



IBUISC '17

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS

CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

**International Balkan University
4th International Student Congress**

“The Creation of the New World in a Globalized Era”

**Legal, Political, Economic, Social, Psychological, Educational, Artistic and
Engineering Aspects**

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EDITORS:

Visar Ramadani, Secretary-General of International Balkan University
Dukica Pavlovikj, President of Organizational Committee

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Jetmir Jakupi

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FOREWORD

International Balkan University (IBU), established in 2006, is a foundation university. Our University is located in Skopje with its enriched traditions as well as with advantages from geographical location, diversity of culture, background and religion, and it is a truly international university with students of multifaceted culture and variety.

As the beacon of the importance we attach to the quality of education for the leaders of future and carrying the banner of internationalism by functioning under Erasmus+ and Mevlana Exchange Programs, we here welcome the students from various countries in connection with numerous symposiums and congresses. We, thus, believe that such academic and friendly interactions will further encourage the learning quality. We have so far welcomed and educated considerable number of foreign students through Erasmus+ and Mevlana Programs, believing that such events surely serve equal benefits for all those involved.

To give a striking example, three from the above mentioned congresses were organized in the last three years, firstly by the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, and in the last year the International Student Congress was joined by the Faculty of Communications and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences with selfless efforts of our foreign students from a variety of countries. This year the congress is organized at university level, including all faculties and study programs, which gives the Congress even bigger significance and magnitude. What is more fascinating is that this year we have over 80 participants from 35 different countries and we are preparing this congress with even bigger enthusiasm under the spirit of cooperation.

Taking this opportunity, I should underline that we are pleased to welcome you all as our students who are tomorrow's leaders from different countries and universities to participate in the Congress. I truly believe in your success!

Best Regards,

Prof. Dr. İsmail Kocayusufođlu
Rector of International Balkan University



IBUISC '17

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS

“The Creation of the New World in a Globalized Era”

Stream:

Communications

Traditional Media vs. Social Media

Adea Hasi¹

Elda Bakalli²

Abstract:

Traditional Media and social media are two opposite sides of the term media. Traditional Media means media used before but also still being used- television, radio, newspapers, magazines and other print publications while social media means the new generation of media, facebook, twitter, instagram and so on. Traditional media institutions are centralized and communicate with one-way technologies to a (generally anonymous) mass audience, and there is no way for feedback, you just take the information and you choose how to deal with it. But, now in the internet era and globalization period, social media is making a revolution. Social media, called the new or digital media means mostly the online media. It includes social networks, email advertisements, content marketing, pay per click advertising and search engine optimization. Social media save your time, in case of using for business and they increase the chance of reaching the mass of consumers, they give you the chance for feedback, they make the life easier, connect you with the rest of the world and give the chance to communicate freely. Traditional media is more expensive than the social media and deals with anonymous audience while social media has the chance to target the audience, to analyze and then to take actions. Still might say that both of these media are very important, and there should be found equilibrium between these two. They can be more important in a specific sphere or in a specific period of life, but they continue to take an important role in our information system.

Introduction

Within a social structure there are many factors that influence how individuals view others and themselves. As an example, an individual's social class, cultural beliefs and commitment to religion will influence how that person functions within a social structure. While all of these factors and many more control the way we function within society, the most power influence is the media. With the ability to impact our everyday

¹ IPSE College, Kosovo [adea.96@hotmail.com]

² South East European University, Macedonia [elda-vanessa@hotmail.com]

lives, the media determines how people perceive social norms, values and morals. Whether it is the morning newspaper, the radio while driving to work, or the weekend trip to the movies, the media influences every aspect of our lives.

To begin the first example of media's influence on society is through the examination of media's impact on children. At each age, the media affects children differently. Each specific age group reacts differently to violence in the media depending on how much they watch television, parental input. We rely on it every day to inform us about upcoming events, politics, weather, tragedies etc. It is the media's role to be our link between the events and us.

Media is everywhere, and quite influential, from the newest clothing trends to wear of follow, to the politician one should vote for. Many individuals fed off of what the media says and feel the need to take notice of everything. Many companies have had much success thanks to magazines and others advertising them, and many politicians have become increasingly popular due to the magazines. Even though the role of media has changed dramatically, its impact has always been phenomenal.

Why media is important

So what are some of the reasons why the media should be important for your group? It gets your message across to a wider audience. The various forms of media – primarily television, newspapers and radio – spread and disseminate information. Getting your information into the media will spread your group's story further than it could be spread without media coverage.

It can help you target your message to the people you want to hear it. The media is so varied that a community group or organization can closely target almost any sector – and through them, almost any section of the public – by looking closely at where it is directing its media focus. For example – a small, locally-based community group would probably look at concentrating on its efforts in local newspapers, radio and (if applicable) television. A bigger event or bigger community organization could look further afield – to major daily newspapers and commercial radio and television. And then there's the Internet, which continues to emerge as a component of the media. A big benefit when it comes to news media coverage is that it is free – a factor of major importance when it comes to community groups or organizations with tight budgets! And only does your event or news receive free publicity or new coverage, your group is bound to receive a boost through this coverage as well. It is important to remember though that while your group won't have to pay for this coverage, it will have to work for it in other ways – building relationships with the media, preparing information and releases for them, being willing to speak to them or be interviewed by them, etc.

Without putting in this type of work, your group will not reap the benefits of "free" media coverage.

It can help establish your group as "legitimate", and its activities as important or notable. Gaining coverage in the media is a great way of providing your group and its activities with greater credibility and that has a lot to do with the thought processes of the public which monitor and "consume" the media each day. Readers, listeners and viewers who find out about something or read/hear/see something in the media automatically place a greater level of credibility to it than if they saw it in a paid ad. The attitude of most media consumers is: if the story is gets into the pages of the newspaper, on the air or on TV, then it is "important" and worth taking notice of. So, if your story is among those that make the grade, then it is "important" enough to be on the news and therefore worth taking notice of. It can increase your profile among the general public. Media coverage can build your profile in the community, which means may be able to attract more members, donors, fundraisers, supporters, helpers, etc. Not only this, but a raised profile through media exposure will also shore-up and strengthen the support you already have among existing members, donors, supporters, helpers, etc. It also builds brand definition for you – setting your group apart from other groups operating in the same space.

It increases your profile among decision makers and VIPs. Having a media profile not only gets you noticed by the general public, but also among decision makers, VIPs and government. Those decision makers and VIPs can be peak bodies in your area of interest, grant makers and philanthropic organizations, and others with influence or power. Those in government that could notice you can be at a local, State or Federal level – or a combination of all three. Because of this, those decision makers or levels of government could become more likely to ask for your group's input or opinion on matters relevant to you.

It can sway opinions. One of the most significant powers the media has is that of being able to shape opinions. For your community group or organization, this presents great opportunities to get more people thinking positively about you after hearing positive news coverage of your group and what it is doing. Because of this, your group should actively seek out positive publicity through positive media coverage. But your group should also remember that any positive opinions generated from positive media coverage can be blunted or reversed by negative opinions generated through negative media coverage.

Traditional media

A traditional media form can be anything which does the purpose of communication in your family, friends and as a whole in society. All the forms may not be popular but they help to communicate. You have already seen that these forms are different in different regions and communities. But for your understanding, these can be divided into the following:

- Traditional dance
- Drama
- Painting
- Sculpture
- Song
- Music
- Motifs and symbols

In traditional media forms like storytelling, theatre, dance, singing etc, your body is your media. You can create messages and communicate without using any form of mass media. You can create your own media. For example in street theatre, social or political messages are presented before the public with a performance by a group of performers.

Advantages of traditional media

- You do not need any special piece of equipment unlike in television or radio.
- Most useful in human communication.
- No need for special training or technology
- Mostly embedded in one's own culture and tradition.
- Very much apart of our lives.
- Feedback is immediate and known.
- Flexibility in changing the form and content for the existing context. For example, songs can be written for a social cause without changing the forms and style.
- Cost effective.
- Very easy to remember and can quickly attract them
- Most intimate with the masses in all the regions of the country.
- Primary appeal is to the emotions rather than the intellect.
- Commands an immense variety of forms and themes to suit the communication requirements of the masses.
- Local and live, and able to establish direct rapport with the audience.

- Easily available to their audience.
- Flexible to accommodate new themes.
- Enjoyed and approved by all the people from different age groups

Disadvantages of traditional media

- Restricted to the place of performance.
- Reach is limited.
- Limited scope for archiving the performance.
- Can cater only to a limited audience.

Social media

Social media can be defined as a phenomenon that has recently taken over the web, allowing more connectivity and interaction between web users and it encourages contributions and feedback from anyone who is a member of any virtual community.

Social Networking can be defined as a phenomenon that has recently taken over the web, allowing more connectivity and interaction between web users. Several websites, such as Facebook and MySpace are labeled as "virtual communities."

Social media is best understood as a group of new kinds of online media, which share most or all of the following characteristics:

Participation.

Social media encourages contributions and feedback from everyone who is interested. It blurs the line between media and audience.

Openness

Most social media services are open to feedback and participation. They encourage voting, comments and the sharing of information. There are rarely any barriers to accessing and making use of content – password-protected content is frowned on.

Conversation

Whereas traditional media is about "broadcast"(content transmitted or distributed to an audience) social media is better seen as a two-way conversation.

Community

Social media allows communities to form quickly and communicate effectively. Communities share common interests, such as a love of photography, a political issue or a favourite TV show.

Connectedness

Most kinds of social media thrive on their connectedness, making use of links to other sites, resources and people.

Forms of social media.

We will talk about the most common forms of social media.

Social networks.

These sites allow people to build personal web pages and then connect with friends to share content and communication. The biggest social networks are MySpace, Facebook and Bebo.

Blogs.

Perhaps the best known form of social media, blogs is online journals, with entries appearing with the most recent first.

Wikis.

These websites allow people to add content to or edit the information on them, acting as a communal document or database. The best-known wiki is Wikipedia⁴, the online encyclopedia which has over 2 million English language articles.

Podcasts.

Audio and video files that are available by subscription, through services like Apple iTunes.

Forums.

Areas for online discussion, often around specific topics and interests. Forums came about before the term "social media" and are a powerful and popular element of online communities.

Content communities.

Communities which organize and share particular kinds of content. The most popular content communities tend to form around photos (Flickr), bookmarked links (del.icio.us) and videos (YouTube).

Microblogging.

Social networking combined with bite-sized blogging, where small amounts of content "updates" are distributed online and through the mobile phone network. Twitter is the clear leader in this field.

Advantages of using social media

- A good tool to use to publicize your work.
- Costs very little money to set up online.
- Easy to create groups and forming communities of interest. Online participation can be easier than face to face.
- Cross border collaboration can be facilitated.
- Connections mean power and money for many companies.
- Constant flows of information from updates and real time communication Ex. Twitter.

- Breaks down barriers for people who want to stay in touch with other people.
- Companies can obtain information from their demographics.
- May be used for educational reasons such as:
 - Publishing and sharing content.
 - Collaborating with others.
- Provide added context and value to knowledge.
- The social networking sites also facilitate you to procure information on any subjects from anywhere.

Disadvantages of using social media

- The most glaring disadvantage of social networking sites is the risk of identity theft and fraud.
- Your message can be caught up in 'commercial noise'.
- Harder to gauge participation and commitment.
- Not as effective as a face-to-face conversation

Finding the Equilibrium

The million-dollar question is this – how do we find this equilibrium between a world of traditional and new media? For starters, although traditional advertising is important for businesses to effectively reach mass consumers, it is highly recommended to find a way to inject a type of new media into all media campaigns. Traditional media tends to be a bit more expensive than new media, but it also has the ability to reach a broad target audience. If the ultimate goal of the business is to reach a broad range of people, this is definitely the way to go. If you want to target a more narrow audience, then new media may be the way to go.

New media is changing the overall media landscape. New media allows businesses to target ads more specifically to consumers based on their age, gender, marital status, etc. It also allows businesses the ability to track what these consumers are doing and how they end up on your website. All of these reasons make new media imperative to any media campaign. There are ways that traditional media can be tracked, but sometimes we ask ourselves is the ad targeting the people we really should be targeting? New media allows us to get this data and analyze our target audience. From there, we may have a better understanding of where traditional media dollars should be spent.

All-in-all, the key to a successful media campaign is to have a well-balanced mix of media that ultimately targets your businesses audience. It's important to not waste advertising dollars on media that won't be effective. Take the time to analyze your

business's marketing plan and target audiences and ask yourself what types of media can be used to reach these consumers. Overall, utilizing a mix of the two has proved beneficial for a variety of our clients over the past few years

Conclusion

By now, we are all aware that social media has had a tremendous impact on our culture, in business, on the world-at-large. Social media websites are some of the most popular haunts on the Internet. They have revolutionized the way people communicate and socialize on the Web.

Impact on Politics – Every politician worth his salt needs to jump on the social media bandwagon. This is because social websites have played an important role in many elections around the world, including in the U.S., Iran, and India. They have also served to rally people for a cause, and have inspired mass movements and political unrests in many countries.

Impacts on Business – Net savvy companies are using social media to advertise their products, build customer loyalty and many other functions. Interactions and feedback from customers help businesses to understand the market, and fine-tune their products and strategies. Many firms organize contests and give away prizes to enthruse consumers to visit their social website page more often. Compared to television advertisements and other expensive forms of marketing, social media presence is a cheap and effective means to enhance brand image and popularity.

Effect on Socialization – Social networks offer the opportunity for people to re-connect with their old friends and acquaintances, make new friends, trade ideas, share content and pictures, and many other activities. Users can stay abreast of the latest global and local developments, and participate in campaigns and activities of their choice. Professionals use social media sites like LinkedIn to enhance their career and business prospects. Students can collaborate with their peers to improve their academic proficiency and communication skills. You can learn about different cultures and societies by connecting with people in other countries.

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Consequences of Negative Media Representations (Islamophobia)

Adelaid Karishik¹

Abstract:

The aim of this paper is to examine the negative interpretations of Muslims in the media, and to point to negative consequences that Muslims and non-Muslims are facing today. Islamophobia and extremism reinforce each other and the two terms are alike in their hatred of the 'other'. Islamophobia is akin to extremism whose practitioners provoke reactions from Muslims leading to an inflationary spiral of violence. Though of centuries old, Islamophobia, as proven by surveys and other documents, has increased in intensity due to, among others, the fear of the increasing number of Muslim citizens and asylum seekers in the West. It has been propagated by the media and the political leaders to galvanise support for the war on terror and for the occupation of alien lands. The authorities should criminalise Islamophobia and extremism and adopt strategies, in collaboration with Muslim and non-Muslim organisations, to promote understanding and respect for each other's faith. Western major powers could assist greatly by adopting a balanced approach to solving international conflicts. The paper will also examine the media perception on refugees in the period of refugee crisis in Macedonia and how media can influence on the treatment of refugees by the people and by the state institutions.

Key words: Islamophobia, Media, Refugees;

I. Introduction

After the 9/11 attacks, many blamed the whole religion of Islam for preaching destruction and violence, without even considering that these hijackers (terrorists) were extreme radicals. In the Times article, "The True, Peaceful Face of Islam," author Karen Armstrong explains that the very word Islam is related to a longing for peace (Armstrong, 2011). When the Prophet Muhammad brought the inspired scripture known as the Koran to the Arabs in the early 7th century A.D., a major part of his

¹ International Balkan University, Macedonia [k.adelaid@gmail.com]

mission was devoted precisely to bringing an end to the kind of mass slaughter we witnessed in the 9/11 attacks (Armstrong, 2011).

The 9/11 attacks, who are still not clarified were the initial point for starting the campaign against Islam and Muslims.

After the 9/11 we could see images like this in the media, lot of Muslims who were not connected with attacks, even not connected with the religion were attacked and accused for terrorism.

Just a few days before 9/11, an event occurred that has since been lost in the fog of urgent history and the rhetoric of hyperbolic overstatement: The UN's formal recognition of Islamophobia, thereby establishing anti Muslim and anti-Islamic prejudice, discrimination, and hatred and placing it alongside other equally discriminatory and exclusionary phenomena, such as anti-Semitism and anti-Roma.

Therefore, prior to 9/11, Islamophobia was considered a growing global phenomenon that required immediate action to combat its spread.

II. The EUMC Report

The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) Report was the synthesis of 75 nationally focused reports, five from each EU member state, that closely monitored reactions against, and any changes of attitude toward, Muslims following the 9/11 attacks. Of these reports, the first 15 were commissioned within 24 hours of the attacks, putting in place the necessary mechanisms to closely track the situation faced by Muslims across each EU member state.

Insofar as violence, aggression, and changes in attitude, the report concluded that across the EU spectrum, incidents involving a negative or discriminatory act against Muslims or a material entity associated with Islam were identified. Numerous mosques, cultural centers, and Islamic schools were either targeted or threatened. Probably the most distasteful incident occurred in Exeter, where seven pig heads were impaled on spikes outside of a mosque and what was purported to be pigs' blood was smeared over its outside and entrance. What emerged across the EU, however, was that irrespective of the identified and documented levels of violence and aggression, the underlying causes were, as the report termed it, "visual identifiers" of either Muslims or Islam, or both.⁷ While these were not necessarily the reason for such changes or attacks, they were the single most predominant factor in determining who or what became the foci for any retaliatory action or reaction

It is no surprise, therefore, that when these visual identifiers held such primacy in determining who or what became targets for discrimination, abuse, violence, and aggression, Muslim women in particular – possibly the most visually identifiable

religious adherents in contemporary Europe – became the primary target. In Britain, an 18-year-old Muslim woman in Slough was beaten by men wielding baseball bats for apparently no other reason than being identified as a Muslim. At the same time, the British press was reporting that many women wearing hijab or other traditional Muslim attire had been spat upon and verbally abused.

The report also stated that other Islamophobic incidents could be identified in Denmark, where a Muslim woman was thrown from a moving taxi; in Germany, where Muslim women had their hijabs torn off; and in Italy, where a bus driver repeatedly shut the bus' doors on a Muslim woman, much to the amusement of an onlooking and cheering crowd. Many similar instances were recorded elsewhere. Interestingly, in those countries where Muslim women rarely wear traditional attire (e.g., Luxembourg), no incidents were reported as being targeted toward women. In this particular setting, however, the focus shifted toward Islam's more physical visual identifiers. For example, Luxembourg's sole Islamic center was vandalized and attacked.

Nor were Muslim men exempted from this process. In line with the heavy media rotation of images of Usama bin Laden and the Taliban, turban wearing men became indiscriminate targets, as people identified – somewhat inaccurately – turbans as a visual identifier of Muslims. As a result, the number of reported attacks against Sikh men rose. However, this can only be attributed to ignorance and misinterpretation, rather than any rise in anti-Sikh behavior or attitudes. Similarly, bearded men, again including Sikhs, were also attacked, although to a much lesser degree than other forms of targeting. Indeed, these are the everyday visual symbols across society that normally would be ignored or unnoticed. However, in the immediate aftermath of 9/11, a London taxi driver who had some Islamic motifs in his car was hospitalized following a horrific attack by some of his passengers. Apparently, they visually identified and subsequently associated him with the 9/11 tragedy.

The last aspect relating to visual identifiers was the attacks on Islam's physical entities (e.g., mosques, schools, cultural centers). Included in this were general threats, vandalism and material damage, and more serious concerns, such as bomb and death threats. Across Britain, as indeed elsewhere, many Islamic schools closed for several days due to the fear of threats being carried out or the possibility of spontaneous attack. At times of prayer also, many mosques increased security and many local police authorities agreed to increase patrols in response to requests from some Muslim communities that had received threats of violence and worse.

III. Refugee crisis and Islamophobia

In the context of the growing number of immigrants from Muslim countries and terrorist attacks committed by Islamic fundamentalists over the last few years it is a common argument that hostilities towards immigrants from Muslim countries have increased in the last years. A new concept has been appeared, islamophobia, that has attracted the attention of social scientists.

A common strategy uniting all EU member states has not yet come into being; every nation state is thus left quite alone in dealing with the immigration of refugees. This has the effect that currently, it seems, even the Schengen treaty, which allows for unimpeded travel within the EU designated zone is under threat. The current so called 'refugee crisis' thus has become a crucial moment for the European Union.

Generally, the Eastern and South-Eastern European countries are the first stages for refugees coming from Afghanistan, Iran, Syria and Iraq, while a majority of them try to continue on to Germany. Hence, the 'border countries' of the European Union are of special interest in terms of their dealings with the issue. It is especially noteworthy that Eastern European countries are, on average, home to a much smaller number of Muslims than Western European countries. France is home to an estimated 10 percent of Muslims; Austria, Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland host about 6 percent. In contrast, with the exception of countries with a native Muslim community like Bulgaria and Greece, Eastern EU-member states have a small number of Muslims, often even less than 1 percent. But Islamophobia has become a central issue in the course of the refugee-debate.

IV. Political aspect of islamophobia

In the face of Europe's biggest so called 'refugee crisis' since WWII, many right wing and centrist politicians are using Islamophobia as a way to leverage policy-making in the West, to the detriment of human rights. The so called 'refugee crisis' reflects a crisis within Europe, which fights with itself how to define Europe in terms of openness and closeness to refugees knocking at the doors of Europe.

Islamophobia, particularly in its link to nationalism, has precedents in the West. Indeed, even anti-Semitism as the main element of nationalist thought in Nazi Germany has not completely faded away. In the 1980s and 1990s, racist attacks against refugees and foreigners intensified. In the late 1990s and by 9/11, Islamophobia or anti-Muslim racism spread out across Europe. Since that time, Islamophobic discourse has achieved a hegemonic position in the Western hemisphere. For many years now, politicians, especially on the far right, have made use of Islamophobia in their election campaigns;

these include the Front National in France, the Freedom Party in Austria, Vlaams Belang in Belgium, the Sweden Democrats in Sweden, etc. Moreover, especially within the last 15 years, many centrist parties have either adopted parts of these discourses or have implemented laws which reflect Islamophobic discourse. Be it the ban of mosques and/or minarets, the ban of the hijab, surveillance programs, or discriminatory laws like the Austrian 2015 Islam-law; they all reflect an image of the imagined dangerous Muslim, who threatens Western societies.

Today the reflection of the islamophobia and refugee crisis we can see on last parliament elections in Germany. Far-right returns to German parliament for first time in 60 years so AfD will be the "biggest challenge" facing her government, and vowed to win voters back from the party which campaigned on a nationalist anti-immigrant platform.

The reflection of the islamophobia and refugee crisis is also present in our country, Macedonia were we are facing local elections that are full with islamophobic, nationalistic and anti-refugee platforms and messages.

We could see hate of speech on the social networks against muslims and against refugees.

V. Conclusion

In order to assure ethnic tolerance and to prevent Islamophobia we must raise awareness of the true Islamic values and the Muslim religion. A sincere and deeper approach to Islam will definitely prevent Islamophobic reactions and ethnic intolerance. Taking into consideration the historical roots and in the region, we also suggest a fair approach and a scientific discourse on historical matters (especially in the educational system), not using historical facts for political propaganda.

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Political Power, Influence and Social Media: Turkey's Most Followed 10 Accounts and Their Influence Measurements

Atinc Gurcay¹

Abstract:

This study addresses the relationship between social media and political influence. This research tends to explore that very relationship in terms of political power, being seen and calling onto action. Scholars widely argued that politically powered people have been using different communication tools for centuries to create consent, influence people's opinions, call people to act on a specific issue. One of the hot topic is in the communications is the concept of influence, influencer and the effect of influence in social media. Printed media, audio-visual media show us a certain type of power structure. This formation allows people to influence others ifonly theyhave political power and/or if something relatively interesting about them, so called their newsworthiness. However, many scholars also discuss that social media empowers and encourage people to participate in the politic.The means and the affordances of social media platforms grant people to create content and perform their political identities with access to internet. Participation is the least one can do for politics, yet to develop a sense of politics you should be more than that. The advantages of social media in that sense is that you can get followed and influence people without given political power. Thus, as a matter of principle, social media allows one to gain his/her political power by their production on social media. However, people who are the most followed in Twitter or Facebook are the people who we know daily in basis. Therefore, this paper is oriented to identify this correlation by conducting research with content analysis method. The most followed 10 accounts in Twitter from Turkey will be examined in the social media and traditional media to measure the influence they make. To calculate the influence statistics which are open to everyone will be checked for social media. For the case of traditional media, the advertising equivalent will be calculated.

Key words: Influence, Social Media, Political Participation, Political Power of Media

¹ Istanbul Bilgi University, Turkey [atincgurcay@gmail.com]

Introduction

Politicians, companies, brands, NGOs and so many different sectors have been using media platforms as a tool to connect with people. However, the relationship between politics and media is quite crucial scholars to study on. This research is conducted to see correlation or disconnection between actors' influence on different media type. Traditional media and social media is the main media today. Traditional media has its own news making criteria, what we call newsworthiness. To be covered as news you should be considered as newsworthy. However, in social media, you are able to create the content you wish and publish it. You do not need to pass other's criteria. You only need to deal with self-censorship. Although mobile affordances allow you to create and publish, being seen by the public is not a guarantee. Here, we are arguing the power relationship that causes people to follow you. If you already have the power, people will follow you no matter what. Because your life became newsworthy in terms of journalism and public interest. This paper is going to analyze that very correlation. Or it may also be possible to have power in social media and real-life yet not being covered by newspapers.

Research Questions

Thus, I shall formulize two main questions that this research focuses on:

R.Q. 1: How does having power changes one's relationship with different media types and platforms?

R.Q. 2: Does having power mean that you will always get covered both in social media and traditional media?

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between powered actors and media. What's more, this study may lead us to see the details in this relationship.

Background and Significance

People care about other people following them. Not only following them but using the power over their actions. To be clear, this study is not here to judge the why they do, yet to understand the ways of doing this. Different media platforms and types have been used by the people to affect and inform others. The very first attempt of a newspaper was in the Roman Empire. Stone writings called Acta Diurna were being published to inform people about the senate's acts. Later in the history, the development of democracy and rise of political participation forced leaders and politicians to be more accountable. Thus, communication platforms and journalists

started to question them. This outcome caused journalists and communication specialists to have power on both politics and society. From that point, until the rise of social media traditional media platforms evaluated the "newsworthiness" Of course, one of the major criteria to be newsworthy is to have the power. This paper, I will be focusing on the relationship of power, newsworthiness and self-controlled social media accounts.

The concept of referendum and Public Sphere

The concept of referendum has defined by Vreese, Semetko as "Referendums and citizen initiatives are an increasingly important means of enacting or preventing legislation in countries around the world." (2004) As the foundations of referendum (public voting on a particular subject, for instance; Brexit, Turkey Constitutional Voting, Ireland's referendum on leaving UK etc.) is different than election for presidency or general. On the one hand referendum is over the political parties. It does not require 100% party loyalty or agreements. On the other hand, it makes more sense to claim that general or local elections demands high loyalty. It is highly expected that this kind of political actions and election must be contended in public sphere. The public sphere theory has been introduced to us by Habermas, 1991. It has defined that the public sphere is the place that individuals and governments proceed their relationships together (Saka, 2012). Freedom of speech, free press, free will to join public debates are some of the most important part of the public sphere. Dagsalguler and Saka's work also mentions that the rise of new media technologies, in Habermas ways, may create a golden age for public sphere. New media and its impacts may lead more democratized media, it can also constitute a situation where public could easily join the public debate (Saka and Dagsalguler, 2007: 161) However, it can be said that the current Turkish politics is too polarized. This polarization causes two sides, pro-AKP or anti-AKP. Every political matter which either comes to public argument or parliament ends up connecting to the polarization. (Panayırçı, et al. 2016) Therefore, it does not seem possible to argue on a referendum in this context. However, it is no doubt that public debate for a referendum is significant. It is also quite acceptable to see the elites, actors, artists, musicians or writers to collaborate on a campaign. For instance, pre-Brexit period many well-known people has signed a letter and shared their opinion with the public.¹

¹<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/19/british-cultural-heavyweights-sign-250-letter-backing-eu-benedict-cumberbatch-paloma-faith->

Influence, Influencers and user created contents

Influence has been a part of academic interest in sociology, communication, marketing, and political sciences (Rogers 1962; Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955). The concept of influence plays a huge role in how businesses operate and how a society functions. Studying influence patterns can help us better understand why certain trends or innovations are adopted faster than others and how we could help advertisers and marketers design more effective campaigns (Cha, et al. 2010). It is possible to mention that in digital era, the creation and distribution of goods has been democratized. (Bakshy, et al. 2009) Their study has made it clear that users can create content and distribute it to public eye to be consumed. The studies on influence are majorly on quantitative methods. However, in this study it is possible to mention about more of qualitative approach to content analysis. The traditional view assumes that a minority of members in a society possess qualities that make them exceptionally persuasive in spreading ideas to others. These exceptional individuals drive trends on behalf of the majority of ordinary people. (Cha, et al. 2010). As the Cha, and the other researchers have done in their project, it is important for me to follow the similar steps. The steps that I will be checking during the research has been the retweet influence, like influence, and Klout ranks of the users. Retweet can be defined as the act of re-sharing of a tweet in one's profile. Like is what one perform as the "liking" act.

Gatekeeping in Traditional Media

"News is what comes in the newspaper every day. It's what those television and radio news programs talk about." (Shoemaker, 2006). The definition of the news and newsworthiness has argued by several scholars. For this study's perspective, news and newsworthiness should be analyzed deeply. Shoemaker's other works in the field point out that events with high deviance were more likely to gain coverage in the main stream media (MSM) (P. Shoemaker, Danielian, and Brendlinger, 1991), "the role of news media is not to mirror the world as it is, but rather to spotlight and draw public attention to problems and situations that need solutions and repair," (2006). However, we can not limit the ways that newsworthiness works. Gatekeepers, in traditional media, are responsible to call what is news or not. Ideas about what news is and how it is selected have long process of professionally and scholarly concerns. (O'Neill and Harcup, 2001)

Galtung and Ruge has formulated the set of news values in their work. (1965) The list above has created by O'Neill and Harcup with the meanings and definitions.

- **Frequency:** An event that unfolds within a publication cycle of the news medium is more likely to be selected than a one that takes place over a long period of time.
- **Threshold:** Events have to pass a threshold before being recorded at all; the greater the intensity (the more gruesome the murder or the more casualties in an accident), the greater the impact and the more likely it is to be selected.
- **Unambiguity:** The more clearly an event can be understood and interpreted without multiple meanings, the more likely it is to be selected.
- **Meaningfulness:** The culturally familiar is more likely to be selected.
- **Consonance:** The news selector may be able to predict (due to experience) events that will be newsworthy, thus forming a “pre-image” of an event, which in turn increases its chances of becoming news.
- **Unexpectedness:** Among events meaningful and/or consonant, the unexpected or rare event is more likely to be selected.
- **Continuity:** An event already in the news has a good chance of remaining in the news (even if its impact has been reduced) because it has become familiar and easier to interpret.
- **Composition:** An event may be included as news less because of its intrinsic news value than because it fits into the overall composition or balance of a newspaper or news broadcast.
- **Reference to elite nations:** The actions of elite nations are seen as more consequential than the actions of other nations.
- **Reference to elite people:** Again, the actions of elite people, likely to be famous, may be seen by news selectors as having more consequence than others, and news audiences may identify with them.
- **Reference to persons:** News that can be presented in terms of individual people rather than abstractions is likely to be selected.
- **Reference to something negative:** Bad events are generally unambiguous and newsworthy.

Thus we can claim that elite people's or in today's jargon popular people are included as the news value. Therefore, it make sense to state that socially known and popular people's action can be covered as news. All in all, they are so called newsworthy. However, political situations and current affairs may change the filter. In this study, I have primarily checked whether they can be covered as a news during the referendum voting process.

In addition to the classical approach to the gatekeeping and news selection, it is important to recognize the online news selection and Twitter's particular role in news reading. Selecting news for online websites can be different from traditional way of doing it. Knobloch-Westerwick and other researchers stated that "as most formal importance indicators in traditional media do not convert directly to online news. However, online portals feature news recommendations based on collaborative filtering" (2005). "Twitter is a gatekeeper, with the discretion to share or not share a news item with their audience (Barzilai-Nahon 2008). Each user can have their own criteria for what becomes "news"—what's worthy of sharing." (Diakopoulos and Zubiaga, 2014). Thus, it makes sense to claim that gatekeeping is not only a profession yet, also now a daily activity for Twitter users.

Methodology and method

In this study, two major methods has been used to achieve the research goals. The first method is the content analysis. The obtained datasets have been reviewed and analyzed in order to answer the research questions. The main point of the study was to compare the different measurements. For example, to understand the social media (tweet impact), the Klout¹ grades has used. Also the retweet and like counts has added to the measurements. At least it was possible to point out the possible "reach" In the newspapers only the cover page has dealt with. Of course, both academic interest and marketing professionals state that reach does not mean awareness. However, having numerical outcome for reach will help this study. This is the main method to compare the media reflection and social media interaction.

Rationale and Research Design

The analyzed contents have been obtained through 5 newspapers and 10 Twitter account. The first main data is attained through the website called TwitterCounter.com² According to web site the most followed personal accounts are: @CMYLMZ, Cem Yılmaz; @RT_Erdogan, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan; @cbabdullahgul Abdullah Gül; @okanbayulgen, Okan Bayülgen; @atademirer, Ata Demirer; @cuneytozdemir, Cüneyt Özdemir; @DemetAkalin, Demet Akalin Kurt ; @ahmethc, Ahmet Hakan; @Ahmet_Davutoglu, Ahmet Davutoğlu; @silagencoglu, Sila Gençoğlu. As it is stated in the list, 3 of the 10 people are currently or formerly politicians; 3 of them are

¹ Klout link

² <https://twittercounter.com/pages/100/turkey>

comedians; 2 of them are journalists/columnists; 2 of them popular singers. In the sense of media power, they are all newsworthy in different senses.

In 2017, 16th of April, Turkey had the referendum on Turkish Constitution. The month period was important for measuring due to many activities both political and social. The first impressions were majorly showing that between 16 March and 15 April people have talked about referendum. Therefore, it allows the research to be more accurate on measurements and comparison. The secondary datasets have been reached out through personal Twitter accounts and the selected 3 newspaper. These newspapers have been chosen according to their encampment in the referendum. Turkish scholars and scholars studying on Turkey provide us that Turkey has a polarized media system right now. (Panayırçı, et al. 2016). Due to the polarized system, it is possible to identify different newspapers with different political camps. Panayırçı's work, details that situation; Sabah is close AKP and often mentioned as pro-AKP newspaper. Opposite to that, Sözcü has been in the opposition for so long. Since, it is also pro-Kemalist newspaper it is doable to say that they are anti-AKP. Hürriyet, which is the most read newspaper, is stated as moderate in terms of the polarized media system. Circulation data will be provided by MedyaTava.com. According to the article in Ads-On-Line.com states that general thought of the "pass-along" rate is 2.5 people for a single newspaper copy. Therefore, when the impression calculation has been done this rate will be used. Yet, it is important to make it clear that this research cannot prove exact impressions. The main purpose of this study is to compare and see the relationship between politics, power and media. In addition to that, it shall be mentioned that the main outcome of this study is whether conventional media covers the "newsworthy" people under different circumstances or not.

Data and Analysis

Aforementioned in the text, there are two major data that this research requires. Firstly, the newspapers have been analyzed and prepared. Turkish news website called haberler.com, which is one of the biggest one, has an archive on the cover pages. Between the dates of 16 March to 15 April, Hürriyet; Sözcü, and Sabah has checked whether they placed any news regarding the Turkish Constitutional Referendum. The first observation of the data was that the closer the date get to referendum, the more they covered the news about it. Since, President Erdoğan was holding many different meetings, he was covered a lot both due to his position and events. To be more precise only Erdoğan from the top 10 list were covered in the newspapers.

User	Rank in Most Followed	Klout Ranking (out of 100)
Cem Yılmaz	1	82
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	2	79
Abdullah Gül	3	84
Okan Bayülgen	4	77
Ata Demirer	5	60
Cüneyt Özdemir	6	65
Demet Akalın	7	74
Ahmet Hakan	8	70
Ahmet Davutoğlu	9	67
Sıla Gençoğlu	10	79

Source: Klout Rankings

Thus the question of whether other have said anything on referendum from Twitter came into the consideration. The data from Twitter has obtained through several online resources, including Twitter's itself. The datasets have been deeply analyzed and read. However, only few accounts have mentioned about referendum. The account which has mentioned about referendum the most is @RT_Erdogan. His account was a contribution to the his campaign. Other than his account, Cem Yılmaz, the most followed account for Twitter, Turkey, has only mentioned referendum as "Voting is our citizenship duty. Vote no matter what. Long live republic." Another account has shared something about referendum was former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, who congratulated the outcome of the election on 16th of April. In addition to that, journalists; Ahmet Hakan and Cüney Özdemir shared only one tweet on the coming referendum. Cüneyt Özdemir's tweet was like stating a fact. "Turkey has another agenda now rather than referendum. Instability in the region will affect the referendum. Yes, in every meaning" Then, his followers were reacted to the word "yes" in the tweet. Therefore, he shared another tweet to make the situation clear. "There are some attempts to interpret the word "yes" in some ways, in the latest tweet. I think we are about to lose it as a nation." Ahmet Hakan once retweeted a column he wrote in Hürriyet Newspaper.

Discussion

The data and analysis could not come to the point of answering the research question. The primary reason for that are the influencers, the public opinion leaders or the people who have the power to affect others have not shared anything on the coming referendum. The roots of that should be studied in further research. However, scholars who study on Turkish politics states that polarization is going deeper and deeper every year. (Panayirci, et al. 2016) It is possible to claim that strong government and harsh relationship with "others" causing people not to show their political and social intentions due to possible outcomes in their social/work life. Many has harmed due to their announcement on government. One of them is Sila Gençoğlu whose concerts were cancelled due to one of her tweet.¹ Although, we have no final conclusion why they have not shared anything on Twitter, the pressure on the socially-known may cause this. Thus, it should be said that Turkey has become a country that people in general are afraid to participate in the politics. in the public case (for this research, cyberspace). When we check out British case, Brexit, it seems that the public figures, artists, singers and others had a debate on the referendum. Even they have created a petition with their signatures.² They also communicated the process.

All in all, the research, both questions and the result, showed that Turkish Constitutional Referendum may have not discussed enough. The silence of well known, most followed people is a sign of a greater issue. I have debated that elections and referendums must be in the public agenda and must be argued by different agencies. In this context, it is important to see Turkish case has missing points. This outcomes and situation shall be questioned again in a further research.

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¹http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/582912/Sarkici_Sila_ya_baskilar_basladi..._Konserleri_pes_pese_iptal.html

²<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/19/british-cultural-heavyweights-sign-250-letter-backing-eu-benedict-cumberbatch-paloma-faith->

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IBUISC '17

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS

“The Creation of the New World in a Globalized Era”

Stream:

Economics

International Trade in Globalized Era: The Case of the Trade between The EU and China

Jelena Cerar¹

Abstract:

The trade between the EU and China has increased dramatically in the past decade. The EU is now one of the most important economic partners of China and its biggest export market. On the other hand, China is now the fastest growing market for the EU's export and its second biggest trading partner for the whole world. They have big essentials for the mutual trade relations and they see each other as the main economic and trade partners. Given this background, the main objective of this paper will be to evaluate bilateral trade relations between the EU and China using the Gravity model approach and to see whether it is consistent with the basic model. Specific objects are to explore the effect of the EU and WTO membership to their mutual trade and the "Dalai Lama effect" (the effect of the Dalai Lama's meetings with the representatives of the EU states, despite China's protests). The structure of their trade will be analyzed as well as the most important China's partners from the EU. Empirical results demonstrate that their mutual trade relations are consistent with the gravity model and show the importance of both the EU and WTO membership, since they both have a positive impact on their trade. On the other hand, the Dalai Lama effect is not a significant factor, except for the small significance of Dalai Lama's visiting the EU countries on the barriers on export to China.

Key words: International Trade, China, the EU, Gravity Model, Dalai Lama Effect

1. Introduction

Connecting West and East for centuries, importance and value of the trade between the EU and China has been changed a lot. Even with the long trade tradition between them, their relations intensified after China joined World Trade Organizations (WTO) in 2001. China has become one of the fastest growing markets for the European exports. It is now the EU's 2nd trading partner behind the USA, the biggest source of the EU's

¹ Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU), Austria
[jelena.cerar@gmail.com]

imports and also the fastest growing markets for the European exports. On the other side, the EU is China's biggest trading partner.

This paper is analysing the trade between them using the gravity model approach. There will be first presented the overview of the literature about the gravity models, after which the usage of this model in studies about trade relations of China and the EU will be presented. After that the short overview of the relatively new phenomena in the literature called "Dalai Lama effect" will be explained, which gives the insight into how Dai Lama's meetings with the high representatives of a country or just visiting that country can influence their mutual trade relations.¹

Furthermore, basic and specific objectives of this paper and four hypotheses will be stated. In order to meet them, empirical analysis will be made based on the sample of all the countries which reported more than one billion dollars value of import from China in the year 2012. Model will be estimated for a panel data set, for the period 1992-2012 on 109 biggest importers from China.

First, there will be explained the specification of the gravity model used in this paper and the data and the sources that the author has used. Export and import flows will be estimated separately and the empirical results of the gravity model will be presented. Special emphasizes will be made on the influence of the EU membership to their trade relations, China's membership in WTO and on previously mentioned Dalai Lama effect (both for the whole explored period as well as for the Hu Jintao era separately).

Finally, the last section summarizes all findings and conclusions from this paper, states the limitations of this paper and gives suggestions for further research.

2. Literature Review

In order to estimate what is the effect of the EU membership, the WTO membership of China and the Dalai Lama effect on their mutual trade flows, the gravity model will be used. Its original formulation, done by Jan Tinbergen in his work *Shaping of World Economy* (1962), has been improved a lot during the last half of the century. Some ideas contributing to this model were made much earlier, but Tinbergen was the one who wrote down the basic equation of gravity model that we know today. His model was directly related to Newton's law of universal gravitation and the general form of the model is similar to gravity equation:

$$F_{ij}=k(M_iM_j/D_{ij})$$

¹In this paper the author is not going to deal with historical factors of the tensions between China and Tibet and is not going to discuss who is right in this case.

where F_{ij} represents trade flows between two countries; M represents mass of both countries (i and j), measured by the size of the country (where its population was used as a proxy); D_{ij} stands for geographical distance between these countries and k is just a constant.

Tinbergen's equation was made in log-log term, with constant elasticity of trade flows:

$$\ln X_{ij} = \ln G + \alpha_1 \ln M_i + \alpha_2 \ln M_j + \alpha_3 \Phi_{ij} + \alpha_4 N_{ij} + \alpha_5 V_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

with G representing gravitation constant; M stands for GNP of trading partners; Φ and N_{ij} representing the distance, where N_{ij} is a dummy with value 1 if two countries shared common land border; dummy V_{ij} indicates whether traded goods had preferential treatment in the country of import and ε as an error term. These key variables explained very well trade flows, with R^2 of 0.83.

Tinbergen made a step stone for the next five decades of researches and many empirical and theoretical contributions have been made in this field since then. However, all development of the model up to the early 1980s was empirical, with little theoretical development.¹

In 1979 James Anderson made an explanation of gravity equation based on demand function with constant elasticity of substitution (CES). Later works were done with monopolistic competition frameworks based on Armington structure of consumer preferences (like in Krugman (1980), Bergstrand (1985 and 1989), Helpman and Krugman (1985), models based on Heckscher-Ohlin theory (Deardorff 1998) and models based on Ricardo's theory (Eaton and Kortum 2002). Since 2003 and paper of Melitz (2003), literature of this model has also been focused on models of international trade with firm heterogeneity. Most of the modern foundations of gravity models have been based on Anderson (1979), Anderson and Van Wincoop (2003) and Baldwin and Taglioni (2006).²

Another popular issue concerning the gravity models is possible miss-specification related to the nature of the multilateral resistance term, known also as "gold-medal mistake" (Anderson and Van Wincoop (2003)). Baldwin and Taglioni (2006) as well as Baier and Bergstrand (2009) also address the importance of this problem, taking into account the endogeneity of prices in the gravity models. Most of the gravity cross-sectional models omit this multilateral price resistance for both exports and imports regions. As one of the solutions of this problem, it is possible to get the main gravity estimates of the parameters using the fixed effect model and then to construct a system of non-linear equations in order to deal with this issue (Baier and Bergstrand

¹ De Benedictis, L. and Taglioni, D. *The Gravity Model in International Trade*, chapter 4 of *The Trade Impact of European Union Preferential Policies: An Analysis through Gravity Models*. Ed. Luca De Benedictis and Luca Salvatici, Springer, pp.55-89, 2011

² *Ibid*

(2009)). Despite all improvement made to the model, there still exist many areas where researchers do not agree completely and there are still many areas where the improvement of the model can be made.

2.1. Gravity models about China's and the EU's trade trade patterns

There have been several papers which applied gravity models to China, with different aims and focuses of the research. Some of them were dealing with the regional trade agreements and how they effect China's trade, such as in Abraham and Van Hove (2005). The others, such as Filippini, Molini and Pozzoli (2005), used the gravity model to investigate the impact of technological distance on the trade with China and other Eastern Asian countries.

In the paper of Bussiere and Schnatz (2006), where the gravity model is used in order to evaluate China's integration in world trade, a two-step panel data framework was used to explore whether China's share in world trade is consistent with its economic fundamentals. The results of this paper show that China is overall "very well integrated in world markets... with higher degree of global trade than many other industrialized countries or Asian trading partners"¹

However, it also shows that this is not the case with all regions of the world. For example, the results show that China is "well integrated"² with the United States, Canada, Australia and some of Latin American countries. Concerning the European countries, the results show that Germany, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Spain are the best integrated China's trade partners, while some countries, such as Luxembourg and Portugal, show a very low level of integration.³ However, these results show that many of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have much less intensive trade relations with China.

In the paper done by Elshehawy (2012), China's agricultural trade relations with the EU and BRICS countries were examined. The findings of this paper show that China's agricultural exports followed the basic gravity model, but, on the other hand, China's agricultural import did not follow the model, since the distance didn't show the expected sign.⁴ The results also show that the trade between the China and the EU member countries has increased significantly in recent years.

¹Bussiere, M. and Schnatz, B. Evaluating China's integration in world trade with a gravity model based benchmark, working paper series No. 693. European Central Bank, 2006, page 1

²*Ibid*

³*Ibid*, page 28.

⁴Elshehawy, M. A. M. China's Agricultural Trade in World Trade Blocks and Emerging Markets: The Case of EU and BRICS , College of Economics and Management, Northwest A&F University, China, 2012, page 25

2.2. The Dalai Lama effect

The Dalai Lama effect is a relatively new phenomenon in the literature. It became popular with the study done by Fuchs and Klann (2010) from the University of Göttingen in Germany, who found the negative impact of Dalai Lama's visits and official meetings with dignitaries of the country of the receipt on the export of China. Using the gravity model based on the data for 159 partner countries for the time period 1991-2008, the authors test which of the political bilateral tensions have a significant impact on the reduction of their export to China. They separate this time period into two periods, 1991-2001 and 2002-2008 (so called Hu Jintao era). The reason for this are mostly that Hu Jintao's leadership role of the Communist party since 2002 reoriented China's foreign policy towards the world and China became a WTO member in 2002.

The status of Tibet represents one of the most important and difficult issues in Chinese international relations. The Government in Beijing considers the case of Tibet as a matter of the interior affair and sees Dalai Lama as a threat to their interior integrity and sovereignty. For these reasons, China openly demands from the political leaders from all around the world not to receive Dalai Lama or meet with him and they openly threaten with sanctions to all countries which do not obey their demands.

The model of this regression is estimated using two techniques: Fixed effect (FE) and Feasible Generalized Least Squares (FGLS) with a common AR(1) term. The authors constructed two dummy variables: one "which takes a value of 1 if the Dalai Lama was received by a dignitary in the partner country in year t or $t-1$ "¹ (the previous year); the second dummy takes a value of 1 if the Dalai Lama travelled to a Chinese trading partner country in a given year, irrespective of whether or not the Tibetan leader met with any dignitary there"².

The results show that the countries which officially received the Dalai Lama at the highest political level (such as presidents, prime ministers, kings, queens and the Pope) suffered from a reduction of their exports to China by an average of 8.1 percent in the case of FE model and by 16.9 percent using the GLS model in Hu Jintao era. This reduction was mostly noticed for the export of machinery and transport equipment, as this is the only group with a consistent negative effect of the Dalai Lama's visits or meetings. Furthermore, the results also show that this effect completely disappears two years after this meeting took place. However, even if the results are observed for the

¹Fuchs, A. and Klann, N. H. *Paying a Visit: The Dalai Lama Effect on International Trade*, Discussion paper 113, Centre for European, Governance and Economic Development Research (CEGE), University of Göttingen, Germany, 2010, page 15

²*Ibid*, page 15

period from the year 1991 until 2008, the firm proofs of the effects of trade deterioration were only found for the Hu Jintao era (2002-2008).¹

In the other paper, published in the same year by Aidt, Albornoz and Gassebner (2010), the authors have shown that political and diplomatic relations are much more important in the case of China and its trade partners from all around the world, compared to cases when both trade partners are market economies. It is mostly the case because China is neither completely free market economy, nor democracy and as a consequence of that the Government in Beijing can put trade sanctions without big obstacles from the national level²and influence the trade in that way.

3. Objectives and Hypotheses

The broad objective of this paper is to evaluate the trade flow between the EU member countries and China using the Gravity model. For this purpose the variables that predict trade flows from the EU to China and vice-versa will be identified.

Specific objectives are to examine:

- The consequence of the EU membership on the trade with China, which can help to estimate possible scenarios for future EU member countries;
- The impact of China's membership in World Trade Organization on the trade with the EU member countries;
- The Dalai Lama effect, which shows how the trade between the EU member country and China is influenced by:
 - a) EU member officials' meeting with Dalai Lama,
 - b) Dalai Lama's travelling to the EU member country, regardless of whether he was received by any dignitary.

In order to meet these objectives, four hypotheses will be made:

Hypothesis 1: The EU membership can have both positive and negative impact on China's trade relations with the EU country, depending on the case.

Positive effects of the EU membership to the growth of their mutual trade could come as a consequence of the several reasons. It can be due to the economic growth and increased welfare of the member states, which leads to a greater specialization based on comparative advantage. Another important fact is that the EU is bigger market, so theoretically it should be able to negotiate a better treatment and protection for its companies than small countries individually. Some of the EU members also became members of the Eurozone, with smaller fluctuations towards RMB for Euro than for

¹*Ibid*, page 26

² However, at least in theory, there are some international constrains, required by WTO membership.

their previous individual currencies of the small members. These facts could also contribute to non-EU countries, such as China, because some of the increase in the real income could lead to the increase of import from non-EU countries. Other possible effects are also greater and more unified market, which China could enter through new member countries.

On the other hand, negative effects are expected due to the traditional trade diversion and statistical effects due to the Rotterdam effect and the imperfect decomposition of trade flows between the EU and China. Also, integration of new member countries into production chains centered in Germany has a consequence that many CEE countries export intermediate products to Germany (rather than final products directly to China), where German producers integrate them into their products and export them to China. There can be also an influence of difficulties in Chinese export of textile, shoes and agricultural products to these new member countries after cancelling Generalized System of Preferences that some of countries had before they entered EU. Another important issue is that, by accessing the EU, the new members accepted common trade policy of the EU and abandoned their original tariff schedules which might have been slightly different.

Hypothesis 2: China's membership in the World Trade Organization has a positive influence on its trade relations with all countries in the world.

China's joining the WTO in 2001 accelerated the growth of trade between the EU and China. The main reason for this are higher trade standards that China had to fulfill, and lower trade barriers, such as relaxing many quotas, tariffs and other trade barriers. All of these had positive influence on their mutual trade.

Hypothesis 3: The EU member officials' meetings with Dalai Lama have had a negative effect on their mutual trade in the period of two years.

China very strictly disagrees with any kind of officials receiving Dalai Lama. Besides that, the Government in Beijing disagrees mostly with Dalai Lama's official meetings with the head of a state or government, royalty or other very important politicians or diplomats of that country. This is also one of the reasons why the meetings with them are very often not even known when the Dalai Lama starts his journey to that country.

There are many alternatives that the officials look for in order to avoid the sanctions from China, but at the same time showing the respect to Dalai Lama. For example, it happened in some cases that presidents or prime-ministers just joined the meeting which was officially scheduled with some of the low-ranked officials and they did not receive Dalai Lama as a head of the state. Also, there is the famous case of Swiss President Pascal Couchepin, who announced in 2008 that he would meet Dalai Lama as

a Minister of Culture and not as the President of the Swiss Confederation, avoiding the sanctions from Beijing.¹With these alternatives, the Government respects both the interests of Dalai Lama lobbies, but also do not offend too hard China's officials.

A similar case happened with Germany. Even with avoiding to meet Dalai Lama for a long time (which was even criticized by the New York Times in 1995, based on not respecting human rights), a big problem happened for the China-Germany trade relations after German Chancellor Angela Merkel received the Dalai Lama in 2007.²Since Germany is the biggest China's trade partner from the Europe, this decision was very criticized even by the members of German Government. The year after, in 2008, the Dalai Lama was received by the President of the German Bundestag, the Minister of Economic Cooperation and other less important politicians, instead of the Chancellor, which was for the purpose of avoiding further worsening of the relations with Chinese Government.³

Similar to the above mentioned cases was the 11th annual EU-China summit, which was supposed to be held in France in 2008, where more than a hundred Chinese businessman and politicians were supposed be present, was canceled. The reason for this was the meeting of Dalai Lama and French president Nicolas Sarkozy in that year. For the same reason, Chinese import of 150 planes from Airbus was also postponed until their relations got back to normal without any further explanations, with a possible loss of multi-billion Euros contract for the EU producers.⁴ Their relations were stabilized again after two years of Sarkozy's working on fixing this issue, which was announced in public by signing 10 billion Euros contract for China's import of 102 Airbus planes and telecom and nuclear deals with France in November 2010.⁵

Based on the previous examples and findings of Fuchs and Klann (2010), it is the case that these sanctions are valid only until trade costs become greater than political and economic gains of showing the importance of this action. In most cases, the effect of Dalai Lama visits or meetings disappears two years after it took place.⁶

¹ Fuchs, A. and Klann, N. H. Paying a Visit: The Dalai Lama Effect on International Trade, Discussion paper 113, Center for European, Governance and Economic Development Research (CEGE), University of Goettingen, Germany, 2010, page 11

² *Ibid*, page 10

³ *Ibid*, page 12

⁴ *Ibid*, page 10

⁵ China and France sign deals as Hu Jintao visits Paris, BBC News Europe, 4 November 2010, available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11694214>

⁶ *Ibid*, page 26

Hypothesis 4: Dalai Lama travelling to an EU member country, regardless of whether he was received by any dignitary, has a negative effect on its trade relations and the effect disappears two years after the visit.

The Dalai Lama visited Europe for the first time in 1973, when he visited 75 countries during his two and a half months long travel. These meetings have always led to diplomatic and political tensions between China and the hosting country. Even when the aim of these visits is non-political, these visits are perceived by China's officials as an offense of China's internal questions and territory. For example, when the Dalai Lama visited Norway in 1989 in order to receive the Nobel Prize, China claimed that it will put sanctions on trade between China and Norway if any of Norwegian political leaders or the King attends the ceremony.¹

As in the case with meetings, many cases show that the effect of sanctions usually disappears after two years. In spite of this, many countries support the Dalai Lama and consider him as an official religious representative of Tibet.

4. Design and Procedures

4.1. Design of the model

In this model, export and import flows will be estimated separately, not taking the average flow of bilateral trade into account. Although China trades with almost every single country in the world, only the countries which reported more than one billion dollars value of import from China in the year 2012 entered the sample. The model will be estimated for a panel data set, for the period of 1992-2012 on the 109 biggest importers from China.

Since all the measures need to be selected based on theoretical considerations, leaving many choices for a researcher dealing with the gravity models, the author of this work decided to estimate trade effects using the equation²:

$$\log X_{ijt} \equiv \log M_{ijt} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 \log Y_{it} + \alpha_2 \log Y_{jt} + \alpha_3 \log N_{it} + \alpha_4 \log D_{ij} + \alpha_5 EUM_{it} + \alpha_6 WTO_{jt} + \alpha_7 DLV_{it} + \alpha_8 DLM_{it} + u_{ij}$$

where X_{ijt} stands for exports of goods from country i to China (j) in the year t and M_{ijt} represents the imports of goods from China (j) to country i ; Y_{it} represents GDP values in the represented country and Y_{jt} the GDP of China in the year t ; N_{it} stands for the population in represented countries in the observed year t ; D_{ij} is the distance between

¹Fuchs, A. and Klann, N. H. Paying a Visit: The Dalai Lama Effect on International Trade, Discussion paper 113, Centre for European, Governance and Economic Development Research (CEGE), University of Goettingen, Germany, 2010, page 8

² The model will be estimated both with and without time dummies included

country i and China (j); EUM_{it} is a dummy variable, which takes the value of 1 if country i is an EU member and WTO_{jt} is as dummy which denotes China's membership in WTO in the year t . Dalai Lama effect will be estimated with dummies DLV (taking the value of 1 if Dalai Lama visited the country of the EU in that year or in the previous year and 0 otherwise) and DLM (taking the value 1 if Dalai Lama met with the an official of that EU member country, also in that or in the previous year).

The reason why the author of this paper decided to take time period of one additional year into account with the Dalai Lama effect is that, although China's officials want to introduce some kind of sanctions to countries which have good relations with the Dalai Lama, China has such a big interest in its mutual trade that it cannot afford to lose too much of this trade. At the same time, Chinese trade partners from the EU countries are also very interested in restoring good trade relations with China, using their diplomatic effort to improve their bilateral relations. Losses from trade diversion and gains after stabilizing the regime are this big in the case of China that the trade relations are usually restored very quickly and in most cases in about a year or less.

For example, in the case when French President Nicolas Sarkozy met the Dalai Lama, China imposed economic and diplomatic sanctions on France. Nine months after this meeting France declared that they consider Tibet as an integral part of the P. R. China and, just a few days later, France received the new Chinese trade delegation and their trade relations were back to normal again.¹

A similar thing happened in an Austrian case, when the Austrian Chancellor Alfred Gusenbauer also met with the Dalai Lama. After that event, Austria did not have any diplomatic contact with Chinese officials for almost one year. This situation ended in October of 2008, when the Austrian chancellor visited Beijing, ending the diplomatic tensions between these countries.²

Because of these and similar cases, it is expected that the Dalai Lama effect will disappear within a period of two years, so that this dummy for both visits and meeting of state officials with Dalai Lama will take the value of 1 for both, the year of the visit or meeting and the following year.

Since the main literature review (Fuchs and Klann ,2010) suggest that the importance of the Dalai Lama effects differs for Hu Jintao's administration, there will be provided both the results of the Dalai Lama effect for the whole estimated period (1991-2012), as well as for Hu Jintao's era (2002-2012).

¹Fuchs, A. and Klann, N. H. Paying a Visit: The Dalai Lama Effect on International Trade, Discussion paper 113, Centre for European, Governance and Economic Development Research (CEGE), University of Goettingen, Germany, 2010, page 14

²*ibid*, page 13

4.2. Data and model specifications

Data are obtained from the following sources:

- UN Comtrade (www.comtrade.un.org), which provides both export and import bilateral trade flows of goods for different time series, expressed in millions of dollars, where exports are given in FOB pricing, while imports are in CIF pricing
- The World Bank's World Development Indicators (<http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators>), which provide GDP figures (in million dollars) and population data (also in millions)
- CEPII (www.cepii.fr), which provides geographical distance between countries, expressed in kilometers
- The official Dalai Lama web site (<http://www.dalailama.com>), which provides the list of the Dalai Lama's official visits, as well as the official meetings with different kinds of government officials¹

In order to estimate the effect of the previously mentioned variables, the fixed effect model will be used, which does not require making structural assumptions on the model.

The Breusch-Pagan test, which checks the linear form of heteroskedasticity, was used to test the decision whether to use the random effect (RE) instead of normal pooled Ordinary Least Squares (OLS). The null hypothesis that tests whether variance of the vector of an independent variable equals 0 is rejected, showing that the simple pooled OLS is not adequate in our case.

The Hausman test was used to decide whether to use fixed effect (FE) or random effect (RE) model. The results of the test show that the fixed effect (FE) should be used, since the null hypothesis that random effect (RE) is unbiased is rejected, meaning that there is no reason to use the more efficient estimator, since the estimators in FE are similar to the estimates in the RE model.

Based on all these tests, it can be concluded that the best model for his regression would be the fixed effect model, with the distance variable being dropped as it is time invariant.

There will be provided both the results of fixed effect model both with and without time dummies. Wald test for joint significance of time dummies gives results of Chi-square(18) = 150,865 with p-value = 5,04554e-023 in the case of exports and Chi-square(18) = 71,1339 with p-value = 2,90269e-008 in the case of imports. Since these p-values are very small, they show that the conclusion that time dummies are

¹Provided in table A.2 in the appendix

important cannot be reject (even if most of time dummies appear insignificant individually). This means that they may improve the model used for this regression. The results in column 1 (FE model) and column 2 (FE model with time dummies included) from tables 6 and 7 are not so qualitatively different (the signs are similar) and there will be presented both of them. However, dummies such as WTO and the EU membership and Dalai Lama effects are sensitive to this specification, since they show different signs for Dalai Lama's meetings in the results for the export and for WTO membership and Dalai Lama's visits in the results for the import.

5. Results

5.1. Determinants of China's exports to the EU

From the regression on China's exports to the EU, it can be seen that R^2 indicates that the model explains approximately 95% of the variability in Chinese exports to trade partners with trade over 1 billion dollars. The explanatory variables like GDPs of both China and the EU member states, population of EU member states and China's membership in WTO are highly significant at 1 percent level, while the explanatory of EU membership is medium significant at 5 percent level. The GDP of China and its membership in the WTO are both insignificant if the time dummies are included in the model.

Even if there has been lots of publicity about the Dalai Lama effect (both for his visit's to countries and for the official meetings with officials of that country, these results show that the dummy variable of Dalai Lama's visit has small significance at 10 percent level, but with a positive sign, showing that these visits actually have slightly positive effect on their trade. The Dalai Lama's meeting with the officials of the EU country is not significant factor of explaining China's exports to EU countries. However, when the time dummies are included, the effect of the meetings have negative effect, while without time dummies it shows positive sign.

Distance is omitted in this model due to collinearity, which could be solved using the Hausman and Taylor model. However, the author of this paper decided not to use it, because there is no reason to estimate the distance effect, because it is not one of the objects of this research. Also, with Hausman and Taylor test, Z would have to be separated in endogenous and exogenous part which will be very difficult in this model and in the end the results of fixed-effect model and Hausman and Taylor model would be almost the same for the variables which are the main goal to explore in this paper.

Still, in order to show that distance has a good sign and coefficient, the results of the pooled OLS model will be also provided in order to show the negative sign of distance

as expected in the gravity models. Negative value of distance coefficient suggests that geographical distance is a barrier for trade and that with bigger distance trade will be lower, mostly due to additional transport costs.

The estimated coefficient of both China's and the EU countries' GDPs is 0.89, which means that, holding constant for other variables, a 1 percent point increases in GDP of either China or the EU member state will result in a roughly 0.89 percent point increase in China's export to that EU country. It has a positive effect on both demand and supply side since it can lead to increase of imports on demand side or bigger export with greater production. However, since most of the goods that China exports are low-cost and inferior goods¹, it was expected by the author that $\alpha_1 < 0$, meaning that with bigger GDP of the EU countries, export from China will decrease, but the results showed opposite.

Increase in population of EU countries is associated with decrease in Chinese export to that country, with 1 percent increase in population of EU countries tending to produce drop in China's export to that country for almost 0.9 percent. This might be explained with the fact that big labour force can lead to self-sufficiency and less trade. In general, population effect (N_i) in gravity models can have both positive effect ($\alpha_3 > 0$), since it can lead to division of labour and bigger variety of goods produced and exported, but it can also have negative effect ($\alpha_3 < 0$), when big labour force can lead to self-sufficiency and less trade, as it the case here.

Chinese membership in WTO is associated with an increase of the Chinese exports to the EU countries, with the estimated coefficient of this dummy of 0.57. However, if we include the time dummies, this coefficient becomes insignificant. This dummy is interpreted as the percentage change of Chinese export if China is a member of the WTO in the year t . The approximation of this dummy is that China's membership in WTO tends to improve its export to the EU member countries for roughly 57 percent more than it would otherwise.

However, the exact interpretation will be a bit different. If we denote Chinese export with $ExpCh$ (not in logarithms), the percentage change between $WTO=1$ (if China was a WTO member in the year t) and $WTO=0$ (in the opposite case), holding all other variables constant, can be computed as follows²:

$$\frac{ExpCh_{WTO=1} - ExpCh_{WTO=0}}{ExpCh_{WTO=0}}$$

¹ Dealing with China's 'Quality Fade', Forbes, July 26th 2007, available at: http://www.forbes.com/2007/07/26/china-manufacturing-quality-ent-manage-cx_kw_0726whartonchina.html

²Based on the paper: *HowToUseDummyXVariables.doc*, www3.wabash.edu

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$$\frac{ExpCh_{WTO=1}}{ExpCh_{WTO=0}} - 1$$

From this equation we can get log-specified regression equation:

$$\ln(ExpCh_{WTO=1}) - \ln(ExpCh_{WTO=0}) = \ln(ExpCh_{WTO=1} - ExpCh_{WTO=0}) = b_3 = 0.57$$

Taking the anti-log of the previous results, we get:

$$\frac{ExpCh_{WTO=1}}{ExpCh_{WTO=0}} = e^{b_3} = 1.77$$

Using the previously obtained formulas, we can now get the exact computation of the percentage change as follows:

$$\frac{ExpCh_{WTO=1} - ExpCh_{WTO=0}}{ExpCh_{WTO=0}} = \frac{ExpCh_{WTO=1}}{ExpCh_{WTO=0}} - 1 = e^{b_3} - 1 = e^{0.57} - 1 = 1.77 - 1 = 0.76$$

It can be concluded that China's membership in WTO makes its trade with the EU countries roughly 76 percent higher than in was before joining the WTO.

