo, Jos and Katsina Steel Rolling Mills. The Itakpe Iron Ore Mining Project. These projects failed to yield any positive result for Nigerians because of the inexperience of the military leaders and corruption incarnate.

Shagari's government could not exonerate itself from the endemic corruption in the history of the country. During his administration, Nigerian foreign reserve was depleted from Eight

Billion Dollars in 1979 to One Billion Dollars in 1983, while external debt increased from Twelve Billion Dollars to Fifteen Billion Dollars. His Ministers, Governors, Senators and other government officials became corrupt and deeply involved in money laundering.

Buhari overthrew Shagari's government over corruption, and he was in turn overthrown by Babangida and accused his government of corruption, inflation, and high handedness. Babangida's regime could not tame corruption. Professor Nuhu Yakuq described the regime as indiscipline, corrupt and grossly irresponsible. Mohammed Lawan Maina, Governor of Borno State under Babangida's regime corruptly spent Nine Million Naira to host Prince Charles of Britain and his wife, Lady Diana for just 24 hours

Babangida stepped aside paving the way for Abacha to overthrow Shonekan's interim government to assume a mantle of leadership. When Abacha came on board, he told Nigerians that his government is a child of necessity with strong determination to restore peace and stability to our country and on this foundation enthrone a lasting and true democracy. It was under this pretext that Abacha looted Nigeria's treasury. His family members, accomplices, and his ministers had fat private bank accounts abroad.

After the death of Abacha in June 1998, General Abdulsalami Abubakar succeeded him. He was smart in fast-tracking the transition programme and quickly handed over power to Obasanjo in 1999. His wisdom to relinquish power to civilians covered his monumental treasury loot. Al-Mustapha accused him of diverting Abacha's loot and corruptly spent Five (5) Billion dollars to give the Eagle Square an aesthetic look for the May 29, 1999 handing over ceremony (Anifowose and Erremuo, 1999).

Obasanjo took over on 29th May 1999 and in September 2000, he told British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) that there is corruption in Nigerian Air Ways, Nigerian Ports Authority, Nigerian Petroleum Corporation. Given the endemic nature of corruption among the Nigerian elites, within the first three years, Obasanjo/Atiku misappropriated over Two Hundred Billion Naira. The Senate President under Obasanjo's government was indicted with bribery case to the tune of 22.95 million naira as Christmas welfare package. The Halliburton bribery saga was a typical corruption case under Obasanjo. Obsanjo himself fraudulently attempted to elongate his tenure using money (N100 million each) and plot of land in strategic locations of Abuja to bribe the National Assembly Members (Bugage in Mohammed, 2006). His governors were indicted for corruptly acquiring public wealth in billions of naira.

Corruption Cases of Obasanjo's Governors (1999 – 2007)

S/NO	NAME OF GOVERNOR	STATE	AMOUNT INVOLVED	YEARS OF COURT CASE
001	Gbenga Daniel	Ogun	₦58 billion	3
002	Orji Uzo Kalu	Abia	₦5 billion	7
003	Joshua Dariye	Plateau	₦700 million	7
004	Ayo Fayose	Ekiti	₦1.2 billion	7

005	Saminu Turaki	Jigawa	₦36 billion	7
006	Abdullahi Adamu	Nassarawa	₦15 billion	4
007	Chimaroke Nnamani	Enugu	₦5.3 billion	7
008	Jolly Nyame	Taraba	₦1.3 billion	7
009	Danjuma Goje	Gombe	₦24 billion	3
010	Attahiru Bafarawa	Sokoto	₦6 billion	5
011	Aliyu Akwe Doma	Nassarawa	₦15 billion	3
012	Timipre Sylva	Bayelsa	₦5 billion	2
013	Alao Akala	Oyo	₦11 billion	3
014	Rasheed Ladoja	Oyo	₦6 billion	6
015	Peter Odili	Rivers	₦100 billion	Perpetual injunction

Source: Daily Trust, September 29, 2014.

The Dasuki and Diezani gates under president Jonathan were the climax of primitive capital accumulation synonymous with the Nigerian political class. Dasuki was magnanimous in sharing 2.1 billion US dollars arms money to the same political class and their accomplices. With the unprecedented loot of Diezani Alison Madueke, I doubt if Nigerian women can agitate for the 35% affirmative action again.

Beneficiaries of Dasuki Arms Deal

S/N	Name	Nomenclature	Amount
001	Dr. Peter Odili	Former Governor, Rivers State	₦100 million
002	Attahiru Bafarawa	Former Governor, Sokoto State	₦4.5 billion
003	Aliyu Shinkafi		₦100 million
004	Jim Nwobodo	Former Information Minister	₦500 million
005	Tony Anenih	Former BOT Chairman	₦260 million
006	Ahmadu Ali	Former PDP Chairman	₦100 million
007	Bode George	Former Deputy Chairman	₦100 million and \$30,000.00
008	Olisa Metuh	PDP Publicity Secretary	#400 million
009	Gen. Bello Sarkin Yaki		₦200 million
010	Dr. Raymond Dokpesi	Chairman Daar Communication Plc	#2.1 billion
011	Iyorchia Ayu	Former Speaker House of Rep	#345 million
012	Dalhatu Investment Ltd		₦1.5 billion
013	Bello Haliru and Son	Former PDP Chairman	₦300 million
014	Bello Mutawalle		₦300 million
015	ACACIA Holding		₦600 million
016	Bashir Yuguda	Former Minister of State Finance	₦1.9 billion
017	Rashidi Ladoja	Former Governor Oyo State	₦100 million
018	Olu Falae	Former Secretary FGN	₦100 million
019	Tanko Yakasai	Former Presidential Adviser	₦63 million

Source, Daily Trust January, 17th 2016.

The Minister of information, Lai Mohammed said in the *Daily Trust Newspaper* of 19th January 2016, that fifty-five (55) people stole 1.3 trillion in seven (7) years. This period covered the end of Obasanjo's second tenure to late Umaru Musa Yar'adua and Good luck Jonathan's tenures. The minister stated further that using World Bank's rates and costs, one-third of the stolen fund would have provided 635.18 kilometers of roads, built 36 ultra modern hospitals in each state of the federation, built 183 schools, educates 3,974 children from primary to tertiary level at 25.24 million per child and built 20,062 units of 2 bedroom houses.

This was the prevailing situation in Nigeria when Buhari came on board. He promised to fight corruption, insecurity and revamp the economy. But unfortunately under his watch, the Secretary to the Federal Government, Babachir David Lawal was indicted and sacked for stealing over 500 Million Naira meant for the sanitary improvement of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps in his own North Eastern zone. For over two years, the budgetary allocation to the Aso rock clinic has been siphoned by invisible hands in the presidential villa. Relief materials for the IDPs have been missing on transit. The situation is not different in the states, even with the bailout funds given to the state governors. For the first time, Nigerians came face to face with the realities of budget padding by the 8th National Assembly under Buhari's civil government.

The cumulative effect of this primitive accumulation by those entrusted with the management of the Commonwealth of the nation is endemic poverty in the land. While the leadership became consumed by the poverty of conscience, the followers became entangled by material poverty created by inept leadership over time. There are about 63.9% core poor households in Nigeria with the highest percentage in the rural areas. There are 67.0% poor in the rural areas and 57.9% in the urban centers. Across the geopolitical zones, North East has the largest proportion of the poor, about 77.5%, South East 76.8%, North Central 62.8%, South West 61.4%, North West 50.2% (NBS)

In spite of the impoverished situation in Nigeria orchestrated by the selfish political class, their ovation for structural changes of the country is glaring. Atiku Abubakar was reported at a launch of a book titled "We are all Biafrans" on May 31, 2016, saying:

When I was invited to chair this occasion, I immediately understood that the titled of the book is a metaphor for the legitimate feelings of marginalization by diverse segments of Nigerians that cut across the country. Agitations by much right thinking Nigerians call for restructuring and renewal of our federation to make it less centralized, less suffocating and less dictatorial as some of you may know, I have for a long time advocated the need to restructure our federation. (Leadership newspaper, 31 May 2016).

Femi Fanny Kayode, a former Minister of Federal Republic of Nigeria, said in the Igbo, Yoruba and Middle Belt conference in Abia State that;

In this country, there are slaves and masters. Those who see themselves as masters, see the rest of us as slaves. The suffering of the people of South East is something we all have to apologize. You and your children were slaughtered at your houses and in the North on 28 July 1966. One million Igbo children were starved to death and year after year, Igbos have been killed in the North and the people of the middle belt have also been killed. I am glad Jona Jang is here. Everything was taken away from them including their identity. What they did to IPOB is unacceptable. As a friend to Nnamdi Kanu, I cannot forget him... I call on Buhari to produce him, whether dead or alive. They did it to us in the South West, they kill our children, wives, men, elders. We have no fear again. If they did not restructure, we would do it by force. If there is no restructure, there will be no Nigeria.

Tanko Yakasai in a different opinion from Atiku and Kayode said;

Whoever is thinking about restructuring Nigeria should realize that he is talking about the fate of over 180 million Nigerians who are entitled to know what the details of this restructuring are ... I am a Nigerian and I will like to know what will be my fate in a restructured Nigeria. Other Nigerians will also like to know what a restructured Nigeria will look like because they are affected.

Conclusively, restructuring to the Nigerian rural and urban poor would mean sufficient, efficient and affordable medical care, qualitative and accessible education, quality and safe roads network, efficient and accessible credit facilities. In fact, restructuring to a 60 years old stone crusher in Karimajiji, a suburb of Abuja, means the provision of his basic needs that can take him off the energy-sapping means of survival. It is against this backdrop that these fundamental questions were raised in this paper . One. if the Federal Republic of Nigeria is to be restructured given the endemic corruption, who will be in charge of the new structures?. Two, If eventually, there is devolution of powers, which tier of government should be more empowered ?. Three, if the separatist is able to secede, what system of government would they adopt given their fragmented societies (Federal System or Unitary System) and how would they accommodate the Niger Delta agitating for the control of their resources?

The Way Forward

For us to get out of the quagmire we found ourselves in Nigeria, we must have a fear of God and expunge vested interest in all sectors of our political economy. Secondly, no state creation should take place again. Instead, more local governments should be created with autonomy, but with a proviso.

If the electoral laws would be amended to allow men of proven integrity to contest election while they retain their jobs in the public or private sectors. After winning the

election, they tender their resignation letter and if otherwise, they go back to their work.

Finally, I will like to advise the Nigerian political class the way Christian clergymen admonish the princes of Brazzaville.

You who are in good position, you and your wives, today you enjoy many comforts, perhaps a good education, a fine house, good contacts and many missions on which you are delegated which opens new horizons to you. But all your wealth forms a hard shell which prevents your seeing the poverty that surrounds you. Take care, if there is no room in your heart for consideration towards those who are beneath you, there will be no room for you in God's house.(cited in Frantz Fanon, 1963).

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President Buhari's Foreign Policy: A Realist Perception

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Abstract

President Buhari came to power in the midst of challenges ranging from security, economy and international relations. To overcome these challenges, Buhari's government decided to look inward for reforms in the overall security apparatus in order to relate effectively with the outside world for sustainable development in Nigeria. It is against this backdrop that this paper analyzed Buhari's foreign policy within the first Twelve (12) months of his administration and came to conclusion that, he was a realist in perception using political power for the realization of national objectives.

Keywords: Political Power, National Security, Foreign Relations, Sustainable Development

Introduction

Foreign policy is an important determinant of international relations. It deals with the relationship between actors in the international system. Therefore, the defining elements of foreign policy are friend or foe. The Nation States defined their friends and enemies in the international system with the intention of achieving the following objectives:

- *Maintenance of sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- *Provision of national security.
- *Promotion of economic interest and welfare of citizens.
- *Protection of national prestige and development of national power. *Maintenance of world order.

However, given the dynamism of Nigeria's domestic conditions resulting from dominant negative values, these objectives have not been maximally achieved when compared with her contemporaries in the third world countries of Latin America and Asia. This is not far from the lip service to Nigerian national pledge. The lyrics of the national pledge appear on the

lips of Nigerians every day like a devotional sermon, but with insignificant action to justify the pledge. Lest I forget, the lyrics read thus:

I pledge to Nigeria my country
To be faithful, loyal and honest
To serve Nigeria with all my strength
To defend her unity and uphold
Her honour and glory
So help me God.

It is pertinent to note that, school pupils at their formative stage, sportsmen, organized private sector, the traditional institution, the academia, the civil service and the political class read the national pledge only for ceremonial purposes. Against this backdrop, public consumption goods within the context of the neoclassical political economy such as functional schools, efficient health facilities, road infrastructure, pipe borne water, national security, etc. were relegated to the background leaving a lot to be desired in all sectors of the Nigerian economy. The devastating consequences of this disconnect between the pledge and positive action are a hostile environment for both domestic and international relations in Nigeria.

To buttress the above, President Buhari is of the view that:

In recent times Nigerian leaders appear to have misread our mission. Our founding fathers, Mr. Herbert Macaulay, Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Mallam Aminu Kano, Chief J.S. Tarka, Mr. Eyo Ita, Chief Denis Osadeby, Chief Ladoke Akintola and their colleagues worked to establish a certain standard of governance. They might have differed in their methods or tactics or details, but they were united in establishing a viable and progressive country. Some of their successors behaved like spoilt children breaking everything and bring disorder to the house. (Leadership, 30th May 2015).

Nigeria's Domestic Condition Prior to Buhari's Administration

Nigeria, even though a colonial creation, nature has been very fair to her. She is endowed with abundant natural resources both human and material. Apart from Mali and Niger Republic, no nation in West African sub-region has the land mass of Nigeria.

According to Charles, Englama, and Adebuseyi (2010:61), Nigeria occupies a total land area of 923, 768 square kilometers (356,669 square miles). The upland covers 910,768 square kilometers, and 13,000 square kilometers is covered by water. The longest distance from East to West is about 767 kilometers, while from North to South is 1,605 kilometers. Nigeria shares a boundary with the Benin Republic on the West, the Cameroon Republic on the East,

Niger and Chad Republic on the Northern axis and on the Southern axis, it is a vast coastline of the Atlantic Ocean measuring about 800 kilometers known as the Gulf of Guinea.

Out of this total land area of Nigeria, about 31.3% is arable. 3.0% is for permanent crop production, 23.0% is for meadows and pastures. The forest woodland covers 15.0%. While 28.0% is for other uses, even though little is used for irrigation. Apart from maritime resources, Nigeria is blessed with abundant mineral resources. The country is number eight oil producer in the world, accounting for about 21.9% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), 56.4% of the foreign exchange receipts and 88.6% of government revenues. (Charles, Englama, and Adebusuyi, 2010:62).

Nature did not also forget Nigeria in terms of solid mineral deposit in virtually all local government areas of the federation. Minerals such as precious metals, barites, gypsum, kaolin, marble, coal, gold, iron ore, lead, etc., abound in Nigeria.

However, this nature gifts have not translated into better lives for the larger proportion of Nigerians. An enormous amount of money running into trillions of naira have been allocated to states from the federation account since the oil boom to over a decade of civil rule from 1999 to 2015. The intention is to provide basic welfare services and infrastructure such as schools, health facilities, water, electricity, roads, etc. Unfortunately, this commonwealth of the nation did not have a trickle-down effect on the rural and urban poor people in Nigeria. The reason is that the ruling elites, whom Buhari termed as 'spoilt children,' determined how the resources were shared to their own parochial advantage with the resultant effect of pervasive corruption and poverty in the land.

The impoverished and miserable situation of Nigeria was put in clear perspective by Asobie (2007:1) when he said:

Poverty is at the heart of Nigeria's socio-economic problems. Poverty manifest as hunger, ill health, or poor health, illiteracy and low level of formal education. It also takes the form of inadequate housing, poor clothing, malnourished off-springs and even early demise. The poor are humans. They are people with flesh and blood. But speaking frankly, this category of Nigerians live not really like humans. They are compelled to exist, nay navigate at a level that is fit more for animals, than for humans. They share the rain filled holes which constitute the main source of their drinking water with pigs, goats, and dogs.

Given this background, Nigerians began to fend for themselves leading to claims over primordial sentiments of ethnicity, religion, indigenes, and settlers, etc. This has taken toll of lives and property and threatened the corporate existence of Nigeria. In all the geopolitical zones of Nigeria, one case of the ethno-religious or communal clash was recorded. Deadly, clashes that cannot be forgotten in the history of Nigeria are the Ife-Modakeke crisis of the

South West, the Umuleri-Aguleri crisis of the South East, the Ijaw-Itsekiri crisis of the South-South, the Yelwa-Shendam crisis of Jos Plateau and, the herdsmen and farmers crisis of Benue all in North Central Nigeria, the Kafanchan and Kano crisis of North Western Nigeria, the Tiv-Fulani and Tiv-Jukun crisis of Taraba North Eastern Nigeria.

Consequent upon the failure of the Nigerian state within the period under review, these communal clashes at micro-community level degenerated to well defined, well coordinated and well-sponsored terror groups in strategic regions of Nigeria. Heavily armed militants had their stronghold in oil-rich Niger Delta. The violent agitation of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) germinated in South East with multiplying effects of kidnappings across the country. The Boko Haram insurgents found in Northern Nigeria, particularly North East, where they found very fertile for the propagation of their barbaric ideology, walking on foot and convoy of cars, shooting sporadically and in most cases bombing and killing innocent Nigerians and foreigners with pride.

This was the situation when President Buhari won the election, defeating the incumbent President Good luck Jonathan after three consecutive unsuccessful, but the gallant contest in 2003, 2007, 2011.

Buhari's Foreign Policy Approach

The President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is the single most important Nigerian representative in external affairs with extensive formal authority as chief executive in foreign policy formulation. He appoints ambassadors to other countries and receives foreign ambassadors. Therefore, given the extensive powers of Mr. President and the personal experience of Muhammadu Buhari as the former head of state, he approached his foreign policy from political realist's perspective. The primary objective of political realism in international relations is the use of political power for the pursuit of national interest which is often identified with security, the ultimate goal of foreign policy.

To achieve the objective of national security, Buhari first re-organized the entire security apparatus that make up the Nigerian intelligence community, putting them in proper perspective with a focus on sincere national security. He moved the command unit of the military from Abuja to the war theater in Maiduguri, appointed new defence service chiefs and national security adviser with dogged military doctrine to face the Boko Haram insurgents that threatened national security and foreign direct investment.

This new vigor in fighting Boko Haram with the intention of securing the nation for domestic and bilateral relations was carried out through the following re-organized national security decision making structures.

Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA)

On 13th July 2015, President Buhari appointed major General Babagana Monguno (Rtd) as the new National Security Adviser (NSA). The NSA is the Chairman of the Nigeria Intelligence Community. He is, therefore, responsible for coordinating the activities of the Intelligence Community using Joint Intelligence Board (JIB). He advises the President,

Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, the National Defence Council and the National Security Council on matters that affect the security of Nigeria.

National Defence Council

This council is to advise the President on matters relating to the defence of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Nigeria. The council is composed of the following:

- a. President - Chairman
- b. Vice president - Deputy Chairman
- c. Chief of Staff to Mr. President
- d. Secretary of Government of the Federation
- e. Honourable Minister of Defence
- f. Chief of Defence Staff
- g. Chief of Army Staff
- h. Chief of Naval Staff
- i. Co-opted Members

National Security Council

This council advises Mr. President on matters relating to public security. It is composed of the following:

- a. President - Chairman
- b. Vice president - Deputy Chairman
- c. Chief of Staff to Mr. President
- d. Secretary of Government of the Federation
- e. Head of Service of the Federation
- f. National Security Adviser
- g. Honourable Minister of Internal Affairs
- h. Honourable Minister of Defence
- i. Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs
- j. Chief of Defence Staff
- k. Chief of Army Staff
- l. Chief of Naval Staff
- m. Chief of Air Staff
- n. Inspector General of Police
- o. Director General State Services
- p. Director General National Intelligence
- q. Co-opted Members

Apparently, after putting these national security structures in place, President Buhari forged ahead to discuss with his close neighbours, the member countries of Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) on how to end Boko Haram insurgency and secure the region for investment.

Buhari's Close Neighbour Diplomacy

Buhari's close neighbor diplomacy begins with the revival of the relationship between Nigeria her close neighbours that had gone sour under previous governments of Nigeria.

Prior to Buhari's administration, there were varying levels of distrust between Nigeria, Chad, and Cameroon. In 1983, Chad invaded parts of Borno State. It was President Buhari at that point an Army Major that chased them back to Chad. There have been several border disagreements and distrust between Nigeria and Cameroon, particularly, the Bakasi Peninsula. This lack of trust undermines the fight against Boko Haram under previous governments. There was no systematic share of intelligence. Nigerian troops were not allowed on the soil of Cameroon and Chad and vice versa.

Therefore, in the first three months of Buhari's presidency, he visited Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Benin Republics. Buhari had a bilateral discussion with the leaders of these countries which allay their fears of one country invading the other. The visits led to the resuscitation and expansion of the Moribund Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) and shifted the headquarters from Baga in Nigeria to Ndjamena, Chad. The MNJTF had 8,700 troops legally recognized by the instruments of African Union and United Nations. President Buhari committed one hundred U.S. Dollars to the operations of the joint task force.

Buhari and the Gulf of Guinea

The Gulf of Guinea is very strategic to the national interest of Nigeria, as it is to the rest of the world particularly Europe and America. Damian (2005) concluded that the Gulf of Guinea's tremendous potentials is creating investment opportunities for the region. Some of its resources such as oil, minerals, and forest continue to attract significant investment. Furthermore, the Economist (2004) stated that:

The Gulf of Guinea has a market size of about 300 million consumers. It encompasses a large number of counties from West and Central Africa. Angola, Benin, Cameroon, Central African Republic (CAR), Cote d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Nigeria, Republic of Congo, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. These countries enjoy a wide geological, geographical and cultural diversity. They range from English speaking countries to French, Portuguese and Spanish speaking nations. Overall, the Gulf of Guinea generates a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of \$112 billion, exports of about \$45.5 billion and imports of about \$31.63 billion.

However, because of the accessibility of this region to the Atlantic ocean, it became open to crude oil theft, sabotage of oil rigs and arms smuggling. Biodun (2016) is of the view that, several forms of illegal activities at sea exist in the Gulf of Guinea including illegal, unreported, unregulated fishing, illegal arms trade, goods counterfeiting and petro piracy. In

2014, over 300,000 barrels of crude oil were stolen per day from Niger Delta and sold on the sea at \$120 per barrel.

In view of the above, on Monday, March 14, 2016, Buhari visited Malabo, the capital of oil-rich Equatorial Guinea where he discussed with President Obiang Nguema Mbasogo on the measures to protect the people and resources of Niger Delta and by extension the entire Gulf of Guinea. Buhari's visit led to the signing of an agreement to establish a combined maritime policing and security patrol committee. This will enhance security in the Gulf of Guinea and help curb maritime crimes that expose Nigerian political economy to danger. Given Buhari's personal integrity and exemplary leadership, his host, Mbasogo decorated him with the highest national award of Equatorial Guinea.

Buhari's Economic Diplomacy with the Rest of the World.

President Buhari has enjoyed tremendous goodwill from the international community during his electioneering campaign and after he won the election in March 2015. He acknowledged this kind gesture in his inaugural speech when he said "Your Excellencies, my fellow Nigerians, I cannot recall when Nigeria enjoyed so much goodwill abroad as now. The messages I received from East and West from powerful and small countries are indicative of international expectation from us".

It is interesting to note that, Nigeria's interaction with the rest of the world since 1960 to 2015 has not been so rosy like Buhari's tenure. 1960 – 65 marked the period of passive foreign diplomacy, 1966 – 69 was engulfed by the civil war with foreign relations highly influenced by religious inclinations. 1970 – 79 was dominated by military elites politics leading to coups and counter-coups with the oil boom and little knowledge of how to spend the money. 1979 – 1999 also witnessed the alternation between the civil rule and military regimes with image laundering abroad. 1999 – 2015 marked a decade of an uninterrupted civil rule with gross legitimacy crisis, incompetence and inept leadership resulting to the high-level corruption that dented the image of Nigeria abroad.

In cognizance of the above, Buhari's personal integrity and track records have earned Nigeria her place of pride in the international community. This is what informed the tremendous goodwill he received from abroad. It is on the basis of this, that powerful countries of Europe, Asia and America extended invitations to him to visit their countries on economic diplomacy with the intention of diversifying the Nigerian economy which over the years have relied solely on petrodollars.

One Year of Buhari's Foreign Policy: So Far, How Far

Within the one year period under review, Buhari has achieved the following:

- ❖ Buhari's personal integrity and impressive credentials have earned the confidence of the neighbouring countries of Chad, Cameroon, Niger and Benin republics to support the war against the insurgency. His foreign relations also encouraged France, UK, and the USA to support Nigeria with intelligence, weapons, and training for Nigerian

military against Boko Haram and Niger Delta militants. This has helped in the technical and tactical defeating of Boko Haram.

- ❖ Relative peace has returned to Nigeria. The mutual fear and suspicion among Nigerians have been eroded. Local governments initially under captivity by Boko Haram have been liberated.
- ❖ Military checkpoints that littered Nigerian roads signifying Nigeria is at war have disappeared.
- ❖ Buhari has redeemed Nigeria's image abroad. He has brought positive attention, love, admiration, importance, respect, and investments to Nigeria. All heads of states in the world now take Nigeria seriously.
- ❖ Buhari's recent visit to China yields over six billion dollars investments in Nigeria in different sectors of the economy such as power, solid minerals, housing, high tech industrial park, gas, agriculture and road infrastructure.
- ❖ The willingness of foreign nations to repatriate looted public funds back to Nigeria is a great achievement.

Conclusion

The thrust of Buhari's foreign policy is to make Nigeria a strong voice in Africa and the rest of the world. His approach towards achieving this objective is the re-positioning and re-strategizing of the Nigerian security apparatus to facilitate national security, regional integration and bilateral relationship with the rest of the world.

Recommendations

- ❖ Buhari should make a radical departure from Africa centered foreign policy to Nigeria centered foreign policy. He should rather encourage mutual trade among African nations.
- ❖ Buhari's diversified diplomacy from America, Europe, Asia and the Middle East should be handled with caution given the hangover of the cold war and the exploitative tendency of neocolonialism. However, in the event of domination by any of the nations among these blocs, he should be bold to take a diplomatic decision in the interest of Nigeria.
- ❖ Nigerians should embrace genuine economic engagements and expunge negative values of corruption.
- ❖ All Progressive Congress (APC) should re-organize itself by re-positioning the party with a view to sustaining the sympathy of the electorates so that they can consolidate the gains of Buhari.
- ❖ It is divine to go through some hardship for a period of time and also have relief for some other time. Therefore, Nigerians should be patient with President Muhammadu Buhari's administration, and he has a good will for the nation.

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A Glimpse of Science, Technology, and Mathematics in Ancient India: Social and Cultural Perspective

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Abstract

India is one of the world's oldest countries, and its civilization is among the most ancient. In its philosophical literature and the practice of dance, music, sculpture, painting, and fine arts; India has totally excelled across the world. India has a highly rich legacy of scientific ideas. We are the ones who generated and created science and did not borrow it from anywhere. Present day technology is greatly based on yesterday's science, and tomorrow's technology would be totally based on today's science. Thanks to the work of the Indian Council of Historical Research, Indian National Science Academy, Indian Council of Social Science Research and other learned bodies, the development of sciences in India during the ancient period has drawn attentions of scholars in the 20th and 21st century. It became clear from the past studies that India has consistently been a scientific country, right from Vedic to modern times. This mini review paper will throw light on the early knowledge in the different spheres of science and technology in which ancient Indian excelled. It also highlights some of the achievements of ancient Indian society which are of immense importance for spreading knowledge to a wide range of audience making it a matter of pride not only for Indians but also for the whole educational and scientific community.

Keywords: India, Literature, Science, Technology, Research, National, Ancient, Vedic, Modern

Introduction and Background

India has had age old relationships with scientific and technological endeavors. After many long years of scientific development, Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman, better known as CV Raman, became the first Indian to win a Nobel Prize in science for his discovery, 'The Raman's effect' in 1930. He reportedly published 475 peer-reviewed articles during his career. His legacy didn't stop there; Raman's nephew Subrahmanyam Chandrashekar was awarded the 1983 Nobel Prize for Physics "for his theoretical studies of the physical processes of importance to the structure and evolution of the stars." Indian civilization is a

living civilization which still exists even in this age of globalization, although it is getting eroding day by day at an alarming rate. [1]

In the current scenario, India is a prolifically growing nation in the field of science and technology. India's performance is higher in a few key sectors. For instance, engineering is India's most impactful field in terms of citations, with material science securing the second position [2].

Some of the scientific disciplines that emerged in different period/era:

Development of science in ancient India	Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, Metallurgy, Geography
Scientific and technological developments in medieval India	Biology, Mathematics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Medicine, Agriculture
Science and technology in modern India	Industry, Agriculture, Nuclear Energy, Space Technology, Electronics, Medical and Health Sciences, Ocean Development

Mathematics-The first use of zero as a numeral

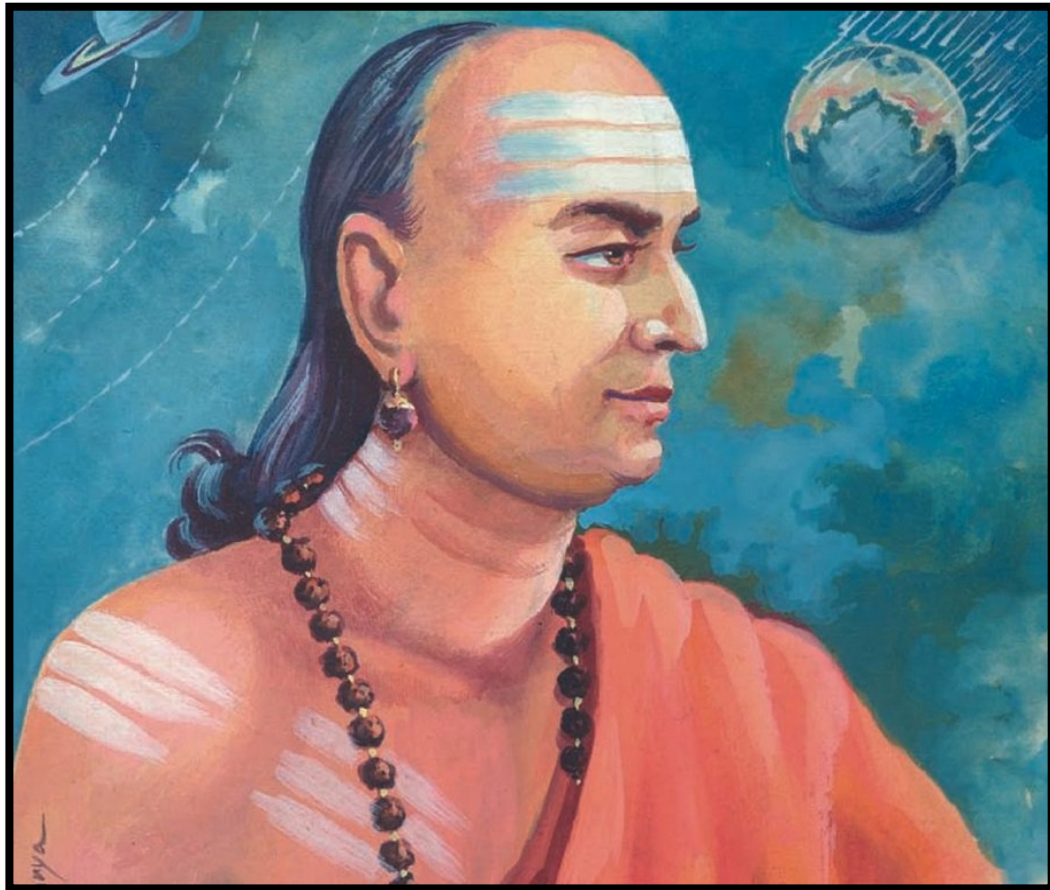
Vedic history showed special interest in two particular branches of mathematics, viz. geometry and astronomy. The original problems of geometry and consequently the science of geometry came from this period. In the course of time, however, these sciences outgrew their original purpose and came to be cultivated for their own sake. The following paragraphs will discuss the history of mathematics in ancient India. The notation system, the decimal system and the use of zero were the three main contributions in the field of mathematics [3].

Ganita is the Sanskrit word used for mathematics which means the science of calculation. In the remote period **ganita** included astronomy, arithmetic, and algebra, but not geometry. Geometry then belonged to a different group of sciences known as **kalpa** [4]. At the very first encounter, it appeared marvelous to the West Asians, and "satanic" to Christian clerics in Europe during the middle Ages. [5]

In India, one of the greatest world renewed, brilliant mathematician-astronomer Aryabhata who lived at Kusumapura (today's Patna, capital of Indian state of Bihar) played central character in the historical figure whose work ranks among the great mathematical-astronomical classics in the world. He wrote the *Aryabhatiya*, a brief but extremely important Sanskrit treatise of mathematics and astronomy in 499 BCE, at the age of 23. [6]

Aryabhata-The greatest of all (A.D 476) invented a system of expressing numbers with the help of consonants and vowels, based on the decimal place value principle.

Aryabhata says I furnished only one stanza (Golapada)



**Figure 1. Aryabhata-One of the greatest mathematician & astronomers.
(476 CE – 550 CE)
(Image Source: Wikipedia)**

The rudimentary decimal system

The decimal place-value numeral system begins with the Hindu-Arabic numeral system that uses a zero glyph as in "205". The Indian Brahmi numerals descended the glyphs used in the decimal place-value numeral system which were in use around the middle of the 3rd century BC. During the Gupta period (early 4th century to the late 6th century), the Gupta numerals developed from the Brahmi numerals and were expended all over the areas by the Gupta empire as they vanquished the territory. At the beginning of around 7th century, the Gupta numerals developed into the Nagari numerals.

The use of a numerical system and of basic mathematical operations developed in northern India during the Vedic period (1500-500 BCE), motivated by geometric construction of the fire altars and astronomy. The form of numerals in Ashoka's inscriptions in the Brahmi script involved separate signs for the numbers 1 to 9, 10 to 90, 100 and 1000. A multiple of 100 or 1000 was represented by a modification of the sign for the number using the sign for the multiplier number. They continued to be used in inscriptions until the end of the 9th century.

Medicine: Ayurvedic remedy

One of the oldest, and most ancient traditional systems of medicine (TSMs) recognized throughout the globe is Ayurveda. Ayurveda is one of the most renowned traditional systems of medicine that has survived and flourished from times immemorial till date. Disease, cure and medicines were mentioned for the first time in the Atharva Veda. Ayurveda, the traditional system of Indian medicine, is a special branch of knowledge on life dealing with both body and mind [7]. This is implicit in the two components of the term ayurveda: *dyus* means life and *veda* means knowledge or science. All the medicines manufactured were totally based on natural plant extracts. Ayurvedic medicines are the only approach to combat the diseases. Ancient Indians were aware of how to make medicines from a variety of natural plant sources for different diseases. Even today Ayurvedic system has the potential for the discovery and development of medicines and has shown profound effects. This is well known as '*Yogic Therapy*'. There are so many ancient legends available today that describes the detailed knowledge and principles about the methods of identification, isolation, purification and characterization of important biomolecules present in plant extracts which includes the *Shreemad Bhagwat Geeta*, *Hathapradipika*, *Vasistha Samhita*, *Gherand Samhita*, *Chandogyopanisha*, *Yogopanisad*, *Shiva Samhita* etc. [8].

Scope of Ayurveda: The wide scope of Ayurveda, in general, covers (i) relationship between matter and life; (ii) biological theories concerning: (a) embryonic conception, (b) body, life, and soul, and (c) rules of genetics; (iii) physiological and pathological theories; (iv) food; (v) rules of health and longevity; (vi) diseases, their diagnosis and treatment; (vii) poisons and antidotes; and (viii) ethics.



Figure 2. Preparing medicines.

Metallurgy

The glazed potteries, bronze and copper artifacts found in the Indus valley excavations pointed towards a highly developed metallurgy in the ancient times. The Vedic people were aware of fermenting fruits and grain, tanning leather and the process of dyeing [9]. Metals have important influence in the social well being and running of a society in a civilized manner. The use of metals is an important parameter that describes the development and progress of any modern society. Gold, silver, iron, copper, tin, zinc, mercury and lead were some of the important metals commonly being used in an extensive way by the ancient Indian society. The scientific art of metal extraction and purification was not well known and it was a rigorous and tedious task

During the first century AD, there was a mass production of metals like gold, copper, iron, silver and of alloys like bronze and brass. One of the most famous iron pillar in the Qutub Minar complex is indicative of the rich quality of alloying that was being done. Acids and alkalis were being produced in large quantities and utilized for many purposes, mainly in medicines. This technology was also greatly used for other crafts like producing colors and dyes. The most popular dyeing technology was textile dyeing. The Ajanta frescoes reflect on the quality of color [10].



Figure 3. Old coins.

Geography

One of the greatest achievements in science and technology was the ancient Vedic civilization. The regular interaction and association between nature and man greatly forced human beings to study geography. The Indian people were clear and knew about their own natural, physical geography, while that of China and also many other Western countries, did

not know about their position on the earth and the distances with other countries. Indians have also contributed to the art of ship building [11]. In the ancient period, navigation and voyages were not a known foray for the Indian people. However, a site in Gujarat, Lothal has the remains of a dockyard proving that trade flourished in those days by sea route. Due to the development of the concept of *tirtha* and *tirtha yatra*, in the early medieval period, a vast mass of geographical information was accumulated that made life easy in terms of trade and communication. The depth of information gathered was finally assembled as parts of the 'Puranas'. In many studies separate *sthala purana* was also compiled [12].

Concluding remarks & future directions

In India, the study of ancient science still remains neglected. For instance, a large number of ancient manuscripts in Kerala and Tamil Nadu remain untranslated and unpublished till date. The history of science is not even recognized as a full-fledged academic discipline in our country.

India has a highly rich cultural heritage of science and technology from ancient period. India has made rapid advancements in the marginal areas of science and technology like atomic energy and space science research. Presently, the country has maintained a strong foundation in all the areas of modern science and technology. Currently, it also holds the third largest technical and scientific human resource base in the world. India has produced many great mathematicians, astrologers and scientists that totally revolutionized the shape and structure of the world of science. Today we call particles 'bosons' in the honor of S. N. Bose.

India has lagged behind in developing technologies to meet the needs of the growing population especially for the poor sections of the society. The Indian scientific community is working in many dimensions from agricultural sciences to space science missions. For example, in the area of housing and construction, India is yet to develop, low-cost technology to meet the needs of the poorer who do not have houses to live. The scientific advances in the fields of space and nuclear research are praiseworthy and touching unparalleled peaks but advances in these fields do not help the downtrodden at all. There is no wonder in saying that the advancements of modern science and technology have not benefited the people of India equally at all levels. Hence like the ancient times when Indians were at the peak of science and technology worldwide, it is now high time that we contribute in this area at the global level. Further, at the same time we should work for the benefit of the downtrodden in an attempt to alleviate their problems and raise their standard of living so that equality for all could be a reality soon.

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Competing interests statement

The Authors declare that there are no competing interests associated with this manuscript.

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National Planning in Brazil: An Historical Perspective

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Abstract

This paper explores the evolution of national planning in Brazil over the last ninety years. Whereas the initial import-substitution industrialization in the country focused too narrowly upon specific sites, later export-led industrialization has attended only to the global market. The former was more attentive to the immediate environment, while the latter is becoming more attentive to the world. However, the conceptualization of national planning processes must simultaneously recognize the dynamics of the economy at community, regional, national, continental, and global scales. After nearly nine full decades of promoting the positivistic search for political order and the dream of economic progress, the institutionalized national planning process of Brazil has evolved. That evolution is summarized here.

Keywords: National planning, national development, development planning, Brazil, South America

1. PLANNING FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

For Brazil, the notion of national development has a long tradition, one stretching back into the last decades of the colony, then forward through constitutional empire, constitutional republic, dictatorial regime, unstable democracy, military hegemony and restoration of civilian rule. In the third decade of the republic, economic and political forces at both national and international levels promoted the institutionalization of planning as an essential function of the central bureaucracy. Over the next six decades, the goals, processes, and structure of national planning were altered, but the notion that centralized planning assured both the security and well-being of the nation remained intact. State-directed national development held a dual focus: national security and economic progress, which justified intervention into the national economy (Machado 1972, 143-4).

2. PARADOXICAL IMAGES: THE NEW BRAZIL AND THE OLD REPUBLIC

The New Brazil is the title given to that exuberant period stretching from the Golden Law (1888) and the overthrow of the monarchy (1889 to 1922). Thereafter the Old Republic endured rebellion and collapsed in 1930. With the departure of the emperor, Brazil installed the aging but popular Marechal Deodoro da Fonseca as its first president and then adopted the Constitution of 1891. Under that constitution, there were three branches of government:

administrative, legislative and judicial. A qualified dedication to republicanism projected an uneasy tranquility while masking the underlying political divisions.

At one extreme end, there was a small group of Positivists who favored a “scientific dictatorship” with the trappings of a republic. However, a much larger body of less doctrinaire Republicans supported a democratic, federal republic. Diverse elements composed that larger group: the historic republicans who had faithfully pursued their goal since 1870, the ardent radicals, the young quasi-Positivist army officers inspired by Benjamin Constant, and the senior officers who, for reasons of their own, adopted republicanism at the last minute. Such diversity inhibited the effectiveness of the Republicans and strengthened the hand of the more cohesive military (Burns 1980, 287).

Thereafter, the fourth power of the antecedent constitution, the *poder moderador*, was co-opted by the military in one of three manners: as a true moderating force among the divergent republicans, as an intervening force over the central administration or as military hegemony absorbing administrative, legislative and judicial powers.

For the senior military, the national economy was still seen as a derivative of agriculture: coffee, cattle and rubber. The creation of the New Republic did not displace the *fazenda* as the pivotal economic institution. The early decades of twentieth century Brazil revealed a political order of *café com leite*, where the presidency of the nation rotated between the coffee-based oligopoly of São Paulo and the cattle-based oligopoly of Minas Gerais (Correia de Andrade 1982, 140-1). Coffee was the dominant but unstable export. Rubber production increased, first, because of the invention of the automobile, then, as consequence of the mechanization of warfare in World War I. The Great War exposed the Brazilian economy to the power of industrialization and, conversely, to the vulnerability of non-industrialization. Although in the trappings of republicanism, the rural oligopolies clung to their traditional policy of agricultural export. Their underlying conservatism cost them their claim to a New Brazil; they were passing into history as part of the Old Republic. The claim to newness was slowly but painfully seized by the junior military, urban mercantilists and the small but growing urban working class. These groups saw the republic as the instrument of order, industrialization as the instrument of progress. The mentality of a younger generation struggled for recognition.

3. GLOBAL POLITICAL TURMOIL AND ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

Whatever the hopes for the settlement of World War I, the decades which followed were marked by both global political turmoil and global economic depression (Ianni 1971, 43). Brazil was witness to, and later setting for, the emergent ideological struggles between communism and fascism. Communism was seen as the more serious threat as it attacked the four pillars of Brazilian society. The first was private property, whether as rural *fazenda*, or as modern industrial enterprise. The second was faith. While a Roman Catholic nation, it had a long tradition of religious tolerance, but that tolerance did not extend to atheism. Third was family. Collectivization was abhorrent to a kinship-based culture. Fourth, and finally, communism was seen as an international conspiracy, undermining national sovereignty. The fascists seized upon the emotive power of these same concepts. Brazilian adherents of fascism

adopted the motto, “God, Country, and Family”, to impel authoritarian governance (Burns 1980, 406). While many Brazilians favored the preservation of regimented order, as opposed to revolution and chaos, they saw fascism as reactionary. Brazil had to find a way to preserve political order but still secure economic progress.

The Great Depression required that Brazil find its way. Although the collapse of the world economy aggravated internal political divisions, Brazil was made more aware of the vulnerability of its economy in an international context. A national economy based upon the export of natural products was no longer viable. The junior military, the urban middle class and the growing urban working class gained a partial victory. The nation would industrialize, but that industrialization came with increasingly centralized governmental control.

4. THE ESTADO NOVO

Between 1922 and 1926, disaffected junior military, called *tenetes*, together with the urban middle class, promoted rebellion with the old republic but with little immediate success (C: Fausto 1989, 300). While the constitution of 1926 offered a “representative democracy” (Ianni 1971, 45), effective governance was much narrower. In 1929, a Liberal Alliance, with Getúlio Dornelles Vargas (1883-1954) of the extreme southern state of Rio Grande do Sul as presidential candidate, and João Pessôa of the northeastern state of Paraíba, as vice-presidential candidate, failed to dislodge the São Paulo-Minas Gerais oligarchies. In mid-1930, Pessôa was assassinated. The reinvigorated Liberal Alliance drew to itself the survivors of the *tenete* revolts and, with popular support, induced a military coup. Vargas became chief of a provisional government on 3 November 1930. He proved a durable leader as head of a provisional government (1930-1934), congressionally elected president (1934-1937), dictator (1937-1945), and then deposed but serving as senator (1945-1950), and finally as popularly elected president (1951-1954). Vargas began his political career “in an atmosphere of Comtean positivism”. He promoted change but was always cautious (C: Burns 1980, 399). Vargas was not a “man of vision”. Positivists saw him as leading the “phase of transition, historically necessary, for the full development of the nation” (Bastos 1965, 169). He relied in part upon the *tenetes* who favored a stronger role of the state in economic and social affairs but tempered their activism by appealing to nationalism. Vargas was careful to “avoid the sweeping violence that characterized the Mexican and Russian revolutions” (McCann 1973, 14). Constantly calculating the balance of allegiances and sentiments, which kept him in power, Vargas was fully aware that:

...industrialization, urbanization, the spread of nationalism, and the growing desire for change set in motion forces with which the sterile and unimaginative Old Republic was unable to cope (Burns 1980, 398).

Cautious but firm, Vargas sought to promote nationalism and centralize the bureaucracy to impel economic development. The *Estado Novo* willfully replaced the wreckage of the Old Republic.

4.1. Constitutional Tinkering

Although neither the 1891 republican constitution nor the 1926 democratic constitution referred to planning, Decree 524 (26 June 1890) had required the preparation of a general plan for transportation. The succeeding 1934 constitution asserted the power of the central government to establish and implement such a transportation plan (Article V) (C: Grau 1978, 128-9). In fact, Brazil's first national plan was a General Plan for Transportation (Decree 24497, 28 June 1934). More importantly, however, and in response to the deepening crisis of the Great Depression, the concluding article of that constitution required the elaboration of a plan for the reconstruction of the national economy (Article 16). Vargas was not sympathetic to that constitution. While it afforded the congressionally elected president powers to control minimal salaries, provide for the nationalization of businesses and grant broad national security powers, it was seen as too liberal for a society experiencing severe economic and social stress. Increasingly fearful of communism, but uncomfortable with fascism, Vargas intervened in the national elections of 1937 (Young 1967, 88-9). On 10 November 1937, Vargas cancelled the presidential elections, dismissed congress and promulgated a new constitution, thereby consolidating his administrative powers (Grau 1978, 130; Ianni 1971, 46-7; Burns 1980, 407-9). In the same year, ruling by decree, he disbanded all political parties. The constitutional machinery for the Estado Novo - centralized administration and national planning - were in place. National planning in Brazil was stripped of any communist taint by narrow dedication to the defense of political sovereignty and material progress. While more compatible with a fascist administrative mode, it avoided the overtly prejudicial rhetoric of fascist ideology.

4.2. Early Institutionalization and Early National Plans

Under the 1934 constitution, Vargas created a Federal Commission for Foreign Trade, among whose sectoral responsibilities was to frame “a plan of action for the defense of the economy” (Grau 1978, 133). Four years later, in 1938, Vargas created the Administrative Department of Public Service. The new agency “represented the rational ‘scientific’, central instrument of administrative control” (Daland 1967, 16). While the contemporary analysis of Schneider held that the agency was “not any kind of super ministry” (Schneider 1991, 146), its staff were more than mere technicians were. Daland presented an earlier contrary assessment.

The image of DASP was that of technical instrumentality, and it became staffed with a new generation of technicians in public administration and planning committed to the new image. In reality, however, the DASP was no more able to separate the exercise of its considerable "technical" powers from the policy-making process than does any other agency of real control. The DASP was a super ministry, in fact exercising controls over the national and state bureaucracies (Daland 1967, 16-7).

While the agency had no explicit charge to plan, it proceeded to draft initiatives for industrial investment. In response to continuing global depression and severe deprivations with the Brazilian society, the Administrative Department of Public Service fulfilled original charge to the Federal Commission for Foreign Trade by preparing the first national Five Year [Special] Plan of Public Works and Improvements for National Defense (Decree-law 1058, 19 January 1939). The plan held three crucial attributes. Immediate exigencies notwithstanding, the plan was future oriented to a five-year horizon. Second, it initiated the process of coordination

among sectoral ministries. Third, the plan tied the annual allocation of resources for implementation directly to the president (Grau 1978, 131). Brazilian national planning had its constitutional birth and quick adoption into the central bureaucracy. Moreover, national planning was associated with both the office of the president and the person of the president.

The participation of Brazil in World War II moved political ideology further away from fascism and moved economic development policy toward import-substitution industrialization. Throughout the first decade of the Great Depression, Vargas had sought to balance the investment interests of the United States and Germany through political non-alignment, while carefully fortifying a sense of Brazilian nationalism (McCann 1973, 149-75). In early 1942, as Brazil associated itself more closely with the Allied powers, Germans attacked Brazilian shipping. Impelled by nationalistic sentiment, as well as assurances from the United States regarding trade and military assistance, Brazil entered the war as a new international power. In order to respond to the exigencies of a war economy, Vargas created the Coordinating (Agency) for Economic Mobilization (Decree 4720, 28 September 1942), which directed economic affairs in the character of a "true super ministry" (Ianni 1971, 48-9). Supported by the analysis by the Cook Mission (1942-1943), the Administrative Department of Public Service prepared the post-war oriented Plan of Works and Equipment (POE) (1944-1948) (Decree-law 6144, 29 December 1943), which began the turning of Brazilian industrialization toward import substitution complemented by the expansion of public works (Grau 1978, 132). In May of 1944, Vargas subordinated planning to national security through the creation of a Commission of Economic Planning as an organ of the Council of National Security (Decree 16683, 29 September 1944).

The cessation of global conflict in 1945 led to a reappraisal of both national planning and national governance in Brazil. Roberto Simonsen argued compellingly for the maintenance of national planning processes favoring democratization (Lafer 1975, 29; Grau 1978, 133-5, and notes). Brazil clung to nationalism. While still cautious of democracy, it opened itself to industrialization and urbanization (Burns 1980, 435). Daland comments on the shift in aspirations.

The new democratic aspirations of the post war world, which affected Brazil, were accompanied by economic aspirations as well. The war had cut off imports of consumer goods and stimulated the substitution of Brazilian goods in their stead. As industrialization progressed, the new industrialists held similar developmentalist aspirations and sought a voice in political decisions (Daland 1967, 17). Vargas was deposed in early 1945 but the shadow of the Estado Novo did not vanish for another decade.

4.3. Constitutional Definition for National Planning

Marechal Eurico Gaspar Dutra (1885-1974) succeeded Vargas as the first popularly elected president since 1930. His presidency (1946-1951), while generally conservative in tone, intentionally abandoned the trappings of fascism. In the Brazilian constitution of 1946, the term plan is defined with reference to "the necessity of rationalizing the acts of intervention of the federal government" (Grau 1978, 57). Article 205 of that constitution instituted the National Council on the Economy, which following upon the work of the Cooke Mission and

with the support of the Administrative Department of Public Service, formulated a new and much broader national plan for public health, food production and distribution, transportation and energy (Machado 1972, 145; Daland 1967, 29-30). Called Plan SALTE (1949-1953), but amended to 1950-1954, it was the first of the Brazilian national plans to move economic development toward human resource development, if not social development (Law 1102, 18 May 1950; Law 1504, 15 December 1950). In order to redirect resource harvesting from Brazil's vast interior to serve industrialization, one component of that plan was the resurrected national railroad plan of 1944 (Grau 1978, 133). Recognizing the crucial dependence of modern industrialization upon energy, the plan placed emphasis on the "elevation of hydroelectric potential" (Machado 1972, 145). While "the idea of planning as a regular governmental function had gained much ground", political will to implement programs, more specifically to allocate funds, was low (Daland 1967, 30). Nevertheless, much of the Brazilian economy had been equipped for industrialization.

4.4. Last Salute to the Estado Novo

Upon the popular election of Vargas as constitutional president (1951-1954), central planning regained more power. In that the financial resources were not available to fund so broad a set of programs as required by Plano SALTE, Vargas sought a scaled down substitute (Daland 1967, 30; Grau 1978, 138). The succeeding plan, Plan for Economic Replacement and Development of the National Economy (1951-1955), was more narrowly linked to the regional development of the Brazilian hinterlands (Law 1474, 26 November 1951). Earlier in the same year, two decrees established the national Commission for Industrial Development to coordinate the programs of sectoral ministries (25 July 1951 and 30 July 1951). To further "rationalize the processes of finance" (Lafer 1975, 30), the 1948 Abbink Commission was succeeded by a 1951-1953 Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, which was "to render the necessary technical assistance so as to speed the preparation of applications for loans for development projects" (Daland 1967, 32). In order to secure tighter control over both finance and implementation of planned development, the joint commission convinced Vargas to create the National Bank of Economic Development (Law 1628, 20 June 1952). In 1955, the president of the Brazilian section of the joint commission was made a member of the Commission for Industrial Development (Decree 37195, 18 April 1955). Economic development policy continued to focus on the reduction of dependency upon foreign production, encouraged import-substitution industrialization, particularly in heavy industries, with the assurance of high tariff protection. Burns states that at the end of the extended Vargas era:

... a host of new industries appeared. More often than not, they became each other's customers, illustrating the self-propelling nature of industrialization once it is underway (Burns 1980, 457).

The last Vargas administration also set a crucial precedent for later economic regionalization. In 1953, Vargas created the Superintendency for the Economic Valorization of the Amazon, which was later transformed into the Superintendency for the Development of the Amazon. Unfortunately, the new regional authority set the precedent for the later deforestation of the Amazon (Guimaraes 1991, 99-100). With these accomplishments, Vargas had outlived his

period in history. His intransigence increasingly aggravated underlying political tensions. Crisis moved to climax when subordinates of Vargas were implicated in both murder and attempted assassination of political opponents, and were complicit in corruption (Young 1967, 102-3). Embattled by many and fearing the embarrassment of another deposal, Vargas committed suicide in 1954.

For the two years following, political dissent grew; none of three acting presidents secured conciliation. Nevertheless, the heritage of the Estado Novo was the irrevocable shift from rural oligarchy to urban-industrialist fraternity. That shift had been manipulated by the direct or indirect influence of the military. Notions of political order and economic progress were tied to notions of nationalism and developmentalism. National planning had been fully co-opted within the bureaucracy of the central government.

5. TRIUMPHANT DEVELOPMENTALISM

The election of President Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira (1902-1976) and Vice President João Bechior Marques Goulart (1918-1976) as leaders of a popularly elected, civilian government (1956-1960), accelerated economic development and offered the promise of recasting the political order in favor of both political and economic justice. Kubitschek was a new man of vision in the positivist tradition (Alexander 1991, 160-1). A grandson of a Czech immigrant, he sought to fuse the developmentalism of Vargas with the cultural imagery of Da Cunha. Kubitschek was a good strategist. Whatever his personal beliefs, he wished to be seen as “a Vargas heir only in the most constructive sense of the term... instead of any authoritarian or demagogic tendencies” (Schneider 1991, 188). Goulart was more activist. More deferent to labor, he was elected to the vice presidency with a plurality higher than Kubitschek. Kubitschek and Goulart managed the difficult balance between the more rightist military and the more leftist labor.

The character of the Kubitschek administration became clear in four major developmentalist initiatives. The first of these was Kubitschek’s international initiative, “Operation Pan American”, through which the nations of Latin America could by themselves “undercut communism by eliminating its breeding ground” (Schneider 1991, 191). The proposal was received unsympathetically by the Eisenhower administration (Ianni 1971, 150), but was later co-opted by the Kennedy administration to create the Alliance for Progress. Such treatment aggravated anti-United States sentiments in Brazil, which had developed in the last years of the Vargas administration. Many Brazilians feared that both trade with and aid from the United States had placed twentieth century Brazil in the same dependency as trade with Great Britain in the nineteenth century. Despite the close alliance of Brazil and the United States during World War II, Kubitschek, and later Goulart, pursued a more autonomous political stance and heightened economic autonomy through accelerated industrialization. That industrialization, however, subjected the nation to both foreign debt and increasing inflation.

Second, having promised “fifty years of progress in five” (Correia de Andrade 1982, 168; Alexander 1991, 175-7), Kubitschek broadened the perspective of earlier consultative bodies through the creation of a national Council for Development (Law 38744, 1 February 1956). The new council monitored the implementation of development. Drawing upon the work of

the joint commission and the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), the staff of the National Bank for Economic Development hurriedly prepared the Program [or Plan] of Goals (1956-1961) (Grau 1978, 138-40; Ianni 1971, 155). The new program had four sets of goals, specified in twenty-nine specific plans (Machado 1972, 146). The first set of goals promoted the extension of infrastructure, especially transportation and electrical energy production and distribution. Infrastructure investment in turn supported the second set of goals, the expansion of heavy manufacturing. In turn, industrialization supported the third set of goals, expansion of employment and improvement of urban centers. Recognizing the peculiar problems of peripheral development, the fourth set of goals addressed the modernization of agriculture to increase food production (Correia de Andrade 1982, 168-9; Lafer 1975, 29-36). The breadth of the Kubitschek program was more than vaguely reminiscent of the earlier Plano SALTE. Kubitschek hoped to be more socially responsive in permitting wages to rise while holding down the costs of living, but the infusion of investment-aggravated inflation (Schneider 1991, 191). In order to stem rising inflation and adverse balance of payments, Kubitschek introduced the Plan of Monetary Stabilization, 1958 (Machado 1972, 146).

It is important to note that national planning processes had an uncomfortable home with the Kubitschek administration. The planning function was held by the Department of Economics of the National Bank for Economic Development. The bank held the pivotal position in national development. It was the center of research, the center of finance and the center of accounting. While Brazil “desired to conduct planning through its own instrumentality” rather than through either Economic Commission for Latin America or the joint commission, the bank never claimed to be, nor could it become “a comprehensive planning agency... since its efforts were limited to the capital investments portion of the economy (Daland 1967, 37-9)”. National planning under the National Bank for Economic Development was bureaucratically more distant from Kubitschek than national planning under the Administrative Department of Public Service from Vargas; yet it remained narrowly economic.

The third of the Kubitschek initiatives was economic regionalization, perhaps drawing upon the precedent set by Vargas in the creation of the Superintendency for the Economic Valorization of the Amazon. Sensitive to the immediate need to relieve the problems of recurrently severe drought in northeast Brazil, to the broader need to tie Brazilian industry to its own base resources, and to the more pragmatic need to deflect political attention from other issues, Kubitschek seized upon the initiative of Celso Furtado to alter the structure of Brazilian development planning (Daland 1967, 41-2; Schneider 1991, 187; Correia de Andrade 1982, 171-2). While Congress was debating regional legislation, Kubitschek created the Council for the Development of the Northeast (Decree 45445, 20 February 1959). Following establishment of the Superintendency for the Development of the Northeast (Law 3692, 15 December 1959), Furtado became its first head.

Kubitschek’s fourth initiative was the physical embodiment of nationalism. Drawing upon the sentiments favoring a new national capital, one first mentioned in 1789, reasserted at the time of independence from Portugal in 1822, later embodied in the republican constitution of 1891 and desired by Da Cunha, Kubitschek moved to create a wholly new capital city, Brasilia,

dedicated on 21 April 1960. Some six hundred miles from the Atlantic coast, the new capital united the entire nation through a system of highways radiating to Belém, Fortaleza, Belo Horizonte and São Paulo. The penetration of the Brazilian interior by its new national capital gave increased awareness to both the character and the development potential of the interior. While shunned by the governmental bureaucracy, which was forced to work in the new capital but preferred the life style of the coastal cities, Brasilia served to create the image of a new, integrated nationalism.

With three of Kubitschek's initiatives successful, developmentalism was triumphant. More narrowly, but as powerfully, Brazil came to see "industrialism was an ideology" (C: Bresser Pereira 1977, 76). As carefully as Vargas, Kubitschek had managed underlying political divisions to move the nation toward self-sustaining economic development. Bresser Pereira comments:

...it was during the Kubitschek government that the heavy industrial sector was definitively set up in Brazil, with the establishment of the automobile industry, the industrial equipment industry, and the naval industry at the same time that the basic industry gained new impetus through the installation of the petrochemical industry, the construction of new iron and steel mills, etc. In other words, this was a time not of industrial development's takeoff, but rather of its consolidation (Bresser Pereira 1977, 75).

Schneider extends the appraisal, "the Kubitschek years did, indeed, mark the consolidation of industrialization in Brazil and provide[d] the foundation for the post-1967 economic takeoff (Schneider 1991, 194)."

The Kubitschek presidency also marked the emergence of national planning as a rational-technical activity. The publication of Friedmann's *Introdução ao Planejamento Democrático* in 1959 stressed the making of rational decisions, "linked intimately to the life and values of the people". These were related to both the future and to the present economic use of resources, and achieved through the coordinated implementation by responsible agents (Freidmann 1959, 9). While Brazilian national planning was firmly rooted in the science of economics, larger value issues drew into question the nature and role of government and the role of planning within government. For all of Kubitschek's apparent economic success, unresolved political divisions erupted. Economic development came at the cost of democratic governance.

6. POPULISM, TOO LEFTIST A DEMOCRACY AND MILITARY COUP

Popular participation in the national elections of 1960 launched Jânio de Silva Quadros (1917-) to the Brazilian presidency and returned João Goulart as vice president. Rapid industrialization failed to secure employment, and inflation eroded salaries. Quadros suspended the implementation of the Program of Goals in 1961 (Correia de Andrade 1982, 172). Drawing upon the support of both the rural agricultural and urban industrial workers, Quadros sought a number of internal reforms, which alienated both the rural oligarchy and the urban middle class. Of greater consequence was the shift on Brazilian foreign policy favoring relations with Cuba, Communist China and the Soviet Union, which alienated the Brazilian military. After creating a National Planning Commission in July, President Quadros resigned

on 25 August 1961 (Daland 1967, 39-40). The inauguration of João Goulart postponed crisis briefly. When, however, the new president pushed on with reforms, the national congress installed a parliamentary system of government, reducing the powers of the president. Deputy Tancredo Neves, as prime minister, presented to Congress a Program of Government: Bases (1961), which was composed of a twenty-year projective plan, a five-year or short-term plan, and an emergency plan (Correia de Andrade 1982, 172). While this program was never implemented, it established a precedent for a longer planning horizon.

Goulart vehemently opposed the restraint on presidential powers. Brazil had two planning organs; the council established by Kubitschek and the commission created by Quadros. Both worked quietly beneath the growing political turmoil (Daland 1967, 41). Goulart seized the administrative initiative transferring the responsibilities of the National Planning Commission to the Extraordinary Ministry of Planning and Economic Coordination (Decree 1422, 27 September 1961). Goulart appointed Celso Furtado to head the new ministry and set a new direction for planning toward both economic and social development (Daland 1967, 42). The subsequent Three-year Plan for Economic and Social Development (1963-65), embodied the Goulart agenda. The plan had four general aspirations: 1) sustaining a high growth rate for national production, 2) gradual reduction of inflation, 3) “reduction of current social cost of development and a better distribution of its benefits” and 4) “lessening of regional economic disparities in levels of living” (Estados Unidos do Brasil 1962, 14).

This larger social orientation to national planning (Demo 1978, 17-8) severely tested its technical-rationality and placed it in the center of political debate. In turn, that debate redefined the responsibility of the planner for “gaining political acceptance and for implementing the plan” (Daland 1967, 151). When on 23 January 1963 a national plebiscite restored full presidential power to Goulart under the 1946 constitution, the shift toward social planning was made more direct. In an effort to gain control of foreign investment, Goulart required the registration of all foreign capital and restricted profit remittances to ten percent (2 September 1963). In response, foreign capital withdrew and inflation spiraled. Goulart tried to side with both the rural agricultural and urban industrial workers protesting unemployment, low salaries and escalating prices of consumer goods.

In February of 1964, Goulart presented a “package plan”, the basic reforms demanded by his government of Congress. They called for fundamental economic and political changes, which would benefit the lower classes. The elites and the middle class perceived them as restrictions, potential and actual, of their privileged positions. The plan sought the vote for illiterates, eligibility of noncommissioned officers and enlisted men to participate in politics, legalization of the Communist Party, tax reforms, periodic wage adjustments, state monopolies over coffee and ore exports, revision of all mining concessions, and immediate expropriation of all but small properties along highways, railways and water projects as a means of initiating agrarian reform (Burns 1980, 497).

While the owners of the rural plantations, the middle class and the commissioned military were unwavering in their desire for nationalism and developmentalism, they were wholly unwilling to participate in a populist nationalism and in a non-capitalist developmentalism.

Moreover, the bitterest opposition came from communist leaning labor, which saw Goulart as acquiescent to the economic interests of the United States and the International Monetary Fund. Political opposition to the plan grew from all sides. Despite its “objective, rational, scientific” base, the plan failed to secure identity with nationalism. When neither bankers and industrialists nor urban labor supported the plan, the presidency of Goulart and the ministry of Furtado neared collapse (Daland 1967, 166-70). With his political constituencies weak, and lacking organization, Goulart vacillated. National planning was moved into the Ministry of Finance, but coordination of plan implementation was retained with the Office of the President. Abandoned by many within his own bureaucracy, Goulart withdrew to exile in Uruguay on April 4, 1964. Once again, the military intervened in the political order of the nation.

7. NATIONAL PLANNING UNDER MILITARY HEGEMONY

Within two weeks, the military installed the first of five generals to serve as president of Brazil and ushered in more than two decades of military hegemony.

7.1. Humberto de Alencar Castelo Branco (1964-1967)

General Humberto de Alencar Castelo Branco (1900-1967), as President of the Republic, governed through a number of Institutional Acts and Complementary Acts, which superseded the 1946 national constitution (Institutional Act 1, 9 April 1964), drawing more power from both legislative and judicial branches to the federal administration (Institutional Act 2, 27 October 1965). By these means, the military and their technicians could restore financial stability while narrowing development objectives. The supporters of Castelo Branco sought a “stable, capitalist democracy”, but securing political order was the consuming passion (C: Skidmore 1988, 46). Institutional Act 3 (5 February 1966) ended the popular elections of all governors and mayors of all state capital cities. The future appointment of governors and mayors facilitated the creation of federally dependent regional development organizations and completely co-opted state and metropolitan planning activities. National planning processes wavered in scope. The pragmatic Program of Economic Action of the Government (1964-1966) retained a sectoral orientation and focused upon stabilizing internal economics and attracting foreign capital (Demo 1978, 18; Fiechter 1975, 51-61; Grau 1978, 140-1).

To accomplish these two objectives, three sequential actions were necessary. First, wage rate increases were to be kept less than the rate of inflation. Second, the rate of inflation would decline as government deficit spending declined. Public deficit spending could be reduced by a more effective system of tax collection, especially delinquent tax liabilities (Skidmore 1988, 29-35). With the internal economy “in order”, Brazil was hopeful of attracting foreign capital. As with the earlier effort of Goulart “groans turned into screams of anguish” against the plan (C: Schneider 1991, 244). Sensitive to the narrowness of the plan, Castelo Branco created both the National Housing Bank and the Federal Service for Housing and Urban Development (Law 4380, 21 August 1964). To balance these urban initiatives, the president also sought to stimulate agrarian and regional development (Fiechter 1975, 65-7) through the land reform statute (Law 4504, 30 November 1964) and the creation of the Superintendency for the Development of the Amazon (Law 5173, 26 October 1966). National planning was institutionalized once again under an Extraordinary Ministry for Planning and Economic

Coordination (Law 5000, 24 May 1966). However, opposition was not stilled. Wage suppression had angered the working classes, and the desired infusion of foreign capital endangered national autonomy. In a belated response, then Minister Roberto Campos constructed a much broader Ten Year Plan of Economic and Social Development (1967-1976); but this plan died with the end of the presidency of Castelo Branco (Skidmore 1988, 58).

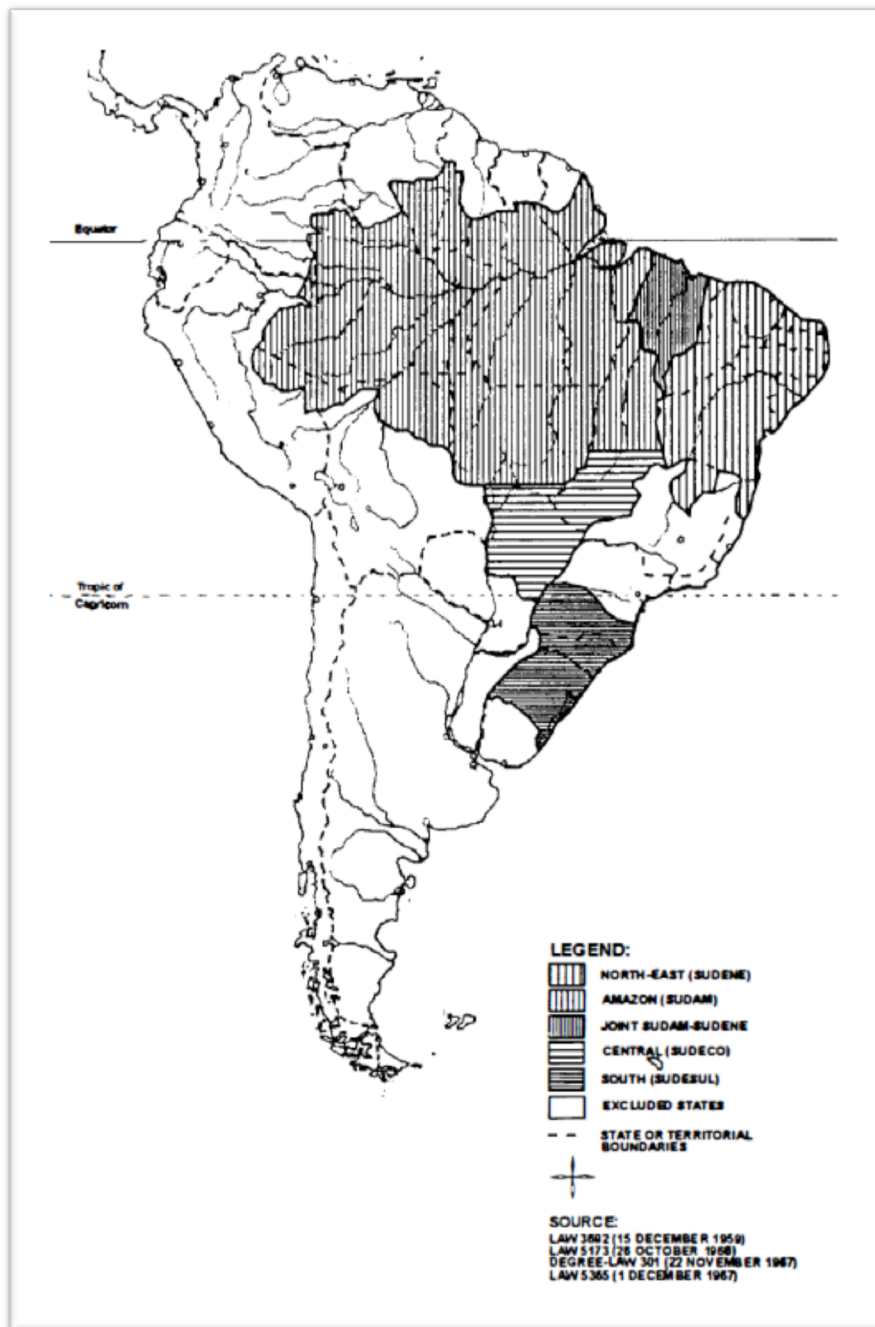
7.2. Artur da Costa e Silva (1967-1969)

Artur da Costa e Silva (1902-1969) succeeded to the presidency. In order to assure the consolidation of power, various provisions of both the institutional acts and complementary acts were incorporated into the new constitution of the Federated Republic of Brazil (24 January 1967). It required that the national government take all necessary actions “to plan and promote development and national security” and made specific requirements for creating and executing national plans for transportation, health and education, as well as those for regional development (Art. 8 and Art. 43). Decree 200 (25 February 1967) created the federal Ministry of Planning and General Coordination. Late in the same year, Complementary Law 3 (7 November 1967) tied the promulgation of five-year national plans to parallel programs of public investment, creating a system of national planning.

In that same year, two additional regional development agencies were created: the Superintendency of the Development of the Central-West (Law 5365, 1 December 1967), comprising the states of Mato Grosso, Goiás (part) and the federal territory of Rondônia; and the Superintendency of the Development of the South (Decree-law 301, 22 November 1967), comprising the states of Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná. There were now four regional agencies. See Figure 1.

In fact, Brazil had backed its way into economic regionalization as it sought to bolster import-substitution industrialization while also making some effort to balance regional inequalities. Yet, Costa e Silva also replaced the Indian Protection Service created by Rondon in 1910 (Coutinho 1975; Ribeiro 1966) with the more passive National Foundation for the Indian (5 December 1967). Specifically excluded were the already heavily urbanized industrialized states of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Santo Espírito and part of Minas Gerais.

Costa e Silva was a supporter of rapid economic growth, especially through industrialization. His Strategic Program [or Plan] of Development (1968-1970) sought to fortify private enterprise, stabilize prices, expand infrastructure and stimulate internal markets (Correia de Andrade 1982, 179) with less emphasis on correcting regional inequalities (Skidmore 1988, 89-90). Despite this, the program was generous in the “language of economic development in service to social progress” and held a preoccupation with the sectoral issues of education, public health and sanitation, and housing (Demo 1978, 18). Somewhat more sensitive to issues of health and sanitation, Costa e Silva created a National Sanitation Council (Law 5318, 26 September 1967). Nevertheless, decisions on economic development formed the parameters for subsequent health policy and programs.

Figure 1: Macro-Regionalization of Brazil, 1959-1967

Sources: Law 3692 (15 December 1959), Law 5173 (25 October 1966), Decree-Law 301 (22 November 1967) and Law 5365 (1 December 1967)

Although less obsessed with the suppression of communism, Costa e Silva tolerated no internal dissent. Resistance by both the Congress and by the Supreme Court led to decisive action. In what amounted to a coup d'état on December 13, 1968, Costa e Silva promulgated the Fifth Institutional Act, which conferred on the president dictatorial powers in “defense of the necessary interests of the nation”. The act disbanded Congress, closed down the state

legislatures, suspended the constitution, imposed censorship, cancelled the political right of many, (and] waived writs of habeas corpus (Burns 1980, 519).

While the National Congress was in suspension (1969-1971) (Stephan 1989, 6), Costa e Silva institutionalized national planning. Under provisions of Complementary Act 43 (29 January 1969), national and regional development plans were to be submitted by the president to the national Congress, which retained the right of disposition under the constitution (Article 43). The military government secured an administrative “law of the plan” over and above the constitutionally based “law on planning” (Silva 1981, 140). A compliant Congress granted legitimacy to national development plans and massive public expenditures for these purposes. The long effort of national development planning was finally successful. Growth rates of the Brazilian gross national product doubled between 1967 and 1969; it would nearly triple in 1971 (Bresser Pereira 1977, 139-40). As Brazil entered its “economic miracle”, it also suffered a recurrent political curse.

The death of Costa e Silva while in office required the temporary installation of a military triumvirate. Radicals resorted to terrorism; the military resorted to physical oppression.

7.3. Emílio Garrastazú Médici (1969-1974)

On October 30, 1969, three significant events took place: first, the inauguration of General Emílio Garrastazú Médici (1905-1985) as president; second, the revival of the official pro-government political party, ARENA; and third, promulgation a new constitution. In fact, the “new” constitution was the Constitution of 1967, but by the provisions of the Constitutional Amendment 1 (17 October 1969), the practices of the military were incorporated into law. In the fifteen years to follow, that constitution was amended another twenty-four times. The grip of the military tightened, but Médici won “at least a partial de facto legitimacy from members of the middle and upper classes, because of the record of economic growth rates and the reign of ‘law and order’” (Stephan 1989, 6-7). In the manner of the Rostow model of development, Brazil appeared to be at the point of “economic takeoff” to sustained and self-sufficient economic development; yet evidence showed no “trickle-down” to the rural and urban lower classes (Burns 1980, 523).

The Médici program of Targets and Foundations for Government Action (1970-1972) re-invoked the policies of Kubitschek regarding the integration of the interior by a system of highways (Republica Federativa do Brasil 1970). Perhaps more for political than economic reasons, he sought the “gradual occupying of the empty spaces” (in Skidmore 1988, 145). The National Integration Program and the Land Distribution Program of 1970 intended to alleviate social problems of the urban areas by scattering the impoverished masses to the “backlands”. It was to be a new “conquest and colonization of the Amazon” by migrants from the northeast (Monteiro de Costa 1979, 234). Excess population could be transferred at no real cost to the government (Skidmore 1988, 144-49). These programs, administered by the Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Land Reform, had little obvious effect through 1985 (Maddison and Associates 1992, 66-67).