Dummy variable of EU membership is significant at 5 percent level, with coefficient of 0.16 percent but if we include the time dummies, it becomes insignificant. Using the previously explained method, it can be concluded that if China's trade partner is an EU member, it will improve Chinese exports to that country by roughly 17 percent¹. It was expected by the author to have probably negative influence on Chinese export to these countries, since the EU membership was supposed to lead to increase of export from the other EU member countries and decreased export from non-EU countries (such as China), but the results show opposite.

Dalai Lama effect is not expected to have significant impact on China's export to EU countries, since it is expected that it will have much greater influence the other way around (on China's imports from these countries). As results show, Dalai Lama's meeting with the officials of the EU states has no significant impact on China's exports to these countries, with positive coefficient. However, if the time dummies are included, the coefficient becomes negative. The Dalai Lama's visits to these countries is significant only at 10 percent level, but also with a positive sign, which is opposite than

¹ $e^{0.16} - 1 = 1.17 - 1 = 0.17$.

expected. The results are absolutely the same comparing signs and significance if computed only for Hu Jintao's era (2002-2012).¹

The author first tried to solve this problem dealing with robustness by not including in the sample countries frequently visited by Dalai Lama, which still import a lot from China, such as USA, U.K. Canada, Japan, India, Germany and France. The results do not show any change in the sign or significance. Theoretically, there might be also the reason that there are also some countries never visited by Dalai Lama but which for other reasons are not attracting too much of Chinese exports, but in this paper we deal only with data of the countries which have than one billion dollars value of imports from China, so this issue is not a problem. The possible explanation in the case of the growth of China's exports is that the country which offended China by receiving Dalai Lama wants to improve its relations with China afterwards, giving better conditions for China's exporters and trying to improve its business cooperation.

Table 1: Determinant of China's exports to the EU²

	<i>FE</i>	<i>FE (with time dummies)</i>	<i>OLS</i>
GDP of the EU country	0.895983 (0.0485737)***	0.917989 (0.0508039)***	0.681256 (0.0176048)***
GDP of China	0.892843 (0.0343778)***	0.529911 (0.633988)	0.938687 (0.0449463)***
Population	-0.896893 (0.153092)***	-1.09361 (0.151176)***	0.0937762 (0.018936)***
Distance	omitted due to collinearity	omitted due to collinearity	-0.713295 (0.0389422)***
EU membership	0.162708 (0.162708)**	0.100534 (0.0729617)	-0.210337 (0.0664225)***
WTO membership	0.566549 (0.566549)***	1.68877 (1.84606)	0.572583 (0.0775357)***
Dalai Lama visit	0.105711 (0.105711)*	0.0972261 (0.0541646)*	0.0342468 (0.0907631)***
Dalai Lama meet	0.015258 (0.015258)	-0.00466664 (0.0545596)	0.100187 (0.0990884)
<i>N</i>	2174	2174	2174
<i>R</i> ²	0.946444	0.950128	0.796432
<i>F</i> (131, 2042)	322.1601	296.9690	1058.783
P-value(F)	0.000000	0.000000	0.000000

¹The results are shown in table A.3 in the appendix.

²* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; ***significant at 1%; all variables excluding dummies are in logarithms.

5.2. Determinants of China's imports to the EU

This gravity model also indicates determinants of Chinese imports from the EU countries very well, with the value of R^2 of 89 percent, meaning that this gravity model for Chinese imports from the EU member states explains 89% of the variability of Chinese imports.

All explanatory variables are significant except the dummy variables for Dalai Lama effect, both for Dalai Lama's visits and meeting with the officials of the EU member country, and GDP of China and its membership in the WTO if the time dummies are included. All the others variables are significant at 1 percent level, respectively, while the distance is omitted due to co linearity. As in the case with Chinese exports to the EU countries, Hausman and Taylor estimator will not be used because of previously mentioned reasons, such as unimportance of distance effect for this model and similar results with the fixed effect model.

The estimated coefficient of China's GDP is 0.79, implying that a 1 percent of increase in China's GDP will lead to an increase of Chinese imports from the EU countries by 0.79 percent. These coefficients also show that the GDP of the EU member countries had a smaller impact than on the Chinese side, since the increase of 1 percent of GDP of EU member states increases China's imports from these countries by approximately 0.41 percent. In the model with time dummies included, the GDP of China is insignificant.

Increase in population of EU countries has a strong effect on China's imports from these countries. Model implies that with 1 percent increase in population of EU countries, China's imports from country is increased for 2.1 percent. The explanation of this might be that the big labour force can lead to division of labour and bigger variety of goods produced and exported by that country, which also implies bigger Chinese imports from these countries.

Chinese membership in WTO is, as in the case of Chinese export, associated with an increase of Chinese imports from the EU countries, where this dummy is estimated with the coefficient of 0.67, significant at 1% level, while in the case where time dummies are included it is not significant. From the interpretation of the coefficients on a dummy variable in the case of the exports, it can be implied that China's membership in WTO tends to improve its imports from the EU member countries for roughly 95 percent¹ more than it would have been otherwise.

Dummy variable of EU membership seems to have more influence in the case of Chinese imports than in the case of its export from the EU countries, with coefficient of

¹ $e^{0.67} - 1 = 1.95 - 1 = 0.95$

0.46 percent, meaning that if China's trade partner is an EU member, it will improve the Chinese imports from that country by roughly 58 percent¹.

The Dalai Lama effect is expected to have much more significant effect in the case of China's imports from the EU countries than it was in the case of the export. There has been lots of publicity about the Dalai Lama effect, but, as results show, Dalai Lama effect of both visits and meetings with the officials of the EU member countries is not significant in this case. Even their coefficients are positive in all cases, meaning that Dalai Lama effect has a positive effect on its trade, except for the Dalai Lama's meeting in the FE model with time dummies included. The results show the same sign and level of (in)significance if the data is used only for Hu Jintao's era.²

Trying to deal with the robustness, if the countries with most of Dalai Lama's visits or meetings are excluded, the results are not importantly changed. Other possible explanations for these results might be that, for example, countries with fast growing exports to China may be less afraid of Chinese threats; this can be true also for countries offering important technologies and materials for China. Another possible solution is there are some countries facing with so called "Barbara Streisand effect" - the bad publicity caused by the visit makes the country better visible in China and China's imports from that country even grows.

China's political leadership may be willing to bear some of the costs from political and economic sanctions and trade divergence which comes with that, since they want to suppress any possible challenges for China's national and territory integrity, as well as for any threat to the Chinese communist government. However, these sanctions will only be valid until the losses from trade diversion become greater than political gains of such actions, in which case their mutual economic and diplomatic relations will be stabilized again. This has happened in most of cases in less than a year from Dalai Lama's visit or meeting with that country's official.

Also, it is also important the trade diversion effect may be also influenced by consumer behavior, as showed in papers done by Disdier and Mayer (2007) and Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales (2009). As these papers show, the Dalai Lama receptions can influence demand for consumption goods imported from the country which was hosting Dalai Lama, especially for some symbolic goods of that country. A good example of this behavior happened in the case of the Olympic torch relay of the 2008 Beijing Olympic

¹ $e^{0.46} - 1 = 1.58 - 1 = 0.58$

²The results are shown in table A.4 in the appendix

Games through Paris by pro-Tibet activists. This caused calls for a consumer boycott against French products by China's government and public agencies.¹

Table 2: Determinant of China's imports from the EU²

	<i>FE</i>	<i>FE (with time dummies)</i>	<i>Pooled OLS</i>
GDP of the EU country	0.40585 (0.0965195)***	0.303912 (0.102828)***	1.23067 (0.0301764)***
GDP of China	0.732871 (0.0684406)***	1.12849 (1.27885)	0.53969 (0.076721)***
Population	2.13071 (0.303889)***	2.19662 (0.30559)***	-0.0917726 (0.032533)***
Distance	omitted due to collinearity	omitted due to collinearity	-1.09535 (0.0664324)***
EU membership	0.457651 (0.148101)***	0.446045 (0.147246)***	-0.812136 (0.113208)***
WTO membership	0.668427 (0.0815545)***	-0.213119 (3.72385)	0.707822 (0.132288)***
Dalai Lama visit	0.0253353 (0.110207)	-0.0204019 (0.109263)	0.0452679 (0.154721)
Dalai Lama meet	0.0227204 (0.111049)	0.0529465 (0.110065)	0.108895 (0.16878)
<i>N</i>	2162	2162	2162
<i>R</i> ²	0.891145	0.894831	0.693819
<i>F</i> (131, 2042)	148.3725	131.8489	609.8488
<i>P</i> -value(<i>F</i>)	0.000000	0.000000	0.000000

6. Conclusion

Trade relations between China and the EU started long time ago as not crucial for each other, and made their way to the level of strategic partnership. Their economic relations are developing very successfully. The EU is now the most important trade partner of China and its largest export market. China is the second most important partner of the EU and the fastest growing export market for EU products. The EU market has given a great contribution to Chinese economic growth, based on exports, while the EU has also felt the benefits of the growth of the Chinese market.

¹Fuchs, A. and Klann, N. H. Paying a Visit: The Dalai Lama Effect on International Trade, Discussion paper 113, Center for European, Governance and Economic Development Research (CEGE), University of Goettingen, Germany, 2010, page 8

²* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; ***significant at 1%; all variables excluding dummies are in logarithms

The results of the Gravity model show that the trade pattern between the EU and China followed the basic gravity model, both for the export and for the import. All explanatory variables of the gravity model showed the right sign. Distance was omitted due to co linearity, but using OLS method it was shown that it has the right sign as well. Furthermore, it can be seen that the EU membership improves both Chinese exports to the EU member country as well as the imports from it. The EU membership seems to have more influence in the case of Chinese imports than in the case of its export from the EU countries, which is even three times greater (45% increase on the side of imports if the country is the EU member compared to 16% on the side of the export).

Chinese membership in WTO is associated with an increase of Chinese exports to the EU countries, as well as with an increase in the case of Chinese imports from the EU. It seems that China gained a lot from joining WTO, setting a good example for the countries who are still considering whether to join or not. After joining, China moved from the 4th to the 2nd world place as the world largest trade partner and it also influenced a lot of the improvements of trade relations with the EU.

The Dalai Lama effect had a strong publicity after it was published in 2010 and it was expected to have much stronger influence on China's imports from the EU than on export. However, the results have shown opposite compared to the originally published results in the paper by Fuchs and Klann (2010). The result of this paper shows that the Dalai Lama effect of both visits and meetings with the officials of the EU member countries is not significant in the case of imports, as well as the influence of meetings on exports, but that Dalai Lama's visits are slightly influencing Chinese exports to the EU at 10 percent significance level. This basically means that the sanctions imposed by Chinese leaders do not make such a big influence on their mutual trade, as it was stated in the original paper about the Dalai Lama effect.

This paper had a couple of limitations. First of all, it was very difficult to access Chinese data due to complicated procedures, lack of Chinese knowledge data not being publicly available, which happened in most of the cases. Another issue is that very often numbers and trade figures differed in the official Chinese sources on one side and the EU, UN and WTO sources on the other side. The author decided in the end to use only internally accepted choices, as shown in the data and model specifications. Also, the data was collected in 2014, so the results are limited to that period. Furthermore, most of the data was not even available for the year when the data was collected (2014), so the data is mostly gathered for the period ending in 2013 or 2012.

This paper opened the door for many possible future extensions. It would be very interesting to make the same or similar analysis including all former communist countries and evaluate the additional dummy for how the fact that the country stopped having a communist regime effected its trade relation with China. Also, many different

variables and dummies can be added into this gravity model depending on the focus of interest in the EU and China's relations. Furthermore, the model can be used to check the relation of China with other regions of the world and whether the results change depending on the region. This could be also the case with other big EU trade partners. Finally, the Dalai Lama effect analysis could be further extended by detailed qualitative analysis, which would add much deeper understanding of the measures that were imposed by Chinese government.

With the ever-increasing rise of the Chinese economy and predictions that it will become the world's largest economy by 2020, the importance of the trade relations between the EU and China will become even bigger for economic growth of both parties. Despite the challenges that they will have to confront with in the future, the path that they have done so far represents an excellent foundation for future successful trade relations.

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8. APPENDICES

Table A.1: Dalai Lama's visits and meetings

(Countries marked with * are the countries of the EU)

Country	Dalai Lama's visits	Dalai Lama's meetings
Argentina	1992, 1999, 2006, 2011	1992, 2006, 2011
*Austria	1992, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2007, 2012	1993, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2007, 2012
Australia	1992, 1996, 2002, 2007, 2008, 2009,	1992, 1996, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011

	2011	
*Belgium	1994, 1999, 2006, 2008, 2012	1994, 1999, 2006, 2008
Brazil	1992, 1999, 2006, 2011	1999, 2006
Burma		2012
Cambodia		1992
Canada	1993, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012	2004, 2006, 2007, 2010, 2012
Chile	1992, 1999, 2006	1992, 1999, 2006
Colombia	2006	2006
Costa Rica	2004	2004
*Croatia	2002	2002
*Czech Republic	1997, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2011	1997, 2000, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2011
Egypt		2010, 2012
El Salvador	2004	2004
*Estonia	2001, 2011	2001, 2011
*Denmark	1996, 2000, 2003, 2009, 2011	1996, 2000, 2003
*Finland	1998, 2006, 2011	
*France	1993, 1994, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2008, 2009, 2011	1996, 1998, 2001, 2003, 2008, 2012
Gabon	1993	
*Germany	1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011	1994, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011
Guatemala	2004	2004
*Hungary	1992, 1993, 1996, 2000, 2010	2000
Iceland	2009	
*Italy	1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2012	1994, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007
India	1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12	1992, 1993, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2009, 2010, 2012
Indonesia	1992	
Iran		2012
*Ireland	2011	1998, 2011
Israel	1994, 1999, 2006	1999, 2006
Japan	1993, 1994, 1995, 1998, 1999, 2000,	2011

	2002, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012	
Jordan	2005, 2006, 2008	2005, 2006, 2008
*Latvia	2001	2001
*Lithuania	2001	2001
*Luxembourg	2005	
Mexico	2004, 2011	2004, 2011
Mongolia	1994, 1995, 2002, 2006, 2011	1995, 2002, 2009
*The Netherlands	1994, 1999, 2001, 2009	1994, 1996, 1999
New Zealand	1992, 1996, 2002, 2007, 2009	1992, 1996, 2002, 2007, 2009
Nicaragua	1994	1994
Nigeria	2008	
Norway	1994, 1996, 2000, 2001, 2005	1996, 2000, 2005
Peru	2006	2003, 2006
*Poland	1993, 2000, 2008, 2009, 2010	1993, 2000, 2008, 2012
*Portugal	2001, 2007	2001, 2007
Puerto Rico	2004	2004
Russia	1992, 1994, 1995, 2004	1998, 2003, 2012
San Marino		2004
*Slovakia	2000, 2009	
*Slovenia	2002, 2010, 2012	2002, 2010
South Africa	1996, 1999, 2004	1996, 2004, 2009, 2010, 2012
*Spain	1994, 1997, 2003, 2007	1997, 2007
*Sweden	1996, 1997, 2000, 2003, 2005, 2011	1996, 2000, 2003
Switzerland	1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011	2001, 2005, 2009, 2010
Taiwan	1997, 2001, 2009	1997, 2001, 2009
Trinidad and Tobago	1995	
*UK	1993, 94, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2012	1993, 1996, 999, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2012
USA	1993, 94, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012	1993, 1994, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012
Vatican		1994, 1996, 1999, 2003, 2006
Venezuela	1992	

Source: <http://www.dalailama.com>

Table A.2: Anti-dumping measures that the EU had in force against Chinese imports in October 2013

	Date of Initiation of Investigation	Product	Date of Imposition of Current Duty
1.	15.12.1988	Tungsten Carbide	25.3.2011
2.	1.2.1989	Silicon Metal	30.5.2010
3.	12.10.1991	Bicycles	6.6.2013
4.	3.2.1994	Certain Tube and Pipe Fittings of Iron or Steel	5.9.2009
5.	2.3.1994	Powdered Activated Carbon	11.7.2008
6.	28.10.1995	Certain Ring Binder Mechanisms	27.2.2010
7.	19.4.1996	Certain Bicycle Parts	7.10.2011
8.	20.5.1998	Steel Stranded Ropes and Cables	10.2.2012
9.	6.7.2001	Sulphanilic Acid	17.10.2008
10.	19.12.2002	Sodium Cyclamate	12.5.2012
11.	22.5.2003	Polyethylene Terephthalate	18.11.2010
12.	19.8.2003	Okoumé Plywood	3.2.2011
13.	29.4.2004	Hand Pallet Trucks and Their Essential Parts	25.4.2013
14.	30.4.2004	Barium Carbonate	20.8.2011
15.	10.7.2004	Trichloroisocyanuric Acid	31.12.2011
16.	24.8.2004	Certain Stainless Steel Fasteners and Parts	8.1.2012
17.	30.10.2004	Tartaric Acid	14.7.2012
18.	28.4.2005	Lever Arch Mechanisms	5.9.2012
19.	25.6.2005	Chamois Leather	7.12.2012
20.	17.12.2005	Certain Tungsten Electrodes	5.6.2013
21.	4.2.2006	Ironing Boards	24.7.2013
22.	13.7.2006	Peroxosulphates	18.12.2013
23.	30.11.2006	Ferro Silicon	11.4.2014
24.	5.9.2007	Monosodium Glutamate	3.12.2008
25.	4.9.2007	Citric Acid	4.12.2008
26.	26.9.2007	Certain Welded Tubes and Pipes of Iron or Non-alloy Steel	20.12.2008
27.	9.11.2007	Certain Iron or Steel Fasteners	11.10.2012
28.	16.2.2008	Certain Pre- and Post-stressing Wires and Wire Strands of Non-alloy Steel	14.5.2009
29.	16.2.2008	Certain Candles, Tapers and the Like	15.5.2009
30.	8.5.2008	Wire Rod	6.8.2009
31.	9.7.2008	Certain Seamless Pipes and Tubes of Iron or Steel	7.10.2009
32.	12.7.2008	Certain Aluminium Foil	7.10.2009
33.	18.3.2009	Certain Cargo Scanning Systems	17.6.2010
34.	8.4.2009	Certain Molybdenum Wires	17.6.2010
35.	11.8.2009	Sodium Gluconate	29.10.2010

36.	13.8.2009	Certain Aluminium Road Wheels	29.10.2010
37.	8.9.2009	High Tenacity Yarn of Polyesters	2.12.2010
38.	17.12.2009	Certain Continuous Filament Glass Fibre Products	16.3.2011
39.	17.2.2010	Melamine	14.5.2011
40.	18.2.2010	Coated Fine Paper	15.5.2011
41.	20.5.2010	Certain Open Mesh Fabrics of Glass Fibres	10.8.2011
42.	19.6.2010	Ceramic Tiles	30.6.2012
43.	30.9.2010	Certain Seamless Pipes and Tubes of Stainless Steel	21.12.2011
44.	26.1.2011	Oxalic Acid	19.4.2012
45.	12.8.2011	Aluminium Radiators	10.11.2012
46.	20.12.2011	Certain Aluminium Foil in Rolls	14.3.2013
47.	21.12.2011	Certain Organic Coated Steel Products	16.3.2013
48.	19.6.2012	Certain Prepared or Preserved Citrus Fruits	23.2.2013
49.	16.2.2012	Threaded Tube or Pipe Cast Fittings, of Malleable Cast Iron	15.5.2013
50.	16.2.2012	Ceramic Tableware and Kitchenware	16.5.2013
51.	6.9.2012	Crystalline Silicon Photovoltaic Modules and Key Components (i.e. Cells)	6.12.2013
52.	28.2.2013	Solar Glass	15.5.2014

Source: http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2009/september/tradoc_144591.pdf

Table A.3: Determinants of China's exports to the EU for Hu Jintao's era (2002-2012)¹

	<i>FE</i>	<i>FE (with time dummies)</i>
GDP of the country	0,895983 (0,0485737)***	0,917989 (0,0508039)***
GDP of China	0,892843 (0,0343778)***	0,529911 (0,633988)
Population	-0,896893 (0,153092)***	-1,09361 (0,151176)***
Distance	omitted due to collinearity	omitted due to collinearity
EU membership	0,162708 (0,0747536)**	0,100534 (0,0729617)
WTO membership	0,566549 (0,0410981)***	1,68877 (1,84606)
Dalai Lama visit	0,105711	0,0972261

¹* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; ***significant at 1%; all variables excluding dummies are in logarithms

	(0,055652)*	(0,0541646)*
Dalai Lama meet	0,015258 (0,0560752)	-0,00466664 (0,0545596)
<i>N</i>	2174	2174
<i>R</i> ²	0,946444	0,950128
<i>F</i> (131, 2042)	322,1601	296,9690
P-value(<i>F</i>)	0.000000	0.000000

Table A.4: Determinants of China's imports to the EU for Hu Jintao's era (2002-2012)¹

	<i>FE</i>	<i>FE (with time dummies)</i>
GDP of the country	0,40585 (0,0965195)***	0,303912 (0,102828)***
GDP of China	0,732871 (0,0684406)***	1,12849 (1,27885)
Population	2,13071 (0,303889)***	2,19662 (0,30559)***
Distance	omitted due to collinearity	omitted due to collinearity
EU membership	0,457651 (0,148101)***	0,446045 (0,147246)***
WTO membership	0,668427 (0,0815545)***	-0,213119 (3,72385)
Dalai Lama visit	0,0253353 (0,110207)	-0,0204019 (0,109263)
Dalai Lama meet	0,0227204 (0,111049)	0,0529465 (0,110065)
<i>N</i>	2162	2162
<i>R</i> ²	0,891145	0,894831
<i>F</i> (131, 2042)	148,3725	131,8489
P-value(<i>F</i>)	0.000000	0.000000

¹* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; ***significant at 1%; all variables excluding dummies are in logarithms

Trade Offensive of Emerging Asian Countries in Democratic Republic of Congo - China and India Cases

Jean Denis Miala Ndombele¹

Sangu Mataya²

Abstract:

The last democratic demands of Western countries to Africa sounded the death knell of preferential and secular trade relations that have prevailed between the North and the black continent. Accordingly, for its commercial transactions, African countries have chosen quickly to be under the control of Asian and South American emerging countries. The Democratic Republic of Congo is not an exception.

Indeed, China is present in Congo - Kinshasa since the Mobutu years. She came to the construction of public buildings and the implementation of the rice project. At that time, the Chinese were invited immigrants and came as part of bilateral cooperation. President Laurent-Désiré Kabila who succeeded President Mobutu has made China the main supplier of the Congolese army in non-lethal military equipment including vehicles and uniforms. China's presence in the DRC intensified after the arrival to power of President Joseph Kabila who needed her as part of the implementation of its two electoral programs " 5 yards and Revolution of modernity". To achieve, the two countries had to sign contracts, the famous "Chinese contracts", which gave the Chinese private companies the right and permission to exploit Katanga minerals in return for which the duty to fund works infrastructure of government. A few years later, the contracts between private Chinese and Congolese government have shown serious limitations. The Chinese have nevertheless continued their mining. In this wave, another category of Chinese emigrated to the Congo. This has therefore embarked on the exercise of small business by opening stores in every corner of cities, towns and other villages of the DRC. While having the reputation of sleeping on their workplaces, Chinese operators do not build for that purpose. They are mostly tenants unlike Indians who take care to build first large buildings before starting operations. Chinese shops

¹ University of Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo
[club.entrepreneuriat16@yahoo.com]

² University of Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo [fatysangu@gmail.com]

are selling mostly the same categories of property. Obviously they have almost all the same suppliers. This is an opportunity to find out:

- 1) The immigration process is described as noted above, it fits into any form of internationalization?
- 2) What is the link between the desire for expansion of these two Asian BRICS countries and shape of entrepreneurship practiced by their nationals in the Congo?
- 3) What is the economic and social impact of their intervention on Congolese territory?

1. Introduction

1.1. PROBLEM

The latest Western democratic demands on African countries may be the cause of the biggest trade turn of the present millennium on the African continent. In the name of cooperation, formerly all the former western colonies used to trade with former metropolises and their friends. Today, due to the refusal of a large number of African countries to comply with the Western democratic diktat, trade relations are now intensifying between Asia and Africa.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, everything began with the entry on May 17, 1997 of the AFDL in power, Mzée Laurent Desiré Kabila in mind. The latter had made China one of the main sources of supply of non-lethal military equipment. Thus, during its three years of reign, the Congolese have accustomed to the noises of vehicles of Chinese brand jiefang in the main arteries of Kinshasa and the interior of the country.

In 2001, when Joseph Kabila took power after his father's assassination, Lebanese and Indo-Pakistanis were the largest group of immigrant entrepreneurs along with West Africans in the DRC. It took the launch of the electoral programs "5 projects" and "revolution of modernity" to see the number of Chinese people increase considerably and almost suddenly in the streets of Kinshasa. They came to the Democratic Republic of Congo first to work on the major works projects selected in the two successive presidential programs mentioned above. But beside these masons and other workmen emerged a group of Chinese who began to engage in small business. The latter have applied a different approach to that of Lebanese and Indo-Pakistani. Some with Congolese nominees, they opened shops in the city close to the final applicant and went beyond the regulation of small trade in the DRC since they were resolved to sell in detail while their predecessors lived and had their shops in the city center while devoted to wholesale and semi-wholesale trade. And in Kinshasa, Lebanese and Indo-Pakistanis had mainly taken up their quarters in the commune of Gombe on the outskirts of the main market and on the Trade Avenue (Avenue du Commerce). It is also

important to point out that the compatriots of President XI did not bother to build shops. They preferred to rent already existing houses by modifying them with some modifications.

The Indians came. They copied the Chinese only by choosing to settle in the city near final consumers (final demand) and by retailing. However, their approach strategy differs. They negotiate with landowners plots located in the main arteries and roundabouts in different cities across the country. They build large, compartmentalized buildings at two or three levels after signing contracts to dispose of them for about 20 years. Beyond that they return the parcel to its first owner (that is to say the one with whom they signed the contract). However, they can become tenants if they want to stay. Indians invest mainly in supermarkets, supermarkets and department stores selling machine tools, building materials and other goods.

It is therefore an opportunity to seek out: "What do these Asian immigrant traders really and essentially sell? What are their main sources of supply? What were their statutes before setting up in the DRC? Are there Chinese and Indian policies of internationalization or their nationals migrate in scattered order? What are their local partners? What are their disappointments? Are they in order with the tax authorities? What are the wage policies of their companies? Do they achieve significant margins? How do they organize themselves in case of conflict with nationals? Are they in tune with local culture? What is the impact of their implementation on the neighboring community? Apart from the general trade in which other sectors invest Indian and Chinese in the Democratic Republic of Congo? ". These are the questions we will try to answer.

1.2. HYPOTHESES

To the questions posed we assume to answer that the Chinese and Indians sell manufactured products from their countries of origin. Many Chinese nationals practicing the trade profession in the Congo were either unemployed at home or working in sectors other than retail trade. Despite high import rates, some Chinese and Indian entrepreneurs have succeeded in forging strong ties with local producers. The difficulties they face are supposed to be cultural. Expatriates are often afraid of having clashes with the political power in place. So, they make an effort to honor their tax commitments. Chinese and Indian stores are experiencing a significant influx of customers. This suggests a significant daily turnover, considerable inventory turnover and a significant profit margin. The sustained influx of Congolese customers into Indian and Chinese stores can also prove that Congolese are satisfied with products sold, reception and the price system practiced.

1.3. INTEREST OF THE SUBJECT

This work arouses interest in the fact that very few studies are carried out on these new immigrants on their ambitions, their system of implantation and integration and on the policy put in place by the respective states to push them to the " immigration. This study will enable the Congolese to set up reception strategies and to draw inspiration from their fellow expatriates or candidates for expatriation.

2. Objectives

Our aim is to clarify the conditions in which Asian and Indian immigrants settle in the DRC and understand the relevance of the activity and draw inspiration from it to develop Congolese entrepreneurship and its internationalization in a structured way.

3. Literature review

Work exists on the internationalization of SMEs, immigrant entrepreneurship, globalization and the regulation of international trade. First Pierre Latulippe (2002) defines globalization as a process that is the product of human innovation and technical progress. It refers to the increasing integration of economies around the world through trade flows and financial flows. The term is commonly used since the 1980s, ie. Since technical progress makes it easier and faster to carry out commercial, financial and international operations. It reflects the continuation of the market forces that have operated for centuries at all levels of economic activity (village markets, urban industries or financial centers) beyond the borders of countries. According to some analysts, the economy was as globalized 100 years ago as now. It is important to note that the integration of financial markets has been made possible through electronic means of communication. Globalization has accentuated, strengthened and modernized the phenomenon of internationalization of SMEs. Thus, for the sake of theorization, Imanekayat (2004) and Josée Saint Pierre (2008) establish three approaches to better grasp the phenomenon of internationalization. These are the behaviourist approach, the resource approach and the network approach. The behaviorist approach put in place by the Swedish school has two models: the Uppsala model and the model of internationalization through innovation.

Maria Forsman, SusannaHinttu and Sören Kockabound the question in the same sense by saying:

« The theory of the internationalization process is broadly accepted. Later though, a need for development of the original model as it was created in the 70's was acknowledged. Firstly, when for example large firms have surplus resources, they can be expected to make larger internationalization steps. Secondly, in a situation when market conditions are stable and homogeneous, it might be possible to acquire important market knowledge in other ways than through experience. Thirdly, a firm may have considerable experience from markets that have similar characteristics and may thus generalize this experience to the specific market (Johanson&Vahlne 1993). Rasmussen et al (2000) state that the factors leading to a more accelerated internationalization are: (1) new market conditions, increased specialization demanding larger markets and quick spread of innovations, (2) i.e. technological developments in the areas of production, transportation and communication, and (3) more elaborate capabilities of people, i.e. more mobile personnel and increased knowledge about foreign cultures and markets”.

In the same vein, Pairrault and José St Pierre (2008) admit that since the Marrakech agreements, the conditions of the internationalization of the companies have undoubtedly changed. Despite the "new frontiers" of the International Development Strategy (SDI), the temptation remains to reduce the internationalization of enterprises to export activities alone. That is, to maintain a mercantilist vision of the international development process, whereas the internationalization of SMEs has become an activity with diversified modalities. Internationalization, which is no longer limited to outgoing flows, is now defined on the basis of more complex approaches, borrowing three dimensions: mercantile internationalization (input-output), technological internationalization (ability to control and maintain the advantage Technological) and organizational internationalization (modalities of organization, management and control).

So, to give an answer to the questions "What are the necessary conditions for the international success of SMEs? And How to achieve "apologia for the clarinet"? "Pairrault and José St Pierre (2008) argue that" despite the attempts at definition, notably by the OECD (Torres, 1998), the internationalization of SMEs offers a particular analytical difficulty. Moreover, for years, analyzes of this internationalization have referred to the approaches characterized by the Johanson-Vahlne model, or the Uppsala model (Johanson and Vahlne, 1977); Or, by the Bilkey-Tesar I-model (Bilkey and Tesar, 1977). However, SDI SMEs, although still largely dominated by exports but also imports (Knudsen and Servais, 2007), have revealed for several years more complex approaches, such as the complexity of the environment (David, 2002, Etemad and Wright, 2003). This complexity requires refining the notion of internationalization; But beforehand it is necessary to distinguish the main theories of this mechanism. In an

attempt at clarification, we wish to distinguish three major representations of the dynamic modalities of internationalization: determined internationalization, organized internationalization and internationalization of genes ".

This term of internationalization appears so complex insofar as it is differently understood according to whether the analyst is in the country of the outgoing flows than that of the incoming flows. Thus, in this article, we show a particular interest in the beneficiaries' reading of the flows vis-à-vis suppliers and especially insofar as we want to understand the merits of the offensive of Asian countries (China And India) in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Hence the relevance of the concept of foreign direct investment (FDI). Cited by FodéSiréDiaby (2014), the World Investment Report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) defines Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) as "an investment involving a relationship of LT and reflecting an interest purpose and control of an entity resident in an economy (foreign direct investor or parent company) in an enterprise that resides in an economy other than that of the investor (affiliate or subsidiary 'foreign).

The same FodéSiréDiaby (2014) argues that, according to the IMF's Balance of Payments Manual (2003, 152), foreign direct investment is defined as "an activity whereby an investor residing in a country obtains a lasting interest and A significant influence in the management of an entity residing in another country. A foreign investment is considered as Foreign direct investment when the foreign investor holds at least 10% of the ordinary shares or voting rights of a company and has some influence on its management ". An investment whose share in total assets is less than 10% is considered as a portfolio or investment investment (OECD, 2008b). According to Hymer (1960), the difference between an FDI and a portfolio investment is explained by the difference in interest rates. While portfolio investment is seeking direct profit through higher interest rates, FDI is capital flows that are part of the international operations of transnational corporations in order to control production. FDI is always expressed in terms of flows or stocks. Better understood, this concept better explains China's trade strategy in Africa. China is aiming for world leadership by seeking to defy politically and economically the first and other Western economic powers, its strategy of the Softpower diverges somewhat with India which has essentially commercial aims and whose stake of leadership is to " Initially subregional. It is therefore clear that India is looking for some grandeur while China is making headway on power.

However, before discussing Chinese strategy, it is a good thing to pay tribute to the theorization effort that some authors have had to make on the purely technical understanding of foreign direct investment.

FodéSiréDiaby (2014) points out that since globalization, FDI has become more and more important and has become a key element in the internationalization strategy of

transnational corporations. While these FDI have grown strongly in recent decades, the international market is witnessing a growing influx of new companies from emerging countries, such as China, Brazil, India, Russia, and so on.

To understand this new phenomenon, we will answer the question: why do companies invest abroad?

To answer this question, FodéSiréDiaby (2014) made a search worthy of Egyptologist. He attests that researchers such as Caves (1971), Dudas (2007), Vernon (1966) have already proposed answers to this question. The different answers reflect the theories explaining foreign investment. These theories are based on different approaches according to the elements contributing to the realization of FDI. According to Dudas (2007), the theories of the FDI can be classified into 4 analytical approaches:

- The macroeconomic approach
- The approach based on the theories of the development of the FDI
- The microeconomic approach
- The eclectic paradigm-based approach to international production.

By referring to the presentation of the Dudas approaches we can evoke several theories on FDI based on the macroeconomic approach. Initially, FDI was determined by the Capital Market Theory or Dynamic Macroeconomic Theory. It then depended on the macroeconomic environment. FDI was also seen as a tool to reduce exchange rate risk. FDI flows were therefore determined by the change in the exchange rate. Then in a gravitational approach on FDI, geographical, economic or cultural proximity can also determine. Finally, according to the same approach, theories of FDI can be based on an institutional analysis. Thus, the flows of FDI are determined by the institutional level of the host country, ie political stability becomes the key factor determining FDI flows.

The second approach to analyzing FDI. One of the earliest theories of FDI based on this approach is the product lifecycle theory. This theory was interpreted by Vernon (1966) in one of his articles as a form of production for mature products. She explains that there is a relationship between the life cycle of a product and the flow of FDI. According to the same theory, when a product reaches its maturity of design and production, companies spread it through international production. Following life cycle theory, some authors have analyzed the relationship between the evolution of a country's inflows and outflows and its level of economic development. Among these authors, there is the American Michael Porter (1986 and 1993). He is the author of the diamond model of competitive advantage. He argues that each level of economic development in a country is associated with a particular characteristic of inward and outward FDIs in the country. It distinguishes 4 stages in the economic development of the country. The first stage of development is based on the exploitation of factors of production (extraction of natural resources or intensive use of the labor force).

The second stage is based on investments such as the intermediate goods manufacturing industry and the construction of infrastructure. The transition from the first to the second stage is accompanied by a flow of capital from the country to countries offering the lowest wage costs. Capital is invested in the extraction of the raw material. L in manufacturing-intensive industries. The third stage of development is based on innovation through research and development activities and the abundant use of human capital. The shift from the second to the third stage is accompanied by an increase in outward FDI for investment in the intermediate goods industries. Finally, the fourth stage of development is based on the wealth of the country. Companies in a country that has reached this level have a lot of capital to make FDI.

Under this approach, firms in one country decide to invest abroad primarily because the country has a high level of economic development. This leads to an increase in the wage bill in the country, thus obliging its companies to internationalize in countries where production costs are lower. The economic development of the country is then accompanied by a gain in competitiveness (thanks to the technological development) which pushes the companies of the country to go to the conquest of market abroad.

The third approach analyzes theories of FDI is the microeconomic approach. In this approach the study focuses on the motivations of the company to invest abroad. According to Mundell (1957), companies to invest abroad because there are trade barriers. Transnational corporations (TNCs), to circumvent these protectionist barriers, substituting international flows of goods through FDI flows. This means that companies basically invested abroad because trade was not fully liberalized.

In order to fully understand this phenomenon, the Canadian economist made a study of the nature and causes of FDI in 1960. His theory explains the causes of FDI by market imperfections. To overcome these shortcomings companies, use FDI to control the production of their products abroad. The control of the production then makes it possible to gain competitiveness vis-a-vis the local companies and thus acquire the monopoly.

Hymer's theory of monopolistic competition shows that FDI is the result of market imperfections, as foreign investors have a specific advantage (monopolistic advantage) that local firms do not have.

China being a populist democracy with a highly-centralized power, it is understandable that its economic and commercial expansion is finely distilled from the central organs of the Communist Party and therefore from power. The temptation is great to think that it is the central power that orchestrates the emigration of its own citizens.

In this regard, NdubisiObiorah (2007) questions the following: "Does China's increased presence in Africa refer to an ideological alliance, an economic partnership or disinterested aid? He concludes that while Sino-African relations seem to offer the

possibility of unconditional development and the return to multi-polar cooperation. For local civil society mobilized for the respect of human rights and democracy, it is a serious challenge that must be addressed.

4. Methods

To achieve this, we will proceed by observation, interview and survey of the expatriates concerned, their employees, consumers and public authorities. Thus, we have made questionnaires and grids of interviews. Concerning the expatriates, a sample of 68 expatriates (34 Chinese and 34 Indians) was the subject of our investigation. The flat and cross sorts were used to process the data. It must be recognized, however, that at this stage of the study the analysis is essentially documentary and exploratory. The facts analysed have resulted in accepted results through induction and deduction. Descriptive and explanatory methods have also been used.

5. Findings

5.1. HISTORY OF ASIAN TRADE OFFENSIVE IN AFRICA

NdubisiObiorah (2011) states that the first direct trade and political contacts between China and Africa date back to the 15th century when China's attempts to conquer China The fleet of Admiral Zheng He landed in East Africa, during a legendary sailing expedition around the world. However, communication and indirect trade between China and Africa can be traced back more than 3,000 years, as evidenced by the remains of Chinese ceramics discovered in various scattered parts of Africa, such as Timbuktu in the Sahel, ruins Of Greater Zimbabwe or in the Mozambique Channel in southern Africa. The relationship between China and Africa began to build up after the 1949 revolution that brought Mao's Communist Party to power. From 1950 to 1980, China supported African liberation movements and funded more than 800 projects in Africa, including initiatives in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, textiles, energy, infrastructure, Water conservation and energy production. The 1980s marked the end of the first Sino-African commitments based on a principle of ideological solidarity or "third-world solidarity", following a decline in development efforts and reforms announced by Deng Xiaoping.

During the 1990s, China intensified its aid to African governments and restored its old rhetoric of "mutual respect" and interest in diversity ", a speech resonating in a continent sensitive to everything related to neocolonial reflexes of the former powers in power.

In return, Beijing receives recognition of its sovereignty over Taiwan, a certain indifference to its violations of human rights, and the support of African countries in international organizations.

In 2000, the new Forum on China-Africa Cooperation saw the creation of a bilateral social and economic program. China canceled \$ 10 billion of debt held by African states. At the second ministerial conference of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in December 2003, China offered to cancel the debt of thirty-one other African countries and considered the establishment of a zero tariff on exports.

As has been seen in Nigeria, Chinese trade and investment in Africa has increased rapidly, especially in the oil and natural resource sectors. During his visit to Nigeria in April 2006, President Hu Jintao and his Nigerian host Olusegun Obasanjo signed an agreement to grant four drilling licenses to China, which in return pledged to invest 4 billion Dollars in oil infrastructure. The state-owned China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) received pre-emptive rights over four blocks of oil exploration. China has agreed to become a majority shareholder in the Kaduna oil refinery, whose daily output is 110,000 barrels, and to build a power plant. Another agreement provides Nigeria with technology cooperation, a \$ 500 million export credit to China Exim Bank, as well as funds to pay for malaria and Help Nigerians fight bird flu.

5.2. INDIAN AND CHINESE FOREST EXPLOITATION IN AFRICA

Over time, China and India have had to increase their hold and control over the African forest (Chaponnière J.-R., 2013).

For India, Southeast Asia is the main supplier of wood. It accounts for over two thirds of imports against less than 10% from sub-Saharan Africa. Among the countries in the Congo Basin, Gabon is its main supplier, accounting for 3% of its imports in 2010 (see Chart 19).

According to Lawson and Mafcaul (2010), China is the largest importer of illegal timber by volume (about 20% of its imports). Following strong growth during the period 2000-2004, these illegal imports decreased as a result of reduced supplies to Indonesia and Burma. According to Dieter (2009), illegal imports from China are between 39 and 69 million m³ and, according to NGOs [26], this illegal timber trade represents more than half of China's imports.

Overall, the Congo Basin countries export over two-thirds of their timber, especially raw wood, to China and Hong Kong, while exporting more and more sawnwood, Plywood to Europe. Given that the volume of sawnwood is only half that of logs, why does China import raw wood in spite of high transport costs, while the gap between Chinese tariffs on logs and Sawn timber is low? Several reasons have been put forward, including: the

very large size of Chinese factories, which facilitates the use of processing residues for other uses such as pulp; The competitiveness of the workforce in a labor-intensive sector that plays an important role in rural areas; The profit generated by the exploitation of raw wood which exceeds the fines in case of non-respect of the environmental rules (Kerstin et al., 2008, Kozak and Canby, 2007). This preference gives priority to a rapid exploitation which does not accommodate the sustainable management of the forests, while the Chinese factories can treat resources of poor quality. This leads to low-selective logging while maintaining exporters at the primary extraction stage (Kaplinsky, 2010). France has long been the largest market for logs exported by Gabon and its imports have declined as a result of increased purchases of processed wood.

The Chinese, which bought several French companies, control half of the concessions and absorb 80% of log exports, compared with only 10% for India. As the government has demanded the local processing of 100% of the exported wood, many Chinese companies are investing and according to the Mofcom, ten processing plants are under construction and have created some 1,500 jobs.

In the Congo, while wood exports have decreased in volume since 2000, the share directed to China has exceeded 60% since 2008. Chinese companies control almost a quarter of the timber concessions they have sometimes bought from European groups Or Congolese. Since 2006, China has absorbed, on average, more than 60% of Cameroon's total exports of raw timber. Chinese companies now hold more than half of the concessions, sometimes bought back from French and European farms. Vicwood-Thany, the largest group, holds 800,000 hectares of forest concessions and has six sawmills and a processing capacity of approximately 320,000 m³ per year. The DRC has regained its production level before the civil wars that broke out between 1997 and 2003. European concessions are the most important and until 2008 the DRC was exporting little to China. The Congolese regulation limits the percentage of cuts that can be exported to logs to 15%. A limit that would be little observed by the Chinese companies present in the South where Shu Shanxin operates two concessions in the province of Ecuador. In 2010, the company was joined by Huzhong Forestry, which increased China's share of exports (40%). Also active in Congo, the Indonesian Indonesian group Olam is present in Gabon.

Malaysian companies are also very present, in particular the RimbunanHijau group, which has been operating since the 1990s, which is also present in Gabon and which exports to China.

5.3. INDIA-AFRICA COMMERCIAL COOPERATION AND TRADE

Pavithra Rao and Franck Kuwonu (2016) report that, according to figures from the Indian government and the African Development Bank (AfDB), bilateral trade between India and Africa increased from \$ 1 billion in 1995 To 75 billion in 2015.

From 2010 to 2015, Nigeria was India's largest economic partner in Africa with an import-export volume of \$ 1.6 billion, followed by South Africa with \$ 1.1 billion, followed by Kenya and Mozambique.

Over the period as a whole, India's exports to Africa increased by 93% and imports by 28%, according to the Africa-India Facts and Figures 2015 report published jointly by the Economic Commission For Africa (ECA) and the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII). The report indicates that Africa's share of Indian exports has increased from \$ 17.9 billion in 2010 to \$ 34.6 billion in 2015.

According to a report published in 2015 by the South African Institute of International Affairs, Mauritius is the preferred destination for foreign direct investment (FDI) of \$ 64.2 billion for the period 2000 to 2012.

If this amount represents three-quarters of India's FDI in Africa, the figures are distorted. The investments are primarily linked to the activities of US companies that take advantage of the island's beneficial tax laws and invest in India through Mauritian companies.

As is well known, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and India develop close ties of cooperation in a number of areas, including health and energy.

In the latter area, Indian companies and banks are supporting ongoing construction projects for the Katende (formerly Kasai province) and Kakobola hydroelectric power stations in the former Bandundu province.

5.4. CHINA-DRC TRADE COOPERATION AND TRADE

According to Stanislas Ntambwe (2015), the Chinese are ubiquitous in all the sectors of the national life of the DRC. They are pulling out major markets in the construction and / or rehabilitation of road and property infrastructures. Chinese shops, boutiques and restaurants also flood large Congolese cities.

Congolese exports to China have also increased at a rapid and steady pace. This proves the growing interest between two nations seeking mutually beneficial opportunities in various sectors.

According to a report by the independent research and information center, RAND Corporation, the DRC corresponds to only 2% of China's economic exchanges with Africa. Growing steadily in 2008, these exchanges between the DRC and China

concluded on infrastructure development projects in exchange for Sino-Congolese industrial mining projects.

Between 2008 and 2014, China invested in ten infrastructure projects in the DRC. The total expenditures on these projects running, are about 459,764,000 USD. And in 2015, planned projects include the development of public spaces, roads, solar projects and more. The total expenditure for these projects planned for 2015 is 250,000,000 USD.

Improved economic relations between the DRC and China are contributing to the growing volume of DRC exports. The deficit in 1991, 68.34 million USD (63.24 from China to the DRC and 5.08 million from the DRC to China), the Congolese balance of trade became surplus from 2003.

Out of a total of 51,710 million USD, there were 25,420 million USD from China to the DRC, and USD 26,300 million from imports from the DRC to China. These figures have evolved considerably in 2014 and are estimated at 4.185 billion USD (1.362 billion USD from China to the DRC against 2.823 billion USD from the DRC to China).

5.5. CHINESE MINING EXPLOITATION IN THE DRC

Under the terms of the Chinese contracts, the DRC negotiated the acquisition of road infrastructures against the transfer for exploitation of several mining deposits in Katanga in compensation. Unfortunately, the contract had been misrepresented that the Chinese had stopped financing the road construction works while they continue to operate minerals to date. With these contracts, China relies heavily on the DRC for the mining products needed to satisfy the greediness of its heavy industry.

According to Stanislas Ntambwe (2015), by the end of 2014, a total of 14 mining projects have enabled the capacity building and economic development of the country. The total investment for mining projects is US \$ 3.72 billion, including US \$ 320 million for the construction of a hydroelectric power station.

The president of the AFECC, Jiang Qingde, which operates a diamond mine in Mbuji-Mayi (Kasaï Oriental), has already invested via its subsidiary SACIM, "more than 100 million USD". And China Railway (CRCC14) specializing in the construction of large infrastructure, is candidate for the construction of the deep-water port of Banana (Central Kongo), a tramway in Kinshasa and new railway lines, Kinshasa- Matadi and Lubumbashi-Ilebo.

But the China-DRC honeymoon is likely to fade in the medium term. China, so greedy, does not stop to negotiate in the back of an enthusiastic partner that is the Democratic Republic of Congo.

More recently, the US group Freeport-McMoran announced on Monday that it had reached an agreement on the sale of the Congolese mine from TenkeFungurume (Congo-Kinshasa) to the Chinese group China Molybdenum for more than \$ 2.6 billion (Le Monde, 2016). And this agreement was negotiated without the knowledge of the Congolese government, as evidenced by the declaration of Valéry Mukasa, Director of Cabinet of the Minister of Congolese Mines, Martin Kabwelulu, to AFP (2016): "We just had | We were not involved "in the dealings between Freeport and China Molybdenum, told AFP Valéry Mukasa, cabinet director of Congolese mines minister Martin Kabwelulu" and added laconically: "the state Congolese will receive "rights" at the sale, which Freeport wants to close before the end of the year.

Freeport McMoran holds 56% of the copper and cobalt mine it operates in Katanga (southeastern Democratic Republic of Congo), making it one of the largest Contributors to the Congolese state budget. The deal must pass through the sale of the \$ 2.65 billion parent company of TenkeFungurume Mining (TFM) TF Holdings, registered in Bermuda, Freeport-McMoran said in a statement. This amount could be increased by 120 million depending on the evolution of copper prices in 2018 and 2019, adds the group based in Phoenix, capital of Arizona (State of the southwest of the United States).

In addition to TF Holdings, the other shareholders of TFM are Lundin Mining, a corporation incorporated under Canadian law, and the Congolese public mining company Gécamines.

5.6. THE HIGH TECH

High-Tech products have conquered the hearts of the Congolese. Mobile phones are sold at affordable prices and defy any competition. On this list we find ZTE and HUAWEI. HUAWEI Vice President Ami Lin, who provides telephony equipment, has reassured the company that it will make new investments. She announced that "Huawei will equip the administration with new means to facilitate its communication and the modernization of its functioning".

5.7. GENERAL TRADE

5.7.1. Nature of activities and products sold

According to Olivier Delefosse in Economists' letter n ° 15 (January 2007), Chinese exports to Africa - mostly manufactured goods - are much more diversified. Textile clothing occupies first place - China accounts for half of imports of fabrics and clothing

imported by Africa - and yarn and fabric are sometimes used by exporters of clothing. Next comes a wide variety of consumer goods: leather goods, shoes (two thirds of African imports come from China), furniture, plastic goods and consumer electronics. China is also beginning to emerge on the capital goods market, particularly turbines, public works equipment and telecommunications. Chinese products penetrate homogeneously into all countries.

Seen from Beijing, trade with sub-Saharan Africa is in deficit and this deficit has widened in the last two years. The oil countries have surpluses in their trade with China while most of the others are in deficit. The balance of the trade balance of West Africa with China would thus be slightly negative and clearly positive for Central Africa.

In the DRC, Chinese-owned shops sell mostly the same manufactured goods and prices are relatively low and similar. Despite their dubious quality (Chinese junk), these items are well accepted and prized by consumers. These are clothes, shoes, receivers with multiple functions (radio-phone-flashlight), music chains and built-in cabinets, suitcases, kitchen utensils, sheets and curtains, household appliances. These Chinese stores have mainly specialized in selling point-of-sale troubleshooting products with no hope of keeping them for long. This is confirmed by the survey of 34 Chinese. In fact, 88.2% of Chinese respondents admitted selling manufactured products for domestic use, compared with 11.8% selling agricultural and food products.

5.7.2. What about Chinese and Indian policies of internationalization

The recent Chinese presence in the DRC has several motivations. As much as the Chinese government has put in place a strategy to push some of its compatriots towards commercial immigration, a group of illegals has taken advantage of this wave to settle in the DRC.

At the same time as groups of Chinese came to build road infrastructure and buildings of public interest, other Chinese nationals were interested in retailing, micro-commerce such as the preparation and sale of donuts. Still others especially girls have not hesitated to engage in prostitution and resourcefulness. It thus appears that Chinese migrations in Africa are driven by major projects. They are also justified by the flexibility and opportunism of migrants. Many Chinese people landing in Africa are adventurers with no particular mandate. Creating an SME in China is now very expensive and migrants choose Africa for want of a better one. (Antoine Kermen, Benoit Vulliet, 2008). The survey conducted on the ground revealed that 29.41% of the Chinese interviewed worked in China before emigrating to the DRC. However, 23.53% were unemployed, 14.7% were unemployed and 11.76 were unemployed.

In the interest of rapidly strengthening economic and political ties between states and unlike the West, China soon gave guarantees of political non-interference in African states in general and in the Democratic Republic of Congo in particular. So the Chinese citizens were initially welcomed by the Congolese. However, being officially immigrants invited by the government, their status vis-à-vis the population has evolved and metamorphosed according to the socio-political climate of the country. It was enough that the population lends to the majority in power of the wishes of change of the constitution or specifically of electoral law, so that in January 2016, their stores are plundered by an angry crowd while those of other expatriates had not undergone the same treatment.

The government, moreover, did not hesitate to compensate them as soon as calm had been restored.

The Indians, Indo-Pakistanis and Nepalese established in the DRC also reveal a strategy of particular approach and integration. They have massively invested in the Congolese territory by embedding themselves in the pharmaceutical sector. Companies like Zenufa, Shalina, .. first proceeded to import the pharmaceutical products of India before constructing factories of local manufacture of the products like ampicillin, chloramphenicol, aspirin, Beside them, car manufacturers and other dealers settled first in Kinshasa selling only Indian-brand vehicles. This is the case of Tata-Mahindra. On this wave, it is also worth mentioning the telecommunications sector in the Indian group Barathi acquired the company AIRTEL which is also present in several African countries.

Now another form of entrepreneurship characterizes this category of immigrants. In their group are operators of the real estate sector who sign in strategic points and near the main arteries of the city of Kinshasa, leases-subdivision and leasing with owners of Congolese plots. For a period of 20 years they rent to Indian, Indo-Pakistani and Nepalese entrepreneurs compartments on the ground floor of the buildings they build on own funds and on loans from Indian banks. The rooms on the first floor serve as their accommodation. What is impressive is the speed with which these commercial buildings emerge from the ground in the nooks and crannies of the major cities of the country. The Congolese parties to these agreements report that after 20 years they will revert to owning these facilities, even if they are to be leased back to the current occupants. However, this operation is accompanied by an initial payment before the resumption of the work 20 years later. The operators of these stores own the factories established a few years ago. These include mattress manufacturing plants (Complast) and manufacturing plants for building materials. There are also marketing units for women's wicks, biscuits, soaps and other toiletries and household products. With the

Nepalese, the Indians also occupy the field of the supermarket. They plant frenzied supermarkets and supermarkets. This is the case of "New lys" and "Maxi-food".

5.7.3. Main sources of supply

Each category of immigrants is mainly sourced in their country of origin and in Chinese and Indian subsidiaries based in Africa. They also import their goods from certain Asian countries in secular trade with their countries of origin. This is the case for Asian dragons and NICs. And the statistics are clear on that. It should be noted 58.8% of respondents import their goods from China. However, 23.5% do their shopping in China and other countries in the region.

5.7.4. Local and foreign partners

79.41% of the Chinese respondents are first in business with their compatriots established before them in the host country. Nearly half (47.05%) deal with Congolese producers and 35.29% with Congolese traders.

5.7.5. Tips and Difficulties

The most common difficulties are cultural. Language, for example, poses serious problems for Indians and Chinese. Although they quickly mastered local languages such as Lingala, Kikongo, Swahili and Tshiluba, these communities still have many difficulties in speaking French, which is the working language in the DRC. Fortunately, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a secular state, with its Christian predominance, it sometimes poses serious problems of integration with these two great communities under study. The Chinese are Confucian, Buddhist, ... while the Indian, Indo-Pakistani and Nepalese nationals are predominantly Hindus, Brahmanists, Muslims and Sikh Tamul. Thus, the difference of days of prayer contrasts with that of Sunday which the Christian majority devoted to prayer. This explains why the Chinese and Indian stores are open while those belonging to the Congolese remain closed. Our respondents also mentioned the tax harassment of which they are victims, as well as the cases of theft orchestrated here and there. They also admitted to having no difficulties with their eating habits. The commodities and spices of tropical countries they need are sold in local markets. Also for education, the Indians enroll their children in consular and private schools of Indian language held by their compatriots. In Kinshasa, however, the Chinese do not hesitate to register their descendants in good schools Congolese mainly located in the administrative commune of Gombe. The

survey also revealed that 47.05% of Chinese respondents sometimes suffer hatred from some opposite to wage demands.

5.7.6. Wage policy

Guilain Babs (2014) attests that Congolese working with Chinese and Indians are poorly paid. As proof, he tells us the following: "Treasury Tshovu, 25, has been working in a business for nearly three years. For him, the problem of Chinese traders is not only in terms of their presence in petty trade, but also in the way some of them treat the Congolese workers. "I worked for a couple of months with one of them, but I do not get paid as it should be," he complains. Fifty dollars is the amount he receives each month. He indicates that some of his colleagues who have made more than 4 years have \$ 60 or even 120 according to the employer. And says that it is difficult for him to make ends meet with this remuneration. "I made the decision to go and work there and I thought I would leave the family home and take care of myself. I realize this is impossible, "he regrets. "

5.7.7. Attitude to the taxation of the host country.

Despite the harassment they continue to deplore (70.59%), Indian and Chinese companies established in the DRC normally and correctly pay their tax burdens. They work with local fiduciary companies to develop their financial statements.

6.7.8. Annual results of their activities

Although not very talkative about it, Chinese and Indian companies established in the DRC come back in their expenses at the end of the accounting year. This explains their longevity in the market since their first establishment.

6.7.9. Community organization in the event of conflicts

Since the riots of January 2016, the Chinese working in Kinshasa have been guarded by police officers during the fateful red dates of 19 September, 19 October and 19 November. Following the incidents in New Delhi where a Congolese national married to an Indian was shot dead by jealousy, during the period of retaliation, several Indian shops remained closed. The survey says that 88.24% do not dare to open their stores during social and political upheavals.

6.7.10. Social Integration

Even though they speak local languages, the Indians and Chinese live in community. They go out entertained together. The Indians even organize intracommunity cricket matches. 82.35% of Chinese respondents said they lived comfortably in the DRC.

6.7.11. Impact of Indian and Chinese activities on local communities

With the integrative option of presting and living in the city, Congolese people find the Chinese and Indians closer to them than the Westerners and Lebanese. As a result, Congolese citizens testify on a daily basis to some form of sympathy for these two communities under analysis. With their low-priced items accepted by Congolese consumers but written by Congolese retailers, the surrounding population generally judges the impact of their activities very positive. They now find it amazing that a Congolese household could for example miss an iron. Small objects such as light bulbs, sockets, extensions and other electrical cables can be acquired without considerable physical effort around the corner.

6. Discussion

The results of this study reveal that China and India have intensified their grip on the black continent and are even competing. Although the figures for the DRC are by far weak compared to transactions with Nigeria, South Africa and Algeria, relations have strengthened significantly over the past 25 years. While China exports manufactured goods and innovative technologies to the DRC, the latter mainly supplies raw materials to China. The Chinese and Indians living in the DRC are happy and constantly increasing their activities.

7. Concluding Observations

In the course of this study, we sought to establish the validity and importance of the Chinese and Indian offensive in the DRC, using the theory of internationalization and foreign direct investment. The aforementioned axes corroborate the attitude and behavior of China and India vis-à-vis Africa. Traders from these two large emerging countries established in the Congo by selling manufactured goods mainly from their respective countries of origin have made the DRC a real market for Asian manufacturing. China has too often been accused of pushed its citizens to expatriation. If this is possible in inter-state trade, for example in infrastructure works and mining, large numbers of Chinese businessmen emigrated by individual will. The honey agreements signed with China mean that African states can not discuss the question of democracy and human rights vis-à-vis this world power. Internationalization has the advantage of increasing trade between China, India and the DRC. It appears, however, that in the course of our analysis this partnership has not always been a win-win situation.

From the foregoing, it is advisable to advocate:

- The DRC to revisit certain contracts signed in haste and that are currently inoperative.

- Good negotiation of future contracts by aligning the best negotiators.
- The Chinese and Indian offensive being real, the Congolese nationals should be inspired to apply it on other fields of partnership with the other countries of the world.

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A. ENQUETE AUPRES DES CHINOIS PRATIQUANT LE PETIT COMMERCE EN RDC

QUESTIONNAIRE D'ENQUETE N°...../2017

I. INDENTIFICATION DE L'ENQUETE

Nom de l'entreprise* :

Nom du propriétaire (si différent du gérant):.....

Nom du gérant :

Age du gérant* :

Statut matrimonial du gérant* :

Nom du cogérant :

Age du cogérant* :

Statut matrimonial du cogérant* :

Nombre d'enfants du gérant :

Adresse de l'entreprise* :

Nombred'agents à charge* :

II. ENQUETE PROPREMENT DITE

1. Nature de la marchandise

1.1. Quels types de marchandises vendez-vous ?

- a) Produits manufacturés de consommation domestique
- b) Produits agricoles ou alimentaires
- c) Matières premières
- d) Produits pharmaceutiques
- e) Autres, à préciser.....

2. Sources d'approvisionnement

2.1. Quelle est la provenance de vos marchandises

- a. Produites localement
- b. Importés du pays d'origine
- c. Importés d'autres pays que le pays d'origine
- d. Produites localement et importées du pays d'origine
- e. Produites localement et importés d'un pays autre que le pays d'origine

3. Profils sociologiques des migrants

3.1. Que faisiez-vous en Chine avant de venir au Congo démocratique ?

- a) Chômeur sans titre académique
- b) Employé
- c) Etudiant
- d) Diplômé sans emploi
- e) Chômeur et candidat à l'immigration
- f) Prisonnier
- g) Patron d'une PME

4. Stratégie des dirigeants vis-à-vis de l'émigration de leurs dirigeants

4.1. Pensez-vous que les autorités chinoises ont été favorables à votre sortie du pays ?

- a) Oui, ils l'ont souhaité et préparé
- b) Non, c'était mon intention personnelle
- c) Je ne sais pas

5. Les partenaires locaux

5.1. Avec qui faites-vous affaires en RDC ?

- a) Les chinois précédemment établis au Congo
- b) Les producteurs locaux congolais
- c) Autorités politiques congolais
- d) Commerçants congolais
- e) Autre à signaler :

6. Les difficultés et déboires

6.1. Quels problèmes connaissez-vous dans l'exercice de vos activités ?

- a) Haine de la population
- b) Tracasseries policières
- c) Tracasseries fiscales
- d) Vols de marchandises
- e) Revendications et grèves des agents.

7. Situation fiscale

7.1. Payez-vous correctement vos impôts ?

- a. Oui
- b. Non 0

7.2. Que pensez-vous de la pratique fiscale en RDC. ?

- a. Bonne et acceptable
- b. Trop lourde et pénible
- c. Complexe
- d. Mauvaise et difficile à comprendre
- e. Rien à dire

8. Politiques salariales

Combien payez-vous en moyenne à chacun de vos agents ?

9. Résultats d'exploitation

9.1. Comment trouvez-vous votre chiffre d'affaires journalier

- a. Médiocre
- b. Mauvaise
- c. Assez bon
- d. Bon
- e. Très bon
- f. Excellent

9.2. Comment trouvez-vous le résultat que vous réalisez annuellement

- a) Non Satisfaisant
- b) Pas du tout satisfaisant
- c) Satisfaisant
- d) Très satisfaisant

10. Situation sécuritaire

Que faites-vous en cas d'émeutes, revendications populaires ou insurrections ?

- a) Je n'ouvre pas le magasin
- b) J'ouvre prudemment le magasin
- c) Je sollicite la garde d'un policier
- d) Je passe outre et vend normalement.

11. Intégration socioculturelle

Etes-vous vraiment à l'aise en RDC ?

- a. Oui
- b. Non

12. Impact de leurs activités sur l'environnement immédiat

12.1. Comment estimez-vous l'impact de vos activités sur la communauté

- a. !
- b. Médiocre
- c. Assez bon
- d. Bon
- e. Très bon
- f. Excellent

Attitude Study of Romanian Consumers towards to Turkey Originated Products: The Case Of Bucharest

Kursat Capraz¹

Selami Ozcan²

Abstract:

The study aims to classify the attitudes of Romanian consumers against products originating from Turkey with structured interviews. In October 2016, a week-long study in Bucharest found that the sales points for consumable products were researched, with a total of 8 shopping malls in total. The shopping centers' structures have been examined and it has been determined that the most suitable place for the consumption is Unirea Shopping Center because of the fact that there are product shops of Turkish origin. In order to minimize mistakes originating from the translations, it is decided to keep them simple and short and to keep the number of questions low. The questions are translated into Romanian by a Romanian university student and checked by a Romanian scholar. The question of working; It is asked whether Turkish origin products are perceived differently from Chinese products, whether they consume Turkish origin products and whether they could meet customer satisfaction with price quality. In the preliminary study group, when it is determined that the products which they do not know the products originating from Turkey but they consume, the study questions are completed after passing the other questions after specifying the products originating from the relevant country. As a result of the study, the results of the comparison of the origin of the consumed product, the price, the quality and the products of china are obtained. With the revision of the study questions, the perception of the consumer goods of the Romanian consumers will be expanded with the culture dimension by being developed as an online questionnaire.

Key words: Romania, Turkish Originated Products, Consumer Behaviour

¹ Sakarya University, Turkey [intradersorg@gmail.com]

² Yalova University, Turkey [slmzcn17@gmail.com]

Introduction

Due to a number of reasons, the overseas market has become significant potential for producers. Especially in the case of domestic economic recession, the foreign market plays an important role in solving the cash problem for many exporters and can be an important leverage in overcoming the crisis. Overseas marketing is clearly distinguished from domestic marketing due to demographic structure, cultural, consumption habits, differences in economic indicators.

The study was conducted in Romania's capital city Bucharest. Romania As of December 2016, approximately 20 million inhabitants, non-gross domestic product, purchasing power, per capita income, logistics index, ease of doing business, imports and exports (<http://data.worldbank.org/country/romania> Access:27/03/2017) are physically close to Turkey, making it easy to make improvements. Istanbul is located approximately 600 km far from Bucharest motorway. The airline takes about 1 hour by public transport. Especially in the first weeks of September, BIFE Furniture Fair is regarded as important for the countries in the Balkan countries and in the north of Romania. Manufacturers from Turkey are participating in the furniture fair. According to the Tutar and others (2009), Romania's transport sector has developed and there is a strong connection with bilateral transport with Turkey. The investments to be made in these sectors will have an advantageous position.

Table 1. Foreign Trade Indicators (Billion Dollars)

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Export	41	49	61	58	66	70	61	64
Import	54	62	75	70	73	78	70	75
Volume	95	111	136	128	139	148	130	138

Source: TradeMap, Access:30/03/2017

Table 1 shows Romanian foreign trade. While the import level remained at a certain level, exports increased more than imports increased. Exports, which amounted to \$ 41 billion in 2009, rose by about 56% to \$ 64 billion by the end of 2016. Imports were \$ 75 billion at the end of 2016 with an increase of 38% 2, compared with \$ 54 billion in 2009.

Table 2. Turkey-Romania Trade Volume (Million Dollars)

Year	Turkey's Exports to Romania	Import of Turkey from Romania	Trade Volume	Trade Balance
2004	1235	4292	2935	-465
2005	1785	2286	4071	-501
2006	1282	2669	5019	-319
2007	3644	3113	6757	531
2008	3987	3548	7535	439
2009	2216	2258	4474	-42
2010	2599	3449	6048	-850
2011	2878	3801	6680	-922
2012	2497	3236	5733	-739
2013	2616	3593	6209	-977
2014	3008	3363	6371	-355
2015	2817	2600	5417	217
2016	2672	2196	4868	476

Source: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Economy, Access: 01/04/2017

Table 2 shows Turkey-Romania trade amounts for the years 2004-2016. Turkey has given a deficit in 2007, 2008, 2015 and 2016, and importation has been more. While exports of Turkey to Romania in 2004 were \$ 1.2 billion, this volume increased to \$ 2.67 billion at the end of 2016. While imports of Turkey were 4.2 billion dollars in 2004, imports declined to 2.1 billion dollars at the end of 2016. Romania's highest import was in 2008 while Turkey's highest import was in 2004. After the 2008 crisis, imports and exports declined compared to other years. The highest volume of trade was \$ 7.5 billion in 2008, while after 2008 the volume of trade declined.

Major export products of Romania (March 2009): - Machinery and mechanical appliances, electrical appliances, audio and visual appliances - Articles of common metals and ordinary metals - Clothing products of cloth, knitted and lace textiles - Means of transport - Mineral products petroleum products, coal, cement, salt, etc.) - Plastics and Products; Rubber and Products (Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, 2009).

Major Imported Products of Romania (March 2009): - Machinery and mechanical devices, electrical appliances, audio and video devices - Transportation vehicles - Mineral products (crude oil and petroleum products, coal, cement, salt, etc.) Articles of precious metal - Ready made garments from textiles, knitted and lace textiles - Chemical products (Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, 2009).

The declining population growth in the European Union countries and the anticipation of the global crisis suggest that Turkey will face serious problems in the future in terms of textile exporters (Edt Bekmez, 2008: 132). Consumption products were targeted in the study. Therefore, Turkey's exporters should take this risk into account especially in the export of textile products.

It is becoming more and more difficult to know what the future of global marketing will be for many reasons, such as rapid developments, innovation, intense competition, global brands, marketing environment, and the necessity of local movements originating from the open world of the whole world. It is more useful to act by considering the cultural environment of that market rather than imposing to every markets for products and services that follow the global brands (Timur and Özmen, 2013). Grunday ve Zaharia (2008) In the "Sustainable Incentives in Marketing and Strategic Green Product: Lithuania and Romania Case" study, it was stated that Romania has complied with the European Union criteria and has been adapting with voluntary practices. Manufacturers and sellers of the products concerned should take European Union norms into account. In addition, the price and payment conditions for the Romanian consumer are of higher priority (Karabayır, 2000: 77). Romania is an important market because of the physical proximity to Turkey's exporters and the fact that it is a country with a population of about 20 million and a member of the European Union. After entering the European Union in 2007, the population quickly fell below 23 million to 20 million. The drop in population can be thought of as a transfer of labor to Romania and an increase in purchasing power.

Literature Review

Özkasap (2010) in the study, titled "Research on Turkish firms' entry into the emerging economies and selection of ownership", the Turkish firms operating in the manufacturing sector in the study of the Romanian example tried to explain the entry and ownership choices in Romania, examining case studies using various Turkish firms. Due to more than one factor in the introduction and ownership of Romania, the models suitable for the structure of the companies are preferred by themselves. While some firms find the country risky while others view it as an assessment of the current surplus, they prefer the investment. The study did not result in a single way to enter the Romanian market for entrepreneurs. Tozoğlu (2009) Sports high school students studying in Turkey and America. Sample of the survey the Marmara University School of Physical Education and Sports and the Indiana University School of Health Sciences Physical Education and Recreation and 752 persons, including female and male students. High school students in two universities The elements that are effective in the

brand choice in their products are examined. Manufacturers of sporting goods should determine the expectations and needs of the market in their brand positioning studies and use communication tools that are effective on consumers.

İzci (2011) the results of "Brand Equity Assets' Influence On Consumer Preference For Foreign Apparel Brands" study state that; occupation and age affect brand equity assets on the other hand education level has no affect on differentiation of these assets.Tabrizi (2013) sates in "The Consequences Of Brand / Model Choice In Consumer's Buying Behavior" study thatwhen mobile phone companies are creating or developing their brands, they have to follow the young population closely and pay attention to their wishes and needs. As it is in almost every sector, especially in the mobile phone industry where rapid change and development is being experienced and the mobile phone industry is able to accurately demonstrate the demands and requirements of the target masses, the firings provide great advantages in achieving success in marketing activities.

Model of Study

According to their purposes, market research is divided into exploratory and final research. Exploratory research is divided into qualitative and quantitative exploratory in itself. Definite research is differentiated by the research of the subjectivity and the illusion. In exploratory research, the study question or hypotheses may or may not be clear. Whereas the market targets to be able to produce results in very little known cases, such as how the new product will be presented, which is the most effective way to advertise the product, in the case of definitive research, the study questionnaire and the studied field aim at net and net inferences. For example, the consumer's attitude is focused on responding to questions such as the characteristics of social groups, communities. The main target is to obtain accurate and complete information about the target market environment. (Nakip, 2013:41).This study aimed to reveal the attitudes of people interviewed in Bucharest to the products originating from Turkey. Qualitative research method is used and the study is completed using the structured interview.

Implications

In October 2016, a week-long study in Bucharest found that there were 8 shopping centers in total, with sales points for consumable products being explored. The structures of shopping centers have been investigated and it has been determined that it is the best place for consumption at Unirea Shopping Center due to the fact that

there are product shops of Turkish origin. In order to minimize the mistakes originating from the translations of the questions, it was tried to be simple and short and to keep the number of questions low. The questions were translated into Romanian by a Romanian university student and were checked by a Romanian scholar. The question of working; It was asked whether Turkish origin products were perceived differently from Chinese products, whether they consumed Turkish origin products, and whether they could meet customer satisfaction with price quality. In the preliminary study group, when it was determined that the products originating in Turkey among the products they did not know the products originating from Turkey, the study questions were completed after passing the other questions after specifying the products originating from the relevant country. The age group of participants in the study has been university students in the 20-30 age group. 52 people participated in the study.

Results

1- Demographic Information of Participants

Table 1 contains the age and gender information of the participants. A total of 52 people took part in the study. The study area is made with university students because the universities are located in the middle spot. While the average age is 23.86, there are 27 males and 25 females as gender variables.

Table 1. Demographic Information of Participants

Age Average	Male	Female
23,86	27	25

2- Are Turkish products cheap? (Sunt produsele Turcesti ieftine?)

Table. 2 shows whether the price of Turkish origin products is not available. While 37 participants indicated their prices as appropriate, 6 people indicated that they were not eligible and 9 people did not comment on the prices.

Table 2. Price Perception On Turkish Products

Yes	No	No Comment
37	6	9

3- Are turkish originated products quality? (Sunt produsele turcesti calitative?)

Table 3. indicates the participants gained qualitative thinking. 42 people express it as good quality, 7 people said it is not good quality and 3 people have no comment.

Table 3. Quality Perception On Turkish Products

Yes	No	No Comment
42	7	3

4- Are Turkish products safe? (Sunt produsele turcesti sigure?)

Table 4, participants were given ideas on product safety. 44 people express it as good quality, 6 people said it is not good quality and 2 people have no comment.

Table 4. Safety Perception On Turkish Products

Yes	No	No Comment
44	6	2

5- Are Turkish products are in smilar quality as chinese products? (Considerati produsele Turcesti de calitate similara cu cele chinezesti?)

Table 5. reports Compare of Quality Turkish-Chinese Products. 14 people Express that Chinese and Trkish products quality is smilar, 35 people informs that quality is not smilar and 3 people did not comment.

Table 5. Compare of Quality Turkish-Chinese Products

Yes	No	No Comment
14	35	3

6-Turkish products should't buy, it destroys romanian market.Considerati ca achizitia de produse turcesti distruge piata romaneasca?

Table 6. shows 7 participants state that Turkish products should't buy, it destroys romanian market and 43 participants point out that Turkish products do not destroy romanian market and 2 people has no comment.

Table 6.Turkish Products Effect Romanian Market Negatively

Yes	No	No Comment
7	43	2

7-Turkish products are better than chinese products. Sunt produsele turcesti mai calitative decat produsele chinezesti?

41 people indicate that Turkish products are better than Chinese products. 9 people claim the opposite and 2 people do not comment.

8- Turkish products are better than romanian products. (Sunt produsele turcesti mai calitative decat produsele romanesti?)

19 people indicate that Turkish products are better than Romanian products. 20 people claim the opposite and 13 people do not comment.

9-Which Turkish product or company do you know in Romania? (Ce companie sau producator Turcesc cunoasteti in Romania?)

In this study, the opinions on the product on demand are demanded, and the textile and food products that the individual has used are mentioned. It turns out that the products are not important for the consumers of origin. Despite the consumption of many products originating in Turkey, there is no attitude towards the origin of the products since the origin of the products is not questioned. In the food industry, Turkish restaurants and dessert are first mentioned. Koton, LCW, De Facto and Penti are the best-known brands of textile products. Turkish Airlines has become the brand mentioned in the aviation sector. BEKO and Vestel are mentioned as white goods brands.

Conclusion and Discussions

As a result of the study, it is stated that the origin of the consumed product is not important, that the product of the decision of purchase is preferred as the price and quality, and that they are satisfied with the quality and price for the products originating from the country they are consuming and they are not in the perception of Chinese origin products. Entering with English and Romanian trademark will be beneficial to the market for foreign investors. In order to be able to carry out this study more healthily, it is necessary to reach more people and get the opinions of the people providing income outside the students.. It was found out that the product with the general appearance price was preferred, and that the Turkish products were enough for the market as the quality. In 2007 he entered the european union and his population dropped. In 2007, close to 25 million people are approaching only 20 million in 2017. About 10 million people went to work in western Europe. This ratio, which constitutes about one third of the population, has the potential to affect the national income per

capita. The Romanian market will remain an important market for an emerging European Union country with a physical location for Turkey and a significant potential for spending. With the revision of the study questions, the perception of the consumption goods of the Romanian consumers will be expanded with the culture dimension by being developed as an online questionnaire.

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IBUISC '17

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS

“The Creation of the New World in a Globalized Era”

Stream:

Management

Authentic Leaders in Modern Management

Vegim Hoti¹
Donita Hyseni²

Abstract:

Management has been developed during years, from management as science, strategic planning and competitive advantage to modern management. Modern management has increased with the growth of social economics and scientific institution. Modern view consists that workers does not work only for money. They work for their satisfaction and happiness with good living style.

There has never been a lack of leaders, but the development of leadership styles and it's adaptation to changes in corporate environments has stumbled. At most of modern corporations, everything, except the leadership style, has evolved. Even though we see that the corporations have been developed in the way they operate, they are lacking at something; at leaders they possess. Advancements and refinements in management theories and practice have enabled managers and managerial systems to evolve. The complexities of twenty-first-century corporations demand new leadership. We need leaders who lead with purpose, values, and integrity. We need authentic leaders.

Being authentic as a leader is a hard work and takes years of experience in leadership roles. No one can be authentic without failing; everyone behave unauthentically at times, saying and doing things they will come to regret. People trust you when you are genuine and authentic, not an imitation. Authentic leadership has four main dimensions, self-awareness, balanced information processing, relational transparency and internalized moral perspective. Being authentic means leading with your heart as well as your head.

The purpose of our paper consists in defining the new leaders of the 21th century; authentic leaders, the characteristics of these leaders and what kind of advantages they bring to corporations that now are part of the globalization and face an unfair competition.

Reviewing the latest literature for authentic leaders, we can see that even though few corporations posses these kind of leaders, they are more successful because of the quality of their relationships, their increased levels of self-assurance, their personal

¹ University of Pristina "Hasan Pristina", Kosovo [vegimfhoti@gmail.com]

² University of Pristina "Hasan Pristina", Kosovo [donitahyseni.1@gmail.com]

courage and their self-awareness. Developing these authentic leaders at all levels is the only way that companies can sustain high performance and growth in shareholder value.

Keywords: Modern Management, Authentic Leaders, Evolve, Globalization

1. Introduction

Leadership has always been more difficult in challenging times, but the unique stressors facing organizations throughout the world today call for a renewed focus on what constitutes genuine leadership. Leadership is more than a title for superiors. To be a leader means to be the person who take risks, confront with complex problems and give the best solutions. Every organization need leaders, especially in the 21st century. Modern management is bringing a lot of challenges. The existing leadership styles, based on theories,are struggling in this era of management. Globalization is growing fast and organizations are looking for new strategies. They need something more, something else. Due to these challenges, a new theory has come up; future management. Future management is a new theory, a new way of confronting the challenges that globalization brings, in general, modern management of 21st century. Future management need new leadership styles, a new way of leaders approach. It needs authentic leaders, the leaders of the new era, leaders of future management.

2. Leadership definition

According to today's business literature, to be a leader is, by definition, to be benevolent. But leadership is not a moral concept, and it is high time we acknowledge that fact. Leaders are like the rest of us: trustworthy and deceitful, cowardly and brave, greedy and generous(Kellerman 2004).

Leadership is not all about style, leaders and managers must choose from the various leadership styles to effectively lead and manage the 21st century organizations. Leadership is about character, taking responsibility, decision-making, and solving complex problem. So, leaders and managers in the 21st century organizations are expected to possess the capability and competence to design and implement appropriate interventions as problems arise(Stogdill 1974).

The leadership and management definitions of Rost, for leadership as an influence relationship between leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes and management as an authority relationship between at least one manager and one subordinate who coordinate their activities to produce and sell

particular goods and service, are mentioned almost in every research made about leadership(Shepard, Farmer and Counts 1997).

Leadership is not the exclusive domain of assigned leaders, who occupy formal leadership roles, such as CEO, president, or chairperson. Comedienne Lily Tomlin bellowed, "I always wondered why somebody didn't do something about that. Then I realized I was somebody."(Summerfield 2014).Leadership is the art of mobilizing others to want to struggle for shared aspirations(Kouzes and Posner 1989).

Rauch dheBehling (1984) defined leadership as the process of influencing the activities of an organized group towardgoal achievement. Also leadership can be defined as the relation between an individual and a group built around some common interest and behaving in a manner directed or determined by him(Eagly and Schmidt 2001).

Leadership is defined in so many different ways that it is hard to come up with a single working definition. Leadership is not just a person or group of people in a high position; understanding leadership is not complete without understanding interactions between a leader and his or her followers(Northouse 2004).

3.Modern management and its challenges

Globalization is being driven on the one hand by the spread of economic logics centered on freeing, opening, deregulating, and privatizing economies to make them more attractive to investment, and, on the other hand, by the digitization of technologies that is revolutionizing communication(Joel, Mannix and Barkema 2002).

On the threshold of the 21st century, organizational leaders face a whole new set of management challenges. The globalization of markets and the rapid diffusion of information and communications technologies have transformed the economies of the developed countries of the world. Innovation, flexibility, responsiveness, and the creative redefinition of markets and opportunities have become the new sources of competitive advantage in an increasingly interconnected global economy(Dess and Picken 2000).

As used most commonly, management is the process of reaching organizational goals by working with and through people and other organizational resources. A comparison ofthis definition with the definitions offered by several contemporary management thinkers indicates broad agreement that management encompasses the following three main characteristics:

1. It is a process or series of continuing and related activities.
2. It involves and concentrates on reaching organizational goals.
3. It reaches these goals by working with and through people and other organizationalresources(Certo and Certo 2006)

Modern management and modern business is currently taking place forces managers within organizations to use more modern, contemporary means and methods of management that would face current challenges. According to Joel, Mannix and Barkema (2002), competitive advantage is accomplished by those organizations that are prepared for radical changes and which apply methods and concepts of continuous improvement.

Change leaders are, however, designed for change. And yet they still require continuity. People need to know where they stand. They need to know the people with whom they work. They need to know what they can expect. They need to know the values and the rules of the organization(Drucker 1999).

According to Ngige (2014), management is facing with a lot of challenges, some of them are the challenge of increasing the productivity of resources, employing resources both in developing and in developed countries, and learning to manage production and outsourcing,the challenge of staying ahead and coping with change, the challenge of motivating knowledge workers cum disenchanting employees, also political and globalization challenge.

The challenges facing management today and tomorrow look fresh at the future of management thinking and practice. The content revolves around two contemporary issues that are occurring simultaneously; changes in the world economy and shifts in the practice of management(Drucker 1999).

4.Future management

As we have seen, the first decade of the twenty-first century has been characterized by uncertainty in many different shapes: rapid globalization, accelerating innovation and growing competition, bringing with them volatility, complexity and ambiguity(Geissler and Kryszewski 2013).

Curious people always ask this question: Who's managing your company? You might be tempted to answer, "the CEO," or "the executive team," or "all of us in middle management." And you'd be right, but that wouldn't be the whole truth. To a large extent, your company is being managed right now by a small coterie of long departed theorists and practitioners who invented the rules and conventions of "modern" management back in the early years of the 20th century(Hamel and Prahalad 2007).

Twenty-first century management and leadership face various challenges. Presently, the key drivers of change affecting organisations are technology, innovation and people. Overall, technology helps management by lowering operating costs, increasing productivity, improving customer relations, and helping to attract new clients by creating better products and services at lower prices(McCormick and Magrath 2013).

Technology also brings surprises that can “shake up” entire industries very quickly(Schacter 1999).

The culture must challenge employees to break the norm and collaborate in order to innovate and the leader must accept productive failure in order to encourage new ideas that can give the organisation a competitive advantage(Sheerman and Ayliffe 2014).What ultimately constrains the performance of your organization is not its business model, nor its operating model, but its management model(Hamel and Breen 2007).

5.Leadership challenges

Epic tales of leaders as heroic crisis managers don't describe the day-to-day reality of most leaders, and they ignore the fact that these same leaders were often floundering prior to the crisis or failed as leaders once the crisis passed(Campbell and Samiec 2005). Leadership is principally concerned with recognizing, mobilizing and taking action in the face of critical problems and issues. In this view, leadership is defined in action, by what people do in the face of the challenges that they face at home and at work. It is thus a performance art, measured on what we do in this situation, here and now, and not what we are or what we know(Bagchi 2006). Many managers move up through the ranks of their organizations based on their technical skills, such as finance, information technology or marketing (Frost 2004).

Leaders must have detailed plans. They must steer projects along the course, measure performance, raise funds, and take corrective action. Many conventional management practices are certainly useful. Yet there is an even more demanding leadership task if a person is to direct the course of action. The leader must model the way. "Your job gives you authority. Your behavior earns you respect"(Kouzes and Posner 1989).

According to Bagchi (2006) Leadership challenges in organizations and communities are usually collective ones, faced by all those in the situation. Although it is individuals who spot and raise challenges, and individuals who make heroic efforts to resolve them, few big challenges are met by one person acting alone. The urgent need is to mobilize the people in the situation, to engage colleagues, networks, communities and whole organizations in the effort to meet and overcome challenges. Nontraditional managers often encounter major barriers-such as prejudice, isolation, and serious conflicts between carer and personal life so they create additional challenges for them(Morrison 1992).The organization need passionate, trusted, committed, emotionally & intellectually stimulating team to accomplish the most forward-looking vision, leaders should not only focus on people who are just high fliers but on stayers who follow the rules make significant rational contributions, implement rules diligently.

They need to build bridges between diverse cultures and geographies to get optimum advantage of globalization(Wadhwa and Parimoo 2013).

5.1 New leadership styles

Today with the change in organizations and business environment the leadership styles and theories have been changed. According to Sajjadi, Karimkhani and Mehrpour (2014) leadership styles and theories have been investigated to get the deep understanding of the new trends and theories of the leadership to help the managers and organizations choose appropriate style of leadership.

One of the most recent leadership expert to try to define what is meant by leadership styles is Manfred Kets de Vries(2001). He points out that leadership is a property, a set of characteristics – behavior pattern and personality attributes, that makes certain people more effective at attaining a set goal. But it is also a process, an effort by a leader, drawing on various bases of power, to influence members of a group to direct their activities toward a common goal.

Leigh and Maynard (2003) define two types of leadership: 'enabling' and 'inspirational'. The former is considered to be more of a management trait, and is associated with operational roles at junior and middle management level. Enabling leaders are thus described as supporters, facilitators and motivators. Alternatively inspirational leaders adopt behaviors that are less prescribed, such as likeability, integrity and initiative. This substantiates the emerging theory that the 'charisma' of individuals is therefore vital to their success as leaders.

Hodgetts and Luthans (2000) identify three leadership styles, comprising of authoritarian leadership, participative leadership and paternalistic leadership. Whereas Khanka (2006) also identify three leadership styles; autocratic or authoritative style, democratic or participative style, and laissez-faire or free-rein style. The difference between the two classifications is the replacement of paternalistic leadership in the former with free-rain style in the later classification. Ahmed (2010) combines the two classes to make four leadership styles; autocratic styles, democratic style, laissez faire style, and paternalistic style. These styles connote different leadership behaviors to achieve goals and keep the team.

The task focused leadership styles are primarily management by exception, laissez-faire, transactional leadership, dissonant leadership styles, and instrumental leadership. Active Management-by exception focuses on monitoring task execution for any problems that might arise and correcting those problems to maintain current performance levels (Avolio, Sosik, et al. 2003). Laissez-faire styles are similar in that they are conceptualized as passive avoidance of issues, decision making and accountability

(Avolio et al., 1999). Passive avoidant leadership tends to react only after problems have become serious to take corrective action, and often avoids making any decisions at all. Transactional leadership emphasize the transaction or exchange that takes place among leaders, colleagues and followers to accomplish the work (Bass and Avolio 1997). Dissonant leadership is characterized by pacesetting and commanding styles that undermine the emotional foundations required to support and promote staff success(Goleman 2000). Instrumental leadership focuses on the strategic and task-oriented developmental functions of leaders(Antonakis, Avolio and Sivasubramaniam 2003). Initiating structure referred to the degree to which leaders articulate clear role expectations, create well defined communication channels and focus on tasks and attaining goals(Judge and Piccolo 2004).

5.1.1 Authentic leaders

Authentic leadership is emerging as an alternative perspective on leadership in different organisational settings(Bhindi and Duignan 1997).The concept of authentic leadership has emerged nearly a decade ago and has generated a growing body of theoretical and empirical research(Guenter, et al. 2017). The importance given to authentic leadership is largely in response to numerous high-profile corporate scandals. Therefore, the academic research has devoted great attention to this topic(Gardner, et al. 2011). Authentic leadership is recognized as the root construct that serves as the foundation for all forms of positive leadership (Avolio and Gardner 2005). Avolio et al. (2003) identified that authentic leaders "act in accordance with deep personal values and convictions, to build credibility and win the respect and trust of followers."

Authentic leaders:

- demonstrate behaviours which enable you to trust in them all of the time
- take ownership when they have made a mistake and share responsibility for any mistake
- show the necessary courage to push further up the leadership chain, to question current status quo or defend their people or processes(Robinson and O'Dea 2014).

Kernis (2003) described, behaving authentically means acting in accord with one's values, preferences, and needs as opposed to acting merely to please others or to attain rewards or avoid punishments through acting 'falsely.' Authenticity is not reflected in a compulsion to be one's true self, but rather in the free expression of core feelings, motives and inclinations.

Avolio et al. (2004) defined authentic leaders as those individuals who are deeply aware of how they think and behave and are perceived by others as being aware of their own and others' values/moral perspective, knowledge, and strength; aware of the context in

which they operate; and who are confident, hopeful, optimistic, resilient, and high on moral character.

Similarly, Bass and Steidlmeier (1999) noted that like authentic leadership, both servant and spiritual leadership include either explicit or implicit recognition of leader self-awareness and the focus on integrity, trust, courage, and hope. Authentic leadership, then, can incorporate transformational, charismatic, servant, spiritual, or other forms of positive leadership, and this is the conclusion according to Avolio et al.(2003).

In practice, authentic leaders are known as successful leaders. During history we know many authentic leaders, but lately the number and demand for these leaders is increasing. Such leaders are known and remembered for a long time because of the particular features they have.

Forty years ago, Martin Luther King Jr. was interviewed on the Mike Douglas Show about his stance on the Vietnam War. Two comments were relevant to examining the practice of authentic leadership:

MLK: A man of conscience can never be a consensus leader ... he doesn't take a stand in order to search for consensus. He is ultimately a molder of consensus. I've always said a measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and moments of convenience, but where he stands in moments of challenge and moments of controversy.

Douglas: Do you care if you lost favor with [President] Johnson?

MLK: Well that isn't the most important thing to me. The most important thing is that I not lose favor with truth, and with what conscience tell me is right, and what conscience tells me is just. I'm much more concerned about keeping favor with these principles than keeping favor with a person who may misunderstand a position I take (Pugliese 2007). Similarly, with features of authentic leadership style, there are many renowned leaders such as :

- Jack Welch, former CEO of GE
- Anne Mulcahy, former CEO of Xerox
- Steve Jobs, former CEO of Apple
- Eleanor Roosevelt, former First Lady
- Elon Musk, former CEO of Tesla and SpaceX

6. Conclusions

Economic literature contains a lot of differences in the definition of leadership. Some theorists see leaders as benevolent persons and some others say that being a leader, is not just a title for people who occupy formal leadership roles. Leadership is the power of a person to influence in an organized group, and push them toward goal

achievements. These definitions have been changed during different new studies, but new challenges in modern management have created a lack in existing leadership styles. Modern management and modern businesses is forcing managers within organizations to use more modern, contemporary means and new methods of management that would face new challenges. Technology and innovations have set a new era of management; future management. Many organizations, being threatened by globalization, use technology and innovations as competitive advantages against their competitors, therefore, new technologies and innovations necessarily needs new leadership approaches, new leadership styles. Future management brings new leaders too. They are known as authentic leaders. Authentic leaders are characterized with deep personal values, they build credibility and with the respect and trust of their followers. They take responsibility for their mistakes in every situation, are deeply aware of their own and others' values, knowledge and strengths. Authentic leaders are confident, hopeful, optimistic and integrity. They are the leaders of the future.

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Human vs. Water

Alina Khegay¹

Abstract:

Relevance of the chosen topic is conditioned by the need to preserve water resources all over the world, as well as educating the population in the issues of preserving the water fund. In this study, the essence of the interaction of people with a certain resource - water - was explained. Water is of strategic importance for life, development, welfare and peaceful coexistence of all world powers, and these forces us to seek partners for cooperation in its rational use. In this study, analysis of Internet sources and book resources related to use of water by several countries of the world was conducted. The strengths and weaknesses of the use of water resources by consuming countries are illustrated by specific examples. It was found that, as a rule, it is the wrong treatment of people that leads to the depletion of the water of transboundary rivers, lakes and seas. Thus, this study shows how important it is that people learn to correctly interact with each other and use only positive experience in regard to the water resource - the most important and limited resource on Earth.

Keywords: people, relations, water supply, water fund savings

Introduction

Man is considered as the most intelligent creature on the planet Earth. And all those modern goods like cars, smartphones, household appliances and much more are something people can no longer imagine their lives without. But if we go a step down the chain of our needs and turn to natural ones, we will see that the most essential thing for us is sleep, cleanup from decay products and, of course, nutrition, or rather, what we drink.

The simplest and most common liquid on the Earth is water. Currently 70% of the territory of our planet is covered with water, where 69% is salt water, and fresh water is only 1%. Most fresh water is concentrated in glaciers, then in underground deposits and the smallest amount on the surface. Every year the problem of access to water resources becomes sharper. Over the past 50 years, the world has witnessed as many as

¹ Narxoz University, Kazakhstan [alina.khegay@narxoz.kz]

507 conflicts related to access to water and 21 disputes have led to a military action. It is possible that the problem of water resources can cause World War III.

The hypothesis of the study is that most of the problems associated with water sources are caused by anthropogenic factors

The purpose of this study is to analyze and identify the problems of water resources caused by human activities.

The tasks are to identify the most popular water objects suffering from misuse by humans and to find solutions to them

Mainpart

Many water reservoirs have a large number of environmental problems. Experts argue that many of seas are in a difficult ecological state. This study will examine several countries with different environmental problems related to water resources of a particular country.

THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

If we start to consider ecologically problematic reservoirs of Kazakhstan, a country located in the very center of Eurasia, then the Aral Sea will take the first place. At the moment the lake is on the verge of desiccation, but this is not the only problem of this area. The Aral Sea contains rich deposits supply of salt in its bowels, which subsequently dried up in the wind in all nearby territories of the Aral Sea basin causing various health diseases. Back in the early 20-ies the Aral Sea was the fourth largest salt lake of the world, in its waters 60 thousand tons of fish per year were caught. But then active development of irrigated agriculture in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan began. It was not envisaged that due to the diversion of the Amudarya and Syrdarya streams, the lake would suffer great losses. As Aral is fed practically only due to the flow of the Syr-Darya and Amu-Darya rivers, it began to grow thin. The lake-sea was shallow (10-15 meters), it had many shallows and islands. Precipitation gives inflow of only 100 mm per year, and evaporates in a hot climate 12 times more than rain falls. For fifty years the area of the reservoir has decreased more than 6 times as a result of uncontrolled reclamation. A large number of species of flora and fauna have died. Biological diversity is not what has decreased, but it should be said that there is no fish industry at all. Since 1989, the Aral Sea has decreased from 708 to 75 km³, and divided into two water bodies - the Small (Northern) and the Great (Southern) Aral Sea. [1] Now the volume of water of these seas does not exceed 10% of the original. The region lacks drinking water due to the fact that the wells and lakes that have fed the sea have dried

up. Also part of the bottom of the reservoir dried up and became covered with sand. The salinity of water increased threefold from 14 to more than 100 g. [2] In the Aral Sea it became drier and hotter in the summer, colder in winter. In the mountains it became wetter in the summer, the dimensions of the glaciers began to decrease intensively. Winter has become even softer, the amount of rain has increased throughout the year. All these factors has led to a single conclusion: the death of the ecosystem of the Aral Sea.

Measures to recover the Aral Sea

Only in 2003, decisions were taken to save the Aral Sea. In 2005, construction of the dam (Kokaral Dam) was completed at a height of 42 meters and the water level in the Northern Aral Sea increased, and its salinity decreased. In 2006, there was a significant increase in sea level, even more than expected. At the first stage of the project to save the Small Aral, the government of the Republic of Kazakhstan together with the World Bank spent 89 million dollars. This hydrotechnical structure turned out to be so effective that it was possible not only to stop drying out, but also to restore life to the dying sea. Today the salt water splashes the waters of the Northern Aral. The animal and plant world of the Aral Sea region has begun to revive. More than 50 households are engaged in commercial fishing. The area of irrigated land for agricultural work is increasing, for grazing. And what is most important people return to their historical habitats.

REPUBLIC OF SINGAPORE

The city-state of Singapore is located in the heart of Southeast Asia, near the island of Malacca, from which is separated by the Straits of Johor. On all sides it is washed by the waters of the Singapore Strait and the Indian Ocean. The territory of the state is the island of Singapore and 58 small islands in territorial waters. In a country with a population of 5 million people, there is not enough drinking water. Therefore now Singapore is dependent on neighboring Malaysia, supplying up to 1125 million liters of drinking water per day. [3] At the moment, drinking water accounts for 40% of the total volume of imported goods. However, according to the Singapore Bureau of Energy, a number of alternative sources have been put in place, allowing now to provide the city's population with its own drinking water. The population of the city uses rainwater, freshened, drinking and recycled water, which passes through 5 stages of purification.

Methods of water treatment

Singapore has long sought to achieve that they have their own sources of water. The country went to this for 30 years and was able to achieve this thanks to Prime Minister Lee Kuan Kew. The technology includes a system for processing wastewater in what is called NeWater and since 2003 started working in Singapore. Its capacity allows satisfying 30% of daily water supply norm. Basically, this water is used for industrial purposes. What was not used is, sent to one of 17 reservoirs in the country. Recycled water can be used for drinking and cooking. The PUB Agency claims that recycled water has passed 130 thousand tests and meets the drinking water quality standards of the US Environmental Protection Agency and the fundamental principles of the World Health Organization.[4]

The cleaning process. 1 method of water supply

Sewage passes through deep sewage pipes, and then they enter a sewage treatment plant. After that, the purified water is discharged back into the sea or goes to one of the 4 NeWater plants for further purification. At the NeWater plant, water passes through three stages:

- o Cleaning with a membrane filter from small particles (debris and bacteria);
- o Purification by reverse osmosis, which purifies water from large contaminants;
- o Disinfection of water with ultraviolet and hydrogen peroxide.

The cleaning process. 2 method of water supply

Desalination plants, together can handle 100 million gallons per day. The work of the plant is very energy-intensive, so now in the country there are experiments on electrodeionization, which will allow to consume less electricity.

The cleaning process. 3 method of water supply

Sinks, canals, rivers and ponds for collecting rainfall. Rain water is collected and stored in underground reservoirs, and then pumped to fishponds. There the water is enriched with nutrients from the fish farm and flows through the pipe system into the city gardens, providing them with constant irrigation and ecological fertilizer. In addition, the water is filtered and cleaned after being put back into circulation. However, residents of the country can notice water without government permission. In combination with the import of water from Malaysia, rainwater fills the remaining 45 percent of the daily water requirement.

The Netherlands

The problems of drinking water quality and wastewater treatment are extremely important for many countries of the world. Some countries have reached high water purification standards that they no longer need to import water from other countries. One of the world experts in this field is the Netherlands, where, despite the high population density and developed industry, people learned how to turn dirty water into clean water. The Dutch have mastered and developed at a high level the production of drinking water, its distribution, and wastewater treatment. Thus, 99.9% of Dutch houses have access to clean water without chlorine. Methods of water treatment - As a filter, the Dutch use sand, zonation and cleaning with activated carbon, membrane filtration and ultraviolet disinfection. Also, the Dutch have extensive knowledge of technologies for economical desalination, which, combined with membrane filtration and distillation, is an effective solution for sea countries and experiencing shortage of fresh water. On the example of 3 different states, various problems and solutions in the field of water conservation were considered. On the example of Kazakhstan, we see what can lead to an ill-conceived decision to change the direction of water flow. As a result, the environmental situation in Kazakhstan is deteriorating at a rapid pace, and the problem is being solved for decades. A large number of water resources are concentrated in Kazakhstan, while in Singapore and Holland there are no own water sources, but the latter found a way out of the situation and began to accumulate rainwater, to clean water again with special technologies. It is necessary to be able to use water resources correctly. As a result of the study, I a few recommendations are given on the conservation of water resources of different types:

RATIONAL USE OF SURFACE WATER

To the surface waters, all measures of their rational use must be applied in the strictest form. Surface water is the main source of drinking water, a link to groundwater, fish resources are concentrated in them, etc. Among the measures to regulate the quality and resources of surface waters and their rational use should be preventive measures (preventing the entry of pollutants into water bodies). This is a transition to non-waste technologies in industry and agriculture, brutal wastewater treatment. Measures for the rational use and protection of waters, seas and oceans is to eliminate the causes of deterioration in water quality and pollution. The problem of protecting the waters of the World Ocean is global, it concerns the whole planet. For their rational use and protection, the joint efforts of all states of the UN world community are necessary. To a

large extent, such measures can be successful with the participation of states in international environmental programs, which are stipulated by international agreements, developed and proposed by the relevant conventions.

RATIONAL USE OF UNDERGROUND WATER

Rational use of groundwater is the most valuable, and in some areas where this water is the only source of drinking water. Due to their natural protection against surface contamination, they are of strategic importance for large cities and industrial centers as a source of clean drinking water in environmental disasters. Measures for the rational use and protection of groundwater from depletion and pollution are divided into preventive and special, general and specific.

Preventive measures include the following:

Careful selection of the location of the object under construction, under which anthropogenic impact on groundwater will be minimal. The corresponding equipment of sanitary protection zones (ZSO) and observance of the regime of economic activities within their boundaries, Accounting for the degree of protection when using terrestrial water, Compliance with the operation regime, which is determined by regulatory documents and expertise of the State Commission on Reserves (GKZ),

Organization and management of groundwater monitoring.

Special measures for the rational use and protection of groundwater from pollution are aimed at the isolation of sources and foci of pollution, interception of contaminated water. When water is depleted, measures of artificial replenishment and increasing the supply of groundwater are applied, it is necessary: utilization of mine and drainage waters, which in the case are discharged without reducing the use of fresh water for technical needs, careful consumption of water, reduction of losses during its transportation and distribution. Thus, both the protection of surface waters and the rational use and protection of groundwater include almost the same general (strict compliance with legislative acts, reduction of industrial waste, creation of waste-free production) and specific measures (repeated use of water, construction of treatment facilities, compliance with the rules for the exploration of underground water, construction and operation of water intakes). Monitoring is an important element of the rational use and protection of the planet's water resources. That is, a very important

point is the rational use of water resources and their protection as an integral part of environmental protection.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to say that despite all the unsuccessful experience of countries in the use of water resources, one can observe a tendency to change the consciousness of people and treatment by the state in a positive way. We see clear progress in the measures that are now aimed at preserving the water environment. I hope my research will be useful and will be a good example of how to properly use water the most valuable resource on the planet.

The recall of the supervisor on the scientific article of student Khegay Alina

In this paper, a huge analysis of the water resources of Kazakhstan, Singapore and the Netherlands was made. The subject of the article is fully disclosed. Alina, conducted her own research. In the course of the work, she argued the conclusions with the facts.

- It has formed a database on hydrobiological, hydrochemical, microbiological Aral basin.
 - Conducted a questionnaire on the topic: "The role of water in human life"
- In general, the article corresponds to the requirements for publication.

Scientific adviser



c.e.s., assistant professor

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Transformational Leadership: An Imperative for Team Effectiveness

Besnik Avdiaj¹

Edmon Ademi²

Abstract:

Nowadays development level is as a result of historical changes in human daily activities. Seeing it from economic aspect, business has seen a rapid evolution, which was caused and has influenced all actors. Adapting to changes, the organizations have developed different structures and strategies, which led to additional necessities for modern leadership styles. First studies on differences between individuals and teams belong to the beginning of 20th century, but team-based organizational structures are much more recent. On the other side, leadership as an individual trait has also seen a rapid scientific development, where among other styles, the transformational leadership, is deemed to be one of the most successful approaches towards individual to organizational results, by taking into consideration people's beliefs, assumptions, values and personal attitudes. A transformational leader is found to be a person who encourages team mates to unleash their potential, by motivating, inspiring, fostering higher moral maturity, allowing freedom of choice, creating an ethical and equal climate for everyone and emphasizing general positive developments within the team. Through a literature review, I have tried to make analysis on transformational leadership as a modern way towards a successful team management, resulting in successful general organizational management. Many studies support the idea of using transformational leadership in managing teams and increasing their effectiveness, because team members would perform much better in conditions created by transformational leaders. Herein, using transformational leadership has become an imperative in the modern management era, by pushing organizations to work more on team basis and focus on increasing performance through transformational style, instead of using transactional leadership. As a conclusion, recent management changes brought transformational leadership to the centre of attention as the most effective way of meeting team goals and reaching organization objectives.

¹ University of Pristina "Hasan Pristina", Kosovo [besnikbavdiaj@gmail.com]

² University of Pristina "Hasan Pristina", Kosovo [edmonademi1@gmail.com]

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Introduction

The recent changes in everyday life have brought new ways of lifestyles and as a result the organizations are trying to adapt to change. In this line, they have invented new programmes and strategies to help them perform better in an always-changing environment. Thus, from basic technical things to human relations, the organizations have seen a rapid development. In this paper we will try to elaborate the idea that transformational leadership as a part of managers, leaders and in general the high level of decision-making people (formal or informal), influences the team effectiveness and has become an imperative for teams. In the first chapter, we will discuss mainly about organizations and leadership in general, the modern management era, the structures and strategies of organizations, the differences between individuals and teams, definition of leadership and leadership styles. In the second chapter, we will focus deeply in effects of transformational leadership on teams, but first we will make differences between two opposite leadership styles: the transformational and transactional. Then we will discuss about the effect of transformational leadership on teamwork, team performance, teambuilding, team innovation, and other minor aspects of teams such as reflexivity, composition, diversity and self-initiative. At the end, we will summarize the paper with our conclusions upon the review of literature we made to prepare this paper.

Chapter 1

Organizations and leadership

An organization or organisation is an entity comprising multiple people, such as an institution or an association that has a collective goal and is linked to an external environment. On the other side, leadership is a significant part of human relations between people comprising the organization. In this part of the paper we will discuss mostly about definitions of organizations and leadership, which will support the main idea of the paper on the following chapter.

Organizations in Modern Management Era

Organization is a social unit of people that is structured and managed to meet a need or to pursue collective goals. All organizations have a management structure that determines relationships between the different activities and the members, and subdivides and assigns roles, responsibilities, and authority to carry out different tasks. Organizations are open systems - they affect and are affected by their environment. In this line, organizations are rational, natural and open systems (Scott & Davis, 2016).

When it comes to recent changes, we can notice that organizations are not the same as they were in the past. In this context, the changing environment has a huge impact on everything, including the organizations. With the changing environment, we also mean with modern approached towards management, which is crucial for organizations, and as we live in the Modern Management Era, we can conclude that organizations have changed rapidly, in order to adapt to recent developments. Yang, *et al.*, (2013) found three stages in the development of organization theories, including classical, neoclassical and modern.

Structures and strategies

First, we consider that organizations are complex and hard to predict (Bolman & Deal, 2017). Thus, in order to deal successfully with problems and tasks, organizations create structures, plans, procedures, policies and strategies. An organizational structure is a chart, an organogram with positions, titles, job, followed by responsibilities and authority line, which are linked altogether. But, it is the knowledge management which shapes effective relations between organizational structure and organizational effectiveness (Zheng, et al., 2010). In this line we have several structures: pre-bureaucratic, bureaucratic, post-bureaucratic, functional, divisional, matrix, circular, team, network and virtual.

When it comes to organizational strategy, it represents a written document, which includes plans and programmes, policies and procedures, objectives, vision and mission, activities, in short, mid or long term. Organizational strategy affects hugely the work which is done in the organization, which means that performance of an organization is strongly related to its strategy, and according to a study, where 119 English local authorities were part of the research, performance and strategic stance are positively related (Andrews, et al., 2006).

Individuals and Teams

Being affected by time circumstances, people began to getting organized in social groups, from family to tribal communities and creation of complex social formations. But, the scientific study of functioning of groups lies late in our era. In scientific aspect of human labour management, labour division, employee control and performance measurement, talks the father of scientific management, Frederick Taylor (1911).

When it comes to the impact that different social groups have, we always consider that the impact of a group is in function of its size (Oliver & Marwell, 1988; Esteban & Ray, 2001). Group size and its effects, have attracted researchers' attention really late. At the end of 1920s, we encounter the first studies dealing with differences between the individual and the group (Watson, 1928), the impact of committees size on efficiency (South, 1927), to continue with the comparisons made by Shaw (1932) between individuals and small groups in rational solutions to complex problems. When it comes to taking risky decisions, groups are more likely to do that than individuals, and the larger the group is, the more risky decisions they make (Belovicz, et al., 1968), because the members share responsibility and as a result they care less about the failure.

According to many researchers, the individual presents a unique and distinct human being, with different traits of perception, personality, motivation, so even the behavior differs from one individual to another (Schermerhorn, et al., 2010; George & Jones, 2011; Schermerhorn, 2014). On the other hand, the group presents a whole of people who, by their actions and mutual influence on one another, make efforts to perform a task successfully or achieve a purpose (Champoux, 2011; Robbins & Judge, 2014). While, at the highest level of the pyramid, the organization is located, for which, almost all researchers agree that it presents a structure of positions with different roles and responsibilities; people who perform tasks according to the relevant positions; possess an authority and command chain and a hierarchy of power and control; has a centralization or decentralization level; uses a relevant technology; coordinates tasks and duties among groups of different departments and works (Schermerhorn, et al., 2010; Schermerhorn, 2014; George & Jones, 2011; Robbins & Judge, 2014).

The first differences between the group and the team are comprehensively established in theory. So, whilst the group presents a whole of people who coordinates their actions for a mutual goal, the team seems to be a much closer formation, which interacts and one member's activities affect the other members' and vice versa. According to J. Schermerhorn (2014), team is a small group of people, which performs relevant tasks within the organization, where team members have complementary skills and are responsible in a reciprocal way for their actions. This is supported by R. Daft (2008), according to whom, the team consists in a group of 2 or more members, who

coordinate their actions for a mutual goal, but they do it having a sense of sharing the same mission and collective responsibility. So, the team comes to be a formation in the meaning of a very close and tight group of people who have a clear purpose, open communication, participation, informal relationships, reciprocal interactivity, style diversity and self-assessment (Mealiea & Baltazar, 2005).

Leadership definition – recent but old concept

The word "leadership" can bring to mind a variety of images. For example:

- A political leader, pursuing a passionate, personal cause.
- An explorer, cutting a path through the jungle for the rest of his group to follow.
- An executive, developing her company's strategy to beat the competition.

Leadership is a personal attitude of people towards a problem. The way they react to something represents their leadership style. It is comprised of values, assumptions and learnt personal behaviour. Leaders help themselves and others to do the right things. They set direction, build an inspiring vision, and create something new. Leadership is about mapping out where you need to go to "win" as a team or an organization; and it is dynamic, exciting, and inspiring. According to Bolden & Gosling (2006), leadership has competencies through which the leaders pretend to bring changes and fill gaps between what is planned and done.

Leadership styles

There are as many leadership styles as there are leaders. Many researchers have tried to classify leadership according to some criteria. I.e. we have autocratic, democratic and laissez-faire leadership, but we also have visionary, coaching, affiliative, democratic, pacesetter and commanding leaders. In this line, we will define leadership styles as following:

- (1) Autocratic leadership,
- (2) Democratic leadership,
- (3) Strategic leadership,
- (4) Transformational leadership,
- (5) Team leadership,
- (6) Cross-cultural leadership,
- (7) Facilitative leadership,
- (8) Laissez-faire leadership,
- (9) Transactional leadership,

- (10) Coaching leadership,
- (11) Charismatic leadership and
- (12) Visionary leadership.

As for the interest of our study, we will not elaborate each style individually, but in general we can say that all leadership styles have many elements in common and you can never say that one leader is 100% autocratic or democratic, coaching or visionary, transformational or transactional, etc., but we can say that one leader is *more* of one style than the other styles. For example, a leader can be identified as a charismatic leader, but he/she is also visionary, coaching, facilitative, and transformational. But, a leader can also be identified as an autocratic and at the same time to have moments when he/she reacts as democratic leaders. And as communication is a very important part of the leadership, a study showed that charismatic and human-oriented leadership are mainly communicative, while task-oriented leadership is significantly less communicative (de Vries, et al., 2010).

Chapter 2

Leadership and teams

As we see that leadership is a state of affecting others, and teams consist of relations between people gathered for one common purpose, then we can conclude that in teams we have leadership. Moreover, teams are created because of somebody's strong leadership traits and as a result, he/she affects the others and creates followers; then they can decide to create a team and share the same values and assumptions and work to meet the same goal.

Following the idea that teams are created by leadership, we shall explain how transformational leadership shapes teams and how it can be used to increase the team effectiveness.

Transformational versus transactional: reaching team effectiveness

Thus, we will give some clarifications about our points of interest: the transformational and transactional leaderships. Transformational leadership is a style of leadership where a leader works with subordinates to identify needed change, creating a vision to guide the change through inspiration, and executing the change in tandem with committed members of a group. Transactional leadership, also known as managerial leadership, focuses on supervision, organization, and performance; transactional leadership is a

style of leadership in which leaders promote compliance by followers through both rewards and punishments.

In addition, transformational leadership influences employees' creativity through psychological empowerment (Gumusluoglu & Ilsev, 2009). According to a study of transformational school leadership, the transformational leadership effects on perception of organizational effectiveness are significant and large (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2005).

Whereas the transactional leadership is a matter of strict behaviour of superiors to subordinates in cases of failures or damages or deviations in general from the procedures and plans (Barbuto, 2005). A transactional leadership style is appropriate in many settings and may support adherence to practice standards but not necessarily openness to innovation (Aarons, 2006). It maintains or continues the status quo. It is also the leadership that involves an exchange process, whereby followers get immediate, tangible rewards for carrying out the leader's orders. Transactional leadership can sound rather basic, with its focus on exchange.

Being clear, focusing on expectations, giving feedback are all important leadership skills.

Transformational leadership impact on teamwork, team performance and innovation

Unlike other leadership styles, transformational leadership is all about initiating change in organizations, groups, oneself and others. Thus it affects members of a team, and as transformational leaders motivate others to do more than they originally intended and often even more than they thought possible, they set more challenging expectations and typically achieve higher performance.

As part of the teamwork, results from a study indicated that both empowering and transformational leadership related positively to team organizational citizenship behaviour through job satisfaction (Yun, et al., 2007). These results prove that transformational leadership increases the teamwork, specifically the citizenship behavior at workplace.

In a study of 218 financial services teams in Hong Kong and United States, the transformational leadership influenced team performance through the mediating effect of team potency. The effect of transformational leadership on team potency was moderated by team power distance and team collectivism, such that higher power distance teams and more collectivistic teams exhibited stronger positive effects of transformational leadership on team potency (Schaubroeck, et al., 2007). While, results of another study supports the idea that transformational leadership increases team

performance. It may help team members manage conflicts for their mutual benefit. This is an important mechanism through which transformational leadership enhances team coordination and, in turn, achieves higher team performance (Zhang, et al., 2011). Another study which supports the impact of transformational leadership on job satisfaction and team performance, is the one of Braun, *et al.*, (Braun, et al., 2013) who have found from results of 360 employees from 39 academic teams that transformational leadership was positively related to followers' job satisfaction at individual as well as team levels of analysis and to objective team performance. The relation between individual perceptions of supervisors' transformational leadership and job satisfaction was mediated by trust in the supervisor as well as trust in the team. Transformational leadership, in contrast to transactional leadership, has been argued to be particularly effective in engendering follower innovative behavior. Transformational leadership is positively related to innovative behavior only when psychological empowerment is high, whereas transactional leadership has a negative relationship with innovative behavior only under these conditions (Pieterse, et al., 2010). It is also supported by other authors, who concluded that transformational leadership influences organizational performance positively through organizational learning and innovation (García-Morales, et al., 2012). Statistically, transformational leadership tends to have more committed and satisfied followers. This is mainly so because transformational leaders empower followers.

Transformational leadership and teambuilding

In a study is found that leader's mood has also a huge impact on team members in different processes of building teams. Leader positive moods not only directly enhanced team performance, but also indirectly led to improved team performance through the explicit mediating process (i.e., transformational leadership) and the implicit mediating process (i.e., positive group affective tone) (Nai-Wen, et al., 2011). This study examined how transformational leadership directly and indirectly relates to supervisory-rated performance collected over time including 437 participants employed by 6 U.S. banking organizations in the midwest. Results revealed that one's identification with his or her work unit, self-efficacy, and means efficacy were related to supervisor-rated performance. The effect of transformational leadership on rated performance was also mediated by the interaction of identification and means efficacy, as well as partially mediated by the interaction of self-efficacy and means efficacy (Walumbwa, et al., 2008).

Team composition and diversity

In a sample of 62 research and development (R&D) teams, the authors examined transformational leadership as a moderator of the relationship of age, nationality, and educational background diversity with team outcomes. When levels of transformational leadership were high, nationality and educational diversity were positively related to team leaders' longitudinal ratings of team performance. These relationships were nonsignificant when transformational leadership was low. Age diversity was not related to team performance when transformational leadership was high, and it was negatively related to team performance when transformational leadership was low. Two mediated moderation effects help explain these findings. Transformational leadership moderated the relationship of the 3 examined diversity dimensions with the elaboration of task-relevant information, which in turn was positively associated with team performance (Kearney & Gebert, 2009). Using external ratings of team proactive performance, the study found that the most proactive teams were those with higher levels of self-management, transformational team leaders, and a higher-than-average level of proactive personality. The relationship between transformational leadership and team proactive performance was mediated by favourable interpersonal norms. In addition, lower diversity of proactive personality amongst team members had an indirect association with team proactive performance via its negative effect on favourable interpersonal norms (Williams, et al., 2010).

Results from another demonstrated that the transformational leadership behaviors of fostering acceptance of group goals and promoting team work, high performance expectations, and individual consideration significantly predicted task cohesion; and fostering acceptance of group goals and promoting teamwork significantly predicted social cohesion (Callow, et al., 2009).

Reflexivity and self-initiative

Team reflexivity, or the extent to which teams reflect upon and modify their functioning, has been identified as a key factor in the effectiveness of work teams. As yet, however, little is known about the factors that play a role in enhancing team reflexivity, and it is thus important to develop theorizing around the determinants of reflexivity. From an applied perspective, leadership is a very relevant factor. The current study is a first step in the development of such a model, and addresses this important gap in our understanding of team reflexivity by focusing on the role of leader behavior. The researchers have examined the extent to which transformational leadership influences team reflexivity, and in turn, team performance, in a field study conducted

among 32 intact work teams from nine organizations. Team members rated reflexivity and leadership, while external managers rated team performance. They hypothesized and tested a mediational model proposing that transformational leadership is related to the adoption of a shared vision by the team. This in turn relates to team reflexivity, which leads to higher team performance. Results support this model (Schippers, et al., 2008).

From other studies, authors have found that transformational leadership affects the mood and motivation of followers and team members. In this line, team members are more likely to take initiatives and give ideas for different problem solutions. Here we see that transformational leadership creates self-initiative people. It transform their behavior and their mentality by making them more confident and innovative in taking new initiatives themselves.

Conclusions

As we saw from the above discussion on the transformational leadership and its impact on team effectiveness, we can conclude rationally that this type of leadership has a huge impact on increasing the team effectiveness from different aspects, such as teamwork, teambuilding, team performance and innovation, reflexivity, composition, diversity and self-initiative.

In this line, we can say that transformational leadership is an imperative for team effectiveness by making better teams and happier team members. The members of the teams, where the leaders apply transformational leadership in everyday work and relations with people, their subordinates and team members, perform better under the same conditions as the team members, where leaders apply other leadership styles, especially the transactional style.

There are found to be fundamental differences between transformational leadership and transactional leadership, but both of them are applicable in different cases. The first one is more preferable to be applied in projects and general cases when human relations are of a higher importance than work results. The other style is preferable in cases when relations between people are of a less importance than procedures, objectives and work scope.

Transformational leadership is recommended to be used in most of the cases, as it takes into consideration the spiritual aspect of team members, and parallel with team goal/results, the transformational leader influences positively team members to unleash their own potential. So ultimately transformational leadership in the modern management era has become an imperative for team effectiveness, as through it the

team members cooperate better, they feel each other, they work better and happier, their work quality is higher and everything is more efficient.

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Value Innovation as a Strategic Tool to Overcome Environmental Uncertainty

Yasin Galip Gencer¹

Selami Ozcan²

Busra Gamze Gencer³

Abstract:

External Environment can be defined as conditions, entities, events, and factors surrounding an organization which influence its activities and choices, and determine its opportunities and risks. External Environment includes environmental uncertainty which generally stems from how many elements the organizations deal daily and how rapidly they change. The external environment influences the organizations because of the need for information and the need for resources. Sources of environmental uncertainty can be grouped under Stability (stable & unstable) and Complexity (simple & complex). The uncertainty of the external environment increases by increased complexity and increased instability. Literature includes many ways for adapting to environmental uncertainty including Conventional Approach and Porter's Five Forces Model; but in today's world, adaptation can not be enough to survive as a successful organization, the business management has to find new ways to overcome environmental uncertainty. Value Innovation emerge here as a key success factor. In today's business world, there are reduced boundaries and increased collaboration in organizations which evolved the management style from top-down management to horizontal management. The modern way for adapting to external environment is Value Innovation which is not a tool, but a strategy, a point of view stating about being the one who shapes its environment. This is a modern approach against conventional approach which is looking across for the ways of redesigning; which include substituting industries, strategic groups within industries, chain of buyers, products & service offerings, functional & emotional appeal to buyers, time management. Value Innovation by redesigning the external environment has to be a strategy to overcome environmental uncertainty.

¹ Yalova University, Turkey [yggencer@yalova.edu.tr]

² Yalova University, Turkey [sozcan@yalova.edu.tr]

³ Yalova University, Turkey [bggencer@hotmail.com]

Keywords: Value Innovation, External Environment, Environmental Uncertainty, Stability, Complexity

Introduction

External Environment can be defined as conditions, entities, events, and factors surrounding an organization which influence its activities and choices, and determine its opportunities and risks. External Environment includes environmental uncertainty which generally stems from how many elements the organizations deal daily and how rapidly they change. Furthermore, external environment is the domain and niche of an organization which is combined with general environment including sectors that do not have a direct relationship with the daily operations of an organization such as government, technology, or finance. Also, it includes task environment which stems from sectors that have a direct impact on an organization's daily operations, such as industry, raw materials, HR, market, international sector etc. The external environment influences the organizations because of the need for information and the need for resources. Sources of environmental uncertainty can be grouped under Stability (stable & unstable) and Complexity (simple & complex). The uncertainty of the external environment increases by increased complexity and increased instability. Value Innovation emerge here as a key success factor. In today's business world, there are reduced boundaries and increased collaboration in organizations which evolved the management style from top-down management to horizontal management. The modern way for adapting to external environment is Value Innovation which is not a tool, but a strategy, a point of view stating about being the one who shapes its environment. This is a modern approach against conventional approach which is looking across for the ways of redesigning; which include substituting industries, strategic groups within industries, chain of buyers, products & service offerings, functional & emotional appeal to buyers, and time management. Value Innovation by redesigning the external environment has to be a strategy to overcome environmental uncertainty. Adapting to Environmental Uncertainty is not an easy job (Akkucuk, 2016). First the Positions and/or Departments should feel this adaptation process because as complexity & uncertainty increases in external environment, so does the internal complexity. Then Buffering and Boundary Spanning is the next task to overcome environmental uncertainty. Differentiation and Integration may be regarded as another way to adapt environmental uncertainty. Decision making becomes also important in such conditions (Sozuer, 2011). Lastly, Planning, Forecasting and Responsiveness are other ways for a successful adaptation. The modern way for adapting to external environment is Value Innovation which is not a tool, but a strategy, a point of view

stating about being the one who shapes its environment. This is a modern approach against conventional approach which is looking across for the ways of redesigning; which include substituting industries, strategic groups within industries, chain of buyers, products & service offerings, functional & emotional appeal to buyers, time management. Value Innovation by redesigning the external environment has to be a strategy to overcome environmental uncertainty.

Literature Review

Literature includes many ways for adapting to environmental uncertainty including Conventional Approach and Porter's Five Forces Model; but in today's world, adaptation cannot be enough to survive. As a successful organization, the business management has to find new ways to overcome environmental uncertainty. An organization's external environment comprises customers, suppliers, competitors, governments, industry associations, and other social and economic forces which impact organizational governance of decision-making processes (Ansoff 1965; Bourgeois 1984; Hitt and Tyler 1991). Organizations can obtain critical resources from the external environment to sustain their operations (Gencer, 2015). Boundary-spanning organizational actors can obtain critical resources through contracts, grants, and even personal relationships (Park and Luo 2001; Peng and Luo 2000; Pfeffer and Salancik 2003). Innovation is an application of knowledge to produce new knowledge (Drucker, 1993). Value Innovation emerge here as a key success factor. There is no shortage of literature that illustrates the importance of knowledge, innovation, and creativity for superior firm performance. Their importance for the survival and success of organizations is widely accepted among organizational researchers (Damanpour, 1996; Wolfe, 1994) and has resulted in a proliferation of studies and theories on innovation (Gopalakrishnan and Damanpour, 1997). In today's business world, there are reduced boundaries and increased collaboration in organizations which evolved the management style from top-down management to horizontal management. The modern way for adapting to external environment is Value Innovation which is not a tool, but a strategy, a point of view stating about being the one who shapes its environment. Most organizational innovation researchers, however, have agreed that understanding innovative behavior in organizations has remained relatively undeveloped, inconclusive, and inconsistent (Gopalakrishnan and Damanpour, 1997; Wolfe, 1994).

Environmental Uncertainty

As explained above adapting to Environmental Uncertainty is not an easy job. First the Positions and/or Departments should feel this adaptation process as complexity & uncertainty increases in external environment, so does the internal complexity. Then Buffering and Boundary Spanning is the next task to overcome environmental uncertainty. This can be done by introducing buffering departments to absorb the shocks to internal environment; e.g. marketing, HR, PR, etc. or by a new approach which drops buffers to provide connectivity to customers and suppliers although forsaking internal efficiency. Moreover, boundary spanning resources to exchange information with the external environment and use of business intelligence tools are other tools to overcome the disadvantages of environmental uncertainty. Differentiation and Integration may be regarded as another way to adapting environmental uncertainty because when uncertainty increases, so does the number of specialized employees and when differentiation increases, so does the need for integration roles in a company. Then the time is up for an organic and mechanistic management process. Decision making becomes also important in such conditions. Centralized or Decentralized decision-making choice is another strategic selection for organizations. As uncertainty increases, decentralized decision making increases and need for an organic management increases. On the other hand, Planning, Forecasting and Responsiveness are other ways for a successful adaptation. Because with increased environmental uncertainty, planning and forecasting become more important (e.g. need for a planning department). Sometimes need for a scenario building process is a logic condition to enhance the company's ability to quick respond to environmental uncertainty

Value Innovation

Value Innovation emerge here as a key success factor. In today's business world, there are reduced boundaries and increased collaboration in organizations which evolved the management style from top-down management to horizontal management. The modern way for adapting to external environment is Value Innovation which is not a tool, but a strategy, a point of view stating about being the one who shapes its environment. This is a modern approach against conventional approach which is looking across for the ways of redesigning; which include substituting industries, strategic groups within industries, chain of buyers, products & service offerings, functional & emotional appeal to buyers, time management. Value Innovation by redesigning the external environment has to be a strategy to overcome environmental uncertainty. CEOs are working longer hours than in the past to meet external

challenges and they spend more time today on external issues. Especially in problems including; lobbying government officials, attending important hearings, government sponsored conferences, giving speeches to the public, and meeting with trade groups and associations. In other words there is much more need for an Environmental Dynamism which rates unpredictability of change in an external environment. In conditions where this is increased, then more scanning time on areas of uncertainty is needed. This is the relation between scanning effort of the managers and the performance of a firm. Furthermore, in such dynamic environments of today's business world, more dynamism needs more innovation and the only way to overcome external environment issues becomes the ability of value innovation. Here, the right strategy should be management of the task environment with immediate opportunities and management of internal functions associated with increased innovation. Whereas in more stable environments, the innovation may be less efficient but it will also bring a competitive advantage. The innovation can be done in more operational issues including cost controls and operating efficiency. In times of resource dependence, the value innovation strategy should be: Purchasing ownerships of suppliers, developing long term contracts and joint ventures, interlocking directorship, increasing trade associations and lobbying to increase collaborative network. Because increased collaborative network brings sharing risks, reducing costs, and enhancing organization's profile in selected industries.

Conclusion

The modern way for adapting to external environment is value innovation which is not a tool, but a strategy, a point of view stating about being the one who shapes its environment. This is a modern approach against conventional approach which is looking across for the ways of redesigning; which include substituting industries, strategic groups within industries, chain of buyers, products & service offerings, functional & emotional appeal to buyers, time management. Value Innovation by redesigning the external environment has to be a strategy to overcome environmental uncertainty. Value Innovation by redesigning the external environment has to be a strategy to overcome environmental uncertainty. The new CEOs must be people with skills to deal more legalistically and more politically than previous CEOs day-by-day. CEOs are working longer hours than in the past to meet external challenges and they spend more time today on external issues. Especially in problems including; lobbying government officials, attending important hearings, government sponsored conferences, giving speeches to the public, and meeting with trade groups and associations. Managing outside the organization is also needed in such issues. Value

innovation is the new strategy to overcome environmental uncertainty. Today's managers and organization leaders have to evaluate this situation and select value innovation strategy to overcome external environmental problems. Ultimately, an organization to survive and be successful has to shape its environment. Managing the company is not enough for the new online socialized world. To adapt and shape the environment, value innovation has to be the prerequisite strategy.