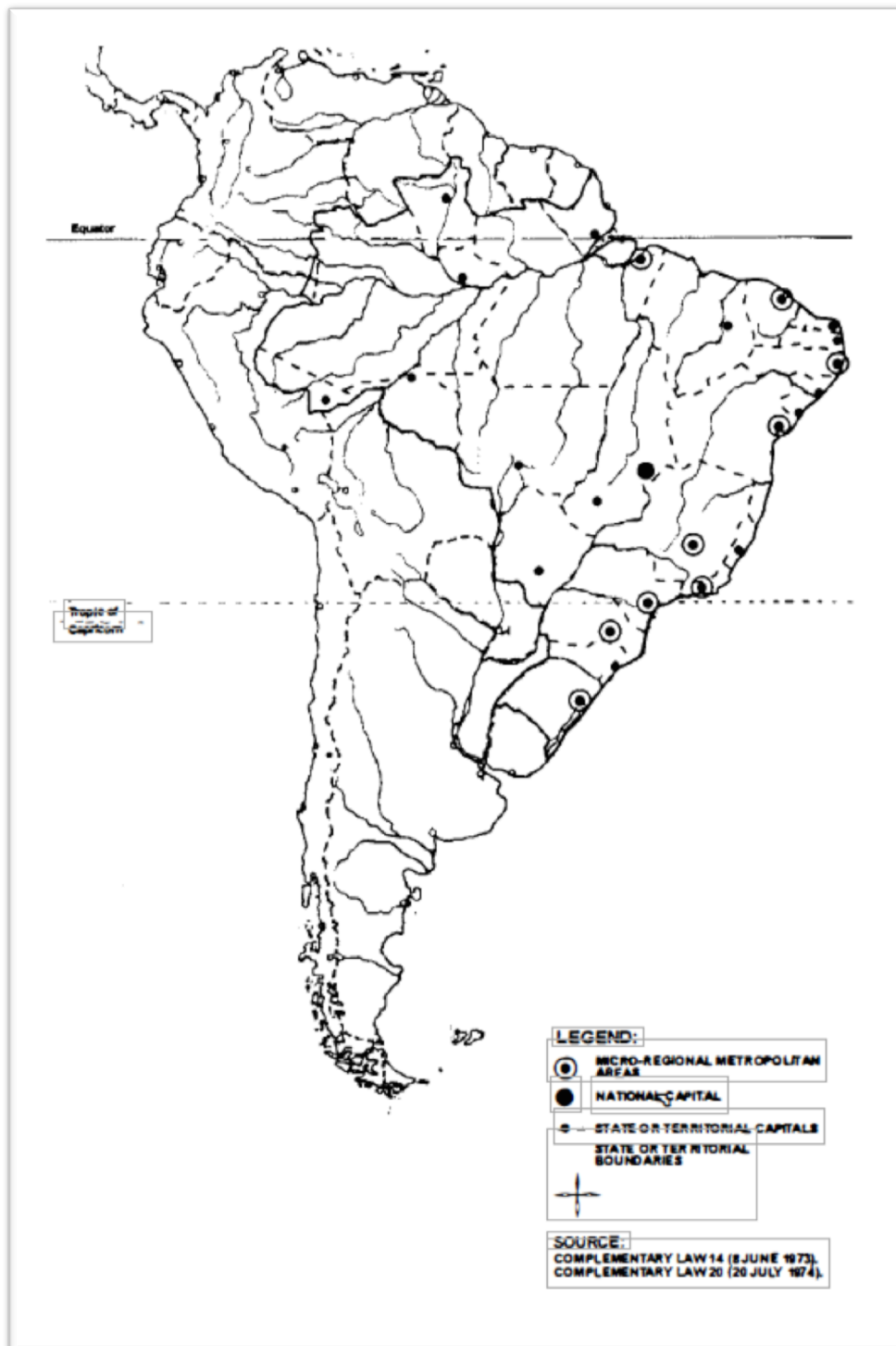
Médici's crowning achievement was the promulgation of Brazil's First National Development Plan (1972-1974) (Law 5727, 4 November 1971; published in full, 17 December 1971), which affirmed both military political order and the "Brazilian miracle" that had begun in 1967 (Merrick and Graham 1979, 340-5). To underscore emphasis on industrial expansion and integration, a new National Transportation Plan (Law 5917, 10 September 1973) proposed five interrelated systems: highways, railroads, maritime navigation, domestic navigation and airlines. Due to both relative ease of construction and lower initial capital investment, highways were more quickly extended into the interior. In the euphoria of economic development (Correia de Andrade 1982, 186), the voices of dissent were ignored if not suppressed.

Critics stressed extremely inequitable income distribution, the failure of this growth to result in any appreciable improvement in the standard of living for the uneducated urban and rural masses, "wasteful" expenditures on showy infrastructural projects such as the Trans Am highway, and neglect of pressing social problems - especially in the fields of health, housing and education (Schneider 1991, 265).

Bolstered by apparent public support, Decree 71353 (9 November 1972) established a federal system of planning from national through regional to state and municipal levels. That decree also transformed the former federal planning ministry into the Secretariat of Planning of the Presidency of the Republic. National development planning was institutionalized at the very core of the federal administration.

To assure control of development planning in the core industrial regions, "micro" or "metropolitan" regions were created surrounding the central cities of São Paulo, Belo Horizonte, Porto Alegre, Recife, Salvador, Curitiba, Belém and Fortaleza under Complementary Law 14 (8 June 1973) and of Rio de Janeiro under Complementary Law 20 (20 July 1974). For each of these micro regions, a planning organization was created in the character of an autonomous institute, but administratively assigned to the Secretariat of Planning in each of their respective states (Schmidt 1983, 50-57 and 167-73; Moreas de Albuquerque 1976). While the metropolitan planning organizations had more flexibility, national economic policy imposed severe parameters upon local initiative. See Figure 2.

As his term concluded, Médici created a Special Secretariat of the Environment within the Ministry of the Interior (Decree 73030, 30 October 1973), but with only an indirect linkage to national planning. The authoritarian Medici left office having completed the full institutionalization and integration of development planning at all levels.

Figure 2: Micro-Regionalization of Brazil, 1973-1974

Sources: Complementary Law 14 (8 June 1973) and Complementary Law 20 (20 July 1974)

7.4. Ernesto Geisel (1974-1979)

The presidential succession of 1974 indicated change. General Ernesto Geisel (1907-1996) was a former president of PETROBRAS, a co-founder of the Superior War College and brother of the Minister of the Army, which gave him credentials among both military and non-military constituencies. He was the inheritor of the tradition of the more moderate Castelo Branco (Skidmore 1988, 160). While promising *distensão*, a decompression of political restraints, political opposition slowly spread to the industrialists and middle classes. The military-backed ARENA political party lost ground. The Brazilian Democratic Movement party won pluralities in a number of urbanized industrial states (São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná and Rio de Janeiro) (Stephan 1989, 10). Its attack was three pronged: 1) social justice, to be reflected in a more equitable distribution of income, 2) assurance of civil liberties and 3) opposition to the penetration of the Brazilian economy by foreign corporations. The alliance of the military and the middle classes weakened. Nevertheless, Geisel clung to the power of the Fifth Institutional Act, employing it to undermine the growing power of the Brazilian Democratic Movement.

Eager to continue the progress made under Médici, Geisel created two new consultative bodies. The National Commission on Metropolitan Regions and Urban Policy (Decree 74156, 6 June 1974) sought to complement industrial development with a more comprehensive approach to urban development. Through the second body, Geisel participated directly in national planning.

Geisel's strong personality and keen interest in economic matters led him to an almost day-to-day involvement in economic policymaking. He created and was the Chairman of the Conselho de Desenvolvimento Econômico [National Council of Economic Development] that included the planning minister (its executive secretary), the finance minister and the sectoral ministers. This council made the most important economic decisions (Maddison and Associates, 1992, 35).

Their efforts were reflected in the Second National Development Plan (1975-1979) (Law 6151, 4 December 1974), which had three objectives: 1) “the consolidation of a modern industrial society and a model of competitive economy”, 2) “national integration” and full “occupation of the Brazilian territory”, and 3) “integration with the world economy” (Grau, 1978, 175). The plan continued on the same model - heavy foreign borrowing to support development of industry, especially intermediate industrial production and capital goods, petrochemicals, mining and infrastructure (Correia de Andrade 1982, 187-8).

Three problems tempered developmentalist euphoria. First, the increasing cost of imported petroleum dampened economic growth, accelerated inflation and compounded national debt (Burns 1980, 525). Despite the nationalization of the Brazilian petroleum industry, the nation had made itself increasingly dependent upon a foreign energy source (Correia de Andrade 1982, 190). While industrial enterprises were being directed toward the use of hydroelectric energy, the transshipment of industrial goods came to rely more on highways than railroads (Skidmore 1988, 178). The effects were a less efficient economy and an endangered environment.

Second, and as a result, the indirect costs of environmental deterioration mounted. Through both Decree-law 1413 (14 August 1975) and the subsequent Decree 76389 (3 October 1975), timid directives were promulgated to “control industrial pollution”. Although the Second National Development Plan had dedicated itself to “urban development, pollution control, and preservation of the environment”, the verbal commitment held neither substance nor power. Continued exploitation was the “radically different reality” (Guimarães 1991, 182).

Third, despite the creation of both a national Fund for the Support of Urban Development (Law 6256, 22 October 1975) and a National System of Urban Transportation (Law 6261, 14 November 1975), the Second National Development Plan failed to provide the basic necessities by which low-income populations could hope to rise above the level of subsistence (Demo 1978, 33). While the plan promised sustained growth, stagflation (economic stagnation coupled to inflation) darkened the development horizon (Merrick and Graham, 1981, 345-9). Committed to the completion of grand development projects funded by foreign debt, the developmentalist policy of state directed planning came into conflict with the exigencies of a more conservative monetarist policy (Bresser Pereira 1977, 177).

Geisel's central concern was to forestall recession while seeking a slow return to a more democratic order (Maddison and Associates 1992, 35). Geisel replaced the feared Fifth Institutional Act by both a milder National Security Law (20 September 1978) and a Constitutional Amendment 11 (13 October 1978) and initiated legislation for amnesty for opponents of military hegemony. He created an Extraordinary Minister for Desburocratização (Decree 83740, 12 July 1979). Nevertheless, the militarily imposed order had increasing difficulty in creating and sustaining economic progress. Brazilian dependency upon imported petroleum, coupled with heavy debt financed industrialization, endangered future development.

On balance, the debt led growth strategy remained viable during the Geisel presidency. The Geisel policymakers had played for time and won. However, Brazil's long-term prospects were another matter (Skidmore 1989, 208)

Geisel's choice of successor indicated “the twilight of military government” (Skidmore 1988, 210).

7.5. João Bautista Figueiredo (1979-1985)

Without consultation with other senior military officers, but relying on the allegiance of the ARENA party, Geisel secured the secession of General João Bautista Figueiredo (1918-1999) as President of the Republic. Figueiredo moved on three political fronts. First, he secured approval of the Law of Amnesty (Law 6683, 28 August 1979) for all persons exiled, imprisoned or denied political rights for political or electoral crimes between 2 September 1964 and 15 August 1979. Fifteen years of overt political oppression by the military had ended. Second, in the autumn of 1979, Congress enacted legislation permitting the creation of other political parties. Third, on 13 November 1980, provisions of institutional acts were rescinded to permit the direct elections of governors of states in 1982. After some political maneuvering to best position the ARENA party, limited franchise was returned to Brazilians.

In 1982, they directly elected not only one third of the national Senate, the entire national Chamber of Deputies, but also all state governors, mayors and municipal councils. The military was slowly withdrawing from direct governance. What was called the abertura, or opening, to re-democratization and de-bureaucratization was gaining momentum (Bresser Pereira 1984, 187-204; Skidmore 1988, 210-30; Schneider 1991, 284-291). More in image than in fact, Figueiredo extended the program of de-bureaucratization begun by Geisel (2 April 1982).

Figueiredo had to face a deepening economic crisis, however. First, regional development languished. While the development of the interior warranted the elevation of Rondônia to statehood (17 December 1981), the scattering of a marginally trained population, made dependent upon subsistence agriculture in the ecologically vulnerable hinterlands, denigrated the regional environment without benefit to the national economy. Moreover, the harvesting of natural resources as basic inputs to heavy industry or for export failed to yield sufficient economic returns, even though such harvesting further devastated the Brazilian rainforest. The promulgation of a National Environmental Policy (Law 6938, 2 September 1981) recognized, but did not result in any response to increasing ecological devastation.

Second, stagflation had aggravated the industrial labor unions, particularly those in the heavily compacted industrial ABC suburbs (Santo Andre, São Bernardo, and São Caetano do Sul) near São Paulo. Strikes soon spread to other regions, types of workers, even into the middle class. Two groups of Brazilians moved toward political conciliation, the lower urban class, which had never shared in the economic miracle of the previous decade, and the urban middle class, which feared loss of economic ascendancy. Nevertheless, both groups still believed in a bright economic future. However, if civil order could not be maintained, the military would be unwilling to surrender control of the nation.

Third, the continued adverse balance of payments aggravated inflation, sapping economic growth while promoting further labor unrest. Figueirdo wavered in his choice for leadership of national planning.

Brazil had maintained high economic growth since the 1973 oil shock only by rapidly increasing its borrowing abroad. Planning Minister Mario Simonsen, Figueiredo's chief economic policy maker, argued that now the increasing balance of payments pressure gave Brazil no choice but to throttle down its economy....Simonsen began to spell out his diagnosis as the new government drafted its five-year economic plan. Forced to explain the need for a slowdown, Simonsen suddenly became the target of wrath from every quarter.... Political strategists within the new government were no more favorably disposed. They had not entered office only to discover that the "miracle" was over.... The business community was upset for more immediate reasons. Only a buoyant economy could keep their factories and businesses operating at a high rate of capacity and thus earn them profits. Any significant recession would wipe out the many Brazilian firms that operated with perilously little working capital.... Nor was the Brazilian public ready for Simonsen's message. Brazilians had lived through 11 years of uninterrupted economic growth. Few, especially among the elite, were prepared to believe it couldn't continue (Skidmore, 1988, 215).

Simonsen resigned, and Figueiredo appointed Antônio Delfim Netto, as “Superminister” for Economic Development (Maddison and Associates 1992, 37). Delfim Netto was politically more astute, having served as Minister of Finance from 1968 to 1974. During the latter half of 1979, Delfim Netto produced the Third National Plan for Economic and Social Development (1980-1985) (13 February 1980). Congress adopted it in May of 1980. Ambitious economic development programs were to continue under a unified finance policy (Hewlett 1981, 60). However, the plan contained no numerical targets; it was a qualitative document, which reflected that irrational optimism that “continued growth can be consistent with continuing inflation and controlling external disequilibrium” (in C: Skidmore, 1988, 216). The plan paid little attention to industrialization. It rediscovered the long neglected agricultural sector; mentioned the need to expand non-petroleum derivative sources of energy, and enumerated such social needs as housing, education and health. The re-recognition of social needs altered funding patterns but not economic development policy.

Investment in these latter areas would accompany “a progressive change in the income distribution profile to the benefit of the poor” (Skidmore 1988, 216-7).

In response to chaotic urban settlement patterns, Law 6766 (19 December 1979) sought to reconcile urban land subdivision and environmental constraints. In turn, Law 6803 (2 June 1980) sought to reconcile industrial development location with both urban development and environmental constraints; but with so much of the urban landscape already developed as favelas and with little control of the emissions from existing industries, neither the urban resident nor the urban environment could be protected.

The promises of the Third National Development Plan were entirely overwhelmed by mid-1982; the impending default of international debt payments required that all growth of GNP and all industrial production profits needed to be rechanneled for debt interest payment. Conversely, salary increases and welfare payments had to be curtailed to reduce debt, even though such action would plunge Brazil into full economic recession. Any hope of a smooth escape from the threat vanished with the moratorium of Mexico in August of 1982 and the radical devaluation of the Venezuelan bolivar in 1983. The International Monetary Fund had to be accommodated; Brazil's future credit worthiness was at stake. Unfortunately, those both inside and outside of government resented IMF coercion. Delfim Netto retained the higher bureaucratic vision. Celso Furtado, the former planning minister and outspoken critic of economic policy since the coup of 1964, argued that first:

... we must break away from the guardianship of the IMF, and, second as a sovereign country, decide to what extent Brazil will honor its foreign financial commitments in the context of the international crisis (in Skidmore, 1988, 237).

The hard won but well enjoyed economic progress under military rule vanished in a spiral of inflation, capital flight and mounting interest on international debt. The military hegemony had lost both control over the economy and confidence of the society. The military was willing to withdraw from active political control, but remain the fourth power.

8. THE RETURN TO CIVILIAN GOVERNANCE

Perhaps surprisingly, several smaller political parties and factions began to seek coalitions to secure a true civilian government. Perhaps more surprisingly, Brazil's efforts to stimulate exports were successful. With the barring of imports, import-substitution industries were strengthened, and the balance of payments turned favorable (C: Skidmore 1988, 275). There were signs that the return of civilian political order might come with economic progress.

8.1. Tancredo Neves and José Sarney (1985-1990)

An increasingly number of partisans, clustered about the newly formed Democratic Alliance (AD) of Tancredo Neves (1910-1985) and José Sarney (1930-). Neves had a long history as a consummate politician, having held posts in the Ministry of Justice under Vargas (1953-54) and in the Bank of Brazil under Kubitschek (1956-58); Prime Minister during the parliamentary interlude (1962) during the Goulart presidency; then Senator (1978-1982) and Governor of Minas Gerais (1982-1985). Moreover, Neves had good working relationships with the military. José Sarney was a more traditional and more conservative politician from the poverty stricken northeast, serving as Senator from Maranhão (1958-1965); then Governor of the same state (1965-1970), and returning as its Senator, (1970-1985). On 15 January 1985, the Electoral College overwhelmingly elected Neves and Sarney. The Democratic Alliance coalition not only held great hopes for civilian political order, but also for improved economic prospects, under what was called the Nova República. However, on the very eve of his inauguration, Tancredo Neves died of an abdominal illness. On 15 March 1985, a somber José Sarney succeeded to the Brazilian presidency as the first civilian in twenty-one years. To close the history of the previous two decades, Constitutional Amendment 25 (16 May 1985) returned the election of the president and vice-president to direct, secret and universal franchise.

The Sarney presidency began with a tense exuberance and ended with a tense fear. Sarney was initially popular with the military, but as movement grew for a constitutional constituent assembly, the military reasserted its “old professionalism” to assure “the national security” in any future constitution (Skidmore, 1988, 271). The notion of a new constitution permitted a readdressing of other issues, issues long suppressed during Brazil's dual push for industrial-urbanization and regional development. The nature of the civil society; the rights of citizens, especially those of women, abandoned children, Negroes and Indigenous peoples; the role of social development, particularly education and housing; the neglected agricultural sector; the urgent needs of public health, and protection of the environment all entered the debate (Figueiredo 1986; Maksoud 1987; Teixeira 1986). The Brazilian Constitution of 1988 contained three significant titles. Title V: Defense of the State and Democratic Institutions attempted to reconcile questions of power. Title VII: Economic Order and Finance served to reposition economic policy. Title VIII: Social Order attempted to grapple with the changes in the composition and structure of Brazilian society (Coelho and Nantes de Oliveira 1989). The constitutional debates drew two other related processes to heightened attention. First was an attempt to recast planning - at least regional development planning as “participatory planning” (Machado Arcanjo 1986, 85-6). Article 165 required the preparation, funding and implementation of national and regional plans. Second, an expansion and of the

desburocratização of government with a view to converting “regulated citizenship” under the military to “organized citizenship” within democratic institutions (Sales dos Santos 1986, 96-101).

In the economic sector, Sarney took a bold move to stem spiraling inflation through currency revaluation, replacing 1000 cruzeiros with one cruzado by presidential decree (28 February 1986). The initial success of the cruzado plan permitted Brazil to evade the debt crisis inherited from the Figueiredo administration (Carneiro 1986, 27-31; Dinsmoor 1990, 7-10). However, the long experience with inflation induced Brazilians to immediate consumer spending, thereby placing such pressure on demand that price stability could not hold. Inducements for saving to dampen demand and promote investment failed (Schneider 1991, 327). The fear of inflation fed the fact of renewed inflation. President Sarney's hope for a return to the “miracle” turned to nightmare.

In February 1987, President Sarney announced Brazil's suspension of interest payments on \$68 billion of its foreign debt - the medium- and long-term debt with North American, Western European and Japanese commercial banks. Payments on short-term commercial bank loans and on government and international agency loans (i.e., World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, etc.) were to continue (Skidmore 1988, 305). The remainder of the Sarney administration would be plagued by renegotiation of international debt refinancing.

The civilian presidency clearly wished to alter the structure of central public administration. Three presidential decree-laws, issued on the day of inauguration, created the Ministry of Culture (Decree-law 2273), the Ministry of Urban Development and the Environment (Decree-law 2274) and the Ministry of Science and Technology (Decree-law 2275). The Administrative Department of Public Service was reassigned to the Extraordinary Ministry of State for Administrative Affairs (Decree 91147, 15 March 1985). Moreover, a Special Secretariat for Community Action, first created by Decree 91500 (30 July 1985), was later placed under the Secretariat of Planning and Coordination of the Presidency of the Republic (Decree 94159, 1 April 1987). The efforts of a study commission created on 6 May 1985 led to the establishment of a National Council on Women's Rights (Law 7353, 1 August 1985). In order to implement the national and regional plans of the Secretariat, the National Bank of Economic and Social Development was to allocate funds through the Fund for Social Investment (Decree 91236, 8 May 1985). Sarney also pushed for the redistribution of land and stimulation of agriculture in the North and Northeast (Decree 91237, 8 May, 1985) and soon thereafter had to allocate additional funds to assist in recuperation from flooding in the Northeast (Decree 91265, 24 May 1985). Sarney also subsumed the Superintendency for the Development of the Amazon and its associated financing agencies into a Special Secretariat for Amazonian Regional Affairs within the Office of the President (31 May 1985). The National Commission for Urban Development was reconstructed to include broadened federal ministerial, regional and urban institutional representation (Decree 91248, 16 May 1985). The National Development Fund was brought under the direct control of the president (Decree-law 2288 (24 July 1986). Finally, a Ministry of Social Action both regrouped and expanded special development programs (Decree 93872, 23 October 1986). All these actions sought to

create the image of a central civilian government more disposed to reconciling economic development to social needs.

The reorientation of the national bureaucracy adversely affected the position and power of national planning processes. Decree 94159 (1 April 1987) separated the Secretariat of Planning and Coordination of the Presidency of the Republic from the Office of the President and subordinated it to and within the Ministry of Finance. Whereas planning had previously led finance, the converse relation was now in effect. Skidmore saw the “downgrading” of planning as leaving the central government “perilously short of policy ideas” (Skidmore 1988, 305). Brazil could no longer afford the luxury of a central planning agency if its planning processes no longer assured the nation of continued luxury.

Despite the clear expansion and reorientation of the central bureaucracy, Sarney extended the National Program of De-bureaucratization (Decree 91228, 7 May 1985). Yet, as economic crisis continued, the central government found it necessary to both tighten administrative control over bidding and contracts (Decree 3200, 21 November 1986) and initiate the longer process of liquidation of federal autonomous institutes, public enterprises and other public-private enterprises (Decree-law 2421, 29 March 1988).

Sarney left office with disappointment. While the nation had a new constitution, and had experienced a full term of civilian governance, the new political order had not secured economic progress.

8.2. Collor de Mello (1990-1992)

Fernando Alfonso Collor de Mello (1949-) entered the presidency of Brazil on March 15, 1990 under his own banner, Brazil Novo, under which his Plano Collor moved to reorient the economy, restructure national plans and reorganize the central government (Faro 1990). First, Collor de Mello sought to control inflation by modification of the policies of Sarney. During his campaign and prior to his inauguration, he attempted, largely by force of his personality and popularity, to control prices in the consumer market. Accession to the presidency required action that was more concrete. New money, the cruzado novo (Law 8024, 13 April 1990), carried strict controls on conversion to reduce excessive liquidity, one of the principal causes of inflation (Queiroz 1990, 4). Responding to business interests, he effected *desestatização*, the privatization or liquidation of antiquated enterprises of the state (Law 8029, 4 April 1990). Concomitantly, he authorized the sale of the official governmental residences (Law 8011, 4 April 1990 and Law 8025, 12 April 1990).

Second, operating under Article 165 of the new national constitution, Collor de Mello promulgated the required Five Year National Plan (1991-1995) (Law 8173, 30 January 1991), but later reduced the period of the plan to 1993-1995 (Law 8446, 22 July 1992). The budget authorization of the plan listed four priorities: 1) education, culture, health and technology; 2) agrarian reform and the increase of agricultural production; 3) recuperation and conservation of the urban and rural environment, and 4) the opening and modernization of the economy (Law 8447, 22 July 1992). The more social direction of the Collor de Mello administration sought to pacify Brazilians experiencing economic crisis. A Fund for Social Development

supported the provision of educational facilities, sanitation, basic urban infrastructure and response for environmental disasters (Decree 103, 15 April 1991). The president was also more sensitive to the concerns of indigenous peoples, moving the National Foundation for the Indian under the Federal Ministry of Justice and seeking the demarcation of indigenous areas (Decree 22, 4 February 1991). Nevertheless, the actions of the central government were also inconsistent. The emphasis given to technological innovation with the economy could not secure new employment for the already displaced and under skilled labor force. Expansion of agriculture and the opening of the Brazilian economy to natural resource harvesting and exportation was contradictory to the conservation of the rural environment and indigenous areas.

Third, in the spirit of austerity, Collor de Mello reduced the number of federal ministries to twelve (Law 8028, 12 April 1990), which collapsed three crucial ministries into the federal Ministry of Economy, Finance and Planning. Economic policy was directly related to both future planning and anticipated revenues, but in a ministry outside of the Office of the President. Conversely, the Secretariats of Culture, Science and Technology, Environment, and Regional Development were all brought under the direct and immediate control of the Office of the President (Law 8028, 13 April 1990). Each of these efforts sought to create both the image and the fact of a responsible civilian government seeking to bring a democratic state into being (Queiroz 1990, 3). However, the creation of a civil state was of itself not sufficient, “given the growing pressures for social change and modernization, both of which require (d) a reactivation of the development process” (Stephan 1989, 139).

Whatever the hopes and dreams of Collor de Mello, they were soon swept aside by charges of political and fiscal corruption. On 29 September 1992, Congress initiated impeachment proceedings against the President, and on 29 December 1992, Collor de Mello resigned the presidency. The dream of economic progress under a civilian, popularly elected president vanished as charges of political corruption endangered the civil order.

9. THE SURVIVAL OF NATIONAL PLANNING

9.1. Itamar Franco (1992-1994)

On 29 October 1992, the Vice President, Itamar Franco (1930-2011), acting as President, inverted the structure of the federal public administration created by Collor de Mello. National planning was re-incorporated into the Office of the President in the Secretariat of Planning, Budgeting and Coordination, with full responsibility for the formulation and budgeting for both regional and national plans (Law 8490, 19 November 1992). Finance, Culture, Environment, Science and Technology, Regional Integration, and Social Well-being were created as separate federal ministries. National planning in Brazil had survived, but its narrow dedication to nationalistic economic development had to surrender to three cross pressures. These were the internationalization of economic trade (Rattner 1988, 38-56; Baer 1989, 376-9), the demands for social equity and social development (Tavares in Carneiro 1986, III) as reflected in a new “social pact” (Jugaribe et al. 1986), and recognition of the parameters of global ecology (Guimmarães 1991, 9-17). In the one hundred years since the

founding of positivist republic in 1891, its bright promise of political order and economic progress had become tempered by fundamental concerns of culture and environment.

9.2 Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002)

Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1931-) had transformed the Brazilian economy even before he was elected as President. In 1969, Cardoso co-authored a seminal book on dependency theory and the causes of underdevelopment in Latin America (C: Packenham 1982). After serving for nine years in the Brazilian Senate, the distinguished academic with a PhD in sociology was named Brazil's Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1992. Less than a year later, he took over as the Minister of Finance. In this position, Cardoso designed and brought to life the Real Plan, creating a new monetary currency in order to rein in rampant inflation (The Economist 2014). By the time Cardoso became Minister of Finance in 1993, annual inflation in Brazil exceeded 2,000% (Filho 2010, 11) due to "papering over gaping deficits with printed money" (The Economist 2014). With prices of consumer goods changing from the morning to the afternoon, nearly every aspect of life in Brazil was affected by inflation (The Economist 2014). By phasing in a new currency through a sequence of establishing "units of real value" and indexing the new real to those units at roughly the value of the US dollar, Cardoso was able to level out the Brazilian currency and bring a new sense of stability to the economy (The Economist 2014). The Real Plan was largely the basis for Cardoso's election to the Presidency in 1994 (The Economist 2014).

As the only Brazilian President to date to have won the majority of the popular vote without a runoff election, Cardoso entered office with a mandate to continue his economic reforms. He did just that, opening up Brazil to both imports and private investments. With a stronger currency, the wave of privatization that had begun under Cardoso's predecessors accelerated (Filho 2010, 16). Yet under private control without protectionist policies, Brazilian manufacturing struggled to compete domestically with imported goods. On top of this, the new real allowed for increased imports. Consumption of imported goods in Brazil more than doubled in a period of two years, while the manufacturing sector shed more than one million jobs (Filho 2010, 17). Although inflation was in check, unemployment and wage stagnation created a new set of challenges, especially for a highly urbanized nation.

Addressing Brazil's balance of payments was a central focus of Cardoso's two-term administration. Cardoso doubled down on trade liberalization, integrating Brazil into global free trade agreements in order to find a market for Brazilian goods outside of the domestic economy (Farret 2001, p.10). By the time he left office in 2003, the Brazilian Federal Government's spreadsheet was in the black (Giambiagi and Ronci 2004, 4). However, the economic turnaround had come at the cost of regional imbalances. Most of Brazil's GDP growth was focused in the southeastern axis of the country between São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, leaving the rest of the country to fend for itself. Weak state and municipal planning agencies presented a significant challenge in addressing these regional imbalances (Farret 2001, 10).

In the year 2000, 81.2% of Brazil's 169.5 million-person population was classified as urban (Farret 2001, 8). At this time, the urban population shared between Brazil's two largest cities,

São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, totaled roughly 40 million people (IBGE 2000). With little public assistance given to rural regions and with land ownership remaining in the hands of the elite throughout the previous decades, the vast majority of the Brazilian population had moved into cities in search of job opportunities. Yet many people encountered harsh conditions of poverty in cities throughout the nation. Estimates from the 2000 census suggest that 50 million people in Brazil were living on less than one dollar a day, with the majority in urban areas (Farret 2001, 8). Large urban populations had settled in areas with tenuous land ownership structures and unsound environmental footing subject to floods and landslides (da Gama Torres and Marques 2001, 55). Local governments were not equipped to deal with the needs of their growing populations. Lacking local revenue collection as well as management experience, municipalities were reliant on the federal government for planning support (Farret 2001, 12).

Beginning in the mid-1990s, the Cardoso Administration championed several programs to address urban poverty and to develop capacity among municipalities. The first of those programs was *Brasil em Ação*, or *Brazil in Action*, launched in 1996, in which the federal government forged partnerships between private investment projects and strategic state and municipal governments (Farret 2001, 11). The second program, *Habitar Brasil*, oversaw the transfer of federal funds to local governments in order for the “rehabilitation” of squatter areas (Farret 2001, 12). The program benchmarked criteria for municipalities in order to be eligible for such funds, such as establishing frameworks to control urban growth (Farret 2001, 12). The third program, *Modernização da Administração Tributária*, or *Modernization of the Municipal Fiscal Management*, sought to computerize municipal revenue collection services and planning authorities in order to make them more efficient and technically proficient (Farret 2001, 12). For each of these programs, municipalities competed for federal funding based on performance standards. In some cases, applying free market principles to developing regional governmental capacity undermined cohesion in the national planning process in terms of strategy, while also strengthening the already stronger municipalities at the expense of the struggling ones (Dantas 1997, 186). To unite competing programs under one vision, the Cardoso Administration launched the *Planos Plurianuais de Desenvolvimento* program, or *Pluri-annual Development Plans*, a series of medium term plans beginning in 1996 that laid out four-year visions for the nation, regional axes (e.g., the southeastern corridor of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro), states and municipalities (Farret 2001, 10).

In tandem with these competing programs, Cardoso moved to strengthen land reform as a “sponge” to absorb the urban poor returning to rural regions after struggling in cities (Rossi 2017, 267). In 1996, the National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform, or INCRA, which was established nearly thirty years before, was moved under the newly created Extraordinary Ministry of Land Policy, later to become the Ministry of Agrarian Development. This ministerial restructuring was in part an acknowledgement of the complaint from the Landless Peasants Movement, or MST, that the Ministry of Agriculture, under which INCRA had previously been housed, was largely controlled by latifundio landholders (Rossi 2017, 267). The Cardoso administration also established a streamlined process for land expropriation and an increased tax on non-productive land in order to encourage land transfers and increased agricultural production (Rossi 2017, 267).

Building on the rural reforms taking shape through the mid-to-late 1990s and the laboratory of urban planning facilitated by municipal competition, 2000 and 2001 saw monumental action for the “urban question” (Fernandes 2010, 55). A constitutional amendment established housing as a social right. This was followed by the adoption of the Estatuto da Cidade, or the City Statute (Fernades 2010, 60). Under these legal frameworks, municipalities gained new powers to adopt and implement master plans in order to address the informal land ownership structures that had taken shape with mass urbanization across the country (Fernades 2010, 62). These new powers included a “toolbox” of alternative taxation and methods for public participation in the urban planning process (Fernades 2010, 62). Under the City Statutes, all municipalities with over 20,000 residents were required to adopt a master plan within five years of the passing of the law (Fernades 2010, 62). Such plans would include processes for residents of informal settlements on public land who met a tenure requirement to register the land as areas of special urban housing. This “Concession of Special Use for Housing Purposes on Public Land” was originally vetoed by Cardoso, but later signed into law after significant pressure from the broad-based National Forum for Urban Reform (Fernades 2010, 64).

These efforts to acknowledge and address systemic inequity in land ownership and representation both in and out of the city were part of a growing movement ultimately supported by Cardoso to recognize the plight of Afro-Brazilians and other historically marginalized groups. For instance, in 1995, São Paulo ended the prohibition on black servants using the main elevators in the city’s apartment and condominium buildings (Caldeira 2001, 412). Prior to such a law, even black residents of São Paulo apartment buildings felt segregated and discriminated against in their own homes (Schemo 1995), not to mention the feelings of black servants and other service personal. This civil rights and land reform agenda was matched with social programs offering direct financial transfers to over 5.3 million families across the country by 2003 (de Janvry et al. 2005, 1). Foremost among those social program were the Bolsa Escola, or School Allowance, a program that provided direct financial assistance to families contingent on their children attending school. This program would grow under Cardoso’s successor to be a cornerstone of President Luiz Ignácio Lula da Silva’s political agenda.

9.3. Luiz Ignácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010)

Luiz Ignácio Lula da Silva (1945-), or simply Lula, as he is widely known, was a different kind of politician from his predecessor. While Cardoso was an academic, Lula gave up his formal education during elementary school in order to earn money for his family (Crocitti and Vallance 2012, 605). He came to power through the populist appeal of the Workers’ Party, which he had helped found through his union activities in 1980. Union involvement for Lula began after he lost a finger in an industrial accident (Crocitti and Vallance 2012, 605). Despite being described as “a strident union organizer known for his bushy beard and Che Guevara T-shirts” (Forero 2010), Lula largely stuck to the privatization policies implemented under his predecessor. Instead of challenging ownership structures within the Brazilian economy, Lula expanded the social welfare programs begun by Cardoso. Together with financial transfers, urban rehabilitation, infrastructure projects and food subsidies would be

the driving force of Lula's two-term presidency and would shape planning policy under his administration.

Lula quickly expanded the Bolsa Escola conditional cash transfer program previously initiated nationwide by the Cardoso administration (Lindert et al. 2007, 6). The program was renamed Bolsa Familia, but it still required school attendance and child nutrition and health checks for eligibility. Utilizing a magnetic strip electronic benefits card system of financial distribution, Bolsa Familia made monthly payments averaging US\$30 to 11.1 million families, or around 46 million people, within three years of Lula taking office. (Lindert et al. 2007, 6 and 16). A World Bank analysis of the program states that in 2006 Bolsa Familia covered 100% of Brazil's poor (Lindert et al. 2007, 6). In 2004, the World Bank supported the US\$6.2 billion program with a US\$574 million loan (World Bank 2018). Social programs such as Bolsa Familia accounted for 21% of the federal budget in 2005, a significant change from less than two decades before, when, in 1987, the Brazilian federal government spent only three percent of its budget on social programs (Haddad 2009, 187). With a national reach, the federally funded and orchestrated program is administered on the local level through offices run by Brazil's 5,564 municipalities (Lindert et al. 2007, 25). State governments train municipal employees on how to determine a family's eligibility and level of need (Lindert et al. 2007, 25). A digital database known as the Cadastro Único, first created under President Cardoso, tracks family eligibility and registration throughout the country and facilitates coordination between municipal and federal authorities. (Lindert et al. 2007, 35). While school attendance across Brazil was nearly 100% by the time of Lula's second term, student performance on standardized testing had shown little improvement and "Brazil remained ranked among the lowest performing countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America," presenting a challenge beyond the scope of conditional cash transfers alone (Arends-Kuenning 2009, p.206). Nevertheless, the Bolsa Familia program continues to provide a safety net and stability for families across Brazil as a foundation from which to undertake other programs of Lula's administration and subsequent administrations.

Bolsa Familia is one pillar of Fome Zero, or the Zero Hunger program, which Lula's administration launched upon entering office in 2003. Among other things, the broad program provides food distribution through food banks and food subsidies, as well as small loans and purchasing programs for family farmers in order to increase agricultural production and the available food supply (Takagi 2011, 72). Due to a severe drought when Lula entered office, the construction of water cisterns became a national priority under the Fome Zero program as well. In 2003, the newly created Extraordinary Ministry for Food Security, or MESA, contracted with a not-for-profit organization to construct a series of 10,000 water cisterns across 11 states (Takagi 2011, 65). Other examples of initiatives under the Fome Zero program include a nation-wide phone hotline with 900 call-center operators to coordinate food donations (Takagi 2011, 83), federal-to-municipal training programs to strengthen municipal capacity for local food distribution programs, and subsidized restaurants (Belik, 2011. 130). In 2004, all of the branches of the Zero Hunger initiatives, including MESA, were brought together in the newly formed Ministry of Social Development and Combat Against Hunger, a cabinet level ministry that received feedback from a Consea, or advisory committee with representatives from other cabinet level ministries as well as municipalities (FAO 2011,

147). Similar advisory committees were instituted on the state and municipal level. In 2010, access to food was established as a constitutional right in Brazil. With these initiatives geared specifically toward addressing hunger, the Lula administration also launched a program to address the built environment in urban areas.

The Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento, or the Growth Acceleration Program commonly known as PAC, was a major infrastructure initiative spawned by the Lula Administration in 2007 that would become a focal point of his successor's administration as well. With over US \$270 billion, the PAC program made investments in logistics, energy and urban development (Rossbach 2009). The federal program used US \$24.6 billion to build and upgrade highways, railways, waterways, ports and airports. US\$115.9 billion was allocated to expand electrical power generation and transmission capacity with both renewable and nonrenewable resources. US\$72 billion were directed to urban and social projects; including housing construction, slum upgrading and water and sanitation services.

Slum upgrading projects aimed not only to reduce the urban housing deficit cited at 7.2 million units in 2007, with a future demand of 27 million additional units by 2023 (Rossbach 2009), but also to improve living conditions and mobility within cities by connecting 22.5 million households to water, sewer and electrical utilities (Ribeiro and Zimmermann 2007) and to public transportation services. For instance, one federally funded project in Rio de Janeiro employed a roughly US \$300 million budget to construct over 3000 new housing units, 20 new community facilities and a cable car with seven stops throughout the new construction area and the surrounding area of existing residencies (Rossbach 2009). Site selection and design for such projects was achieved in partnership between federal, state and municipal governments.