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Post-Socialist Transformation: Nationalistic Narratives from the Totalitarian Regimes to Sovereign States – Comparative Analysis of Macedonia and Georgia

Nino Samkharadze¹

Abstract:

Dissolution of the Socialist camp throughout the USSR and Yugoslavia at the end of 1980s and beginning of 1990s resulted in unprecedented number of the newly established states in Eastern Europe, South Caucasus, Central Asia and the part of the Balkan Peninsula. Followed by the difficult transformation path of the state building process, dragged into the territorial conflicts, social and economic challenges leading to ambiguous foreign policy strategies. Most of the newly created countries were labelled as “failed states. Identity formation (or re-production) in post-socialist states became one of the core affecting factors in this process of transformation. Since gaining independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 Georgia faced boosting of nationalistic attitudes in the society invoked by Zviad Gamsakhurdia’s government, the first president of independent Georgia. His ultra-nationalistic rhetoric caused fully-pledged civil war followed by armed clashes in Abkhazia and South Ossetia currently being the breakaway regions of Georgia. Not been involved in the Yugoslav wars in early 1990s FYR Macedonia faced the challenge of the naming issue resulting in deteriorating the relations with Greece. Such turbulent events have been strongly affecting identity reproduction process in those two states. Through comparing those two cases it will be presented the general trends of those two states’ performance in the process of identity reproducing and its influence on conducting relevant state policies. What were the core catalysts of nation building process after dissolution of the socialist camp? How two cases differ in terms of increased nationalistic sentiments and what are the main commonalities between the two? Through answering those questions it will be presented the arguments to prove the notion that Soviet memory in Georgia and socialist experience in Macedonia pushed radical nationalistic attitudes among two societies.

Key words: nationalism, totalitarianism, democratization, transformation

¹ Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University Georgia [ninosamkharadze99@gmail.com]

Introduction

After dissolution of the socialist bloc transitional period was marked anti-communist and nationalistic politics of memory in Georgia as well as the Republic of Macedonia. Despite of the fact that two countries are located in two different regions which have different strategic importance, cultural and historical developments and international positions, there are some factors which have to be taken into consideration as common challenges for them: firstly, the Republic of Macedonia as well as Georgia have experienced the strict communist past shaping more or less similar frame for overall nationalistic developments in two countries. Secondly, the complexity of the religious, linguistic and ethnic composition in each of the states have created the ground for additional challenges for them. And thirdly, post-socialist political turbulence and non-harmonized domestic positions led the states to the path of nationalistic narratives changing each other from government to government. Article examines how communist experience influenced on nationalistic narratives in two states with different location, historical development and cultural background, what were the main tools for political nomenclature to control massive popular sentiments and how those policies reflected in transformation periods after dissolution the communist bloc. Upon building relevant theoretical and methodological framework it will be presented attempt to review the nationalities and memory policies conducted by both communist as well as post-communist political elites in Georgia and the Republic of Macedonia. For identifying and comparing the elements of communist parties' cultural policies in the USSR and Yugoslavia the first part of the article examines the general trends of socialist nationalities policy. The main aspect here is how the republics of Georgia and Macedonia were integrated into the general socialist narratives. The second part of the article is mostly oriented on memory politics conducted by the regimes of newly-emerged independent states and struggling for finding their own distinct identity.

Methodology and Theoretical Framework

Benedict Anderson suggests his definition of Nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.¹ In order to explain the peculiarities of nationalistic narratives in the

¹ Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London, New York: Verso, 2006, 5-6.

Republic of Macedonia and Georgia the main arguments will follow through the theories based on the "imagination" of the nation through the communist nationalistic policies, memory politics of the regimes of newly created states, cultural nationalism and so called antiquization process.¹ The core idea of Anderson on how the nation-building process is happening and how political elites are involved in this process has become an inspiration for many theorists working on the issues of collective memory, mass mobilization, cultural nationalism and techniques of the consolidating the group of people as a nation. Michael Billig talks about the nationhood flagging of which is often unnoticed but not hidden.² But what is essential in implementing the policy necessary to manipulate the masses and create the general idea of nationhood is the notion of collective memory. Maurice Halbwachs and Pierre Nora are considered to be the main creators and distributors of the notion but Nora unlike Halbwachs is focused on "global upsurge of memory".³ Theory involves the critique of the official versions of history and the return to what was hidden away; the search of obfuscated or "confiscated" past; the cult of "roots" and the development of genealogical investigations; the boom in fervent celebrations and commemorations; legal settlement of "past" scores between different social groups; the growing number of all kind of museums; the rising need for conservation of archives but also for their opening for the public; and the new attachment to "heritage".⁴ As one of the reasons of booming the collective memory studies Peter J. Verovsek argues the fall of the Iron Curtain which triggered the unification of social movements throughout the continent of Europe followed by the dissolution of communist camp.⁵ To identify the basic path of building relevant nationalities policy in communist societies it will be reviewed some of the documents reflecting the strategy of controlling mass mobilization processes through content-analysis. When trying to understand this link between the memory politics and post-socialist experience it will be presented discourse analysis of news articles and speeches delivered by the members of two countries' political elites and published by local and international media. Exploring deeply the case studies of building necessary identity for creating one independent nation will be presented as well.

¹Vangeli, Anastas. Nation-building ancient Macedonian style: the origins and the effects of the so-called antiquization in Macedonia. *Nationalities Papers*. Vol. 39. No. 1. (2011): 13-32.

²Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. London: SAGE Publications, 2012. 174.

³Nora, Pierre. Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire. *Representations*. No.26. (1989): 7-24.

⁴Introduction to the first and the conclusion to the last volume of Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de Memoire: La Republique, Les France*. Vol. 3 (Paris: Gallimard, 1984, 1993) in Marinov, Chavdar. Anticommunist, but Macedonian: Politics of Memory in Post-Yugoslav Macedonia. *Tokovi Istorije*. Vol. 1-2 (2009): 63-85.

⁵Verovsek, J. Peter, Collective Memory, Politics, and the Influence of the Past: the Politics of Memory as a Research Paradigm. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. Vol.4. No. 3. (2016): 529-543.

Nationalities Policies in Two Communist Regimes

For almost 70 years Georgia had been the Soviet Republic within the USSR. The period brought efficient social life with flourishing cultural developments for the country. But at the same time it was the part of the empire with authoritative governance, one-party system ruling and fierce repressions of Georgian intellectuals, so called the “enemies of the people”. The Republic of Macedonia has no shorter experience of being the member of socialist realm and not less aggressive politics in terms of violating human rights. But communist political elites could maintain the states in two different regions rigid and united until the 1990-ies. Nationalities Policy was one of the most trustable and flexible tools for successful manipulation of different peoples but it have had its risks and challenges results of which were reflected in transitional period of independent Georgia and Republic of Macedonia. According to the Soviet Nationalities Policy each nation within the Soviet Union should focus on its own history and culture ¹ and the Communist Party helped to the republics in implementing the strategy because of several reasons. According to Stalin’s plan the essence of the nationality policy should be elimination of backwardness and “culturelessness”. In order to achieve the goals state should aid the republics to *develop their own schools, theatres, local clubs and other cultural and educational institutions in native languages.*² Stalin and other soviet leaders grounded their nationalities policy on Lenin’s concept of “compensatory” nation-building which was a successful attempt at a state-sponsored conflation of language, “culture”, territory and quota-fed bureaucracy.³ Besides, Soviet Union was a multiethnic communist federation, and nationality policy was an important part of its political agenda. The main goal of the central government was the maintenance of interethnic peace and solidarity for the party.⁴ For the regime ruling 15 republics with multiple ethnic, linguistic and cultural composition with different social and political history it was essential to attract the loyalty from the local elites and intellectuals to have an efficient tool to control the general paradigms of popular approaches. The essence of Yugoslav nationality policy under the Tito regime was to provide legal guarantees for the use of one’s language and other vital elements of national identity, and simultaneously to prevent the transference of the traditional and emotional ethnic

¹Slezkine, Yuri. The USSR as a Communal Apartment or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism. *Slavic Review*. Vol. 53. No. 2. (1994): 414-452.

²*Desiatyi s’ezd Rossiiskoi Kommunisticheskoi partii: stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo, 1921). 101.

³Slezkine, Yuri. The USSR as a Communal Apartment or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism. *Slavic Review*. Vol. 53. No. 2. (1994): 414-452.

⁴Shcherbak, Andrey. Nationalism in the USSR: A Historical and Comparative Perspective. Higher School of Economics Research Paper. No. WP BRP 27/SOC/2013. (2013).

ties to new generations.¹ This Policy makes Tito's narratives similar to Lenin's and Stalin's ideas. In 1983 CIA prepared the report on "Yugoslavia: Trends in Ethnic Nationalism", in which one can find the plan followed by Tito which looks similar as Lenin's and Stalin's one: Tito developed one of the most decentralized political-economic systems in Europe, in part to deny any of Yugoslavia's nationalities' cause to leave the federation.² There is no doubt about the role of nationalism in the history of Federal Yugoslav State causing bloody wars among the republics and eventual dissolution of the country. But if we look at the nationalities policy of the Communist Party, we can identify the similarities in the strategy "form above" similar to the USSR Communist nomenclature: proclaiming the People's Republic of Macedonia as part of the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia the policy of shaping of the distinct Slav Macedonian identity was launched. Primordial ties of the glorious history and the present of the republics was promoted. As a result ethnic groups within the Federal state felt that they were genetically superior to the other ethnic groups in the respective republics. These groups had historically been mutually antagonistic: the Battle of Kosovo Field – which took place in 1389 – was frequently used to 'rouse people's emotions'³ in the 1990-ies. Like in the USSR personalities played a big role in shaping general contours of nationalistic narratives in Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but with the different goals. This notion centers on the role of Slobodan Milosevic. His personal policies have been described as 'both populist and nationalist' as he sought to fight for his own Serbian ethnicity at the expense of others.⁴ Therefore it emerged the core difference between the nationalities policies in two Federal republics, Yugoslavia and the USSR: in latter it was aimed to maintain equality and equity for all the ethnicities existing within its borders in order collect overall solidarity while Yugoslavian nationalities policy was mostly oriented on achieving single elitist politician.⁵ Therefore the communist nomenclatures played a big role in shaping current identities in Georgia and the Republic of Macedonia. The general frames of self-consciousness were reflected in port-socialist nationalistic narratives of the political leaders of the two independent states.

¹Seroka, Jim. Nationalism and the New Political Compact in Yugoslavia. *History of European Idea*. Vol. 15. No. 4-6. 577-581.

²Central Intelligence Agency. *Yugoslavia: Trends in Ethnic Nationalism*. (Washington: Directorate of Intelligence, 1983)

³Kaufman, Stuart J. *Ethnic Conflict* in Williams, Paul D. *Security Studies* (2008)

⁴Booty, Harry. *Was nationalism the primary cause of the wars in the former Yugoslavia?* <http://www.e-ir.info/2011/02/28/was-nationalism-the-primary-cause-of-the-wars-in-the-former-yugoslavia/> (Accessed on September 14th, 2017).

⁵Ibid.

Struggle through the Memory Politics

An official website of *The Museum of the Macedonian Struggle for Statehood and Independence – The Museum of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization and the Museum of the Victims of the Communist Regime* states that was originally “aimed to present the historical, cultural and revolutionary traditions of Macedonia and the Macedonian people in their perennial struggle to create a national state on the Balkans.”¹ Debating over the politics of Nikola Gruevski and the Museum of Macedonian struggle as a part of this politics we can argue that antiquization has become the natural continuation of perennial ideas of Macedonian political elites. As Benedict Anderson writes, purpose of the museums as well as the initially “museumizing imagination” were profoundly political.² Which means that the Museum of Macedonian Struggle linked two main concepts with each other: building the institute in 2008-2011 years was part of the revising policy of Macedonian historiography on the one hand and crucially important for the current political set on the other.³ Nationalistic policy of The VMRO-DPMNE (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity) in cultural, historical and social terms introduced new neologism like “antiquization” in a public usage. The process of antiquization is the identitarian policies based on the assumption that there is a direct link between today’s ethnic Macedonians and Ancient Macedonians.⁴ Set of the policies of maintaining the bridges between antique and modern identities includes renaming national buildings and constructions such as an Airport in Skopje (named after Alexander the Great) and stadium (The National Arena Philip II of Macedonia). The two are strategically important destination for spreading the message throughout the world: Airport – the first banner showing the country and its pride and football arena having chance to host high level international matches. Upon announcing The National Arena Philip II of Macedonia as the location for UEFA Super Cup 2017 between Real Madrid and Manchester United UEFA officially published: The National Arena Filip II of Macedonia is no stranger to UEFA games, though. During extensive renovations it hosted five matches at the [2010 UEFA European Women's Under-19 Championship](#) – the 8,000 that turned out to watch

¹The Museum of the Macedonian Struggle for Statehood and Independence – The Museum of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization and the Museum of the Victims of the Communist Regime. *History of Museum*. <http://mmb.org.mk>. <http://mmb.org.mk/index.php/en/2016-03-22-12-58-17/history> (accessed on September 16th, 2017).

²Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. (London & New York: Verso. 2002). P. 178.

³Trajanovski, Naum. *Displaying a Contested Past: The Museum of the Macedonian Struggle and the shifting Post-Socialist Historical Discourses in Macedonia*. (Master’s Thesis, Central European University. 2016).

⁴Vangeli, Anastas. *Nation-building ancient Macedonian style: the origins and the effects of the so-called antiquization in Macedonia*. *Nationalities Papers*. Vol. 39, No. 1 (2011). 13-32.

the hosts take on Spain remains a [competition record](#).¹ Except from reproducing the ancient identity and integrating it into the modern reality of the Macedonian nation, the policy of antiquization has its connections with socialist past and moral traumas of transformation period. Antiquization has gradually emerged in a post-communist setting, raising the question of the contingency between the regime change, the frustration of transition and the emergence or perpetuation of nationalist discourse.² The Republic of Macedonia as a state needs to show up from the shadow of heavy communist one-party ruling system in which Macedonians have never been the leading ethnic groups. In other words, antiquity-inspired Macedonian nationalist rhetoric has emerged as a “compensation for backwardness”.³ This kind of struggle with communist past was fueled by anti-Yugoslav and anticommunist VMRO (later VMRO-DPMNE) party politics. Eventually the overall environment in the middle of this ultra-nationalistic policy was shaped in a following way: Yugoslav communism and Macedonian nationalism have been intermingled to the extent that the attack against the first element could be easily perceived as a denial of the second one.⁴ In June, 2015 the Tbilisi City Hall Council made decision to rename the International Tbilisi Airport before called “Aleksievka” or “Novo Aleksievka” (upon the nearby district). Alternatives of the new names were highly debated issue. After long discussion on public as well as decision-makers’ level the airport was renamed after 12-century Georgian poet Shota Rustaveli. Emphasizing the ties between past and present was actual in Mikheil Saakashvili’s narratives as well: considering himself as the heir of David the Builder, the king of Georgian state in 11th-12th centuries (marked as the brightest period of the history of Georgian states and provinces) he made the decision to establish Occupation Museum in Tbilisi. It was symbolic that the museum was opened on May 26th, the day when Georgia celebrates its Independence Day. During the opening speech delivered by Saakashvili, he named the concrete addressee to whom the museum should be commemorated: “This museum is dedicated to Kakutsa Cholokashvili and his brothers in arms; this museum is dedicated to the underground organizations created in this period. This museum is dedicated to the clergy, almost destroyed in this age. This museum is dedicated to a Georgian officer; this museum is dedicated to my

¹ UEFA. FYR Macedonia to Host UEFA Super Cup. UEFA.com. <http://www.uefa.com/uefasupercup/news/newsid=2262118.html> (Accessed on September 12th, 2017).

²Vangeli, Anastas. Nation-building ancient Macedonian style: the origins and the effects of the so-called antiquization in Macedonia. *Nationalities Papers*. Vol. 39, No. 1 (2011). 13-32.

³Hana 'k, Peter. “A National Compensation for Backwardness.” *Studies in East European Thought* 46.1–2 (1994): 33–45.

⁴Marinov, Tchavdar. Anticommunist, But Macedonian: Politics of Memory in Post-Yugoslav Macedonia. *Tokovi istorije*. Vol. 1-2. (2009). 65-83.

grandfather Nikusha Tsereteli, who was exiled to Siberia".¹Some of the scholars even consider the museum as the sign of transferring on European path the Tbilisi Museum of Soviet Occupation represents a specific political project within the pro-European agenda of Saakashvili's administration. As such, it is not merely an embodiment of a nation's memory narrative, but is itself a compilation of politically charged statements targeting particular audiences and particular discourses.²National flag, anthem and emblem have changed for very soon and St. George's Statue, a fighter against a dragon, as a representation of the new government's character, set on the main- liberty square of Tbilisi. Moving of the remains of a Georgian national hero Kakutsa Cholokashvili who fought against Tsarist Russia and was persecuted from the country, was declared as a national holiday and such commemoration rituals became part of social life.³ Museumization policy was continued on August 8, 2017, when the War Museum was opened in the village of Ergneti, located several meters away from the occupation line. The opening date was symbolic in this case as well: the museum was opened on the 9th anniversary of the Russian-Georgian war. House of the local resident was used to collect the pieces of shells, burnt toys and other damaged items. The policy of visualization the main messages of nationalistic narratives have become crucial part of the memory politics of the political elites of Georgia and the Republic of Macedonia. The main nature of this kind of policy is anti-communist narratives and transition towards European path.

Conclusion

Upon reviewing the general nationalistic narratives of Georgia and the Republic of Macedonia employed after the dissolution of Socialist bloc, it is noted in article as following: despite the different locations, cultural, historical and social developments socialist experience was reflected in a similar way in the two countries. Almost the same line of antiquization policy, bridging the ties between the past and the present, building the visual representation of anti-socialist and European vector is the general trend of comparative analysis between the two states. Comparing socialist

¹Saakashvili, Mikheil. Speech at the opening of the Museum of Soviet Repression (May 26th 2006). Radiotavisupleba. <https://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/1547061.html> (Accessed on September 14th, 2017).

²Batiashvili, Nutsa. Sites of Memory, Sites of Contestation: the Tbilisi Museum of Soviet Occupation and Visions of the Past in Georgia. *The Cultures of Histories Forum*. (2017). <http://www.cultures-of-history.uni-jena.de/exhibitions/georgia/sites-of-memory-sites-of-contestation-the-tbilisi-museum-of-soviet-occupation-and-visions-of-the-past-in-georgia/> (Accessed on September 14th, 2017).

³Dundua, Salome, Karaia, Tamar and Abashidze, Zviad. National narration and Politics of Memory in post-socialist Georgia. *Slovak Journal of Political Sciences*. Vol. 17, No. 2. (2017): 222-240.

experiences it could be identified the similar trends of the policies of Lenin and Tito: encouraging ethnic particularism and cultural distinctions in order to maintain the peoples' loyalties. Despite of the fact that Miloshevic tried to conduct exceptional ethnic policy based on individual elitist intentions the influence of created historic myth is obvious in modern memory politics. Antiquization and museumization are the neologisms which emerged as the neologisms in the Republic of Macedonia referring to the fierce politics of promoting antique links in terms of ethnicity, culture and historical development. The same processes were developed in independent Georgia during the governance of Mikheil Saakashvili: marking hard soviet past with opening museums and delivering the messages emphasizing the glorious history of the nation. Eventually the viable representations of nationalistic narratives emerged as a part of cultural politics on one hand and the political agenda on the other in which anti-communist motivations were dominant.

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Understanding the Rise of Extremism in Bangladesh: A Brief Overview

Namia Akhtar¹

Abstract:

This paper argues that the rise of extremist ideology in Bangladesh is a product of the exploitation of Islam in Bangladeshi politics where subsequent government as well political parties made alliance with Sunni extremist parties such as Jamaat-e-Islam, Hefazat-e-Islam, facilitating the erosion of the longstanding tradition of tolerance among the Bengali-Muslims in Bangladesh. Islam in Bengal has always been of syncretic character, it has always incorporated the elements of the other religions and culture, however, the recent years has seen the rise of Wahabi Islam in Bangladesh. The killing of secular writers and bloggers, persecution of religious minorities mark the subsequent departure from longstanding tradition of Sufi Islam. The politicization of Bengali-Muslim identity construction by secular political parties of AwamiLeague (AL) and Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) resulted in constant shift between Bangladeshi nationalism propagated by BNP, and Bengali nationalism advocated by AL, which resulted in an identity vacuum among Bengali Muslims in the country. Corruption, nepotism by secular political governments as well as dynastic-authoritarian political party structure within these secular parties (AL and BNP) have facilitated the rise of Islamist parties. Contrary to AL and BNP, Islamist political parties are centered on meritocratic structure, and facilitate in private welfare provision to the rural people.

Along with these factors, the rise of fascist Hinduvta in India with the advent of BJP, the Rohingya refugee crisis have added elements to strengthen the Islamic identity of the Bengali Muslims facilitating the rise Islamist parties in Bangladesh. Assisting the growth of this intolerant Wahabi Islam preached by these Islamist parties, is the Saudi funded mosques and madrassas that harbor a culture of intolerance.

On its independence from Pakistan, Bangladesh adopted a secular constitution, however, the Bangladeshi politics went through a process of Islamisation after the assassination of the father of the nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. After his death, his subsequent successors incorporated 'Bismillaahir Rahmanir-Rahim' (In the name of God, the most benevolent the most merciful) in the constitution, enacted by Ziaur Rahman. Later, the Ershad regime endorsed Islam as the state religion to legitimize his

¹ Universitaet Heidelberg, Germany [namiaakhtar11@gmail.com]

highly unpopular regime. More recently the current government in power, the AL has formed an informal alliance with right-wing Islamist organization Hefazat-e-Islam to tap into its vote bank. The combination of these governance, social, economic as well as political issues in neighbouring countries is facilitating the growth of extremism in Bangladesh.

Introduction

This paper provides an overview on understanding the rise extremism in Bangladesh, which is a contemporary phenomenon in an otherwise syncretic tradition. This article defines extremism as ‘activities or sets of beliefs, attitudes, feelings, actions, strategies of a character far removed from the ordinary.’¹ Ordinary, here implies the long – standing tradition of Bengal which has always fostered a culture of tolerance and enacted a syncretic religious tradition.²The fact that extremism is on the rise in Bangladesh is intractably puzzling as the Bengali Muslims in East Bengal did not vote to join Pakistan based on religious grounds, rather than voted for purely economic reasons.

In the case of Bangladesh, the rise of extremism cannot be understood only by looking at militant groups, but the changing culture has important dynamics on explaining the reasons of the rise of such intolerant values. It is not just in Bangladesh that intolerance is on the rise, right-wing populism is a product of modernity and is experienced almost everywhere in the world. Nonetheless, as Islamist militancy are the only ones that resort to violent tactics to spread their ideology this receives special attention.

Extremism here does not only refer to the ideology ingrained within extremist groups that often engage in spreading their dogma through engage in violence, but in this article it also refers to activities that are non-violent in orientation—doctrine that promote active discrimination against minorities or against people that are following a different sect of Islam, or believing in values that stand in contrast to their own values.

While majority of the population in Bangladesh are not extremist, nonetheless, this is soon changing due to several reasons. First of all the penetration of the extremist groups within the state infrastructure create a leverage that funnel down extremism to the local populace, in addition, international factors such as the rise of fascism in neighboring India or Myanmar create strong emotions that facilitate the recruitments of militant groups, as well as breed hostility and intolerance among the community.

¹Dr. Peter T. Coleman and Dr. Andrea Bartoli: [Addressing Extremism](#), pp. 3–4

² See For example, Chatterji, Joya (1996) *The Bengali Muslim: A Contradiction in Terms? An Overview of the Debate on Bengali Muslim Identity* *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* Fall 16(2): pg 16-24;

Extremism of radical groups and extremism of culture should not be viewed as two different categories, they are rather a hybrid product—one facilitates the other. This article provides a critical perspective analyzing the rise of extremism in Bangladesh.

Penetration of extremism within the state infrastructure

State institutions are of critical importance when upholding the laws of the state. But when extremist groups penetrate within the state, it challenges the state power as the state becomes fragile in combating extremism. Based on the my analysis of the magazines of Hijbut-Tahrir and reading the blogs of Ansarullaah Bangla Team, two of the deadly terrorist groups in the country, it becomes palpable that extremist groups have penetrated their outreach by embedding deep within the state institutions particularly within the police and the army—the very institutions that are the legitimate authority to discipline non-state actors through enforcing the monopoly on violence.¹The purpose of these Islamist groups is to create ideological division within the state and to unofficially get informal state support in spreading their intolerant ideology. The Bangladeshi state is largely viewed as an atheist entity as the state advocates secular nationalism contrary despite having a Muslim majority. Due to enforced secularism those officers who get radicalized through interaction with the extremists do not view supporting the militants as an act of non-patriotism, rather view it as a holy act of jihad. Most vulnerable to radicalization are the lower ranked police officers as they often mistake militants as deeply religious leaders. The penetration of extremism takes place within police takes place in prisons, it affects those police who are on guard or who are in charge of interrogation of the extremist.² As they are mostly ill-trained in interrogation tactics, police often display sympathy when questioning the captured Islamists in prisons. Furthermore, most of these police are educated at schools where critical thinking skills are not taught. The education system in Bangladesh generally does not train students to think critically as rote memorization is emphasized on. Without having the habit of critical analysis, and always pledging to higher authority, police often give into the ideology of the mullah who are seen as religious figures and are respected for their so-called knowledge of Islam.³

These results are further supported by a report of the Daily Star, which states the captured extremists are treated with special care contrary to other prisoners. Furthermore, since ordinary criminals and extremists are kept at the same cell—the process of radicalization takes place at a faster pace. When these criminals are freed,

¹ See Hijbut Tahrir, Quarterly magazine; provide link and also DS

²Based on my interview with a police officer

³ Ibid, see BEI Unpublished report on police reform

they give up their criminal activities and instead engage in extremism—these ideologies get penetrated into their families who get radicalized as a process, this partially explains the rise of intolerance in contemporary Bangladesh. Families come into contact with radical ideology through secondary mechanism--through the people who are primarily indoctrinated by the extremist. The family then preaches to other family, that is how the ideology spreads. However, as it spreads many of the original content is lost, nonetheless, the critical element of intolerance and non-violent discrimination towards minority remains. The penetration of Islamist groups such as Hijbut Tahrir in the Bangladesh army is deep. Their quarterly magazine reads, 'We welcome the move of the army for extending our support to us.'¹ Organizations target and actively recruit people within the state institutions, as spreading of the ideology would only be successful through capturing the state.

Radicalization within state institutions take place since recruitments at the lower ranks of police, and even at the army is conducted through nepotism. Often deserving candidates do not get these positions, as strong connections are necessary to get into these institutions. There are no studies on how corruption within the state breeds extremism due to data scarcity. Based on interviews it can be safely assumed that clientelistic recruitments is one of the reasons. Moreover, most of these lower rank policemen do not have sufficient training in critical thinking skills or in education that is required to counter the narratives composed by extremist within prison cells. The gradual capture of state institutions filters down to the general population who gradually begin to ascribe to the views taught by Islamist parties. Penetration within state infrastructure makes it difficult for the government to tackle rising extremism as certain factions within the state institutions support the Islamists without the knowledge of the government.

Rohingya refugee crisis

The Rohingya crisis that has been spanning across for several decades has facilitated the recruitment of extremist groups in the country. Only recently for winning support of the majority, the government has opened its borders to the refugees. The refugee crisis is frequently used by Hijbut-Tahrir as well as by other extremist group to recruit terrorist from Bangladesh, as well as from other South East Asian countries. In the view of these groups, if an Islamic Caliphate was in existent this crisis would not have taken place in the first place. These imageries of inhumane torture in Myanmar are used to

¹See for instance, Hizbut Tahrir Quarterly magazines <http://www.ht-bangladesh.info/magazines> (Last accessed 20/9/2017)

trigger emotional sentiments, motivating them to join the terrorist groups for a 'just' cause to save humanity. Humanity in the consciousness of the terrorist is only for those Muslims that ascribe to their intolerant views and ideology and not applicable otherwise. ¹ It needs to be noted that even though people in Bangladesh are religious, they are not fervent supporters of Shari'ah law and do not wish to see an Islamist party in power. But for the first time in the history of Bangladesh, the popular people and the Islamist parties supported one thing together, that is to end the ethnic cleansing of the Rohingyas in Myanmar. The continued ethnic cleansing in Myanmar despite international pressure is a cause of rising concern as it is instigating terrorism not just in Bangladesh, but also in other South East Asian countries. Based on social media analysis, it needs to be noted that the call of the Islamist parties to open borders for the refugees have been met with great enthusiasm among the general populace in Bangladesh. This however does not indicate that the entire population support acts of terrorism, rather the mere sense of injustice inflicted on Rohingyas arouse a common sentiment of unity—at the absence of the state's enthusiasm to embrace the refugee many people responded to call of these parties. One needs to recall that Bangladesh did not immediately open its borders. Due to the persistent internal pressure and to prevent the threat of extremism the government was forced to open its border. The general population perceives the government as being an atheist entity, hence, to make the state look sufficiently Muslim, it opened its border to the Rohingyas. Already the effects of the rise of Buddhist fascism is felt in peaceful Bangladesh, where the Buddhist minorities in the country are subjected to numerous harassments of the local people in Cox's Bazar. The police with limited resources is experiencing difficulty in tackling this crisis. Furthermore, this crisis is one of the reasons fueling cultural intolerance in Bangladesh, as the mass people are driven by raw emotion to seek revenge. Masses are not driven by intellect or reason, rather by emotions. One needs to look back at the history of partition to understand this phenomenon where an attack on one community lead to an attack over the other. During the partition of India if a Shikh village was on fire one day, the next day the Muslim village was on fire—this is how masses are driven, through emotion, through an irrational drive to seek revenge. Unless the international community reaches a solution to the end the Rohingya crisis, pressurize Myanmar into accepting Rohingyas as their citizens, this crisis will have grave security consequences not just for Myanmar and Bangladesh, but for the entire region. It is noticeable that the Rohingya youth are missing, whether they have joined any groups or being murdered by the state enforced genocide in Myanmar remains to be seen.

¹Ibid

The rise of fascist BJP

Political factors in Bangladesh are often influenced by the activities that take place in its neighboring countries. With Hindu fascism rapidly growing in prominence in neighboring India, the minorities in Bangladesh too are becoming victims of an extremist ideology. As stated earlier, crowds are not driven by reason, rather driven by strong emotions. When a Muslim is attacked in India, the minorities in Bangladesh is subjected to similar treatment, even though they are innocent and the fault does not lie with them. Counter attacks are driven by extreme desire to seek revenge, and have no basis in religion or rationality, the history of partition only makes it palpable. The destruction of Babri mosque in 1991 had exposed the lives of Bangladeshi Hindus to risk. Hence, oppression of Muslims in neighbouring India facilitates the rise of extremism, as intolerance is legitimized and justified. The Hindu community is not viewed as Bangladeshi, rather as Hindu belonging to neighbouring India, they are not viewed as part of the Bangladeshi territory, but as citizens belonging to the other country. The Hindus are constantly reminded that Bangladesh does not belong to them, that they are alien to this territory--India being their true home. This view is reinforced by the socialization process, where they are constantly labelled as double agents of serving Indian interests even though their heart belongs to Bangladesh. Their loyalty to the state is viewed with suspicion by the majority, as the state enforced concept of nationhood is constructed by the elites that are rejected by the vast majority.¹ The perception of Hindus belonging to India is not new, it has always been in existence. Offensive words are often used to describe them either at their absence or their presence, the word 'mallu' is frequently used to curse this minority population. Mallu is a Hindi word which means ape or monkeys.² With rising Hinduva, the newspaper pages are filled with reports of Muslims being lynched in India which provokes a Muslim nationalism rising in reaction to fascism in India. These sentiments cannot be rationalized neither can it be sentimentalized. Taslima Nasreen's controversial novel Lajja articulates how violence spreads from one territory to the other through a rapid escalation of untapped emotions. Thus, India's internal domestic affairs concerning the treatment of its minorities are of critical importance to prevent communalism in Bangladesh.

¹Yasmin, Lailufar (13 April 2013) "Religion and after: Bangladesh identity since 1971"
<https://www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity/lailufar-yasmin/religion-and-after-bangladeshi-identity-since-1971>(Last accessed 20/9/2017)

²Ashraf, Azad (17/09/2017) *Interview: Hindu Bangladeshis faced ethnic cleansing since 1947*
<http://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/law-rights/2017/09/17/interview-hindus-bangladesh-faced-ethnic-cleansing-since-1947>(last accessed 20/9/2017)

Identity vacuum and the penetration of Saudi ideology

Saudi funded mosques and madrassas are actively involved in spreading Salafi Islam, a version of Islam that is institutionalized within Saudi Arabia, which denies the right of the minority to exist in the country. Saudi ideology has a strong support base in Bangladesh due to the persisting identity vacuum among the Bengali Muslims who are otherwise uncomfortable about their Bengali identity. Saudi Arabia, or Arabs generally are held in higher regard in the country as there is a perception that Arabs are superior to non-Arabs. Recently the government of Bangladesh has accepted Saudi funds for the construction of mosques and madrassas which will rapidly increase the propensity of extremism in the country.¹ This inferiority complex among Bengali Muslims is not a recent phenomenon it has always been ingrained in existent in the consciousness of the Bengali Muslims. Even prior to the partition of India, Bengali Muslims were uncomfortable about their Bengali identity and preferred using Urdu, English or Persian rather than Bengali, as Bengali was considered as a pagan language.² Bengali scholars such as Syed Amir Ali was otherwise highly uncomfortable about their Bengali identity, in his works he connected more deeply to the desert landscape of Arabia than to Bengal.³ Saudi Arabia being the holy land of Mecca and Medina is held in high regard in the Bengali Muslim consciousness in Bangladesh. Hence, there is a general tendency among the populace to embrace the Saudi culture as the Saudi culture is only viewed as authentic Islam. The preachers tap into this insecurity, and as a consequence of this persisting insecurity, they are being highly successful in ingraining the people with Saudi values. These Islamist parties have also been active in the destruction of the Sufi shrines—which are visited by both Hindus and Muslims in the country. The culture of going to *pirs* [Sufi priests] is fading, as the syncretic culture of Islam in Bangladesh is being replaced by a Saudi version of Islam. Many noticeable trends of Saudisation due to the infiltration of Saudi funds are palpable in our country. Most noticeable is the rise of *niqab* or the full face veil, which was never a part of the Bengali culture. The Persian *Khoda Hafez* being replaced with the Arabic *Allah Hafez*. Alongside, also noticeable is gender segregation in public events, which was never a part of the Bengali culture. The deep penetration of the Islamic funds into the economy is creating a parallel society which is evident by the deep penetration of Saudi funds into the economy.⁴

¹ Abedin, Syed (20 April 2017) *Saudi pay big money for mosques*, Dhaka Tribune <http://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/nation/2017/04/20/saudi-pay-big-money-mosques/> (Last accessed 20/9/2017)

² Joarder, Safiuddin, and David Kopf. (1977) *Reflections on the Bengal renaissance*. Dacca, Bangladesh Books International

³ Ibid

⁴ Bangladesh Enterprise Institute (2016) *Terror Financing*, BEI, Dhaka

Sectarianism was not practiced in Bangladesh—the people in this part of the world was not at all familiar with divisions within the sects. However, increasingly it is noticeable that Ahmeddiyyas in the country are facing tremendous persecution, Hindus, Christians, the Bhuddist as well as the indigenous people are not secure either. The rise of the social media, and its diffusion within the society through enhanced accessibility is facilitating the rise of intolerant ideology. Salafi preachers such as Zakir Naik, Bilal Phillips have gained massive popularity in the country. Their massive popularity is expanding the intolerant base of the society. These scholars often preach an intolerant version of Islam that potentially led to violence. Even though the government has banned Zakir Naik, his YouTube videos are widely available in the country. Extremist preacher Bilal Phillips's videos continue to be available in YouTube, with widespread accessibility of such videos, intolerance is increasingly penetrating into the society. With mass population in Bangladesh having a highly religious mindset without proper understanding of Islam, extremist views gain prominence as these preachers are well-versed and are eloquent in terms of their preaching contrary to the general population. As the general population have a lack of understanding of Islam, they do not have a rational approach towards understanding Islam, this void is exploited by these so called scholars. Most of the people are of the view that rationality and Islam are not compatible, hence, the disbandment of logic, embracing illogicality is growing intolerance as people ascribe to a given view without critical assessment.

Political use of religion

The national identity of Bangladesh has constantly shifted between secularization and Islamisation, with the religion card being played to win over significant voting blocs. As Hindus constitute only 9 per cent of the total population, political parties do not pay significant attention into winning over their votes. None of the leaders of the major political parties of Bangladesh, BNP and AL are religious in their personal lives, yet the religion is deeply exploited for winning over significant voting blocs. Bangladesh was founded on the principles of secularism. However, after the assassination of the father of the nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, when Ziaur Rahman came to power, he enacted *Bismillaahir-Rahmaanir-Raheem* in the constitution. Subsequently, the regime of Ershad legitimized Islam as the state religion to seek popularity in his highly unpopular regime in the 1980s. Nonetheless, it failed to popularize his regime. Both BNP and AL formed alliance with right wing Islamist party Jamaat e Islam for coming to power. AL-Jamaat formed alliance in 1996, whereas BNP-Jamaat formed alliance and governed the country between 2001-2006. The Islamist group being in power facilitated the spread of their intolerant culture during the decade long period when they were in power in

coalition with secular political parties. Subsequently, through the penetration of Islamists within the state militancy increased in 2006. There were more militant attacks in the country during the than at any other times. Even though a secular identity was enforced by the state machinery the general public were yet to embrace this secular ideals. The constant denial of the state to recognize Islam, and its radical policy of secularization that only made the population religious. The more the state enforces secular practices the stronger the community becomes in terms of clinging onto its religious belief. ¹ Political parties frequently play the religion card to win over large voting blocs, as a result of this political game, mullahs have been empowered by the state. Very recently, the ruling party Awami League has formed alliance with the right wing Islamist party Hefazat-e-Islam, analysts have noted that they are winning votes in the country. ²

Conclusion

Both domestic factors and international factors are important to understand the rise of intolerance in Bangladesh. The rise of cultural intolerance has not been previously studied academically. In my view, militancy and rising intolerance are both interconnected. Being exposed to militant ideology one might display or portray violent behavior however, as an ideology spread many of its original elements are lost, but some key messages remain. With the Bengali Muslims suffering from an inferiority complex such problems of extremism becomes even more epidemic. Even though extremism remains a deep challenge in the country, the Bangladesh government has recognized the penetration of extremist factions within the state and is increasingly using the intelligence agencies to crack down on those adhering to these views. Despite recent success, an education developing critical thinking skills is significantly important. In addition, Bangladesh need to be at the forefront of promoting Islamic scholarship as extremism is a religious society that only be tackled through proper understanding of the religion.

¹Yasmin, Lailufar (2014) The tussle between secularism and non-secularism in Bangladesh South Asian Journal https://www.academia.edu/6357430/The_tussle_between_secularism_and_non-secularism_in_Bangladesh (last accessed 21/9/2017)

² Courting Hefazat won't win any support, (21 April 2017) Dhaka Tribune <http://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/politics/2017/04/20/bnp-dawra-degree-recognition-will-not-make-hefazat-support-al/>

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The Rise of a New World Disorder

Esther Brito Ruiz¹

Abstract:

The world is currently under a process of deconstruction and redefinition. We are experiencing a paradigmatic shift between the old world order, and a new political reality yet to be defined. These last decades have evidenced established political hegemony breaking down, international order being challenged, and the nation state itself losing meaning in a new globalized reality.

The 21st century can be seen as a political period of transition, with the international political system that governed since Westphalia, and the structure that has defined the modern era itself, slowly disintegrating. These changes will bring forth not only a new political order, but a wholly different world. This is evidenced by simultaneously shifting dynamics both within every region and between different world regions. Adding to this, for the first time in history every region's interactions and realities affect each other in real time, with technology giving way for ideas to expand instantly.

Underlying these shifts in dynamics is a mayor developing reality of the modern world: Globalization. This concept forces us to reevaluate ideas we have come to interpreted as intrinsic. Furthermore, globalization seems to directly clash with the cornerstones of the nation state (identity, independence), and its driving principle: sovereignty.

While the political and economic order of the world is changing, it is simultaneously being challenged by nontraditional actors on a completely new scale. These events have led to a shift in the nature of strategy, from objective military and political strength, to ideological and psychological conflicts and the rise of asymmetric war. The nature of conflict itself has also changed: while war has historically been triggered by the accumulation of power and traditional geopolitical competition, the new globalized world sees peace often threatened by the fundamental disintegration of power.

It becomes clear that International Relations currently face a shift of paradigm defined by paradox: the combination of a global economy with increasing interdependence, and political relations fragmenting and becoming more uncertain. We are both more connected than ever, and more aware of our divisions. Ultimately, we find ourselves in a turning point: a new world disorder.

¹ Universidad Pontificia de Comillas, Spain [brito.ruiz.esther@gmail.com]

1. Introduction: the international system

The world we now live in has been shaped by the end of the cold war and globalization processes. These phenomenon's have driven interest in the academic analysis of transnational relations; as well as the role and impact of non-state actors on international politics. Debate has inevitably arisen in regards to these dynamics, and whether they are beneficial or detrimental for state interaction. Some scholars have praised "the emergence of a global transnational civil society" (Risse, 2007); meanwhile, many have seen the rise of globalization as a driving force behind an "increasing transnational capitalist hegemony" (Risse, 2007).

While contradicting in nature, these positions both implicitly ascribe a primal influence on outcomes within international politics to non-state actors. In academic debate realists and idealists have come together in "their ambivalence about transnational economic actors", and their role in furthering modernization and external intervention" (Risse, 2007). It has become undeniable that non-state actors, from multinational corporations to international organizations, have become key players in the international system. Nevertheless, while new actors within the system make its dynamics more complex, "there is little systematic evidence to sustain claims that the transnational 'society world' has somehow overtaken the 'state world'" (Czempiel, 1991, via Risse). The context that arises is one where international and transnational relations cannot be understood within zero-sum terms, and must be studied in terms of their interactions. Ultimately, "governing the global economy without governments is not an option. Yet for global governance to succeed, governments will also have to enlist the active cooperation of non-state actors" (Reinicke, 1998, via Risse).

Historically, challenges to security and stability were posed by the accumulation of power. This is to say: the emergence of potentially dominant states changing regional dynamics and possibly threatening the security of its neighboring nations. This was the main motive behind tension escalation, and security dilemma dynamics; within a realist worldview. Nevertheless, today peace is most often challenged not by the accumulation of power, but by its disintegration. With this we address collapses of state authority, creating "non-governed spaces", which ultimately expand violence beyond national borders and even regions. Future conflicts, and crisis's will be increasingly driven by the disruption of critical infrastructure, breakdown of societal cohesion and identity, challenge of basic government functions by a variety of actors with the purpose of securing psychological or geopolitical advantages, and a lessening of conceptions of direct battle, or defeat of enemy forces on through traditional military means. This is a

fundamental aspect to understand the broadening of global security challenges, and the ingrained complexity and uncertainty in facing them.

2. The creation of our international order

As mentioned previously, the international system in which we live is the result of the sequence and interaction of various historical events. Some of the mayor turning points in the last few decades which have come to define our current political order have been the end of the cold war, the unipolar system in the 1990s (American hegemony), 9/11, the war in Iraq, and the global and regional reemergence of geopolitical competition.

The world after 1989 is defined as the post-cold war period. While this era should be addressed under a different conception, given the importance of global dynamics which transcend the cold war, it remains true that many of the problems and opportunities we face at present are derived from the way the cold war ended. The most prominent feature of the post-cold war international system was a clear and singular American hegemony. This is referred to as the unipolar moment, and the consequences of this hegemony have defined international institutions, conflicts and their response, and state dynamics across the globe. However, even the absolute hegemony of the US within the international system for decades did not guarantee international order; nor did it imply Americans had the possibility of achieving their desired foreign policy and influence in the way the desired; as evident in Iraq and Afghanistan. This hegemony is now at a turning point, and further marks a change in paradigm. The relative decline of the US has been discussed for years, and with each day becomes a more apparent reality.

International order has usually been redefined in the wake major wars, the so called hegemonic wars. Thus, the Congress of Vienna in 1815 derived in a new European order, in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars. 1919 saw the rise of a basis for the new international order through the League of Nations, as a result of WWI. In the same manner, the end of WWII in 1945 determined an international system, which is still essentially in force, though under pressure. However, unlike in 1815, 1919 or 1945, the cold war did not end in conflict. There was no hegemonic war 1989, and yet a new order arose.

Despite the difference in resolution of the cold war, it remains true that all previous transitions between different types of international systems have either emerged from conflict or resulted in war; most commonly, have signified both. "What is now being attempted is unprecedented in world history: to manage a transition between cultural dissimilar great powers without conflict" (Kausikan, 2015).

3. Balance of order and its disintegration

The established balance stricken among forces of order and disorder is now shifting. In a long-term perspective, it becomes apparent that there is a dynamic of existing relations breaking down in the mist of extreme complexity. This is a primal issue, as it indicates we are moving towards a change in paradigm, and find ourselves in a period of transition. The unraveling of our existing system creates uncertainty, as a new paradigm to replace it has not yet emerged. The changes that result of this process will be structural, and will lead to a drastically different world.

Our state-centric system can be traced along back to Westphalia in 1648; having been developed in coextensive with our conception of the modern era. This system is being challenged by modern concepts of transnational governance, and effectively unraveling. International politics are seeing the existing order challenged by various factors: terrorism, Russian revisionism, instability within the Middle East, and rising new powers in Asia. Nevertheless, these breaching events in terms of order do not alter the underlying dynamics of globalization.

The period we live in is an interesting paradox, defined by primal forces of order and disorder in tension, yet interacting conjunctively and dependently. The world economy has developed an increasing interdependence, and a system of transnational organizations without precedence in history. At the same time, political relations, both bilateral and within regional dynamics are increasingly fragmented and uncertain. Due to this transition, the international sphere is one of constant confusion, rapid evolution, and large-scale economic and geopolitical change - a new world disorder, per say. Key regions of the world are in the process of change, the result of which remains to be determined.

4. A world with shifting dynamics: international organizations

To understand the reality of a shifting international system, we must analyze the main factors conditioning relations and establishing order, or challenging it. The primary example of transnational governance in a globalized world are international organizations, in the broad areas and matters in which they operate.

The role of international organisations is steadily becoming more significant in regards to international policy-making, as the process of the globalisation of world politics advances. Thus, as the interdependence between states increases, the importance of international organizations does as well. Despite the conflicts and challenges that remain unresolved in today's world, these institutions have managed to alter global governance and condition state behaviour in order to advance towards their goals.

International or intergovernmental organizations were created by states with the purpose of facilitating cooperation. Precisely due to this, one of the most important utilities that can be attributed to international organisations is the provision of forums within which states may negotiate conflicts through diplomatic means and established protocols, attempting to control these discrepancies before they escalate further. International institutions have created the possibility for states to bring matters of their interest to the attention of the international community through an organized and recognized forum, and this in itself can be considered a victory. In addition, these organizations often serve as information providers to states, enhancing transparency with the aim of minimizing misperceptions and thus helping to manage complicated situations. With these attributes, international organisations help reduce and channel international tensions through formal dialogue and conflict resolution mechanisms; through a multilateral structure that lends a certain air of impartiality and autonomy to their activity and enhances its effectiveness.

The importance of international organizations in promoting cooperation and managing conflicts can be evidenced by the constant and ever increasing number of states willing to join these organizations. Furthermore, the establishment of a new tendency towards multilateralism through the organisms of international entities is testament to the capacities these organizations have shown when managing relations between states. Moreover, "the reality of growing complex interdependence facilitates a structure of global governance, radically challenging state-centric approaches to international policy-making" (N.G, 2008). Nowadays, the independency and unilateralism that could historically be attributed to state behaviour due to their condition of sovereign states is being limited by their obligations to international and regional institutions. Thus, it can be affirmed that "in a world of multiple issues imperfectly linked, in which coalitions are formed transnationally and trans governmentally, the potential role of international institutions is greatly increased" (Crockett, 2012).

The power of international organizations resides in both the subtle and clear effects they can have in shaping the environment in which states operate, their interests and goals and the expectations of the international community. Direct and indirect enforcement follow different logics, yet both have important implications in influencing and conditioning state behaviour. International organizations "may construct new norms and values for states, restructure them, and even create new ones" (N.G, 2008).

The capacity of international organizations to influence states or enforce a resolution clashes strongly with state sovereignty, and can be negated due to the plenary rights of states in their own territory. Yet the tensions between a state's obligations and their effective sovereignty only drives world politics further around international organizations. Moreover, the practical limits of what is considered domestic, and thus

falls under “the absoluteness of sovereignty over domestic affairs themselves” (Hurd, 2013) are not self-evident, and often overlap with the rights of other nations to manage the effects they suffer from outside influence; making the need for international organizations even greater.

This of course does not mean that these organizations operate flawlessly, nor does it negate the difficulties and constant struggle that the fact that international organizations try to influence states that have the established legal right to resist these attempts necessarily implies. However, the vast interdependence among states has favoured the growing influence of international institutions, and thus the development of the authority and autonomy these organizations possess.

Certainly, international organizations face strong challenges and must resolve structural flaws in order to adapt to the fast pace evolution of the international arena; yet these actors have proven themselves indispensable for the pursuit of global goals and cooperation, having a quantifiable impact in many of the world’s most pressing issues. Furthermore, it is their own practice and ability to manage diplomatic multilateralism that will determine their role and importance in the future of international politics.

We can identify international organizations as the main new sources of order within a globalized world. These institutions have not completely replaced state-centric responses, and are often blocked by geopolitical interests. Nevertheless, as Dag Hammarskjöld stated, their purpose “is not to get us to heaven but to save us from hell”.

5. New sources of cracks within the international system

The world we live in is being defined by sources of disruption, which cause fractures in the established international order. There have been fundamental changes in the way in which transnational relations operate over recent decades. For one, the nature of strategy has shifted, moving from a pronounced emphasis on objective strength, to a foggier concept including asymmetric war and psychological contests. Adding to this, changes in established status-quo, and inter-state power dynamics have also represented a shaking force. The existing international order is being challenged and revised within every region, and between the different regions. For the first time in history, with the rise of new technologies, these regional changes now all interact in real time, and affect each other in an instant manner. Security threats have expanded, become more fluid and a transnational issue almost by definition. Another source of disorder which threatens established international order is the competition for the control of the commons (seas, space, and cyber space). State control of these areas will become one of the most significant sources of power in coming years, and competition

for these spaces in the resources and possibilities they allow have already highlighted tensions between states, adding to traditional security competition.

This era is defined by a changing nature of power. As mentioned, there is a diminishing value of military might, with these means often being ineffectual and even counterproductive. Economic strength, on the other hand, has developed into a paramount issue, with no power or influence truly being held in its absence, and domestic instability resulting from stresses and economic downturns. The exponential nature of technological revolution has also been a defining circumstance of this period, redefining communication and interaction, and increasing the means and reach of non-state actors in an unprecedented manner.

The rise of non-state actors is discussed in relation to one of the most significant sources of global disorder: the end of leadership. The world has predicted the long-term decline of the West for the last decade, and with it comes the ultimate end of U.S. global leadership. The next epicenter of power or leadership however, seems to be a much less clear notion.

Following the end of a clear hegemony in international relations, many scholars point to the rise of a multipolar or polycentric world. The global center of gravity is advancing from West to East, towards Asia. Parallel to this we also see the rise of Latin American economic powers, and altering regional dynamics in other regions like the Middle East. It becomes clear that the situation we face implies the end of international leadership in general; to be substituted by multiple significant powers with a diminished capacity to influence policies and behaviors in smaller nations and of non-state actors.

The rise of a multipolar system is coherent with the erosion of universalism. New powers, mainly Russia and China, are establishing the idea that modernity is a monopoly of the West as well as the western myth of universality (Grosfoguel, 2012). These rising ideas are redefining the rules of the liberal international order shaped by the West.

Following this line of thought, the paradox of inclusiveness and fragmentation becomes evident. International politics have never given so much freedom, opportunities or participation as they do now to an expanding number of state and non-state actors. The world has become drastically more inclusive, and despite power differentials and different globalization levels, there is no country that is completely isolated. Nevertheless, inclusiveness has also made fragmentation even more stark. The multiplicity of issues and actors makes consensus either tremendously complex, or directly impossible. Accords have become more complex, and solutions hardly even represent all party's interests. Given that more national perspectives, interests, and sensitivities have to be considered and managed, trade-offs have risen, and so has stagnation in political responses.

However, latest political developments, such as the American elections, may support the affirmation of a possible end of the post cold war period. Thus, we may be seeing the next era within the paradigm shift. This is mainly argued due to Trump's rejection of transnational governance and a predicted American regression towards protectionism. The US, biggest military power in the world and a superpower in international relations; is being led by a man who seeks to dismantle internationalism. This is the change which will determine an inflection point within post second world war global politics. Let us not forget, our current reality is not the world's first attempt at a system of international peace and cooperation. The new situation of American politics must be understood within the context of an attempted Russian restoration by Putin, China's more assertive geopolitical action and foreign policy, and the rise of the other so called "strong men" politicians, directly against mechanisms of international dispute settlement and peace efforts. Nation-state traditional dynamics may challenge the effectivity of the international system, and further enhance the possibility of direct geopolitical competition or opposition, therefore compromising peace at a global level.

6. Regional sources of disorder and insecurity

Regional dynamics present multiple sources of disorder, and each convey distinct challenges for international order and security.

Firstly, within the Middle East, multiple upheavals are unfolding at once. The region faces struggles for power within nation-states, a competition between states, conflicts among ethnic and sectarian groups, and direct assaults on the establishment of the international state system itself. These tensions might lead to the survival of only weak states, unable to fully control their territories amidst civil war and interstate strife, and in contest with rising militias and terrorist groups.

Meanwhile, Europe has been facing simultaneous crises which question the region's identity and role in the modern world. The euro crisis, the refugee crisis, Brexit, the growth of populism, and the transatlantic partnership have all divided different sectors of the continent and questioned the continuance of the European project. The region remains caught between a past in war it seeks to overcome, and a future yet to be defined. Complicating the situation further is the Russian challenge to EU security, evident since 2014 with the military entry in Ukraine.

Even Russia itself finds itself altering its role in international politics. Under President Vladimir Putin, the Russian Federation has abandoned any attempts at integration or even cooperation into the European space, and chosen to support an alternative regional order based on significant ties and alliances with immediate neighbors' and clients. The Ukrainian crisis may be the most internationally significant evidence of this

movement, but follows the trend of Russian behavior from Georgia onwards, and will not be the last manifestation of an attempt at Russian restoration.

Towards the east, Asia represents less a problem of current instability than the obvious growing potential for it. Most Asian states have risen as strong economic and political powers, and are getting stronger. The combination of several states with strong ethnic and national identities, dynamic economies, increasing military budgets, unresolved historical tensions, and territorial disputes is a classic formula for geopolitical competition, and eventually direct armed conflict. This observation is highlighted by the rise of a revisionist China. Adding to this, the region holds unstable or unpredictable nuclear powers (North Korea and Pakistan) and growing terrorist activity; either of which could produce a local or global crisis.

These critical regions are in flux, and a new order to replace current dynamics is uncertain.

Furthermore, security challenges have escalated to a global scale, and offer a more dangerous reflection of certain consequences of globalization; including transactional terrorism, disease, cyber warfare, and environmental degradation. With reduced institutional mechanisms available to manage their outcomes, difficulties in global governance, and hesitance to international cooperation, these issues hold the potential to disrupt the entire international system.

Globalization, the even multiplying number of variables, state and non-state actors, as well as their conditioned and interdependent interactions, have exponentially increased uncertainty. The new world disorder is by definition in constant flux, entering a vicious cycle of unpredictability.

7. Globalization: key dynamics

From the beginning of the 21st century, the process of globalization has accelerated, reaching the point where scholars speak of the outlines of a "global society". This process is usually used to argue the growing obsolescence of territorial wars among great powers. Furthermore, the existence of transnational threats associated with the environment, poverty, and WMD, among others (non-traditional security issues); both reinforce the fact that regional and international organizations are key, while also raising concerns on the crisis of the nation-state within globalization, and how it can compromise solutions to these issues.

Globalization has implied a slow process of fragmentation within nation-states, moving conflicts between the great powers further from traditional competition, towards new forms of insecurity. These new conflicts stem from nationalistic sentiments, ethnic clashes, and religious rivalries (both intra and inter-state: Bosnia, Rwanda, Syria,

etc.). They are defined as "new wars", and can only be understood in the context of globalization. The implication of these clashes is that ideological and territorial divisions, traditional sources of tension and war, have been replaced by opposing values and particular identity politics as a source of conflict.

The division between population and communities involved within global processes, and those who are excluded or reject them, give rise to conflict and internal wars; posing a critical problem for the international community as a whole. The debate that surrounds these conflicts remains on whether to intervene in a sovereign states domestic affairs, under the umbrella of individual human rights and protecting minorities, or follow traditional state limitations. This dilemma reflects the transformation of human society in the 20th and 21st century, deriving from the tragedies of WWI and WW2, and exacerbated by the genocides of the 20th century. Ultimately, we see how the state has been transformed within the context of globalization, yet remains the main frame of reference in the debate about security, order, and the international system.

8. Conclusion

The international system is currently facing a shift of paradigm defined by paradox: the combination of a global economy with increasing interdependence, and political relations fragmenting and becoming more uncertain. While the political and economic order of the world is changing, it is simultaneously being challenged by nontraditional actors on a completely new scale. Underlying these shifts in dynamics is a mayor developing reality of the modern world: Globalization; forcing policymakers to reevaluate intrinsic values of the nation-state.

The dynamics of globalization also represent a both an opportunity and a challenge to national security. Economic cooperation and specialization, ecological interdependence, and codependence in threat management have fostered negotiations and provided gains for global security. However, globalization has also driven fragmentation, increased inequality, and challenged cultural identities; driving conflict within, and between, states.

It becomes clear that tensions between sources or order and disorder will interact within globalization dynamics, and give rise to a new kind of conflict. Future wars will be fought with the use (in terms of utility and space) of cyberwar, space, technology, data, and political narratives.

Thus, we ultimately conclude that the paradigmatic shift the world is experiencing may very well not be towards a more peaceful world. Weather current systems of order will succumb to nation-state dynamics, or sources of insecurity will collapse or redefine

elements of current global politics remains to be seen. The post-cold war period has created new patterns of international security and insecurity, in constant evolution within a complex dynamic of actors and interdependence. Truly, a new world disorder.

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Globalization, Populism and the Crisis of Democracy

Omar Ajruli¹

Fadlon Mesimi²

Abstract:

Political, economic and cultural integration can be performed by globalization whereas globalization had been characterized by various period, the first periods, the first period which is related to globalization had been from Roman Empire, and continued up till today, meanwhile globalization brings up its own positive and negative side considering that nowadays than a globalization we had an Americanism the value such as a democracy and the free trade also there is the confrontation between two greatest authors such as Fukuyama and Huntington in some negotiations about of world's developments, meantime one report that the problem is saved and the liberal democracy is the new value and the other demands it with facts . This can easily see the crisis of democracy which also had been passing to the same phase does not complete citizen's request that is followed by apathy. The crisis of democracy is spinet everywhere, whether they are a small or large group of people in our small country. The impact of populism in contemporary democracy also has an impact on troubling democracy. The populist parties are against traditional parties which due to globalization and communication tools are being spread everywhere.

Keywords: Globalization, Politics, Future of democracy

1.0 Introduction

Our world has a long history but our species have a short one and the worst thing is that we don't know much about our short history. We have tried to get a grasp through archaeology and deductive reasoning to learn more about our past. Yes, of course, our past is important but to some history is a guidebook for the future advancement of their society, they say that whoever does not learn from history is doomed to repeat it. Although this may be logical to say that history is very important but for the sake of history we can't form a society that believes in determinism. Before we start to speak about populism and democracy we will try to give an history introduction of how democracy started in ancient Greece.

¹ State University of Tetovo, Macedonia [omar.ajr.oe@gmail.com]

² State University of Tetovo, Macedonia [f.mesimi@hotmail.it]

2.0 Athenian Democracy

Athenian democracy developed around the fifth century BC in the Greek city-state (known as a polis) of Athens, comprising the city of Athens and the surrounding territory of Attica, and is the first known democracy in the world. Other Greek cities set up democracies, most following the Athenian model, but none are as well documented as Athens'. It was a system of direct democracy, in which participating citizens voted directly on legislation and executive bills. Participation was not open to all residents: to vote one had to be an adult, male citizen i.e. neither a resident alien nor a slave, and the number of these "varied between 30,000 and 50,000 out of a total population of around 250,000 to 300,000" or "no more than 30 percent of the total adult population."¹ The longest-lasting democratic leader was Pericles. After his death, Athenian democracy was twice briefly interrupted by oligarchic revolutions towards the end of the Peloponnesian War. It was modified somewhat after it was restored under Euclides; the most detailed accounts of the system are of this fourth-century modification rather than the Periclean system. Democracy was suppressed by the Macedonians in 322 BC. The Athenian institutions were later revived, but how close they were to a real democracy is debatable. Solon (594 BC), Cleisthenes (508/7 BC), and Ephialtes (462 BC) contributed to the development of Athenian democracy. Cleisthenes broke up the power of the nobility by organizing citizens into ten groups based on where they lived rather than on their wealth.

But a year after their defeat of Athens in 404 BC, the Spartans allowed the Athenians to replace the government of the Thirty Tyrants with a new democracy. The tyranny had been a terrible and bloody failure, and even the Spartans acknowledged that a moderate form of democracy would be preferable. As a system of government, democracy quickly spread to a number of other leading city-states, despite the authoritarian grip of Sparta on the Greek world. However, Sparta's dominance was not to last. Overextended and unable to adjust to new battle techniques, in 371 BC Spartan hoplites suffered their first major defeat in 200 years at the hands of the Theban general Epaminondas. Only a decade later Sparta had been reduced to a shadow of its former self. But Thebes' dominance of Greece would be short-lived. A new power had begun to assert its leadership over the country: Macedonia. Once a backwater, the Macedonian king Philip II had turned his country into a military powerhouse. Philip's decisive victory came in 338 BC, when he defeated a combined force from Athens and Thebes. A year later Philip formed the League of Corinth which established him as the ruler, or hegemon, of a federal Greece. Democracy in Athens had finally come to an

¹ Thorley, J., *Athenian Democracy*, Routledge, 2005, p. 74

end. The destiny of Greece would thereafter become inseparable with the empire of Philip's son: Alexander the Great.¹ After the fall of Greek democracy by the powers of kings and tyrants we won't have any other opportunity of democracy to show up again until USA comes to existence.

2.1 What is Populism?

Populism is one of the main political buzzwords of the 21st century. The term is used to describe left-wing presidents in Latin America, right-wing challenger parties in Europe, and both left-wing and right-wing presidential candidates in the United States. But while we have the populization of populism the term has great appeal to many journalists and readers alike, its broad usage also creates confusion and frustration. Part of the confusion stems from the fact that populism is a label seldom claimed by people or organizations themselves. Instead, it is ascribed to others, most often with a negative connotation. In the past decade, a growing group of social scientists have defined populism predominantly on the basis of an "ideational approach," conceiving it as a discourse, an ideology, or a worldview. While we are far from securing a consensus, ideational definitions of populism have been successfully used in studies across the globe, most notably in western Europe, but increasingly also in eastern Europe and the Americas.² Beyond the lack of scholarly agreement on the defining attributes of populism, agreement is general that all forms of populism include some kind of appeal to "the people" and a denunciation of "the elite." Accordingly, it is not overly contentious to state that populism always involves a critique of the establishment and an adulation of the common people. More concretely, we define populism as a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic camps, "the pure people" versus "the corrupt elite," and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people. This means that populism can take very different shapes, which are contingent on the ways in which the core concepts of populism appear to be related to other concepts, forming interpretative frames that might be more or less appealing to different societies. Seen in this light, populism must be understood as a kind of mental map through which individuals analyze and comprehend political reality. It is not so much a coherent ideological tradition as a set of ideas that, in the real world, appears in combination with quite different, and sometimes contradictory, ideologies.

¹ <https://www.britannica.com/place/ancient-Greece/The-4th-century> Pr. Dr Simon Hornblower

² Ernesto Laclau, *On Populist Reason* (London: Verso, 2005).

2.2 Populism and (liberal) democracy?

Just like populism, democracy is a highly contested concept in the academic realm and public space. The debates not only concern the correct definition of democracy, but also the various types of democracy. Although this is not the place to delve too deeply into this debate, we need to clarify our own understanding of democracy, before we can discuss its complex relationship with populism.¹ Democracy (sans adjectives) is best defined as the combination of popular sovereignty and majority rule; nothing more, nothing less. Hence, democracy can be direct or indirect, liberal or illiberal. In fact, the very etymology of the term democracy alludes to the idea of self-government of the people, i.e., a political system in which people rule. Not by chance, most “minimal” definitions consider democracy first and foremost as a method by which rulers are selected in competitive elections. Free and fair elections thus correspond to the defining property of democracy. Instead of changing rulers by violent conflict, the people agree that those who govern them should be elected by majority rule. However, in most day-to-day usages the term democracy actually refers to liberal democracy rather than to democracy per se. The main difference between democracy (without adjectives) and liberal democracy is that the latter refers to a political regime, which not only respects popular sovereignty and majority rule, but also establishes independent institutions specialized in the protection of fundamental rights, such as freedom of expression and the protection of minorities.

Positive and negative effects of populism on liberal Democracy:

Positive effects

- Populism can give voice to groups that do not feel represented by the political elite.
- Populism can mobilize excluded sectors of society, improving their integration into the political system.
- Populism can improve the responsiveness of the political system, by fostering the implementation of policies preferred by excluded sectors of society.
- Populism can increase democratic accountability, by making issues and policies part of the political realm.

¹ Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, eds., *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective for Democracy?*

Negative effects

- Populism can use the notion and praxis of majority rule to circumvent minority rights.
- Populism can use the notion and praxis of popular sovereignty to erode the institutions specialized in the protection of fundamental rights.
- Populism can promote the establishment of a new political cleavage, which impedes the formation of stable political coalitions.
- Populism can lead to a moralization of politics whereby reaching agreements becomes extremely difficult if not impossible.¹

The complexity of the relationship between populism and democracy is reflected in theory and practice. In essence, populism is not against democracy; rather it is at odds with liberal democracy. It is a set of ideas that defends extreme majoritarianism and supports a form of illiberal democracy. Populism strongly champions popular sovereignty and majority rule but opposes minority rights and pluralism. But even its relationship with liberal democracy is not one-sided. Around the world populist forces seek to give voice and power to marginalized groups, but they also tend to combat the very existence of oppositional forces and transgress the rules of political competition. In practice, populists usually cite and exploit a tension inherent in many liberal democracies of the contemporary world: they criticize the poor results of the democratic regime, and, to solve this problem, they campaign for a modification of the democratic procedures. When the liberal democratic regime does not deliver what certain constituencies want, political entrepreneurs can adopt the populist set of ideas to criticize the establishment and argue that the time has come to strengthen popular sovereignty. Put another way, populists tend to claim that the rule of law and the institutions in charge of the protection of fundamental rights (e.g., electoral tribunals, constitutional courts, supreme courts, etc.) not only limit the capacity of the people to exercise their rightful power, but also give rise to growing discontent with the political system. Populism does not have the same effect in each stage of the democratization process. In fact, we suggest that populism tends to play a positive role in the promotion of an electoral or minimal democracy, but a negative role when it comes to fostering the development of a full-fledged liberal democratic regime. Consequently, while populism tends to favor the democratization of authoritarian regimes, it is prone to diminish the quality of liberal democracies. Populism supports popular sovereignty,

¹ Pierre Rosanvallon, *Counter-Democracy: Politics in an Age of Distrust* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

but it is inclined to oppose any limitations on majority rule, such as judicial independence and minority rights. Populism-in-power has led to processes of de-democratization (e.g., Orbán in Hungary or Chávez in Venezuela¹) and, in some extreme cases, even to the breakdown of the democratic regime (e.g., Fujimori in Peru). If the democratic system becomes stable, populists will continue to challenge any limitations on majority rule, and when they become strong enough, they can cause a process of democratic erosion. However, it is unlikely that they will threaten the existence of the democratic system to the point of producing its breakdown, as they will experience strong resistance from multiple actors and institutions that defend the existence of independent bodies specialized in the protection of fundamental rights. To a certain extent, this is the scenario that some European countries are experiencing today, in which populist forces have become electorally dominant (e.g., Greece or Hungary) but do not have absolute leeway to revamp the whole institutional design of their countries.²

3.0 Huntington VS Fukuyama

The end of the Cold War was one of the most important events of the 20th century, which marked the beginning of a new era. In 1989, famous political scientist Francis Fukuyama, wrote an essay "The End of History?", the main focus of which was to argue about the developments that would take place in the post-Cold War world, as well as about the role of liberal democracy. In his paper he advocates liberal democracy, as the only legitimate type of government, and also supports the idea that by westernizing the world, conflicts based on ideology would cease to exist. Naturally his paper received both arguments in favour, as well as criticism. The most notable form of opposition his theory faced was from Samuel Huntington's "The Clash of Civilizations?", an essay that was a direct response to Fukuyama's work. Huntington, being one of the most noteworthy political scientists, contradicted his former student's (Fukuyama's) theory, arguing that conflicts would continue to exist in the world, however they would be based more on cultural and religious basis. However, in order to understand Huntington's arguments, it is crucial to examine the theory of Fukuyama first. Fukuyama starts off, by mentioning the conflict between the communism and democracy that was present throughout the Cold War . By indicating the loss of communism with the fall of an Iron Curtain, he sees liberal democracy as the winner in this ideological war. He draws parallel to Marx, arguing that while Marx viewed

¹ Emergence of Extreme Right-Wing Parties in Europe," *European Journal of Political Research* 22.1 (1992): 3–34.

² Charles Tilly, *Democracy* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

communism as the ultimate and final step in the evolution of government, it would turn on the contrary. Fukuyama sees the final form of government in liberal democracy, saying that it is the only way that would lead a country towards modernization. Therefore, he argues that when the liberal democracy will spread in the whole world, conflicts will cease to exist and countries will live in harmony. To support his arguments he references Marx, Hegel and Kojève. He says that the concept of "The End of History" was originally created by Hegel. He explains that for Hegel history ceased in 1806 with Napoleon's defeat of the Prussian monarchy, while Marx considered that the end of history would come once communism would be successfully manifested. After that he proceeds to express his own opinion on the matter by arguing that the history will reach its final step when all the states become liberal democracies, when all countries will respect and treasure human rights. He then brings up the existence of so called "contradictions" that would usually become the basis of conflicts. However, he says that in the universal homogeneous state, all those contradictions are resolved and all human needs are satisfied. Fukuyama, also tries to improve the weak points of materialist theories and support Hegel's idealism. At this point he states that the role of culture, ethnicity and other aspects are vital in order to understand the economic performance of countries. After which, he references Kojève, saying that in order to understand processes of history, one must understand developments in the realm of consciousness or ideas. Therefore, he concludes that once the ideological development reaches its peak, the homogeneous state would emerge as the winner in the material world. After that Fukuyama proceeds to talk about ideologies that were posing a threat to liberal democracy. He mentions both fascism and communism, two extreme opposite ideologies that have torn apart Europe during the 2nd World War. Fascism was defeated by communism at the end of WWII and therefore the latter became an enemy of liberal democratic ideology. For Marx liberal society posed a contradiction between the capital and labour, and therefore he thought that it would be inferior in comparison to communism. However, Fukuyama argues that this "contradiction" was resolved in the Western society, namely in the US. After that he brings the examples of both Japan and China to show how liberalism has reached and influenced those countries. Though, after examining the changes that took place in the USSR during Gorbachev's office (mainly his failed attempts to transform the Soviet Union into a more liberal country), he concludes that not all countries can reach liberal democracy at the same level. Towards the end of his paper he wonders if there can be any serious challenges to the liberal democracy. Although Fukuyama states that both religion and nationalism can prove to be a challenge for liberalism, he rejects the idea that any of them could seriously oppose it. From his view, liberal societies were born as a result of religious societies being weak, and therefore they would not be able to replace liberal

democracies. As for nationalism, while he acknowledges that it could theoretically pose a threat should it evolve into its extreme form (as in case with the Nazi Germany), he neglects the practical possibility of it qualifying as an ideology, unless it has a "systematic form". Despite saying that liberal democracy will become an instrument that will lead a world towards peace, he admits that ethnicity- and nationality-based conflicts would still appear in future, but they would not evolve into a large-scaled one. In the very last paragraph he says that the new era will be "boring" as all the ideological and philosophical clashes would be replaced by the "economic calculation, the endless solving of technical problems, environmental concerns, and the satisfaction of sophisticated consumer demands".¹ After looking into Francis Fukuyama's thesis, it is necessary to see the criticism expressed in Samuel Huntington's "The Clash of Civilizations?". In his essay, Huntington argues that after the end of ideological warfare, conflicts will be based on factors that define civilizations. First, he starts by briefly explaining the stages of conflicts, beginning with conflicts between monarchies, followed by the conflict of nationalism, ideological conflicts of XX century and finally the "conflict of civilizations". This way he indirectly (yet clearly) opposes Fukuyama's view on the post-Cold War era. Huntington claims that the conflicts of religion, ethnicity, culture and nations will resume and become the final stage of confrontation. He then proceeds to talk about the role of civilizations and its meaning as a concept. As author points out, civilizations are based on set of identities, which creates self-awareness within people. He says that a citizen of Rome would have several layers of identity, such as: "a Roman, an Italian, a Catholic, a Christian, a European, a Westerner". He also uses this example to show that civilizations are dynamic concepts that constantly shape throughout history. Based on those levels of identity, it is possible to see whether the civilization includes several nation states (e.g. Western Civilization) or a single one (e.g. Japanese). In the next section, he explains why conflict between civilizations is inevitable. In his essay he points out that the important part about civilizations is that they have basic and clear differences. Those differences being based on historical, religious, ethnical factors are "products of centuries", that would not cease to exist easily. Furthermore he argues that those factors are much stronger than any ideological or political distinctions, therefore in the new age there would be conflicts that would be far prolonged and brutal than the ideological one. He brings another set of argument to support his view on clash of civilizations. As Fukuyama, he recognizes the importance of globalization, and agrees that the world has indeed become a "small place". But if Fukuyama sees globalisation as a way of spreading ideas of free market and liberal democracy, that would ultimately bring countries together ,

¹ Fukuyama, Francis. "The End of History?" The National Interest, no. 16 (1989). NEO LMS resources.

Huntington sees them as catalysts that would create sparks of conflict and inequality amongst different cultures. He points out that civilizations will be forced to compete against one another, in order to maintain their distinctive identity.¹ When it comes to these already mentioned factors important for defining one's identity, Huntington believes religion to be the most important one. He makes a remark saying that religion, more than ethnicity "discriminates sharply and exclusively" amongst people. Even if a person is of a mixed ethnicity, or able to successfully integrate into the foreign community, it would be "more difficult to be Half-Catholic and Half-Muslim" . He also sees religion (unlike Fukuyama) a serious threat to the liberal democracy. He argues that the emergence of fundamentalism in a form of radical Islam is the reaction that followed the spread of Western/liberal values. Huntington views those two ideologies to be opposites of each other like (liberal against non-liberal ones) and therefore predicts that in future those two would antagonise each other, resulting in a clash of cultural values. The most important argument against Fukuyama is Huntington's scepticism towards the process of Westernization. For Francis Fukuyama, as mentioned earlier, progress and development of countries is synonymous to the process of Westernization. Huntington not only claims that this assumption is incorrect, but also views it "arrogant" for the West to consider its values to be universal. He brings examples of countries such as Russia, China and several Middle Eastern countries, as examples of those civilizations that view liberal values of democracy, freedom of expression, free markets, equality and other standards not only foreign but also as potential threats that target their own identity. Plus he also argues that forcefully imposing Western values that have not originated in other countries is a spread of "human rights imperialism". This very practice, according to him, would cause a serious backlash, resulting into a conflict between Western and non-Western World. By examining Francis Fukuyama's ideas in his essay, "The End of History?", as well as viewing Samuel Huntington's criticism, it would seem that neither of political scientists are absolutely correct. Major flaw in Fukuyama's theory is that he also neglects the role of ethnicities and religion as a threat to his vision of a world order, which as we see today do actually pose as a serious challenge for liberal world. Apart from that he believes that in order for countries to reach the development they need to accept liberal values and undergo the process of Westernization, which as Huntington argued (as well as nowadays history shows) is not exactly true. Finally, his statement that the new world order would be based only on economical calculations and technical problems, contradicts today's reality. The major problem with Huntington's ideas is that, he views the new era in grim colours, stating that conflict between cultures,

¹ Huntington, Samuel P. "The Clash of Civilizations?" Foreign Affairs 72, no. 3 (1993). NEO LMS resources.

religions and ethnicities would be inevitable in the reality of a new political order. He overlooks, however that the interactions between the civilizations would not always result in a conflict, as many issues can be overcome through peaceful means such as trade and economic relations, just as Fukuyama states. Therefore, it seems that while both of theories have flaws, together by fulfilling each other's weak and strong points they do actually describe the reality of the modern world order.

4.0 Conclusions

Our world is flat and whatever global trends are happening at one end of the global system it can affect directly or indirectly everyone. In this case, democracy and populism are not something that we should fear or adore it is just as important to (liberal) democracy as a heartbeat is important to the cardiovascular system. Why should we not fear whenever populism rises? It is because of its structure that makes it vulnerable, never can a society be governed by a single idea that is imposed on them. Liberal democracy has its strength which the populist cant dream of them, it's an independent judiciary and a free media. These two important institutions are the key to a stable society, these two pillars should be defended if we want to defend the liberal way of doing democracy.

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Reconstructing Social Space: A Study on Muthanga Land: Struggle in Kerala

Sreerag Parayil¹

Abstract:

This study aims to depict land struggle in Muthanga by examining the role of land in the construction of social space. This work uncovers the caste- land - social space relations by contextualizing Muthanga land struggle happened in the social, political, economic, and cultural landscape of Kerala. The articulations of land struggles in Kerala produced a strong challenge to the power structure, blended with the caste question and it shook the secular portrayal of Kerala's social structure. This study affirms the fact that land possession is a result of exclusion. The land struggle is not just a struggle to satisfy material needs of the land, but it has larger implications at a broader level. Methodologically, land possession is analysed through the examination of ongoing struggles that aim to construct an egalitarian social structure in Kerala. The interpretive methodology is a form of research work in which the researcher uses Content Analysis Method. Despite various land reformations, the question of land has challenged, shaken and evoked drastic changes in the political scenario. As a large societal group, the Dalits and Adivasis have had the least amount of land in possession. Theoretically, this paper is an attempt to locate the Social Space discourse within the contemporary Land Struggle debates by discussing the role of Caste. In this context, the study attempts to redefine Muthanga land struggle that occurred despite many land reformation acts and bills that attempted to reconstitute the Social Space in Kerala.

Keywords: Land, Social Space, Caste

Introduction

Today three-quarters of the world's 7.5 billion people suffering from starvation found in rural areas who depends upon agriculture for their survival are landless farmers or who possess such unproductive or tiny plots of land that they cannot even feed their families. In Global South, millions of people depending on agriculture, are engaged in struggles in their daily life for their fundamental need, i.e. Land. In India, the story is not

¹ University of Hyderabad, India [sreeragparayil@gmail.com]

different, but the problem is acute because of the Caste System. Here, the land owners are still from certain Caste Groups which is the paramount fabric of Indian society. The Landlessness¹ of Indian households are 56.41%. Here the most excluded groups are Scheduled Castes, sometimes literally and politically referred to as Dalits and Adivasi (Scheduled Tribe). They are pushed to the edges of society subsequently by different authentic and formative components. They are estranged from all means of improvement, as well as even from their lands. Kerala, one of the southern states of India has a unique significance in India, as its social improvement over decades has been notably extraordinary. As of late, this reality has been perceived and highlighted by both ordinary and scholastic talks. Social researchers now discuss Kerala Model Development². Demographic change here, characterized by low rates of economic position and mortality, compare to that of some western countries. Infant mortality in Kerala is 27/1000 for live birth, while for India it is 86, birth rate 22 and 32 and life expectancy 68 and 57 respectively. The literacy rate of the state is, in fact, a model to follow. In Kerala, the rate of grown-up proficiency 10 years ago was 78%, whereas for India 43%. Wages of agricultural workers and different specialists here are higher than elsewhere, indicating a smaller gap between the wealthy and the less wealthy (p.68). The unusual state of women inoccupation both in and outside the state is a characteristic of more visibility of women in the public sphere and relative absence of gender discrimination inside society, at any given point of time. In the matter of fundamental administration, for example, post offices, schools, bus stops, public distribution system, health care and banks, Kerala positions first among all other states. The state is again noted for its low rate of public or caste violence. The general level of socio – political cognizance is similarly higher and its spread, uncommonly wide. In short, while nowhere being near a Utopia and increasingly under pressures of various kinds unlike the rest of the country, from lack of industrialization, employment and generally of economic development on the one hand and increasing corruption of culture and society, on the other the society in Kerala is marked by a certain degree of harmony and the people, by a self-confidence, when compared to the state of society in many other parts of the subcontinent. Yet, after all the above mentioned figures of the 'development' and though it follows a different Caste System and also acclaimed for land reformations, the problem still pertains with 72.5% landless³ people, which is one of the highest in the country. Since the mid-1970s, various Dalit and Adivasi

¹ See Socio Economic Caste Census,2011

² The Kerala model of development, is the style of development that has been practiced in the southern Indian state of Kerala. See Ravi Raman, 2012

³ Refer Socio Economic Caste Census,2011

movements have developed in India and attempted to end noticeably persuasive instruments for political enunciation and preparation. Resistance is known as an outcome of contending imaginaries operating in the society. (Routledge,1997, p. 360) stated, "It is any action, imbued with intent, that attempts to challenge, change, or retain particular circumstances relating to societal relations, processes, and institutions". Comprehension of this historical phenomenon would yield a fruitful contribution to the current sociological discourses in general and Dalit and Adivasi discourses in particular. The Indian Constitution expounds arrangements for securing the privileges of Dalit and Adivasi groups and for the advancement of their interests. The Constitution¹ imagines a two-route way to deal with the tribal question. One, to shield them from different levels of misuse, and the other, to advance their improvement at all levels. Be that as it may, despite distinct Constitutional assurances and authoritative measures, the tribal groups are constantly underestimated. The situation in Kerala is illustrative of this circumstance. This acute problem led to land struggles that shook the paradigm of Kerala Model Development carried out by the excluded social groups, Dalits and Adivasis. Because of all these questions, Land Struggles² happened from the late 90s in Kannur, Muthanga, Aaralam, Chengara, Arippa, Puyamkutti, Perichamkutti and 'Standing Struggle' in front of Secretariat. All these land struggles were considered as a demand for economic mobility. There is a necessity to locate all these ongoing agitations as a means of reconstituting the social spaces in Kerala. To contextualize the necessity of this scientific inquiry, the researcher would like to take Muthanga Land Struggle as the vantage point.

Mapping the Relations of Land and Caste in Kerala

Land and agrarian relations in Kerala was based on caste. Several debates and studies were conducted regarding the caste system. The scholars possess different opinions on the emergence and existence of caste system. There is an argument that, it was after the Chera – Chola war, that casteism came into existence and also it argues that caste system was the creation of Brahmanism. According to RajanGurukkal, it is in the labour capability of a particular group of people who are used to different works were classified into labour groups and they later intertwined in the caste system. The agricultural yielding was shared in such a way that the peasants who worked hard received the lowest share and the land lords possessed the maximum share. It refers to the origin of the development of caste system which is deeply rooted in agriculture.

¹ See The Constitution of India Article16(4), Article 46

² See Darley Jose Kjosavik,2006

Slavery and casteism are different social forms. Slavery was seen and practiced in every nation. But India was the only nation which practiced caste system and caste continuous to be the important factor in determining the culture. Chaturvarna in the evolved form in caste system and it has been considered as four class and later it transformed into caste and later to 4000 castes. By the 12th century A. D, Namboothirijannies had become a powerful factor in Kerala. With that the force of customs and conventions which regulated land lord-tenant relations gradually weakened. The common fact about (all the land) is that the owners of Devaswam, Brahmaswam, Cherikkal and Viruthi land are not cultivating the land. The low caste adiyalas are the labours who work on the land. In Kerala, copper plates make it clear that the pulayas are the adiyalas among the Dalits who serve agricultural activities to his/her landlords. There are no evidences or notification on the wages or rewards. Even though they did all the cultivation, they had no right to the yielding. The people who are not related to the land finally conquer the total yielding. There existed a complicated caste formula of Uralars, Karalars and the labour hood of Adiyalas and it all created an exploitative economic system. The adiyayma to Karanma is a strange and unequal relationship, based on oppression and power. The Kerala history attains more importance during A.D 1100 to 1500 because it has undergone a tremendous change in the culmination of the reign of Cheras and the victory of NaduvazhiSwaroopams. The structure of Kerala society became crucial thereafter. The Adiyalas were exchanged and handed over along with the transaction of land. They didn't own the products and even the ownership of the yielding from their dwelling land. Adiyalas constituted Pulayas, Parayas, Kanakkans etc. These slaves were extended to the kudiyan who took the land for lease. In this time, the Devaswam land was taken over in lease by Namboodiris and they enjoyed the yielding. Along with Devaswam land, the Viruthi land needed labours, because as already said they are not directly involved in agriculture/cultivation. Land on lease and surety was the important transaction. The pre-colonial economic system was based upon the social structure that had stratified community on the basis of inequality. It was feudalistic. The economic structure of the society of Kerala was never separated from the social structure. The agrarian society of Kerala had consolidated by the beginning of the 16th century. Organised agricultural production in both grain fields and garden lands had spread in the river valleys of Kerala. Agrarian settlements became the basis for the establishment of various chiefdoms or Swarupams. The grain fields and garden lands were owned by temples, who held land as Devaswam, and Namboothiri Brahmins who held lands as Brahmaswam. The ruling families also held lands of their own, called Cherikkal. A hierarchy of land rights developed with the landlords at the top, layers of tenants or Kudiyan under them, and at the bottom of the ladder, the large mass of agrestic

bondmen called Adiyar, who did substantial part of the labour on land. Relations among the labourers, tenants and landlords were streamlined by a very rigid caste hierarchy and very strong customs of loyalty and allegiance, designed to keep the Brahmins and the Naduvazhi chiefs at the top. The term landowner is here used to signify hereditary titular rights over land as applied Janmam and Swam. Thus, ownership involves birth right or customary right. The term control indicates actual control over the processes of production and distribution. The owner may be the controller of land, and many landholders who may not own the land would be actual controllers of land. When it historically analysed the powers, property and wealth has been concentrated on the upper caste whereas the low castes owns nothing. The low castes never possessed land and they remained as landless people. In 1931, March 3 the historic speech of PoickayilAppachan in Praja Sabha, that points out that the fertile land of the nation is under the ownership of savarnas whereas Dalits owns none. Ayyankali's speech in 1911 argued for land. It was a realization that land is the key to smash the chains of slavery. In short it was during the renaissance age Dalits determines the importance of land. It was considered not only as a matter of inequality but also the matter of the caste system.

Reconstructing Social Space through Muthanga Land Struggle

For the 3.64-lakh Adivasis of Wayanad district Kerala, what occurred on 19, February 2003, in Muthanga, was out and out 'state oppression.' With the savagery being let free on a large scale, the Adivasis turned out to be for all intents and purposes 'humans who were denied humanity'. Muthanga had even drawn the consideration of the world because of the savagery executed on the unarmed indigenous individuals – unnecessary when just a short period away for the culmination of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People from 1995-2004. According to the Adivasis, they had been subjected to a decade of fake promises and treasons, and expectations and disappointments finishing in witch-hunt taking place in brutal extents. This was the first occurrence in the historical backdrop of Kerala that the Adivasis turned into the target of police shooting and violence which brought about deaths and demolition. Inquiries were additionally raised concerning why the media was not permitted to enter the territory when the operation was in progress against the Adivasis. Amid the operation, which went on for very nearly 18 hours, the police surrounded the whole region making a violent situation. Numerous Adivasis and human rights activists think that the police as they went wild inside the forests would have covered all evidence of its violence. The conditions that prompted the police operation that resulted in severe police brutality that was unleashed on the Adivasis should be investigated against the

beginning of advancements that began when the State Assembly adopted legislation on land alienation (1975) of Adivasis. The Adivasis had extensive tracts of forests in the State, especially in Palakkad, Wayanad, Idukki, Pathanamthitta, Kollam and Thiruvananthapuram regions. These regions were slowly and intermittently taken over by non-Adivasi people, and governments were just uninvolved observers while the infringement drive was relentlessly in progress. As the demand for land had gone up in the plains, non-Adivasi encroachers further proceeded with land grab. The 1975 Act had guaranteed the Adivasis that their land would be given back. But, the happiness was short. All governments that came to control in Kerala since 1975 were hesitant to implement the Act, clearly pressurized from the non - Adivasi settlers. Meanwhile, the State government created rules for getting the encroached upon lands back half-heartedly. In any case, nothing happened. Rather, the legislature proceeded with different measures to cut off orders of the 1975 Act. This was the foundation of the Adivasi resurgence. It was assessed that there were 3.64 lakh Adivasi individuals in Kerala (or around 70,000 families). Among these some 45,000 families were landless. Under the settlements of the 1999 Act, there were just 4,500 applications, which implied a dominant part of the landless Adivasis would not go under the domain of the new Act. In fact, the starvation deaths reported now were from among these landless Adivasis. For instance, when the Adivasis started their protest in August 2001, almost 32 Adivasis died in a period of half a month. The protest was during the year's Onam celebration when starvation deaths were reported. Driven by the Adivasi-Dalit Agitation Committee, many Adivasis began coming to the State capital from the forest and mountain districts and had set up huts before the Chief Minister's official house and the State Secretariat. Their main request was that 45,000 landless Adivasi families be given five acres of cultivable land. At this stage, the Adivasi leaders had understood that their hopes to restore invaded land from the settlers would bring about further contradictions given the way political parties had a stake in the "issues" of the settlers. The Adivasi leaders said that all governments were playing hide and seek on this question by indicating the possibility of "tension" between settlers and Adivasis. In the meantime, they were accounted to have distinguished 11 lakh sections of land that could be effectively accessed for distribution. The administration was expected to distribute just under 3 lakh acres of land to give land to all landless Adivasis in the State. Citing the bad experiences from past, many had contended that the Adivasi request "land for all" may bring about substantial scale of illegal exchange from Adivasi land to non-Adivasis. It was now that the Adivasis chose to frame the Adivasi Dalit Samara Samithy to lead the movement. The Samithy set up a chamber of representatives of the 34 tribal groups in Kerala that in the end prompted the formation of the Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha on 3 October 2001 at Thiruvananthapuram.

The AGMS tried gaining support from the Adivasi people group as well as from the rest of society. The struggle continued for over a month and a half. But, the administration did not demonstrate any enthusiasm for tending to the issues raised by them. This was the reason why C.K Janu declared an unto-death fasting. Facing criticism, Kerala government then chose to conduct talks with the leaders. The 48-day-old struggle of the Adivasis in Kerala finished on 16 October 2001, in the wake of a seven-point understanding between the State government and the Adivasi Dalit Action Council. The agreement guaranteed, in addition to other things, that wherever possible, the administration would give five acres of land of land to each landless Adivasi family. The offer is at least one acre of land, which may go up to five acres of land depending upon the accessibility of land; and a five-year livelihood program would be actualized in the land along these lines given until it turns out to be completely beneficial for Adivasis to support themselves. Many called this conclusion of the understanding as a historic triumph and a moral booster for similar struggles throughout India. The reality of the matter is that the agitators' many demands that all landless Adivasi families be furnished with five acres of land each was not completely conceded. However, the protest was viewed as a close achievement given the way that landless Adivasis in Kerala got a positive promise from the government, that is, no less than, one acre of land. They were additionally to get the protection of another law preventing the further alienation of their land. The most important part of the struggle was that the agenda of the five-decades-old Adivasi struggle in Kerala had been transformed from the "restoration of alienated land" to "land for the landless tribal people. The Chief Minister declared after the agreement that the government would attempt to get land in Wayanad where the number of landless Adivasis was the highest. 42,000 acres of land was identified for this purpose in various parts of the State. For the fourteen months since October 2001, till the AGMS occupied forest land in Muthanga, the government continued postponing the execution of the agreement. Even though the government had formally begun land distribution, it ended up as a farce. By April 2002, 568 families were given 1308 acres of land of land when the Chief Minister, alongside C.K Janu of AGMS, started the main land distribution at Marayur in Idukki District. That implies only 1.06 for each cents of the families were given 2.2 for every percent of the recognized land inside the initial four months of the period reserved to finish the assignment. Notwithstanding, not a lot had occurred from that point onward, except the report showed up in the media that the land dispensed was 1770 to 848 families, i.e., just 3 for each percent of the guaranteed land. The government proceeded with its negligence by getting various legal and authoritative hurdles. This was the reason for the Muthanga struggle and the resulting violence unleashed by the State. The Muthanga incident, nonetheless, improved the political consciousness of the Adivasis in the state.

From that point forward, even mainstream political parties started capitalizing the Adivasi sentiments. The Muthanga struggle had also reinforced the Dalit political consciousness in the state. Aralam and Chengara land struggles should be seen in this backdrop. C.K. Janu and others contended that because of the agitation, several landless families profited. They said that the main parties in the state which capitalized Adivasi struggles never did anything to give land to Adivasis. Amid the post-Muthanga period, in any case, they were forced to discuss land privileges of Adivasis. AGMS trusted that they set an impetus for setting a plan of 'land for landless. During the Kerala Renaissance movements against Caste Oppressions and Slavery by Sree Narayana Guru , Mahatma Ayyankali , PoickayilAppachan ,PanditKaruppan and many also stressed the need of Cultivable land for the Untouchables. Later when Communist movements started in the Travancore, Cochin and Malabar in early 1930s the slogans like "NammalkoyyumVayalellamNammudethakumSakhakale" which means 'The fields we reap will become our comrade' talk about the ownership of land for the agricultural labourers who work in paddy fields, and who were, at that point of time referred to as "Untouchables". The slogan attracted the Untouchables to join the Communist Movements in a larger proportion because they were mere labourers who could never imagine owning land. When Communist Party shifted their strategy for Aikya Kerala, 'the United Kerala' movement they reiterated the land question by promising the ending of princely rule in the three provinces Travancore, Cochin and Malabar, In the writings of E.M.S Namboorthiripad he stated; "It was the Communist Party alone that gave an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal content to this slogan. For it was the Communist Party alone that declared (1) that the struggle for United Kerala is an indivisible part of the struggle of the people of India for ending the imperialist rule;(2) that the struggle for United Kerala is also a struggle for ending princely and other remnants of feudalism, a struggle for full genuine democracy for the people". According to Michael Th. Geven , Governance is the equal distribution of both Material and Spiritual Values. Material Values such as Land, Property, Shelter, and Food, spiritual values such as Equality, Fraternity, and Liberty. When these two values are accomplished, then only society could be called Egalitarian. A Caste ridden society like India never had governance. To ensure governance, the demand for separate electorate was demanded by Dr.Ambedkar on behalf of Depressed Classes in the Second Round Table Conference which resulted in the Poona Pact. The Poona Pact alludes to an agreement between Dr. Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi, signed on 24 September 1932, at Yerwada Central Jail in Pune, India. It was signed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and Dr. Ambedkar and some different pioneers to break the quick unto passing embraced by Gandhi in Yerwada jail, to abrogate the Macdonald Award giving separate electorates to Dalits for choosing individuals from state administrative congregations in British India.

Foucault (2010) defines space as; "The space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs, the space that claws and gnaws at us, is also a heterogeneous space.... we live inside a set of relations" (p. 56). Nigel Thrift (1996) also defines space as; "The outcome of a series of highly problematic temporary settlements that divide and connect things up into different kinds of collectives which are slowly provided with the meaning which renders them durable and sustainable" (p.78). To put it plainly, "space" is the social space in which we live and make association with other individuals, social orders, and environment. Space is a result of the hard and persistent work of working up and keeping up groups by bringing distinctive things into arrangements. A wide range of various spaces can and consequently do exist which could identify with each other. Consequently, through space, we can see more about social activity. The classification of space since quite a while ago assumed a subordinate part in sociological hypothesis arrangement. Just in the late 1980s did it come to be understood that specific changes in the public eye cannot be sufficiently clarified without assessing the spatial parts of life. This move in context is alluded to as the topological turn. The space idea guides regard for hierarchical types of juxtaposition. The attention is on contrasts amongst spots and their common impact. This applies similarly to the smaller scale spaces of regular day to day existence and the full-scale spaces at the country state or worldwide levels. The hypothetical reason for the developing enthusiasm of the sociologies in space was set basically by English and French-speaking sociologists, rationalists, and human geographers. Of specific significance is Michel Foucault's article on "Of Other Spaces," in which the writer broadcasts the "time of space," and Henri Lefebvre's original work "La generation de l'espace." (1974) The last gave the establishing to the Marxist spatial hypothesis on which David Harvey, Manuel Castells, Edward Soja, and others have fabricated. Marxist speculations of space, which are predicated on an auxiliary, i.e., entrepreneur or worldwide determinants of spaces and the developing homogenization of space, are stood up to by activity hypothetical originations, which push the significance of the mortal setting and the view of spaces as though frequently foreordained yet subjective developments. One case is the hypothesis of space of the German humanist Mar Tinai Löw (2001). Approaches emerging from the post-imperialism talk have pulled in more noteworthy consideration lately. Likewise, rather than (neo)Marxist ideas of space, British geographer Doreen Massey (2005) and German humanist Helmuth Berking (1999), for example, underline the heterogeneity of nearby settings and the place-relatedness of our insight about the world. The most imperative advocate of the Marxist spatial hypothesis was Henri Lefebvre. He proposed social space to be the place the relations of generation are repeated and that rationalistic disagreements were spatial instead of temporal. Lefebvre sees the societal

creation of space as an argumentative cooperation between three components. Space is constituted: by "spatial practice," meaning space as reproduced in everyday life, by the "representation of space", meaning space as developed cognitively and by "spaces of representation" by which Lefebvre (1974) means complex symbolizations and ideational spaces. Leonard (1984) and Charlesworth (2000) offer bits of knowledge on these topics from the encounters of the West. Singharoy (2001) talks about the subject of underestimation completely drawing cases from the endless territories of the financial scene. He contends that the predicament of indigenous individuals is all around one of minimization and such circumstances have so regularly been similarly hazardous. Underestimation has additionally many connections between the state and globalization, as Ghai (1997) composes. In the contemporary world, globalization and the changing part of the state have added to the compounding situation of underestimation. This is analysed in various settings by numerous researchers like Chomsky (2000), Petras and Veltmeyer (2001), Potter (2000), Pilger (2002). There are additionally numerous insightful reviews on how character legislative issues fit into the political scene. Taylor (1989) looks at the way of subjectivity and the self. Dusche (2010) says that the point of personality legislative issues is to subvert a given lawful, moral foundation agreement and change the constitutive way of the body politic. He contends that as it is a marker of social strengths addressing and endeavouring to change the hegemonic thoughts representing social orders on the planet country, the inescapability of character legislative issues worldwide can be translated as a test to build up standards of mainstream advancement and vote based system. As indicated by Habermas (1998), liberation developments in multicultural social orders are not a uniform marvel. They exhibit diverse difficulties relying upon whether the circumstance is one of the endogenous minorities getting to be noticeably mindful of their personality. Be that as it may, these developments' political objectives are characterized fundamentally in social terms, even though social and financial disparities and also political conditions are dependably likewise included. Parekh (2008) says that the regular workers, indigenous people groups, bring down castes, religious minorities and others express requests not just equivalent common, political, monetary and different rights additionally meet regard and open authenticity or acknowledgment for their underestimated personalities. Stuart Hall (1990) proposes distinctive methods of considering social personality and enunciation. The question of space in the new world order is getting into more pragmatic manner rather being dogmatic.

Conclusion

According to B.R Ambedkar: "It is clear to everybody that land holding in India is not merely a matter of economic livelihood. It is a matter of social status. A person holding land has a higher status than a person not holding Land" The question of land for Dalits and Adivasis for the past 60 years is deliberately unheard and unseen by the so called progressive society of Kerala. When discussion on land happens, whoever tries to bring out the discussion of caste and land will be portrayed as Castiest that is what Kerala society is still. Interestingly most people believe that land reformations made everyone land owners in Kerala but when we analyse the facts and available data we can see how Dalits and Adivasis got excluded in this so-called Land Reformation which is considered as the back bone of applauded Kerala Model Development. Although the Adivasis and Dalits shape the foundation of the rural economy of Kerala, they have not yet profited by the land changes that the Kerala Government started in the 1950s. Different land dispersion plans and projects that were intended to limit landlessness among the Adivasis and the Dalits, did not really alleviate them. To the extent the landlessness in Kerala is concerned, the Dalits and the Adivasis conform to 85 for every penny of the landless in the state. The state has been seeing a relentless decrease in sustenance generation and cultivating. Since rural movement has arrived in a despairing predicament the state is dependant to the neighbouring states for its food necessities. In that capacity, the Government of Kerala, rather than bringing back the Adivasis and the Dalits to horticulture and cultivating, has tossed them to the edges of the society and has decreased them to living in provinces. A close look at the way the state has fared in actualizing different changes and how it has affected the Adivasis and the Dalits uncovers that, there was an absence of will among the successive governments that came to control in Kerala to legally actualize different land distribution arrangements and to genuinely redistribute land among the Adivasis. A look at the different laws demonstrates that there is an enormous hole in the arrangement of the methods and their genuine practical execution. For instance, The Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Act was received in 1975, yet it was just executed after 1986, creating an enormous delay. Adivasi lands have been lost because of infringements, land snatching, forest laws and the involvement of private estate organizations. Alienation of Adivasis from forests and nature, and limitation on access to forest has expanded the Adivasis' reliance on different sources of wage, and has constrained them to move to different spots for work. Frustration among the Adivasis because of steady land misfortune throughout the years has prompted loss of trade, lack of healthy nutrition and starvation deaths. Denial of vocation and the struggle for sheer survival has prompted the development

of a few Adivasi struggles for land rights over the state and the ascent of Adivasi land rights developments. Ghettoization of the Adivasi people group through making of Adivasi and 'Harijan'¹ settlements. The way which Land Struggles were considered as a struggle for some agricultural land to cultivate which probably brings some economic mobility in the society for Dalits and Adivasis, obviously it was the core reason we could see, but beyond that if we inquire deeply it was also a movement to become land owners to break or overcome the social hierarchy of caste operated system through land for these many years because Land is also a social space like Pierre Bourdieu defines Social Space: "a multi-dimensional space constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active in the social universe under consideration, that is, able to confer force or power on their possessor in that universe". So, in the context of India when it comes to the Land and social space, Caste is the major determining power. Indian Society is built on Caste which decides an individual's social, economic, cultural relations and capital. The Accumulation and dissemination of capital has an essential place in comprehending the social, economic and political issues of Dalits and Adivasis. Historically, they were a section of agrarian social classes, even they were kept from owning land or whatever other type of property. As an outcome, they couldn't advance as a class occupied with aggregating capital. Pierre Bourdieu distinguishes between three forms of capital: economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. He defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. The Land ownership of land in India is decided by caste in which the society exists. Dalits and Adivasis who were treated as Untouchables and Slaves were nowhere in these land ownership arenas. The history and fate of all demands of Dalit and Adivasi movements are the same. The Land struggles happened in Kerala was the struggles for the reconstitution of Social Spaces in Kerala. Both Internal and External factors failed the Dalit and Adivasi movements. All the struggles were a reminder of the failure of the applauded Land reforms and bills and every struggle was also failed by the state itself through various means. Louis Pierre Althusser (2014) defines "The ruling class use the Repressive State apparatuses (RSA) to dominate the working class; the basic, social function of the RSA (government, courts, police and armed forces, etc.) Is timely intervention to politics in favour of the interests of the ruling class, by repressing the subordinate social classes as required, either by violent or non-violent coercive means". The ruling class will control the RSA, because they are also controlling the powers of

¹ Though the word Harijan has a derogatory connotation, Dalit Colonies in Kerala are popularly known as harijan Colonies.

the State (political, legislative, armed) (p. 123). The same happened in all struggles even when the Communist Government was ruling the state. Another factor which failed the movements was the co-option of the political parties in all forms and non – cooperation from other communities including Dalits and Adivasis. The heterogeneity of Dalits and Adivasis played a vital role in the failure of the struggles, which sometimes led to the splitting of the movements to different fractions. As these struggles were genuine and completely owned and ran by Dalits and Adivasis without the agency of Upper Castes it lacked the capital mobilisation and public attention through media. This is a time when land-relations and land-utilization methods are being relooked and revised on. The same political forces who lead land –reform has started opining that Land reform act should be cancelled. There is a similar opinion among the Dalits and Adivasis whom Land reform did not address. One important aspect is that the Adivasi land struggles began in 1990's and Dalit Land struggles of recent times have started discussing Land Reform along with the land issues in Kerala .It has been imagined that a complete and revolutionary land reform has happened in Kerala and made everyone land owners. It is believed that Land reform which started in the beginning of 1970's has reached a logical ending and in three years this process will be completed and Kerala will become the first state in India to distribute land among all its populace. This indicates that in relation to Land reform Kerala will be a perfect model in front of the whole nation. So, it is very important to have a relook in to the land reform of Kerala. When began half a century ago the declared aim of land reform was to end feudalism. Through various Tenant supportive rules feudalism was cut away. By eliminating feudalism all the tenants of the land became land owners and their land became secured. Cash crops were avoided from land reform act and a land limit was calculated and decided to distribute the waste land. Let's say that it gave much hope to the landless people of Kerala. But in fact, this hope never came true for the landless people. The status of Dalits and Adivasis excluded from land reform is especially notable. In today's land struggles the same set of people are coming forward, it is not just a coincidence that the same people who were neglected happens to be the people who are leading the protests for right to land ownership. Indian National congress in 1936-37 period itself has taken a stand saying, "Farmland for Farmers". The communists of India had anti-imperialistic and anti-feudal aims; Agrarian Revolution was there main agenda. They raised the issues in land relations and argued for a need for revising existing land relations through struggles like Punnapra, Vayalar and farmers' movements. Even community consolidations like SNDP argued for ending the feudal era. If we look back now, we can see that these movements have removed land issues from their main agenda. This must mean that the land requirements of the groups they represent may have been dealt with and they were content. In other words, Land

reform transferred the land ownership from traditional feudal classes to the backward classes including Ezhavas excluding Dalits and Adivasis. To understand why such exclusion took place we need to know the relation between land and caste. So, by not considering this caste relationship between Dalits and Adivasis and land, Kerala land reform as a significant opportunity to subvert the system only further enforced and naturalized the traditional caste practices and left Dalits and Adivasis to that very system. Anyway, in the name of Land reform, a similar act of land ownership coming down to backward classes by protecting the traditional caste practices is what happened in India. Nobody was denied the ownership of land, but consciously the untouchable class was denied the one chance to enter land equations. It is ironic that the constitution ensures the right for social-economic- political-cultural justice for every citizen of India, even after constitution's establishment of half a century, Dalits and Adivasis who come to the one fourth of population is still denied right to land even, it ridicules the very fundamental principles of constitution. Land is not just a resource it is also a power. Its one's caste that decides whether he/she could possess land rights. In Indian situation by birth itself one becomes powerful and the other powerless. So how citizens are promised of equal political rights the administration should have shown the obligation to divide the right to land ownership among everyone equally. Not just that none of the governments never owned up this responsibility they have completely avoided that, Kerala is an instance for this. Even though it was an important moment in history to redefine the caste based relations and though Dalits and Adivasis were very decisive factors in the production process, the Dalits and Adivasis who were not given any given any kind of power or control over raw materials and products were excluded and pushed out from the right to land ownership. The question why Dalits and Adivasis were avoided in Land reform is significant. Their organic connection to land and their role in turning waste lands to fertile cultivable lands were not taken into consideration. What was needed was to create legislation to enhance to remould their existing social positions by making them owners of land as they have been excluded and marginalized for ages. In this way Land Reform stooped to rearrange the traditional land relations rather than being a revolutionary act. By romanticizing Dalits and Adivasis as proletarians they succeeded in tagging the victims further as a category of daily wage workers. They were directed to protest for wage increase in and stopped from engaging in struggle for land ownership. In Kerala's political history or legal history or land struggle history never was a demand "land for Dalits and Adivasis" was raised. But these were communities who entered in to agriculture by the early 19th century itself. These two are the two famous and contradictory slogans that were raised in Kerala during Land reforms: One is "The lands you reap will become yours my darling" and the second one is: "We will make

you call me Lord and make you drink porridge from palm leaf." The first one was the poetic and war call like message and the later, the roar of the traditional powerful sections. For Dalits and Adivasis the second one only became practical. In these slogans reflected the chasm between the power interests in agrarian field of Kerala. This call arose Dalits to dream of a future where they will own the land they have toiled all their lands. It was only natural that this imagination induced by communist and farmers' unions attracted the Dalits. They sought to look at Marx and communism and Lenin in this imagination. But what happened in fact? The movements they trusted itself disrupted this ideal imagination. They portrayed Ayyankali who fought for the right to education as an agrarian revolutionary, maintaining their desire for land ownership they were made puppets and was made to protest for increase in wage. This was the kind of violence that was imposed Dalits and their ambitions for autonomy and right to land. They were fed false dreams and was robbed of their democratic rights and maintained as a group that could be moulded into the political plays of the bodies which controlled power variants. Kerala society even after half a century maintains that Dalits and Adivasis should remain the labourers in the farmlands and they should never be handed of any sort of power that comes close to owning land. Malayali society also indirectly emphasizes that these communities should remain as the constant supply of their daily waged labourers.

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To What Extent Does Globalization Affect Politics of Identity?

Zarina Malik¹

Abstract:

In the last couple of decades the world has faced the effect of such phenomenon called globalization. This notion describes the process of spread of ideas, goods, world views, language, people, and other cultural aspects all around the world. Some of the major factors of globalization are advanced transportation systems and communication innovations. In the twenty first century, globalization has affected the world in such spheres as trade, economics, migration of people, socio-cultural aspects, politics, etc. People shape their worldviews, political positions, behavioral features, and interests based on different means of their lives. Identity is an amalgamation of different facets of people's lives such as government regime, traditions, folk music and others. So identity politics is the focus of this research paper. It is a concept about how people choose their political positions and attitudes in accordance to the social groups they belong to. In my research paper I will discuss and analyze how globalization affects people's identity politics. Initially the impact of market globalization will be discussed, this will be followed by the analysis of the effect of cultural globalization, then the extent to which globalization of ideas through the internet affects identity politics will be examined, and finally the conclusion will be reached. As years pass people are exposed to different effects of globalization. People can change their political identities because of new environment, people, goods, social media, etc. People's identity politics are always under the influence of different factors. One can have liberal views on the world and the whole life in one day, but it is possible that he or she will turn conservative the next day. And this change can be brought up because of different aspects of globalization. Products we consume, languages we speak, people we meet in real and virtual lives, news we read online and in local magazines, and many others are the factors of globalization that affect and alter our politics of identity. Therefore, globalization has a significant impact on people's identity politics.

Key words: globalization, identity, politics, identity politics

¹ Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan [zarina.malik@nu.edu.kz]

Introduction

In the last couple of decades the world has faced the effect of such phenomenon called globalization. This notion describes the process of the spread and exchange of ideas, goods, world views, language, people, and other cultural aspects around the world (Beck, 2015). Some of the major factors of globalization are advanced transportation systems (for instance, container ships are used for the import and export of products, etc.) and communication innovations (mobile phones, internet, etc.). Globalization has also affected the world in different spheres such as trade, investments, economics, migration of people, socio-cultural aspects, spread of knowledge and cultural diversity (Lonergan, 2009). People are significantly affected by the social group to which they belong. More precisely, people shape their worldviews, political positions, behavioral features, interests and many other means of their lives. These groups do not necessarily have to be some organizations acknowledged by the world, but they might be simply based on age, gender, education, nationality, language, occupation, habitation, etc. A person's identity refers to characteristics, special traits, views, hobbies, attitudes of oneself. It must be taken into account that identity cannot be explained from single perspective; rather it is an amalgamation of different facets of people's lives such as government regime, traditions, folk music and others. So identity politics which is the focus of this essay is a concept about how people choose their political positions and attitudes in accordance to the social groups they are involved in. (Bernstein, 2005). In this essay I will discuss and analyze how this phenomenon of globalization affects people's identity politics. Initially the impact of globalization of market will be discussed, this will be followed by the analysis of the effect of globalization of cultures, then the extent to which globalization of ideas through the internet affects identity politics will be examined, and finally the conclusion will be reached.

The effects of globalization of market

First of all, the forces of globalization of goods and services have an impact on people's identity politics. Import of different products and the whole international trade are growing extensively which means that more goods and services are becoming affordable and tradable. Some products which were not available for the use in the past are now easily accessible (Jones & Kierzkowski, 2004). Nowadays countries are able to import and export certain products with the help of new transportation systems such as container ships or steam locomotives (Hummels, 2007). Such advanced transportation systems reduce trade barriers between countries and allow people in different countries consume new goods. These opportunities alter people's tastes, behavior, standards of

living, etc. Some examples of globalization of international trade are foreign cars or sugar from Jamaica imported into developing countries. Such foreign goods improve people's quality of life, for instance, by generating new entertainment opportunities. People are able to enjoy consuming more products. (Jones & Kierzkowski, 2004). Globalization of market in fact refers to the import and export of goods and services all around the world. However in most of cases there is a one way flow where goods are exported from developed countries into developing countries. This is because it is cheaper for corporations to establish their production factories in developing countries (Goldberg & Pavcnik, 2007). Therefore it is possible to argue that developing countries are enjoying western goods and become more familiar with or even predisposed to the western culture. This may lead to people's interest in the political life of a country which supplies them with goods and services. Consequently, people consuming goods, for instance imported from the US, may alter their political attitudes. They might acquire more liberal views on the world than they had before. This is one of the effects of globalization on people's political identities.

The effects of globalization of culture

Countries which were exposed to the effect of globalization are also facing the diversification of culture through the inflow of foreigners and the internet. Language is a fundamental aspect of culture in this context which significantly affects people's ways of thinking about the world (Lieber & Weisberg, 2002). Assimilation of cultures due to the inflow of people from different countries make people think more globally about the world. People start learning new languages, acquire new traditions or some distinctive behavior of particular culture when different cultures mix (Lieber & Weisberg, 2002). People's ways of thinking about the world become more flexible when they learn new languages (Brookfield, 2005). For example, people speaking Russian are better in easily and quickly differentiating tones of blue color than those speaking other languages. Another example is that when people speak Korean, they sort objects according to their shapes, while when they speak Japanese they do so according to the material (Thierry et al., 2009). Such languages' features automatically modify people's thinking skills, views on the world and different events. Therefore when people move to another country they learn new language, traditions, norms of behavior, etc. in order to adapt to the new environment. This in turn leads them to unintentionally reshape their worldviews. The same alterations of ways of thinking are faced by those who meet (or greet) new people in their own countries. For instance, inflowing people bring their own languages and other cultural and behavioral features to the target country. People of the target country may acquire some new knowledge, thoughts or attitudes about

the world when representatives of different countries and cultures get acquainted. It is possible that some may influence or change other's political attitudes through the means of simple discussion or even persuasion. Thus people's political views may change due to the globalization of people.

The internet as a means of globalization

The next factor of diversification of cultures is the Internet. Initially the Internet was popular among introvert people. It was used for the sake of communication and exchange of ideas with others in virtual world (Amichai-Hamburger, 2008). However, now as introverts so extroverts use the Internet for communication and other purposes. There were 4.4 million internet users in the year 1991, 600 million internet users in the year 2003 and now it is more than 3.5 billion internet users all around the world (Chen & Wellman, 2004). This means that the internet is also exposed to globalization; more and more people are able to exchange news, their views, opinions, political attitudes and other ideas through the internet. What needs to be examined is the purpose of people's internet usage. Some people use it for entertainment (watching movies, playing virtual games, etc.), others use it for exchanging information (communication, social media, etc.), others use it as a source of educations, etc. Due to the liberalization of people's attitudes, more people are feeling free to express their political attitudes in the internet. For instance, there is a website called Politico (politico.com) which has politics as the central notion. It is a website created by John F. Harris and Jim VadeHei and is now being edited by a number of journalists. It is used to share political news, exchange opinions about them, and increase transparency in the world of politics. There are hundreds of thousands subscribers of this website and this number is increasing (Leibovich, 2010). This means that people from different parts of the world are able to go to it, gather political ideas and alter their owns. This is just one of the examples about how globalization of the Internet can affect people's political identities. When people gather information about politics on the Internet, they start thinking differently, supporting some ideas and opposing others. The Internet is a huge source of information which help people get out of their caves (cross the borders of their political attitudes ascribed and limited by the domestic factors). If people had no access to such sources of data, they would never evolve and their thinking would be limited. Another simple example of the effect of globalization of internet on identity politics is social media. The internet erases all limits of communication opportunities. People are able to contact anyone in another part of the world and exchange their worldviews and so on. Thus, people's political identities are also exposed to changes. Moreover, it is believed that the internet brings a lot of western ideologies and liberal political

attitudes (Fosdick, 2012). Due to the reason that half of the world's population are everyday unique internet users, it can be predicted that more political news, views, ideologies and others are accessible for people. Thus, there are more contributing factors for the alteration of people's political identities. This diversification and exchange of opinions is a part of cultural changes generated by the process of globalization.

Conclusion

To conclude, globalization has a huge impact on people's identity politics. People may stick to certain political attitudes since their young ages. However, as years pass people are exposed to different effects of globalization. People can change or fix their political identities because of new environment, traditions, people, goods, social media, the Internet, etc. People's identity politics are always under the influence of different factors. One can have liberal views on the world and the whole life in one day, but it is possible that he or she will turn conservative the next day. And this change can be brought up because of different aspects of globalization. Products we consume, languages we speak or learn, people we meet in real and virtual lives, news we read online and in local magazines, and many others are the factors of globalization that affect, alter and transform our politics of identity. Therefore, globalization has a significant impact on people's identity politics.

Recommendations for further research

This research can be further improved using several means of analysis. This means that a researcher of political aspects of globalization can use such methods as surveys, field works, ethnographic research or review more literature and work with professional scholars. To be precise, a researcher could visit different countries which he or she believes are being affected by globalization in such aspects as political identity. It must be taken into considerations that a deep research is very time and money consuming. Nevertheless, a researcher would be able to collect more specific data by visiting different countries, talking to people of different racial, ethnicity, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. After that it is recommended to filter the data and represent it in tables, charts or simple statistics. Thus it would be easier for a reader to process, receive and analyze the information.

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A European Compass? The Meaning of „Left“ and „Right“ in European Politics

Viktor Valgardsson ¹

Abstract:

The terms „left“ and „right“ are frequently thrown around in political and academic discourse, very often with an implicit assumption of a common understanding of these terms that need not be substantively elaborated. However, a superficial historical overview shows us that the terms have had a dynamic meaning; with the „right“ signifying everything from the French crown and its allies in the revolutionary years of the late 18th century, to liberal friends of the market in the latter part of the 19th century, to everything from liberals to conservatives to libertarians to fascists and populist xenophobes in the 20th and 21st centuries. An overview of recent research of the terms' meanings also strongly suggests that the meaning and dimensionality of these terms differs from country to country. Despite this, few systematic studies of the connotations of left and right across countries have yet been conducted, even though this is a necessary condition for cross-country dialogue about left- and right-wing politics and their substantive relevance for policy and society more generally. To start filling this gap and informing our understanding of cross-country political discourse, this study uses data from the 2008-2010 wave of the European Values Study (EVS) to analyse and compare the relation of respondents' self-placement on the left-right scale to various political attitudes in 47 countries across Europe. We find that the left/right dimension has a much stronger relationship to political attitudes in Western than in Eastern Europe, that economic attitudes generally have the strongest salience but that various other attitudes also have an important and varying relationship to self/right identification across Europe.

Introduction

What does it mean when a person from Iceland meets a person from Albania, and they discover that they both identify as “left-wing” in politics? Do they instantly hit it off on the grounds of their common political values, or is confusion abound? Despite the

¹ University of Southampton, United Kingdom [viktororri@gmail.com]

overwhelming prevalence of the terms “left” and “right” in politics in public, political and academic discourse; there is an interesting lack of common and clearly stated understanding of the meaning, conceptualisation and dimensionality of these concepts across countries (e.g. F. Bienfait & van Beek, 2014; H. F. Bienfait & Beek, 2001; Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008; Weber, 2012). Most people that follow politics, even superficially, are able to tell you whether they consider themselves to the left or to the right in politics, or at least something about what these terms mean to them (F. Bienfait & van Beek, 2014; Rapeli, 2012). However, studies and historical overviews have repeatedly shown that the psychological underpinnings, issue-content and political relevance of the terms is dynamic; is and has been fundamentally different between different times and places throughout history (F. Bienfait & van Beek, 2014; Doron, n.d.; Valgarðsson, 2012; Weber, 2012; Þórisdóttir et al., 2007). An historical overview of the concepts will show that from their original meaning of attitudes towards social change, the terms have adopted a strong and varying relation to attitudes towards (in)equality, religion and morality, nationalism and cosmopolitanism, environmentalism, post-materialism and numerous other country-specific, salient political cleavages (Enyedi & Kmetty, 2015; Jost, Federico, & Napier, 2009; Valgarðsson, 2012). Relatedly, since the 1960’s, scholars have started to object to the one-dimensionality of the concept and its ideological connotations; where several studies have found that they are related to at least two and up to six independent (but related) policy-dimensions (Enyedi & Kmetty, 2015; Kitschelt & Hellemans, 1990; Radkiewicz, 2017)! Studies in political psychology have admittedly found some common core elements of the terms’ meaning across countries, in terms of psychological dispositions towards social change on one hand and inequality on the other (Jost, 2006; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003; Noël & Thérien, 2008). However, important differences and peculiarities between societies remain, in ways which are not yet fully understood (Aspelund, Lindeman, & Verkasalo, 2013; Radkiewicz, 2017; Þórisdóttir et al., 2007). Importantly for the purposes of this study, several studies have found that the fundamental dynamics of left and right contents and dimensionality differ widely between countries in Europe; more specifically between the Western and Eastern parts of the continent (Aspelund et al., 2013; Paper, 2015; Radkiewicz, 2017; Þórisdóttir et al., 2007). Empirical studies of political values underlying the left/right dimension have shown that in Eastern European countries, even the supposed core elements of the left/right dimension are inconsistently related to left/right self-placement there. Studies have found that attitudes towards inequality do not predict left/right orientations there and that traditionalist values and resistance to change are only weakly and inconsistently related to that dimension (Aspelund et al., 2013; Þórisdóttir et al., 2007). Furthermore, the relationship between different dimensions of left and right have been found to be

different in this region than elsewhere (Enyedi & Kmetty, 2015; Radkiewicz, 2017). This state of affairs is not only likely to cause confusion and misunderstanding when politically engaged individuals from different European countries talk about politics, it is also likely to complicate and bias comparative political research and international political dialogue in an increasingly globalized (and Europeanized) world. Left/right political orientations are widely considered some of the most powerful and parsimonious explanations for political attitudes and behaviours in the western world; voter behaviour, party politics, coalition formations, international relations and social movements are all thought to be at least partly shaped by how left- or right-wing different political actors are considered (Cochrane, 2010; Jahn, 2011; Radkiewicz, 2017; S., I., & Ioannis, 2017; Þórisdóttir, 2012; e.g. Þórisdóttir et al., 2007). Therefore, shedding light on the substantive policy-bases of the concepts' meaning in different European countries is a pre-requisite for adequate understanding of these dynamics and an ongoing task for political scientists. The current study will shed further light on the historical and theoretical roots of this puzzle, before contributing to this ongoing task with an exploration of the relationships between several policy-positions and left/right self-placement among citizens in 47 European countries, using survey-data from the European Values Study's 2008-2010 wave (EVS, 2015). To this effect, we will start with an historical overview of left/right political ideology that tries to get to the roots of the concepts' dynamic nature, before elaborating on some prior studies and theories of their development in recent times. We will then briefly introduce the data, variables and methods used to advance our understanding with the current study, before applying these in our analysis section. Although the scope of this paper will only allow us to paint a relatively superficial picture of left/right content across Europe, important hints can be drawn from this picture for further study. Concluding remarks summarize those findings and their implications for further research.

Theoretical Framework

Throughout human history, the basic spatial terms of "left" and "right" have been subject to symbolization in countless pre-historic and historic societies. As such, there are remarkable parallels between cultures around the world; where "right" has commonly signified strength, power, masculinity, purity, superiority, joy and life and "left" conversely stood for weakness, femininity, hatred, evil, impurity, sorrow, sickness and death (F. Bienfait & van Beek, 2014; Noël & Thérien, 2008). This rather stark favouritism between seemingly neutral logistical terms is commonly thought to stem from the simple fact that a majority of humankind is right-handed; their right hand is usually stronger - dominant (F. Bienfait & van Beek, 2014; H. F. Bienfait & Beek, 2001).

For this reason, some have argued that the political meaning of “right” was always destined to be related to the status-quo, the dominant and the powerful in society (H. F. Bienfait & Beek, 2001). However, more traditionally, the roots of the concepts in political context are traced back to the French National Assembly at the dawn of modern democracy in 1789; where supporters of the crown sat to the right of the king but more radical democrats and reformists sat to the left (F. Bienfait & van Beek, 2014; H. F. Bienfait & Beek, 2001; Bobbio, 1996; Dinas, 2012; Noël & Thérien, 2008; Radkiewicz, 2017; Weber, 2012; Þórisdóttir et al., 2007). By most accounts, this organization was mere happenstance, derived from architectural coincidences when refurbishing the “Salle des Menus Plaisirs” in July 1789, before an important vote on the crown’s veto rights took place between the two factions on September 11th 1789, a date that some consider the birthday of left and right in politics (H. F. Bienfait & Beek, 2001; Weber, 2012). In the following decades, “right” thus came to symbolise the status-quo and resistance to change in politics, while “left” stood for demands for change. However, in the 19th century, the socialist movement was on the rise and started sitting to the left of the more liberal democratic reformists in the French parliament, gradually forcing them to the centre and the right; into the arms of the conservatives (Noël & Thérien, 2008; Smith, 1970). From that point on, the term “left” came to stand for socialism in politics, but at the same time it retained its original meaning of social reform more generally. Similarly, the right still stood for the status-quo and resistance to change, but it also came to be used as a label for the liberal democratic reform movement that advocated more individualistic, free-market, capitalist policies (Muller, 1997b). An illustrative anecdote for the latter conceptual tension is the name of the largest *right*-wing party in Denmark; “Venstre”, which literally means “left” (Adams, 2001) - while the centre party is called “Radikale Venstre”, or the “Radical Left”! This is because Venstre trace their beginnings to the struggle for democracy against the conservative right of the monarchy and aristocracy in Denmark at the turn of the 20th century, when the left-wing fought for liberal, democratic reform (Madsen, 2007). But these terms were not merely descriptive labels for the dominant status-quo vs. its alternatives; as political philosophers and ideological social movements grew from the Enlightenment and to our day, the ideologies manifested in left and right took on a more coherent and elaborated shape – which gradually (and ironically) led to the concepts’ defragmentation. In earlier ages there was little need for conservative “ideology” as such; the church and the royalty were thought to derive their authority from God and their status in society was considered natural, self-evident and sacred (Noël & Thérien, 2008). However, with the Enlightenment and democratic revolutions of the 18th century, conservatism needed a secular foundation - enter the birth of conservative philosophy (Adams, 2001). Prominently postulated by Edmund

Burke, that philosophical tradition argues that the reality, institutions, traditions and politics of the status quo must have served a legitimate purpose, that they have stood the test of time and manifest the cumulative experience and wisdom of prior generations (Muller, 1997b). According to this view, tried and tested traditions are too often threatened by temporary, uncertain and ill-concieved ideas of overly confident reformists, that could have unforeseen and far-reaching consequences for society (Noël & Thérien, 2008). This often comes with the view that man is an imperfect being and should rely on institutions to curb his impulses and irrationality; they are seen as necessary constraints to human nature. This emphasis on the constraint of institutions is often accompanied by viewing adherence and compliance to authority, law and order as a virtue – sometimes to the extremes of following strong, authoritarian leaders(Muller, 1997b; Noël & Thérien, 2008). But mirroring the seating arrangements of the French parliament, David Hume and other conservatives started to divert their admirations to the free market, creating a deep-rooted tension between conservatives that felt the free market was part of society's core and those that felt it was a direct threat to its institutions and traditions (Muller, 1997b).This tension can be partly explained by the material and technological developments of the industrial revolution and the advent of capitalism; as capitalism gradually became the dominant reality of Western societies, it reached the status of the status-quo that conservatives wanted to preserve, while others still wanted to hold on to earlier traditions of their societies (Ibid). This, indeed, is an inherent dilemma of conservatism; once you clearly define the status-quo you are defending, you are bound to run into confusion as history moves on and the dominant status-quo becomes something entirely different – inevitably raising the question of which status-quo is the tried-and-tested one that your philosophy dictates you defend (Muller, 1997a)? From this, conservative ideology gradually branched into the different but related strands of social conservatism—adherence to tradition and authority – and economic conservatism – adherence to the free-market and government constraint in economic matters. This has been called the fundamental tension of right-wing ideology (Eibach & Libby, 2009); it has some important contradictions and has led to some radically different extremes of what we think of as "right-wing". On one extreme we have radical nationalism, fascism and Nazism that preach national unity, strong leaders, ruthless authority and unquestioned allegiance to social norms, national unity and social institutions (Eibach & Libby, 2009; Smith, 1970). On the other, we have the extreme individualism, neo-liberalism or libertarianism of Nozick, Popper, Hayek and friends that preach the sanctity of individual freedom, property rights and complete non-intervention from authority, sans protecting those rights (Daskal, 2010; Kelly, 2005; Tetlock & Mitchell, 1993; Turner, 2007). These two extremes are not merely different from each other, they are directly at odds.