Federal ministries and a consortium of technical experts from across ministries working on the federal level oversaw the coordination of projects and the allocation of funds, while state and municipal governments were responsible for managing the construction (Rossbach 2009). By 2009, 1,112 urban rehabilitation projects had taken shape in 554 "slums" across Brazil's 26 states (Rossbach 2009). Nevertheless, many projects struggled with completion, primarily due to the complex coordination between the different levels of federal, state and municipal governments. While 61% of project funding for the PAC was directed to projects at the state and local level, 71% of projects completed were managed solely by the federal government (World Bank 2018, 39).

At the helm of the urban rehabilitation work across all levels of government was the Ministry of Cities, formed when Lula took office in 2003. In tandem with investments in the physical infrastructure of urban environments, the Ministry of Cities sought to stabilize land tenure for slum residence. In 2009, the Ministry of Cities introduced the Minha Casa, Minha Vida program, or My House, My Life, which facilitated home ownership by providing low-interest loans to lower income families (Banco do Brasil 2018). The Ministry of Cities trained municipalities in the development of comprehensive plans. These in turn formed the basis of many of the projects selected for the PAC (Maricato 2006, 6). The Ministry was also host to the National Conference of Cities. This brought over 2,300 civil society and municipal leaders

together to discuss the future of urban development in Brazil (Maricato 2006, 6). The first National Conference of Cities in 2003 gave rise to the creation of the National Policy for Urban Development, which would provide the framework for many of the policy decisions made throughout the PAC process. The Ministry of Cities and the National Housing Secretariat within it would continue to play an integral role in the implementation of PAC II under Lula's successor.

9.4. Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016)

Dilma Rousseff (1947-) ran for President as Lula's "handpicked successor" (Forero 2010). Assuming office in January of 2011, Rousseff became Brazil's first female President. Her political activity began as a Marxist guerrilla fighting against the military regime in the late 1960s. At age twenty-two, she was captured and tortured (Arias 2010). After her release in 1972, she studied economics, pursuing, but not completing, a master's degree and PhD. She worked as an adviser and campaigner for Porto Alegre municipal officials. Rising through the ranks of appointed positions, she became Minister of Energy under President Lula in 2003. As Minister of Energy, she was instrumental in expanding Fernando Henrique Cardoso's rural electrification program into the Luz para Todos program, or Light for All, which formed part of the broader Fome Zero campaign and connected millions of rural households to the electrical grid at federally subsidized prices (Ferreira 2003). She also held the position as Chair of the Board of the oil company PETROBRAS, partly owned by the Brazilian federal government. In 2005, after a vote buying scandal led to the resignation of Jose Dirceu, Lula's then Chief of Staff, Rousseff was promoted to that position. Having played a central role in Lula's regime, her Presidency was described by a political scientist at Rio de Janeiro State University as "Lula's Government without Lula" (Forero 2010).

Foremost among the programs developed under Lula's administration and continued by Rousseff were social welfare programs and infrastructure investment initiatives. In addition to Bolsa Familia and elements of the Fome Zero program, such as loans to family farmers, Rousseff helmed the Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento (Growth Acceleration Program) infrastructure investments for an additional four years, from 2011 through 2014, in a program known as PAC II. The series of PAC initiatives also had plans for an additional funding cycle into 2018 (Ministério do Planejamento 2017). Housed under the federal Ministry of Planning and entailing nearly every aspect of the Federal Government and many municipal and state partnerships, PAC II allocated US\$526 billion in federal funds for an array of projects building on the work and administrative capacity developed under phase one of PAC (Loudiyi 2010). In fact, some of the projects for PAC II were direct continuations of incomplete phase one initiatives originally announced by Lula (International Rivers 2010). Similar to phase one, PAC II was built around six major initiatives: urban infrastructure; safety and social inclusion; housing, sanitation and access to electricity; renewable energy and oil and natural gas; and transportation (Loudiyi 2010).

A number of PAC II projects and other government initiatives during Rousseff's administration were related to preparations for Brazil's hosting of the 2014 Soccer World Cup and the 2016 Summer Olympics. In total, the renovation and construction of soccer stadiums for the World Cup cost the Brazilian federal government nearly US\$3 billion (Wade 2015). In

2007 when Brazil was chosen as the host of the World Cup, then President Lula “promised all stadiums would be privately financed” (Wade 2015). This promised was not fulfilled. Attempting to strike a balance between public and private investments, Rousseff financed the multibillion-dollar airport expansion necessary to accommodate the anticipated air traffic of both the World Cup and the Olympics by auctioning off two of Brazil’s busiest airports to private investors for a total of US\$9 billion (Goy and Vilas Boas 2013). Outside of the PAC II, Rousseff’s administration attempted to facilitate other public and private partnerships through the Brasil Maior Plan, or the Greater Brazil Plan, a federal program that sought to streamline private investment mechanisms on the local level (Brazil-U.S. Business Council 2015). Nevertheless, with construction delays and the fact that “four of the 12 stadiums used for the World Cup are almost certain to become white elephants” (Wade 2015), the public investments made to support the sporting events were met with significant controversy (Duarte 2012; de Araújo 2014).

Other controversies revolved around the largest sector of PAC II, energy. With total funding for energy initiatives in PAC II greater than the entire budget of the first PAC, Rousseff oversaw an array of renewable energy, oil and natural gas development projects (Loudiyi 2010). One of the projects was the Belo Monte Hydroelectric Dam. The US\$14.8 billion, 11,200 megawatt project (World Bank 2012) was controversial both domestically and internationally. One of the largest hydroelectric dams in the world, the Belo Monte project would displace more than 20,000 people (Rapoza 2011). The State of Pará, where the project is located, successfully sought injunctions against the project, claiming that local residents and officials were not consulted sufficiently throughout the planning process (Rapoza 2011). Citing the destruction of indigenous cultures due to the flooding of at least 500 sq. km of land, the Inter-American Human Rights Court, part of the Organization of American States, denounced the project and ordered its cessation (Jagger 2018; Movimento Xingu Vivo para Sempre 2011). In retaliation, Rousseff withheld Brazil’s financial contribution to the Court, ordered the Brazilian Ambassador to OAS remain in Brasilia, and not return to Washington, DC (Merco Press 2011). Rousseff deployed federal troops to quell protests surrounding Belo Monte and other hydroelectric projects, leading to further unrest (Jagger 2018).

Although Rousseff won reelection in 2014, turbulence surrounding the hydroelectric projects did not help her fend off allegations of corruption and budgetary manipulation that arose shortly after she began her second term in office. In addition to her predecessor and close political ally Lula facing charges related to money laundering and graft that occurred through the corporate mechanism of PETROBRAS while Rousseff was its board chair, Brazil had slipped into its “worst recession in at least 25 years” (Flynn and Soto 2016) during Rousseff’s presidency. Despite government spending in preparation for the World Cup, the Brazilian real currency had lost nearly 100% of its value against the US dollar between 2011 and 2016 (Trading Economics 2018). Brazil’s credit rating was downgraded from investment status to junk (Brandimarte 2015). Millions of people took to the streets to call for Rousseff’s removal from office (Flynn and Soto 2016).

Impeachment proceedings began in December of 2015. In May of 2016, Dilma Rousseff was suspended from the Presidency pending investigation into allegations that she had “pedaled”

roughly US\$10 billion (Phillips 2015). She was accused of delaying payments on loans from federally run banks used to pay for social programs such as Bolsa Familia in order to cover up the extent of Brazil's fiscal deficit, which in turn benefited her 2014 re-election campaign by making it appear the Brazilian Federal Government had more money than it did (Phillips 2015). Her actions prior to her second term in office were deemed irrelevant to the impeachment proceedings for her second term. Yet the investigation revealed additional pedaling of US\$4 billion in 2015 during Rousseff's second term that had been used to pay low interest rate loans for family farmers (Phillips 2015). With the investigation concluding in August that this later act of pedaling was an impeachable offence, she was permanently removed from office and replaced by a vice-president facing a political battle of his own.

9.5. Michel Temer (2016-2018)

Michel Temer (1940-) was vice-president under Dilma Rousseff as part of a coalition government between President Rousseff's Workers' Party and Temer's Brazilian Democratic Movement Party. Prior to the vice-presidency, Temer held the position of President of the Chamber of Deputies, the lower house in Brazil's National Congress. He began his career as a lecturer on constitutional law at the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo. Despite being implicated in a series of bribery allegations, as well as impeachment proceedings separate from those of President Rousseff (Calgaro 2016), Temer took over as Acting President in May of 2016 and later as President in August of 2016.

Although Temer initially was serving only in an acting capacity, he quickly assembled a new cabinet, combined several government ministries and proposed budget cuts for an array of programs (Watts 2016). Four thousand federal employees lost their jobs due to this restructuring (Boadle and Marcello 2016). Within three weeks of taking office, both Temer's new Minister of Transparency and his new Minister of Planning had resigned under pressure from allegations of corruption, graft and cover-ups of abuse of power (Romero 2016). Even mired in scandal, Temer proposed changes that would undermine the work that his predecessors, Presidents Rousseff and Lula da Silva, had championed.

Among the most significant departures from Rousseff's administration are cuts to social programs. Temer's Ministry of Cities "scrapped a plan to build 11,250 new houses" (Watts 2016). Significant Cuts to Bolsa Familia have been a key element of political debate. The official 2018 budget proposals included the largest reduction in spending for the program since its inception (Valor 2017) and, crucially, Temer has proposed the removal of 10.5 million families from the program (Brito 2016). The budget cuts are part of Temer's bid to shrink the federal deficit, which was 7.8% of GDP in 2017, down from over 10% in 2015 (Trevisani, 2018; Boadle and Marcello, 2016).

In addition to social programs, Temer's administration cut the Ministry of the Environment's budget by 40% (Arsenault 2017). Funding for the National Indian Foundation, which is a government agency addressing indigenous affairs, was also cut by 40% (Arsenault 2017). Despite deforestation in the Amazon rainforest increasing by 29% during his first year in office, Temer removed conservation protections on over a million hectares of land (Arsenault

2017). With a lighter regulatory framework, Temer declared, “Brazil is back in business” during a speech at the 2018 World Economic Forum in Davos (Leinwand Leger 2018).

Public resistance to Temer’s agenda was given more fuel when criminal charges were brought against him for accepting a multi-million dollar bribe and when a leaked audio file disclosed Temer allegedly discussing bribing other public officials. (Shinohara and Gamarski 2017; Brooks and Brito 2017; The Economist 2017). Although the National Congress voted multiple times that Temer could not stand trial in court while President (Schipani 2017), after less than two years in office, his approval rating was cited at an astounding 3% (Cowie 2017). Widespread disapproval aside, Temer is no longer eligible to run for office after he was found guilty of violating campaign finance laws (Greenwald 2016). Yet, while Temer’s time in office may be brief, the impact of his decisions on Brazil could last for generations.

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Psycho-social Factors as Correlates of Attitude of Undergraduate Students Towards Same-Sex Marriage in Osun State

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Abstract

This study provides empirical findings on determinants of sexual orientation identity of undergraduate students in Osun State. It further determined the willingness of students to seek counseling help for adjustment on their sexual orientation. The study adopted descriptive survey where 1487 students from three universities were selected using multi-stage sampling techniques; data collected were analysed using both descriptive and inferential statistics. Results indicated that 93.6% were heterosexual; 3.7% were bisexual while 3.1% were homosexuals; there was a significant relationship between undergraduate sexual orientation identity and attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage ($\chi^2=17.3$, $p<0.05$). Results further revealed that 15.7 percent of the students had a positive attitude towards same-sex marriage. There was a significant relationship between self-esteem and attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage. It also revealed that parenting style ($\chi^2=3.07$, $p<0.05$), family types ($\chi^2=15.4$, $p<0.05$) fraternal birth order ($\chi^2=33.2$, $p<0.05$) and attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage; except peer influence ($\chi^2=2.19$, $p>0.05$) have no significant relationship. The results further revealed that people with homosexuals, sexual orientations prefer help through psychotherapy (36.8%), spiritual approaches (60.0%), counseling (37.9%) and personal determination (8.4%). In conclusion, most of the students maintain a heterosexual relationship while few engage in homosexual, bisexual relationship and that spiritual approaches could be way out for those that identified themselves as being homosexual or bisexual.

Keywords: Same-sex marriage, Attitude, Psycho-socio factors, Undergraduates.

Introduction

Marriage is one of the most ancient, important, universal and indispensable social institutions which has been in existence since the inception of human civilization. In the original sense, marriage is the union between a man and a woman. Marriage permits the institutionalized form of sexual relationship. It is closely associated with the institution of men family and the women family. Marriage is a stable social institution that binds two people of opposite sex and allows them to live as husband and wife which confers on them social legitimation to have a sexual relationship and have children. Marriage is designed to satisfy the biological

needs especially the sexual needs of the individual in a legal, customary, culturally and social environment.

Marriage may have the following characteristics which include: the Permanent bond between husband and wife, fulfillment of social, psychological, biological and religious aims, the establishment of family and provision of facilities for the procreation and upbringing of children. Thus, marriage creates mutual obligations between husband and wife and couple fulfill their mutual obligations on the basis of customs or rules. It regulates sex relationship according to prescribed customs and laws (Piya, 2016).

In Nigeria, before civilization, traditional marriage has been the existing type of marriage. Though traditional marriage varies from culture to culture in Nigeria, different tribes have their own way of establishing marriage. Traditional marriage in Nigeria involves four main parts which include (i) introduction (ii) family requirement (iii) taking a date and (iv) bride price payment and handing over of the bride. Findings revealed that traditional marriage is celebrated in almost the same way in different parts of Nigeria. The only noticeable difference is the amount of money spent, and the list of marriage requirements given (Abass, 2014). Due to civilization, western culture has had a greater influence on our culture, mode of dressing, eating pattern and also marriage. In this contemporary world, there are different types of marriage which include: monogamous marriage, serial marriage, plural marriage, forced marriage, child marriage, the same-sex marriage which is the focus of this study.

Same-sex marriage, also called gay marriage, is the union of two individuals of the same sex in a marital relationship, with the full legal rights and responsibilities allotted to this contract in a given jurisdiction. A gay is a homosexual person especially a man sexually attracted to a person of the same sex and not to person of the opposite sex while a lesbian is a homosexual person especially a woman sexually attracted to persons of the same sex and not to the person of the opposite sex. What the recognition of same-sex marriage seems to be is a political and social issue, and also a religious issue in many countries, and debates continue to arise over whether people in same-sex relationships should be allowed marriage or similar status as heterosexual couples. Various faith communities around the world support allowing those of the same sex to marry, while many major religions opposes same-sex marriage (Obidimma & Obidimma, 2013). Opponents (heterosexuals) of same-sex marriages have argued that recognition of same-sex marriages would erode religious freedoms, undermine a right of children to be raised by their biological mother and father or erode the institution of marriage itself. Though same-sex marriage has not been legalized in Nigeria, it is not impossible that people practicing it, people who are practicing it may because of rejection and discrimination remain silent. Thus, knowing the perception and attitude of young undergraduate may inform the possibility of its practices.

Some psychologists view homosexuality in terms of pathological models as a mental illness. This classification has to be tested in research, but no research has to produce any strong empirical evidence regarding homosexuality as a disorder. Since the 1970s, the consensus of the behavioral and social sciences and the health and mental health professions globally is that homosexuality is a healthy variation of human sexual orientation, although some profession maintains that it is a disorder. Current attitudes of people involved in homosexuality have

their roots in religious, legal and cultural underpinnings. Homosexuality is punishable by law, and even death but people have become more interested in discovering the causes of homosexuality. Thus, Medicine and Psychiatry have started competing with law and religion for jurisdiction (American Psychological Association, 2013).

In Nigeria, neither same-sex marriages nor same-sex couples are recognized. Homosexuality can land a man up to 14 years in prison in Southern Nigeria and capital punishment for men in areas under Sharia Islamic Law. Also, persons witnessing, officiating or supporting gay acts or weddings can be charged to court in Nigeria (Adebanjo, 2014). One may see same-sex marriage as illogical and unreasonable as it seems. This is the issue of concern in this study. Could it be that some psycho-social factors such as self-esteem, sexual orientation identity or family type, parenting styles, peers group influence, fraternal birth order are responsible for its occurrences or practices (same-sex marriage)?

Self-esteem refers to the evaluative and affective aspects of the self, and this has to do with how "good" or "bad" we feel about ourselves. Self-esteem is the opinion you hold about yourself. High self-esteem is the good opinion of yourself, and low esteem is a bad opinion of yourself. It is generally believed that self-esteem can influence how an individual thinks, feels and behaves; high self-esteem is most relevant to one's psychological well-being, and low self-esteem is most important to one's behaviour, that is, the way we behave in the society, the way we see things or the way we perceive things (Erkut, 2006). The question now is: does self-esteem influence the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage? One may speculate that a male with high self-esteem might be feeling shy to form a heterosexual relationship and prefer to relate with his peer of same-sex; could this, therefore, lead to such romantic relationship? This is one of the concerns of this study.

Sexual identity is how one thinks of oneself in terms of whom one is romantically or sexually attracted. Sexual orientation identity is when people identify or dis-identify with sexual orientation or choose not to identify with sexual orientation. Sexual orientation refers to romantic or sexual attractions toward persons of the opposite sex or gender (heterosexual), the same sex or gender (homosexual), to both sexes or more than one gender (bisexual), or to no one (asexual). For example, gay, lesbian, and bisexual people may not openly identify as such in a homophobic/heterosexist setting or in areas where the record on Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender (LGBT) rights is poor. A person who has homosexual feelings can self-identify in various ways. An individual may come to accept an LGBT identity to develop a heterosexual identity, to reject an LGBT identity while choosing to identify as ex-gay or to refrain from specifying a sexual identity (American Psychological Association, 2009). The question now is, does sexual orientation identity have an influence on the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage? It is often reported by Gay that it is their natural makeup and not their choice. If it is natural, then it may have an influence on the choice of sexual partner. But this has to be verified.

Peer relationships may either positively or negatively influence lives of adolescents. Adolescents choose friends who have characteristics or talents that they admire, which motivates them to achieve and act like their friends' act. Peers can also influence their peers in

the way they talk, walk, eat, and through social behavior, interaction styles, having good grades in school and so on. This sexual behavior which peers can influence their peers to engage in is of three types. It includes descriptive norms, injunctive norms, and outright peer pressure. Descriptive norms and injunctive norms are both observed behaviors. Descriptive norms explain peers sexual behavior and injunctive norms describe peers attitude towards those behavior (e. g. approval and disapproval) while peer pressure is described as direct encouragement or pressure by a person's peers to engage in sexual behavior (Veed, 2009). It can be observed that peers can influence their peers either in a positive way or negative way. Is it possible for peers to be susceptible to their fellow peers because they share the same social interaction, behavior, interest? All these are questions that the research sought to provide answers to.

The fraternal birth order is another variable which is considered in this study. The fraternal birth order is a unique relationship between older brothers and male sexual orientation. Studies have shown that there is a unique relationship between older brothers and homosexuality in males (gay) ((Bogaert, 2011). Homosexual males tend to have a significant majority of older brothers. It has been empirically examined even though it has not been concluded yet, that homosexuality is most common among third born males of the family. In a study conducted by Bogaert (2011), the association between male sexual orientation and biological siblings (that is born from the same mother) and non-biological siblings (that is adoptive, step, or paternal half-siblings) was examined whether and how long pro-bands were reared with these siblings was also considered. Biologically older brothers significantly predicted male sexual orientation regardless of whether or how long pro-bands were reared with these brothers (Bogaert, 2011). However, these studies were domiciled in the Western world but what the situation may seem in Nigeria needs to be examined.

Other factors to be considered which may influence the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage are the family type and parenting style. The family is the number one agents of socialization, and it plays an integral role in children's development. Children's growing competences and development are largely influenced by family life and family relationships. Children well-being continues to depend on the quality of family interactions. Children of today are growing up in a variety of households and different family systems. A number of these different families include: only child families, large families, single-parent families, single, divorced parent families, never married single parent families, blended families, gay and lesbian parent families, adoptive parent families, and grandparent reared families. All of the above-listed family types have greater value in influencing adults in their way of life. For instance, in gay and lesbian families, it is of great concern that their children will be stigmatized by their parents' sexual orientation. So also do parents play a large role in fostering their children's growth and development. Parents may differ in how they try to control or socialize their children and the extent to which they do so. Parents develop various styles of interacting with their children. Some parents are authoritarian, authoritative and permissive while some are uninvolved in relating to their children at home. Each of the above-listed styles has a greater influence on how the child will relate in the community. The question is, does the family type influence the attitude of adults towards same-sex marriage, to what extent does the family influence the attitude of their children? All these questions are

what the study seeks sought to provide answers to. Berk (2000) has identified four parenting styles; authoritarian, authoritative, permissive, and uninvolved, each of which influences how the child develops. The way parents handle their children may determine their sexual orientation, for instance, a child brought up by a gay and lesbian parents does not make the child homosexual.

Same-sex marriage has been regarded as a behavior which is influenced by a number of factors: a disrupted family, life in early years, a lack of unconditional love on the part of either parent, failure to identify with the same-sex parent. The problem can later result in search of love and acceptance, the envy of the same or the opposite sex, a life control of fears and feelings of isolation. It is unclear that the causes may be linked to fear of opposite sex, incest, or molestation, dominant mothers, and weak fathers, demonic oppression, etc. The research, therefore, intends to investigate the psycho-socio factors of the attitude of undergraduate's students towards same-sex marriage in Osun State.

Same-sex marriage has perceived as an aberration in Nigeria. In the wake of globalization and information sharing, youths are becoming more exposed to the western culture, especially in universities where students may be engaging in all sorts of sexual practices. One is not very sure of undergraduate students' disposition towards same-sex marriage, what could determine their attitude towards it and the willingness for counseling. There is a need, therefore, to seek to investigate the relationship between psycho-social factors such as sexual orientation identity, self-esteem, parenting styles, fraternal birth order, family types, peers influence which in literature have not been adequately explored in relation to the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage. This investigation is necessary because adolescents and youth get attracted to new things or culture without considering the consequences. Nigerian law and culture are against same-sex marriage. If the youths are involving in it, it becomes a problem and conflict.

With increasing urbanization in Nigeria and relative freedom from parents and guardians enjoyed by students in various institutions of higher learning in Nigeria, there have been different kinds of sexual orientation which include homosexuality and attitudes towards it.

Same-sex marriage in Nigeria is highly frowned at also because it is believed to have a negative effect on the general behavior of people and it is strongly against the moral principle of Nigerian society. Though this act of homosexuality may exist in closed and private settings in the Universities, yet there is no empirical evidence to show that it exists among undergraduates' in Osun State. This is, therefore, one reason to investigate its prevalence and the attitude towards it. On the part of the homosexuals, most often they may suffer psychosocial trauma, social isolation as the society widely regarding the attitude as a deviant behavior while they are sometimes being regarded and treated as criminals. In future, they may face the danger of childlessness except if they change and get married to opposite-sex or adopt a child. It is a violation of the natural use of man and woman. If people who engage in this practice have these challenges, what should be done? Do they seek help?

Furthermore, the attitude of people towards the acts may cause those involved in the act is unable to socially and psychologically adjust within the society and relate to people and

members of the society. It is on the above premise that this study seeks to unravel the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage and its counseling effects.

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of the study is to investigate Psycho-socio factors as correlates of the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage in Osun State. The specific objectives of the study are to: determine the sexual orientation identity of undergraduate students in Osun State; establish the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage in the State; investigate the relationship between self-esteem and the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage in the State; examine the relationship between each of family types, parenting styles, fraternal birth order, peers and the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage in the State; and determine the willingness of students to seek counselling help for adjustment on their sexual orientation.

Research Questions

The following research questions are relevant to this study:

1. What is the sexual orientation identity of undergraduate students in Osun State?
2. What is the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage in Osun State?
3. What is the willingness of students to seek counseling help for adjustment on their sexual orientation?

Research Instrument

One instrument was used for the study titled: "Undergraduate Attitude towards same-sex marriage" "UASSM" which was divided into six sections. Section "A" addressed the socio-demographic information of the respondents. Section "B" collected information on sexual orientation identity of the respondents, Section "C" measured the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage, Section "D" measured the self-esteem of the respondents, Section "E" measured the relationship between family types, parenting style, fraternal birth order and peers influence of the respondents, while Section "F" measured the willingness of seeking counselling help. The items were adapted from literature such as Bailey, J. M., Bobrow, D., Wolfe, M. & Mikach, S. (1995). Van de Bornholt and Balley (1996) and Rosenberg (1965)). The instrument was given to some lecturers in Tests and Measurement to determine both face and construct validity. A pilot study was carried out to determine the reliability of the instrument a test re-test reliability was conducted. After the instrument was validated the first time, the researcher went back to the selected institution which was not part of the sampled institution after two weeks to re-administer the instrument on the same set of people. The reliability value for the instrument was 0.803 coefficients which were significant at 0.05 level. With this high-reliability value, the instrument was then considered reliable and valid for administration.

Participants

A sample of 1487 undergraduate students was selected from the selected universities using multi-stage sampling technique. Three universities were selected using stratified sampling technique with ownership as the basis for selection including both public (Federal and State) and private owned universities. Five faculties were selected in each of the selected universities through simple random sampling technique. From each of the faculties, five departments were selected using simple random sampling technique. Sixty students were selected from each of the departments by convenience sampling technique. The distribution of socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents showed that more than half of the respondents (54.2%) were males, while about 46 percent were females. Christians (74.6%) dominated the sampled population, followed by the Muslims (24.3%), while 1.1 percent respondents were traditionalists. Majority of the respondents were Yoruba (88.7%), 8.2 percent Igbo and 3.1 percent Hausa. Considering the marital status of the respondents, 79.6 percent of the respondents were singles, 15.8 percent of respondents had committed relationship while about 5 percent of respondents were married.

Data Collection

The researcher visited the selected universities to administer the research instrument with the aid of other trained research assistants. In each of the universities, the researcher discussed with the Heads of Departments of the selected departments on the essence of the research to sensitize them on the importance of the research and also to solicit for support and assistance in the administration of the instruments. In each of the universities, 500 students were selected. The selected students responded to items on the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage. One thousand five hundred copies of the questionnaire were administered; where 500 copies were administered in each selected university. 1487 copies of the questionnaire were retrieved. Though out of 1500 copies of the questionnaire, 42 copies were rejected because they were not properly filled; 21 copies were not even returned by the respondents. Only one thousand four hundred and eighty-seven copies were useful. The data collection lasted for four weeks with the help of a research assistant.

Results and Discussion

Research Question 1: What is the sexual orientation identity of undergraduate students in Osun State?

To answer the research question one, the frequency and percentage were computed in order to find out the sexual orientation identity of undergraduate students in Osun State. The result is as presented in table 3.

Table 2 Sexual orientation identity of undergraduate students

Sexual Orientation	Frequency	Percentage
Heterosexual	1, 392	93.6%
Bisexual	55	3.7%
Homosexual	40	2.7%
Total	1, 487	100%

The result showed that 1,392 (93.6%) of the respondents identified themselves with heterosexual sexual orientation identity; 55 (3.7%) of the respondents identified themselves to be bisexual (relationship between opposite sex and with same sex) and, 40 (2.7%) of the respondents identified themselves to be homosexual (relationship with same sex).

Research Question 2: What is the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage in the State?

To answer the research question two, the mean, minimum, maximum and standard deviation were computed in order to find out the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage in the State. The result is as presented in table 4.

Table 3: Mean Score of Attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean (\bar{x})	Std. Deviation (SD)
Attitude	1487	9	83	49.7	10.9

Table 3 shows responses of 1487 students on attitude with mean value of 49.7 and standard deviation of 10.9. Also, the minimum and maximum values obtained by the students were 09 and 83 respectively. To avoid bias in the categorization of individual students into attitude level, the mean, minimum, maximum and standard deviation value obtained was used to categorize response into attitude level. The levels were categorized into two which are the positive and negative attitude. In order to get the positive attitude the mean value minus the standard deviation ($49.7 - 10.9 = 39$), which implies that any figure from the minimum value to 39 (09-39) will represent positive attitude while any figure from 40-83 will represent negative attitude.

Table 4: Distribution of respondents of Attitude towards same-sex Marriage

Attitude	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	233	15.7
Negative	1254	84.3
Total	1487	100

Table 4 shows the percentage distribution of respondents' attitude towards same-sex marriage. It shows responses of 1487 students. According to the Table distribution, 15.7 percent of the respondents had a positive attitude towards same-sex marriage while 84.3 percent of the respondents had a negative attitude towards same-sex marriage.

Research Question 3: What is the willingness of students to seek counseling help for adjustment on their sexual orientation?

To answer the research question three, the frequency and percentage were computed in order to find out whether the students think they can seek help in order to change their sexual orientation identity. The respondents were those that identified themselves to have bisexual and homosexual orientation identity of undergraduate students in Osun State. The result is as presented in table 5.

Table 5: Willingness of students to seek counseling help for adjustment on their sexual orientation

Adjustment techniques	Frequency (%)		
	Yes	No	Total
Psychotherapist	35 (36.8%)	60(63.2%)	95 (100%)
Spiritual approaches	57 (60.0%)	38(40.0%)	95 100%
Counselor	36 (37.9%)	59(62.1%)	95 (100%)
Personal decision (Need no help)	8 (8.4%)	87(91.6%)	95 (100%)

Table 5 above shows the percentage distribution of respondents by the willingness of students to seek counseling help for adjustment on their sexual orientation. It shows responses of 95 students who identified themselves to be homosexual and bisexual orientation identity. According to the Table distribution, about 36.8 percent of those that were homosexual or bisexual would want to go for psychotherapy as a means of helping them to change their sexual orientation; 60 percent of the respondents that identified themselves to be homosexual or bisexual were willing to use spiritual approaches for counseling. Also, 37.9 percent would prefer to seek help from counselors while 8.4 percent of the respondents believed that it was their personal decision.

The relationship between undergraduate sexual identity and attitude towards same-sex marriage

There is no significant relationship between undergraduate sexual identity and attitude towards same-sex marriage.

To test this hypothesis, sexual orientation identity of undergraduate students were computed using mean and standard deviation. Chi-square and p-value were used to test for the relationship between sexual orientation identity and attitude towards same-sex marriage. The result is as presented in table 6.

Table 6: Relationship between Undergraduate sexual orientation identity and attitude towards same-sex marriage

Sexual Orientation Identity	Attitude		χ^2	p-value
	Positive	Negative		
Heterosexual	217 (15.6%)	1175 (84.4%)	17.3	0.00**
Bisexual	2 (3.6%)	53 (96.4%)		
Homosexual	14 (35.0%)	26 (65.0%)		

Note: **Significant ($p < 0.05$) and *Insignificant ($p > 0.05$)

In order to ascertain the relationship between sexual orientation identity and attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage; the data were analysed using a two-tailed Pearson product moment correlation and chi-square which determined at 0.05 level of significance. The further result indicated that there was a significant relationship between undergraduate sexual orientation identity and attitude towards same-sex marriage ($\chi^2=17.3$, $p < 0.05$). However, the result shows that there is a negative and significant relationship between sexual orientation identity and undergraduate attitude towards same-sex marriage.

The relationship between self-esteem and attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage

There is no significant relationship between self-esteem and attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage.

Table 7: Self-esteem of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage

Variable	N	Mean (\bar{x})	Std. Deviation (SD)	Minimum	Maximum
Self-esteem	1487	21.0	5.30	3	36

Table 7 shows responses of 1487 students on their self-esteem with a mean value of 21.0 and standard deviation of 5.30. Also, the minimum and maximum values obtained by the students were 3 and 36 respectively. To avoid bias in the categorization of individual student's self-esteem, the mean value obtained was used to categorize response into self-esteem level. The results are presented in Table 7. To avoid bias in the categorization of individual students into self-esteem level, the mean, minimum, maximum and standard deviation value obtained was used to categorize response into self-esteem level. The level was categorized into two which is, high and low attitude. In order to get high self-esteem, the mean value minus the standard deviation ($21 - 5.30 = 16$), which implies that any figure from the minimum value to 16 (03-16) will represent high self-esteem while any figure from 17-36 will represent low self-esteem. The result then revealed that majority of the respondents had low self-esteem towards same-sex marriage.

To test this hypothesis, self-esteem and attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage were computed using mean standard deviation. Chi-square and p-value were used to test for the relationship between self-esteem and attitude towards same-sex marriage.

Table 8: Relationship between undergraduate self-esteem and attitude towards same-sex marriage

Variable	N	Mean (\bar{x})	SD	χ^2	p-value sig. (2-tailed)
Self-Esteem	1487	1.81	0.39	3.31	0.001
Attitude	1487	1.84	0.36		

***Significant ($p < 0.05$) and *Insignificant ($p > 0.05$)*

Correlation between undergraduate self-esteem and attitude towards same-sex marriage is presented in Table 8 above. The result indicated that there was a statistically significant relationship between self-esteem and undergraduate students attitude towards same-sex marriage which implies that self-esteem can determine the attitude of students towards same-sex marriage ($\chi^2 = 3.31$, $p < 0.05$).

The relationship between each of parenting type, family types, fraternal birth order, peers influence and attitude towards same-sex marriage

There is no significant relationship between each of parenting type, family types, fraternal birth order, peers influence and attitude towards same-sex marriage. To test this hypothesis, parenting type, family types, fraternal birth order, peers influence and attitude towards same-sex marriage were computed using frequency count, percentage, chi-square, and p-value.

Table 9: Association between each of family type, parenting styles, fraternal birth order, peers influence and attitude towards same-sex marriage

	Attitude towards same-sex marriage			χ^2	p-value
	Positive	Negative	N		
Family types					
Intact biological married family	94(12.4%)	667(87.6%)	761 (100%)	15.4	.002
Step family (Blended family)	62 (20.5%)	240 (79.5%)	302 (100%)		
Single Parent	60(19.7%)	245 (80.3%)	305 (100%)		
Adopted by a family member	18(150.1%)	101 (84.9%)	119 (100%)		
Parenting style					
Authoritarian	124 (51.9%)	115(48.1%)	239 (100%)	3.07	0.00
Authoritative	70 (13.2%)	461(86.8%)	531 (100%)		
Permissive	37 (10.7%)	308(89.3%)	345 (100%)		
Uninvolved	03 (0.8%)	369 (99.2%)	372 (100%)		
Fraternal birth order					
First	60 (12.1%)	435 (87.9%)	495 (100%)	33.2	0.00

Second	25 (20.3%)	98 (79.7%)	123 (100%)		
Third	13 (31.7%)	28 (68.3%)	41 (100%)		
Fourth	17 (19.1%)	72 (80.9%)	89 (100%)		
Others	0 (0.0%)	57 (100%)	57 (100%)		
Peers influence					
Yes	219 (16.2%)	1135(83.3%)	1354(100%)	2.19	0.14
No	15 (11.3%)	118 (88.7%)	133 (100%)		

****Significant ($p < 0.05$) and *Insignificant ($p > 0.05$)**

Table 9 above shows the association between family types, parenting styles, fraternal birth order, peers influence and attitude of undergraduate towards same-sex marriage. Majority of the respondents 667 (87.6%) identified themselves to be living with their biological parents were identified to have a negative attitude towards same-sex marriage; while 101 (84.9%) percent respondents are living with family members were also identified to had negative attitude towards same-sex marriage. Statistically, family types had a significant relationship with attitude towards same-sex marriage ($\chi^2=11.40$, $p < 0.05$). Also, 124 (51.9%) of the respondents identified themselves to have authoritarian parents and had a positive attitude towards same-sex marriage. Statistically, parenting style had a significant relationship with same-sex marriage ($\chi^2=3.07$, $p < 0.05$). Also, there was a significant relationship between fraternal birth order ($\chi^2=33.2$, $p < 0.05$), but peers influence ($\chi^2= 2.19$, $p > 0.05$) no significant relationship with attitude towards same-sex marriage.

Discussion of the findings

This study investigated psycho-social factors as correlates of the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage in Osun State. The result revealed that majority of the respondents had heterosexual orientation identity. The study was carried out in this area and that even children living with their gay fathers and lesbian mothers still identified themselves to have heterosexual orientation identity (Bailey et al., 1995). The result was so because of the cultural believes of the people of Osun State. The result also revealed that majority of the respondents had a negative attitude towards same-sex marriage. The result from the present study is therefore consistent with previous studies conducted as a result revealed that most of the respondents had a strong negative attitude towards same-sex marriage. The result further revealed that more than half of the respondents who identified themselves to have homosexual or bisexual orientation were willing to seek help in order to change their sexual orientation identity; they revealed that they would prefer to seek help through the means of spiritual approaches which implies that majority of them saw homosexuality as spiritual problem and the only means through which such person could be helped was through spiritual approaches. This notion is consistent with the cultural belief of the people in Nigeria that people with such practices must be insane. However, seeking spiritual assistance may be helpful because of the religious inclination of the respondents. Thus the finding was so because of the religious beliefs of the people in Nigeria especially in Osun State where the study was carried out.

The result also revealed that majority of the respondents had low self-esteem which also influenced their attitude towards same-sex marriage. Thus when an individual has low self-esteem, he or she is likely to either find it difficult in forming heterosexual relationship may be as a result of shyness. This was consistent with what was found out by Rubinsten, (2010) that compared the self-esteem of respondents and discovered that they had low self-esteem in relation with the attitude towards same-sex marriage, which he explained that it was so because of the repressive and conservative social culture and religious matters. The respondents having low self-esteem doesn't imply that they have low self-esteem towards themselves but because of the cultural values and religious beliefs of the respondents.

The study further revealed that authoritative and uninvolved parents had a negative attitude towards same-sex marriage. From literature, it can be seen that children from authoritative parents seem to be well behaved in the society and have good social behavior. Less information is available in this area, in comparing the parenting style with the attitude of students towards same-sex marriage. This research also revealed that majority of the respondents living with their biological parents had a strong negative attitude towards same-sex marriage, it implies that children living with their biological parents were positively influenced by their parents, cultured and may have received more love and affection from their parents to have disallowed unhealthy attachment from elsewhere. No data are available yet in this area, in comparing the family type with the attitude of students towards same-sex marriage.

The result also revealed that majority of male respondents who were first born of the family had a strong negative attitude towards same-sex marriage, this is in discordance with what has been revealed in other findings. In other findings, fraternal birth order (FBO) is most common to third and another born of the family, most especially, if they are all brothers and of the same parents (Bogaert, 2011). The result also revealed that peers do not have an influence on the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage.

Conclusion

The study concluded that majority of the respondents had heterosexual orientation identity which made them have a negative attitude towards same-sex marriage, but those with other sexual orientations would prefer to seek for adjustment on their sexual orientation through spiritual approaches. However, parenting style, family type, and peers influence had no relationship with the attitude of undergraduate students towards same-sex marriage.

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Sexual Savagery in Armed Conflicts: A Critique of the United Nations Response

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Abstract

One of the consequences of the Second World War was the formation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945. The horrendous crimes committed in that war, including sexual violence against women and girls, necessitated the elevation of issues of human rights to the top of the UN agenda. The UN over the years evolved various mechanisms to end sexual violence against women during armed conflict. These measures have achieved minimal results. The problem is even worse as sexual violence is now employed as a tactic of war, while the UN appears unable to help the victims. This article examines UN measures to end wartime sexual assault on women, among them, adoption of resolutions, advocacy, the imposition of sanctions and prosecution of offenders. There are also challenges such as the non-binding character of its resolutions, lack of intervention force, the absence of data and paralysis in the Security Council. The work finds that the UN has not done enough to protect women in conflict zones, and recommends the training of peacekeepers on gender issues, prosecution of offenders and inclusion of women in peace-building.

Keywords: Sexual Violence, Armed Conflict, United Nations, Measures, Impunity.

Introduction

Sexual violence in conflict depicts a serious moral issue. It has had negative impacts on families and communities and undermined efforts at peace and security. The term encompasses rape, sexual mutilation, sexual humiliation, forced prostitution and forced pregnancy (Women 2000, 1998). It also includes forced marriage, forced maternity and various forms of sexual abuse (Lindsey-Curtet, Hoist-Roness, and Anderson, 2004:25). In virtually all armed conflicts, the female population is exposed to various forms of sexual abuse.

It has been a long-standing view that where there is an armed conflict, there is inevitably sexual violence. It has been part and parcel of conflicts for centuries and has been described

as a by-product of war. (Lindsey-Curtet *et al.*,2004). The victims are generally women and girls. They bear the brunt of the armed conflict. Often women and girls are regarded as part of the spoils of war (Women 2000, 1998) and as sexual objects (Etuk, 2003). They are also targeted for socio-cultural and discriminatory reasons. Most worrisome, however, is the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war ((Ndifon and Archibong, 2009)) to conquer and humiliate the adversary, to extract information and for ethnic cleansing (*Prosecutor v Kunarac* Case No IT-98-23/2).

International law prohibits sexual abuse in peacetime and in time of hostilities. The Law of Armed Conflict encapsulated in the Geneva Conventions, Additional Protocols, and various international instruments declare sexual violation a war crime, crime against humanity and the constitutive act of genocide depending on the circumstance in which it was committed. However, states to which these legal instruments are directly addressed are unable or unwilling to observe, implement or enforce them, thereby creating a fertile ground for impunity to thrive. It is in this regard that the UN finds relevance. This article examines the role of the UN and its measures for addressing the problem of sexual violence during armed conflicts. It also appraises the challenges encountered by the world body as well as proffers remedial measures for the way forward.

The UN and sexual violence in conflict

The United Nations was formed in 1945 to replace the League of Nations because of the latter's inability to prevent the Second World War. A unique feature of that war was the widespread sexual violence against women by Japanese forces (Sterngold, 1993). The Allied forces participated in sexual violence. Russian soldiers raped German women, and to this extent, historians approximate that two million German women and girls were sexually abused (Dowling, 2008). Women and girls were abducted, imprisoned and forced to assuage the sexual appetite of occupying troops (UNICEF, 1996).

In response to the atrocities against women in the Second World War, the UN prioritized human rights to ensure that such evil does not occur again. The UN era has witnessed increased activities and efforts towards the promotion and respect for human rights generally and the rights of women in particular. It provides the platform for advancing human rights and freedom devoid of distinction of any kind (Articles 1(3), 13(1), 55(c), 56 of the UN Charter). Various articles in the Charter prohibit discrimination on the ground of sex which is directed principally at women (Buergenthal, 1995). United Nations action to promote the cause of women started when UN members articulated in the Charter their belief in the dignity and equal rights of all persons (Buergenthal, 1995).

Wartime sexual savagery continues unabated.

After the Second World War, sexual violence in conflict has continued unstopped (Women 2000, 1998). In response, the UN has adopted or inspired the adoption of conventions on rights of women and aided in establishing a universal benchmark for determining the progress by society in the attainment of equality for all persons (UNFPA, 2006). Yet female-

targeted violence has continued globally at an alarming rate in international and non-international armed conflicts (McDougall, 1998).

In the conflict that engulfed Bangladesh (United Nations, 1994), there was appalling account of wartime mass rape of Bengali women by Pakistani soldiers in 1971 (Brownmiller, 1975). By the time the war was over, an estimated 200,000 to 400,000 women were raped or sexually assaulted (Brownmiller, 1975). During the assault on Kuwait by Iraqi forces in 1990, sexual cruelty was widespread (Women 2000, 1998). Rape of Kuwaiti women by Iraqi soldiers during the invasion was documented in UN reports (United Nations, 1992). *In the armed conflict in the former Yugoslavia, sexual violence was systematic and widespread. In Bosnia, several thousands of women were raped in a single year (Slavenka, 2008). Sexual violence was used as a means of ethnic cleansing in that conflict (The Foca Case, Prosecutor v Kunarac Case No IT-98-23/2).*

Throughout the civil war conflict in Sierra Leone, which spanned nine years, there was widespread and organised sexual attack on women and girls (Human Rights Watch, 2003). In other armed confrontations such as those in Darfur, Sudan northern Uganda, the D.R. Congo, Libya, Syria, and northeast Nigeria sexual attack is pervasive, organized and premeditated. Belligerents use it as a tactic of combat.

Various measures by the UN to curb war-related sexual violence

The UN in keeping with one of its fundamental aims, namely, that of preservation of peace and safety globally, is concerned by armed conflicts and at any time there is an outbreak of hostilities, different organs and agencies of the UN must busy themselves with humanitarian law which is an intrinsic corpus of international law which the United Nations must comply with and promote (Pfanner, 2009:314). The UN created an international body, the United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict, to coordinate its activities on wartime sexual violence. Other measures of the UN include the adoption of resolutions, the imposition of sanctions, prosecution of perpetrators and advocacy programmes.

Security Council resolutions to address wartime sexual violence

The major organ of the UN vested with the responsibility to maintain international peace and security is the Security Council. It requires belligerents to abide by the humanitarian law and expresses the belief that conformity to rules is essential for achieving peace and security. Diverse mechanisms are available to the Council although it can also devise new procedures (Pfanner, 315) as long as it is acting in fulfillment of, and in accordance with, its mandate under the Charter (Art. 24, para. 2 of the Charter of the UN). In recent times, the Security Council has been involved in efforts to protect women from sexual violence during any armed conflict. It has initiated different measures to achieve this objective one of which is the adoption of resolutions.

Resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security

The Security Council is essentially focused on the problem of sexual cruelty during armed hostilities. This is treated as something capable of undermining international peace and security. The Council adopted Resolution 1325 soliciting protection for women from sexual abuse. The resolution dealt particularly with the struggles of women in times of armed conflict.

Passed in October 2000, the resolution vests specific and substantial responsibilities on the global organisation to initiate positive and realizable steps to address sexual enslavement of women affected by war (Amy, 2010:229). These include protecting women and girls from sexual abuse, respecting humanitarian law, respecting human rights, training international forces, providing financial support and engaging civil society.

Resolution 1820 on sexual violence as a weapon of war

Security Council revisited the issues raised in Resolution 1325 in 2008 by adopting Resolution 1820 (S/RES/1820 of 19 June 2008). In it, the Council ordered a prompt and absolute end to all forms of sexual abuse by belligerents. It noted that "Rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute war crimes, crimes against humanity or a constitutive act with respect to genocide" (S/RES/1820 of 19 June 2008). This is in response to the fact that sexual cruelty has attained a calculated status as an instrument of war. The resolution appealed for the inclusion of women in peace-building; prescribed punishment for violators; and advocated the exclusion of sexual attack from amnesties. The resolution called on combatants and pacifists to increase measures to avert sexual assault during armed hostilities, and the UN Secretary-General to report on global compliance.

Resolutions 1888 and 1889 reaffirming previous resolutions

In 2009 the Council adopted Resolutions 1888 (S/RES/1888 of 30 September 2009) and 1889 (S/RES/1889 of 5 October 2009). Through their unanimous adoption, the Security Council reaffirms its landmark resolution 1325 and condemned the continued use of sexual violence against women in conflict and post conflicts situations. It denounced the perpetuation of sexual assault as a strategy of war, enjoining parties to a conflict to end it. The resolution implored the UN, states, and NGOs to treat as priority issues of protection and empowerment of women during planning (Iwilade, 2011).

Other Security Council Resolutions

In order to strengthen the mechanism of protection for women caught in conflict, the Council passed resolution 1960 requesting the Secretary-General to list the entities suspected of committing sexual violence. In addition, it called for the setting up of monitoring and reporting mechanism. The Council also passed Resolution 2106 intended to enhance the supervision and reporting of wartime sexual abuse. On 18 October 2013 the Council adopted Resolution 2122 designed to reinforce the part played by women in preventing and resolving a conflict. The resolution stresses the need for more women to be involved in peace processes.

Action by the General Assembly

Another principal organ of the UN is the General Assembly. This is its main deliberative, policymaking, and representative organ. It has the power to draw up propositions on global problems within its jurisdiction (Articles 10-12, 14 and 15 of the UN Charter). The Assembly can sternly deal with issues of sexual violence in armed conflicts through its declarations and other measures.

Action through Declarations

The Assembly adopts declarations on specific conflicts. Through such declarations, it draws the attention of states to their duty as captured in the Geneva Conventions to ascertain that humanitarian law is complied with (A/RES/63/96 2008). Some of the declarations of the Assembly include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948; Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Conflict 1974; Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women 1993; and Windhoek Declaration. The General Assembly established the Council in 2006 (GA resolution (A/RES60/251) of 15 March 2006). Its primary aim is to deal with violations of human rights and offer suggestions on their reinforcement and advancement. The Council is also concerned with human rights in situations of armed confrontations (Human Rights Council Resolution 9/9, 24 September 2008).

Promotional work of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

The ECOSOC is in charge of the coordination of 14 UN Specialised agencies and functional commissions in the economic and social sphere (New Zimbabwe, 2016). It formulates policies for the UN and member states and ensures the efficiency of humanitarian action within the system. In 1946, ECOSOC established the Commission on the Status of Women as part of its mandate to promote women's rights (Arts. 62(2), 68 of the Charter). The Commission was set up to supervise matters relating to women and advancement of their rights in all societies around the world. There is regular assessment of developments concerning gender equality. The Commission identifies problems, establish international standards and develop strategies to achieve universal advancement of women. The body makes recommendations to ECOSOC in connection with the promotion of women's rights (Linder, 2001). Over the past decade, the Commission initiated world conferences to address issues concerning women.

Role of the Secretary-General

The Secretary-General takes care of the practical arrangements for and the follow-up to the actions of the other non-judicial UN bodies, and "may bring matters to the attention of the Security Council on his own initiative" (Pfanner, 2009: 321). The Secretary-General's statement on the application of resolutions 1820 and 1888 was released in December 2010, and recommended to the Security Council the establishment of a system to monitor analyse and inquire into wartime sexual abuse. In that regard, the Office of Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict was created by Resolution 1888 and

will serve as the spokesperson and advocate in matters relating to wartime sexual violence. The UN Chief Scribe can report directly to the Security Council on conflict-related sexual violence (United Nations Security Council, 2015).

The Special Representative has set out six important objectives, among them, to stop immunity for sexual attack; protect and empower the victims; muster political resources to fight crime; step up the campaign against rape as a tool of war; and effectively coordinate measures initiated by the UN. The Office is currently involved in issues of sexual violence in many conflict zones.

Other UN measures

UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict

This is an international body within the UN System vested with the responsibility of uniting the activities of several UN bodies charged with the responsibility of stopping conflict-related sexual cruelty. It was created in reaction to requests by rape survivors and women's rights groups for the UN to go the extra mile to tackle sexual violence within a humanitarian and human rights legal framework. It functions through extant UN system.

Open debates on action to end sexual violence in conflict

The Security Council holds open debates from time to time on action to end sexual violence against women in armed conflicts. On 29th October 2008, the Council conducted a conference on women peace and security. It adopted a Presidential Statement urging states and international and regional organizations to involve more women in conflict prevention, resolution and peacebuilding. It called upon the Secretary-General to appoint more women to pursue good offices and requested a report on resolution 1325 including information on obstacles to women's participation.

UN Peacekeeping Operations

The Department was officially established in 1992, and vested with the responsibility of planning, preparing, managing and directing UN Peacekeeping Operations. The UN from time to time dispatches the peacekeeping force to areas of armed conflict to observe a ceasefire and keep the peace, protect civilians, document grave abuses, and assists victims of sexual violation (Ndulo, 2009).

UN Compensation Commission

In the aftermath of the Iraqi attack on Kuwait in 1990, the UN established the Compensation Commission to make reparation to persons injured by the invasion (Women 2000, 1998). Among the beneficiaries were those who suffered a serious personal injury which included victims of sexual abuse. There were claims based on rape by personnel of the Iraqi security forces. Guidelines were also issued regarding proof of the claims. A panel of commissioners made recommendations for claims (Women 2000, 1998).

UN Conferences on Women

In 1975, the first world conference on women was held in Mexico City. This was followed by the second, third and fourth conferences in Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995) respectively. A conflict-related sexual attack on women was a principal subject-matter at the Beijing Conference. In 1993, UN Vienna Conference on human rights addressed violence against women, including rape as an issue of human right. The sexual assault on women in the Yugoslav war provided the impetus for NGOs to argue that violence against women is of concern to the international community at large (Women 2000, 1998).

International Day against Sexual Violence in Conflict

The General Assembly on 19 June 2015 adopted a resolution to enhance the world-wide struggle to combat atrocities that women encounter in times of war. (UN News Centre, 2015) The Assembly by consensus adopted 19 June as International Day for the Elimination of Sexual Violence in Conflict. President of the General Assembly, Sam Kutesa, declared that "Rape and other forms of sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict constitute grave violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. Yet these depraved acts still occur and are used to terrorize and control civilian populations in conflict zones." (UN News Centre, 2015). He stated further that "Together, we must prioritize prevention and response efforts, empower victims, provide comprehensive assistance and shift the stigma of shame to those who commit them and condone them" (UN News Centre, 2015). Referring to the brutal acts of sexual attack on women and girls by ISIL in Iraq and Syria and Boko Haram in Nigeria, Kutesa said that "Rape as a weapon of war must be stopped. We should ensure that the perpetrators of these crimes and their superiors who condone their actions are held accountable and that victims get justice." (UN News Centre, 2015) The International Day will be observed annually.

Prosecution and punishment of perpetrators

Imposition of sanctions

One of the strategies adopted by the Security Council to address cases of sexual assault in armed conflict is by the imposition of sanctions on perpetrators. Individuals implicated in sexual violence are sanctioned by the Council. In March 2009, the Council's D.R. Congo Sanctions Committee levied asset seizure and travel embargo on three individuals identified in 2008 by the Expert Group report as responsible for sexual violence. In February 2010, the Sanctions Committee on D.R. Congo added four more persons and groups to entities liable to travel embargo and asset seizure. The Security Council imposed sanctions on Boko Haram in May 2014 (Ledere, 2014) about a month after the abduction of the Chibok school girls.

Prosecution of offenders

One of the greatest achievements of the UN since its establishment in 1945 was the establishment of *ad hoc* tribunals to try rape violence as a war crime, crime against humanity and a constitutive act of genocide (Women 2000: 1998) In response to the armed conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone, the UN Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (SC Res. 827 of 25 May 1993), International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (SC Res. 955 of May 1994), and the Special

Court for Sierra Leone (SC Res.1315 of 2000) where individuals alleged to have perpetrated sexual violence were prosecuted and jailed.

Challenges before the UN

The protection of women and prevention of sexual abuse on them in times of war remain a serious challenge before the UN. The unequivocal proscription in international law and within the UN system notwithstanding, sexual cruelty remains an unfortunate constituent of numerous wars globally (Haeri and Puechguirbal, 2010:118-119). According to Pfanner (2009:317) "the main challenges are currently considered to be promoting greater compliance with the legal obligations, also by non-state entities, the growing role of peacekeeping missions in the protection of civilians, humanitarian access, and increased accountability." With regard to sexual cruelty in war, the basic challenge before the UN and its agencies depends on the conscientious application of and compliance with the law (Haeri and Puechguirbal, 2010).

Lack of a standing force

The Organization has no military force of its own (United Nations, 2013). It relies on troop contributions from member states for peacekeeping operations. These peacekeepers are supposed to secure vulnerable people where they have been deployed. But in recent times, there have been reports implicating UN peacekeepers in "beatings, rape, sexual exploitation, murder or general discrimination against local women and children" (Lindsey, 2001:53)

Failure of the Security Council

The Security Council also faces some challenges in the global effort to curb war-related sexual attack. The Council is endowed with enforcement powers and can initiate punitive action against perpetrators. In recent conflicts, however, the Council appears incapable of preventing such attacks. This is largely attributed to the division within the Council, and the inability of Council members to find consensus on major global issues (Genser, 2014). In the ongoing conflict in Syria, the Council is unwilling or unable to adopt resolutions or take serious action to stop sexual assault because of the national interest of the 'big powers' such as the United States and Russia that are supporting different parties in the conflict.

Non-binding nature of Security Council Resolutions

The Security Council has adopted resolutions aimed at protecting women in times of armed conflict. However, unlike Chapter VII resolutions, Resolution 1325 and similar ones are not binding on states though they have impacted on the behavior of states. The goals of Resolution 1325 are lofty, but the Security Council has not created a central mechanism for tracking its implementation.

Another criticism of Resolution 1325 is that its implementation is incomplete, as well as prejudicial and discriminatory against women within the UN system. A big challenge before the UN concerning the realization of goals embodied in Resolution 1325 is that several years after its adoption only a few states have developed National Action Plans for its implementation. (Cabrera-Balleza, 2013)

Poor knowledge and weak implementation of operational guidelines

The UN has operational guidelines on sexual violence (UNFPA, 2005)). There are poor knowledge and weak implementation of these guidelines (Steinberg, 2010). There is also the problem of inadequacy of framework for methodical coordination in the UN to deal with the sexual attack in war-related armed conflict (Steinberg, 2010).

Absence of data

Another factor that poses a big challenge to UN efforts and seriously hampers its responses in the absence of statistics on the predominance and character of a sexual attack in armed conflicts (Steinberg, 2010). The production of such data is difficult because of lack of cooperation by victims who fear rejection or retribution. It has been noted by Steinberg (2010) that "The failure to generate data on the extent and nature of sexual violence in displacement has a number of negative effects. First, it hampers international efforts to prioritize specific locations for action and undercuts efforts to foster political will to address the challenges in these settings. Equally important, the lack of data hinders the development of interventions appropriate for specific areas."

The implication of peacekeepers in sexual violence

Peacekeepers on UN Missions have been implicated in the sexual abuse of women and girls (Ndulo, 2009). The UN force deployed in Congo did not provide protection for victims of sexual assault. To make matters worse, troops of the UN Mission and the civilian personnel took part in the sexual exploitation of the women and girls they were meant to protect (Lindsey, 2001: 53).

Peacekeepers on UN operation in Liberia took advantage of the vulnerability of the girls and sexually abused them (Bowcott, 2005). The sexual exploitation and abuse have been described by the UN as one of the greatest stains on UN history. In relation to involvement in sexual violence by UN peacekeepers, Kofi Annan said such abhorrent act was a "violation of the fundamental duty of care" (Bowcott, 2005). The involvement of peacekeepers in sexual violence is a menace and has turned a serious political issue. There is presently no basis to hold them criminally responsible. Even when they are expelled for the UN mission, the home states often fail to prefer charges. This has become an increasingly high profile, political problem. At present, many of them return to their home countries where prosecutions are rarely pursued.

Strengthening the UN mechanism for effective result*Training and code of conduct for peacekeepers*

Peacekeepers should be equipped with requisite instruction on human rights, international humanitarian law and gender issues. This should take into account women's rights, cultural sensibility, and peculiar security needs. Experts on gender issues and women should be incorporated into the training programme. A detailed code of conduct should be developed for peacekeepers who will exteriorise their behavior towards women. Apart from the peacekeepers, a robust security outfit with rapid reaction capability should be inaugurated to tackle unfolding situations of prodigious sexual violence.

Involvement of women in peacekeeping and peace-building

In order to prevent sexual violence by UN personnel, it is suggested that women should be involved in peacekeeping. Female peacekeepers should form a reasonable part of the contingent. Their inclusion will confer a comparative advantage in how sexual violence is tackled. It is also essential to involve women in the reconstruction programmes and peace-building efforts. This will guarantee enduring peace and ensure that the peace so created is equitable.

Dissemination of UN guidelines on gender-based violence

Agencies of the UN, especially the Inter-Agency Steering Committee, should disseminate the Guidelines for Gender-based Violence Interventions and make certain that functionaries of the UN, states, NGOs and concerned women are grounded in these guidelines. The UN should improve coordination machinery for tackling sexual violence. The responsibility to gather data can be assigned to the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict. This would unveil the currency and order of the crime generally and in specific ambience.

Accountability through the international justice system

Perpetrators of sexual violence should be made to face justice. In the respect, the machinery of accountability should be strengthened. The UN *ad hoc* tribunals had already set precedents. The UN should, therefore, collaborate with the International Criminal Court (ICC) in bringing culprits to justice. This will send a strong message to armed men in Syria, Iraq, northeast Nigeria and other war zones that they will one day be guests of the ICC.

Conclusion

The UN was formed on the ruins of the Second World War with a promise to promote and protect human rights, including averting the horrendous crimes against women. The organization has been trying to address sexual violence in conflicts through diverse measures. There is no doubt that limited successes have been recorded. But the UN can do more to surmount its challenges through sincerity and determination of member states.

There are numerous resolutions and reports on curbing sexual violence in conflict. But beyond rhetoric, little has been done to stem the tide. The outcome of inaction is an exacerbation of the problem as it is being witnessed in Syria, Iraq and other conflict zones. The Security Council must muster the political will to enforce its resolutions and refer perpetrators to the ICC. There should be a robust mandate to peacekeepers and those implicated in sexual violence should be held accountable for their actions. UN agencies should develop goals and indicators and collect data on the prevalence and patterns of sexual violence. The UN should focus on training of its officials and also ensure that women are included in decision-making and peacekeeping.

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Ethnicity and Development – A Civil Society Perspective from North-East India

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Abstract

Civil society in northeast India has emerged gradually over the last few decades. It is observed that civil society organizations especially student and youth groups have thrived on the margins of the Indian political system, in the buffer space between political parties and insurgent groups. It is significant to note that most of these organizations in the northeast are based on ethnic affiliations, and hence ethnicity creeps into all civic spheres into which these organizations intervene, prompting some scholars to describe these organizations as “civic representatives” of ethnic groups and communities. In the context of the above, the proposed research paper seeks to examine the role of some major student and youth organizations of Meghalaya, a state of northeast India, as champions of the interests of the respective ethnic communities they claim to represent. The paper also proposes to focus on the developmental agenda of the Indian State and to enquire into the contradictions and dilemmas that have arisen as a result of the vigorous pursuit of ethnic agenda by these civil society organizations. The paper is structured into the following sections. The first section conceptualizes student and youth organizations as important components of the civil society in northeast India. In the second section, development constraints in northeast India have been discussed. The next section highlights the role of some of the student and youth organizations of Meghalaya as champions of ethnic interests. The fourth section identifies a few contemporary issues dominating the developmental agenda in Meghalaya and focuses on the views of these organizations on the same. The final section examines the contradictions between ethnic sensitivities and the developmental agenda in Meghalaya and summarizes the main observations of the paper.

Keywords: Ethnicity, Nationalism, Development, Civil Society, Student, Youth.

Introduction

The existing literature on ethnicity and nationalism shows that while some scholars have looked upon these phenomena as primordial identities and have even sought to discover historical evidence of their existence in the past centuries, other scholars like Paul Brass consider ethnicity in terms of manipulation of culture by an elite and regard it as a contemporary phenomenon. According to the latter viewpoint, ethnicity becomes manifest when a cultural group led by its dominant sections uses various aspects of culture like language, traditions, and cultural practices to distinguish itself from other groups (Brass, 1991).

In the Indian context, the presence of multiple linguistic and cultural groups has led to ethnic pluralism, and each ethnic group has been articulating its interests in terms of the protection of its distinct identity. This phenomenon has assumed a lot of significance in the context of northeast India which is a homeland of diverse ethnic communities.

The capitalist path of development undertaken by India since independence has further intensified in the post-liberalization and post-globalization era. This process has its own dynamics and compulsions with far-reaching implications for India's multi-ethnic society in general and for the multiple ethnicities of northeast India in particular. The interface between the multi-ethnic setting and the developmental agenda of the Indian State brings into sharp focus the role of the civil society as the champion of distinct ethnic interests.

Conceptual Framework

In view of the above, it is pertinent to arrive at a broad understanding of civil society. Broadly speaking, civil society is the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens. The literature on relations between civil society and democratic political society has its roots in early classical liberal writings like those of Alex de Tocqueville (Zaleski, 2008, p.50). Twentieth-century theorists like Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba identified the role of political culture in a democratic order as vital (Almond & Verba, 1989). More recently, Robert Putnam has argued that even non-political organizations in civil society are vital for democracy because they build social capital, trust and shared values (Putnam et al.,1994). Others, however, have questioned how democratic civil society actually is. For Marx, civil society was the 'base' where productive forces and social relations were taking place (Lenin, 2010).

Deviating from Marx, Gramsci located civil society in the political superstructure and viewed it as an instrument of bourgeoisie hegemony. Rather than posing it as a problem, Gramsci viewed civil society as the site for the problem-solving (Ehrenberg, 1999). Misunderstanding Gramsci, the New Left assigned civil society a key role in defending people against the state and the market and in asserting the democratic will to influence the state (Ehrenberg, 1999, p.30). At the same time, Neo-liberal thinkers consider civil society as a site for the struggle to subvert communist and authoritarian regimes (Ehrenberg, 1999, p.33).

Thus, the term civil society occupies an important place in the political discourses of the New Left and the Neoliberals. The concept of civil society, expressing what Marx referred to as 'the struggles and the aspirations of the age', has become the foundation of the reconstruction of both left-oriented radical political theory and liberal theory. Most of these works see civil society as a residual category composed of everything that is not the state. Neera Chandhoke argues that this position is flawed and proposes that the state can be understood only by referring to the politics of civil society and vice versa. She states that it is necessary to sift through many historical layers of meaning that inform the concept and unearth the system of meaning which can stimulate the democratic imagination (Neera Chandhoke, 1995).

Civil society in northeast India has emerged gradually over the last few decades. It is observed that civil society organizations especially student and youth groups have thrived on the margins of the Indian political system, in the buffer space between political parties and insurgent groups. It is significant to note that most of these organizations in northeast India

are based on ethnic affiliations and hence ethnicity creeps into all civic spheres into which these organizations intervene, prompting some scholars to describe these organizations as “civic representatives” of ethnic groups and communities (Das, 2007, p. 43).

In the context of the above, the paper seeks to examine the role of some major student and youth organizations of Meghalaya as champions of the interests of the respective ethnic communities they claim to represent. The paper also enquires into the dilemmas and contradictions that have arisen as a result of the vigorous pursuit of ethnic agenda by these civil society organizations.

Development Constraints in North-East India

It may be observed that the northeastern region of India has its own opportunities and constraints, strengths and weaknesses and needs and priorities, but the development initiatives so far have followed the national perspectives of development and the region continues to be backward in spite of some special packages and programmes and institutions like North Eastern Council (NEC) and Development of the North Eastern Region (DONER). In the era of globalization and liberalization, there is a shift in development paradigm, from a top-down approach to bottom up, from people around development to development around people, from an emphasis on growth factor to concern for sustainable development and from centralized initiatives to democratic decentralization in making economic decisions.

Associated with such a shift in development paradigm is changing development initiatives in North East India (Behera (Ed).2004). It may be noted in this context that growing presence of Multinational Corporations, an invariable concomitant of the globalization process, is yet to take place in the North East in a big way, primarily because ethnic strife and insurgency stand in the way of a favorable investment climate. Moreover, the difficult terrain and transport bottlenecks have kept the North East starved of business. To offset this disadvantage, the Government of India introduced the North East Industrial Policy (NEIP) in 1977. This policy offers tax holidays and a range of subsidies to companies setting up industries in the region. But in spite of such concessions, business tycoons still shy away from investing in the region. Companies like Tatas are yet to venture to the North East.

Only the infotech wing of the company, viz., Tata Consultancy Services (TCS) has started operations at the IIT Premises in Guwahati. While Assam is showing some amount of openness to woo business to the State, other states of the North East have not, however, been as spontaneous. This is because land continues to be the major bone of contention especially in tribal areas where it is owned by communities and individuals. The Land Transfer Act in States like Meghalaya and Nagaland has been a handicap to the setting up of industries. To circumvent this obstacle, several companies which require land beyond the government acquired industrial estates have resorted to benami transactions and have acquired land in the name of tribal partners (Mukhim, 2008). Such clandestine acquisition of land by companies threatens to snowball into a major crisis like the Singur situation in West Bengal and is integral to the nationwide debate on the viability of Special Economic Zones (SEZ).

Role of the Civil Society in Meghalaya

The three major ethnic groups of Meghalaya are the Khasis, the Jaintias, and the Garos. The Khasi Students' Union (KSU), the Jaintia Students' Union (JSU) and the Garo Students' Union (GSU) are prominent student organizations which claim to be the sole champions of the interests of these ethnic groups. Apart from these, there is a youth organization called the Federation of Khasi, Jaintia and Garo People (FKJGP) which is an umbrella group representing all the three ethnic communities. While the regional political parties of Meghalaya profess to work towards the "protection and preservation of tribal identity," in reality, it is the student and youth organizations which have stolen the propaganda mileage from the regional parties on all vital issues that affect ethnic community interests. This is the reason why local scholars have argued that these organizations are taking the shape of pressure groups (Nongkhaw, 2011).

Indeed civil society organizations in Meghalaya have effectively pressurized and bargained with the Government of Meghalaya and have even clinched decisions in their favor on important issues affecting the interests of their respective ethnic groups. The issues taken up by these organizations include both political as well as socio-economic issues. For instance, the introduction of Innerline Regulations to check influx of outsiders in Meghalaya is a major political issue around which the KSU and other student and youth organizations have organized agitations and have mobilized public opinion to pressurize the Government. It is interesting to note that issues like price rise have never dominated the economic agenda of these organizations. However, regulation of trade by non-tribals in Meghalaya, issue of work permit for migrant laborers from outside the state, etc. have very often led to intervention by these organizations and have even triggered a confrontation with the state. This clearly reveals the ethnocentric nature of the demands raised by these organizations.

The paper proposes to examine the stand taken by the student and youth organizations of Meghalaya on three key issues of development, viz. introduction of railways, large-scale industries, and uranium mining. It may be noted in this context that until recently, Meghalaya was excluded from the nationwide railway network. In 2015, railways were extended up to Mendipathar in Garo Hills. But railheads are conspicuous by their absence in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills of Meghalaya. Civil society organizations like the KSU have been in the forefront of the protest movement against railways. Although all regional parties of Meghalaya have opposed railways in their election manifestoes, the student and youth groups have been more vigorous in their campaign against the move on the ground that the introduction of railways will aggravate the problem of influx into Meghalaya.

As a matter of fact, opposition from the Khasi Students' Union (KSU) resulted in abortion of what should have been Meghalaya's first railway project in Byrnihat in 1988. It was later learned that the students' body acted at the behest of the truck owners' lobby who wanted no competition for their business. As a result, Meghalaya coal is today traded as Assam coal once it is loaded on to railway wagons in that State (The Shillong Times, August 22, 2008). This is a classic example of a students' body assuming a hegemonic role as pseudo-representatives of the larger population so much so that a popularly elected government has systematically succumbed to pressures from such exclusive groups, making a mockery of all democratic norms.

It is interesting to note that the KSU has been the most vocal organization on this issue and the fiery KSU leader Mr. Paul Lyngdoh has persistently opposed the railways. However, Mr. Lyngdoh subsequently joined a regional party called the United Democratic Party (UDP) and became a minister in a coalition government. Interestingly, of late, he has given up his resistance, presumably due to the compulsions of coalition politics and has welcomed the introduction of railways in the state.

Ever since the formation of Meghalaya in 1972, no large scale industries have been set up in Meghalaya till today. Some small-scale agri-horticultural industries have come up. However, civil society organizations have stubbornly resisted any move for industrialization alleging that this will attract migrant laborers from outside the state and will hurt the job prospects of indigenous laborers. On this issue, all regional parties have lent their support to the student and youth organizations, and thus, the cleavages between the civil and the political society in Meghalaya often gets blurred. It is significant to point out that Meghalaya lacks important sources of revenue in the absence of large-scale industries. Unemployment is also quite rampant among the local youth. In view of this grim scenario, it is ironical that industrialization is being opposed by student and youth organizations.

These organizations have been arguing that there is a lack of trained manpower among the indigenous labor force and hence industries will have to recruit people from outside Meghalaya. Prominent civil society organizations are, therefore, demanding training facilities and employment guarantees for the local youth. This is a classic instance of contradiction between the goals of rapid economic growth and the concerns of small ethnic communities about protection of their delicate demographic balance and preservation of traditional livelihood practices like jhum cultivation. The student and youth organizations have effectively articulated these community concerns and have even succeeded in stalling the establishment of any major industries so far.

In the context of the above, it may appear that Meghalaya does not harbor any global ambitions. But the reality is that a gradual transformation of the protectionist psyche in favor of an open economy is becoming perceptible. This was reflected at the Seminar on “Business Practices in Meghalaya” held in Mumbai on the 28th of August, 2008, in order to promote the ‘Scotland of the East’ as a good place to invest in. A high-level team of the Government of Meghalaya headed by the Chief Minister, Dr. Donkumar Roy, invited investors from across the country, hard selling the State’s potential for development (The Shillong Times, August 29, 2008, p.1). A number of private companies showed interest to invest in Meghalaya in different Sectors starting from education to tourism during the day-long seminar. International Banks like ABN Amro and Deutsche were interested in micro-financing and skill development respectively.

It seems that the Government of Meghalaya has identified tourism, information technology, education, health, mineral resources, horticulture, food processing and floriculture as the most potential Sectors and has promised incentives for investors in these Sectors. Addressing the 4th North East Business Summit in Guwahati, the Chief Minister of Meghalaya called upon the Government of India to facilitate trade with neighboring Bangladesh through the State in a much greater scale for mutual benefits. In this connection, it may be noted that the Minister for Development of North Eastern Region (DONER) sought to assure the investors by stating that the security concern should not be allowed to come in the way of investment for tapping

huge pool of natural and mineral resources and infrastructure Sectors in the region which is India's gateway to the prospering economies of South East Asia. In the Summit, the Chief Ministers of the North Eastern States demanded waiving of the Restricted Area Permit (RAP) and Protected Area Permit (PAP) System now in vogue in the region in case of foreign visitors, as these are major deterrents to promotion of the most potential tourism Sector in the region (The Shillong Times, September 16, 2008, p.1).

However, in spite of the initiatives taken by the State Government of the region to facilitate investment proposals, resistance from local pressure groups continues to mount in the form of demands for ensuring job guarantees for the indigenous youth. In view of the above, the dilemma for the prospective investors will be to accommodate such demands to a certain extent, even though trained manpower may not be available locally to cater to the technical requirements of a sophisticated industry.

It appears, therefore, that the Government of Meghalaya has initiated some moves to attract investment to Meghalaya, particularly in order to tap the huge tourism potential of the state. However, no major breakthrough has been achieved in so far as the industrialization of Meghalaya is concerned. Thus, civil society organizations are a force to reckon with as and when the Government of Meghalaya takes any vital policy decision on the issue of industrialization.

Another important developmental issue on which the civil society organizations have voiced their concern is uranium mining in Domisiat in West Khasi Hills of Meghalaya. The issue has acquired significance particularly in view of the Civil Nuclear Deal between India and the United States. Pressing ahead with its proposal to mine uranium in Meghalaya, the Union Government held a series of meetings with State political leaders and NGOs on the thorny issue and reiterated that it was awaiting the green signal from the Meghalaya Government to the proposed uranium mining project at Mawthabah, West Khasi Hills, in view of the country's requirement of 20,000 MW of nuclear energy. The Union Cabinet Secretary K. M. Chandra Shekhar who held separate meetings with leaders of Khasi Students' Union (KSU), Federation of Khasi, Jaintia and Garo People (FKJGP), Garo Students' Union (GSU) and other local organizations admitted that a consensus was yet to evolve on the issue of uranium mining in the State (The Shillong Times, August 23, 2008, p.1).

While the KSU has been the most vocal in its opposition to the project, the FKJGP maintains that the issue of health hazard from uranium mining should be addressed properly before arriving at a final decision on the project. GSU and West Khasi Hills Students' Union seem to support the project provided it brings maximum benefits to people of Mawthabah and adjoining areas in terms of infrastructure and employment opportunities ('KSU sticks to stand,' The Shillong Times, August 23, 2008, p.1). It may be noted that no consensus has emerged on this issue even within the ruling coalition and two allies of the Meghalaya Progressive Alliance, viz., Hill State People's Democratic Party (HSPDP) and Khun Hynniewtrep National Awakening Movement (KHNAM) have continued to oppose the open-cast uranium mining (The Shillong Times, August 24, 2008, p.1). The Hill State People's Democratic Party (HSPDP) has been opposing uranium mining from the very outset. But the civil society organizations have come out more strongly against this move. The resistance is

mainly centered on three grounds, viz. potential health hazards for the people located in and around the mining site, environmental concerns, and demand for employment opportunities for the local people. The protesting organizations have even deputed study groups to exist uranium-mining sites like Jadugoda to assess the impact of mining on the people of those areas. Meanwhile, to allay the apprehensions of the local people, public hearings have been organized by the Uranium Corporation of India Ltd (UCIL). Some developmental activities have also been undertaken by the UCIL such as the construction of roads etc. Such activities had important consequences on the resistance movement.

For instance, the KSU is persistently opposing the move, but the West Khasi Hills Students' Union (WKHSU) now supports it, indicating signs of polarization of opinion within the civil society on the mining issue. Interestingly, the debate on uranium mining has triggered some positive and enlightened thinking among a section of the educated elite of Meghalaya. One such view asserts that the presence of uranium provides Meghalaya with a unique bargaining power vis-à-vis the centre, in order to improve its backward infrastructure and emphasizes the need to infuse a healthy dose of inclusive progressive nationalism into the prevailing technocratic, purely regional outlook, not only for the sake of energy security of the country, but also for the good of the local people (Shira, 2008, p.4).

Thus, the issue of uranium mining reflects contradictions between the developmental agenda of the Indian State and ethnic sensitivities. The issue has become significant from another perspective. The civil society resistance against uranium mining in Meghalaya is ideologically connected with the worldwide movement against nuclear proliferation and is also an integral component of the anti-state movement against the overall developmental agenda of the Indian State.

Concluding Observations

In the context of the above discussion, it may be argued that civil society organizations in Meghalaya are apparently articulating the legitimate concerns, aspirations, and sensitivities of their respective ethnic communities. Their voice of dissent has very often questioned the Indian State's developmental agenda. But a critical look into the phenomenon reveals that the rigid ethnocentric perspective of these organizations has sometimes been self-defeating for the very ethnic communities they claim to represent. For instance, resistance to railways and the setting up of large industries would be prejudicial to the larger interests of these communities in the long run, particularly in view of the fact that they do not have many alternative sources of revenue generation. Of course, some of the concerns voiced about uranium mining are genuine and need to be addressed by the concerned authorities before they seek to go ahead with the mining operations. An understanding of the interface between ethnicity and development in Meghalaya from the civil society perspective will require an enquiry into these processes.