In short, almost as soon as the original right-wing opposition to change was philosophically elaborated and defended, it started inviting complications; because as conservatism came to mean different things, so did the “right” in politics. But the same can be said of the left’s origins as advocating reform; as soon as you start to formulate ideologies and elaborations of what kind of reforms you are referring to, you inevitably run into complications as history moves on. From demanding democratic reforms and universal suffrage, social movements of the 19th century started demanding not only democratic but also various social rights (Marshall, 1950). Some of these demands became more radical as the century passed, culminating with calls for a social revolution of the proletariat, abolishing property rights and nationalising all production (Marx & Engels, 1848). Marxism and communism thus became a prominent part of the left-wing in the 20th century, with communist revolutions in Russia, China and elsewhere (Smith, 1970). But a more moderate form of socialism also developed alongside it, partly led by Eduard Bernstein and the German “social democrats”, who advocated gradual and democratic socialist reform following the welfare-state model of compromise between socialism and capitalism (Ibid). The former, more radical movement sought most if it’s philosophical foundations in the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels but the latter, more moderate movement also had prominent philosophical advocates in at least three Johns. These thinkers compromised the liberal ideas of John Locke with the egalitarian ideas of the socialists (Daskal, 2010; Tetlock, 1984) under the name of social or egalitarian liberalism. John Dewey famously justified the redistribution of wealth with reference to the emphasis of classical liberalism on strong individual rights; these, Dewey argued, also included social rights to fundamental well-being (Adams, 2001; Kelly, 2005). Later, John Rawls formulated these ideas even more effectly, arguing that as all individuals were equal from a moral perspective, no-one was entitled to the material, physical or mental privilege randomly allotted to him or her by nature, and therefore inequality could only be justified to the extent that it benefited all of society (Kelly, 2005; Rawls, 1999). This shows us that from their origins as supporting and opposing social change, left and right have come to stand for political ideologies as diverse as social conservatism, economic conservatism, nationalism, libertarianism, liberalism, socialism, communism and egalitarian liberalism in the history of political thought. To complicate matters further still, the latter part of the 20th century is thought to have witnessed gradual and wide-ranging developments known as modernisation and post-modernisation, the latter being accompanied with a gradual transformation of Western value-systems from materialist to post-materialist values that have also been intimately related with the left/right rhetoric in politics (Bell, 1973; Enyedi & Kmetty, 2015; Inglehart, 1977, 1997; Norris, 2002). These post-material values reportedly entail an emphasis on individual self-expression, autonomy,

democratic ideals and participation, human rights, environmental protection and a critical approach to authority and hierarchy, with various consequences for political attitudes and participation (Hay & Stoker, 2009; Inglehart, 1997; Norris, 2011; Snell, 2010; Williamson, 2009). Since the 1960s, these values have manifest themselves in social movements concerned with issues such as environmentalism, gender equality and direct democratic reform and manifest in political parties variously called "left-libertarian", "New Left", "Green" or "ecologist" (Kitschelt, 1988; Kitschelt & Hellemans, 1990). Instead of eroding the more traditional meaning of left and right, studies have found that these issues have formed a new policy dimension that has a relationship with the concepts of left and right but is independent from the ideologies detailed above (Kitschelt & Hellemans, 1990). This implies that there are at least two independent but related dimensions related to the concepts of left and right; a more traditional economic one (socialism vs. capitalism) and a more recent cultural, post-materialist dimension (Enyedi & Kmetty, 2015; Jonathan Wheatley, 2015). The latter dimension has gone under various names and empirical research is still not entirely unified on its defining features, partly because it has been found to be more country-specific than the former. Many call it the authoritarian/libertarian dimension, with reference to its views on social authority and hierarchy, while it has also been called the traditionalism vs. modernization dimension, the GAL-TAN (Green/Alternative/Libertarian vs. Traditional/Authoritarian/Nationalist) dimension, the demarcation-integration dimension or the communitarianism/cosmopolitanism dimension (Enyedi & Kmetty, 2015; Jonathan Wheatley, 2015). Generally, the underlying values of this dimension are thought to be the post-materialist values of self-actualisation, autonomy and tolerance vs. the more socially conservative values of order, authority, discipline, nationalism, traditional moral values and social hierarchy (Enyedi & Kmetty, 2015). This "pluralization" of the left/right dichotomy has arguably reached the status of conventional wisdom in recent decades, with multiple authors rejecting the supposed one-dimensionality of the terms and the rhetoric and early research surrounding them (Cochrane, 2010; Dinas, 2012; Enyedi & Kmetty, 2015; Jahn, 2011; Kitschelt & Hellemans, 1990; Radkiewicz, 2017; Weber, 2012). By these accounts, left and right do not merely stand for reform vs. conservatism, socialism vs. capitalism OR authoritarianism vs. libertarianism, but for more than one of these ideological cleavages at the same time. This goes against early political science, where one-dimensional political thinking was not only assumed, but a seminal study (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960; see also Cottam, Dietz-Uhler, Mastors, & Preston, 2010; Hindmoor, 2010; Michaud, Carlisle, & Smith, 2009) concluded that voters were largely ignorant – almost solely on the basis that their political attitudes were not structured in this one-dimensional way!

This one-dimensional conception of human cognition has since then been widely disputed. In fact, one recent study of attitudes across Europe found six coherent ideological dimensions of political attitudes among citizens in 34 European countries; the religious-secular, environmentalist-anti-environmentalist, cosmopolitan-xenophobic, Eurosceptic-Europhile, socialist-capitalist and traditionalist-permissive dimensions (Enyedi & Kmetty, 2015). All of these dimensions were found to be independent and significantly correlated with left/right self-placement, although a two-dimensional model fit almost as well, with one overall dimension and another more specifically for the non-economic, cultural dimensions of permissiveness, secularism, xenophilia and Euroscepticism (Ibid). At this point, we seem far away from the simple beginnings of left and right as being for or against social change. Still, it must be noted that a body of studies in political psychology has found that underlying psychological qualities and relatively stable value-orientations towards social change still explain a substantial part of the variance in left/right self-placement, at least in the Western world (Aspelund et al., 2013; Jost, 2006; Jost et al., 2003; Jost, Kay, & Thorisdottir, 2009; Tetlock, 1984; Þórisdóttir et al., 2007). These studies find that needs for order, structure, security, certainty and discipline, along with rule-following and traditionalist values, underly the core of right-wing identity; resistance to change and acceptance of inequality. Openness to experience and endorsement of egalitarian values, conversely, predict left-wing self-placement, according to these studies (Ibid). These psychological results have also been summarized as a unified core of attitudes towards reforming or protecting the inequality and hierarchy that is inherent in the status-quo order (Inglehart, 1990; Jost, Kay, et al., 2009; Þórisdóttir et al., 2007). This has resonance in the terms' historical origins of reformist and socialist movements, and it also fits rather well with the work of some political theorists who have argued for their common ideological core as attitudes towards equality (Bobbio, 1996; Giddens, 1998; Noël & Thérien, 2008). These are certainly candidates for a credible common core of left/right dimensions across countries. However, the fact remains that these do not cover the more post-materialist values and dimensions that other studies have shown do in fact significantly and independently relate to left/right self-placement (Enyedi & Kmetty, 2015; Kitschelt & Hellemans, 1990; Radkiewicz, 2017). Nor does it fit well with the findings that economic conservatism (attitudes towards inequality) and social conservatism (attitudes towards social change) correlate negatively in some Eastern European countries (Radkiewicz, 2017; Þórisdóttir et al., 2007) and that resistance to change and acceptance of inequality are at best inconsistently related to left/right self-placement there, despite the terms' salience (Aspelund et al., 2013; Þórisdóttir et al., 2007). Aside from findings that suggest that at least post-materialist objections to social hierarchy vs. conservative adherence to authority are an independent dimension

in the Western world, it would seem that the countries of Eastern Europe are importantly different from those in the West. And this is not an isolated peculiarity; studies have found that in Asia, Africa and the Middle-East, the concepts seem to have limited and inconsistent meaning (Noël & Thérien, 2008) and that in South-America, "left-wing" can mean populism, market liberalism, internationalism, nationalism or nationalisation, depending on context (Arditi, 2008). In Israel, left-wingers are mainly those who are willing to compromise with Palestine over territory (Ilan Pappé, n.d.; Rosenboim, n.d.), while the right-wing in Japan has been defined by their view that the country was disgraced in the second world war (Togo, 2010). These national variations may be the radically different historical and social backgrounds that have shaped political ideas and language in fundamentally different ways in different countries. This is in line with the theoretical perspective of social constructivism, that emphasises how social and political concepts and their meanings are constructed by society at each time and place, contingent on the historical backgrounds, social contexts and norms in each case (Mallon, 2007; Miranda & Saunders, 2003). Despite a possibly dominant common core of left/right as attitudes to change and inequality, with a post-materialist complication, even this supposed core can be absent or fundamentally different in particular societies, depending on their social context. In summary, "right" often symbolised the dominant, stronger alternative in ancient societies and "left" the weaker alternative, but the political origins of the concept derive from support for or opposition to the status quo in the French Revolution. Since then, right has come to stand for social conservatism, economic conservatism, libertarianism, nationalism and xenophobia and left has come to stand for reformism, socialism, communism, liberalism and egalitarian liberalism. The economic dimension has therefore been considered dominant in the left/right rhetoric for most of history, but in the latter part of the 20th century, post-materialist values of individual autonomy and opposition to hierarchy combined with equality to form "left-libertarian" movements that challenged the equation between social and economic conservatism; attitudes that have furthermore been shown to be negatively correlated in some societies. Empirical studies have found that these attitudes can be divided into at least two, and up to six, independent but related ideological dimensions, and case studies support the social constructivist view that these meanings can be fundamentally different between societies.

All of this is to say that there are still multiple complications to the supposedly simple, one-dimensional rhetoric of left and right in politics. Almost everyone who follows politics can identify themselves in relation to the terms, or at least say something about what they mean. However, the terms have changed considerably through the ages and branched into different and often opposing ideological views, their psychological roots

and value-content differ between regions and particular countries have particular social understandings of them. This is problematic for cross-country dialogue about left/right politics and their implications and therefore, there is an ongoing academic need to shed light on how citizens in different countries understand and identify with the concepts.

Data, Variables and Methods

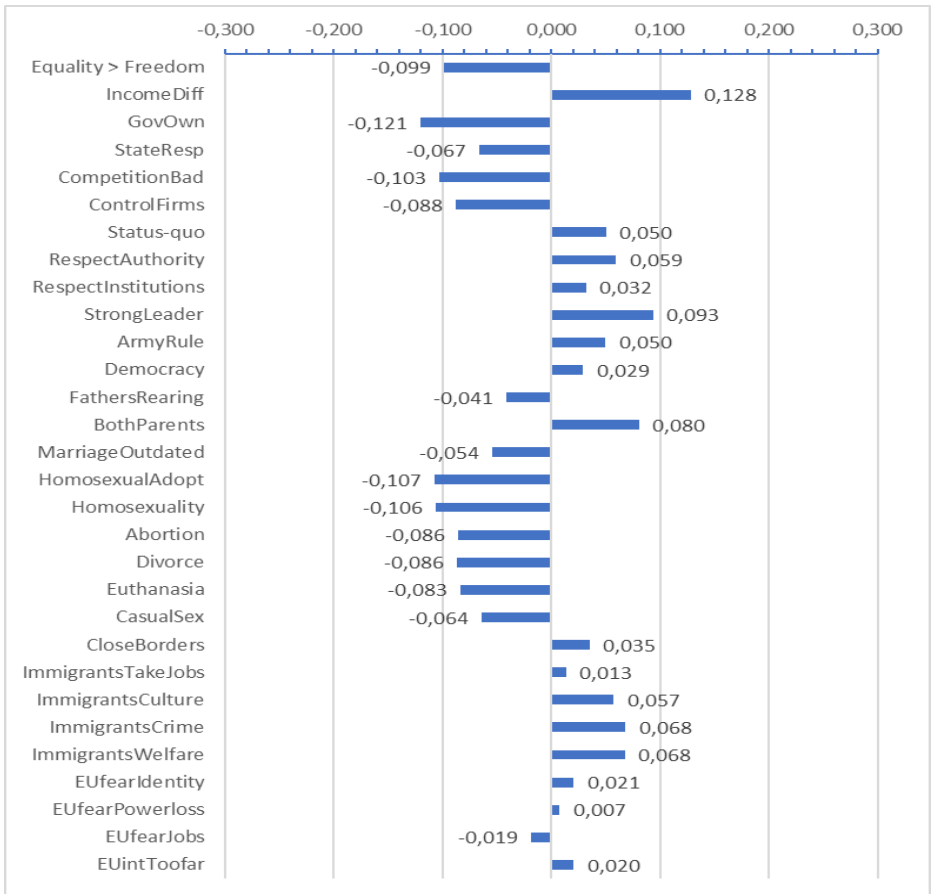
Unfortunately, the scope of the current study will only allow us to scratch the surface of political attitudes across Europe and their relation to left/right self-placement in an exploratory way. The preceding theoretical framework was intended to summarize the various ways in which the concepts of left and right have manifest in importantly different ways in terms of political ideology, values and attitudes throughout history and across the world. Our analysis will use European Values Study (EVS, 2015) data from the 2008-2010 wave of the study, to gauge which attitudes are most related to left and right in Europe, and how this relationship differs between Eastern and Western Europe and between individual countries. The European Values Study is a large-scale, cross-national, and longitudinal survey research program on basic human values that has been conducted in four waves with nine-year intervals since 1981; in that year, 1990, 1999 and 2008. The study was initiated by the European Value Systems Study Group (EVSSG) and conducted in 26 countries in 1981, with more countries added in each wave, culminating in 47 countries in 2008. The 2008 wave was conducted by face-to-face interviews with a representative multi-stage or stratified random sample of the adult population of each country, with around 1500 completed interviews in most countries and 66,281 responses in total (EVS, 2011, 2015). Note that the data was not weighted for the purposed of this explorative study, so all countries weigh fairly equally, while a few countries with fewer respondents will weigh less accordingly (these were mostly the less populous countries (EVS, 2011)). The countries in question are Albania, Azerbaijan, Austria, Armenia, Belgium, Bosnia Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Belarus, Croatia, Cyprus, Northern Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Serbia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, Macedonia, Great Britain, Northern Ireland and Kosovo. Of these, we coded 19 countries as "Western Europe": Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The 2008 wave of EVS, as other waves, asked multiple questions intended to measure political

values and attitudes towards various issues; many of which are of direct interest to our topic of study, as they are related to the various policy dimensions of left and right covered in the preceding section. It is not the scope of this study to determine the underlying dimensions and latent attitudes reflected by these various questions, their interaction or relation to the left/right concept. In other words, I do not pretend to determine here which overarching concepts dominate the left/right spectrum in European countries. This has already been attempted in a recent, interesting study that covered 29-34 countries in the two most recent EVS waves, although this is still publically in the form of a conference paper that does not present the relevant graphs and tables, so the exact content of the dimensions is less clear (Enyedi & Kmetty, 2015). Instead, this exploratory study is intended to shed a more superficial, yet simultaneously more concrete substantive light on the nature of left/right political attitudes across countries (as well as looking at the full 47 countries of the second wave). As such, various questions related to free-market vs. welfare priorities, stability vs. reform, social conservatism vs. liberalism, authoritarianism vs. libertarianism, nationalism vs. internationalism and Euroscepticism vs. Europhilia were identified in the EVS 2008 dataset. We will use 30 of these questions/variables and in the spirit of our concrete focus, a complete list of the question-wording for each variable can be found in Appendix 1, along with notation for the country-codes. These variables are labelled descriptively in our graphs and re-coded, where needed, so that agreement indicates higher values. Six of these questions ask about attitudes towards government intervention in the economy, one asks about attitudes towards social change generally and six more ask about attitudes towards authority in society. Four of these questions ask about attitudes towards traditional family-patterns and five ask about how justified the respondents think certain things are; homosexuality, abortion, divorce, euthanasia and causal sex. Lastly, four questions ask about various fears that people may have about immigration, three ask about fears concerning the EU and a last one asks if European integration has gone too far. The method of analysis here is straightforward: We will first see which questions correlate with left/right self-placement (on a scale where 1 = "left" and 10 = "right") across the entire dataset (the 47 European countries) and how strongly. Next, we will map the questions and their Pearsons R correlations with left/right self-placement between Western Europe and the rest of Europe, as well as for each of the 47 countries.

Analysis

Graph 1 shows the Pearson's R correlations between respondents' left/right self-placement in the entire dataset for the 47 countries in the 2008 wave of EVS. Where needed, variables have been recoded so that agreement with the value that the label refers to (see Appendix 1 for further elaboration) indicates higher values, and higher values also represent more right-wing attitudes on the left/right scale (i.e. 1=left and 10=right). In short, positive values indicate that an attitude is correlated with right-wing attitudes, negative values indicate correlation with left-wing attitudes.

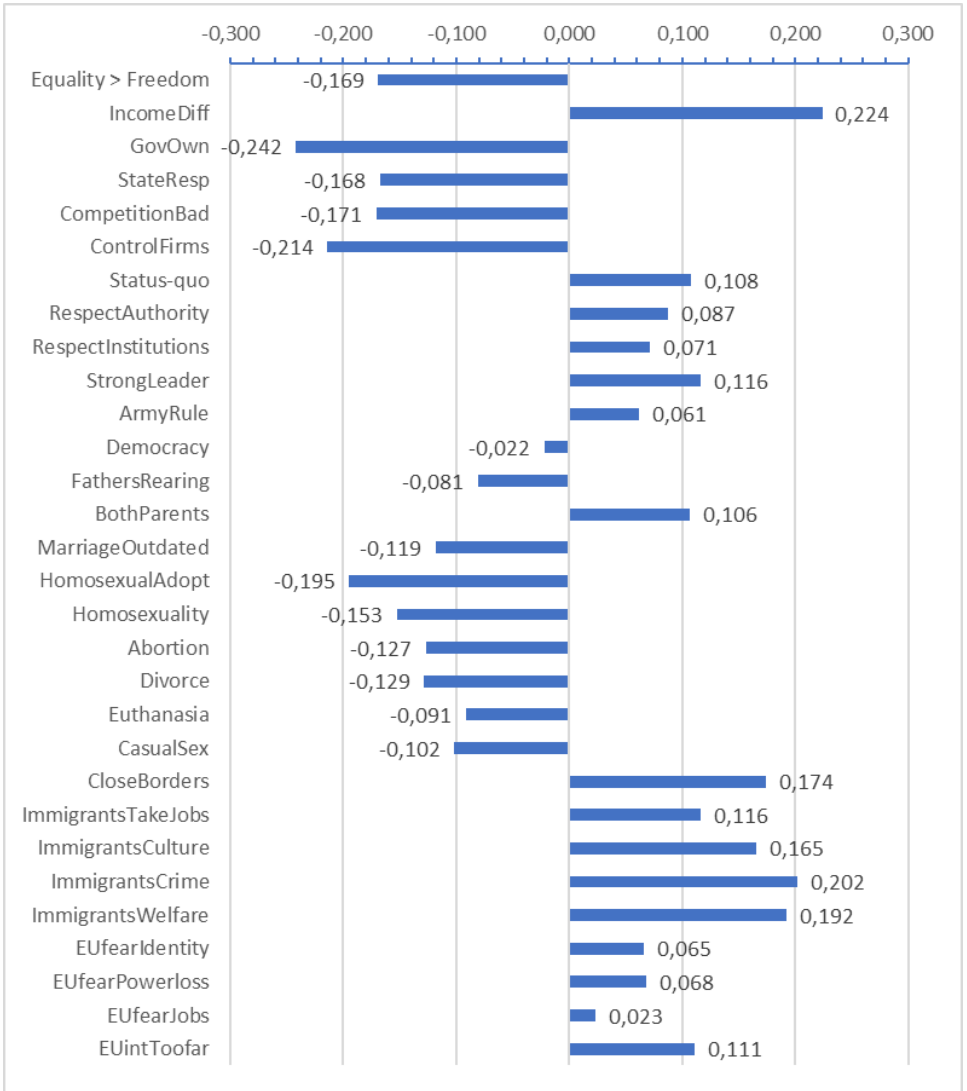
Graph 1. Pearson's R correlations between left/right self-placements and various political attitudes across 47 European Countries



As can be seen in graph 1, all correlations are fairly weak; only one (seeing income differences as a positive incentive) reaches the threshold of 0.1 Pearson's R; which is not too impressive either. All correlation coefficients but one (fear of losing power to the EU) are statistically significant at the 99% level ($0.01 > p$), but this is to be expected in a dataset with over 60.000 cases. Interestingly for our theoretical purposes, the 19th and 20th century divides between socialist and capitalist attitudes barely edge more post-materialist values of individual autonomy, gay rights and womens rights in terms of salience for left-right self-placement. It can be debated whether the latter fit better under a modern post-materialist/libertarian umbrella or under the more traditional divide between social conservatism and liberalism, of course, but it is interesting to note that the supposedly more fundamental aspects of social conservatism have a weaker relationship with left and right here. Endorsement of the status-quo and of strong institutional authority do not seem as related to the dichotomy as issues of morality and permissiveness. Also interestingly, xenophobia and Euroscepticism have a weaker relationship with the left/right dimension in Europe as a whole than we might expect.

Graph 2 shows the same correlations for our subgroup of 19 more established, Western European countries, and here we see a starker picture. Almost all of the coefficients are larger; indicating that the left-right rhetoric and self-identification has a more deeply ingrained relationship with citizens' political attitudes in Western Europe than in the rest of the continent. Here, economic attitudes towards the role of government vs. markets live up to their expectations as the most fundamental meaning of the left/right dimension in modern politics; although here still, the coefficients are not strong. Social conservatism and libertarianism also have a stronger relationship with left/right in this part of the continent and, perhaps most interestingly, the coefficients for xenophobia and Euroscepticism become much stronger. According to this data, "right-wing nationalism" seems to be primarily a Western European (or more generally Western) phenomenon.

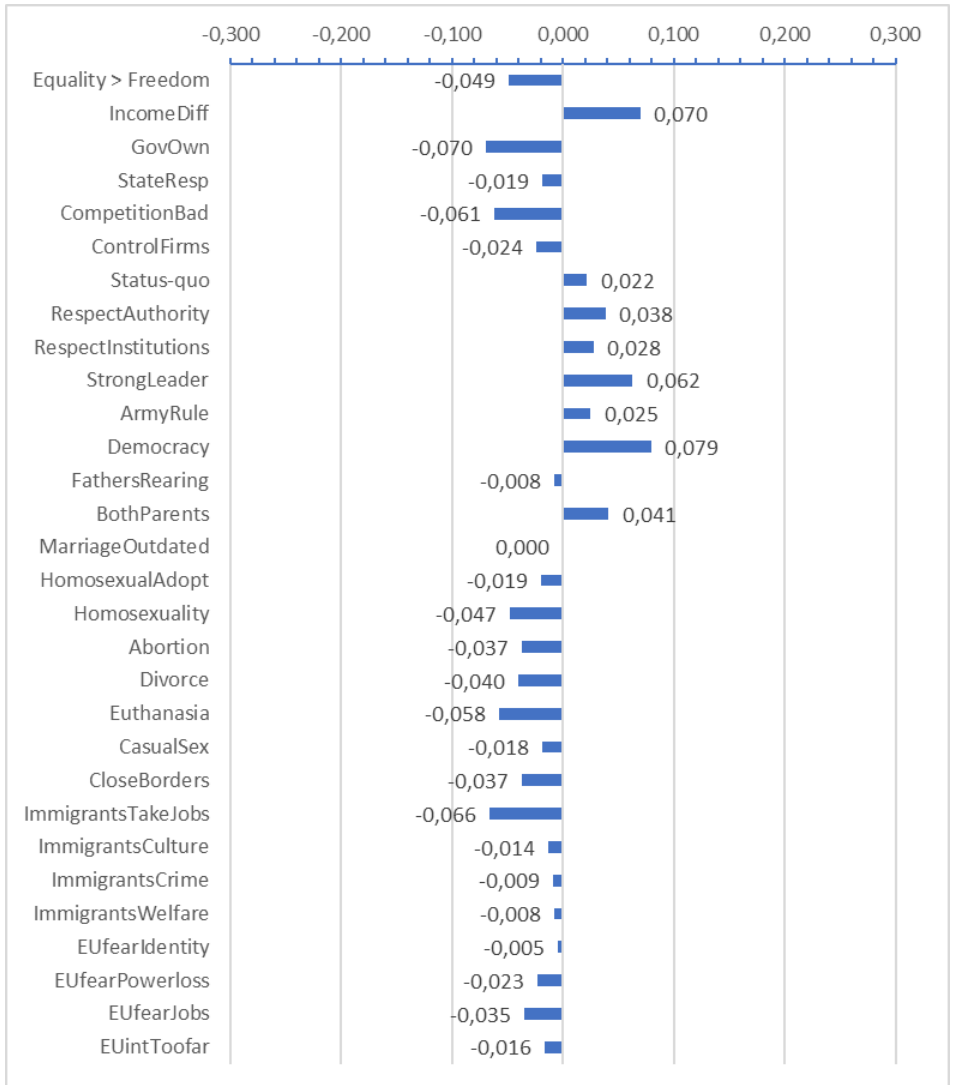
Graph 2. Pearson's R correlations between left/right self-placements and various political attitudes across 19 Western European Countries



This notion is reinforced when we look at graph 3, that shows the same correlations in the other 28 “Eastern European” countries of the continent. Unsurprisingly at this point, all of the correlations are much weaker in this region, although we do still see some relationship with economic attitudes. Interestingly, support for democratic rule has the strongest correlation with left/right self-placements in this region and this is correlated with right-wing attitudes! A peculiarity that may be explained by the tradition of economically left-wing but undemocratic rule in this region in the 20th century. The role

of nationalism is negligible in this region, three of the coefficients (ImmigrantsCrime, ImmigrantsWelfare, EUfearIdentity – as well as FathersRearing and MarriageOutdated) are not even statistically significant and the rest are very weak. Interestingly, all of these coefficients are negative, meaning that if anything, xenophobia or at least Euroscepticism is a *left-wing* phenomenon in Eastern Europe!

Graph 2. Pearson's R correlations between left/right self-placements and various political attitudes across 28 Eastern European Countries



Lastly, tables 1 and 2 give us a more detailed map of left/right attitudes across Europe, by presenting the correlations between left/right self-placement and the same political attitudes for each of the 47 countries in our study; table 1 shows the countries of Western Europe, table 2 presents Eastern Europe. For ease of presentation and comprehension, non-significant correlations are not presented (# stands for question not asked) and the table is colour-coded using the conditional formatting feature in Microsoft Excel 2016, where (stronger) blue colours stand for right-wing attitudes and (stronger) red colours for left-wing attitudes.

Some interesting things stand out: Apart from the generally stronger salience of left/right in Western Europe it appears to be especially salient in the Nordic countries, where economic attitudes are a dominant related factor. In continental Europe (Germany, France, Austria, Switzerland and Italy), however, attitudes towards immigration seem *more* related to left and right than economic attitudes! Also notable is the general lack of salience of this conception for political attitudes in Ireland, Northern-Ireland, Portugal and Belgium.

In terms of Eastern Europe, there is a rather staggering lack of statistically significant relationships. Notably, however, respondents in the Czech Republic stand out as having a much clearer, and decidedly economic, conception of left and right – and Malta stands out for left-wing attitudes being closely related to fears about the European Union. Lastly, it is interesting to note that moral permissiveness towards homosexuality, abortion and related issues are relatively strongly related to left-wing self-placements in Croatia, Slovenia and Northern Cyprus, but the opposite is true for Russia, Romania and Bulgaria!

Conclusion

This study has gone far and wide in discussing the meaning of left and right in politics; from its fundamental appeal as the nomenclature and natural juxtaposition of our hands, to its political origins in the French revolution, to its ideological and social development in the 19th and 20th century towards communism, socialism, liberal egalitarianism, libertarianism, conservatism, nationalism and the rest up until a supposed post-materialist turn in the 1960s, to psychological studies of the concepts' root in personality and social constructivist arguments on how their meanings are shaped fundamentally by different social contexts against different historical backgrounds. If this theoretical overview left the reader more confused than convinced, a major aim of this study has been achieved; the concepts of left and right are by no means as straightforward as they may seem to each of us in isolation. However, a few lessons can be learned from the overview. First, the historical roots of the terms lie in support for or opposition to change, and studies in psychology show that the inclination for change is still an important factor for explaining left/right identification. Second, attitudes towards inequality are also psychologically important and this became arguably the most salient content of the left/right dimension with the socialist movements in the 19th century and to our day. Third, post-materialists complicated matters in the latter part of the 20th century, when they started fighting for individual autonomy and equality at the same time as they opposed the conventionally socialist idea of a strong state. Fourth, all of these attitudes (and more) have been shown to be related to the left/right dimension in a non-uniform way; i.e. as at least two (and sometimes more) inter-related but independent policy dimensions, instead of one all-encompassing dimension. Fifth and most relevant to our specific topic of study; several recent studies have found left-right attitudes, dimensions and dynamics to be very different between the Western world and other regions generally; and Western Europe and Eastern Europe more specifically. With the aim of not only summarizing the wide-ranging debate on the meaning of left and right but also contributing (if only slightly) to the understanding of the meaning of left and right in European politics, we employed survey-data from the European Values Study to gauge simple correlations between left/right self-placement and political attitudes in 47 European countries. The main finding of this explorative study is that the dynamics of left and right are very different between Eastern and Western Europe; indeed, the dimension hardly seems salient at all for political attitudes in Eastern Europe – or at least inconsistently and confusingly so. Economic attitudes (towards inequality and state intervention in the market) emerged as the most strongly linked with the left/right dimension in Europe, especially in Western Europe and most so in the Nordic countries. This was closely

followed by social conservatism / moral traditionalism vs. liberalism / permissiveness towards individual rights and autonomy, but more traditionally social conservative attitudes towards authority and institutions were less strongly salient. Immigration was only weakly related with the dimension in Europe as a whole (and hardly at all in Eastern Europe) but fears about immigration were strongly related with right-wing attitudes in Western Europe, especially continental Western Europe. Some further interesting national variations were also noted, especially in the still mysterious and apparently diverse meanings of left and right in Eastern European countries; with the Czech Republic perhaps fitting the Western model best but others having contradictory correlations. Which brings us to the question I started with; what does an Icelandic leftist have in common with an Albanian one? Perhaps a lot, perhaps nothing at all - their common spatial identification doesn't really tell them anything. But if the Icelander comes across a leftist from Malta, they better be careful about what they say about the European Union!

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Appendix 1 – Question Wordings and Country-Codes

The following is a complete list of the (English) wording of the questions used here (EVS, 2011), preceded by the descriptive label for that variable used in our analysis (in italics):

- 1) *Equality > Freedom*: Which of these two statements comes closest to your own opinion?
 - a. I find that both freedom and equality are important. But if I were to make up my mind for/to choose one or the other, I would consider personal

freedom more important, that is, everyone can live in freedom and develop without hindrance.

- b. Certainly both freedom and equality are important. But if I were to make up my mind for/to choose one of the two, I would consider equality more important, that is that nobody is underprivileged and that social class differences are not so strong.
- 2) *IncomeDiff*: On this card you see a number of opposite views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 = Incomes should be made more equal. 10 = We need larger income differences as incentives
- 3) *GovOwn*: How would you place your views on this scale? 1 = Private ownership of business should be increased. 10 = Government ownership of business should be increased
- 4) *StateResp*: How would you place your views on this scale? 1 = Individuals should take more responsibility for providing for themselves. 10 = The state should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for
- 5) *CompetitionBad*: How would you place your views on this scale? 1 = Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas. 10 = Competition is harmful, it brings out the worst in people.
- 6) *ControlFirms*: How would you place your views on this scale? 1 = The state should give more freedom to firms. 10 = The state should control firms more effectively
- 7) *Status-quo*: On this card are three basic kinds of attitudes vis à vis the society we live in. Please choose the one which best describes your own opinion.
 - a. 1 = The entire way our society is organised must be radically changed by revolutionary action
 - b. 2 = Our society must be gradually improved by reforms
 - c. 3 = Our present society must be valiantly defended against all subversive forces
- 8) *RespectAuthority*: Here is a list of various changes in our way of life that might take place in the near future. Please tell me for each one, if it were to happen whether you think it would be a good thing, a bad thing, or don't you mind?
 - a. Greater respect for authority
- 9) *RespectInstitutions*: Some people say the following things are important for being truly [NATIONALITY]. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?
 - a. To respect [COUNTRY]'s political institutions and laws
- 10) *StrongLeader*: I'm going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you

say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country?

- a. Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections

11) *ArmyRule*: [Same as above]: Having the army rule the country

12) *Democracy*: [Same as above]: Having a democratic political system

13) *FathersRearing*: People talk about the changing roles of men and women today. For each of the following statements I read out, can you tell me how much you agree with each.

- a. In general, fathers are as well suited to look after their children as mothers

14) *BothParents*: If someone says a child needs a home with both a father and a mother to grow up happily, would you tend to agree or disagree?

15) *MarriageOutdated*: Do you tend to agree or disagree with this/the following statement?

- a. Marriage is an outdated institution

16) *HomosexualAdopt*: How would you feel about the following statements? Do you agree or disagree with them?

- a. Homosexual couples should be able to adopt children

17) *Homosexuality*: Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between, using this card. 1 = Never justifiable. 10 = Always justifiable.

- a. Homosexuality

18) *Abortion*: [Same as above]: Abortion

19) *Divorce*: [Same as above]: Divorce

20) *Euthanasia*: [Same as above]: Euthanasia

21) *CasualSex*: [Same as above]: Having casual sex

22) *CloseBorders*: How about people from less developed countries coming here to work. Which one of the following do you think the government should do?

- a. 1 = Let anyone come who wants to
- b. 2 = Let people come as long as there are jobs available
- c. 3 = Put strict limits on the number of foreigners who can come here
- d. 4 = Prohibit people coming here from other countries

23) *ImmigrantsTakeJobs*: Please look at the following statements and indicate where you would place your views on this scale?

- a. 1 = Immigrants do not take jobs away from natives in a country
- b. 10 = Immigrants take jobs away from natives in a country

24) *ImmigrantsCulture*: [Same as above]:

- a. 1 = A country's cultural life is not undermined by immigrants
 - b. 10 = A country's cultural life is undermined by immigrants
- 25) *ImmigrantsCrime*: [Same as above]:
- a. 1 = Immigrants do not make crime problems worse
 - b. 10 = immigrants make crime problems worse
- 26) *ImmigrantsWelfare*: [Same as above]:
- a. 1 = Immigrants are not a strain on a country's welfare system
 - b. 10 = Immigrants are a strain on a country's welfare system
- 27) *EUfearIdentity*: Some people may have fears about the building of the European Union. I am going to read a number of things which people say they are afraid of. For each tell me if you - personally - are currently afraid of:
- a. The loss of national identity and culture
- 28) *EUfearPowerloss*: [Same as above]:
- a. A loss of power in the world for [COUNTRY]
- 29) *EUfearJobs*: [Same as above]:
- a. The loss of jobs in [COUNTRY]
- 30) *EUintToofar*: Some say that the European Union enlargement should go further. Others say it has already gone too far. Using this card, which number best describes your position, where '1' means "should go further", and '10' means "has already gone too far"?

The following are the country-codes used in tables 1 and 2 in this study, and the respective countries they stand for:

AL	=	Albania
AZ	=	Azerbaijan
AT	=	Austria
AM	=	Armenia
BE	=	Belgium
BA	=	Bosnia
BG	=	Bulgaria
BY	=	Belarus
HR	=	Croatia
CY	=	Cyprus
CYN	=	Northern
CZ	=	Czech
DK	=	Denmark
EE	=	Estonia
FI	=	Finland

FR	=	France
GE	=	Georgia
DE	=	Germany
GR	=	Greece
HU	=	Hungary
IS	=	Iceland
IE	=	Ireland
IT	=	Italy
LV	=	Latvia
LT	=	Lithuania
LU	=	Luxembourg
MT	=	Malta
MD	=	Moldova
ME	=	Montenegro
NL	=	Netherlands
NO	=	Norway
PL	=	Poland
PT	=	Portugal
RO	=	Romania
RU	=	Russian
RS	=	Serbia
SK	=	Slovak
SI	=	Slovenia
ES	=	Spain
SE	=	Sweden
CH	=	Switzerland
TR	=	Turkey
UA	=	Ukraine
MK	=	Macedonia
GB	=	Great
NI	=	Northern
KM	=	Kosovo

A New Look at the Role of Latin America in the International Stage in the 21st Century

Nataliia Aniskevich¹

Abstract:

To date, the role of Latin America as a political actor is beginning to grow every day. Over the past few decades, the region has undergone profound political and economic changes that have positively affected its development. Many countries of Latin America gained independence in international affairs. The most influential world economic centers: the United States, China and the European Union - are looking for new opportunities for implementing new plans for trade and investment cooperation with the states of the region. At the same time, many Latin American countries are showing their active position in the framework of participation in international associations. In addition, there is a large number of "local" integration mechanisms within the region that have both an economic one (ex. MERCOSUR, Pacific Alliance) and a political orientation (ex. UNASUR, ALBA). It is the above factors determine when analyzing the place of Latin America in the modern world.

Key words:

Politics, International Relations, Latin America, Globalization, Integration

Introduction

Latin America has its own distinctive features associated with the political processes taking place within the region. They rely on the historical and cultural characteristics of the development of the continent. For a short period of time from the mid-twentieth century and before the beginning of the XXI century countries of the continent passed through the rule of military dictatorial regimes, the formation of renewed democratic systems, the internal struggle between the so-called "right" and "left" representatives of power, a rapid economic recovery and stagnation following it. The last decade of the XX century was marked in Latin America by the implementation of tough market reforms of a monetarist nature, which brought far from unambiguous macroeconomic results. At that time, it seemed that the region had forever gone under the weight of

¹ Institute for Latin America Russian Academic of Science, Russia
[natanishevich@gmail.com]

neoliberal theory and practice, and had become hostage to the ideological postulates of the Washington Consensus. But at the turn of the millennium the situation began to change abruptly. The crisis and the largest default in Argentina in the world, which served in the 1990s as a "showcase of the successes of neo-liberal transformations", turbulent phenomena in other states of the region led to the fact that Latin America was frozen at a crossroads. An intensive and largely painful process of rethinking models and substantive areas of economic and socio-political development began. The result was the formation of an updated concept of economic growth, the key elements of which (in the most generalized form) can be reduced to the following:

- a sharp increase in the role of the state in economic life (turning it into the so-called "state of development");
- focus on expanding the domestic market by raising the standard of living of the bulk of the population, accelerating the formation of the middle class as the main social actor;
- cardinal diversification of foreign economic relations, the integration of Latin American economies into global production chains.

At the beginning of the XXI century, Latin America has already begun to be regarded as a constant value of the modern polycentric system of international relations, an indispensable attribute of world dynamics. This was the result of profound internal transformations and, in general, favorable global conjuncture. Participation of Argentina, Brazil and Mexico in the work of the Group of 20, and Brazil - in the BRICS group, the deployment of new integration processes in the region, the trade and economic turn of a number of leading Latin American countries towards Pacific Asia, the reset of the Latin American-European relations, a loud and deeply symbolic election to the papal throne of the Argentinian Jesuit cardinal (the first representative of the "most Catholic continent" in the history), who have riveted wide attention to the events in Be non-zero, connected with the demise of the charismatic president of the country Hugo Chavez, is an incomplete list of events and phenomena pointing to geopolitical changes taking place in the Latin American space.

Challenges of the XXI century

The fundamental changes in the world economic situation predetermined the entry of Latin America into a difficult phase of economic evolution. The internal driving forces of economic development were not able to neutralize the effect of unfavorable external economic factors. As a result, from the middle of the second decade of the XXI century. The region began to be gradually drawn into a serious recession.

The slowdown in growth rates, which was clearly apparent already in the first half of the decade (from 6.2% in 2010 to 1.2% in 2014), was replaced by absolute falls (0.9% in 2015). The crisis is not yet universal. In the situation of individual countries there is a noticeable differentiation (GDP growth rates in Central America in 2015 were 4.4%, Mexico - 2.5%). But the crisis was fully manifested in Venezuela's economy (in 2014-2015, the GDP contraction exceeded 11%), caused considerable damage to the leader of the Brazilian region (its production fell by 3.7% in 2015), prolonged the state of depression in several countries of South America (Argentina, Ecuador, Chile). The epicenter of the growing crisis was the system of foreign economic relations. The export of the region, where the downward tendency was showing for the last three years, decreased by 18%, imports decreased by 13%. The main reason for these phenomena was a sharp drop in world prices for the region's main export products (in 2015 the price of liquid fuel fell by 48% %, for metals and minerals by 23%, for food products - by 17%). Assessing the situation described, the experts of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) stated: "Export results of the 2013-2015 triennium. are the worst since 1931-1933, when the world was dominated by the Great Depression. " At the same time, significant changes occurred in the sphere of capital flow. Foreign direct investment in Latin America declined in the three-year period 2013-2015. by 28% (from 148b9 billion to 107 billion dollars). Even more sharply fell the inflow of other financial resources (operations with securities, speculative capital, borrowed funds). In 2015, it decreased by 40% (from 115 billion dollars in 2014 to 70 billion dollars in 2015). Change in external economic conditions transformed the internal situation. The main economic indicators of many countries have deteriorated noticeably. In general, the aggregate demand fell by 0.7% in the region, the volume of investments decreased by 4.2%, and the investment quota decreased from 21.5% in 2013 to 20% in 2015. The budget deficit reached 6.9% of GDP. The rate of inflation rose to 7%, and in Brazil it rose to 10%, in Argentina it was 14%, in Venezuela it exceeded 100%. State debt (up to 57% of GDP) and payments for its servicing increased. There was a devaluation of national currencies (13% in Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Uruguay, 27% in Argentina and more than 30% in Brazil). The number of unemployed increased by 1.5 million people and reached 6.6% of the economically active population. Thus, the internal driving forces of economic development have been weakened.

The successes of Latin American public policy as a counterweight to exacerbated economic problems

The current period of development for the Latin American states is marked by the intensification of public policy aimed at solving social problems. The governments of

the countries touch upon issues related to raising the level of education, eradicating poverty, changing the degree of social inequality in the society, combating unemployment, developing the institution of the family, and many others. Their settlement can make a great contribution to strengthening the model of stable development of Latin America and to position the region on the international scene as one of the most successfully developing in the world. This can be facilitated by new macroeconomic strategies of modernization of states, a turn of the geopolitical orientation of the continent's cooperation and the strengthening of integration cohesion. It is worth noting that public policy has its own characteristics of improvement in Latin America. Work on the study of this part of the science of the structure and functioning of the state began in the 1960s, but they were chaotic. The reason for this became domestic political and economic transformations, which resulted from the coming to power of the military in most countries of the region. Only in the early 1990's with the beginning of the process of democracy formation, interest in studying public policy and applying its methods in practice also revived. In the end, it was possible to build a new model of the development of the state, in which citizens began to influence the adoption of decisions related to public issues, and the government in turn began to listen to them. With regard to social problems, Latin American public policy is not limited to one area of work. In this vein, not only political forces of the countries of the region, but also international organizations are involved in the development of solutions. A number of problems have a disastrous character not only within the continent, but also beyond its limits if they are analyzed in the context of a global comparison of data on specified parameters. Among these difficulties are crime and violence, the level of which is particularly high in the states of Central Latin America. If the countries of the whole region account for about 30% of all murders committed in the world, then the central and Caribbean states on average account for 22 murders per 100 thousand people. This is one of the highest rates in the world, despite the fact that the continent is home to less than 10% of the total population of the Earth. Another obstacle to successful social development of the region is inequality. For Latin America is characterized by a large "gap" between rich and poor populations and a small presence of the middle class. About half of the workplaces have an illegal status, as a result of which the workers are paid low wages, which in turn pushes people living below the poverty line to commit crimes. It should be noted that regional governments are making efforts to solve this problem. According to the UN, the proportion of people living in the region suffering from poverty declined from 41.7% to 25.3%. In absolute terms, this means that at least 56 million people live better between 2001 and 2012. One of the most successful initiatives in this vein was the Bolsa Familia program in Brazil, which reduced poverty by half and increased the number of people

living in the middle class. Much attention is also given to women's rights at the moment. In Latin America, prejudices of the past still persist, and cases of persecution and violence of the fairer sex are frequent. As a result, through legislative initiatives, women's rights were expanded and their equality with men was ensured, which in turn allowed them access to work in various public and private organizations and increased their role in political activities. The Latin American governments and educational reforms did not escape. In most countries, access to the general education system for all sections of the population has been expanded, but the problem related to the quality of education has not been solved. Among the successes of public policy in this area, it is necessary to mention such examples as the fact that almost 99% of children and adolescents in Jamaica receive basic education, and in Mexico the opportunity to visit private schools for the poor is provided. The organization of the work of medical structures is also a problematic issue. As part of effective implementation of public policy, the work of the Ministry of Health in Argentina is an example. During the time when Christine Kirchner was in power, half of the medical institutions were financed by the government. However, these services had different levels of quality depending on the region. The work of state medical institutions was carried out free of charge both for citizens and for foreigners, when presenting documents identifying the patient's identity. The only costs borne by citizens were payments for outpatient expenses. The downside of this program was that, with economic stagnation and recession, the state was unable to bear the costs of its provision, so the newly elected President of Argentina, Mauricio Macri, introduced his corrections to the system.

Latin America in the US-China-EU geopolitical triangle

By the middle of the second decade of the XXI century. Latin America was in fact at the center of the three major supporting structures of modern world politics - the United States, China, and Western Europe. From the point of view of geopolitical terminology, it has become a kind of a territory on which, in terms of economic and political influence, several states claim at the same time. In the formed a kind of giant triangle of influence, Latin American countries no longer play the role of passive actors, who are only trying to establish privileged allied relations with "the powerful of this world." The leading states of the region have significantly increased their economic and political "muscles" and pretend to be independent players, forming not only new regional associations, but also actively working along the "South-South" line. This applies not only to the activities of BRICS, but also to the fact that Argentina, Brazil and Mexico are full members of the G20 (G-20). The shift in the center of the world economy, and after it the global policy towards the Asia-Pacific region, determined the main geo-economic

and geopolitical shift in the international situation of Latin American countries—a turn toward rapidly growing Asian markets and the widening of the entire range of relations with the states of this part of the globe. This is clearly seen in the example of changes in the geographic orientation of Latin American exports. If in 1991-2000 years, commodity exports of Latin American countries showed the maximum dynamics in the US markets, then in the first decade of the XXI century. Developing states of Asia, first of all China, came to the forefront. In 2001-2010, shipments to this country in value terms grew by 30% per year, which was three times higher than the growth rate of Latin American exports as a whole. In a few years, the PRC has taken a prominent place in the foreign trade relations of a number of leading Latin American countries. So, if in 2000 China's share in Peruvian exports was 6.4%, then by the end of the decade it had risen to 26.9%. Chile's example is even more convincing: the share of the Chinese market has grown here from the same time from 5 to 46%. In the years 2000-2011. Latin American exports to Asian markets increased 7-fold: from 64.7 to 457.9 billion dollars, and their share increased from 9.1 to 22.1%. According to these indicators, Asia has overtaken the European Union and the countries of Latin America. The economic cooperation of Latin America with China and other Asian countries is not limited to trade, it extends to all spheres of economic and financial activity. In 2010-2011, foreign investors acquired assets in the LCA countries worth over \$ 49 billion, of which about 30 billion (61%) fell to Asian multinational corporations. These companies are increasingly aggressive and aggressive, and with the help of corporate mergers and acquisitions of local enterprises, including relatively large ones, are taking important positions in the Latin American economy and are actively developing the region's natural wealth. A kind of benchmark in relations between the US and Latin America in the 21st century was the refusal of Latin American countries to participate in the creation of the ALCA - the American Free Trade Area, to which, according to Washington's plan, almost all states of the Western Hemisphere should have entered. In fact, the White House planned to provide its economy with an additional huge and rapidly growing market, gaining important competitive advantages, for decades to consolidate the economic (and therefore political) orientation of the Latin American region to the United States. But in the capitals of the leading Latin American countries, they reasoned differently. After the failure with ALCA, the very style of Latin American policy shows that Washington has ceased to perceive this region as one. For example, the agenda for negotiations with Brazil and Chile has almost nothing to do with topics that are being discussed with Guatemala or El Salvador. But all the same, the importance of the cooperation of Latin American countries with the United States can not be put on the back burner. First, the US remains the main trade and economic partner of Latin American countries. At least the commodity turnover of several hundred billion dollars already now exceeds that

planned by China at the end of the decade. Secondly, trade with the United States for most of the states of the region is more profitable, since it contains a place for both traditional export goods and manufactured goods, which are so reluctantly bought by China. And, thirdly, pragmatic Beijing does not at all seek to build ties with the left-nationalist regimes and maintain their anti-American ambitions. The profound changes taking place in the Latin American space could not but affect various aspects of the region's interaction with the European Union countries - the traditional trade, economic and political partners of Latin America. Discovering a new geopolitical era, Latin America embarked on the path of a practical reset of relations with EU members. The entire already established complex of Latin American-European relations has come into motion and is undergoing profound metamorphosis. First, thanks to the world price conjugation favorable for most Latin American countries, the growth of their commodity exports to the European Union in the 21st century. at a cost ahead of the dynamics of increasing imports from Europe. Secondly, qualitative changes have taken place in the sphere of investment cooperation. If Latin America was formerly the object of the expansion of European TNCs, which in the economy of many countries took command positions, in the current century transnational corporations of the Latin American countries themselves entered the global arena. Thirdly, despite all the economic upheavals of the EU, everything remains for Latin America the third trade and economic partner, which so far no one can replace.

Political risks and regional stability of Latin American integration: confrontation between MERCOSUR and the Pacific Alliance

At present, integration processes are an actual political and economic phenomenon for many continents, and these processes have both common features and regional features that depend on existing economic ties and traditional political relations. The characteristic features of the integration process in Latin America are the simultaneous existence of quite a large number of integration mechanisms that have both an economic (South American common market, Pacific alliance) and a political orientation (Union of South American Nations, Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America) [1]. At the same time, the struggle for the influence of international regional organizations - the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Community of Latin America and the Caribbean (CELAC) - is taking place in the region [2], which set similar goals and objectives, but at the same time offer a different view of prospects for regional development and participation in them of the countries of North America. Political changes 2015-2016: the results of the elections in Argentina and the change in the foreign policy vector by the elected President M. Makri, the victory of the

opposition in the parliamentary elections in Venezuela, the impeachment of President Dilma Russef in Brazil, as well as a number of events in the international sphere have become important factors in the direction of development integration processes, in particular the South American Common Market (MERCOSUR), which is experiencing a deep internal crisis. At the same time, the Pacific direction, represented by the Pacific Alliance and the Trans-Pacific Partnership, whose leading role in the creation of which belonged to US President Barack Obama (2008-2016), is beginning to play an important role in the extra-regional ties of Latin American countries. At the same time, the coming to power in Washington Donald Trump was a factor that put the existence of the TTP in jeopardy. By the end of 2016, countries belonging to MERCOSUR and traditionally oriented to the Atlantic market are beginning to seek ways to enter the Pacific region in the context of the crisis of the association, while the Latin American countries along the Pacific coast (in particular Peru) are trying to intensify their work in regional political and economic structures, fearing that Pacific integration models can become an instrument of US influence on the region. The transformation of the vectors of integration processes in Latin America is becoming a risk factor for the political and economic stability of the region, but also as a factor in strengthening intra-regional ties. The struggle of the two vectors in Latin America will develop further, placing fundamental political and economic issues before the governments of the countries of the region. An analysis of the concepts of the foreign policy of the MERCOSUR countries and the Pacific alliance countries shows that, more often than not, the political forces that are similar in their convictions are behind the support for each form of integration. MERCOSUR is a regional economic project that allows deepening the political and trade and economic ties of the continent, gradually turning Latin America into a single market with common customs rules. This vector implies the economic independence of Latin America from the leading international players, primarily the United States. The MERCOSUR project is supported by left and left-centrist parties, which see it as a tool to support the independence of the region, its political identity and economic orientation towards the internal development of the region. The Pacific alliance is supported by right-wing forces, determined to strengthen or resume relations with the United States. The Alliance implies the development of extra-regional ties, the emergence of Latin America at the level of intercontinental and inter-hemispheric political and economic ties. The right turn in the countries of the region and the high economic dynamics within the alliance allow its supporters to give optimistic forecasts. However, in the conditions of a change of the president in the United States and planned changes in US foreign policy, the position of the alliance may be shaken. In the case of fundamental changes in Washington's foreign policy concept, the pace of development of the Pacific alliance may fall as quickly as they

grew. In these conditions, despite the crisis phenomena and a whole complex of unresolved contradictions, MERCOSUR has less political risks and plays an important role for regional stability. The future of regional integration in Latin America lies in the plane of reducing its forms and mechanisms, developing common goals and tasks for the continent, creating checks and balances for the balanced development of the region, seeking a consensus between the left and right governments of the region in addressing common economic problems, and the joint overcoming of political risks.

Conclusion

Thus, Latin America for this period is in a difficult situation. Despite the fact that the region has shown significant growth lately, its trade and economic position in the world arena is not yet stable enough, which clearly shows the financial problems that countries faced at this stage of their development. I would like to note that despite the economic modernization that has not been fully implemented, all the same they continue to work and build programs to improve the quality of their citizens' social security. A good example is the implementation of Latin American public policy. It is necessary to generalize that the process of formulating a new social and economic strategy is in the initial phase, and it is not yet clear to what extent the countries of the region will be able to achieve their main goal - to increase the role of internal factors in economic development. This gives significant uncertainty to the prospects for the economic evolution of Latin American states. There is no doubt that the transition to a new social and economic strategy, the choice of its new landmarks is a difficult task, but only its successful solution can provide the necessary conditions for advancing Latin American countries along the path of social and economic progress. Moreover, the main trade and economic partners have not lost their position within the region, and the successful development of internal integration is aimed at further strengthening of external relations.

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Internet Governance in Europe

Charalampos Kyritsis¹

Uada Mema²

Abstract:

The Internet has become an essential part of modern society; there is no person, company or country that can run without connection to this worldwide network. This has led to increasing interest in the governance of this ecosystem on the part of both state and non-state actors. Internet governance has received a lot of attention in recent years because it represents an opportunity for multi-stakeholder dialogue on public policy and key related internet issues, such as security, development, privacy, human rights, children safety etc. Stakeholders responsible for Internet governance are trying to raise awareness about Internet usage. This paper will give a short definition of the concept of Internet governance, an overview of current public awareness about Internet governance in Europe and of possible ways to get more people involved in the debate.

Keywords: Internet governance, Europe, challenges, issues, awareness.

1. Introduction

All of us use the internet in their daily routine. There is no person, company or country that runs without connection to this worldwide network. But the internet faces several challenges that are mostly related to technical infrastructure and public policy issues. So, who can resolve this issues and who are the responsible ones for “the regulation” of the internet to make it fair across all stakeholders? The purpose of this paper is to raise awareness among people and encourage them to get involved to this process of shaping the future of the internet. Briefly Internet Governance (IG) is the cooperation and the dialog between all stakeholders on the issues of the IG, with the purpose to find the best possible and acceptable ones from the all solutions. More specifically, this paper aims to give an overview of the IG issues and why do we have to be concerned about them. The main issues of this topic are:

- Legal
- Security

¹ National and Kapodistian University of Athens, Greece [haris.kiritsis@gmail.com]

² University of Tirana, Albania [uada.mema@yahoo.com]

- Infrastructure
- Development
- Human Rights
- Sociocultural
- Economic

The IG issues are effecting how we interact with the internet every day and with “we”, we mean every person that uses the internet. To strengthen the research aspect of the paper, we will first come up with the literature review and methodology used. In addition, we are also going to talk about the work of different organizations, conferences and forums operating in Europe, and not only, which have the purpose to strengthen the cooperation between the stakeholders. In the end, we will come to the conclusions that IG is going to evolve day by day, and we should stay aware about its changing issues, so we can “protect” ourselves from the internet.

2. Methodology and Literature Review

Due to the theoretical nature of the study, we have used a theoretical methodology based on different scientific literature that addresses issues related to Internet Governance, Internet evolution, etc. The use of this literature has intended to help us to make a correct theoretical analysis and to end up in some valued conclusions. During the recent years Internet Governance has got a lot of attention, this concept has started to be shaped at least a decade ago. The more modern society, becomes addicted on internet, the more relevant this term will be. Discussing about the Internet governance it's not so easy, it is an expression that has many controversial interpretations. Its definition differs when you see it from different perspectives and policy interests. In his book, “An introduction to Internet Governance”, Dr. Jovan Kurbalija(2016), the founding director of DiploFoundation and head of the Geneva Internet Platform affirmed that politicians, computer specialist, communication specialists, lawyers, human rights activists, etc. worry about different issues of internet governance, from the development of different standards and applications, to jurisdiction and dispute resolution. As declared by Don MacLean(2004), *“the whole question of Internet Governance is very unstable and highly contestable on every dimension, ranging from the definition of key terms to the selection of appropriate forms of governance and institutional arrangements.”* However, a worldwide accepted definition of Internet governance is the one given by the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS): *“Internet Governance is the development and application by governments, the private sector, and civil society, in their respective roles, of shared principles, norms, rules, decision-making procedures, and programs that shape the evolution and use of the*

Internet" The multistakeholderism is a fundamental element of Internet Governance, it has been present in Internet Governance Forum since its inception in 2006. As John Mathiason(2009) has expressed "*the borderless, multistakeholder nature of the Internet means that it can be governed, but not governed.*" In the other hand, one of the fathers of the internet, Vinton Cerf(2003) answers the question of the title of his essay "Who rules the net?" in this way "*You and I and 600 million others, in some measure.*" Antonella Giulia Pizzaleo(2014) in her work "Internet Governance: Analysis of technological and regulatory assumptions, of theoretical principles, of historical development and goals" affirms "*Attempting to gain a general evolution, we may affirm that Internet Governance has been evolving substantially from technical management to social and human rights issues; formally from a small group of institutions to a global dimension.*"

3. Internet Governance Issues

The Internet Governance issues as they officially mapped from the UN Commission on Science and Technology for Development (CSTD) are categorized into the following "clusters":

- Legal: Jurisdiction, Labor Law, Intermediaries, Identity, Trademarks, Copyright
- Security: Cybersecurity, cybercrime, Internet as part of critical information infrastructure, cyber conflict, child safety online, encryption, spam
- Sociocultural: Content policy, cultural diversity, multilingualism, online education, Internet as a global public good, internet and ethics
- Development: access, capacity development, the digital divide
- Economic: e-commerce, e-money and virtual currencies, consumer protection, taxation
- Human Rights: freedom of expression, privacy and data protection, rights of people with disabilities and the internet, women's right online
- Infrastructure and Standardization: Communications infrastructure, Technical standards, Web standards, Internet protocol numbers, Domain Name System, Root zone, Net neutrality, Cloud computing, Convergence, The Internet of Things

3.2 The IG Cube

Maybe all these categories and clusters seem so chaotic, but the Diplo Foundation has adjust the Rubik's to settle down the IG issues and makes more clear the situation and the mysteries around them.



Figure 1. The IG Cube (DiploFoundation Internet Governance Cube)

- **How:** the intersections between the What, Who and Where creates HOW, in other words how particular issues should be addressed, both in terms of creating understanding.
- **Where:** the red axis of the cube, relates to the frameworks under which internet issues are addressed.
- **What:** the blue axis, IG issues listed
- **Who:** the green axis of the cube, reflects the multi-stakeholder nature of IG

There is also a fifth component that is not at the cube **WHEN**. But is an idea we can't define it, because of their nature.

3.3 Some of the most important issues

But let's talk about some issues that are concerning the Internet Governance most these days.

- **Fake news:** We all have heard about fake news, but it's not something new. "Fake news" undermines democracy, trust in media, and the content published on the Internet because it misleads citizens and lowers trust in content publishers. They

were always existed via TV, newspapers in the past. But, due to the social media and the Internet, this phenomenon is getting bigger because they give the power to anyone to express their opinion. And there is no way until now, according to our opinions and studies to reduce this social issue without censoring human rights and most important the freedom of speech.

- **Geo-blocking:** Why the available content has to be different to every region, or even every country? Why I can't have the same movies or music available on my Netflix or Spotify account throughout the world? Or in some countries I can't use it at all? Geo-blocking has to end! The solution maybe is an international content copyright platform so the companies don't have to buy different licenses per region. The European Union implemented something similar and from the January of 2017 the member countries have the same content all over EU and at many countries, services like Netflix or Amazon Prime Video wasn't available.
- **Human Rights Online:** What is happening online, stays online? How we prosecute internet crimes? What happens if the crime has taken place in a country, but the server is on another country with different laws about internet? Is not the internet something international? There are many proposals to solve this problem, but the most prevalent is to build an Internet International court with laws about internet that are internationally accepted.
- **Child Safety Online:** Internet is full of content of any kind we can imagine, and some of it is dangerous for young people. Also the percentages of kids suffering from cyber bullying and cyber scamming are getting higher every year. We have to find solutions immediately, because the number of kids accessing the internet is rising and the average age is decreasing.
- **Data Privacy:** Many of our private data are online these days. Pictures, videos, phone numbers, private emails and messages, health information, places we have visited, search history and many more data that determine who are and what we do every day. Most companies offer free services (like WhatsApp and Facebook) and in exchange they process our personal information in order to provide us with personalized advertisement. But they are obligated to protect those data and in the same time to inform the user how they will process the data. The big problem at the data privacy issue is the user privacy awareness. So a good solution is companies to make a more straightforward version of the terms of use and to educate users to read this terms before they use any service. It's like a home you don't buy it if you haven't read the agreement.

4. Internet Governance Forums

The Internet Governance Forum is a neutral space where stakeholders concerned about the Internet and its future can share ideas about Internet policy and development issues(2015).The main aim of Internet Governance Forums is to promote the engagement in multistakeholder dialogue in order to share their expertise and best practices and, where possible, identify common ground. IGF is a yearly global multistakeholder dialog which is being organized by the United Nations and it was established by the World Summit on the Information Society in 2006. Also, European Union has a yearly forum called the EuroDIG (European Dialog on Internet Governance),while SEEDIG (South Eastern European Dialog on Internet Governance) is another event organized with the same purpose.

List of Internet Governance Forums across Europe are:

- [Albanian IGF](#) (October of 2017)
- [Armenia IGF](#) (2 October 2017)
- [Azerbaijan IGF](#) (Not announced)
- [Bosnia and Herzegovina IGF](#) (21 October 2016)
- [Belarus IGF](#) (16 May 2017)
- [Croatia IGF](#) (16 May 2017)
- [Estonia IGF](#) (30 March 2017)
- [Georgia IGF](#) (12 September 2017)
- [FYROM\(Macedonian\) IGF](#) (Not announced)
- [Moldova IGF](#)(Not announced)
- [Poland IGF](#)(18 October 2016)
- [Slovenia IGF](#)(16 May 2016)
- [Ukraine IGF](#)(6 October 2017)
- [French IGF](#) (2 Jun 2015)
- [Italian IGF](#) (15 November 2016)
- [Malta IGF](#) (Not announced)
- [Austrian IGF](#) (16 October 2017)
- [UK IGF](#) (13 September 2017)
- [Danish IGF](#) (12 September 2017)
- [Netherlands IGF](#) (10 October 2017)

5. Internet Governance Actors

Talking about IG will always make you think about its actors, or known also as stakeholders. Being an active and 'vital' topic, makes IG involve a wide variety of actors, including national governments, international organizations, the business sector, civil society, and the academic and technical communities (WSIS, 2003). Most of these actors face some troubles when it comes to the diversity of this field. So, we are going to give a short summary for each of the stakeholders.

1. Governments

As the Internet continues to grow and evolve, it affects the geopolitics of states. The governments have an important role to play in helping facilitate access to the Internet for their people. In this process, many governments have had to make different efforts, like training officials, developing policies, participating in international meetings, etc. In the table below you can find a list of the national governments that have been involved in IG.

Table 1. National Governments involved in IG

Nr.	National Governments
1.	United States
2.	European Union
3.	China
4.	Brazil
5.	India
6.	Russia
7.	Kenya
8.	Indonesia
9.	Switzerland

Source: (Kurbalija, 2016), Author

2. International organizations

The types of organizations that help in Internet evolution and operation process are strongly connected with its decentralized nature. There are a lot of organizations over the world that work with different issues of Internet, trying to standardize and shape its future. To have a clear idea of all these organizations look at the table below, that shows some international organizations and their main missions.

Table 2. International Organizations and their missions

Nr	Name of the organization	Mission
1.	International Telecommunication Union (ITU)	Is the leading United Nations agency for information and communication technologies. ITU's role is helping the world communicate spans 3 core sectors: radiocommunication, standardization and development.
2.	Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN)	ICANN's role is to ensure the stable and secure operation of the Internet's unique identifier systems. The organization coordinates the allocation and assignment of names in the DNS root zone, the development and implementation of policies regarding gTLDs, etc.
3.	DiploFoundation	Dedicated to making diplomacy and international governance more inclusive and effective.
4.	Geneva Internet Platform	Is initiated by the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs and the Federal Office of Communications. It fulfils the mission of an observatory, a capacity-building (online and in situ), and a center for discussion.
5.	GIP Digital Watch	It aims to provide practitioners of IG and digital policy with a tool allowing them to stay up-to-date with current information on Internet policy issues, participant, and ongoing developments.

Source:(Kurbalija, 2016)

3. The business sector

Internet has changed the way how different businesses operate. At the beginning of this new era almost all companies were concerned about the protection of the trademarks. The rapid growth of the Internet and of e-commerce brought more challenges for the business sector, such as cybersecurity, e-banking, data protection, online human rights, etc. The table below represents the main groups of companies that have been involved in IG and the most known ones for each category.

Table 3. Main Companies involved in IG

Nr.	Categories	Subcategories	Examples	
1.	Domain Companies	Name	VeriSing, Afiliias	
2.	Internet Providers	Service	Information Technology Association of America, European Internet Service Providers Association	
3.	Telecommunications Companies		Verizon, Vodafone, Deutsche Telekom, AT&T, Telefonica	
4.	Internet Industry	Internet Industry	Content	Google, YouTube, Facebook
		Internet Communications Industry		Skype, WeChat, WhatsApp, Google Hangouts, Snapchat
		Internet Industry	Services	Uber, Airbnb

Source: (Kurbalija, 2016)

4. *The technical community*

The technical community consists of individuals, organizations or institutions that understand the global Internet as a complex interaction of technology, standards, applications, etc. They have been involved in the Internet development process or managing Internet technical resources. One of the main actor of technical community is the Internet Society.