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Public Space: Civic Culture and Subordinate Culture

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Abstract

Public space is a physical spot where public activities occur. By comparing the theatre of Dionysus in Athens polis and courtyard theatre in ancestral hall in Ming and Qing dynasty, in view of the component of the space, the activities in the space and sense of time and space on the stage, this article describes how the civic culture and subordinate culture occurred in the theatres, analyses the effects that theatre spaces and senses of the time and space made on the political culture. In the last part, the article in view of environmental psychology reveals the connection between the space and culture, which are the persistent vitality in the two political cultures.

Keywords: Athens Democracy, Courtyard Theatre in Ancestral Hall, Theatre of Dionysus, Patriarchy.

In our daily language 'public space' is a word with both physical meaning and meta-physical meaning.¹Henri Lefebvre uses this word in view of city planning. As the representative in new Marxism, he criticized the production of space is the production of bourgeois social relations(Henri Lefebvre,1991.) David Harvey in view of geography talked about urban justice in a global sense and domestic sense. (David Harvey, 1996.) Both of them shared the common idea that in certain space citizens has interactions with each other and citizens interact with the power. These interactions have its political and social meaning. Michel Foucault perfectly analyzed these interactions, which was expressed in panopticon in *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Vintage Books, 1995). So this article aims to describe how the political cultures occur in

¹ 'Public space' is in contrast with private space. 'Public' can be explained as openly accessible, by common resources, common effect and for the performance of public roles. (John R. Parkinson,2012). 'Public space' includes squares, parks, streets and civic buildings. It also refers to the virtualized cyberspace. 'Public sphere' has a similar meaning to public space, but mainly in an abstract sense, as Habermas indicated. In his *The Structure Transformation of the Public Sphere: an Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*(1989, Cambridge: Polity Press), he mentioned in the early modern period the coffee shop, salon and club were the beginners of the free speech. But in his writing, the public sphere fundamentally refers to a situation in which the citizens could have a free speech and participate in the policy-making. In this article 'public space' only refers to its physical sense.

the public spaces and how the spaces shape the citizens' behaviors and minds, which are the features of political culture.²

The Theater of Dionysus in ancient Athens polis was the representative at that time. It was built in 5th century BC. The courtyard theatres in the ancestral hall were built in Ming and Qing Dynasty, around 14th and 15th century. These two theaters were far away from each other in time. But they can be compared because both of them were the public space which offered daily entertainments in pre-modern society. Both of them were a part of regular life. The situation and manner of the audiences in this regularity were the core and stable part of political culture. What's more, there were political educations in a disguised or obvious way in both spaces.³

Part One The Components of Physical Space: Simple and Spacious v.s. Complicated and Delicate

The outdoors bowl-like architectures were in Athens and other Attica areas.⁴The theater of Dionysus was famous for its grand size (accommodating 17,000 persons) and relatively well reserved. It was used for the city Dionysus Day, which included the celebrations, drama competition, and political reward. Build on the slope of the hill, and it was in a semicircle. The stage was at the bottom, and the audience area gradually rose up. So the audience looked down in a clear view.

The courtyard theatres in the ancestral hall were popular in southeast China. It was located in the front part of the ancestral hall. The stage was build above the ground 1 or 2 meters high. The audience looked upon. The loggia on the second floor could be used only for the women. Compared with the bowl-shape outdoor theater which was made mainly by rough stones, the courtyard theater was much more delicate. Its mortise and tenon made the architecture structure sophisticated. Its elegant decorations revealed the glory of the family.⁵

These two theaters were different in size and style. They correlated the political culture profoundly. Firstly the clear view of the bowl-shape theater made it possible that the audience could look at the other audiences' expressions. So they could affect each other, especially in the drama comments. This interaction was described by Plato as 'Dramaturgical Politics,' which vividly explained the meaning of 'democracy.' So this space not only made the democracy possible but also made it more thoroughly. In the

² In this article political culture is used in the sense of Almond's civic culture, which refers to the political system internalized in citizens' cognition, emotion, and evaluation. (Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba,1963) As for the comparing of the subordinate culture and civic culture this article takes Cong Rinyun's *The Tradition of Western Political Culture* as a reference, especially in Chapter 3 Citizens' Way of Thinking, pp.121-173.(Cong Rinyun, 2002). In this article, civic culture features in participation with reason; subordinate culture features in obeying with affection.

³ In 16th Spain there were hotel theatres. Its inner planning and size were similar to that of the courtyard theatre. But it was not the public space.

⁴ David Wiles(1977). The Odium of Herodes Attius and Pnyx were the examples.

⁵ In beam frame, architrave, crescent beam, diagonal bracing, sparrow brace there were delicate decoration designs, such as figures in popular dramas, flowers, animals.

courtyard theatre, all the audience was straightly faced to the stage and on the same horizon. So they could not look at the others' expressions, except the one next to him. The information was one-way from the actors or actress to the audience, who were a passive receiver. The audience could affect each other. But this effect was an emotional release, which was expressed by applauses or signs with the plots.

Secondly, the courtyard theater was back to the gate of ancestral hall. Thus the audience had to turn around to watch the show on the stage after they entered the gate.⁶ So the courtyard theater was totally separated from the space out of the ancestral. This separation also had its psychological indication. There was a sharp contrast between the delicate theater with an interesting story, colorful clothing and melodious voice and the rough and dull farming daily life. The audience in the courtyard theater could get a sense of satisfaction from the entertainment, which was the psychological reason for their obedience. Additionally ancestral was only open to the family members. The ancestral was 'our' space, and there was a 'their' space outside. The individual who crouched and committed in this 'our' space could recognize themselves and get the comfort and nutrition in mind. As for the Athenian citizens they did not need to turn around. Especially when entered from the higher entrance they could have a clear view immediately. What's more, when they entered into the theater from the daily life⁷, they did not need to 'switch' because their daily life and activities in the theater were homogenous. Both of them were filled with participation. The audience in the theater of Dionysus was all the citizens in the polis. They had no mind about 'our' and 'their' space.

Thirdly the stage in Athens theatre was at the bottom. The audience looked down, which was the position of the master or lord. The stage in the courtyard was quite high. The audience sat or stood to look up in an upward direction. Their body was in a lower position. In Chinese culture, the position of the audience implied the social meaning. Generally speaking, the one who was in the higher position held more power and was in a nobler situation.⁸

Fourthly in view of the architectural structure courtyard theatre was attached to the ancestral hall, so its function was the derivative of the ancestral hall, which was the tip

⁶ In this part, the author was inspired by a Japanese architecture, who argued that Japanese 'taking off shoes' outlined the outer-space and inner-space. Lu Yuan Yi Xin(2017).

⁷ Pericles ever praised that in Athens there were many games, worship ceremonies and celebration days all year along. This democracy was based on the slavery. So the citizens could be a full-time participant. In the Ming and Ding dynasty, the main force in the rural era was peasant or tenant peasant. Their main task was to keep body and soul together. Going to the courtyard and watch the drama was a 'seasoning' in life.

⁸ Drama watching was popular in the imperial palace. The emperor's physical situation was totally different from that of the audience in courtyard theater. In the Chengde Summer Palace, there was an imperial theatre building, which had 3 stories. There was a stage in each story. At the beginning of the drama, the 3 stages would have the same scenery and content. Then the bottom stage was the main one. The middle stage and upper stage were blank. The emperor and the other audience were on the opposite. They were in the 2 story building. Only the female was allowed to step into the 2nd floor. The emperor was on the first floor. The author cannot make sure the exact height of the emperor. But it can be deferred that the perfect place to enjoy the beginning of the drama is between the bottom and the middle story, where the emperor sits. So his position should be above the bottom stage, and his eyes are in a downward direction, which indicates the superiority of his power.

of the despotic empire. The Dionysus theatre was an independent building, which was one of the buildings where democratic activities occurred.

Part Two The Activities in the Spaces: Institutionalized Participation and Spontaneous Response

Dionysus Day was initiated in the Attica countryside. Tyrant Peisistratos organized it into a city festival. The theater was built to celebrate the day. It lasted 5 days in Elaphebolion and Gamelion, including celebrations, drama competition, and political reward.

The Dionysus Day was a democratic festival for all the citizens in polis, as an entertainment as well as a political activity. The actors were from the citizens. They were members of the chorus or took part in the show. The archon was in charge of the execution of the festival including organizing the show, supervising the audience, managing the competition, ordering the patrons for the drama teams. At that time it was common that the rich citizen offered the money to support the drama team. That was a chance for them to be outstanding. In the age of Pericles, citizens could get the subsidy for watching the drama. The judges were chosen by drawing lots. So every citizen could have the chance to be a judge. 'The institutions of drawing lots and evaluating the drama were the same as that of making decisions in citizens' assembly. So the democratic idea was duplicated and carried out'. (Wang Shaoli, Zhangjiyun2007) The theatre was a 'container' which accommodated the institutionalized participation. Beside these practices and training, the theatre was the classroom for political education. The man who was more than 18 years old and whose father has sacrificed for Athens could go upon the stage and received the weapons and armors offered by the polis. The representatives of Delian members offered their tributes on the stage. This scenery was a perfect stimulus to evoke the sense of citizen pride. As Michel Foucault comment, in this ardent passion, the community found its vigor and immediately formed into a grand unity. (Michel Foucault, 2002)

Ancestral hall was the symbolic architecture of Chinese ancient patriarchal society. It was the embodiment of the political power in the rural era. 'Family and State have the same structure' were a common idea. So subordinating the state and subordinating the family was the same. The courtyard in the ancestral hall firstly was used to amuse the forefathers. That was the reason why the stage was back to the door and faced the shrine. The theater also could amuse the living persons. This amusement had its political education in disguise. For example, in Sanmen County Bao's ancestral hall there were two sentences carved in the lintel: 'in order to keep the authentic customs the dramas today tells the old stories; praising the kind and criticizing the evil in order to keep the offspring obedient.' (Xue Linping, 2008) The drama show in the courtyard theatre was well organized. In the lunar festivals, new spirit tablets into the ancestral, the weddings and funerals there would be shows. The actors and actress were professionals and got payments. In the family, there was special budge for the shows. The budge was from the

land which was used to support the theater in purpose. The budge was also from the punishable payment in unfair trade, which was regulated in written documents. The lists of the plays were decided by the fathers of the family. So most of the family members were the only audience. Compared with the citizens in Dionysus theatre, the Chinese audience was freer in the body. They didn't have certain seats, though the good seats were reserved for the seniors or respected person. The citizens in Dionysus theatre were seated by the clans, and they had to vote for the winner of the drama competition. So their watching was the basis for decision-making. As the passive part in the show, the audience in the courtyard theatre did not have a substantial effect for the play. They could applaud or cheer with the plots, which indicated that they were immersed in the play. This situation was different from the identity of the citizens who were the judges of the play.

So in a word in the theatre of Dionysus, the citizens had their institutionalized participation, while in the courtyard theatre the audience has their amusement mainly. The two spaces were different in view of the audience's activities though they were both for entertainment.

Part Three The Idea about Time and Space Fabricated on the Stage: Simulation-Reflection v.s. Virtualization-Detachment

Tragedy and comedy were the two types in Ancient Athens drama. The tragedy was superior in quantity and art achievements. The tragedy aimed at 'solemnity or gravity,' rather than grievance or pity. It praised the leading character's persistence and strength in fighting with the fortune. He was doomed to be a failure, but his persistence was praiseworthy. Tragedy used the simulation to tell the story. As Aristotle said, tragedy was the simulation which was solemn, integrated and had a certain length and which was in media of language and actors' body action.⁹The tragedy was a one-act play, which means there was one scenery. The songs were intervals between the sections. Comics were the ironical ways to criticize the bad citizens (Li Yongyin, 2015).

The dramas in the courtyard theatre could be diversified into fairy tales, hero legends, and folk stories. Virtualization was the main method to organize the drama, which meant to express the other sceneries and places by using certain gestures and actions. So virtualization was a fabrication on the stage.¹⁰

So the Athenian drama tended to make the reality reappear by simulation; the courtyard drama tended to fabricate an imagined space by virtualization. 'The western drama was the art in space; Chinese drama was the art of spaces.' (Lan Fang 2008)

⁹ I. Bywater, *Aristotelis De Arte Poetica*, Oxford University Press, 1995. The author here used the Chinese version, Luoniansheng trans. 2006, p.30.

¹⁰ For example, in TianHePei the actress used the hurried and mincing steps and waving the long sleeves to express that she would fly in the sky. In NanTianMen the actor used his shivering to express that it was cold and snowy. LanFan(2008)

These two tendencies were expressed in the costumes. The Athenian actor wore the mask, which was bigger than face and in bright color in tragedy and comedy. Sometimes the actors would wear 'Te spithridates Robe' which was stuffed by something soft to make the figure fat, and boots with a thick sole to make the figure tall. The robes were also in bright color and in simple and serious style, no relation to the figures' character. These costumes aimed to make the actors clear when they were watched from away. The actors in comedy usually wore the nude tight dress, sometime with a tail or thick genitals to make the figure silly. (Zheng Chuanyin, Huang Pei, 2008) In the Ming and Qing dynasty, the costume and properties were much more complicated. The actor was a professional man and drama was an industry. The colors and dressings with certain meanings matched with different figures in the play. And these matches were well-known.

What is the relationship between the ideas about the time and space and the political cultures? The simulation tended to construct a real space in order to evoke the reflection of the problems in reality. To be further in a democratic system the citizens' reflections whether advocating the democracy or disagree with the democracy were based on their own thinking. This thinking was on the citizens' reason and became the precondition for their action. So the relation between the Dionysus theatre and the civic culture was that the former not only provides the physical space for the latter but also built an abstract space which evoked the citizens to think over their democracy. The courtyard theatre tended to build an illusory by virtualization which fabricated a society with the idea of morality and politics. This fabrication was a detachment and escape from the evil reality. In aesthetic narcissism, the individuals were not eager to have a revolution. The entertainment from the narcissism¹¹ was the redemption in a subordinate culture. The subordination did not seem to be so oppressive because of the detachment and narcissism. The rational reflection was absent.

Part Four Public Space and Political Culture: 'Place Ballet'

The Dionysus theatre and courtyard theatre were the buildings which had certain functions in order to meet the needs. Meanwhile, these buildings shaped the persons' mind. The physical space and persons' social activities interact. The physical feature and social feature are intertwined.

How do the interactions and intertwines happen? Henri Lefebvre supposed that the representations of space which included the symbols, languages, and ideology could be a bridge between the spatial practice and representational space.¹² Michel Foucault analyzed the social functions of panopticon by way of body 'discipline.' In environmental

¹¹ The author took Lan Fan's idea as a reference. He believed that ancient Chinese society was agricultural, which was static and closed. In literature and ideas, the main focus was emotion. Compared with Plato and Aristotle, who were inclined to rational discussion, the Chinese thinkers such as Lao Zi and Confucius were inclined to moral cultivation, which was expressed by narcissism in literature and drama. LanFan(2008)

¹² Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, tr. D. Nicolson-Smith (Oxford, 1991) 33, from David Wiles, *Tragedy in Athens: Performance Space and Theatrical Meaning*, Cambridge University Press 1997, p.20.

psychology, 'place attachment' can be used to explain the affection and space. And the affection is a basic and core part of culture. In the place attachment, David Simon's 'place ballet' brilliantly and vividly describes that a group of persons who share the same values and have similar views of world and life often visit a place regularly and finish the certain tasks. Their actions are in regularity and repetition, just like ballerinas' performance with rhythm on the stage. The persons can have the sense of security in the place where they had their 'place ballet.' This sense of security comes from their familiarity, which can grow into an unselfconscious regularity. (David Seamon 1980)

The theatre of Dionysus and the courtyard theatres were the places with 'place ballet.' In the whole daily life, the theatre of Dionysus was one of the places where citizens took part in the public activities. The tributes and Agora were similar places. In the Ming and Qing Dynasty, there were temple theatres and street theatres. They were in a relatively open area, and the stages were above the audience. The plays in these theatres were similar with that in courtyard theatres. The theatre of Dionysus and the courtyard theatres were an ordinary part in the life. Similar places and sceneries existed. So 'place ballet' could be extended to normal regularity and next generation.

In political psychology 'collective subconsciousness' could describe this widespread 'place ballet.' It is the core of political society and offers persistent support for the political institution. Athens suffered two failures in the Peloponnesian War and two periods of the oligarchic institution. But the exiled democratic leaders finally overturned the oligarchy and recovered the democracy till Athens was conquered by Macedonia. In the Ming and Qing dynasty, the patriarchal power was the tips of the central imperial power. It regulated the rural order not only in political affairs but also in morality. The idea that family and state were homogeneous made all the social relations soaked with the idea of subordination. The end of the despotic monarchy was the emperor's abdicating the throne. But the restoration and military -based kingdoms were the resurgence of the emperor. It was until the anti-Japanese war that the idea of surviving surpassed the daily subordination.

Conclusion

This article aims to explore the civic culture and subordinate culture by comparing the two different physical spaces and their ideas about time and space. It does not mean that space is the prerequisite condition and does not favor any one of them in politics or morality. These spaces are for political socialization in nature, which can be found in any political community. The critical linkage between the space and culture is the individual, whose cognition and feelings are of vital importance. To study their political cognitions, analyze their emotions and predict their actions in certain spaces are the approaches to study political culture in view of public space.

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Corruption and Asian Value's in Indonesia: The Case of The Suharto Family Business

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Abstract

The subject of corruption in Indonesian life has been neglected as an area of social research. Many studies suggest that Asian values have a strong connection with the Asian communities' corrupt conduct and that they underpin several factors that contribute to individual or society's corruption. In the context of Indonesia, President Suharto successfully developed Indonesia, establishing a strong foundation for the Indonesian economy. This achievement brought President Suharto the title of "Father of development". He involved his family businesses in all sectors of the economy and the family became one of the top ten businesses in Asia. Indonesian businessmen close to Suharto received protection and concessions from the President. This paper examines Suharto's and his mates' collaboration in business corruption in Indonesia. The study shows that after the Suharto step down from presidency the Suharto family businesses collapse due to their practice of corruption and nepotism.

Keywords: Suharto family business, corruption, Asian values, and Indonesia

1. Introduction

Corruption has received a considerable amount of attention from sociologists, in particularly the causes of corruption in developing countries. Barr (2000) investigated the issues of corruption Asia and the Pacific regions and explored the relationship between Asian values and corruption. Lindsay and Dick (2010) investigated government and corruption the Asian countries, while Fan (2012) explored the implications of Confucian ethics (Asian values). Later, Moktan (2015) found that economic expansion in Asia and the Pacific led to an increase in the negative impact of bribery in business. More specifically, Aditjondro (2002) investigated Indonesian businessman involved in collusion, corruption and nepotism in order obtain concessions from the central government.

The Indonesian economy exhibited remarkable development from mid 1968 until 1997, the growth of real GDP reaching an annual average of 7.1 percent (van der Eng, 2009). The

country shifted from being a low income country to a lower middle income country (Tobar, 2015). According to Elias and Noone (2011), the country's economic performance was shaped by government policy, the country's endowment of natural resources and the growing labor force, and its socio-economic progress supported President Suharto's regime across the three decades.

Suharto succeeded in boosting economic development and developing a strong economic foundation in Indonesia by promoting the industrial sector, where industries supporting agricultural development became crucial to economic growth. The most remarkable achievement of the Suharto program in agriculture was the surplus in rice production in the mid-1980s. In the financial sector, Suharto formulated a policy which aimed to encourage savings and provide a domestic source of finance required for growth. The policy, named "October Package of 1988", eased the requirements for establishing banks and increased competition in the banking system (Bennett, 1999). During the time, banks grew significantly in Indonesia, with the Suharto family also establishing businesses in the banking sector. The progress of development in Indonesia brought Suharto the title of "*Father of development*". The success of the Suharto development in Indonesia, however, led to the involvement of the Suharto family in corruption, collusion, and nepotism. The Suharto family and its relatives became involved in business, as President, Suharto had the power to provide government concessions to protect the businesses of his family and his mates.

This paper examines the Suharto family businesses and the corruption of the conglomerate business environment in Indonesia. The paper begins with a discussion of several theories of the corruption, which is followed by a brief definition of Asian values. An overview of the Suharto family businesses is followed by a discussion on their future..

Our paper makes two important contributions to the research on corruption and on the family businesses of the former Indonesian President. First, it provides the empirical evidence in the literature of the role of the Suharto businesses in the Indonesian business environment, which itself was characterized by corruption. Second, and maybe more importantly, it investigates the practice of corruption and nepotism by the Suharto family businesses.

2. The Nature of Corruption: Review

The issue of corruption has received growing attention in recent years. There are several notions of corruption. According to the World Bank, corruption can be defined as the abuse of public power for private benefit (Tanzi, 1998). Corruption can be seen as "a social problem and a phenomenon" (Khondker, 2006), while the impact of corruption in an economy can lead to "a market-distorting externality" (Alatas, 2013). Macrae (1982) defined corruption as an arrangement that involves a private exchange between two parties, and Avnimelech, Zelekha and Sharabi (2014) argued that corruption can be found in developed and developing countries. Gurgur and Shah (2005) concluded that the major causes of corruption are lack of service orientation in the public sector, weak democratic institutions, economic isolation, a

colonial past, internal bureaucratic controls, inequality and centralized decision-making. Corruption occurs in state activities, particularly in relation to the monopoly and discretionary power of the state (Tanzi, 1998). In economic activities, corruption can cause a lower level of competition, which can motivate public servants and politicians to grab roles in economic activities (Lambsdorff, 1999). Lambsdorff also argued that an abundance of natural resources and some cultural dimensions were more likely to increase corruption. He further suggested that the freedom of the press and independence are important factors that may reduce corruption.

Caiden (2001) explained that many factors can be the root causes of corruption, such as psychological, ideological, external, economic, political, socio-cultural and technological conditions. Corruption also occurs in the public sector, as pointed out by Tanzi and Davoodi (1997), when corrupt government officials make direct public investments in large projects, probably at the expense of basic expenditures. Murphy, Shleifer, and Vishny (1991) argued that corrupt societies create incentives that stimulate the most talented people to earn their income through bribery rather than in more productive activities.

De Graaf (2007) discussed the causes of corruption in terms of six theories. The first is the “public choice theory”. This theory assumes that the individual attempts to maximize utility. He decides rationally to become corrupt because he believes corruption will be of benefit even when calculating the chance of being caught and the impact of the possible penalty. The second theory is “bad apple”. This theory assumes that a bad character will likely lead a person to corrupt acts. The root cause of corruption is to be found in defective human character and the person’s tendency toward criminal action. The third theory is organizational. Organizational culture plays an important role in getting an individual to act corruptly. This theory argues that once an organizational culture is corrupt, each person who comes in contact with it also runs a big risk of becoming corrupt. The next theory refers to clashing moral values. Connections with people in our social circles such as family and friends could lead corrupt behavior. In our society, values, norms and moral obligations affect our lives. Moral obligations in our personal lives are characterized by reciprocity: we help friends and family just as we expect them to help us. The ethos of public administration is another of De Graaf theories of the cause corruption. Public and private officials have a causal path from societal pressure through the level of structures such as political and economic organizations. A lack of attention to integrity makes them corrupt. In his study, De Graaf refers to “correlation” which highlights certain social, political, organizational or individual factors that can cause corruption.

Alam (1989) divided corruption into four categories. The first category encompasses cost-reducing corruption, which involves officials looking for agent’s costs that are lower than the regulated level. Usually, these take the form of tax reductions or laxity in the enforcement of some regulation. The second category refers to cost-enhancing corruption, which occurs when excess demand exists for an officially supplied goods or service. The government official may seek to appropriate the implicit profit by charging as much as the market will bear. This

situation appears when officials enjoy monopoly power via their control over licensing procedures. The third category of corruption is benefit-enhancing corruption. This arises whenever an official seeks to transfer benefits to an agent in excess of what is legally established, usually in the form of corrupt payments made by over-reporting work done. The last category is benefit-reducing corruption where officials directly appropriate benefits intended for agents. For instance, delaying payment of pension funds and appropriating the interest or stealing supplies from a hospital.

It can be seen from the above review that the issue of corruption is complex. Internal and external factors affect an individual's inclination to act corruptly. The internal factor can be classified as the character of a person, while the external factor comes from beyond the character of individual such as social, political, economic and other factors.

3. The Asian Values

Many studies have investigated the relationship between Asian values and the performance of economies in the regions of Asia. East Asian countries particularly Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea, which are referred to as "the five dragons", have been remarkable in developing economic growth. Many people argue, "Asian values have been described as Asian strategy to negotiate a position in Eurocentric nations of modernity" (Chong, 2002 p.394).

Some economists have pointed out that cultural influences such as Confucian ethics play an important role in business activities. The notion of Confucian ethics not only deals with the connection of humans in the family, society, the market, and corporations, but also gives important direction regarding the appropriate relationship of humans to nature (Fan, 2010).

First, let us examine how Asian values are discussed in the economic sphere. Western scholars introduced the concept of the "Asian development model" in order to explain the economic miracles of the newly industrializing Asian nations between the 1970s and 1980s. Confucian values were the critical driving forces of economic growth in this region (Shung-Hwan, 2001).

Confucians ethics or "Asian values", as the foundation of the success story of the miracle economies, have recently been called "crony capitalism". Political and cultural issues are becoming major aspects of business dealings in the Southeast and East Asia countries, where corruption is receiving criticism from public opinion mobilizers in the press and popular political reform movements (Callahan, 2000). According to Hofstede and Bond (1988), there are four factors which link the ethics of "Confucian Dynamism" to business activities. The first is ordering relationships based on status and observing this hierarchy. In the Chinese tradition, hierarchical dualities and interrelatedness are as important as individuality. This attitude can make the entrepreneurial role easier to play. The second is the sense of shame, which supports interrelatedness through sensitivity to social contacts. The third is thrift,

which leads to savings, producing available capital for investment to create economic growth. Statistics show that in the “five dragon” countries there is a high rate of saving. Finally, there is persistence or perseverance. This suggests a general tenacity in the pursuit of personal goals, including economic goals.

Barnwell and Pratt (1998, p. 54) pointed out that the ethic of discipline in all activities, taught in The Analects of Confucius, is important in relation to business activities. Moreover, as thought in Eastern countries is based on the art of synthesis, the focus on management and government is via innovation in sciences. Hofstede and Bond (1988, p. 20) argued that Eastern culture could become more successful by putting Western technologies into practice with their superior synthetic abilities. However, culture alone cannot determine successful economic growth. There must also be a conducive market and political context. For example, in 1955 the “five dragon” growth occurred because the conditions for a truly global market and supportive political context in all five countries were in place. Finally, Mahbubani in The Economist (1998, p. 23) argued, “attachment to the family as an institution, deference to societal interests, thrift, conservatism in social mores, and respect for authority” are typical Asian values.

There are, however, shortcomings associated with Confucian ethics. In relation to Confucian dynamism, the importance of protecting one’s face can have a negative impact on business activities because a person can be more concerned with saving face than making the best business decision. In addition, the custom of reciprocation of greetings, favor, and gifts in social activities can result in people being concerned with material gain rather than performance. In these cultures people can have too much respect for tradition, which can have the effect of hampering innovation. Finally, personal steadiness and stability can discourage initiative, risk taking and the flexibility needed to exploit the changing conditions in the world market.

The East Asian crisis proved that Eastern countries are still weak in economic structure. The World Bank (2000) reported that the crisis exposed major weaknesses particularly in financial sectors. In relation to this point, it was found that auditors in Eastern countries are often unprofessional and do not work to international standards. This phenomenon may be attributable to cultural values such as “reciprocation of greeting, favor and gifts”, which often involve nepotism, collusion, and corruption. For example, some Eastern people prefer to recruit staff not on the basis ability but on the basis of friendship or family connection, or on money received in order to secure a job or project. Corruption is like as a “cancer”, and people at all levels in Eastern countries practice corruption. As result, economic activities do not function properly. When the economic crisis hit Asia, the Asian economic structure collapsed, particularly in the financial sector, because of corruption. Mahbubani’s “protection of one’s face” can result in institutions, whether private or government, sometimes making decision based on feeling rather than rationality. This can lead to lack of system transparency. In addition, such unprofessional attitudes can also lead to nepotism and cronyism because

families and friend are involved in an organization which is more concerned with personal relationships than formal legality.

4. Suharto Family Business: “Crony Capitalism”

The Suharto family was included in the top ten big businesses in Asia. During three decades as President of the Republic of Indonesia, Suharto family was estimated to be worth U\$30 billion when they had control over vast sectors in Indonesia economy (Transparency International, 1998). Suharto’s family businesses were involved in all sectors of the economy and had a strong influence not only in the public sector but also in the private sector. It seems that Suharto was “politically connected” with all business activities in Indonesia. For instance, as Handerson and Kuncoro (2004) pointed out, in order to “smooth business operations” by obtaining licenses and permits, firms spent on average over 10 percent of costs on bribes. As well as Suharto’s children and other relatives running connected firms, other conglomerate businessmen were also connected with Suharto family businesses, including Salim of Salim Group, Eka Tjipta Widjaja of Sinar Mas Group, and Bob Hasan of Nusamba Group (Asiaweek, 1996, Colmey & Liebhold 1999).

In order to protect and benefit the family businesses, Suharto formulated a policy to create a direct mechanism connected to the President. This applied to each group connected to the Suharto family, who then created more business groups through joint ownership or management (Mobarak & Purbasari, 2006). Furthermore, as McLeod (2005) pointed out, President Suharto operated a “franchise system”, which provided incentives for public officials in political parties, in the judiciary, the bureaucracy, the military, the police, and in state owned enterprises.

Suharto had six children and each son or daughter had companies that were supported by Suharto. They were all entrepreneurs. Suharto’s first daughter, Siti Hardijanti Rukmana (Tutut), owned Citra Marga Nusaphala Persada. Tutut was 35 percent shareholder and her husband 20 percent shareholder in another company, Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada that was established in 1982. The company had interests in more than 90 companies ranging from telecommunications to infrastructure, including tollways in Indonesia and the Philippines.

Suharto’s first son, Sigit Harjojudanto owned the Henurata Group, which was involved in plywood, banking and plastic. He had a joint venture with Bob Hasan (a prominent Indonesia businessman) and with Liem in the Bank Central Asia, while having a share in Nusamba. Bambang Trihatmodjo, Suharto’s second son, owned the Bimantara Citra Company that received concessions from the Indonesia government. He also owned one of Indonesia’s largest conglomerates with 27 subsidiaries and interests in broadcasting and telecommunications, automotive, oil industry, infrastructure, finance, electronics, entertainment and animal feed. Suharto’s third son, Hutomo Mandala Putra (Tomi), owned the Humpuss group established in 1984. The company covered about 70 companies which were involved in aviation, agribusiness, toll road construction, oil, gas, commodities, manufacturing, media and timber. Humpuss made huge profits from shipping with Pertamina (The State Oil and Gas Corporation).

Tomi promoted a “national car” (the Timor) in a joint venture with Kia the South Korean car company. As a result, not surprisingly, “this precipitated protests to the World Trade Organization by car manufacturers in Japan the EU and USA” (Barenwell & Pratt, 1998 p. 275). Fealy (2015) described the extensive role under Suharto that the armed forces played in political, social and economic affairs. In collaboration with an army general, Tomi also had business involvement in Sempaty Air, and received free fuel and free airport use. Further, Suharto’s second daughter, Siti Hedijanti Harijadi’s (Titiek), owned Maharani Paramita, which had businesses in property, telecommunications, finance and forestry. Suharto’s third daughter, Siti Hutami Endang Adiningsih (Mamiék), had companies that were involved in plantations, warehousing, transport and a land-reclamation project.

In order to expand the family business, Suharto maintained a close relationship with Liem Sioe Liong for over 30 years. During Suharto’s fights for Indonesia’s independence Liem supported the Indonesian army with provisions such as medicine and food. Verchere (1978, p. 9) pointed out that when Suharto become the second president of Indonesia “heading a huge industrial empire and wielding enormous political influence, [Liem] had total access to the President both at home and at the Istana Palace”. Therefore, Suharto had the power to protect Liem’s business activities with exclusive concessions from the government. Liem had outstanding entrepreneurial skill and most of his business collaborations were with the Suharto family. The Suharto-Liem businesses provided the Indonesian people with jobs. However, most of the companies were guilty of corruption, cronyism and nepotism and one by one became bankrupt when the economic crisis hit Indonesia.

Liem was the founder of the Salim Group. According to Hiscock (1997, p. 195), the Salim group was the most powerful in Asia with 300 companies, 135,000 employees and an annual revenue of US\$10 billion and interests spanning food and beverages, cooking oil, cement, motor vehicles, commodity trading, property, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, textiles, financial services, distribution, media and telecommunications. In the banking sector, Suharto’s family and Liem established the Bank Central Asia (BCA), which was the second largest private bank in Indonesia. Liem, together with Tutut and Sigit, expanded the bank into Hong Kong where it was named the Central Asia Capital Corporation.

Liem’s companies had concessions from the Indonesian government, which laid the foundation of the Salim group. One of the Salim companies, PT Bogasari Flour Mill became the largest wheat buyer with a monopoly in the market in western Indonesia. Another company, PT Mega, imported cloves with exclusive concessions from the government. The Indonesian government had shares in PT Indocement, which produced cement. Liem also had food companies under PT Indofood Sukses Makmur. Liem prepared his son, Anthony Salim, as his business successor.

5. Discussion

As mentioned previously, Asian values have strongly influenced Asian societies. In the case of Indonesia, Suharto succeeded in developing his family businesses because of the hierarchy of relationships based on status. As the President, Suharto was easily able to make connections with other businessmen in Indonesia. Many conglomerates, such as the Liem and Bob Hasan conglomerates, took the advantage of a relationship with the Suharto family because the President gave protection to the businesses of close friends. These businessmen also collaborated with the Suharto family businesses. In the other words, the Suharto family and these conglomerates had mutually beneficial relationships. As a result, the Suharto family's businesses expanded rapidly during 1980s until the end of 1990s. However, the Suharto family established their business empire through corruption, collusion and nepotism in the Indonesian business environment, which can be attributed to the custom of reciprocation of greetings, favor, and gifts in business activities. The Suharto family tended to monopolize all business activities, while other companies obviously were unable to become involved in certain sectors, because the Suharto family had exclusive protection from the Indonesian government.

The Suharto family had close relationships with top businessmen in Indonesia. The famous businessmen, Liem and Bob Hasan, made it easy for the family to be involved in the business arena. Within these mutual relationships, Suharto, on the one hand used his politico-bureaucratic power to protect the business activities of Liem and Bob Hasan. On the other hand, Liem and Bob Hasan supported the Suharto family firms through skill and capital. As a result, the Suharto family and Liem and Bob Hasan became a huge conglomerate.

Indonesia suffered from the economic crisis in 1997. The Indonesia government felt the crisis more deeply than other countries because it affected the economic, social and political structures. Brown (2015) reported, "Indonesia was particularly hard hit, inflation reaching almost 80 percent in 1998, and economic growth becoming negative at around 13 percent". Radelat (2000) proposed three causes of the economic crisis: 1) bad management in the financial sector such as Indonesia's deregulation of the banking sector in the late 1980s, 2) increased vulnerability to the sudden withdrawal of short-term finance, and 3) increased influence of the Suharto family in business activities featured corruption and cronyism.

The Suharto family firms were also adversely affected by the economic crisis. One by one most of the Suharto family firms were found to be guilty of corruption, cronyism and nepotism and one by one went into bankruptcy. The Indonesian government did not practice rational decision-making, with the President occasionally intervening through presidential instruction (*instruksi presiden*) in the business sector. Suharto gave protection to his children through tax concessions and special considerations. For instance, his son (Tomi) received free aircraft fuel and hangar space at Indonesian airports. This situation led to a monopoly resulting from collaboration with close friends like Liem and Bob Hasan. As a result some economists felt that the Indonesian economic crisis cut more deeply because of the enormity of business dependence on the government.

Many of the Suharto family's major business activities contributed to the economic crisis. In the financial sector, the Suharto family was involved in the banking sector and some banks operated under the Suharto family names. For instance, Suharto founded the Bank Duta whose purpose was set to up social services but in fact, the money was distributed to his children and friends. Tutut and Sigit together with Liem shared in the Bank Central Asia (BCA), which was a large private bank in Indonesia. Bambang and Tommy were involved in Bank Bumi Daya, while Bambang owned Bank Andromeda. These banks were later closed down. Most Suharto family banks had bad debts in foreign currency, obtaining low-interest loans by colluding with or even strong-arming bankers who were often afraid to ask for repayment due to the instruction of President. Likewise, it was difficult for state banks to refuse giving the loans.

Suharto sons, Bambang and Tommy had bad loans from just one of their four banks, the Bank Bumi Daya, while the Suharto family had stakes in Bank Central Asia, which was saddled with bad loans such as unbudgeted foreign debts. The Finance Ministry announced that Bambang's Bank Andromeda was undercapitalized and should close. Bambang defied the decision and sued the Finance Ministry and then reopened the bank as the Bank Alfa. His position as a member parliament for the Golkar party and his father's influence made this transaction possible. Meanwhile, Tomi enjoyed an exclusive concession to produce a national car called the "Timor". The project was a joint venture with the Korean carmakers Kia and epitomized the rampant cronyism that Suharto Inc. was renowned for. To implement Tomi's programs, President Suharto granted tax-free in importation of this car. Not surprisingly, as Barenwell and Pratt (1998, p. 275) reported, "This precipitated protests to the World Trade Organization by car manufactures in Japan, EU and USA". In addition, Bambang's company Bimantara had a joint venture with Hyundai to produce the Cakra car. When Bimantara was overwhelmed with debt, consultants and brokers were resentful and disrespectful of Bambang for his administration, which adversely affected his reputation.

The IMF developed strategies to help Indonesia to overcome the economic crisis by proposing several packages to improve Indonesian management efficiency. For Indonesia, the IMF program was particularly extensive and included a large number of additional structural reforms to eliminate cronyism (Takagi, 2016). The packages included abolition of protection for economic activity, no subsidies, and the restructure of the Indonesian financial sector. The IMF strategies also impacted on the Suharto family businesses and Suharto was reluctant to follow the IMF's direction. Aditjondro argued, "Suharto had difficulty sacrificing his family's business empire, which he has built in nearly 50 years" (The Australian Financial Review, 1997). The Indonesia economy worsened, and sank more deeply into debt. Indonesia recovered from the economic crisis somewhat later than Thailand and Malaysia.

6. Conclusion

What can be learned from the Suharto family business and Asian values? Through Asian values, the power and relationships of the Suharto family firms strongly influenced the

Indonesian business environment. However, many Suharto family firms were basically unhealthy. For example, the banking sector had enormous debts because of bad management, which involved corruption and collusion. As a result, when the economic crisis hit Indonesia most of the Suharto family banks faced bankruptcy because they were undercapitalized. Similarly, Tomi's "Timor car" project, which was an expensive project for the government because of the tariff breaks, collapsed after Suharto's retirement. Moreover, recently, one by one Suharto's companies have become bankrupt because of the economic crisis and the inability to gain the previously available concessions. Therefore, the Indonesian people face enormous debts from international institutions caused by the Suharto-Liem collusion in Indonesian business. In the future, the prospect for the Suharto family seems to be bankruptcy and loss of credibility because of the bad management that had been strongly supported by Suharto when he was president. Since the Indonesian financial crisis, the Indonesian government has been investigating the Suharto family who cost Indonesia much money and burdened the government with a huge debt. Unfortunately, the Indonesian people will pay the price for Suharto's indiscretions for some time to come.

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Critical Reflection on the Nature of Campus Female Students' Aspiration for Leadership Positions

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Abstract

The nature of aspiration for leadership is a necessary reflector of democracy, equality and equity in any situation. Although leadership in itself has intrinsic and extrinsic benefits to the leader and the led, there are many distractors to attaining it. Much research has been carried out in Western and Asian contexts on male dominance in leadership but less on-campus male dominance as reflected in the nature of female aspiration for leadership. This study sought to explore how the nature of campus female students' leadership aspirations results from the dominant male presence in the context. Using an institution in developing countries and drawing on the semi-structured interviews to access female students' voices on their leadership aspirations, the study finds and concludes that females are internally and externally disadvantaged through complexity, esteem, and strength. The study recommends institutions to formulate policies strategies and practices that promote and foster female integrated cultures; provide appropriate emotional support and mentorship, and develop a leadership framework that closes the gender numeric and financial gap.

Keywords: Leadership, Male Dominance, Female, Campus

Introduction

There is a plethora of literature written by scholars in western and Asian countries which focuses a lot in general terms on male dominance in leadership, as well as male influence on females to participate in leadership. This influence is particularly traced in the family, social, cultural, and religious. This study, in particular, focuses on the male-dominant presence in higher education in developing countries. The assumption is that the dominant male presence at campus influences female students' aspiration for leadership. The significance of this research is that University Management, the office in charge of gender, and the entire staff may benefit through the awareness of the need to instill and encourage female students take up leadership positions. This will be done through encouraging and at times appointing them to assume positions that are socially believed to be in the preserve of males. The study depends on female students' voices to establish how this presence is reflected in a female's nature of aspiration for leadership.

Literature review

Participation in leadership has been described by many scholars as traditionally masculine in attitude and practice (Eagly, Eaton, Rose, Riger & McHugh, 2012). When considering universities and how they operate, scholars have recognized that gender can influence organizational practices, such that images, cultures, interactions, and gender-appropriate behaviours are linked to socially construct masculine or feminine ideals within organizational operations (Britton & Logan, 2008). Heather and Kristen (2017) highlight that masculinities, or behaviours, actions and associations that are most often associated with men are perceived to be superior to femininities, or those behaviours most often associated with women. Patriarchal elements are virtually marginalising female participation in leadership in many spheres of public life (Scott-Samuel, Crawshaw & Oakley, 2015). This has made participation in leadership to remain largely male-dominated, despite substantial female students' progress (Matsa & Miller, 2013). Globally, many renowned scholars have advanced research on the influence of male participation which is used as a yardstick for the female participation in leadership (Galante & Ward, 2017; Heather & Kristen, 2017). Dasgupta and Asgari (2004) noted that some academic environments in male-dominated disciplines like sciences and maths produced an increase in automatic stereotypic beliefs in leadership among female students, thus the effect was mediated by the male course instructor. In other words, females' attitudes and beliefs about leadership are considered depending on the male disposition. Such perspectives about leadership emphasizing traits and behaviours often embodied by men emphasizing hierarchy, competition, individualistic achievement, and power through command and control, may serve to limit females' access to leadership participation (Heather & Kristen, 2017).

On the other hand, Stead (2013) found out that, men who are in leadership appeared to have little if any, detrimental influence on females in regard to their expectations, achievements, and involvement in leadership. This implies that their expectations and aspirations in leadership are less divergent at Higher Education level than at lower levels of education. Patriarchal issues related to female participation in University leadership have attracted a lot of attention from scholars (Banducci, 2010; Burton, 2015; Galante & Ward, 2017; Heather & Kristen, 2017). Scott-Samuel et al. (2015) found out that patriarchal social structure, attitudes, and practices are part of a wider set of social structural determinants of female under-representation in leadership. The female gender under-representation in leadership (Scott-Samuel et al., 2015; Onyango, Enose, Simatwa & Ondigi, 2011) could probably be due to the patriarchal social structures, attitudes, and practices that commonly give rise to these inequalities.

Researchers have found the impact on females participating in leadership with regards to hegemonic masculinity (Bacchi, 2009) and patriarchy (Scott-Samuel et al., 2015), in contributing to negative attitudes and behaviours of females as well as influencing men's beliefs steadfastly maintaining that women are less intelligent than men (Archard, 2012). In Kenya, traditional perceptions of women as inferior to men prevail as many people uphold cultural practices which enhance the subordination of women. Consequently, men continue to

dominate women in political, economic, social, and religious realms (Kasomo, 2012). Such views intensify the gender division by supporting the notion of male dominance, which further solidifies gender disparities in leadership.

Females in traditionally male-dominated environments are expected to behave in a similar fashion as their male counterparts; this expectation becomes more pronounced as they reach leadership positions (Herrera, Duncan, Green & Skaggs, 2012). However, Archard (2012) found that girls, at times, lack confidence in themselves and their ability to enact leadership. Despite their highly competitive nature and educational successes, girls perceive lack of confidence as an important flaw in their capacity to become leaders (Baker, 2010). Recent research reported by Matsa & Miller (2013) uncovered a significant positive relationship between self-confidence and gender masculinity of leader emergence. It is likely that a positive relationship between self-confidence and leader emergence indicates that both attitudes toward leadership and leadership experience are stronger predictors of leader emergence than masculine gender role.

Although aspects of self-confidence are indirectly contained in the masculinity scale (for example, assertiveness, self-reliance, willingness to take a stand), these descriptors do not fully capture the construct of self-confidence (Kolehmainen, Brennan, Filut, Isaac & Carnes, 2014). Self-confidence, the degree of perceived probability of success in leadership (Hyde, 2014), has been linked to gender masculinity (Bryant-Anderson & Roby, 2012; Crites, Dickson & Lorenz, 2015). Hoyt, Johnson, Murphy, and Skinnell (2010) confirmed this when they indicated that self-confidence has a substantial impact on an individual's chances of being perceived as a group's emergent leader. This implies that females need more support building confidence to feel like they can be leaders and the lack of confidence affects an array of other activities tied to ultimately becoming leaders. This is consistent with results reported by other researchers (for example, Anderson, Ahamd, King, Lindsey, Feyre, Ragone & Kim, 2015; Bryant-Anderson & Roby, 2012) showing that situational influences moderate the differences in self-confidence seemingly attributable to biological sex. However, no significant differences in self-confidence between males and females were found when gender role identity was held constant. Despite several studies having linked self-confidence with masculinity leadership (Bligh, Schlehofer, Casad & Gaffney, 2012; Northouse, 2015; Tate & Yang, 2015; Williams, Kilanski & Muller, 2014), there are further indications that females need more support-building-confidence to feel like they can be leaders and lack of it may affect an array of other activities tied to ultimately becoming leaders. Therefore, females who identify with being leaders in school growing up, feel less confident to lead. So focus should specifically be on building their confidence and help them to boost their abilities.

Leadership is a powerful life skill that influences the future of our local, national and global communities (Voelkar, 2016). Apart from acquiring knowledge on how gender and power interact with leadership in HE (Brown, 2011; Morley, 2013; Stead, 2013; Voelkar, 2016), questions are raised about the relentless misrecognition of women's leadership capacities and suggests the need for an expanded chain of leadership with which to move into the University of the Future (Morley, 2013). Despite the many positive and productive changes observed in the leadership opportunities for women and girls, they remain highly under-represented in

positional leadership roles (Bong, Cho, Ahn & Kim, 2012; Morley, 2014; Nicholas & Nicholas, 2014 & Voelkar, 2016). Females' underrepresentation as leaders, in turn, limits their opportunities to advance into formal leadership positions at colleges and universities. It is therefore not surprising that men outnumber women even among newly appointed deans, provosts, and presidents (Hammond, 2015). Stereotypically male characteristics; independence, aggression, competitiveness, rationality, dominance, objectivity, all correlate with current expectations of leadership (Crites et al., 2015). Those expectations, in turn, affect females' and men's self-perceptions.

Female leadership is stereotypically in masculine terms, although some evidence exists that an androgynous leadership style also may be related to perceptions of leadership (Morley, 2014). Leadership was associated with hierarchy and hierarchy was seen as inextricably linked with the patriarchal domination over women. To liberate themselves from patriarchy, women were trying to organize without hierarchy, through collectives and networks. Instead of there being leaders and followers, women would empower themselves by taking responsibility for decisions, which would be reached by consensus (Sawer & Merrindahl, 2014). Traditional beliefs about the male gender role accounted for only a small percentage of the variance of men's influence on females' leadership participation.

Given societal changes in the perceptions of the roles of men and women, it may be that women today, particularly young women leaders, view themselves and are viewed by others as possessing more characteristics that are traditionally, and stereotypically, described as masculine (Wielkiewicz, Fischer, Stelzner, Overland & Sinner, 2012). This view was supported by Schuh, Bark, Quaquebeke, Hossiep, Frieg, and Dick (2013) who concluded that female graduate students in business rate themselves higher in masculinity than in femininity. Similarly, Morley (2014) found that self-perceptions of masculine gender role characteristics would predict individuals who were perceived by others as leaders.

Despite the fact that behaviours traditionally associated with masculine leaders include aggressiveness, ambition, competitiveness, dominance, self-confidence, and individualism, females, however, have maintained femininity behaviours including compassion, affection, helpful, friendly, sympathetic, and caring (Herrera et al., 2012). Studies have been conducted that support these stereotypes in the perceptions of others when gauging female leadership ability (Northouse, 2015). While arguments display various perceptions of masculine versus feminine leadership, it is an important stereotype that can have an influence on the advancement of women in leadership positions. This leads to the various aspects and encountered situations which hinder females due to stereotypes about their abilities to lead (Herrera et al., 2012). In the study by Wielkiewicz et al., (2012), while students of both genders had high expectations but unsophisticated beliefs about their own leadership abilities, men thought significantly more hierarchically about leadership than women did, whereas women preferred more systemic, communal leadership. According to Morley (2014), incoming male and female first-year college students tended to have different beliefs about leadership.

However, not all research has found the association between the male presence and female students' participation in leadership to be particularly strong (Gallagher & Parrott, 2011; Ghajarieh & Cheng, 2011). In fact, counter to their predictions, Mwisukha and Rintaugu (2013) found that gender, age, and positional status had variant relationships with the factors that cause female participation in leadership. This finding suggests that other factors, perhaps more proximal predictors of female participation in leadership, may better explain this association. Moreover, whereas Mwisukha and Rintaugu (2013) examined gender, age and positional status of the female as a dimensional construct, a substantial literature has presented a set of underlying aspects that influence female participation in leadership.

Although females are still underrepresented in leadership roles, which pose an ethical challenge to society at large (Bong et al., 2011; Hora, 2014; Mwisukha & Rintaugu, 2013; Oguntoyinbo, 2014), specifically it was found that females consistently reported lower power motivation than men. This, in turn, mediated the link between gender and leadership role occupied (Schuh et al., 2014). The leadership development and empowerment of women and girls has become increasingly popular and Voelkar (2016) provides unique opportunities to develop leadership skills for female, including embracing leadership diversity and deconstructing gender stereotyping, building networking and mentorship and encouraging girls to use their voice and exercise leadership skills in order to help physical educators and coaches maximize the leadership development of girls.

The socio-cultural attitudes and lack of acquisition of the necessary experience for taking part in public decision-making, over-burden of domestic responsibilities, continuation of the negative attitudes regarding women's ability to lead and govern, lack of role models of women leaders for young women and girls, and the like can be stated as limiting women participation in leadership (Lang, Szabo, Catana, Konecna & Skalova, 2013). Therefore, there is a complex web of influences, with individual value preferences being a particularly strong predictor of students' participative leadership expectations. Further research on the psychological factors that impinge on women in leadership may be a worthwhile venture (Mwisukha & Rintaugu, 2013). Klofstad, Anderson, and Peters (2012) results show that both men and women select male and female leaders with lower voices. These findings suggest that men and women with lower-pitched voices may be more successful in obtaining positions of leadership. This might also suggest that because women, on average, have higher-pitched voices than men, voice pitch could be a factor that contributes to fewer women holding leadership roles than men. Nevertheless, the determinants of participation in leadership differed among adolescents in different educational courses (Mburu, 2013).

Societal culture practices, as perceived by students, have an additional impact on the leadership ideals. This was echoed in Lang et al., (2013)'s findings that suggested a complex web of influences, with individual value preferences being a particularly strong predictor of students' participation in leadership. Depending on the experiences involved, male role models may shape a young person's emerging ideal of leadership in the participative as well as non-participative direction (Vasavada, 2012). However individual value preferences play an important role in shaping leadership expectations. Early role models may also influence the development of students' leadership ideals (Hora, 2014). This was not different from

Manyibe, and Otiso, (2013) who found that family, church, African cultures, and high school influences, influenced the leadership participation of females during their stay at the campus, and eventually described these factors as inclusive.

In addition to, Beaman, Duflo, Pande, and Topalova (2012) aver that adolescent females' career aspirations and educational attainment influence their participation in leadership. However, as according to Hora (2014) there are also major barriers hindering women from public leadership and decision-making positions. However, the strength of females' leadership lies not in their ability to conform to prevailing masculine stereotypes of leadership, but in women's unique abilities (Vasavada, 2012). Research has also identified how high school experiences significantly influenced females' leadership participation. Nevertheless, Manyibe et al. (2013) revealed that the outstanding performance of the participants in curricular or extracurricular activities gave them an edge that propelled them to leadership roles in high school. Therefore, good academic interaction is one area that one should not forsake in order to embrace any leadership position.

Christofides, Hoy, Milla, and Stengos (2012) relatedly affirmed that parental expectations and peer effects had a significant influence on female leadership participation. Apart from this indirect path, parents and careers also influence female participation in leadership directly (Rajesh & Chandrasekaran, 2014). This implies that policy measures that operate on parental influences may modify leadership outcomes in desired directions. The findings of Morley (2014) and Voelkar (2016) attribute female participation in leadership to the school atmosphere, attitude from the student, social support from the fathers and a sense of coherence (Sealy & Singh, 2009). For instance, Nicholas and Nicholas (2014)'s study indicated that those females whose fathers were so dominant in various aspects of their lives had a lower aspiration for leadership compared to those whose fathers were not dominant in any way. This implies that paternal dominance and involvement in one way has both a positive and negative influence on the female participation in leadership. However, while participation in leadership by students on higher education levels was associated with father's education (Lumpkin, 2008), the leadership of their peers on lower educational levels had a stronger association with mother's education and perceived social support from the father and friends (Mendonça, Cheng, Melo & Junior, 2014; Taylor, Conger, Robins & Widaman, 2015). Moreover, the environment, the family, and the individual adolescent are all associated with the level of participation in leadership, but in a different way for different educational courses. On the contrary, other studies deny social support from the father and friends as not associated with female participation in leadership (Sperandio & Kagoda, 2010; Guta & Mukerem, 2015; Atinaf & Petros, 2016).

Methods

In order to pursue the purpose of this study, we opted to use Makerere University as our contextual case where there are distinct differences in male-female percentage ratios in administration 52.3:47.7; academic staff 73.1:26.9; and students 52.7:47.3 (Makerere University Directorate of Quality Assurance, 2016). We drew on the interpretive paradigm and used focused interviews on four factors that stood out from the above literature, namely;

complexity, self-confidence, numeric advantage and financial ability so as explore campus male influence in female students' participation in leadership. We chose four colleges from the two disciplinary fields; two from sciences (College of Engineering, Design, Art and Technology (CEDAT), and College of Health Sciences (CHS)) and two from humanities (College of Humanities and Social Sciences (CHUSS), and College of Education and External Studies (CEES)). We interviewed two female students from every college, making a total of eight individual cases. The names herein are pseudonyms. We posed questions on three factors that we developed based on the leadership context and systems within which female students operate. The factors are; complexity, esteem, and strength. These have been highlighted in the introduction as a precursor to the problem, and subsequently reviewed in the literature. The factors enabled us to understand the nature of campus female students' aspiration for leadership positions. After the transcription of data, we categorized responses according to the above three factors. We arranged the voices according to the most commonly given reason to the least. We analyzed the results which we present as findings.

Findings

Complexity

Female students' dependence on males stood out vividly from all the eight participants when they confirmed that without males they couldn't survive on their own. For example, Chantal stated:

Females feel so timid, and it has incapacitated them to the extent that they can't do anything on their own. ... Inferiority complex makes the female students to entirely depend on men, which dehumanizes their ability to participate in leadership.

Participants further claimed that female students had been made to think they are not good enough to participate in most of the top leadership positions. This has influenced the females' inability to participate in leadership. Particularly Felicity intimated:

Sometimes we are inferior because we think we don't have what it takes to compete with men, and because we think we are not as good as men. All we have to do is to do what we know best and leave the rest to the males. When we are made inferior, we can't do it however much we try, because we are females. Even in the top management of Makerere University, there are very few females. Most are males because they think they can do best.

Relegating females to lower leadership positions was further blamed on males by Rehema that:

Males have made females think that they don't fit in the society. So you either go for the low positions or leave politics. When they [females] are criticized over the mistakes they do, which mistakes are also done by men but go without

being criticized, it dehumanizes them. Since women fear being criticized, they step aside and give the floor to males.

As a matter of fact, Allen clearly stated, "I fear being criticized, so I can't opt to try out something new because I don't believe that I will be successful." And as for Shakira, "I have all it takes to be the guild president, but I fear to be criticized."

Participants noted that female students had been made to think that they do not have the ability to lead especially in the top leadership positions because, as Carol supplemented, "males can't trust a woman with such a big responsibility because she is a woman, and have a feeling she can't manage."

Esteem

According to seven participants, having low esteem has affected female students' participation in leadership. In support of this Felicity said, "loss of esteem among females is mainly due to the way most boys treat the girls, they make you feel that you can't measure up to them." Nevertheless, as Florence shares, being low esteemed not only diminishes the females' ability to participate in leadership but also incapacitates them:

The loss of esteem in girls is mainly due to the ways most boys treat them, that's why you see mostly boys are dominant in leadership. For instance, when a girl contests to become a Guild President, during the campaign, these notorious boys ... make her do all sorts of despicable things, vulgar language inclusive. ... And because in most cases there is always a candidate from their hall they will give all the support to him and then you they will make her feel demoralized that she can't measure up to them. So when girls look at that they feel like they can't go for such a post, they would rather be secretaries in their faculty associations.

Although leadership comes from God, the fact remains that males have more chances than females. They are always uncertain, and they can't come out stronger and feel convinced that they can do it better and win the race. Therefore, this makes the females uncertain. Josephine strongly confirmed this when she said:

The Guild President is a male we have had very few female presidents. I feel females don't have what it takes, that's why they are never sure of themselves, and another thing: men look at females as if we do not have enough of what it takes to be in this position. But I believe if we were given this chance we would make it, or we could also do better. But males feel more powerful ... so the low esteem puts us in a system where we find ourselves in lower positions.

Being low esteemed among the females have brought about noncommittal attitude. Josephine confirmed this when she stated, "this weakness came from the past; it feels like the males are supposed to be the supreme leaders and so females lose commitment to the right cause." This has really affected the female participation in a top leadership position just as Rehama

echoed, "In Makerere University, it is hard to have an unshaken female candidate because there is always a comparison between male and female leadership."

Strength

This was reflected in terms of people and financial. Eight participants said that females always have fewer followers, so the chances are high that they will be disregarded and will earn very few votes. This was confirmed by Josephine when she said:

Looking at the ratio of 3:1, of course, females are fewer, even standing for such a post, they will be few. Because of their fewer numbers, it will be hard for them to get support from the opposite sex. And of course, voters give respect to those with big crowds. Because people follow crowds, if you have a big crowd, many will vote for you. People want to be very sure that their votes are not put to waste. They will support those who have larger crowds.

It's not enough to be vocal and confident, but also having the assurance of the outcome of one's ventures. Participants shared that females are always unsure of the outcome due to the small numbers of voters supporting them. In her submission, Josephine said, "It's a bit hard for girls to win because they are always doubtful of their voters; the number of those behind the guys is big, and even their support is overwhelming." Similarly, Allen confirmed:

If girls are few in number, definitely they will be outnumbered. They fear what the guys and other people will say. And also because most girls do not go to vote, they are doubtful, and they fear to waste their votes. So it's really hard to convince the guys that even a girl can actually lead them. The male ego the guys have is strong; the girls can't beat that. The dream of winning in leadership calls for more than guts but also for the ability in terms of finance. Participants noted that it was easier for one with money to persist over the entire period of campaigns. Felicity confirmed to this when she noted:

It is always the males who have got more money to put in leadership, and since they have got those top stages of leadership, the females think that they can't go for the same posts, because the person seeking that post is a male, has a lot of money and capability and that person in that position is a male. So females just believe assume that without money the position will be won by a male, and so all hope is lost.

Relatedly, Carol and Josephine also intimated that males with small businesses could use that to act as a stepping stone to acquire finance to support them during the entire campaigns. For example, Carol said:

When we are on campus, it is very easy for males to have small businesses that can support them financially, which is totally different for the girls because they usually depend entirely on the parents. It is very hard on campus to find a girl having her own business. It's mainly because guys are very assertive; they can always find a way of surviving. They can even get loans and start

businesses and pay after making some profits which is not so much the case for the girls. And if your parents are not willing to support you, it is a bit hard for a young girl to get other sources to finance her campaigns. Actually, it's hard for a girl to be a gild president because of the lack of finances.

Discussion

Complexity

Leadership is seen as a process of leaders engaging and mobilizing the human needs of followers. Although women are readily recognized as leaders, men always change their own leadership styles, complying women with dependency. This is true because femininity has always been stereotyped as a dependent, submissive and conforming, and hence women have been seen as lacking in leadership qualities (Kellogg Insight, 2013). The male bias is reflected in the false conception of leadership as mere command or control. This seems to be related to patriarchal societies. Female students' dependence on males stood out vividly from all participants, who confirmed that females think that without the males they can't survive on their own. Since females feel they are inferior and fear criticisms, they have remained at the mercy of the males. This has influenced their participation in leadership just like Chantal stated, "This has made the females to feel so timid, and has incapacitated them to the extent that they can't do anything on their own."

Globally, many renowned scholars have advanced research on the influence of male dominance which might be used as a yardstick for the female students' participation in leadership (Galante & Ward, 2017; Heather & Kristen, 2017). Some academic environments in male-dominated disciplines like sciences and maths have produced an increase in automatic stereotypic beliefs in leadership among female students, thus the effect is mediated by the male course instructor (Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004) In other words females' attitudes and beliefs about leadership are considered depending on the male disposition. Such perspectives about leadership emphasizing traits and behaviours often embodied by men emphasizing hierarchy, competition, individualistic achievement, and power through command and control, serve to limit females' access to leadership participation (Heather & Kristen, 2017). This has made participation in leadership to remain largely male-dominated, despite substantial female students' progress (Matsa & Miller, 2013). In Kenya, traditional perceptions of women as inferior to men prevail as many people uphold cultural practices which enhance the subordination of women. Consequently, men continue to dominate women in political, economic, social, and religious realms (Kasomo, 2012). Views such as this intensify the gender division by supporting the notion of male dominance, which further solidifies gender disparities in leadership.

Esteem

Females in traditionally male-dominated environments are expected to behave in a similar fashion as their male counterparts. This expectation becomes more pronounced as they reach leadership positions (Herrera et al., 2012). However, girls at times lack self-esteem, and their ability to enact leadership is compromised (Archard, 2012). Despite their highly competitive nature and educational successes, girls perceive lack of esteem as an important flaw in their

capacity to become leaders (Baker, 2010). Recent research has reported a significant positive relationship between self-confidence and gender masculinity of leader emergence (Matsa & Miller, 2013). It is likely that a positive relationship between self-confidence and leader emergence indicates that both attitudes toward leadership and leadership experience are stronger predictors of leader emergence than masculine gender role. Although aspects of self-confidence are indirectly contained in the masculinity scale, these descriptors do not fully capture the construct of self-confidence (Kolehmainen, 2014).

Self-confidence, the degree of perceived probability of success in leadership (Hyde, 2014), has been linked to gender masculinity (Bryant-Anderson & Roby, 2012; Crites et al., 2015). Hoyt et al. (2010) confirm this when they indicate that self-confidence has a substantial impact on an individual's chances of being perceived as a group's emergent leader. This means that females need more support in building esteem to feel like they can be leaders and the lack of it affects an array of other activities tied to ultimately becoming leaders. Despite several studies having linked self-esteem with masculinity leadership (Bligh et al., 2012; Northouse, 2015; Tate & Yang, 2015; Williams et al., 2014), indications show that females need to be supported in building self-esteem in order for them to believe in themselves and participate in leadership, females who identify with being leaders in school growing up, feel less esteemed to lead. Therefore, the focus should specifically be put on building their esteem and help them such that their leadership abilities can be boosted. In the Makerere University environment where the structure is still male-dominated, female's low esteem is interpreted negatively especially regarding leadership matters. Female's low esteem is also reflected in the lower levels of leadership participation (Paustian-Underdahl, Walker & Woehr, 2014). Females have failed to encourage themselves to do certain things better, because they see themselves as being low, dependent on others for everything, having no power to engage in any leadership activity, hence reject the leader identity (Zhao & Jones, 2017). Having low esteem has affected female students' participation in leadership. In support of this Felicity said, "Loss of esteem among females is mainly due to the way most boys treat the girls, they make you feel inferior that you can't measure up to them." Nevertheless, as Florence shares, being timid not only diminishes the females' ability to participate in leadership but also incapacitates thus, "the loss of esteem in girls is mainly due to the ways most boys treat them, that's why you see mostly boys are dominant in leadership."

Strength

Gender stereotypes are especially problematic in contexts where males outnumber females, and males' views predominate in all aspects (Baitinger, 2015; Groch-Begley, 2014; McGee & Martin, 2012). The impact of men's perceptions of women leaders could be substantial and devastating simply because men so far outnumber women in leadership (De Welde, 2017; Frede & Hill, 2014; Solometo & Moss, 2013). Although the proportion of females at Makerere University has increased remarkably within the past few years, females remain vastly underrepresented in some of the Colleges. Participant Josephine confirmed that "looking at the ratio of 3:1, of course, females are fewer, even standing for such a post, they will be few. Because of their fewer numbers, it will be hard for them to get support from the opposite sex. And of course, voters give respect to those with big crowds." It's not enough to

be vocal and confident, but also having the assurance of the outcome of one's ventures. Females are always unsure of the outcome due to the small numbers of supporters.

Conclusion

As equal members of the academic community, female students ought to equitably access opportunities for leadership in higher education institutions. However, the research done in Makerere University paints a different image. Female students' voices allude to the fact that due to male behaviors and actions plus systemic arrangements the feelings of inferiority complex by females are bred. These discourage them from aspiring for leadership positions.

The willingness and ability to lead is a result of one's self-esteem. It is also supported by their proper disposition towards leadership. Female students in many developing countries are disadvantaged by the patriarchal systems and attitudes, social stereotypes, and sexual-related mind-sets. These translate into a loss of esteem and lack of confidence to compete for particular leadership positions due to the thinking that they are reserved for males.

People and money are key external enablers of accessing leadership. In most political interactions in higher education, the contestant needs to have supporters as well as money to sustain their candidature. In the developing countries where the wake to educate the girl child is still recent, there is still less female enrolment to higher education. In the same context where a girl is still perceived as suitable for domestic chores, and not directly involved in money-making interactions, there is a much female financial dependency on males. Low female enrolment at higher education and low involvement in money-making projects also disadvantages the female pursuance of leadership in higher education.

Recommendations

Although Makerere and other institutions may have policies that promote gender equality, it is important not to treat them as reserved for shelves. Implementing them to alleviate any forms of inequality in leadership makes the policies more relevant and beneficial. More policies that curb demeaning male behavior and actions need to be formulated and implemented. In addition, systems that propagate gender imbalance in seeking leadership need to be informed in order to maintain equitable pursuance for leadership. This may help to promote leadership strategies and practices by which female-integrated cultures are created and fostered

The change of mind-sets, stereotypic thinking, and patriarchal attitudes are not an overnight overhaul. More so, confidence begins from within, and the externals simply strengthen or discourage it. Female students must believe in themselves that they can lead. The esteem they maintain from within catches the attention and attracts support from others. In this relation, higher education institutions need to provide appropriate emotional support and mentorship, such that females' self-confidence and independence can be boosted in order to engage in leadership activities. In this relation, encouraging and at times appointing females to assume positions that are socially believed to be in the preserve of males may also be necessary.

There is a steady annual increase in female enrolment on higher education programmes in developing countries. It is as well important that institutions develop a leadership framework that enables to close the numeric gap between males and females which disables female's access to leadership. Nevertheless, it is incumbent on higher education institutions to run entrepreneurial workshops that encourage females to engage in money-making ventures even when undertaking the study. This may help to improve their financial ability to compete with the males equally.

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Work and Ethics

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Abstract

This article on work and ethics deals with the fundamental reasons why God introduced work and ethics to Adam and Eve, at the onset of creating his first human beings. Work was the first responsibility given to them and later on ethics. Work was given so that they could discover and use the abilities the Lord had endowed to them, while ethics was to enable them to use responsibly the talents he had given them. Unfortunately, work is viewed by many as a curse. They think that work came as a result of sin. But this type of thinking and belief is just a fallacy. The truth of the matter is that work was given to human beings before sin entered the world. Work was essential to human existence before and after sin. Those who view it differently are under deception and most likely are drowning into the mad of poverty. Ethics, on the other hand, entails that human beings are different from other creatures God created. God did not create animals with moral consciousness. Human beings were the ones created with the power of choice and moral consciousness. They know when they do wrong, and they know when they do right. In terms of work they know when they are cheating at work, and they know when they are not. God wants every human being to work and use their time wisely so that they can experience meaning and quality of life. Life without work is dull and boring, but one with work improves self-esteem. Ethics, on the other hand, helps the human being to avoid cheating in using the time given to them by God. Without ethics, they would be involved in unethical behaviors that would plunge them into poverty and eventually come up with practices that are detrimental to their lives. To be ethically sound enhances the quality of life and a long life lived well without inflicting unnecessary pain on it.

INTRODUCTION

If we go back to the book of Genesis of the book origins, we find that the last creatures God created were the first human beings named Adam and Eve. Genesis 1: 26-27, God created them in his image, and this meant that he patterned them after himself. He also made them masters of overall life including the fish of the sea, the birds in the sky, all the livestock, wild animals and small animals" (Life Application Study Bible). Genesis 1:28, God blessed them and commanded them to multiply and fill the earth and subdue it. He repeated the same responsibility given earlier on in these words, "Be masters over the fish and birds and all the animals" (Ibid). God never gave such responsibilities to other creatures he created such as fish, birds, and animals, except to Adam and Eve. One of the reasons could be that he created them differently by doing so in his image. He shared some of his responsibilities to human beings he created

THE UNIQUENESS OF HUMAN BEINGS' CREATION

What did it mean that God created them first in his image, unlike the fish, birds, and animals? There are several views. Barker and Kohlenberger III (1994) outline four reasons: the first one is that when God created the human race, he began with this, "God said." However, God's command that follows is not an impersonal (third person) "Let there be ..." but rather the more personal (first person) "Let us make." There is an important lesson here which should not be overlooked. When God was creating other creatures other than human beings he used the phrase "Let there be ..." for example fish in the waters or let there be birds in the air." But when it came to human beings, he used the phrase "Let us make." It shows a more personal involvement of the entire God head in creating human beings. God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit had to consult each other to create human beings. This put human being on a higher plane than other creatures God had made.

The second reason Barker and Kohlenberger III (1994) advances says that: "whereas throughout the previous account the making of each creature is described as 'according to its kind' in the account of the creation of humankind it is specified that the man and the woman were made 'in our (God's) image, not merely according to his own kind. Their image is not simply that of the human being; they share a likeness to the Creator" (p. 5). Other creatures like birds God created resembled themselves or were in the form of other birds created. For example, a bird is a bird whether small, big, or tall. Any description can be given to the bird according to the way it appears, but at the end of the day, it is still a bird. But when it comes to the human beings, they were created to resemble God in appearance and character. This is why when God created human being said: "Let us make man in our image." This means that man looks like God. Man cannot be a bird, a fish and be a cow, lion, elephant or any other animal. He looks like God. Therefore, human beings do not become special only after creation, but before creation. They became special in the mind and plan of God before they were even created. This is why human beings should use God given abilities to live a holistic life in this world. Mediocre life and achievement are fallen to God's plan of creating human beings. It was not his plan for a human being to live in poverty and failure in life. It does not come from God; it comes from human beings themselves.

The third reason Barker and Kohlenberger III (1994) also point out is that "the creation of humankind is specifically noted as a creation of 'male and female.' Previously gender was not considered to be an important feature of the creation of the other forms of life, but for humanity it takes importance. Thus the fact that God created 'man' as male and female' is stressed" (p. 5). Again, it is becoming clearer that human being is created differently from other creatures. The emphasis on God creating a male and female is evident. Male and female are one, they are inseparable. This reminds me of my grandfather and mother. My grandmother was the first one to die at about the age of eighty-seven. Within the period of one year, my grandfather also died. They had been married for more than fifty years. He was not sick, but as soon as his wife died, he psychologically became ill, and eventually, he died. He could not live fully alone without the wife. This is also the same reason God said "man cannot live alone; he needs a helper, that is a wife.

The fourth reason Barker and Kohlenberger III (1994) advance is that "only human beings have been given dominion in God's creation. This dominion is expressly stated to be over all other living creatures: sky, sea, and land. Thus the text portrays humanity as a special creature different from the rest of the creatures but like God, made in the image and likeness of God" (pp. 5-6). Dominion means that human beings are in charge of God's creation. People who destroy God's nature—such as cutting down of trees for charcoal—should not be allowed to do that. This destruction of nature has far-reaching effects. It affects climate and weather patterns. Those who destroy nature complain when rainfall is inadequate in their area. Dominion also means that human beings are endowed with the sense of beauty and cleanliness of themselves and the surroundings. Unlike animals, humans have the gift of secrecy. Animals do everything in public, and humans move away from the public when they want to answer the call of nature. This is why human beings must strive to live in clean environments. Communities, where people live, must be clean. They should cut grass, built toilets, use clean and adequate water. There will be fewer diseases among many people today than what we are experiencing now.

Josephus F (1977) agrees with the Bible that man was created uniquely. The first thing he points out that shows that man was unique even at creation was this responsibility revealed as follows: "God also presented the living creatures, when he had made them, according to their kinds, both male and female, to Adam, who gave them those names by which they are still called today" (p. 25). This responsibility was not given to animals but to man because he is at a higher level of intuition than animals. After he named the animals, God authenticated them, and they are still being called the same way today everywhere around the world regardless of different languages. God respects human beings and lets them use the gifts and talents he endowed in them.

The second unique thing Josephus F (1977) points out is on the way God created a female for Adam. Adam was the first one to be created. God gave him the responsibility to name the animals which were paired as male and female. But after doing all the naming Adam, the male was still alone. What did God do to provide Adam a companion? Josephus F (1977) explains that: "He laid him asleep and took away one of his ribs, and out of it formed the woman; whereupon Adam knew her when she was brought to him, acknowledged that she was made out of himself" (p.25). Eve did not look like an animal, instead, she looked like Adam. She was not in any resemblance to the animals God had made. This is why Adam quickly accepted her as his companion.

What does the name Eve mean? Josephus (1977) has this comment: "Now a woman is called in the Hebrew tongue Issa; but the name of this woman was Eve, which signifies the mother of all living" (p. 25). Evolutionists have attempted to deduce the origin of human beings. Unfortunately, their findings are not in harmony with the Bible. The Bible teaches that the first declaration of marriage was between Adam and Eve, "Therefore a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and they shall become one flesh" (Genesis 2:24, NKJV). After this declaration, the Bible says "Now Adam knew Eve, his wife, and she conceived and bore Cain, and he said, 'I have acquired a man from the LORD'" (Genesis 4:1).

Verse 2 says: "Then she bore again, this time his brother Abel. Now Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground."

Adam knew his wife Eve means that they had sex together; and this sex was experienced after they were pronounced husband and wife by God himself. As a result of sex, Eve conceived and bore children. Genesis 5 tells us the genealogy of Adam. Unfortunately Cain killed Abel, and as a result, his genealogy was distorted. The third son of Adam was Seth, and he is the one lined up with him instead of Cain. Therefore, from Seth we have Enosh, and from Enosh we have Cainan, and from Cainan, we have Mahalalel, etc. The genealogy continues to the point that the whole world is filled with people from Adam, the first man God created. It is true therefore that Eve is the mother of all life. There is no other source for the human being. It is easier to believe in creation than to believe it evolution because it would require an extraordinary faith.

THE MEANING AND BEGINNING OF WORK

To start with, God of work planted a garden. He started by planting a garden. The Bible says: "The LORD God planted a garden eastward in Eden, there He put the man whom He had formed" (Genesis 2: 8, NKJV). The garden was not bare; he made fruits trees and vegetables to grow in it. In verse 9, the Bible says: "And out of the ground the LORD God made every tree grow that is pleasant to the sight and good for food. The tree of life was also in the midst of the garden, and tree of the knowledge of good and evil." God also provided rivers with water for crops to be nourished and for Adam and Eve to use for drinking, bathing, etc. The first river according to the Bible is Pishon as in verse 11, the second one is Gihon verse 13, and the third river is called Hiddekel verse 14, the fourth and last river is called the Euphrates in verse 14.

After God provided a garden, crops, and rivers, he announced to man what his work was. In verse 15, the Bible says: "Then the Lord God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to tend and keep it." The key phrase in the text is "to tend and keep it." This phrase spells out Adam and Eve's work in the Garden of Eden. The work did not start in the factory, at the market, at the airport, or in the office building, it started in the Garden of Eden. The work in the garden was to tend and keep the fruit trees, vegetables, that is, to dig around them, remove weeds and also to water them. Adam and Even were to care for plants and crops without causing any destruction on them. They were not to cut the trees and crops and cause them to wither. This was not part of their work. The garden was to look more beautiful than they found it. They were to transplant and produced more crops than they found them. They were given the ability to be creative.

Spence and Exell (nd) explain the meaning of work. The phrase "to dress it" according to them means "to till, cultivate, and work on it" (p. 45). They continue to explain that "even the plants, flowers, and trees of Eden stood in need of cultivation from the hand of man, and would speedily have degenerated without his attention." In other words, the fruit trees and crops in the garden depended upon the tilling and cultivation did on them by man. The man was supposed to enable the plants to grow better and look good through the care he had to

give them. We have seen in the recent past what human beings have been able to do to crops and plants to enhance their growth through grafting and soil combination. Human beings cannot make a tree or plant, but through the knowledge and wisdom God has given them, they can get better yield out of them. Many people are living in poverty, and yet if they use the plants and crops God has given them, they can increase quality and the yield. They can grow better fruits and vegetables that can generate more income for them. One time I was traveling by bus from Johannesburg to Maputo in Mozambique. I came across a huge farm with different fruits. The farm was about 10 kilometers long. There were plenty of fruits trees growing. They looked good, and I am sure the farmer made a lot of money. God wants us to utilize the soil and plants he has given us to improve our quality of life.