5. *Civil Society*

The civil society is one of the actors that promote significantly the multi-stakeholder nature of IG. It is the most diverse group of IG actors, because it is interested in almost all IG topics. Digital human rights, including freedom of expression and privacy are the main issues that this group is strongly defending. Civil society has been also actively involved in IGF activities.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

From this paper we come to the conclusions:

- i. *Firstly*, being such a diverse topic, Internet Governance needs to be simplified and present to the public in an easily way, so everyone can understand its importance.
- ii. *Secondly*, it's necessary for all stakeholders to strengthen the cooperation in order to create a friendlier and healthier environment for children and at the same time promote critical thinking from young ages.
- iii. *Thirdly*, we recommend and urge people to get more involved in IG. There are a number of ways to participate, like: Internet Governance Forums, mailing lists (ICANN, SEEDIG, YouthDIG, etc.), joining a regional Internet registry (RIR). Also registering in ICANN Learn and the ICANN Nextgen program you can take a free courses, participating in different meetings remotely or physically, taking part in the monthly briefings, etc.
- iv. *Fourthly*, we encourage mainly the young people to participate in any way they can to this dialog and stand up for themselves, because via this process they will create the internet they want to live in the future.
- v. *Fifthly*, encouraging more countries, especially the developing ones to participate in the dialogue could bring more people interested about the topic, more diversity in its issues, and more stakeholders involved.

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IBUISC '17

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS

“The Creation of the New World in a Globalized Era”

Stream:

Legal Studies

Human Rights and the Internet

Dajana Mulaj¹

Abstract:

The Internet has transformed many areas of our lives and continues to do so. The way we work, communicate, do business and many areas of everyday life have evolved in unimaginable ways due to the developments of the Internet. According to Internet World Stats, more than 3 billion people use the Internet in 2017. While this number will continue to grow, it is important to create an online environment that promotes and supports human rights. People use the Internet as a medium of communication and to exercise their fundamental rights but this area faces many challenges such as limitations to freedom of expression, content blocking, and filtering, restrictions while accessing educational content and much more. While the Internet is part of our lives and offers a lot of opportunities for innovation, access to information and services, communication, knowledge, business opportunities and many other activities, it's important to keep it open and trusted. Internet plays an important role as a powerful enabler of human rights and has also enabled "new" human rights such as the right to access and the right to be forgotten. This paper will give an overview of human rights online such as freedom of expression, and the right to privacy, the importance of human rights applying equally offline and online and the main challenges to be tackled.

Key words: Human Rights, Internet, Freedom, Online

1. Introduction

Technology has transformed the way we live. Computers, information and communications technologies and the Internet in particular, have had a big impact on globalization. These technologies have made possible the creation of a global economy, cultural exchanges, and global communities. The Internet has broken down geographical barriers by connecting people all over the world and globalizing communication. The Internet has also served as a space for communication, sharing and receiving information, creativity, building communities and empowerment. The impact of the digital technologies in our lives has continued to grow. Because of this, it is important to understand Human Rights in a digital context. The Internet has served

¹ University of Tirana, Albania [dajana.mulaj96@yahoo.com]

as a powerful enabler of human rights such as the freedom of expression, freedom of association and education. As stated in a 2013 publication of the Council of Europe, the freedom to receive and impart information and ideas “regardless of frontiers” has reached its widest scope through the Internet as a truly global medium for those who have access to it. [1] The online environment and new technologies have also served as a threat to Universal Human Rights by creating new challenges such as violations of the right to privacy by exercising surveillance, violations of freedom of expression, content filtering and blocking and censorship. Internet Society states in a 2015 policy brief about human rights that “policymakers, legislators, and regulators around the globe want to combat illegal online activities, such as child pornography, terrorism, intellectual property infringement and other activities. The Internet Society agrees that these are critical issues to address, but we also believe that proposed solutions must not undermine the global architecture of the Internet nor curtail internationally recognized human rights.” [2] An ongoing debate has been whether human rights applying offline should also apply online. United Nations Human Rights Council in the 20/8 resolution “The promotion, protection and enjoyment of human rights on the Internet” has firmly established the principle that the same human rights people enjoy offline should also be protected online. The resolution states that “the same rights that people have offline must also be protected online, in particular freedom of expression, which is applicable regardless of frontiers and through any media of one’s choice, in accordance with articles 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.” [3] While the principle of human rights online applying equally as those offline has been widely recognized, there are also those who argue that human rights in the online environment require a different approach. The implementation of offline human rights in the online space raises many challenges as the technology poses new difficulties for the protection of these essential human rights online. The purpose of this article is not to provide solutions but rather to give an overview of the current challenges, human rights and principles on the Internet and “new” human rights enabled by the Internet such as Internet access.

2. Key considerations: Internet Rights and Principles

The Internet Rights and Principles Coalition Charter of human rights and principles for the Internet (IRP Charter) and the Association for Progressive Communications (APC) Internet Rights Charter recognize that there are several rights and principles that should be protected to support human rights on the Internet. According to the Association for Progressive Communications (APC) Internet Rights Charter, the Internet

can only be a tool to empower the people of the world if the following rights are recognised, protected and respected. [4]

- Theme 1: Internet access for all
- Theme 2: Freedom of expression and association
- Theme 3: Access to knowledge
- Theme 4: Shared learning and creation – free and open source software and technology development
- Theme 5: Privacy, surveillance, and encryption: the right to data protection, the right to freedom from surveillance, the right to use encryption.
- Theme 6: Governance of the internet: the right to transparency and accessibility, the right to a decentralised, collaborative and interoperable internet, the right to open architecture, the right to open standards, the right to internet neutrality and the end-to-end principle.
- Theme 7: Awareness, protection, and realisation of rights: the right to rights protection, awareness, and education, the right to recourse when rights are violated.

According to the 2014 “charter of human rights and principles for the internet” by Internet Rights & Principles Coalition, when we say “Principles” we are talking about those internet policy principles or implementation principles that describe features of the system which are required to support human rights. [5] As stated in the charter, the goal of the IRPC Charter is to provide a recognizable framework anchored in international human rights for upholding and advancing human rights for the online environment. [5] According to the charter, there are 10 Rights and Principles to help realise this vision of a rights-based Internet environment.

1. **Universality and equality:** All humans are born free and equal in dignity and rights, which must be respected, protected and fulfilled in the online environment.
2. **Rights and social justice:** The Internet is a space for the promotion, protection, and fulfillment of human rights and the advancement of social justice. Everyone has the duty to respect the human rights of all others in the online environment.
3. **Accessibility:** Everyone has an equal right to access and use a secure and open Internet.
4. **Expression and association:** Everyone has the right to seek, receive, and impart information freely on the Internet without censorship or other interference.
5. **Privacy and data protection:** Everyone has the right to privacy online. This includes freedom from surveillance, the right to use encryption, and the right to online anonymity. Everyone also has the right to data protection, including control over personal data collection, retention, processing, disposal, and disclosure.

6. Life, liberty, and security: The rights to life, liberty, and security must be respected, protected and fulfilled online.
7. Diversity: Cultural and linguistic diversity on the Internet must be promoted, and technical and policy innovation should be encouraged to facilitate plurality of expression.
8. Network equality: Everyone shall have universal and open access to the Internet's content, free from discriminatory prioritisation, filtering or traffic control on commercial, political or other grounds.
9. Standards and regulation: The Internet's architecture, communication systems, and document and data formats shall be based on open standards that ensure complete interoperability, inclusion and equal opportunity for all.
10. Governance: Human rights and social justice must form the legal and normative foundations upon which the Internet operates and is governed. This shall happen in a transparent and multilateral manner, based on principles of openness, inclusive participation and accountability. [5]

3. Net neutrality and human rights

Net neutrality is a very broad topic and includes issues with technical and policy aspects but the scope of this paper is to give an overview of the relationship between net neutrality and human rights. According to the joint declaration on freedom of expression and the Internet signed by the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Opinion and Expression, OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, OAS Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and ACHPR Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Access to Information on 1 June 2011, "There should be no discrimination in the treatment of Internet data and traffic, based on the device, content, author, origin and/or destination of the content, service or application" [6]. Net neutrality is the idea that all Internet traffic should be treated equally. The purpose of this principle is to ensure that the freedom to access, use, send and receive any lawful content through the Internet is not subject of blocking or filtering. The principle of net neutrality is necessary for exercising freedom of expression and other rights on the Internet. Fundamental design principles of the Internet such as openness, access and end-to-end fit naturally with fundamental human rights. Net neutrality is in alignment with the original design of the Internet. It serves as a facilitator of free access and circulation of content without any interference. The protection of net neutrality is essential to ensure the unfiltered flow of information and restrictions of free circulation of ideas and speech as well as arbitrary imposition of information violate the right to freedom of expression. Association for progressive communication (APC) believes that

the ability to share information and communicate freely using the Internet is vital to the realization of human rights. [4]

4. Human Rights and Challenges in the digital age

The Internet has brought many challenges to human rights protection. This paper will give a brief review of freedom of expression and the right to privacy and the challenges that the digital revolution has brought such as censorship, filtering and blocking, and surveillance.

4.1 Freedom of expression and the Internet

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights state that “Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers.” [7] “Regardless of frontiers” means that the Internet is no exception where this right should be protected since it serves as a mean of communication. Freedom of expression on the Internet has become an important issue for international organizations because freedom of expression is very important for understanding how communication technologies impact human rights protection. However, the practice shows another reality where the freedom of expression is violated in the online space. The Internet has brought both opportunities and challenges for the freedom of expression. As stated in the introduction, human rights online apply the same way as human rights offline and states must ensure these rights online the same way they do offline. Internet Service Providers and Internet companies should protect the freedom of expression online and make sure to practice it within their capabilities. Civil society, on the other hand, should be informed on how human rights are being violated in the online environment and make sure that the respective actors who are responsible for ensuring human rights take responsibility. When it comes to human rights in the online environment we should also keep in mind the universal nature of the Internet and its decentralized management. It is important to maintain the offline standards while considering the many challenges of the online environment. As stated in the 2013 report of Inter-American Commission on Human Rights “The Internet has been developed using design principles which have fostered and allowed an online environment that is decentralized, open and neutral. It is important for all regulation to be based on dialog among all actors and to maintain the basic characteristics of the original environment, strengthening the Internet’s democratizing capacity and fostering

universal and nondiscriminatory access.” [8] One important element to be considered is that freedom of expression is not unlimited. Safeguarding and ensuring freedom of expression on the Internet raises many difficulties and there are many challenges to be tackled. Thus, there are many responsibilities that come with the practice of freedom of expression. Furthermore, there are many restrictions when it comes to human rights but these restrictions need to be based on legality, legitimacy, and necessity. One example could be the restrictions that come because of the need to respect other people’s rights. Other examples include child pornography and hate speech. It is important to remember that the same restrictions that apply offline apply also online. But for these restrictions to take place, they should meet the three requirements mentioned above. When freedom of expression is restricted despite not being based on legality, legitimacy, and necessity, then we have the violation of this human right; some important issues that arise when it comes to freedom of expression on the Internet are censorship, content filtering and blocking. There are different ways on which censorship occurs. It can be entire websites, channels and platforms, IP addresses, links and information in general. As censoring blocks more than the targeted and intended information, its application is over-inclusive. Censorship is also carried out without the opportunity of judicial and legal monitoring. As stated in a 2011 report by the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression. “...there should be as little restriction as possible to the flow of information via the Internet, except in a few, exceptional, and limited circumstances prescribed by international human rights law.” [9] However, the reality has showed that there have been many cases where states have censored content on the Internet without having a legal basis. This is when we have clear violations on the freedom of expression.

4.2 The right to privacy

Privacy is a fundamental human right recognized in the UN Declaration of Human Rights and The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Article 12 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that “No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.” The advancement of communication technologies and the Internet have brought many challenges to the right of privacy in the online space. The digital revolution has had a great impact on privacy. The right to privacy is important because it underpins human dignity and it is important for the realization of other human rights such as the freedom of expression and is one of the foundations for

a democratic society. Its importance also lies in the fact that what happens in the online environment impacts our autonomy offline. Thus, it has become an important issue in the digital age. "The Right to Privacy in the Digital Age" United Nations resolution emphasizes that "the rapid pace of technological development enables individuals all over the world to use information and communications technology and at the same time enhances the capacity of governments, business enterprises and individuals to undertake surveillance, interception and data collection, which may violate or abuse human rights, in particular the right to privacy". The resolution also states that the automatic processing of personal data for individual profiling may lead to discrimination or decisions that otherwise have the potential to affect the enjoyment of human rights and that these practices should be analyzed based on international human rights law. The resolution expresses the concern that individuals often do not provide their informed consent to the re-use, sale or multiple re-sales of their personal data. The resolution also states that unlawful or arbitrary surveillance of communications, as well as the unlawful or arbitrary collection of personal data, as highly intrusive acts, violate the right to privacy, can interfere with other human rights. Furthermore, it states that States must respect international human rights obligations regarding the right to privacy when they intercept digital communications of individuals and/or collect personal data and when they require disclosure of personal data from third parties, including business enterprises. The resolution also affirms that the same rights that people have offline must also be protected online, including the right to privacy. **[10]** According to the 2014 Charter of human rights and principles for the internet by the Internet Rights & Principles Coalition, "Everyone has the right to privacy online. This includes freedom from surveillance, the right to use encryption, and the right to online anonymity. Everyone also has the right to data protection, including control over personal data collection, retention, processing, disposal and disclosure."

[5] The charter also states that the right to privacy on the Internet includes:

- 1) National legislation on privacy
- 2) Privacy policies and settings
- 3) Standards of confidentiality and integrity of IT-systems
- 4) Protection of the virtual personality
- 5) Right to anonymity and to use encryption
- 6) Freedom from surveillance
- 7) Freedom from defamation

During the recent years, many violations of the right to privacy have occurred in the online space and one critical issue is surveillance. One aspects of the right to privacy is the ability to communicate privately and confidentially. One principal method of achieving this is encryption.

Human rights and encryption

Encryption is a principal and essential method for protecting the right to privacy and our personal information. The aim of encryption is to ensure that the information will be accessed only by the intended recipients. Encryption is an enabler of the right to privacy the same way that the Internet is an enabler of human rights. By serving as a mean to the right of privacy by protecting communications from being spied, it also serves as an enabler of other human rights such as the right to freedom of expression. As Internet Society states “Trusted end-to-end encryption solutions allow Internet users to protect the confidentiality of their communications, not just from outsiders, but also from prying intermediaries. They also serve to reinforce user confidence, which is fundamental for a successful digital economy.” [11] “The Right to Privacy in the Digital Age” United Nations resolution emphasizes that “in the digital age, technical solutions to secure and to protect the confidentiality of digital communications, including measures for encryption and anonymity, can be important to ensure the enjoyment of human rights, in particular the rights to privacy, to freedom of expression and to freedom of peaceful assembly and association”. [10]

5. Internet access as a human right

An ongoing debate when it comes to human rights on the Internet has been whether Internet access should be considered a human right. Internet access has served as an enabler of human rights and has made possible the enjoyment of freedom of expression and opinion and many other fundamental human rights. The proponents of recognizing Internet access as a human right argue that without the Internet people wouldn't be able to exercise other rights such as freedom of expression, education, and assembly. Charter of Human Rights and Principles for the Internet recognizes Internet access as a human right and it states that “The right to access to, and make use of, the Internet shall be ensured for all and it shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary in a democratic society to protect national security, public order, public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others, and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the present Charter.” [5] According to the Charter, the right to access to, and make use of, the Internet includes:

- 1) **Quality of service** should evolve in line with advancing technological possibilities.
- 2) **Freedom of choice of system and software use**
- 3) **Ensuring digital inclusion**

- 4) **Net neutrality and net equality.** The Internet is a global commons. Its architecture must be protected and promoted for it to be a vehicle for free, open, equal and non-discriminating exchange of information, communication and culture. [5]

Estonia was the first country to legally guarantee the right to access the Internet in 2000. The government argued that the Internet is essential for life in the 21st century. Opponents of Internet access as a human right believe that there should be a bar for what should be considered as a human right and Internet access can't have the same importance as access to clean water, food and other basic human rights.

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The Relevance of Sovereignty in 21st Century

Dardan Bujupi¹

Abstract:

Sovereignty and the right for self-determination and self decision-making are fundamental principles of the international right. In the last century or 'the era of technology', as a result of fastened life dynamics, economic development and growth, the need for efficiency in business and social interactions, one of the topics that comes up most often is the topic of Sovereignty, is it still relevant or does it just now belong in the past, so with the formation of Schengen and other areas that have removed the barriers between countries (ex. free trade), have made traveling without visa possible etc.... comes the question: Is national sovereignty being challenged, in that way making the control of the countries over their territory limited? When discussing the national sovereignty, it is very common to hear the theory that countries lose their national sovereignty when operating in an international level (engaging in international agreements etc.). Citing Dr. Hiski Haukkala, Associate Professor of International Relations at the School of Management at Finland's University of Tampere.: "It is through the use of their sovereignty that states enter into international arrangements. They do not lose their sovereignty but on the contrary usually re-affirming it in the process. Even pooling sovereignty á la the EU does not entail an irrevocable loss of sovereignty. For example, the problems in the EU's immigration policies and Schengen system have 'forced' many member states to exercise national sovereignty by adopting national measures concerning the issues." So the way I see it, sovereignty in contemporary conditions is relative, which means that a country is sovereign in some fields and less sovereign in other fields, and I think there is nothing wrong with that. So, if countries decide to encourage free trade by eliminating barriers, tariffs, taxes etc. between them in order to prosper and make the life of their people easier, then so be it.

Keywords: national sovereignty, barriers, international arrangements.

¹ University of Prishtina "Hasan Prishtina, Kosovo [dardan.kadaj@gmail.com]

Introduction

Sovereignty is a widespread global phenomenon that has become a feature of societies in both developed and even less developed countries. Yet, despite its global reach, and despite the effects it might have, it is a term that still causes a lot of disagreement – disagreement regarding its definition, its classification and its relevance as time passes. This study seeks to offer a general picture of the sovereignty in Europe; its size, relevance and the potential economic consequences it may cause.

Literature review

The best way to do a decent introduction into the subject about sovereignty and its relevance is through a literature review. What is sovereignty? Even though today I chose to talk about its relevance in the 21st century, we should start at something somewhat simpler. So we should have an idea of what we are talking about in order to know if it has changed as a concept. Sovereignty, though its meanings have varied across history, also has a core meaning, supreme authority within a territory. It is a modern notion of political authority. The state is the political institution in which sovereignty is embodied. An assemblage of states forms a sovereign states system. This review will explain everything that we need to know about sovereignty, its absoluteness, how it as a concept has emerged, evolved, and is in decline today, and the internal and external dimensions of it. In his classic, *The King's Two Bodies* (1957), medievalist Ernst Kantorowicz describes a profound transformation in the concept of political authority over the course of the Middle Ages. The change began when the concept of the body of Christ evolved into a notion of two bodies — one, the *corpus naturale*, the consecrated host on the altar, the other, the *corpus mysticum*, the social body of the church with its attendant administrative structure. This latter notion — of a collective social organization having an enduring, mystical essence — would come to be transferred to political entities, the *body politic*. I actually agree with Kantorowicz, because Sovereignty has a theological foundation, and is deeply bound up with the idea of God, presented as being capable of intervening directly in the world. Religious conflicts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries forced the separation between religion and politics, and opened the space for the emergence of a national state endowed with sovereignty which has dominated the world until now. An important view on sovereignty is also presented by Jacques Maritain in his book *'Man and State'*, book in which we could highlight the part: "And we must realize that the State is not and has never been sovereign, because sovereignty means a natural right (which does not belong to the State but to the *body politic* as perfect society) to a supreme power

and independence which are supreme separately from and above the whole that the sovereign rules (and of which neither the State nor the body politic is possessed). If the State were sovereign, in the genuine sense of this word, it could never surrender its sovereignty, nor even have it restricted. Whereas the body politic, which is not sovereign, but has a right to full autonomy, can freely surrender this right if it recognizes that it is no longer a perfect society, and decides to enter a larger, truly perfect political society." - Jacques Maritain. Based on the literature that I went through, you could say that sovereignty as a concept has faded over the years because today's rise of international and transnational obligations challenges the conventional understanding of state sovereignty, which cannot account for the normative density of the global order and the corresponding decline of state-based political authority. In the 21st century the definition of sovereignty as a supreme authority seems so empty and simplistic, since it is based on an obsolete vision, dating back to the 19th century. This is all the more true in the 21st century since globalization is leading to increasing interdependence between states in different ways and in an increasing number of areas of power. The politics of modern power can be interpreted more widely and in various ways which call for joint, coordinated response. If we conclude that there is no revival but a change in the idea of sovereignty or at least a redefinition of what it means, we might also suggest that there has been a change in the idea of power in a globalized world. Indeed, over the last fifteen years traditional power politics seem to have faded to the benefit of soft power.

Types of sovereignty

Internal sovereignty - refers to the power of the State to control its domestic affairs. It empowers the State to make and alter its system of government, and to regulate its private affairs, as well as the rights and relations of its citizens, without any dictation, interference, or control on the part of any person or body or State outside the particular political community.

External sovereignty - is the power of the State to direct its relations with other States. With this, the State is not subject to the control, dictation, or government of any other power. It implies the right and power to receive recognition as an independent power from other powers, and to make treaties with them on equal terms, make war or peace with them, send diplomatic agents to them, acquire territory by conquest or occupation, and otherwise to manifest the freedom and autonomy. (Suarez, 2005) This is also known as independence.

Political sovereignty - is the power behind the legal sovereign, or the sum of the influences that operate upon it. This is legally unknown, unorganized and incapable of

expressing the will of the state in the form of legal command. But it is this will that must ultimately prevail in the State. In a narrower sense, the electorate constitutes the political sovereign, and in a broader sense, the whole mass of population.

Legal sovereignty - is the authority which has the power to issue final commands. This is the supreme law making power.

Popular sovereignty - or the sovereignty of the people's rule, is the principle that the authority of a state and its government is created and sustained by the consent of its people, through their elected representatives (Rule by the People), who are the source of all political power.

Westphalian sovereignty- or state sovereignty is the principle of international law that each nation-state has sovereignty over its territory and domestic affairs, to the exclusion of all external powers, on the principle of non-interference in another country's domestic affairs, and that each state (no matter how large or small) is equal in international law. As European influence spread across the globe, these principles became central to international law and to the prevailing world order

Research methodology

For my research topic I have decided to conduct a combination of quantitative and qualitative research or Hybrid Design for the following reasons:

- **Enriching:** using qualitative work to identify issues or obtain information on variables not obtained by quantitative surveys.
- **Examining:** generating hypotheses from quantitative work to be tested through the qualitative approach (or vice versa).
- **Explaining:** using qualitative data to understand unanticipated results from quantitative data.
- **Triangulation (Confirming/reinforcing; Rejecting):** verifying or rejecting results from quantitative data using qualitative data (or vice versa).

First I'm going to use the positivist method, deductive approach(theory testing), questionnaire survey(with closed questions), in order to obtain quantitative data. Using this theory, through a questionnaire survey, I'm going to try and prove some of the theories based on the literature review.The link to the online questionnaire is : <https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/ZQ5FRZ6> The questionnaire name is: The relevance of sovereignty in 21st century, Dardan Bujupi. And consists of these questions:

1. Do you think that the Westphalian model is important in 21st century?
2. Do you think that sovereignty is still relevant in 21st century?
3. What do you think challenges sovereignty today?
4. Do you think all states should operate in accordance with Westphalian Model?

5. In your opinion, a state should have? (external or internal sovereignty)
6. Is God and its power a well-fitted metaphor for sovereignty?
7. Do you think an autonomous state can meet its financial and economic needs without operating in an international level?
8. Did the Cold War play a role in the changing of sovereignty as a concept?
9. Should the holder of sovereignty of a state be the monarch or the people?
10. Do you regard this as true: In the 21st century there can be no total national sovereignty in the face of global problems like terrorism or global warming?

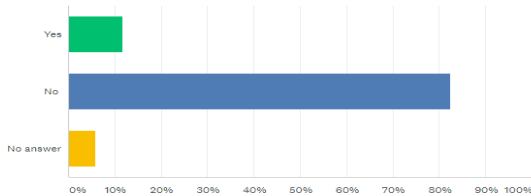
From these questionnaire I collected very useful data that helped in the deriving of a conclusion for the topic that I chose, but the most important answers were:

Q2

Customize Export

Do you think that sovereignty is still relevant in 21st century?

Answered: 62 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Yes	11,76%	2
No	82,35%	14
No answer	5,88%	1
TOTAL		17

Activate Windows

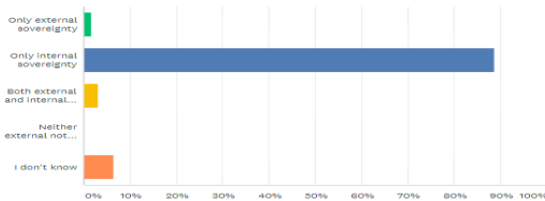
Out of 62 people surveyed, when asked if they think sovereignty is still relevant in the 21st century, 11.76% of the people answered 'Yes', 82.35% answered 'No', and 5.86% chose the 'No answer' option.

Q5

Customize Export

In your opinion, a state should have:

Answered: 62 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES	
Only external sovereignty	1,61%	1
Only internal sovereignty	88,71%	55
Both external and internal sovereignty	3,23%	2
Neither external not internal sovereignty	0,00%	0
I don't know	6,45%	
TOTAL		62

Activate Windows
Go to Settings to activate Windows.

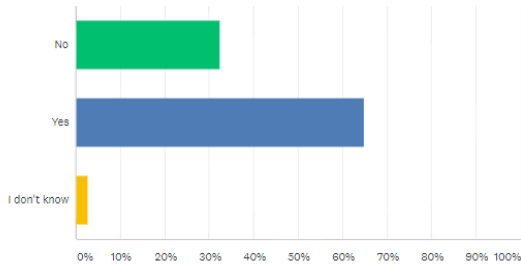
When the question: In your opinion, a state should have (internal or external sovereignty), 88.71% of the people answered that a state should have only internal sovereignty.

Q8

Customize Export

Did the Cold War play a role in the changing of sovereignty as a concept?

Answered: 62 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
No	32.43% 12
Yes	64.86% 24
I don't know	2.70% 1
TOTAL	37

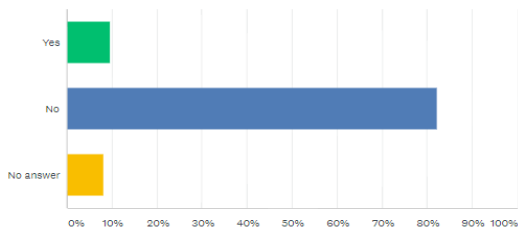
When asked if the Cold War played a role in the changing of sovereignty as a concept , 64.86% answered 'Yes', 32.43% answered 'No'.

Q7

Customize Export

Do you think an autonomous state can meet its financial and economic needs without operating in an international level?

Answered: 62 Skipped: 0



ANSWER CHOICES	RESPONSES
Yes	9.68% 6
No	82.26% 51
No answer	8.06% 5
TOTAL	62

When ask if they think that an autonomous state can meet its financial and economic needs without operating in an international level, 82.26% answered 'No', 9.65% answered 'Yes'.

The data collection using the phenomenological method of research, inductive approach to my research topic highlights:

In order to obtain phenomenological data for this research I did in-depth interviews, one of them Qerkin Berisha who is a professor of Civil and property law, in Faculty of law 'Univerisity of Prishtina':

What do you think about sovereignty as a concept?

The concept of sovereignty, once relatively unquestionable and uncontested, has recently become a major bone of contention within international law and international relations theory. Rather than presupposing that the concept of sovereignty has a timeless or universal meaning, today I see it as an outdated concept that is not and should not be as relevant as it was back in the 19th century.

Do the countries in Europe operate in Westphalian model?

This Westphalian system originated in Europe after the Middle Ages but now it can be argued that Europe is the very area where the system is challenged. The community of states that Europeans have created is globally unique and goes against the Westphalian model. The more things a country can do by itself, the more sovereign it is. In that regard, EU Member States and, to some extent, the prospective member states notably in the Balkans, have given up a significant part of their sovereignty i.e. independence to the community, which is hardly a surprise to those following European affairs. In spite of the fact that several issues have recently shaken the very foundations of the European project, more integration is coming all the time, currently notably in the form of the digital single market and the energy union.

Does being a state member of an international union or organization like EU, mean that you can not reach your goals as a state?

In the current structure of the EU, where national governments play a big role in the legislative process via the Council of Ministers and in the shaping of longer-term plans in the European Council, the Union is ultimately what the states make out of it. The continuous presence of countless national representatives to the EU shows explicitly that the states are there to negotiate the best terms of membership for themselves on a daily basis. On these grounds, you could say that the European Union isn't replacing the countries which compose it but is rather serving as a platform for them to go for their goals. The same can be said about other international organisations such as the United Nations, which especially during the Cold War was little more than the boxing ring of the great powers.

Does EU take away the sovereignty from its member states?

Even though the EU can eventually conquer more and more bastions of national sovereignty, from core legislation all the way to the much-discussed foreign and security policy, one must note that the Union cannot exist without the consent of its

Member States, at least unless some surprising changes of a fundamental nature occur. From this point of view, national sovereignty is, at least in a sense, not at all threatened by the existence of a community which can efficiently impose fines on countries which don't observe common rules.

What reduces the importance of state sovereignty?

State sovereignty was a symbol to legitimize the legal and political influence of the state but the internal pressures and the growing interdependence in the emerging international system have constrained the unilateral control of the state in formulating its policy and exercising its sovereign rights even within its boundaries. New practical developments in the spheres of economics, communications, technology, social movements and certain legal trends tend to reduce the importance of state sovereignty. Recent technological developments in the form of television without frontiers, transnational organisations, economic and cultural global interactions defy spatial categorization and the forms of political communities as sovereign entities.

Conclusions

State sovereignty is really in transition. Its classic connotations of total and indivisible power, and complete political independence in international relations are under tremendous erosion. Changing social and economic conditions have altered the theory and practice of sovereignty. The issues of rule of law, national self-determination and human rights have vehemently challenged the supremacy of the state. Sovereignty has to adapt to the present need for diffusion of power within the state and for responsibilities and compulsions in international politics. To conclude, I think that a state should not enforce sovereignty as absolute power and authority at external and internal levels, sovereign powers can and should be shared, divided, and limited without giving up on the entire system. In other words, I think a state should have popular sovereignty rather than Westphalian sovereignty because popular sovereignty can coexist with elements of global governance in ways that Westphalian cannot.

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Is Life Without Parole a Better Option?

Ksenia Ianushkevich¹

Abstract:

This research focuses on the inconsistency of the death penalty and life without parole with the basic human rights on example of the United States where, sadly, both punishments are used. It has been more than 60 years since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted. While the framers of the UDHR may have contemplated that one day international law would reach the point when capital and inhumane punishment is abolished everywhere, we still aren't there yet. While having played a major role in drafting the UDHR, the United States continues to be among the top-world contenders. The study is structured the given way: • an overview of the death penalty and life without parole in the United States; • juvenile life without parole: a practice that exists inly in the United States; • international human rights perspective of both punishments; The conclusion is that the United States, that is seeking an alternative to put an end to the death penalty, yet is moving the wrong way. Both capital punishment and life sentence without parole are inhumane and degrading practices and substitution of one by another does not mean any progress in human rights protection. The only way for the US now is to follow an example of Europe and other countries that managed to find another, and much appropriate, way to punish those convicted of serious crimes. The abolition both death penalty and life imprisonment without the possibility of parole is essential as it's a key to their abolition worldwide because as long as substantial minority of states maintain such practices - especially states as influential as the US - international law will have to reflect that reality. The author uses statistics, official reports and documents, international human rights cases and analytical articles to make a deep and profound study and draw the attention of the modern society to the long-existing problem.

Key words: right to life; capital punishment; life without parole; inhumane treatment; solitary confinement; respect for human rights; juvenile crime; abolition of inhumane practices.

¹ Diplomatic Academy of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Russia
[yanuschkevich@gmail.com]

Introduction

It has been more than 60 years since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted. While the framers of the UDHR may have contemplated that one day international law would reach the point when capital and inhumane punishment is abolished everywhere, we still aren't there yet. While having played a major role in drafting the UDHR, the United States continues to be among the top-world contenders. I strongly believe that the last thing Eleanor Roosevelt, the biggest promoter of the UDHR and the woman under the leadership of which the declaration was adopted, would have imaged is that in 2017 her country would join the club of China, Iran, North Korea and Yemen. It is ridiculous, shaming and degrading that the United States, a world power, a strong democracy and an influential international actor, still cannot leave back in the past its old practices that violate a fundamental human right - the right to life.

Death penalty vs. Life in prison without parole in the US: An Overview.

According to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, «capital punishment may be imposed only for the most serious crimes, it being understood that their scope should not go beyond intentional crimes with lethal or other extremely grave consequences». In the United States death penalty is legal in 31 states (mainly in the South and the Midwest) and since 1976, 1448 people have been executed (Death Penalty Information Center, april 2017). However, many of those who are sentenced to death will never be executed: for example, since 1976, Florida has executed only 92 convicted criminals, while today 395 inmates remain on the death row. An inmate sentenced to death in the state is more likely to die from illness or old age than actually being executed. Moreover, a report by the National Research Council stated that studies claiming that the death penalty has a deterrent effect on murder rates are "fundamentally flawed"- for example, the 2014 FBI Uniform Crime Report showed that the South (that accounts for over 80% of executions) had the highest murder rate, while the Northeast, which has less than 1% of all Murder Rates per 100,000 executions, had lowest murder rate. As it's getting harder and harder to execute convicts in the United States, an alternative to the death penalty has been resorted to, which is life in prison without parole and restitution (LWOP). The opponents of the death penalty find this punishment much appropriate and humane, claiming that life imprisonment doesn't violate the basic human right, violated by execution, which is the right to life and the right not to be subjected to cruel treatment or punishment. Besides, they stress that the cost of death penalty is much higher than the cost of life in prison. In his article for the Los Angeles Times a former California Superior Court judge stated: «It's time to stop playing the killing game. Let's use the hundreds of millions of dollars we'll save to

protect some of those essential services [such as education] now threatened with death [from state budget cuts]»(Donald McCartin, 2011). Nevertheless, there are those who call life in prison a «civil death»as it totally abandons any chance of rehabilitation and reintroduction to society for the criminals. They state that spending lifetime in «overcrowded, dangerous prisons...growing sick and old, and dying there, is a horrible experience»(What Death Penalty Opponents Don't Get, 2014). It damages mental health of the prisoners (as few of them can accept the idea of spending the rest of their life behind bars) and raises the risk of suicide. Moreover, some of the supporters of this alternative support it precisely because they believe that execution is a too soft a punishment for those convicted of serious crimes, is absolutely inappropriate and cruel, first of all, from the ethical point of view. In a way, testimonies of convicts serving a life sentence reaffirms such a belief : «There is more to it than the mere physical act of imprisonment, much more. We are condemned to serve out our lives in the worst prisons, which otherwise are specifically designed to be punitive. This means, in practice, rehabilitative and restorative type programs, the kind of programs that can bring healing and meaning to a prisoner's life, are generally not available to us. The thinking goes that since we will never get out of prison there is no point in expending scarce resources on dead men walking...»(Kenneth E. Hartman, prisoner serving a sentence of life in prison without parole for murder, 2008). As a result, there are currently more than 41,000 individuals serving life without parole sentences nationwide, representing a 300% increase over the past two decades (The Sentencing Project, 2017).

Juvenile Life Without parole: a practice that exists only in the US

«Life sentences or sentences of an extreme length have a disproportionate impact on children and cause physical and psychological harm that amounts to cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment» (UN report on torture, 2015). The United States stands alone as the only nation that sentences minors to life without parole. There are 2,500 people in the US who are serving life imprisonment without the possibility of parole for crimes committed when they were under 18 years old . Some say this could be attributed to the fact that up to the 19th century, the U.S. had not established juvenile correctional justice system, and courts essentially treated children as adults. The choice to allow teenagers to receive the harshest available sentence is not shared among all states as 18 states and the District of Columbia have banned life sentences without the possibility of parole for juveniles. A number of studies have shown that the brain of the child doesn't work the same way as one of the adult. Until mid-twenties, the person goes through physical, mental and emotional development. According to the National Institute of Mental Health, teenagers and young adults often act impulsively, without

much consideration for consequences, because in teens “the parts of the brain involved in emotional responses are fully online, or even more active than in adults, while the parts of the brain involved in keeping emotional, impulsive responses in check are still reaching maturity” This surely doesn’t mean that minors shouldn’t take responsibility for their actions, but still it must be taken into consideration while sentencing juveniles to LWOP. There have been many cases in which the minors turn themselves in and confess of committing a crime out of fear. Numerous violations of due process such as the right to humane treatment, the right to challenge the legality of detention and the right to legal representation have been registered. The States’ Courts sentence juveniles to life based on the confessions given in a stressful situation the teenager cannot cope with. Moreover, many individuals incarcerated for life as children experienced high rates of violence, abuse and economic disadvantage growing up. The case of Christi Cheramie shows how desperate minors can be. Now she is serving life without parole in Louisiana for killing her 18-year-old fiance's aunt while being 16. She pleaded guilty just before her trial in adult court started, fearing she could be sentenced to death if the trial went ahead. Her guilty plea prevents her from directly appealing her conviction or sentence. A psychiatrist who saw Christi prior to her trial said that she was a “depressed, dependent, and insecure” 16-year-old who “seems to have been fearful of crossing” her fiancé, who she maintains committed the crime (Amnesty International, 2011). In 2012 the United States made a step forward to abolishing this inhumane practice as the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Miller v. Alabama* states and the federal government are required to consider the unique circumstances of each juvenile defendant in determining an individualized sentence. *Montgomery v. Louisiana*, a 2016 decision, ensures that the decision applies retroactively. For juveniles, a mandatory life sentence without the possibility of parole is unconstitutional. However, many judges are still giving life without parole sentences because they’re simply used to handing out mandatory life sentences for certain crimes without taking into account individual circumstances. And still, while the Supreme Court has ruled that sentences of mandatory life without parole are unconstitutional, judges at the state level can make sentencing decisions based on the circumstances in which the crime was committed.

International Human Rights Perspective

The right to life, a supreme human right, is guaranteed by all the international human rights treaties. Under Article 3 of the UDHR, life is a human right. Moreover, Article 6 ICCPR and Article 4 ACHR all recognize the right not to be «arbitrary deprived of life». Thus the death penalty appears to be one of the most fundamental human rights violation. However, the same ICCPR makes death penalty legal in some cases: «In countries which have not abolished the death penalty, sentence of death may be

imposed only for the most serious crimes in accordance with the law in force at the time of the commission of the crime and not contrary to the provisions of the present Covenant and to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide»(Article 6). Still the treaty provisions offer no definition of what elements would place a crime among the most serious, thus making it difficult to distinguish a violation of the given article from compliance with it. Nevertheless, the ECHR stresses that «The death penalty shall be abolished. No one shall be condemned to such penalty or executed»(Protocol 6, Article 1). Another point to stress is a discriminatory approach of executions. In 96% of states where there have been reviews of race and the death penalty, there was a pattern of either race-of-victim or race-of-defendant discrimination, or both. (Prof. Baldus report to the ABA, 1998). The international human rights treaties abolished any kind of discrimination. Article 1(3) of the UN Charter makes it clear that the basic purpose of the UN is to promote and encourage «respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of race, sex, language or religion». The general human rights instrument guarantee the right to equality and non-discrimination in several of their provisions: the UDHR in Articles 1, 2(1) and 7; ICCPR in Articles 2, 3 and 26; and ICESCR in Articles 2(2) and 3. Besides, there is a specialized human right treaty, ratified by the US, which is the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Under ICERD, «each State Party undertakes to engage in no act or practice of racial discrimination against persons, groups of persons or institutions and to ensure that all public authorities and public institutions, national and local, shall act in conformity with this obligation;»(Article 2). The State Party must also prohibit the discrimination in the enjoyment of «the right to equal treatment before the tribunals and all other organs administering justice»(Article 5). The latter has been continuously violated by the United States. It is to be noted that life in prison without possibility of parole is no less a violation of international human rights than the capital punishment. In 2013 the European Court of Human Rights in *Bamber, Moore and Vinter v. UK* ruled that “whole life”sentences with no possibility of review and no prospect of release were inhuman and degrading treatment in breach of Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights. Under ICCPR, «no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment»(Article 7). The Convention against torture states that “each State Party shall undertake to prevent in any territory under its jurisdiction other acts of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment” (Article 16). There are definitional elements of CIDT which are severe mental or physical pain, intention and purpose. What is CIDT? The European Court in *T v. UK* applied to inhumane treatment as “treatment has been held by the Court to be “inhuman”because, inter alia, it was premeditated, was applied for hours at a stretch and caused either actual bodily

injury or intense physical and mental suffering". Definitely the thought of spending the rest of the life under the bars cause severe mental suffering. Another problem is the conditions in which the US lifers are held: they are often held in solitary confinement which violates the right to humane treatment. Prolonged confinement under such conditions can be psychologically harmful to any prisoner, with the nature and severity of the impact depending on the individual, the duration, and the specific conditions. Under General Assembly resolution 45/111, «all prisoners shall be treated with the respect due to their inherent dignity and value as human beings»(Article 1). As for a Juvenile sentenced to life without parole, «life sentences or sentences of an extreme length have a disproportionate impact on children and cause physical and psychological harm that amounts to cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment»(UN report on torture, 2015). Under international law, juveniles require special protection in criminal procedures. Recognition of this fact is set out in Article 40 CRC and Article 14(4) ICCPR. The States should establish «an appropriate criminal justice system, in order to ensure that juveniles are treated in a manner commensurate with their age». The U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child, which entered into force more than two decades ago, expressly prohibits the imposition of life imprisonment without the possibility of release for offenses, however serious, committed by people under 18 years old. All countries except the United States and Somalia have ratified the Convention. Still, the US ratified ICCPR and has obligations to ensure and to respect the rights outlined in it.

Conclusion

The United States, that is seeking an alternative to put an end to the death penalty, yet is moving the wrong way. Both capital punishment and life sentence without parole are inhumane and degrading practices and substitution of one by another does not mean any progress in human rights protection. The only way for the US now is to follow an example of Europe and other countries that managed to find another, and much appropriate, way to punish those convicted of serious crimes. The abolition both death penalty and LWOP is essential as it's a key to their abolition worldwide because as long as substantial minority of states maintain such practices - especially states as influential as the US - international law will have to reflect that reality. Another core issue for the human rights protection in the US is protection of the child and non-discrimination. The United States should finally ratified the CRC (as it is actually degrading - being one of the two countries that have not ratified it among with Somalia) and ensure the implementation of the ICERD.

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Sovereignty under Threat? R2P and the Understanding of Sovereignty

Ljupcho Stojkovski¹

Abstract:

The ongoing situation with the mass displacement and fleeing by the Rohingya population in Myanmar, which according to UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and UN Secretary General are “textbook examples of ethnic cleansing”, reignited the issue of mass atrocities and the international community’s role in dealing with these problems. The events in Myanmar are just the latest of a series of other similar mass sufferings that have been occurring in many other places in the world, such as Burundi, South Sudan, DR Congo, Yemen, and of course Syria and Libya. It is more than obvious that this is a reoccurring problem and that is why there has to be a thorough scrutiny of the possible reasons for its persistence. This paper deals with some of these issues. It proceeds in five parts. Firstly, I give a brief introduction about the path that led to the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and the official acceptance of R2P in 2005. Next, I underline some of the reoccurring critiques of R2P, following which, I address three of them: that R2P is a Western concept, that R2P is basically the same as humanitarian intervention and that (therefore) R2P is a threat to sovereignty. I conclude that R2P has diverse origins; that R2P is broader than humanitarian intervention; and that R2P is not a threat to sovereignty.

Introduction

The end of the Cold War brought with itself some new challenges. In addition to the globalization, which brought more connectedness and interdependence, in the area of peace and security two new trends were on the rise. Firstly, the character of the conflicts has changed and conflicts have increasingly become more internal (rather than international). Moreover, the biggest casualties of today’s wars– almost 90% - are civilians(Weiss, 2007, pp. 69,70). Civilians are also the direct target in today’s conflicts and not merely a collateral damage of them. It is staggering that during the 20th century, “it has been estimated that while approximately 40 million people were killed in wars between states more than four times that number, some 170 million people, were

¹ Ss. Cyril and Methodius University, Macedonia [stojkovski_ljupco@yahoo.com]

killed by their own governments”(Bellamy & D., 2006, p. 144).The number of refugees and internally displaced persons is also on the rise.¹

Secondly, UN Security Council has become increasingly more active and cooperative. The Council has adopted 2.195 total resolutions for the period 1946-2014. Of these, 1.549 were adopted after 1989 and only 646 were adopted prior to that. Even bigger increase is evident in the adoption of Chapter VII resolutions, where prior to 1989 there were only 21 such resolutions whereas after the Cold war the number has reached 685.This trend of growing cooperation and activity by the Council is also evident in the lesser use of the veto by the five Permanent members of the Council. In fact, during the Cold war the veto was used 232 times (blocking 192 draft resolutions) while since its end it has been used only 32 times (and blocked the adoption of 27 draft resolutions).(Wallensteen & Johansson, 2015)

These changes that came after the fall of the Berlin wall meant that there were growing expectations from the Council to act more efficiently(including to use force, if necessary) to prevent mass atrocities. The growing optimism that arose with the first Gulf war and subsequently the use of force to save the Kurds in Iraq, was completely vanished with the genocides in Rwanda and Srebrenica where the international community did not react on time to the prevent them. Not intervening in these two (and several other) situations, as well as the (allegedly) premature and without Security Council authorization intervention in Kosovo, highlighted the main problems in regards to “humanitarian intervention”, as a possible solution to these types of situations.

In an attempt to answer the complexity of the relationship between sovereignty, respect of human rights and the use of force in international relations, the Canadian government founded the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS).In 2001,the Commission, which encompassed 12 independent experts from around the world, published its Report (alongside a Supplementary volume to it) titled: “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P).² R2P was offered as a comprehensive framework that should address the issue of mass atrocities and the role of the international community in dealing with them.

¹ Moreover, in the last couple of years, the number of refugees, internally displaced persons and forced displacement have reached the highest levels ever recorded. For more on this, see the data available at UNHCR’s website: <http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>

² See: *The Responsibility to Protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty* (International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, 2001) and *The Responsibility to Protect: Research, Bibliography, Background – Supplementary Volume to the Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty* (International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, 2001).

R2P Comes Official

Being put largely in shadows due to the predominance of the “war on terror” since 2001, the R2P concept managed to secure its place on the world politics’ stage¹ and be part of the UN World Summit in 2005. In the World Summit Outcome Document, in the three paragraphs dedicated to the Responsibility to Protect, it was unanimously agreed that:

138. Each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. This responsibility entails the prevention of such crimes, including their incitement, through appropriate and necessary means. We accept that responsibility and will act in accordance with it. The international community should, as appropriate, encourage and help States to exercise this responsibility and support the United Nations in establishing an early warning capability.

139. The international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, to help protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. In this context, we are prepared to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter, including Chapter VII, on a case-by-case basis and in cooperation with relevant regional organizations as appropriate, should peaceful means be inadequate and national authorities manifestly fail to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. We stress the need for the General Assembly to continue consideration of the responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and its implications, bearing in mind the principles of the Charter and international law. We also intend to commit ourselves, as necessary and appropriate, to helping States build capacity to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and to assisting those which are under stress before crises and conflicts break out.

140. We fully support the mission of the Special Advisor of the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide. (A/RES/60/1)

¹ Due to the persistent efforts of the then Secretary General Kofi Annan and his collaborators as well as some other “norm entrepreneurs” such as foreign diplomats, experts, NGOs, etc.

Criticizing R2P

Even though R2P was unanimously accepted at the World Summit in 2005 and has since developed and established itself in the normative-political discourse in regards to mass atrocities, it still has some serious critics. For example, in 2009, at the first interactive dialogue on R2P, the then President of UN General Assembly, Miguel d'Escoto Brockman made the following remarks:

"Recent and painful memories related to the legacy of colonialism, give developing countries strong reasons to fear that laudable motives can end-up being misused, once more, to justify arbitrary and selective interventions against the weakest states...

Do the rules [of R2P] apply in principle, and is it likely that they will be applied in practice equally to all nation-states, or, in the nature of things, is it more likely that the principle would be applied only by the strong against the weak?...

Given the extent to which some great powers have recently avoided the strictures of the Charter in resorting to the use of force, ... there is little reason to doubt that endorsement of R2P by the General Assembly will generate new "coalitions of the willing", crusades such as the intervention in Iraq led by self-appointed saviours who arrogated to themselves the right to intervene with impunity in the name of overcoming nation-state impunity."(Brockman, 2009)

This statement underscores several critiques that have regularly been attributed to R2P. One can highlight five such critiques: 1) R2P is a Western concept used by the powerful states when it suits them; 2) R2P comes down to intervention as a means to address mass atrocities; 3) as it is currently designed, R2P undermines international law that is founded on sovereignty and non-intervention as the main principles; 4) R2P is applied selectively, because 5) those who call upon R2P use its humanitarian rhetoric as a pretext to cover their interests that drive them to intervene in the first place. Taken together, these 5 critiques renew the old critiques that were extended to R2P's "cousin"(Chomsky, 2009) – humanitarian intervention. The essence of this criticism is that R2P is nothing more than neocolonialism¹ and/or neoimperialism² that endangers sovereignty and state independence, which were elevated as core principles precisely in order to stop the interfering of powerful states in the matters of smaller states. Thus, R2P *de facto* threatens sovereignty as a pillar of international law and international

¹See for example Siddharth Mallavarapu, *Colonialism and the Responsibility to Protect*, in Ramesh Thakur, William Maley (eds.), *Theorising the Responsibility to Protect*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2015, pp.305-323.

²See for example Jonathan Graubart, *War is not the Answer: Responsibility to Protect and Military Intervention*, in Ramesh Thakur, William Maley (eds.), *Theorising the Responsibility to Protect*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2015, pp.305-323.

relations. Although the latter two remarks are as important to address as the other ones, in this paper I will address the first three critiques only. Throughout these three critiques lingers a certain stance about sovereignty and its relationship with R2P that needs to be debunked.

R2P is not a Western Concept

One of the most common accusations at R2P is that it merely represents the “emperor’s new clothes”(Kinacioglu, 2017). This means that R2P is deriving from the “West”, from those same “powerful”, “developed” or “civilized” countries which in the past used force to accomplish their policies and national interests. We can analyze this thesis from two aspects: empirical and ethical. Primarily, however, two things need to be emphasized. Firstly, the understanding that a concept originates exclusively from one region (in this case the “West”) and as such it cannot (and/or it should not!) become “universal”, is falling on the trap of radical cultural and moral relativism. There is absolutely no doubt that we should be attentive, as Michel Foucault says, to the discourse-power-truth relationship¹ and acknowledge that R2P’s language can easily resemble the grand injustices in forms of interventions and enslavement that have been done by the powerful to the “uncivilized” populations that were “incapable” to protect and govern themselves (Glanville, 2016, p. 162). Nevertheless, discrediting a proposed solution to a problem (as R2P is to the problem of mass atrocity) solely on the basis of its origin, is unfounded, and more importantly, it does not address the problem itself. Moreover, it is ironical that R2P is being criticized as an attack on sovereignty, knowing that sovereignty (along with other well-established “political and economic ideas that underline modern international life” such as “the state, democracy, market economics, socialism, development, international law and institutions” etc.) following the same logic, derives from the “West” and is now being portrayed as the supreme, “universal” principle. (Henkin, 1990, p. xi) Nonetheless, it can easily be “proved” that R2P has wide and universal, and not just “Western”, roots.

The empirical aspect of this question comprises the actors that have been included in the commencement of R2P and its implementing. Seen from this perspective, as Acharya points out, R2P has multiple sources, contexts and agents that have contributed to its status as international (universal) norm. The sources include, “the work of ICISS, the idea of humanitarian intervention (the ‘right to intervene’), human rights promotion, the just war tradition and the idea of responsible sovereignty

¹ See Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, edited by Colin Gordon, Pantheon Books, New York, 1980 (especially pp. 109-134)

developed in the context of Africa and IDP's." The contexts out which R2P originated are also numerous and they comprise "the Middle East, the Balkans, and above all, Africa." The same applies to the agents or 'norm entrepreneurs', such as the "Canadians, Australians, Africans and others". Moreover, the USA, as the main Western actor, was not among these actors, at least not until late 2005(Acharya, 2015, p. 76). As far the implementation of R2P is concerned, there are also strong arguments to support the claim that R2P is a universally accepted and applied standard. R2P was unanimously accepted by more than 150 states at the World Summit in 2005. Since then, it has been confirmed in Resolutions by the UN General Assembly (where all UN states are members) by the Security Council (as the body primarily responsible for maintaining international peace and security) and the Council for Human Rights(as a body responsible to promote and protect human rights around the world). As of August 2017, R2P has been invoked in 64 Security Council resolutions, 10 General Assembly resolutions and 28 Council for Human Rights resolutions.(GCR2P, 2017)

The ethical aspect concerns with the moral and cultural values the comprise R2P, or more precisely, whether these values are exclusively "Western" or not.As previously mentioned, R2P is founded on the notion of "sovereignty as responsibility". This idea, that "those who hold political authority have a responsibility to protect their subjects or citizens,spans many societies and cultures"(O'Hagan, 2015, p. 289). One can include here western political and intellectual traditions of course, but also, Asian, Islamic, Hebrew, Buddhist and many others (Ibid, p.287-292). In addition, as it was made clear from the previous paragraph, Africa's standpoint and contribution to R2P is enormous.

R2P≠Intervention

Another common critique on R2P is that the concept does not represent an improvement over the older concept of humanitarian intervention, i.e. R2P is just an "old wine in a new bottle". In other words, R2P merely comes down to the use of force or military intervention by the powerful ("western") states over the small ("non-western") states in order to achieve their own (hidden) goals.

This stance, however, is a misrepresentation of R2P. The 2001 R2P Report by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty introduced several key changes in the debate about sovereignty, humanitarian intervention and the responsibility that international community has it dealing with mass atrocities. Firstly, there has been a change in the vocabulary used about these issues. Instead of an intervention and a 'right' to intervene, the Report was focused on the 'responsibility' to protect. This is not only a stylistic modification but a product of the shift in focus – with R2P the populations that are in need of protection are the departing point and not

those who should intervene. Secondly, R2P clearly promotes the notion, that several years earlier was raised by Francis Deng (and then Kofi Annan), of sovereignty as responsibility.¹ Thirdly, the R2P concept from 2001 is far broader than humanitarian intervention and it includes three phases: responsibility to prevent, responsibility to react and responsibility to rebuild. Thus, humanitarian intervention is only part of one segment of R2P - the responsibility to react. This responsibility to react is activated only when prevention fails, therefore the main focus of R2P is prevention, which is the fourth crucial difference with the concept of humanitarian intervention.

Although what was eventually accepted as the official version of R2P at the World Summit in 2005 was considerably less than what was contained in the original R2P Report from 2001,² the spirit of R2P was kept. In order to revive and further develop the concept, in 2009 former Secretary General Ban Ki Moon started publishing annual Reports dedicated to R2P's implementation, clarification and development, a practice that continues under current Secretary General Antonio Guterres.

In his first Report, the Secretary General set up the three pillar structure of R2P which has since been used as a reference point about what is and how well implemented is R2P. According to this structure, Pillar 1 refers to states and their primary responsibility to protect their own populations from the four types of atrocities that are covered by R2P: genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing. Pillar 2 speaks of the international community and it underlines the responsibility that the international community has to help states fulfill their primary responsibility. The help understands assistance and capacity building for civilian protection. Finally, if states are manifestly failing to protect their populations and the international community cannot help through Pillar 2, then Pillar 3 is activated. This Pillar expresses the readiness by the international community to take 'collective action' according to Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Collective action can sometimes include military intervention, but in terms of R2P, collective action has broader meaning and it also includes other measures not involving intervention such as sanctions, travel bans, embargos, no fly-zones, etc.(Secretary-General, 2009)

The Sovereignty Trap

The third most common critique that is directed towards R2P is that the concept undermines international law that is founded on the principles of sovereignty and

¹ See below.

² For the main differences between the 2001 and 2005 versions, see James Pattison, *Humanitarian Intervention and The Responsibility to Protect: Who Should Intervene?*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010, pp.14.

noninterference in the internal affairs of states. Tailored this way, the purpose of international law is to protect the smaller states from the more powerful ones and at the same time to enable a plurality of societies and different cultural and political systems in accordance with the right of self-determination of peoples and their own cultural and regional convictions and traditions. The concepts of sovereignty and non-intervention help us to understand the international order as “a normative system based on the coexistence of independent states, each enjoying rights of political sovereignty and territorial integrity defined by international law and an underlying morality of states.” (Nardin, 2005, p. 23)

What is obvious here is that at the heart of the problem lies the relationship between the populations in one state, the governments of that state, and the international community. On the other hand, sovereignty as a concept, even since its inception with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, is considered to have two dimensions: internal and external. The internal aspect of sovereignty refers to the right of every state to freely choose its political system and freely and independently decide about the economic, social, cultural, foreign policy and other questions. The external dimension, represents the other side of the Westphalian coin (Weiss, 2007, pp. 12-21)– the respect enjoyed by all other states of this right and the corresponding duty of not intervening and not interfering in the internal affairs of another state.

Portraying the issue this way, however, often falls on the so called “conceptual trap of sovereignty”. This conceptual trap of sovereignty, as Butler calls it, is based on two elements: first, the ‘body of the nation’ [that is the population on a territory] is deemed to be fully represented by the de jure government, and second, there is no distinction between the state and the government of that state (Butler, 2017, p. 23). Consequently, under the veil of sovereignty and cultural plurality, states are becoming ‘black boxes’ and the ruling elites are exclusively and unabatedly deciding about the fate of the populations on their territory.

Looked from a historical perspective, the invention of sovereignty, however, was not intended to leave the populations on the mercy of their rulers. There has always been some limitations, “originally by divine law, respect for religious practices, and natural law; and subsequently limitations have resulted from the consent-based system of the law of nations” (Weiss, 2007, p. 24). A completely new outlook to the meaning of sovereignty came after World War 2 and the creation of the United Nations. The UN Charter shows a clear primacy of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of states as expressed in art. 2.7. This impression is confirmed by state practice during the Cold war, when only three interventions to stop mass atrocities occurred (Bangladesh, Uganda and Cambodia) and they were all widely condemned. As Glanville

concludes, "for at time, then, sovereignty was understood to entail the absence of international responsibility.(Glanville, 2016, p. 157)

Nevertheless, despite these attitudes towards intervention and sovereignty, even during the Cold war there was the slow acceptance and development of the idea of international human rights law. This was especially enhanced following the end of the Cold war, when, as previously mentioned, there has been a bigger activity and cooperation of the Security Council, which resulted in the authorization of the use of force in some instances of mass atrocities. It is exactly in this period, at the beginning of the 90's, when the core idea underneath R2P – sovereignty as responsibility – started taking its place. It was Sudanese diplomat and scholar (then a Director of Brookings Institution Africa program and now an Under-Secretary General) Francis Deng who introduced the idea of reframing sovereignty in a positive way, i.e. representing it as a form of care towards the populations of a concrete state. Deng's goal was neither to weaken nor eradicate sovereignty. On the contrary, it is because he thought that "there is no adequate replacement in sight for the system of state sovereignty, [the] primary responsibility for promoting the security and well-being of populations must remain with the state."Sovereignty, however, is a shared responsibility, therefore when the state fails with "good governance, economic well-being, democratic distribution of power, conflict prevention and resolution, and the management of diverse ethnic, racial and religious identities", it is the responsibility of the international community to become involved and "make clear that such a state of affairs ultimately threatens global order".(Cohen & Deng, 2016, pp. 75,78)

This understanding of sovereignty as responsibility was first applied on the problem of internally displaced persons (IDP's) (not refugees!). Key here is the work of Roberta Cohen, who also at the beginning of the 90's, claimed that sovereignty implies that the governments have "humanitarian and human rights obligations to the persons residing on their territories". This, on the other hand, does not mean that the international community is left off the hook, especially if the protection of human rights is left to those same ruling elites that have caused (or did not stop) the suffering in the first place. The fact the persons are internally displaced, "does not mean that the international community does not have a major responsibility to protect them."(Cohen & Deng, 2016, pp. 75,80)

What these two works point out to is the second key component that R2P introduced to the understanding of sovereignty – the role of the international community in cases where states are failing to uphold their primary responsibility.The philosophical explanation of this element builds on the two dimensions of sovereignty – internal and external. Analogously, sovereignty encompasses two types of legitimacy of the government in one state – internal legitimacy towards its own citizens and external

legitimacy towards the international community as a whole. If the government and the political institutions are working as it has been intended by the peoples of that territory, then there is full legitimacy of that state. However, even if the institutions are not functioning as they were meant, and the citizens of a state are struggling and failing to establish free institutions, they are still employing their right of self-determination (Walzer, 2006, p. 87). In other words, there still exist some sort of "cultural correspondence between [the] people and [the] government" of that state, some sort of 'fit' (Teson, 2005, p. 82). This fit represents the battle of that community for their establishment and is in some way, natural reflection of the history, culture and religion of that particular community (Walzer, 1980, p. 225). Therefore, even when there is no internal legitimacy inside a state, the international community has to respect this 'fit' as long as it is not 'radically apparent' that there is no fit at all. This understanding reflects "our recognition of diversity and our respect for communal integrity and for different patterns of cultural and political development" (Ibid, pp. 215, 216). It is pluralistic and it counters the notion that same type of government and political system should be ascribed for every political community.

Nevertheless, the international community still has a certain responsibility to the populations even in this phase. If the issue revolves around factors that on the short or long term can lead to one of the four mass crimes that comprise R2P, then, in accordance with Pillar 2 of R2P, the international community can take a number of measures short of use of force, but which nonetheless can improve the human rights situation, the rule of law and the functioning of state institutions. Such measures would include, for example, the dissemination of human rights and humanitarian standards, peer education and experience sharing of national authorities, active participation in R2P dialogues and the duties and responsibilities that surround it, the establishing and maintaining of legitimate, inclusive and effective state institutions, independent judiciary and rule of law, preventive diplomacy to reduce the vulnerability of populations to atrocity crimes, etc. (Secretary-General, 2014)

'Radically apparent' misfits the situation when "there is no "fit" between the government and the community or there is no community" at all (Walzer, 1980, p. 217). This does not refer to the "ordinary, routine abuse of human rights that tragically occurs on a daily basis" (Wheeler, 2000, p. 34) but only to those extreme form of human rights' violations that "shock the conscience of mankind". Such extreme forms of violence are considered to be the four crimes included in R2P: genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing. This is why, in these situations when there is an ultimate humanitarian emergency, R2P's third Pillar is activated. As it was mentioned above, this Pillar encompasses the undertaking of "appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the

Charter”, but also “collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter, including Chapter VII, on a case-by-case basis and in cooperation with relevant regional organizations as appropriate, should peaceful means be inadequate and national authorities manifestly fail to protect their populations”.¹

Conclusion

All of the above confirms that R2P’s understanding of sovereignty is historically, morally and philosophically justified. Even from a legal standpoint, R2P is also only confirming the commitments and duties that states already have under international law. The legal responsibilities and obligations arising from Pillar 1, according to which states have the primary responsibility to look after the security and wellbeing of their populations, are long established. They derive from the *ius cogens* and *erga omnes* status of genocide, from international humanitarian law, international criminal law and of course human rights law. The legal duties that comprise Pillar 2 – assisting states in fulfilling their primary responsibility – are also rooted in these bodies of international law but supplemented with ICJ’s jurisprudence especially in the Case concerning the Application of the Genocide Convention, *Bosnia vs. Serbia*. R2P’s third Pillar – the undertaking of a collective action when mass atrocities are happening and the other two Pillars are not sufficient – is also expressing the legal mood around this question. On the one hand, Pillar 3 is not demonstrating any new legal commitments for a collective (coercive) action but it is only expressing a preparedness to take such a possibility into consideration. On the other hand, Pillar 3 once again confirms that prior to any such action an authorization is needed from the UN Security Council, as the sole institution that can authorize such a measure.²

Understood this way, R2P does not pose a threat to sovereignty. On the contrary. As former Secretary General says, “R2P is an ally of sovereignty, not an adversary”. This means that R2P was brought up and developed out of the affirmative concept of sovereignty as responsibility and not from the narrower idea of humanitarian intervention. In addition, “by helping states to meet their core protection

¹For more on the moral and philosophical justification of humanitarian intervention, including the conditional understanding of sovereignty, see Ljupcho Stojkovski, *Philosophical and Moral Justification of Humanitarian Intervention*, *Iustinianus Primus Law Review*, № 09, volume V, Summer 2014, pp 1-20.

²For a brief summary of the legal aspects in each Pillar of R2P see Љупчо Стојковски, *Одговорноста на меѓународната заедница за спречување масовни злосторства*, *Правен Дијалог*, бр.14, Јуни 2017. For more, see the works referenced there.

responsibilities, the responsibility to protect seeks to strengthen not weaken sovereignty.”(Secretary-General, 2009, pp. 7,8)

Finally, as Glanville points out, today’s understanding of sovereignty from the point of view of R2P is different from past constructions of the same term (although we should always be careful not to fall into the trap of adopting “liberating” or “civilizing” speeches and policies). “Rather than a concept imposed by the West upon the rest, by the powerful upon the weak, or by established states on newly created states, R2P is one that has been championed by actors from around the world, unanimously endorsed by international society, and implemented by African, Asian, and South American states in their own regions in a range of coercive and non-coercive ways. And rather than justifying the extinguishment of sovereignty and the subjection of peoples to foreign rule, R2P calls for the provisions of assistance, the application of pressure and sanctions, and only in the most extreme cases the temporary resort to force in defense of a vulnerable sovereign people”(Glanville, 2016, p. 162).