The phrase "and to keep it," (p. 46), what does it mean? Spence and Exell (1977) explain it this way: "Neither were the animals all so peaceful and domesticated that Adam did not need to fence his garden against their depredations. Doubtless, there is here too an ominous hint of the existence of that greater adversary against whom he was appointed to watch" (p. 46). Probably the aspect of keeping had to do with ensuring that the crops and plants are protected from weeds or any insects that might disturb its growth. It also means that Adam and Eve were to keep watching their growth which depended upon the care they were giving to them. White E. G. (1898) explains the purpose of work man was given at creation as follows: "To the dwellers of the garden, 'to dress it and to keep it.'" "Their occupation was not wearisome, but pleasant and invigorating. God appointed to labor as a blessing to man, to occupy his mind, to strengthen his body, and to develop his faculties" (p. 22). Salient phrases are not wearisome, pleasant and invigorating, a blessing to man and to strengthen his body and to develop his faculties. The brief comments on each of them as follows: The first one is not wearisome. Work was not stressful, not tiresome. It was not meant to bring pain to the human body. The second one is pleasant and invigorating. It was not discouraging but encouraging instead. It was good looking and motivating. Work was invigorating and supporting to the ego of man. The third one is a blessing to man. It was a blessing man socially, morally, emotionally, spiritually and physically. Work enabled man to earn more money to take care of financial needs. Man would not be a beggar if he went to work and used his time wisely. He gave a man 24 hours each day to utilize the way he wants. But some people because of laziness they receive a curse and not a blessing. The fourth one is to strengthen the body and develop faculties. The physical body that gets involved in labor strengthens and develop its faculties daily. The mind too is motivated to engage in other things that invigorate achievements.

The other purpose White, E.G. (1898) points out about labor is that "In mental and physical activity Adam found one of the highest pleasures of his holy existence" (p. 22). It should be emphasized that work is not the result of sin. Work was given to man before sin entered the world. Work was holy, and there were no traces of sin connected to it. Work was the highest pleasures of the mental and physical experiences of man. Work was enjoyable and the time invested into it was important. The purpose was to complete the started work so that another one can be ventured.

THE BEGINNING OF ETHICS

Ethics began with God because he himself is ethical. The Bible says this about the ethics of God: “The LORD is the source of all my righteousness and strength” (Isaiah 45:24, Life Application Study Bible). “...Noah warned the world of God’s righteous judgment” (2 Peter 2:5). “...it is because they are righteous, even as Christ is righteous” (1 John 3:7). There is no question about God’s righteousness in both the Old and New Testaments. There are incidences where God punished and destroyed especially in the Old Testament. If you study the context of incidences where God killed, it will be clear that he did so with righteousness. He is not only the God of mercy but justice. This means that if a person who knows God’s will and decides to disobey him, he will not be spared because this will be the consequences of the wrong choices. God will punish the individual in righteousness. His righteous character does not change because it is how he behaves. It is his nature.

There was a need for man to be left alone to live the way he wanted. The man was created with moral consciousness; he was created with the power of choice. The Bible reveals in Genesis 2:15 "The LORD God placed the man in the Garden of Eden to tend and care for it. But the LORD God gave him this warning: ‘You may freely eat any fruit in the garden except the fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. If you eat of its fruit, you will surely die’ (Life Application Study Bible). The warning is very clear, ‘do not eat fruits from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil’ (Genesis 3:1). The consequences of eating were also very clear, and you will surely die. Ethics was to obey God’s warning of not eating fruits from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. God trusted Adam and Eve because they were created with the ability to obey him. He did not create them like programmed street lights. He created them with the ability to choose between good and evil. He told them the consequences of choosing good and consequences of choosing evil. It was up to them to decide for themselves which way.

Unfortunately, the discourse in Genesis 3 shows that Eve was deceived by the serpent and she ate the forbidden fruit and thereafter shared with her husband Adam, he also ate. Both disobeyed God and inherited all the consequences that go along with choosing to do evil. The most evident consequence is found in Genesis 5:5 which indicate that Adam lived for 930 years and he died. Death did not only affect Adam and Eve but the whole human race regardless of location, language, and color. No one lives eternally; every person who has breath whether the president, king or health reformer will one day dies. Adam and Eve broke God's warning of eating the forbidden fruit of the knowledge of good and evil. This obedience has brought all the calamities and sufferings we are experiencing today.

THE THEOLOGICAL MEANING OF WORK IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Bible addresses all aspects of human life including work itself. The focus is on what the Bible teaches about work in the Old and New Testaments. In the Old Testament, Elwell W.A

(1996) explains the meaning of work from Genesis 1:26-28 as follows: "Work has, therefore, an extremely wide scope, but the theological point is central: human beings are called to imitation dei (imitation of God) through work. It is not to be drudgery but glory. The assumption, of course, is that work will be done in response to the divine will." God worked in creating this world; therefore, human beings should imitate him by working. The other reason is that man was created in God's image. This means that he looks and behaves like God. God expects him to use time wisely and to work as he worked. Work will not be drudgery but a glory. In other words, work is not a curse but a blessing.

But just as they reject God and his teachings, humans see work as a punishment. They have resorted to shun work, and in the process because of the needs of shelter, food, clothes, etc., they delve into corrupt ways to acquire them. They forget that there is no other way of earning a living except through work. The more one works, the more he acquires material things. Those who are not able to work hard to earn a living become jealous and breed hatred on those who work. In the African context, these are the people who involve themselves in magic practices and witchcraft. They use these things to deceive people and sometimes to bewitch those who are better than themselves. The solution to healthier and prosperous lives is to work. As long as we are alive and healthy, we should keep working, and with the Lord's blessings, we shall have everything we need.

The second theological meaning of work according to Elwell W. A. (1977) is the utilization of the earth and the things found on it. He puts it this way: "One of the prime tasks God gives Adam and Eve is the cultivation of the earth and the classification of the species of wildlife (Genesis 2:5, Genesis 2:12 and Genesis 2:20, nd). One farmer who used to grow maize on his farm and used to make lots of money said to his neighbor. "If you can use the land you have properly, you can buy an airplane." It sounded a joke, but it is true that if one cultivates the soil properly and grows food in large quantities, he will be able to earn a lot of money to buy anything. The other thing is that of rearing animals such as cattle, goats, sheep, etc. There are many people who rear thousands of cattle, goats, and sheep today and they make a lot of money. They started rearing very few of these animals, but they have many now because they took good care of them. They kept multiplying until they reached thousands of them. There is no magic in multiplying animals. It is the care that is taken on them that helps to have a lot. Thirdly, Elwell W. A. (1977) examines the Biblical texts about work. He states: "The creation texts confer sanctity on work. God is involved in work. Human beings have the responsibility and privilege of virtually replicating the works of God." God who is all knowing, who has no beginning and end, created this world in six literal days according to Genesis 1 & 2. In the six days he created, work is included. Work is sacred as God himself is sacred. God values work because he works himself and created humans to be like him in terms of work. The idea of shunning work is fallen in the minds of God. God did not end work at creation, and he continues to work even today to provide the necessity of human beings such as rains and the salvation for mankind. Therefore, human beings must value work because it is a privilege to do so. Many people who are experiencing poverty are poor right in their minds. They have the wrong attitude about work in their minds. But if they become motivated about work in their minds, they will work and dispel poverty in their lives.

Fourthly is the effect of the fall. Elwell W. A (1977) put it this way: "Sin transformed human work. The judgment of God affects the material world: Adam's efforts to extract a living from it are met by its resistance and his sweat (Genesis 3:17-19). The perspective of humanity has also been altered. The first couple's eyes have been opened to the reality of evil (Gen 3:7, nd). In other words, sin affected work so much that it changed from being enjoyable to sweat. Unfortunately, the effects of sin on work have spread to the rest of humanity which no longer see the dignity of work. They want materials things without hard work and sweat. They have failed to earn a living in a proper way but through corrupt means. And those who labor to earn a living are being robbed and sometimes being killed by those who are lazy and do toil as hard as others do. There is a need to recognize the effects of sin on work and take a deliberate stance to work hard in order to survive. We cannot change the way things are in the world today. The best approach to keep toiling and, with the Lord's blessing, we shall succeed in our duties since God did not forsake human after sin because he made a provision for them through the death of Jesus Christ on the cross for their sins.

The fifth theological meaning of work in the Old Testament is the one drawn from Exodus 20:3-17. It deals with the Ten Commandments God penned with his own fingers for his people first the Israelites and then all the people of the world then and today. Elwell Ibid (1977) writes: "Exodus states that the Sabbath command is based on the pattern of divine work and rest in Genesis (Exodus 20:8-11). The Israelites are thus an image of God in their alternation of work and rest." The theological principal is the relationship God established between work and rest. God himself at creation started by working for six literal days, and at the end, he rested. In six days he created the entire universe that we know today. But on the seventh-day, he rested from all his works. He was not resting from being tired, but that before he rested the work that he was doing was completed. He set the seventh-day as the day of rest. This simply means that human beings must value and respect the command of working for six days. There should be no need to lazy around. Every one whether employed or not must find something to do to earn a living. No one should be a parasite on other people. Poverty will be alleviated if everybody can heed God's command of working for six days. Then on the seventh-day everybody should honor the day by worshiping God, thanking him for creating this world and providing work.

What about the results of the work, how should they be used? Elwell Ibid (1977) reveals: "The results of the work are clearly brought within the religious sphere. The law of tithe is a recognition that the strength to work comes from God alone, as do the rewards of working the land. Moreover, it is also a recognition that the fruits of work must be shared with the less fortunate, particularly the foreigner, the widow, and the orphan (Deut 14:22-29; 26:12-15). This is the sixth theological meaning of work. The first lesson from this theological principle is the tithe God requires every person who works to return to him as taught in Malachi 3. The tithe is one tenth of income. For example, if the income of James is \$1000.00, one tenth of this is \$100.00. This one tenth is to be given to church so that she can use it for costs related to the spreading of the gospel to the whole world. The pastors for the example who are engaged in preaching the gospel can be supported financially. The most important lesson to be emphasized according to Elwell W.A. (1977) is that every worker must recognize that the strength he/she uses to gain wealth or riches comes from God. Therefore, in returning tithe, it

symbolizes the recognition that everything human beings have or will have comes from God. And if every worker can recognize this theological principal, there will be enough money in the church coffers to carry out the work of God in this world.

What the second lesson from the theological principal Elwell W.A.(1977) brings out is the assistance to be given to the needy people such as orphans, by everybody who works. The money that remains after paying tithe should some of it be given to the poor orphans, widow and widowers because some of them are not poor. God will bless everyone who remembers the poor from his or her earnings. God says in Acts 20:35 that "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Someone also said that "People who give are happy people." Life is short in this world; therefore, it should be lived to make an impact in other people, especially those who are in need.

The seventh theological principle Elwell Ibid (1977) points out is the one that deals with churches where people worship God. He reveals as follows: "Israel constructs a tabernacle for the divine presence, to bring as it were, heaven to earth (Exodus 25-40). This symbol of God at the center of life is crucial for human work. When Israel is on the verge of entering the Promised Land, she is reminded through the Shema (Deut 6:4-9) to keep God at the center of her existence in all that she does. God's love is not only to be placed between the eyes; it is also to be placed on the hands." It is important that human beings should all work. Some of their money should be contributed to the building of churches. The churches symbolize God's dwelling place on earth just like he resides in heaven. People who build churches are making God the center of their lives. They further recognize that they cannot be successful without God dwelling among them. Therefore, the earnings from their duties should be given to the building of the churches in all communities' people live, so they use them to worship God. And if they go to church, it signifies that everything they are engaged in God will be the center. He will not bless their lives but the works they are involved in.

The eighth theological meaning of work is the one Elwell Ibid (1977) points out derived from the book of Psalms. It is from Psalm 104:23 which states that "humanity is assigned the task of work by the Creator. This means taking God-like dominion over the natural order. But work that is done without a focus on God is like building a house in vain or guarding a city uselessly (Psalm 127:1-2)." It is actually a privilege to have worked because all of it comes from God. Since work comes from God, it should be performed according to God's will. It should impact positively the person engaged in it and the people he or she influences. The worker should not be selfish but should demonstrate unselfish practices for benefits of others as well as her or himself. Laziness and corruption at work not be condoned.

In wisdom literature such as in Prov 10:4; 21:25 and 13:4; 12:11, Elwell Ibid. (1977) Discovers that "Laziness leads to poverty and even death. Diligence, on the other hand, results in life. The life of crime, a shortcut to prosperity, is condemned as moral suicide (Prov 1:9-20). In everything it is to be remembered that it is the Lord's blessing that produces true wealth; hard work cannot make a person any richer (Prov 10:22)." Some rich people who are hard working but do not have God in their lives. They do not have the blessings of the Lord. Their riches lead them to do things that are detrimental to their lives. Sometimes as common

practices in Africa, some end up consulting spirits or sometimes they become witches. They attribute the seeming blessings they receive to satanic practice even when it is the Lord who provides them the riches. They sometimes pay huge sums of money to those whom they believe were the ones who were making them rich.

THE MEANING AND VALUE OF ETHICS TO HUMAN BEINGS

God did not just provide work to human beings; he also provided ethical standards that would guide them in carrying out their work meaningfully. Firstly, it is important to define ethics. What is ethics? The Oxford dictionary argues that when ethics is treated as a plural, it means moral principles that govern a person's behavior or the conducting of an activity. These principles are morally accepted, and each person consciously decides to use them to guide his/her behavior. For example, if a person is faced with the temptation of stealing someone's property, he will not allow himself to succumb to it because the moral principles that guide him/her will be the ones to help him/her not to steal. The behavior exhibited will be the one in harmony with the moral principles. Another example is the moral principles guiding the behavior at work. A cook, who cooks food for many people, goes to use the toilet and without washing hands, he continues to cook because he knows that he will not eat the food he cooks but others will do. He will serve contaminated food, and people may get sick. This behavior is unethical, and it is morally wrong. Unfortunately today there is a lot of unethical behavior that takes place. God who is all wise did not just create human beings without ethical standards. He revealed to them the ethical principles that would guide their behavioral.

The Oxford Dictionary further states that in singular terms ethics is the branch of knowledge that deals with moral principles. Since human beings inherited moral consciousness from God at the time of creation, they are always searching to understand what is morally right and morally wrong. Today ethics has become a branch of knowledge that deals with principles of morality. A lot of books have been written on ethics. The only problem is that ethics has just become head knowledge. Ethics and its knowledge should guide people's behavior. People were using the time and talents they have ethically, and they would not be grappling with poverty. They would be grappling with what to do with the surplus riches they have through the proper use of time and upholding principles of ethics.

Another definition of ethics that is important to take note comes from Webster Dictionary as follows: "The discipline dealing with what is good and bad and with moral duty and obligation." Ethics is discipline, meaning that it has its own specific parameters of the study, focusing on what is morally good and morally bad. Ethicists work in collaboration with societies and communities of people in order to arrive at what is generally accepted as morally good and morally bad. There are variations on how people define what is morally good and morally bad, hence the need to consult with an expert on how they view what is morally good and morally bad. In addition to this, they stress the moral duty and obligation people have to uphold so that it will not only be theoretical knowledge but a guide in their behavior daily. Unfortunately, it is difficult to change or transform people's behavior from

what they are used to. One of the ways to try to influence good behavior in people is to teach them how good it is to uphold good moral values by forsaking the ones that are bad.

If people out of their own volition inculcate good moral principles in their behavior, it is better than forcing them. Good ethics and bad ones are engraved into people's well being and their manner of life. Ethical principles when they are people's behavior are from within the individual. What does this mean? It means that a person who is morally right or morally bad is so from deep in his heart. They do what is bad and good because they already know. This is why the best time to inculcate good morals in people when they are young. If the parents are practicing good morals, it means their children will do the same through what they have observed from their parents. They will reflect the same behavior which they have seen their parents display.

The Stedman's Medical Dictionary (n.d) defines ethics as "the rules or standards governing the conduct of a person or the conduct of the members of a profession." Every person or profession has rules that govern their conduct. Let us take the medical profession for example in medicine every health worker is not just taught the medical code of ethics. He is expected to put into practice what he was taught on a daily basis. Patients are difficult people to handle, and they cannot be handled anyhow. One of the ethical codes of conduct for a medical worker is confidentiality. Whatever private information patients share with the medical worker should be kept as confidential as possible unless for the purposes of using the information to arrive at better medical treatment.

Every person too has rules that govern his/her conduct. The only hindrance is the type of rules that govern them. Some rules are ethically sound, while others are not. It means that those who are governed by unethical codes will not be ethical because the rules they uphold are already unethical. It is therefore important to make sure that ethical codes are in harmony with what is ethically accepted. The Bible rules are an example of good ethical codes. They were established by God who is ethically sound, and his character is impeccable and holy. He is perfect in all his ways. Jeremiah, the Prophet attests to this when he says: "THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS" (Jeremiah 23:7, NKJV). In fact, all ethical codes of people must be framed in such a way that they are in line with what is embedded in the Holy Scriptures.

What is the difference between ethics and morality? Wiktionary dictionary (n.d) attempts to differentiate the two as follows: "Although the terms ethics and morality may sometimes be used interchangeably, philosophical ethicists often distinguish them in the following manner, ethics refer to theories and conceptual studies relating to good and evil, right and wrong, morality and its related terms refer to actual, real-world beliefs and practices concerning proper conduct." Ethics is the theoretical study of what is good and evil and right and wrong. Its main focus is on the academic understanding of the term ethics. Morality, on the other hand, is focused on the actual content of what is good and evil and what is right and wrong. It also investigates the actual beliefs of what people in a given location consider to be right and wrong. In other words, the community determines what contains right and wrong. Thus is because what right and wrong are relative to a situation.

In business too, ethics is involved. Webster's New World Telecom Dictionary 2010 reveals that business ethics deal with ethics in business and with the constant process of optimizing profitability in the context of what is right and what is wrong. Unfortunately, some business men and women just want to maximize profit even when what they are doing is morally wrong. It is important to focus on doing what is good in business. Cheating in business is unethical and should be avoided all the time. God hates those who cheat in business. Here is a Biblical counsel to any business man or woman who diverts from the acceptable norm: "You shall have a perfect and just weight, a perfect and just measure, that your days may be lengthened in the land which the LORD your God is giving you. For all who do such things, all who behave unrighteously, are an abomination to the LORD your God" (Deuteronomy 25:15&16, NKJV).

HOW TO INTEGRATE WORK AND ETHICS IN A WORK PLACE

Work is not foreign to human beings. The Bible in Genesis 2: 15 reveals to us that work was given to human beings by God before sin entered the world. It is important to stress the point that God created human beings who were ethical. In Genesis 3 before Adam and Eve, our first parents sinned, God, told them what is ethical and how to uphold ethics throughout their life. He created a garden for them and the rules that were to govern their stay there. But unfortunately, they transgressed the ethical code that he had given to them. Paul, the apostle in Romans 2 & 3, reveals how the sin of Adam and Eve spread to all human beings. We have all become unethical as a result of sin from Adam and Eve. In Romans 3: 10, the Bible says: "There is none righteous, no, not one; and verse 11 says: "There is none who understands; there is none who seeks after God" (NKJV).

Leandro Valente (n.d), in his works Published in "IT Professional, MBA, Cyber Security MSc student @ NCI, MCSA ITIL came up with ten golden rules to being professional in service to your organization as follows:

1. Always strive for excellence: This is the first rule to achieve greatness in whatever endeavor you undertake, this is the quality that makes you and your work stand-out. Excellence is a quality of service which is unusually good and so surpasses ordinary standards it should be made a habit for it to make a good impression on your bosses and colleagues." Some employees in organizations end up being out of work because their outputs are mediocrity. They do not meet dead-lines, and the work they produce is of substandard. They always blame others for their failures. Their bosses try to help them but after some attempts to redeem they eventually release them from their duties.
2. Be trustworthy: In today's society trust is something rare and any employee who exhibits trustworthiness is on a fast track to professionalism. No employer is willing to lose a worker who is trustworthy. I know of a commercial farmer whose workers belong to my church. He has not terminated their jobs because they are trustworthy. But other workers who are not church goers are not trustworthy. They steal his produce such as maize, groundnuts, sunflower, Irish and sweet potatoes, etc. It has now become his policy to employ farm laborers who are church goers.
3. Be accountable: To be accountable is to stand tall and be counted for what actions you have undertaken. This is taking responsibility for your actions and its consequences

whether good or bad. Fortunately, accountability is not only to employees but also to employers. In fact, accountability requires honest. I read on an organization Johnson & Johnson Company in 1986 that used to manufacture Tylenol in the United States of America. At one time some Tylenol was mistakenly mixed with some poisonous chemicals. That company did not keep quiet; they recalled all the Tylenol batches and discarded it. They manufactured the one without poisonous chemicals and redistributed it. The action the company took to safeguard their customers gained them respect, and they recovered all the money they had lost through the decision they made to discard the tempered Tylenol. This is accountability.

4. Be courteous and respectful: Courteousness is being friendly, polite and well mannered with a gracious consideration towards others. In my few years I have lived in this world, I have discovered that everybody needs to be respected regardless of their status in society. I learned something from the former Vice President of Andrews University who was courteous even to students.
5. Be honest, open and transparent: Honesty is a facet of the moral character that connotes positive and virtuous attributes such as truthfulness, straightforwardness, loyalty, fairness, sincerity, openness in communication and generally operating in a way for others to see what actions are being performed." Workers who are honest and transparent may lose their jobs. Employers who are honest and transparent are successful in managing well their employees. If for example organizations they manage to face some challenges, the employees will rally behind their employer to solve the problem. Employees too will be honest and usually, the organization grows to benefit the employer and the employees.
6. Be competent and improve continually: Competence is the ability of an individual to do a job properly. It is a combination of knowledge, skills, and behavior used to improve performance. For an employer to gain respect from his employees, he/she must be competent. He/she should be a person of one idea but many ideas. A competent employer is not afraid of employing workers who are also competent. Therefore, it is important to have in an organization or company an employer and employees who are competent because they will complement each other on the jobs. Competent employees need little or no supervision. The employer, therefore, can focus on bigger issues of the organization.
7. Always be ethical: Ethical behavior is acting within certain moral codes in accordance with the generally accepted code of conduct or rules. It is also an important principle to have in work places. The employer and employees should display ethical behavior in the way they carry out their jobs. There will be less friction and complaints between employer and employees when ethical behaviors are upheld. Both employer and employees will be happy.
8. Always be honorable and act with integrity: Honorable action is behaving in a way that portrays 'nobility of soul, magnanimity, and a scorn of meanness' which is derived from virtuous conduct and personal integrity. For an organization to grow and keep making an impact in society, it needs employers and employees who are men and women of integrity. Unfortunately, many employees and employers lack honorable acts with integrity. But if they can strive for integrity, their work environment will be a blessing to everybody.

9. Be respectful of confidentiality: Confidentiality is respecting the set of rules or promise that restricts you from further and unauthorized dissemination of information. There are always issues that affect employers and employees in organizations. It is very important to handle the issues of employees and employers with ultimate confidentiality. If the issues are handled with confidentiality trust will improve, and employers and employees will feel safe as they carry out their jobs. But if there is no confidentiality, it brings uncertainty and lack of safety in a work environment.
10. Set a good example: Applying the foregoing rules helps you improve your professionalism with your organization, but it is not complete until you impact knowledge on those around and below you. It is important to live an exemplary life in an organization. The employer is crucial to living an exemplary life because he/she set the pace for everybody in an organization. If the leader is exemplary, then everybody else will fall suit.

Jenkins A. (n.d) in <https://www.scu.edu/ethical-decision-making> further wrote five factors that demonstrate a strong work ethic. She writes: "A strong work ethic is vital to a company achieving its goals. Every employee, from CEO to entry-level workers, must have a good work ethic to keep the company functioning at its peak. A work ethic is a set of moral principals an employee uses in his job. Certain factors come together to create a strong work ethic." It is important for employers and employees to demonstrate good work ethics to enable the company to strive and make profits. If good ethics are not upheld, anyone can do anything for the company such as stealing, and when that happens, there will be no accountability. The company cannot operate for a long time because is resources are open to abuse. Many companies have fallen for lack of good ethic, but those who develop good ethic succeed and prosper. Here are the five factors that demonstrate strong work ethics:

1. Integrity stretches to all aspects of an employee's job. An employee with integrity fosters trusting relationships with clients, coworkers, and supervisors. Merriam Dictionary (1892) defines integrity as "the quality of being honest and fair." An employee who is a person of integrity is honest and trustworthy and performs the duties with quality. Such a worker of integrity requires little or no supervision. He/she is self-disciplined, starts work on time, and there is no rush at the time of knocking off because what matters in not the time but the job to be done. If organizations and companies hired employees who are men and women of integrity, their output would increase and would attract prospective employees to come and work. The future of the company or organization and their employees would be encouraging.
2. The sense of responsibility-A strong sense of responsibility affects how an employee works and the amount of work she does. When the employee feels personally responsible for her job performance, she shows up on time, puts in her best effort and completes projects to the best of her ability. Unfortunately, there are few workers that have a sense of responsibility today. Most of them do not care; they only become responsible when the boss is available. When the boss is not there, they go to work late and knock off earlier than the usual time of knocking off. The jobs they do is mediocre, and production is almost at a standstill. It is very important to have employees who cherish responsibility.

3. Emphasis on quality-some employees do only the bare minimum, just enough to keep their job intact. Employees with a strong work ethic care about the quality of their work. Jenkins A (n.d) further argues that some employees just maintain their status quo. There is no sense of agency in their work. They are careless. Employees can emphasize the quality of their work by having a strong sense of ethics. The strong sense of ethics comes from accepting Jesus and his teachings. It is important, therefore, to introduce employees to Jesus and his teachings so that Jesus will help them to have a strong sense of ethics. Without this connection to Jesus, it would be impossible to have employees whose work or output would emphasize quality.
4. Discipline-it takes a certain level of commitment to finish your tasks every day. An employee with good discipline stays focused on his goals and is determined to complete his assignments. Merriam Dictionary (1892) defines discipline as a way of behaving that shows a willingness to obey rules or orders. It is important to have employees who have a positive attitude towards their work. It does not matter whether the job is hard or big, it will be done because the employees are disciplined and committed to working hard. Unfortunately, many employees in many organization lack discipline, and sometimes they end up stealing some of the resources from where they work.
5. The sense of teamwork-most employees has to work together to meet a company's objectives. An employee with a high sense of teamwork helps a team meet its goals and deliver quality work. Running a university, for example, requires team work. A University can hardly thrive if there is no team work among employees and administrators. Students should be cared for in every phase of the university. For example, the cafeteria department should prepare palatable meals for students to eat on time so that they are not late for classes. Lecturers too, must arrive at the classrooms on time and deliver quality lectures to the students. Quizzes and examination must be given at the agreed time and marked and grades submitted at the appropriate time. These same lecturers must be paid on time otherwise they will stop teaching and then frustrate the students. It is really important to work as a team.

This is echoed further by Lawrence G. J.D (n.d) when he writes a list of good ethics by employees. Good ethics is demonstrated by workers when they feel that the organization they work for is meeting their needs. They are not even forced by employers to be ethical, and their ethics is a way of life. They are determined to grow the organization as they are also growing individually and professionally from it. Here is a list of good ethics for employees:

1. Reliability- a reliable employee is punctual, follows through on his tasks and shows up ready to work. The key here is reliability. An employee who is reliable is dependable. There are many employees who have qualified academically and sometimes even experienced but are very unreliable. Some people end up moving from one job to another. It does not take time for their employers to know that they are not reliable they are always fired from their jobs.
2. Positive and helpful character: Small businesses often have a close, tightly knit, familial atmosphere. It is natural to experience some growing pains or rough days. But employees who are positive are influential and an encouragement to others. They motivate others to be positive workers as well. It is important for employers to keep

motivating all employees especially those who are positive. Some of the ways of motivating them are simply to appreciate the services they render to the organization.

3. Proper communication: Employees must communicate effectively and understand the difference between constructive criticism and destructive griping. Related to interpersonal skills is an employee's outward appearance. Most times and most employees are negative towards work and their employers. Sometimes when they communicate with their employers, they express their ill feelings, instead of communicating the real issues that affect them. They lack good ethics, as a result, the employers do not know what would help them. If through constructive criticisms the system is helped, the employees also will benefit. Therefore, communication is not just for the sake of doing it; it is for growing the organization and the employees.
4. Altruistic and goal-oriented: Good employees are often altruistic and goal-oriented. While receiving a paycheck is a strong motivator, a good work ethic is also putting yourself aside to work toward the greater good of the company as a whole. Merriam Dictionary (1892) defines altruism as feelings and behavior that show a desire to help other people and a lack of selfishness. Employees with good ethics are looking at a bigger picture of the company and its mission. They want the company to keep thriving by making profits and employing more employees. Those with good ethic are unselfish. They cannot let the bad things happen in the company they work for. They want to correct the wrong things so that good thing can happen for the benefit of everybody in the company.

Duggan T. (n.d) in his article "Work Ethics, Attitude & Productivity" also spells out some standards that can keep the company focused on its mission of providing quality services to its customers. Customers are very sensitive, and their views should always be respected. Duggan T (n.d) outlines the following:

1. Respect and communication: By demanding that all employees value other's opinions, treat customers with dignity and recognize cultural diversity. Companies ensure that employees show respect in the workplace. If employees have a negative attitude toward other employees because they come from a different culture, productivity tends to decrease. Respect is something that is based on attitude. It is important especially in a work situation to respect each person's contribution regardless of tribal, nationality, religion, etc. If this respect is promoted especially by employers to employees, productivity will be evident; the company will grow.
2. Cooperation and teamwork: Effective managers foster cooperation and collaboration by involving subordinates in decision-making meetings. By developing skills in conflict management, these managers help minimize disruptions in productivity. Managers who involve subordinates in decision making are wise because subordinates are the ones who do the actual work of the company they are the ones that specialized. Employers must ask them how the work is and how it can improve. In fact, it is important to once a while meeting the workforce, listen to their issues and ask them to give a suggestion on how those issues can be solved. Many employers miss this opportunity of creating a good working relationship by imposing on the employee's things they determine themselves

from their stand point. The reason they do this is their negative attitude towards the workers.

3. Appearance and character: Employees who demonstrate a positive attitude toward their job typically respect company rules and follow the company's dress code, obey safety procedures, adhere to ethical standards and exercise self-discipline at all times. It is true that an employee who is motivated has a positive attitude and the results of this will be seen in appearance and character displayed at work place. In addition to this, such an employee will seriously obey the rules of the company because he wants to contribute to the growth of it.
4. Attendance and Organization: By arriving on time and leaving at the scheduled time, effective employees usually produce the work they were hired to complete. Repeated unexplained absences or missed appointments reduce productivity, which tends to affect the rest of the organization. The reason some employees come to work on time is to increase the productivity of the company they work for while they are securing themselves jobs. Other employees who do not come to work on time, they reduce the productivity of the company they work for and indirectly are terminating themselves from employment. No employer will keep employees when the company he owns is not productive. Therefore, it is important for employers and employees to work together for the purpose of job security. Unfortunately, most employees do not see that their laissez faire attitude destroy the company and themselves.

WORK AND ETHICS

Work and ethics come from God. There is a neat connection between work and ethics. God created in his unique abilities to be all knowing and eternal. Work and ethics do not stand alone; they must be viewed as one. Good work becomes one because the person who carries it has good ethics. An ethical person is one because his ethics is seen in the work he performs. It is also true that bad workers not cherish good ethics in his life. A bad ethical person is seen in the work he performs. The work he performs is not up to standard. He is usually poor, and if he is wealthy, he obtained his wealth through unethical means. He does not use his time wisely, and he becomes a burden to his relatives.

Psalm 104: 13-15 reveals how God provides essential things to human beings that can enable them to work. A gardener, for example, cannot do gardening without God providing land, water and enabling power. A gardener can prepare the land for the seeds, he can water and apply some manure, but he is powerless in causing germination and growth of the plant. It is God who brings about germination and growth all the way to maturity. A builder cannot build without land, water and the enabling power God gives to the builder. The builder too needs sustenance in order for him to continue functioning. All this come from God who sustains life. The list of what God does to humans in order for them to work is endless. This is why the Psalmist declares: "You send rain on the mountains from your heavenly home, and you fill the earth with the fruit of your labor. You cause grass to grow for the cattle. You cause plants to grow for the people to use. You allow them to produce food from the earth, wine to

make them glad, olive oil as a lotion for their skin, and bread to give them strength" (Life Application Study Bible).

King Solomon, the wise man who ever lived, drew lessons from ants after observing how they take work seriously. The main lesson he learned from them is that they are not lazy but hard working. Hardworking and consistence at work made them wealthy. They overcame poverty through hard work. There is no magic about ants having riches and enjoying life. They do not go to the witchdoctor to gain riches magically. They simply worked hard, and through sweat and persistence, they became rich.

Solomon says take a lesson from the ants, you lazybones. Learn from their ways and be wise! Even though they have no prince, governor, or ruler to make them work, they labor hard all summer, gathering food for the winter. But you, lazybones, how long will you sleep? When will you wake up? I want you to learn this lesson. A little extra sleep, a little more slumber, a little folding of the hands to rest—and poverty will pounce on you like a bandit, and scarcity will attack you like an armed robber" (Proverbs 6:6-11).

Oversleeping is one of the things King Solomon rebukes. It is important to sleep normally that is about 6 to 8 hours per night. Too much sleeping can lead us not to have enough time to work. If we do not put much time to work, we will be poor if we are farmers we will not produce more food. It is therefore important to stop oversleeping and concentrate on our jobs. God does not bless a person who is lazy, who just spends his time sleeping and doing nothing. But the one who plans and works can receive God's blessings.

King Solomon in Ecclesiastes 2:10 explains the joys of his life. He writes: "Anything I wanted, I took. I did not restrain myself from any joy. I even found great pleasure in hard work, an additional reward for all my labors". He found great pleasure in hard work. Lazy people do not find pleasure in hard work. Hard work for the lazy people is painful, and as a result of this, they find work difficult to do psychologically even when it is not. My experience of studying as a student was difficult when I started. But over the years interest developed, I found it to be enjoyable. Today I spend many hours studying it is longer difficult because am used to do it. What makes the difference is a positive mind set, persistence, and hard work. This pleasure in hard work can be experienced by anyone who is positive and hardworking.

The apostle Paul in the New Testament exhorted proper living among his converts. He did not promote an improper way of living. What is this proper way of living he was promoting among believers? 2 Thessalonians 3:6-8 Paul states:

And now, dear brothers and sisters, we give you this command with the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ: Stay away from any Christian who lives in idleness and doesn't follow the tradition of hard work we gave you. For you know that you ought to follow our example. We were never lazy when we were with you. We never accepted food from anyone without paying for it. We worked hard day and night so that we would not be a burden to any of you.

Unfortunately, according to the Apostle Paul's revelation, there are also some Christians who are idle and are not hard working. He admonished other Christians to stay away from those Christians who are idle. Being a Christians does not make one hardworking automatically. Anyone can work hard. Sometimes Christians become jealous of non-Christians who are wealthy. Those non-Christians are wealthier than Christians because they simply work hard. They toil day and night, and the Lord blesses them with riches. Jesus explains this issue of God being impartial as he sends rain to his people. He sends an equal amount of rain to both the Christians and non Christians. Here is what he said: "But I say, love your enemies! Pray for those who persecute you! In that way, you will be acting as true children of your Father in heaven. For he gives his sunlight to both the evil and good, and he sends rain on the just and on the unjust, too" (Matthew 5:44-45).

The Apostle Paul is also writing to young pastor Timothy advised the elders of the churches about the importance of providing for their families especially those living in their households. In other words, he admonishes the elders to stop being lazy and to start working hard so that they have the means to feed their families. If they continue being lazy, they will have nothing to take care of their families. It required hard work on the part of the elders. Here is Paul's specific advice: "But those who won't care for their own relatives, especially those living in the same household, have denied what we believe. Such people are worse than unbelievers" (1 Timothy 5:8). In other words, Paul has stressed the point that unbelievers are bad, but those elders of the church who cannot provide for their families, especially the immediate ones, are worse than the unbelievers. Where is their Christianity, if Christianity cannot enable them to feed their families? It seems like such actions by believers is unredeemable. They have reached the bottom of their uselessness.

David the King, who wrote the Psalms, spent some time to appreciate God's work. He wrote: "His work is honorable and glorious ..." (Psalm 111:3, NKJV). He was not forced to declare these words. He saw the works of God, and he declared that it was honorable and glorious. Indeed God's work is honorable and glorious. Look at the animals, trees, skies, and even human beings were made by God who is honorable, that is why his works are also honorable. Some people make a mistake of worshipping creation instead of the creator. This is a big mistake and should not be condoned. There is a difference between creation and creator. His works, when we admire them energizes us to want to worship him.

The Apostle Paul writing to his believers in Thessalonica advised them on the importance of working. His advice was so strong that those who do not work should not eat. He says: "For even when we were with you, we commanded you this: If anyone will not work, neither shall he eat" (2 Thessalonians 3:10, NKJV). The advice is clear and straightforward. Anyone who does not work should not eat. We have a lot of people who are lazy, who do not work, who eat other people's foods. Giving them food is to encourage them to be lazy. Those of our relatives who do not work should eat on condition that they work. It should not be regarded as punishment; it is a way of helping them to realize the need for them to work. This is more crucial to those who are young because if they continue to receive free things when they grow up, they will not be responsible enough to take care of their families. It is important to make

them work now before they eat so that when they grow, they will be responsible parents who will take care of their families.

Since God created work and values it, at the very beginning of creating this world, he specified how many days humans must work. He declared: "Six days you shall labor and do all your work" (Exodus 20:9). The days to work are specified and if human work or labor for six days, they will not be poor anymore. The problem we have among ourselves is not working. Some work for less than six days and they do not get much wealth. But if they can work for eight hours each day for six days, they make more money for themselves and their relatives. God is wise, thus why he stipulates how many days and hours people should work. This is what I call love. But many people think this is a punishment, it is not, and work should be a way of life.

Why is it that many houses are decaying and leaking today? Many people live in houses that are rotting and leaking. You find a well built house, but the walls are being eaten by termites. The roofs especially the ones with the ceiling in them have black spots on them because they are leaking. There was a house my wife, and I lived in some few years ago, the ants were coming out of the foundation crawling everywhere in the house eating food remains. Sometimes they eat foods that we had left. King Solomon argues: "Because of laziness the building decays and through idleness of hands the house leaks" (Ecclesiastes 10:18, Ibid). Those who are building, especially those who hire people to build, should have close supervision of the builders; otherwise, their houses will decay and keep leaking. Laziness and idleness can cause lots of pain to innocent people who did not know their builders were not men and women of integrity.

King Solomon gives another insight about people who work and those who do not work become in society. He writes: "The hand of the diligent will rule, but the lazy man will be put to forced labor" (Proverbs 12:24, Ibid). What causes the difference between the two? The difference is that the one who is diligent and hard working becomes a ruler naturally. People respect him for his creativity and hard working. He commands respect because he is not a beggar. Who would want to be led by a beggar? A lady would equally not want to be married to someone who is a beggar, someone who is not diligent. The difference with the other person is laziness. A lazy person is not a leader. He cannot lead anyone. In fact to keep him working; he has to be forced to work. If a lazy person is left alone without supervision, he will not work, and if he works, the results are more damaging than what he does. Therefore, it is important to deploy heavy supervision on the one who is lazy in order for the works to be done.

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