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IBUISC '17

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS

“The Creation of the New World in a Globalized Era”

Stream:

Education

Civic Engagement in Peace and Sustainability: Educating Youth towards Civic Engagement for a Culture of Peace and Environmentalism in the Middle East

Jasmin Lilian Diab¹

Abstract:

Civic participation is “working to make a difference in the civic life of our communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference. It means promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and non-political processes.”² Moreover, civic engagement includes initiatives whereby individuals actively participate in undertakings of personal and public concern that are enriching on the individual level while being socially beneficial to the community as an entirety, simultaneously. Furthermore, it is only evitable that civic engagement and community service as a discipline are at the heart of the promotion of larger notions on a more regional or international scale, and that they are also one of the major catalysts towards instilling a culture of responsibility and peace in people of all ages, through active participation in their own fate, as well as in the fate of their community. In the areas of Peace, and Environment, this reality is illustrated in a number of manners. Whether this is in the areas of active participation within civil society/NGOs whereby these notions are part of their mandates, or whether this is in the areas of instilling a culture of peace and sense of responsibility in raising awareness and concern through education.

I. Introduction: The Inclusion of Youth in Peacebuilding Initiatives

The inclusion of young people in peacebuilding initiatives adds both vibrancy and inventiveness to peacebuilding efforts. Involving youth brings creative energy and active potential for the transformation of violent conflict across the globe. Moreover, the belief that education is a space for cultivating cultures of both peace and war renders peace educators and practitioners responsible for teaching youth about values,

¹ Notre Dame University-Louaize, Lebanon [diabjasmin@gmail.com]

² Excerpted from *Civic Responsibility and Higher Education*, edited by Thomas Ehrlich, published by Oryx Press, 2000, Preface, page VI.

skills, and behaviors conducive to promoting global harmony and social justice. In discourse, peace is broadly described as the absence of physical and structural violence, and the presence of justice. In an effort to develop global citizenship as well as an understanding of the notion of peace, students need to be exposed to the main causes of conflict, to international humanitarian and human rights laws, to alternate structures of security, as well as to skills for managing all forms of conflict without the resort to violence as an option. In the literature on Peace Education, Harris divides peace education into five categories: international education, development education, environmental education, human rights education, and conflict resolution education.¹ On nurturing the culture of peace, Sommerfelt and Vambheim state that peace requires citizens to constrain their aggression, exhibit cooperative behavior, and resolve conflicts without violence.² Peace education as a practice in schools is attributed to Maria Montessori.³ Shetackled the notion of peace on three levels: the individual, the community, and the globe. The individual level relates to a person's awareness of 'the self' – body, mind, emotions, and spirit. The community level is a reflection of inter-personal relations – trust, openness, and interdependence. Finally, the global level is concerned with cultural and environmental awareness and duty.⁴ In practice, peace education is one which attempts to construct universal values and behaviors upon which a culture of peace is founded in every individual. It includes the comprehension of non-violent conflict resolution skills. Scholars in the field of peace education address violence and the constructed war system, as the main inhibitors of peace and seek to offer sustainable solutions to violence in all its forms, whether on the social, economic, political, environmental, spiritual, or ethical levels. Reardon defines violence as *"avoidable, intentional harm, inflicted for a purpose or perceived advantages of the perpetrator or of those who, while not direct perpetrators, are, however, advantaged by the harm."*⁵ He further elaborates that education for peace promotes dialogue on critical subject matters within the community, and transforms repressive systems from their violent nature toward a culture of peace.⁶ Boulding earlier strengthened this point in his book *Building a Global Civic Culture: Education for an Interdependent World* by stating that through education for peace educators and

¹Harris, I. 2004. Peace education theory. *Journal of Peace Education* 1(1): pp. 5-20.

² Sommerfelt, O.H., and Vambheim, V. 2008. 'The dream of the good'—a peace education project exploring the potential to educate for peace at the individual level. *Journal of Peace Education* 5(1): pp. 79-96.

³<http://www.montessori.edu/maria.html>

⁴Montessori, M. 1949. *Education and Peace*. Oxford, England: CLIO, 1995.

⁵Reardon, B. 2001. *Education for a culture of peace in a gender perspective*. Paris: UNESCO.

⁶ Ibid

students “critically discuss manifestations of, and justifications for, violence, identify the actors involved and propose peaceful futures.”¹

II. Civic Engagement and Participation: The International Framework

The 1995 Program of Action of the World Summit for Social Development defines an inclusive society as a “society for all in which every individual, each with rights and responsibilities, has an active role to play.”²This type of community is rooted in the fundamental and inherent values of equity, equality, social justice, human rights and freedoms, and in the principles of embracing and accepting diversity. This community is also equipped with the fitting apparatuses which empower its citizens to actively participate in the decisions which have direct influence on the lives they lead, and also empowers them to ultimately shape the future they all share. The Summit further affirmed that social inclusion is one of the major catalysts and major goals of social development. Current international negotiations, similar to those within the framework of the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20), and ongoing process of formulating the post-2015 international development agenda, emphasize that there is an even stronger need for inclusion, active participation and equity in the international community.³ The most recent report to the United Nations Secretary-General (UNSG), which aims to draw upon the main successes and obstacles in the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), calls for: *inclusive social development* and *inclusive economic development* to become two of the four main foci of the post-2015 international agenda.⁴ This direction is also highlighted in the 2012 Report of the United Nations Secretary-General’s High Panel on Global Sustainability.⁵ Moreover, the findings of the 8th UNESCO Youth Forum on “Youth and Social Inclusion: Civic Engagement, Dialogue and Skills Development” held in Paris between 29th and 31st of October, 2013 state that the active participation in civic life is a fundamental human right quite simply. Findings further elaborate that youth has a major role to play in creating and cementing social change, not only in the future as adults, but more instantly as active citizens in their youth – this being through the designing, undertaking or contributing to both individual or collective efforts to do so.⁶

¹ Boulding, E. 1988. Building a global civic culture: Education for an interdependent world. New York: Teachers College Press.

² UNESCO archive 1995, Retrieve at : <http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/COPENHAG.PDF>

³ UNCSD archive 2012, Retrieve at: <http://www.uncsd2012.org/>

⁴ Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform 2015, Retrieve at: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/focussdgs.html>

⁵ UN Publications 2012, Retrieve at: <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/rio+20/rpt-panel.pdf>

⁶ 8th UNESCO Youth Forum 2013, Retrieve at: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/youth-forum-2013/>

III. What is Civic Engagement and Empowerment?

Civic engagement and empowerment refer to a situation whereby each citizen possesses the means to actively take part in the public sphere and in political processes.¹ Within this context, civil society is enabled, sheltered, and liable; the media is present and independent of external/governmental influence; access to information and freedom of expression are maintained; and political parties are capable of forming freely.² Civil society, the media, and political parties are capable of alleviating the possibility of violence through the provision of legitimate public instruments for peaceful discussion and debate. Through these means, individuals may peacefully and actively take part in political affairs, keep a culture of checks-and-balances in place, and in turn, affect the government's overall policy. In the absence of prospects for civic engagement, incentives for violence are more likely to increase. The population will aim to guarantee their demands and needs are met through other means. Civic engagement and empowerment also entail respect for fundamental civil and political rights of all groups without differentiation, as well as the guarantee that these rights may be freely exercised and expressed without fear of retribution.³ Despite the fact that discourse elaborates upon the definition of civic engagement differently, and despite the international community's inability to come up with a single, agreed-upon definition of the term, civic engagement is largely regarded as the focus upon participation in evolving shifts through the advancement of economic, ecologic, social and political conditions. Moreover, it is seen as the ability of young women and men to contribute to instilling this reality through *informing, reforming, and building* a society which will contribute to the well-being of themselves and others, and to the promotion of justice and inclusiveness.⁴ Scholars further highlight the need for Youth Civic Engagement as a vital element of youth development due to the fact that it assists in building human and social capital as well as enlightens people about their political and civic rights, and their responsibilities as citizens. Civic engagement can be exhibited in: youth's active participation in decision-making processes, the solidification of youth

¹ Levinson, Meira. 2010. The Civic Empowerment Gap: Defining the Problem and Locating Solutions. In Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement, ed. Lonnie Sherrod, Judith Torney-Purta, and Constance A. Flanagan, 331-361. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

² Ibid

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

leadership, a culture of volunteerism, social entrepreneurship, and youth in the media, among others.¹

IV. Guidance for Civic Engagement and Empowerment:

a. Civil Society Development

Civil society constitutes an integral part of the political space between the individual and his/her government. It is a space where citizens and organizations are able to cooperate and interact independent of the government, family, as well as the private sector.² Civil society organizations may encompass non-governmental organizations (NGOs), advocacy groups, charity groups, faith-based organizations, civic education organizations, business or professional associations, and may even include community groups, among others.³ The organizations in question exemplify active citizenship and reflect the values of those it represents. This is generally based upon cultural, ethical, political, among other values. The organizations serve as the connection between the state and individual, and assist him/her in influencing and monitoring government decisions; mobilizing and rallying the general public through educating them about the rights, responsibilities, and opportunities they have to influence government policies and push for reform. They also facilitate dialogue among different groups, and social reconciliation.⁴

b. Independent Media and Access to Information

A media sector which is independent encompasses everything from print, to broadcast, to social media outlets which serve public interest by spreading information to the general public concerning social, economic, environmental, cultural and political developments.⁵ Within societies evolving out of conflict, the main function of the media is to report on the activities of the government and offer a space where the general public can debate issues peacefully and voice its concerns. In the absence of a functioning media sector which is independent from censorship and restrictions, the population is prevented from fully participating in political processes, from exercising their civic rights and responsibilities, and from expressing their needs to their

¹ California State University, Civic Engagement, Retrieve at: <http://www.csuchico.edu/civic/about/types.shtml>

² UN.org, Retrieve at: <http://www.un.org/en/sections/resources/civil-society/index.html>

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

⁵ David Hallam, The role of a free and independent media, Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 2015. Retrieve at: <http://blogs.fco.gov.uk/fcoeditorial/2014/05/02/the-role-of-a-free-and-independent-media-2/>

government and the people in power.¹ Access to information is a basic human right and requires that information is available within means and in a language that is accessible and understood by the general population.²

c. Inclusive and Participatory Political Parties

The right to actively participate within the political arena is a core aspect of stable governance.³ Political parties are the foundation upon which participatory governance is built, and act as the means through which groups with political differences contend non-violently for a hold over power.⁴ Through these political parties, opponents may confront one another in a constructive manner, building relationships across parties and developing lines of communication. Political parties are held accountable for the development of positions on main public issues and on cultivating candidates to run for office during election season. They also help to facilitate and motivate public debate through structuring political competition and participation.⁵

V. What is Peace Education?

Peace education encompasses the refinement of peacebuilding skills. These skills include ones such as dialogue, mediation, and even artistic endeavors. Coupled with this, peace educators, educate their students about the values of respect, understanding, and non-violence. They also teach the skills necessary for analyzing international conflict, and educate for alternative security systems. Educators also resort to the use of a pedagogy that is active and participatory—the only environment in which such values and skills can be taught.⁶

Moreover, Peace Education as both a practice and philosophy adheres to matching complementary elements in education and in society. It adheres to the reality where the

¹ Ibid

² Mendel, Toby, (n.d.), Freedom of Information as an Internationally Protected Human Right, Retrieve at: <https://www.article19.org/data/files/pdfs/publications/foi-as-an-international-right.pdf>

³ National Democratic Institute, POLITICAL PARTIES, PUBLIC POLICY AND PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY 2011, Retrieve at: [https://www.ndi.org/files/Political%20Parties%20Public%20Policy%20and%20Participatory%20Democracy%20\(English\).pdf](https://www.ndi.org/files/Political%20Parties%20Public%20Policy%20and%20Participatory%20Democracy%20(English).pdf)

⁴ Ibid

⁵ 2015 Youth Pre-Forum to the Fourth Annual High Level Dialogue on Democracy, Human Rights and Governance In Africa: Trends, Challenges And Prospects Youth Participation and Leadership in Political Parties, Retrieve at: http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/newsevents/workingdocuments/19428-wd-youth_pre-forum_booklet.pdf

⁶ Jenkins, T. 2007. Community-based institutes on peace education (CIPE) Organizer's Manual. New York: IPE.

social purposes, content, and pedagogy of the educative process contribute to fostering and instilling peace.¹ Consequently, peace education is a *dialogical experience* which includes participatory learning and cooperatively grappling with current issues within local and international contexts.²

VI. The Content of Peace Education

Although Peace Education tends to be specific to the teaching and learning context in which the learning is to take place and in turn where these lessons are to be applied, educators may nonetheless communicate their peace education lessons within the context of peace education themes of both local and global concern. Burns and Aspeslagh describe these themes as: the international system, peace, sustainable development, human rights, and the environment.³ Additionally, there are several peace education frameworks to draw from as educators which may foster these themes, such as the exploration of the causes of conflict, of international humanitarian and human rights law, of alternative structures of security, and of managing conflicts without the resort to violence.⁴ Kester views one of the most effective models of Peace Education as the Flower-Petal Model.⁵

a. The Flower-Petal Model of Peace Education:

The Flower-Petal Model is a framework for forming education for peace programs. In this model, a culture of peace is placed at the center. A culture of peace may be defined as:

" [...] a set of values, attitudes, traditions and modes of behavior and ways of life based on respect for life, ending of violence and promotion and practice of non-violence through education, dialogue and cooperation... promotion of all human rights and fundamental freedoms...commitment to peaceful settlements of conflicts...efforts to meet the

¹ Jenkins, T. 2008. International Institute on Peace Education: Twenty-six years modeling critical, participatory peace pedagogy. In *Factis Pax: Journal of Peace Education and Social Justice* 2(2): 166-174.

² *Ibid*

³ R. J. Burns & R. Aspeslagh, *Three Decades of Peace Education*, *British Journal of Educational Studies* 46 (2):234-234 (1998)

⁴ *Ibid*

⁵ Kevin Kester 2010, *Education for Peace: Content, Form, and Structure: Mobilizing Youth for Civic Engagement*, *The Peace and Conflict Review*, Retrieve at: <http://www.review.upeace.org/index.cfm?ejemplar=19&entrada=101>

developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations... respect for and promotion of equal rights and opportunities for women and men (UN 1999, n.p.).”¹



Figure 2: Flower-Petal Model of Peace Education

The Flower-Petal model has six categories comprising a culture of peace, including: dismantling the culture of war, environmental peace, education for justice and compassion, human rights education, cultivating intercultural solidarity, and harnessing inner peace.

In this model, Environmental Education encompasses fostering global obligations, and combating the environmental degradation that accompanies unsustainable development and war.²

In addition to the conceptual frameworks outlined above, Kester further elaborates that there is a number of normative frameworks, or international standards, which serve as the basis for the development of peace education programs. A leading example in that regard is the Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights, and Democracy (1995).³ It suggests “*basic guidelines which could be*

¹ For more on the UN Culture of Peace: <http://en.unesco.org/cultureofpeace/>

² Ibid

³ Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights, and Democracy <http://tandis.odhr.pl/documents/hre->

translated into strategies, policies and plans of action at the institutional and national levels according to the conditions of the different communities."¹ The guidelines proposed include: teaching with an international approach; teaching about forms of conflict, their causes and effects; teaching human rights and international standards; teaching about democracy and civic participation; teaching about development, decolonization and globalization; teaching the histories of nations and States; teaching about the United Nations and international institutions.² Through referencing conceptual and normative frameworks, as well as through the resort to international standards educators are able to develop a peace education program specific to their schools, non-formal learning environments, as well as to the context in which these lessons need to be implemented and carried out.

VII. Closing the Gap between Youth and Community through Educational Methods

In practice, educators have found that the conventional educational methods such as lecturing and test-taking do not live up to the envisioned social outcome. They have found this to be the case whether in almost every academic field of study, and that is essentially what peace education concerns. Schools and nations intend to construct democracy, globalization, and awareness about community interdependence, yet in their approach to do so, educators repeatedly resort to tactics such as obedience-drilling, secrecy, and competitiveness which redirects more fully towards the very ideologies the school system intends to go beyond. Educators for instance, teach the welfares of Capitalism through competitive games which exemplify individualism and hard work; however, to teach Capitalism in such an exaggeratedly simplified manner amplifies the negative features of a Capitalistic system, such as greed and exclusion.³ Kester further elaborated that such lessons tend to *value materialism above character*. Moreover, with this reality in place, educators are offered *"the ideological and existential contradiction that our means do not meet our intended ends, our content and pedagogy are in conflict, and democracy is compromised."*⁴ In the areas of Peacebuilding, education must consider the contradiction. With this awareness at the base of the educational methods, cooperation, respect, the importance of diversity and

compendium/en/CD%20SECT%201%20laws/PARTNERS%20RESOURCES/UNESCO%20Declaration%20%26%20Framework%20of%20Action%20.pdf

¹ Ibid

² Ibid

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

empathy, are taught through cooperative games, participatory and democratic pedagogy, and creative conflict resolution activities which stress upon peaceful coexistence, civic engagement, and awareness about larger issues – environmental, societal, economic, political, or other. With the educational system developing just like any other concept, and with the international community aware of its gaps and obstacles, educators have sought to cultivate a culture of peace for years. The United Nations, as an initiator, has endorsed dialogue upon this reality on the international scene in a number of manners, and through several initiatives. The United Nations General Assembly passed the Declaration and Integrated Framework of Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy in 1995,¹ and the Declaration on a Culture of Peace in 1998,² and went on to declare the year 2000, the 'International Year for a Culture of Peace'.³ The period between 2001 and 2010 was also designated the 'UN International Decade on Education for Peace and Nonviolence for the Children of the World'.⁴ The 1995 and 1998 resolutions each comprise education on knowledge, values, skills, and behavior which supports peaceful societies and eliminate the war system. The UN also instilled peace education into its educational bodies: UNESCO, UNU, and UPEACE, which currently act as a model for mainstreaming peace education across academic institutions, local and international organizations and agencies. Furthermore, the Declaration and Integrated Framework of Education for Peace (1995) suggests that education for peace must be *trans-disciplinary* and incorporated into all learning spaces. Education for peace is not restricted to one classroom or one subject matter. This type of education should act as a catalyst for the further integration of youth into the community, for the development of their awareness about their roles within the international and local systems, and for the channeling of this energy towards issues, environmental or others, which concern the international community as well as its local counterparts. The Declaration further elaborates that the learning space should foster intercultural and international dialogue, awareness of national and global systems of governance, respect for all forms of life, and an adherence to non-violence.⁵ Moreover, education for peace emphasizes upon the need to develop empathy, and nurtures students who are committed to democratic participation and non-violence. Education for peace thus, pedagogically accentuates tolerance, respect, equality, empathy,

¹ UNESCO International Conference on Education 44th Session, Retrieve at:

http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/34_69.pdf

² UNESCO, A/53/243 Fifty-Third Session Agenda Item 31, Culture of Peace, Retrieve at:

<http://www.unesco.org/cpp/uk/declarations/2000.htm>

³ UN Documents, E/RES/1997/47, Retrieve at: <http://www.un-documents.net/e1997r47.htm>

⁴ UN Documents, A/RES/56/5, Retrieve at: <http://www.un-documents.net/a56r5.htm>

⁵ UNESCO International Conference on Education 44th Session, Retrieve at:

http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/34_69.pdf

compassion, sensitivity, communication, listening, inclusiveness of all forms of life, and finally, awareness of history and peace movements.¹

VIII. Environmental Peacebuilding: Bridging Peace and Environment

Environmental peacebuilding studies and advocates environmental protection and cooperation as a main factor in the development of peaceful relations.² Peacebuilding is both the theory and practice of detecting the conditions which may lead to sustainable peace between conflicting entities, as well as assisting them to shift towards long-term, and sustainable peace.³ In the Middle East region, common environmental concerns have been the foundation for both regional cooperation and peacebuilding. Moreover, a modest civil society network in the region aims to defy the unstable and alternating situation across the Middle East in order to promote and practice environmental sustainability and cooperation through engaging citizens in initiatives which allow them to determine their own fate. In the realm of peacebuilding studies, sub-literature on environmental peacebuilding inspects the role of the environment in facilitating sustainable peace. Evidently, warfare destroys ecosystems and in turn, the livelihoods of the individuals who rely on natural resources in order to survive. Moreover, the absence of political structure and state of anarchy within conflict situations, results in the destruction and exploitation of natural resources. Simply put, avoiding conflict and instilling a culture of peace and cooperation makes for an easier shift towards sustainable peace. Moving from this reality, environmental cooperation may be an area in which hostile parties may sustain dialogue and cooperation through the realization that the environment affects the fate of the international community in its entirety with no exceptions and through the realization that sustainable development is a prerequisite for sustainable peace.⁴ The relationship between environmental peacebuilding projects and studies of environment and conflict are largely addressed by Conca and Wallace.⁵ They notice that environmental challenges, although opportunities for peacebuilding, civic engagement and dialogue, may also be

¹ Ibid

² UNEP archive, Environment for Peace and Regional Cooperation, Chapter 12, Section 3, Retrieve at: http://www.unep.org/DEWA/Africa/docs/en/aeo-2/chapters/aeo-2_ch12_ENVIRONMENT_FOR_%20PEACE_AND.pdf

³ Ibid

⁴ Notaras Mark, Building Peace through Environmental Conservation, United Nations University, 2010, Retrieve at: <http://ourworld.unu.edu/en/building-peace-through-environmental-conservation>

⁵ K. Conca, J. Wallace. 2012. Environment and peacebuilding in war torn societies: Lessons from the UN Environment Programme's experience with post conflict assessment. In Assessing and Restoring Natural Resources in Post Conflict Peacebuilding, ed. D. Jensen and S. Lonergan. London: Earthscan. Retrieve at: http://environmentalpeacebuilding.org/assets/Documents/LibraryItem_000_Doc_062.pdf

opportunities which reinforce conflict.¹ Furthermore, environmental challenges are also most oftentied to economic and governance obstacles, and are nowregularlyaccredited as core reasons of conflicts. Due to the complexity of environmental peacebuilding, as well as its link to almost every aspect of the international system, it is also worthy to note, that if not addressed in the proper manner, and in turn if not incorporated into civil society and governance, it canbe just as much a part of the movement towards conflict as it is part of the movement towards sustainable development and peacebuilding. For this reason, environmental peacebuilding in its essence is strongly rooted in conflict management and the transformation of conflictual relations into peaceful ones through the active participation of all members concerned – whether on the international or local levels.² Consequently, and based upon a now ‘global awareness’ about the major role the environment plays in the areas of peacebuilding, and in conflict resolution as a discipline, the UNEP³placed ‘environmental conflict and cooperation’ on its agenda, conducted environmental evaluations of conflict zones and endorsed a wider integration of environmental issues into the mandate and focus of the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission.⁴ “Environment/Land/Development” is one of the ten themes of the United Nations Peacebuilding Portal.⁵ The University for Peace, sponsored by the United Nations, includes “Environment, Development and Peace” as one of its eight graduate programs.⁶

Along with civil society groups promoting environmental peacebuilding in conflict situations, both governmental and civil society/grassroots organizations have also explored the significant role of environmental issues in peacebuilding. The European Union sponsored Initiative for Peacebuilding⁷ has published a series of papers on environmental peacebuilding.⁸ The Evans Gareth, President of International Crisis Group, includes “Climate Change and Conflict” as one of the organization’s key focus

¹ Ibid

² Alford Roger. 2007. The Nexus Between Peace and the Environment. OpinioJuris.org. Retrieve at: <http://opiniojuris.org/2007/10/13/the-nexus-between-peace-and-the-environment/>

³The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) is an agency that coordinates its environmental activities, assisting developing countries in implementing environmentally sound policies and practices. Read more at: <http://unep.org/>

⁴ UNEP Official Website, Retrieve at: www.unep.org

⁵ UN Peacebuilding Portal, Retrieve at:

http://www.un.org/esa/peacebuilding/peace_building_portal_presentation.pdf

⁶ UPEACE, Academic Departments, Environment and Development, Retrieve at: <https://www.upeace.org/academic/academic-departments/environment-and-development/environment-development-and-peace>

⁷<http://www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu/>

⁸ IFP Research Publication Series, Retrieve at: <http://www.ifp-ew.eu/publications/>

areas, as well as one of its main areas of concern in his speech addressed to Bucerius Summer School on Global Governance in 2008 in Berlin, Germany.¹

a. Environmental Peacebuilding in the Middle East:

The Madrid Conference of 1991 was comprised of representatives of the governments of Israel, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan. It was also comprised of a Palestinian delegation within the Jordanian delegation. The conference was aimed at establishing working groups on refugees, regional security, economic development, water resources, and environment. The working groups on water and environment coupled with the one on economic development to some extent placed environmental cooperation and sustainable development at the front of their agendas. They saw these two important factors as the foundation for sustainable peace in the Middle East on the long run.² Moreover, the Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as well as the Peace Treaty between Jordan and Israel³ each had segments that envisioned joint committees on water, environmental cooperation and economic/sustainable development.⁴ Obstacles to the Accords however, and their overall aims are hindered by the relations between the Israeli and Palestinian Authority naturally. Progress towards cooperation on water, the environment and sustainable development stall with the stall in negotiations between the two states. Cooperative relations between Jordan and Israel have been maintained but progress is limited by the effects of the unresolved Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Not to place the Accord in isolation from other realities on the ground, it is also evident that political power struggles, interest groups, and economic ambitions are at the heart of each and every stalling in the areas of environmental cooperation, as well as environmental peacebuilding. Simply put, the environment does not always fall as high up in the hierarchy of priorities when it comes to state interests and regional and international agreements of major powers. Diplomatic work on environmental peacebuilding in the region has been complemented with the development of a modest network of civil society organizations which advocate, practice, and encourage regional environmental cooperation through active participation of citizens and local groups.

¹ Evans Gareth. 2008. Conflict Potential in a World of Climate Change. CrisisGroup.org. Retrieve at: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/speeches/2008/conflict-potential-in-a-world-climate-change.aspx>

²The Madrid Conference, 1991, Retrieve at: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1989-1992/madrid-conference>

³The Jordan-Israel Peace Treaty, Annex IV, Environment, Retrieve at: <http://www.kinghussein.gov.jo/peacetreaty.html>

⁴THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN INTERIM AGREEMENT-Annex III, Article 12, Environmental Protection, Retrieve at: <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/the%20israeli-palestinian%20interim%20agreement%20-%20annex%20iii.aspx#app-12>

IX. Environmental Peacebuilding Organizations in the Middle East:

a. Greenpeace Mediterranean (GPMED)¹

Greenpeace is an international non-governmental environmental organization founded by Canadian environmental activists in 1971. It has offices in over forty countries across the world, and an international coordinating body in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Greenpeace states its goal is to “ensure the ability of the Earth to nurture life in all its diversity” and focuses its campaigning on worldwide issues such as climate change, deforestation, overfishing, commercial whaling, genetic engineering, and anti-nuclear issues. It uses direct action, lobbying, and research to achieve its goals. The global organization relies on 2.9 million individual supporters and foundation grants. Greenpeace has a general consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council² and is a founding member of the INGO Accountability Charter;³ an international non-governmental organization that intends to foster accountability and transparency of non-governmental organizations. Greenpeace is known for its direct actions, and the civic engagement of its member in activities and initiatives which promote the organization’s at times, controversial views. It has been described as the most visible environmental organization in the world. Greenpeace has raised environmental issues to public knowledge, and influenced both the private and the public sector. It currently operates in the Middle East in Lebanon. Furthermore, in emphasizing the role of youth, Greenpeace arranges international summer camps and volunteer programs around the world which train young people on coalition building, advanced media, creative activism, recruitment and banner making. All of these trainings provide the young activists with skills that will be beneficial to working on a Greenpeace or any of its campaigns on their campus or in their communities back home.⁴

b. EcoPeace Middle East⁵

EcoPeace Middle East, formerly Friends of the Earth Middle East, is part of the world’s largest grassroots environmental network, uniting 75 national member groups and some 5,000 local activist groups on every continent. With over 2 million members and

¹ GPMED <http://www.greenpeacearabic.org/>

² The United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) is one of the principal organs of the United Nations, responsible for coordinating the economic, social and related work of 14 UN specialized agencies, their functional commissions and five regional commissions. Read more: <https://www.un.org/ecosoc/en/>

³ <http://www.ingoaccountabilitycharter.org/>

⁴ Greenpeace International, Greenpeace Youth: The New Climate Leaders, 2009. Retrieve at: <http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/greenpeace-youth-the-new-climate-leaders/>

⁵ http://foeme.org/www/?module=about_us

supporters around the world, they campaign on today's most urgent environmental and social issues. They challenge the current model of economic and corporate globalization, and promote solutions that will help to create environmentally sustainable and socially just societies. It was brought to the Middle East in 1998 as a meeting place for Palestinian, Egyptian, Jordanian and Israeli environmental NGOs. EcoPeace Middle East has a wide range of projects organized around particular geographic areas such as the Jordan River valley, the Dead Sea, and the Gulf of Aqaba. It also organizes projects around water, environmental policy, sustainable development, climate change, trade and environment, and solar power. It has promoted protection rather than development of the Dead Sea and its designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. They also advocated the establishment of a "peace park" along the Jordan River, and strongly challenged the proposed project to channel water from the Red Sea to the Dead Sea. EcoPeace Middle East has published its own study of environmental peacebuilding, and circulates a monthly "environmental peacemaking" newsletter.¹

c. Arava Institute for Environmental Studies²

The institute opened in 1996, and is an academic institution solely devoted to environmental peacebuilding, and leadership in the Middle East. For one or two semesters students from Israel, Jordan, Palestine, Egypt and overseas live and study together on Kibbutz Ketura, Jordan, and can even receive university credit for their work. From 1996 to 2010, about 600 students have studied at the institute. University credit is now received through Ben Gurion University, and the institute co-sponsors a Master's program, in which some of its alumni have studied. The institute has also developed as a research center, and subsequently actively participates in projects as partners with Palestinian and Jordanian researchers and local grassroots and civil society organizations. Their projects have included developing a center for sustainable agriculture, developing policy options for the Dead Sea, and a study of health effects from exposure to airborne particles. These projects involve links to international networks of funding, and have brought regional conferences to the institute regularly. The institute has co-sponsored a conference on alternative energy and supported the development of the solar power. They have created a sophisticated model of civic engagement and active participation that has not been mirrored throughout the Middle East. It is an example of an institution that not only trains and educated the

¹ FoE Archive Center, Retrieve at: <http://www.foei.org/press/archive-by-subject>

² Arava Institute, Read more: <http://arava.org/>

mentality of the individuals who study there, but also allows them to become active local and international citizens.

XI. Conclusion: The Move Towards Security and Sustainable Development

Despite the limitations of particular resources, environmental peacebuilding, civic engagement and cooperation on the local and the international levels offer a way to actively tackle conflict prevention instead of continuing to pre-occupy ourselves with "inevitable" resource conflicts. Moreover, the initial step in managing the inter-relationships between security and sustainable development is to expand our vision. Today more than any other time in history, it is becoming more and more evident that conflicts arise not only from political and military threats to national sovereignty, but also stem from environmental degradation and the pre-emption of development options. There are, of course, no military solutions to environmental insecurity, and modern warfare can itself create major internationally shared environmental hazards. The idea of national sovereignty has been fundamentally altered by globalization, and interdependence within the realm of economics, environment, and security. The 'global commons' may not be managed from any national center. The states' efforts alone are inadequate in dealing with threats to shared ecosystems. Threats to environmental security can only be dealt with by joint management, education, active participation, civic engagement, networking and multilateral procedures and mechanisms. Already, it is seen that environmental issues are encouraging cooperation within nations and among nations, and are providing for solutions on how to proceed in dealing with this reality in the future. Today, there are multiple institutional systems to foster bilateral and regional cooperation. Some of the most challenging obstacles require cooperation among nations enjoying different systems of government, or even subject to antagonistic relations. Cooperation on environmental issues among developing countries has often been made difficult by poor communications, and by preventing local groups, youth, and civil society from directly engaging with the problem, as well as from actively participating in formulating solutions.

How Technology Can Help Children with Disabilities to Learn English Language

Aleksandra Pavlovska¹

Abstract:

Firstly, when we see the term technology we think about computers, mobile phones, tablets, specific programs, commands, hardware, software, applications, social networks, games and the era of nonverbal communication. But if we look further in this big topic we will see the term "children" especially children with disabilities. The question is: "How can we join these terms to make something productive for this kind of children? (in the point of education) This abstract will focus on assistive technology for children with disabilities to learn English language. "Children with disabilities" or "students with disabilities" means children or students who require special education because of: autism, communication disorders, deafblindness, emotional disturbances, hearing impairments, including deafness, intellectual disability, orthopaedic impairments, other health impairments, specific learning disabilities, traumatic brain injuries, or visual impairments, including blindness. Children with learning disabilities often have better technology skills than their teachers and are drawn to computers and other gadgets. So, using them in the classroom makes perfect sense. For children with physical disabilities, technology can give access to learning opportunities previously closed to them. E-readers help students turn book pages without applying dexterity, and voice adaptive software can help students answer questions without needing to write. There are a lot of assistive tools like: voice control, speakers, keyboards, audiobooks, audio Note-Notepad or voice recorder, but I will write about assistive robot. Social Assistive Robot is an innovative tool that promotes children's development through social interaction. Also, helps educational staff in the teaching of geometric thinking, language learning, storytelling and in promoting the metacognitive development by engaging children in interactive play activities. This is especially good for children with autism because the robot has a lot of abilities (ability to move, ability to manipulate with arms, hands, fingers and ability to communicate). The robot can help children with disabilities to learn English language or some other language because he is a good storyteller, speaks slowly and repeats words and sentences. There are three levels of this assistive robot. The first one is "Recognition" - child recognizes

¹ International Balkan University, Macedonia [aleksandra.xd@hotmail.com]

the geometric shape of the robot then the robot asks children to look at the screen and take notice of the basic shape of its picture shown there. The second one is "Visual association" - Robot asks children to inspect parts of its body and locate buttons on it. The third one is "Description/Analysis" - Robots asks children to analyse the classroom for example or to describe parts of the body. The results of this robot are very positive and children have a high level of enjoyment. Finally, I would like to say that every school needs this kind of assistive robot for studying English as well as other subjects. Don't forget that everyone is different that is what makes you so special.

Introduction

When we see the term technology we think about computers, mobile phones, tablets, specific programs, commands, hardware, software, applications, social networks, games and the era of nonverbal communication. But if we look further in this big topic we will see the term "children" especially children with disabilities. The question is: "How can we join these terms to make something productive for this kind of children? (in the point of education) "Children with disabilities" or "students with disabilities" means children or students who require special education because of: autism; communication disorders, deaf blindness, emotional disturbances, hearing impairments, including deafness; intellectual disability; orthopaedic impairments, other health impairments, specific learning disabilities, traumatic brain injuries, or visual impairments, including blindness. Estimates suggest that there are at least 93 million children with disabilities in the world, but numbers could be much higher. They are often likely to be among the poorest members of the population. They are less likely to attend school, access medical services, or have their voices heard in society. Their disabilities also place them at a higher risk of physical abuse, and often exclude them from receiving proper nutrition or humanitarian assistance in emergencies. A disability of a child is often followed by his being marginalized in the society. For example, it is found that only around 2% of the disabled children have access to education. Furthermore, the disability scares people. It is often established in the collective conscious that a disability is a curse or a punishment for sins committed by ones ancestors. In numerous regions around the world, children suffering from disabilities are isolated, shunned and are considered untouchable... This type of thing is mostly flagrant in developing countries where the majority of disabled children are illiterate and they live completely isolated form the rest of the society. Often, they are forced to beg in order to provide for themselves and they live in streets in extreme poverty. It is important to remember that learning disabled students are not students who are incapacitated or unable to learn; rather, they need differentiated instruction tailored to their distinctive learning abilities. Technology can be the great equalizer in a classroom with diverse learners. Whereas

teachers can find it difficult to differentiate instruction for 30+ students in one class, all with different needs and abilities. "Assistive technology" (devices and software to assist students with disabilities) can often help teachers personalize lessons and skills enhancement to each child. Children with learning disabilities often have better technology skills than their teachers and are drawn to computers and other gadgets, so using them in the classroom makes perfect sense. For children with physical disabilities, technology can give access to learning opportunities previously closed to them. E-readers help students turn book pages without applying dexterity, and voice adaptive software can help students answer questions without needing to write. Computers are engaging and more advanced than the typical modified lesson allows. Assistive technology is not always just for students with disabilities; it can be used to help any student with motivation, academic skills, and social development. There are a lot of assistive tools like: voice control, speakers, keyboards, audiobooks, audio Note-Notepad or voice recorder, but I will focus on assistive robot.

Technology and 21st century

Nowadays we are surrounded by digital technology everywhere. Most of us are using smartphones, smart televisions or computers all day every day. Digital technology refers to anything that is computerized. If we look deep we will see that every aspect of our lives is controlled by computers. That means the music that we are listening now is saved in digital formats. Also, we can find a lot of pictures or files on our USB. Even kids nowadays have their favourite games on CDs, SD cards or other type of Flash memory. All of us every day are walking with smartphones and headphones on our ears. The televisions we watch now are even smart televisions. We can realise that everything around us is smart and digital. But not only the adults also, children are big part of this technology era. Children like to play games on computers, tablets or mobile phones. There actually appears to be some advantage to children playing computer games. Having to look at images on the screen and analyse what to do, seems to help with the development of cognitive, or thinking, skills. There is a lot of evidence that this helps with recognizing images in general, which is a necessary skill in nonverbal communication. Aside from games, children also use computers for learning purposes. If we start to search we can find different types of games for different purposes. For example, they can improve math skills or they can easily learn new language. There are a lot of audio books and children can improve their speaking skills or with online books they can improve their reading and writing skills. But thanks to the IT sector, technology goes further. When I write the word "technology" I don't think only about tablets, Xbox or laptops. I think about something more interesting and that are robots. It's very good when you have someone to help you but with this new era of living and

in our near future we will find our support in robots. Robots can be very productive for people with disabilities especially children with disabilities. This assistive technology is very helpful for parents that have children with disability. Robots also can be found in schools because they are "right hand" for teachers and helpful product for children.

What is assistive robot?

Definition about robot: "A robot is a mechanical or virtual intelligent agent that can perform tasks automatically or with guidance, typically by remote control. In practice, a robot is usually an electro-mechanical machine that is guided by computer and electronic programming. Robots can be autonomous, semi-autonomous, or remotely controlled. Robots range from humanoids such as ASIMO and TOPIO to nano robots, swarm robots, industrial robots, military robots, mobile, and servicing robots. By mimicking a lifelike appearance or automating movements, a robot may convey a sense that it has intent or agency of its own." (Jaffe, Nelson and Thiemen, 2002, February)

Definition about assistive robot: "Assistive robot performs a physical task for the well-being of a person with a disability. The task is embedded in the context of normal human activities of daily living and would otherwise have to be performed by an attendant. An assistive robot is a device that can sense, process sensory information, and perform actions that benefit people with disabilities and seniors." (Jaffe, Nelson and Thiemen, 2002, February) There are two types of assistive robots: "Fixed-base robots" and "Mobile robots". Fixed-base robots or Bedside are used for food, medicine and health. Mobile robots are autonomous with mobility support or wheelchair which have autonomous navigation and manipulator arm. But also, there is a type of humanoid robot. Social Assistive Robot or humanoid robot is an innovative tool that promotes children's development through social interaction. Also, helps educational staff in the teaching of geometric thinking, language learning, storytelling and in promoting the metacognitive development by engaging children in interactive play activities. For teachers, this is classroom Assistant and is called Nao robot.

Nao robot

Nao (pronounced now) is an autonomous, interactive and programmable humanoid robot developed by Aldebaran Robotics, a French robotics company headquartered in Paris, which was acquired by SoftBank Group in 2015 and rebranded as SoftBank Robotics. The robot's development began with the launch of Project Nao in 2004. Nao is 53 centimetres high and has 4.3kg. This robot is with lithium battery providing 48.6 Wh and has 90 minutes (active use). Nao is made with two cameras, four microphones, two infrared receivers and nine tactile sensors. This is the fruit of a unique combination of mechanical engineering and software. Nao robot has seven senses for natural

interaction: moving, feeling, hearing, speaking, seeing, connecting, and thinking. Nao has twenty-five degrees of freedom and a humanoid shape that enable him to move and adapt to the world around him. His inertial unit enables him to maintain his balance and to know whether he is standing up or lying down. The numerous sensors in his head, hands and feet, as well as his sonars, enable him to perceive his environment and get his bearings. With his 4 directional microphones and loudspeakers, NAO interacts with humans in a completely natural manner, by listening and speaking. NAO is equipped with two cameras that film his environment in high resolution, helping him to recognise shapes and objects. To access the Internet autonomously, NAO can use a range of different connection modes (WIFI, Ethernet). We can't really talk about "Artificial Intelligence" with NAO, but the robots are already able to reproduce human behaviour. NAO is designed to be personalised: adding content, using a variety of capacities, enriching his personality and even developing new skills and know-how. Humanoid robots have always fascinated students. The NAO humanoid robot is an ideal platform for teaching subjects. This robot motivates students and improve learning effectiveness. Nao is one of the most advanced humanoid robots ever created. His programmable, open and autonomous nature brings a wealth of learning opportunities to the classroom.

Nao and children with disabilities

Today, NAO is the leading humanoid robot being used in research and education worldwide. The robot can help children with disabilities to learn English language or some other language because he is a good storyteller, speaks slowly and repeats words and sentences. There are three levels of this assistive robot. The first one is "Recognition" - child recognizes the geometric shape of the robot than the robot asks children to look at the screen and take notice of the basic shape of its picture shown there. The second one is "Visual association" - Robot asks children to inspect parts of its body and locate buttons on it. The third one is "Description/Analysis" - Robots asks children to analyse the classroom for example or to describe parts of the body.

Nao and Autistic children

Children love this robot especially those with Autism. Autistic children may learn better from robots than from human teachers. The robots have no emotion, so autistic children find them less threatening than their teachers and easier to engage with. They are cute looking. Children with autism struggle communicating with adults and with other children, but for some reason they engage with these robots. The head teacher from trial school in Birmingham said that: "Children who first come into school unable to make eye contact with humans start to communicate through the robots. The robots

are knee-high and move like children. The school is using them to teach new vocabulary, and play cards or memory and imitation games with children aged from five to 10." (Ian Lowe November, 2012) "The director of the university's Autism Centre for Education and Research said that: It can be very difficult to get children with autism to focus. It is amazing to see how engaged and focused they can be when they are working with the robot. Autistic children found technology predictable, clear and motivating but a well thought out programme could also work well in mainstream classes. If you can meet the needs of children autism you can meet the needs of all children. When people feel safe and are motivated they learn much better." (Dr Karen Guldberg, November 2012)

Nao and storytelling

The best talent that Nao has is storytelling. He can speak slowly, and he can also repeat words or sentences. A lot of his functions can be combined to create a richer story. This robot is miming to illustrate what he is seeing. He can move his arms to indicate to press buttons. He is always using gestures when interacting with people. Nao's communication is based on pointing. Another interesting skill is changing lights depending on the environment. This kind of robot is playing atmospheric music and sound effects for each area. The music relates to the type of the story that he is telling. In that way stories are more realistic and enjoyable for children. Children can easily focus with some music in background.

Ask Nao (card game)

Ask Nao is an interactive game. Also, it is engaging and captures students' attention. It is adaptive to the needs of the classroom from individuals to groups. The game is customized for the special education. Children can learn about emotions, weather, animals, sports, word spelling by using robot in the classroom. For this game, you need printed cards with numbers, letters or printed pictures with sports, animals, clothes, emotions... Nao will ask you to find some picture and is giving you time to search. When you are ready, you can show the picture and wait for his answer. After each answer, the robot is asking you: "Do you want to continue with the game?" In that way children can play different card games according to cards that they have.

Conclusion

Technology is by far the most popular topic nowadays. Assistive technology provides creative solutions that enable individuals with disabilities to be more independent, productive, and included in society and community life. Today many people with disabilities are breaking barriers by technology. For some individuals with disabilities,

assistive technology is a necessary tool that enables them to engage in or perform many tasks. Assistive technology is the key to making educational environments inclusive for individuals with significant disabilities. This type of technology is considered a powerful tool for inclusion. Every day we have new applications and products. In the past, we were only dreaming about robots that will talk, walk, sit, play or even dance with us. But today we have robots that can even help us to improve our learning skills. One of them is the robot Nao. Nao was initially designed as an IT and robotics research tool by a French start-up. Now, almost by accident, it is proving to be an invaluable aid to autistic children. Learning applications have been developed and Nao has been introduced into specialist educational institutions. Today, Nao is the leading humanoid robot being used in research and education worldwide. The most important is that this robot can help children with autism and special needs. Nao is "assistant" for learning English language because with his interactive games children with disabilities can remember and repeat their favourite games.

Recommendations

The benefits that assistive technologies have for individuals with significant disabilities are enormous. Not only the impact of being included in a regular classroom environment will be felt, but also being included in life is now a reality where in the past it was not even a remote dream.

Benefits of using Nao in classroom

Nao has qualities that are extremely well-adapted to the context of special education: he is engaging, predictable, tireless, but also multi-interactive. He is humanoid technological interface who naturally attracts children. He helps to create communication bridges between the child and the people around him. This robot is a comprehensive solution designed to assist teachers and childcare workers in the support of autistic children.

Benefits of using Nao for teachers

Nao is very helpful tool for teaching reading, writing even Algebra. This robot works with concept of a lot of educational games and stories. Teacher can even design the story for their students and Nao is here to present. Nao is a kind of "right hand" for teachers in primary schools because he looks like a toy. Children love Nao mostly children with Autism.

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The Importance of Teacherpreneurship in Higher Education Institutions

Shpresa Hasani¹

Abstract:

Teaching the so called “Googled learner”, who has grown up on virtual reality games and can find out almost any kind of information with a few taps of the finger is not an easy task at all. This phenomenon transformed the learning environment, in which the teacher is not the main source of information. The students can learn 24/7 as well as they can develop in-demand skills. In other words, learning is increasingly moving online, hence the concept of teacherpreneurship in this new education landscape is seen as important conduit of innovation. Teacherpreneurship is a new area in academic literature, which has yet to be viewed as a significant economic and business activity. This study will attempt to offer new insights that could either provide the basis for a broader or more specific research on aspects of teacherpreneurship. These will be teachers who will continue to work with their students on a daily basis, but at the same time they will use their expertise to coordinate community partnerships and share best teaching practices. Their knowledge and experience of curriculum development, teaching and learning methodologies as well as assessment of learning outcomes can help the novice teachers to become more competitive within the context of education industry. It can offer many innovative or imitative education solutions and experiences, which can be used to improve the educational system at the universities.

Introduction

According to Matlay (2006) teacherpreneurs are those skilled teachers who are passionate about their teaching and they're willing to share their ideas to inspire other teachers and to transform teaching and learning. They also have the ability to develop a strength-finding mindset in their classrooms and by that help their students to perform and engage at high levels. They can prove that their skills are transferrable and their pedagogical talent can be used as an asset to find innovative solutions to challenges facing the education industry. They use creativity and reflection to think beyond their teaching and find ways to make lessons meaningful and usable outside

¹South East European University, Tetovo [sh.mustafai@seeu.edu.mk]

the classroom. For example, they can prepare social projects for teachers and students, material design packages, offer consulting for teacher education, etc. Even though this might be very demanding and challenging task, making them leave their comfort zone, yet it represents a path by which they develop professionally and personally (e.g. Gibb 2005). Teacherpreneurship can offer many authentic and innovative solutions and add value to the education industry. The new trends in the era of digital learning require creating e-learning contents, educational apps, learning platforms and online marketplaces. Therefore, the entrepreneurs are directly involved in the process of education as well. Teaching skills should be aligned with the needs of the market and the educational institutions need to prepare the students to cope with the rapidly changing circumstances and fit to the market needs. Teacherpreneurship is an evolving form of entrepreneurship therefore it contains many element of entrepreneurship. (Hytti 2004,16). The term entrepreneurship refers to an individual's ability to turn ideas into action. It includes creativity, innovation, showing initiative and risk-taking, as well as the ability to plan and manage projects in order to achieve objectives. Thus entrepreneurship in education is about lifelong competence development. The entrepreneurial teacher needs to be someone who listens attentively and can pick up and put to good use new ideas. He/she also needs to have the ability to sell ideas to others. Above all they should motivate their students to become passionate to create, grow and learn. As more students graduate to pursue social-sector careers, it is increasingly important for higher education and leadership programs to incorporate these practice-based experiences into their curriculum, and provide better connection of theory with practice. The emphasis should be put on working with community in order to identify the needs which are important to marketplaces and prepare our students to face the challenges and complexities which they might encounter. It is imperative for educational institutions to offer purpose-based training to support their students' personal and professional growth. Ongoing complex global challenges demand innovative solutions that are developed in line with the teachers who can effectively advance these social transformations. The strategy of the European Union highlights the importance of the development of entrepreneurial culture by fostering the right mindset, entrepreneurship skills and awareness of career opportunities (Commission of the European Communities 2006). The target of this paper is to present the teacher's role as an entrepreneurship educator and present teachers' views of teacherpreneurship. The main objective is to focus on teachers' reflection processes in order to gain data about teachers' involvement in teacherpreneurship. According to Shulman & Shulman (2004) when teachers form learning communities and work as members of such communities, they are capable of learning from their own and others' experiences through active reflection.

Data gathering

This is an exploratory study, which according to Saunders et al. (2012) is concerned with providing new insights, asking new questions and assessing topics in a new light. For this purpose a survey with structured questions is given to 18 teachers, 4 high-lectors, teaching Business English skills at the Language Centre and 14 teachers teaching professional subjects at the Faculty of Business and Economics. As teachers represent the key element of creating and distributing entrepreneurial culture their perceptions and views can contribute toward creating and fostering of entrepreneurial personality in any teaching subject.

This micro research answers the following research questions:

1. What is needed to become a successful teacherpreneur?
2. What kind of results have you achieved as teacherpreneur?

Results and Discussion

3. What is needed to become a successful teacherpreneur?

All teachers believe that teacherpreneurs are leaders who are able to share best practices and innovative ideas outside the classroom. Beside this they have deep knowledge of their students and communities. The majority of teachers think that businesses and educational institutions are interconnected, and this is reflected at the teaching curricula as well. Globalization and market trends require from higher education institutions to equip students with skills and knowledge that will fit to the market needs in order to increase success and competitiveness within domestic and international companies. Entrepreneurial thinking is becoming a linking bridge between higher education academic disciplines and the business sector. As a result, teachers need to involve these sophisticated skill sets into the course subjects which become increasingly interdisciplinary.

4. What kind of results have you achieved as teacherpreneur?

Even though the concept of teacherpreneurship was familiar to all teachers, they seem to have difficulties to measure the effectiveness of the finished projects as well as their practical efficiency. When asked to define the aims, the majority referred to the best practices. They think that there is no defined link between aims and results of the assigned entrepreneurial tasks. Moreover, they stressed that there is a need to work on developing practical tools to measure the outcomes. They also pointed the necessity of

engaging experienced consultants to transform the teaching objectives into teaching activities and learning outcomes. 16 out of 18 teachers believe that business related subjects play an important role in their teaching classes, therefore they apply many real-life and project-based activities. When sending students to complete their internship in different business companies, they advise their student to do needs analysis of that particular company and then offer them a concrete solution for their struggles. They also pointed out that there is an urgent need to form shared teachers communities where they can share best organizational and pedagogical practices, not only within but outside their institutions as well. To receive accurate feedback they need self-reflective diaries to reflect from previous actions and identify which practices bring better results. By being capable reflecting they can critically examine what they've achieved and detect areas for improvement.

Conclusion

This article aimed to emphasize the challenging role of the teacher and their active contribution in the process of teacherpreneurship. Productive teacherpreneurs can be teachers who are involved in mentoring, who are willing to share what works, are willing and capable to evaluate their colleagues and give accurate feedback as well as contribute in building partnerships. All teachers strongly agree that they should learn from one another. They emphasize that there is an urgent need classroom experts to shape policy instructions based on reality of teaching and learning. The accent should be put on communication, collaboration, critical thinking and creative problem-solving demonstrated into practice through different group projects which meet academic standards. Teacher unions need to transform into professional guilds, where members make high performance standards and the skills of teachepreneur extend locally and globally.

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Quasi-Experimental Study on the Impact of Applying Stylistics to Teaching Literature in EFL Classes: The Case of Second Year Students of English at University of Ouargla

Halima Benzoukh¹

Abstract:

The present paper attempts to show the impact of integrating stylistics into teaching literature in EFL classes. The main focus of this study is to investigate the responses of Algerian students to the proposed teaching approach which is hoped to improve students' understanding and encourage them to experience literary texts' interpretation. The study is carried out upon a quasi-experimental method. It is limited to one experimental group of second year students of English at University of Ouargla that is exposed to the suggested teaching approach. In order to reveal the students' responses to the teaching methodologies used in their classes, quantitative investigations of the data are gathered through an experiment which consists of two phases. In the first stage of each phase, traditional literature lectures are presented, and then followed by a pre-test. However, in the second stage of each phase, stylistics is integrated into the literature sessions which are followed by a post-test. The analysis of the data reveals significant differences in the nature of the students' responses to the teaching approaches they received in the experiment's phases. If any improvement in the students' scores is observed, it can be due to the integration of stylistics. The experiment is repeated in a second phase to confirm the reliability and validity of the treatment. To test the research hypotheses, t-test and Fisher and Yates's table of critical values are used. It is observed that there is a significant relationship between the teaching methodologies used in both sessions, and level of motivation, involvement and appreciation of the literary texts under study. The findings maintain that applying the stylistic approach significantly increases the level of students' involvement and fosters their comprehension and interpretation of literary texts.

Key-words: Stylistics, Literature Teaching, EFL, Students, Literary Text

¹Kasdi Merbah University, Algeria [halimabenzoukh@gmail.com]

Introduction

The experiment was carried out in accordance with the literature course syllabus in the Department. It was conducted with second year students of English at Kasdi Merbah University-Ouargla. The experiment attempts to integrate the proposed stylistic approach into the literature session. Its aim is to improve the teaching of literature and thus the students' ability to comprehend and analyse literary texts. The experiment consists of two phases, and each phase is composed of two stages.

1. Data Statistical Analysis of the Pilot Experiment

A pilot experiment is like a dress rehearsal: a pilot group taken from the chosen sample held the experiment first before trying it out with the whole sample (Ladico et al, 2006). The pilot phase gives the researcher an opportunity to ensure the treatment validity (Cohen et al, 2007). After conducting the pilot experiment, the researcher collected the tests' scores to start all the required statistical calculations to get the difference between the two tests.

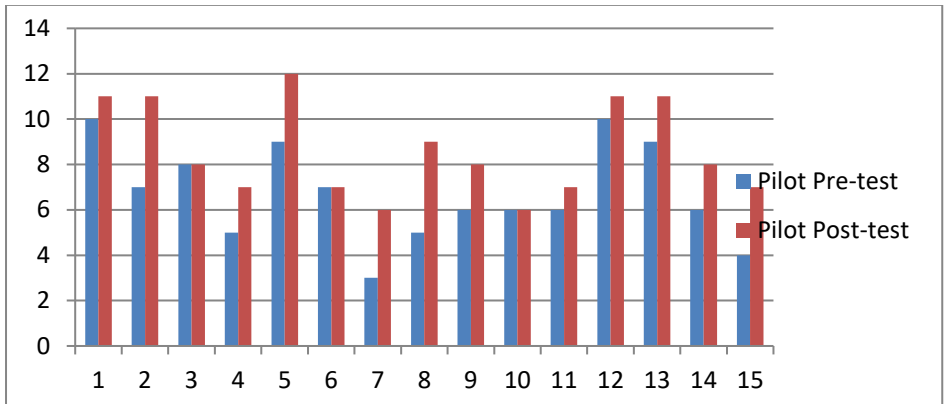
1.1 Pilot Tests' Scores

The researcher got the following score values out of the (15) students who participated in the pilot study after holding the pilot pre-test and post-test. Due to ethical basis of research work, the names of the (15) students are not mentioned and the researcher in this case prefers to use Arabic numerals as representative codes; each numeral represents a student. The pilot phase tests' scores are as follows:

Student (Subject)	Score of the Pre-test	Score of the Post-test	Mean
1	10	11	1
2	7	11	4
3	8	8	0
4	5	7	2
5	9	12	3
6	7	7	0
7	3	6	3
8	5	9	4
9	6	8	2
10	6	6	0
11	6	7	1
12	10	11	1
13	9	11	2
14	6	8	2
15	4	7	3
Sum of Scores ($\sum x$)	101	129	28
Mean of Scores (\bar{X})	6,73	8,60	1,86

Table 1: Students' Scores in the Pilot Phase Tests

The following histogram is designed to present the subjects' scores graphically:



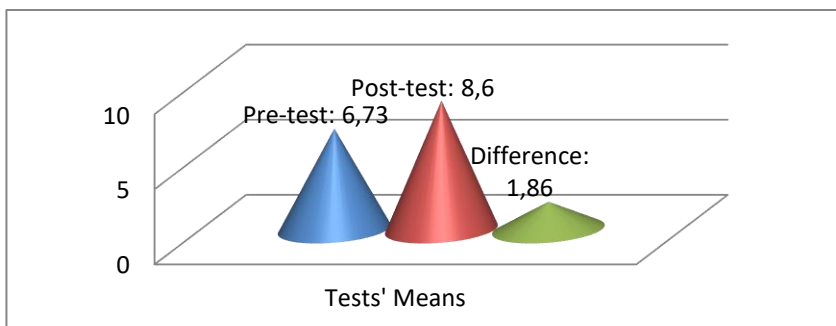
Graph 1: Histogram of Students' Scores in the Pilot Pre-test and Post-test

Table 1 and Graph 1 show the significant high scores of the post-test over the pre-test's, and this is clear when comparing the sums of scores (101 vs. 129). Comparing the means of scores will surely explain the statistical representation of how the students accomplished in the two tests:

Pilot Tests	Means
Pre-test	6,73
Post-test	8,60
Difference	1,86

Table 2: Means of Scores in the Pilot Phase Tests

This comparison is introduced in the following graph:



Graph 2: Pilot Tests' Means Compared

The results shown in both Table 2 and Graph 2 reveal that students achieved in the post-test better than in the pre-test, and in this case the difference in the means is (1,86). All this makes the researcher reach the first interpretation which indicates that any progress among the subjects is the result of the suggested treatment. Selecting the appropriate literary texts, the good learning atmosphere, and the proper order of class activities gave the subjects an opportunity to play a very important role in the teaching learning process. The (15) students thus got better scores in the post-test. Holding the treatment proves to be fruitful since it improved students' abilities to understand and interpret literary texts. The subjects' development in the post-test supports the hypothesis (H_1) put for the present study, which states that the integration of stylistics in EFL classes of literature boosts the students' interpretive abilities in analysing literary texts, increases their understanding and aids them to achieve better grades.

1.2 Analysis and Interpretation of the Pilot Phase Tests' Results

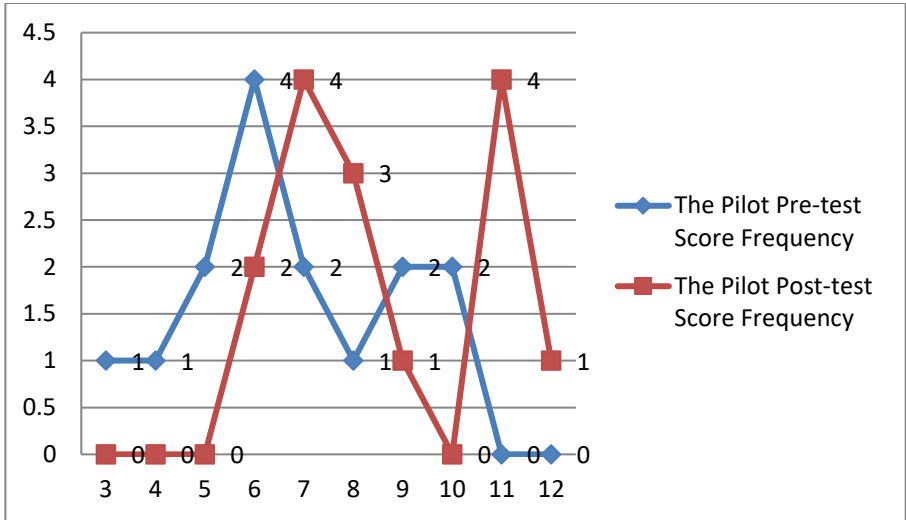
Conducting a statistical research needs the description of the way subjects scored in each test by means of descriptive statistics and graphic representations to appreciate the logic behind an experiment (Nunan, 1999). In descriptive statistics used in the pilot tests, the researcher should calculate the frequency distribution of scores in the two tests, the variance and the standard deviation, and find out the validity of all the statistical results using the *t-test* (Calder & Sapsford, 2006).

The researcher arranges the scores' values from low to high and the frequency of each score value in the following table:

Pilot Pre-test		Pilot Post-test	
Score (X_{pre1})	Frequency (f)	Score (X_{post1})	Frequency (f)
3	1	3	0
4	1	4	0
5	2	5	0
6	4	6	2
7	2	7	4
8	1	8	3
9	2	9	1
10	2	10	0
11	0	11	4
12	0	12	1

Table 3: Frequency Distribution of Scores in the Pilot Phase Tests

To present graphically the scores of the pilot phase tests' scores, the following frequency polygon is used:



Graph 3: Frequency Polygon for the Pilot Phase Tests' Scores

Both Table 3 and Graph 3 reveal a number of statistical implications about the values of scores in the two tests (the pre-test and the post-test). These implications are related to the range of scores, those scores which are below and above (10), and the lowest and the highest score values.

To begin with the pilot pre-test, the researcher finds out the following:

- The score values in the pilot pre-test range from 3 to 10 with the dominance of the score 6.
- 13 scores <10 and 2 scores are equal to the average 10.
- The score 6 is the highest score frequency whereas the other scores 5, 7, 9 and 10 have two frequencies and the scores 3, 4 and 8 have only one frequency in the pilot pre-test.
- The range here is 7 (the range is the difference between the two extreme scores- the highest and the lowest).
- The median (the value that is found in the centre) is 6 and the mode (the value that has the highest frequency) is 6.

As far as the pilot post-test is concerned, Table 7.3 shows the following:

- The score values in the pilot post-test range from 6 to 12 with the dominance of the scores 7 and 10.
- 10 scores <10 and 5 scores >10
- The scores 7, 8, and 11 are the highest scores frequency whereas the scores 9 and 12 have only one frequency in the pilot post-test.
- The range here is 6 (the range is the difference between the two extreme scores- the highest and the lowest).
- The median is 8 and the two modes are 7 and 11, and thus the data set is bi-modal.

1.3 Statistical Calculations of the Pilot Pre-test

In order to determine the difference between the pilot pre-test and the pilot post-test performances in a complete statistical description, the researcher gathers the quantitative data, mainly through calculating of the mean, the variance and the standard deviation to verify to what extent the data are alike and the degree to which data vary (Miller, 1996).

a. The Mean

The mean is the commonly used measure of likeness and it represents the average of a number of numerical data (numbers). \bar{X} as a symbol is employed to stand for the mean. The formula of the mean is the following (Cohen et al, 2007):

$$\text{Mean: } \bar{X} = \frac{\sum FX}{N}$$

In which \bar{X} is the mean, Fx is the score frequency, N is the number of scores, and Σ is the sum.

b. The Standard Deviation

The standard deviation SD is used to measure the dispersion of the mean for calculating the extent to which a number of scores vary in relation to the mean (Fisher & Foreit, 2002). The formula of the SD is as follows (Miller, 1996):

$$SD = \sqrt{S^2}$$

In which S^2 stands for the variance. The variance formula is the following:

$$\text{Variance: } S^2 = \frac{\sum FX^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2 =$$

$$\text{So, the standard deviation: } SD = \sqrt{\frac{\sum FX^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2}$$

The calculation of the \bar{X} and SD of the pilot pre-test is explained below in Table 4:

Score (X)	f	X ²	fX	fX ²
3	1	9	3	9
4	1	16	4	16
5	2	25	10	100
6	4	36	24	576
7	2	49	14	196
8	1	64	8	64
9	2	81	18	324
10	2	100	20	400
11	0	121	0	0
12	0	144	0	0
N = 15		645	$\sum FX = 101$	$\sum FX^2 = 1685$

Table 4: Statistical Calculations of the Pilot Pre-test

In this case, the mean of the pilot pre-test is calculated as follows:

$$\bar{X}_{pre} = \frac{101}{15} = 6.73$$

$$\text{Variance: } S^2 = \frac{\sum FX^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2 = \frac{1685}{15} - (6.73)^2 = 67.04$$

$$\text{So, the standard deviation: } SD = \sqrt{\frac{\sum FX^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2} = \sqrt{\frac{10201}{15} - (6.73)^2} = 8.18$$

Statistical Calculations of the Pilot Pre-test:

$$\bar{X}_{pre} = 6.73$$

$$SD = 8.18$$

1.4 Statistical Considerations of the Pilot Post-test

Table 5 below displays the calculations of the mean and the standard deviation of the pilot post-test scores.

Score (X1)	f	X ²	fX	fX ²
3	0	9	0	0
4	0	16	0	0
5	0	25	0	0
6	2	36	12	144
7	4	49	28	784
8	3	64	24	576
9	1	81	9	81
10	0	100	0	0
11	4	121	44	1936
12	1	144	12	144
N= 15		645	$\sum FX = 129$	$\sum FX^2 = 3665$

Table 5: Statistical Calculations of the Pilot Post-Test

X stands for score

f stands for frequency

$$\text{Mean: } \bar{X}_{post} = \frac{\sum FX}{N} = \frac{129}{15} = 8.60$$

$$S^2 = \frac{\sum FX^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2 = \frac{3665}{15} - (8.60)^2 = 170.37$$

$$\text{So, the standard deviation: } SD = \sqrt{\frac{\sum FX^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2} = \sqrt{\frac{3665}{15} - (8.60)^2}$$

Standard Deviation: $SD = 13.05$

Statistical Calculations of the Pilot Post-test:

$$\bar{X}_{post} = 8.60$$

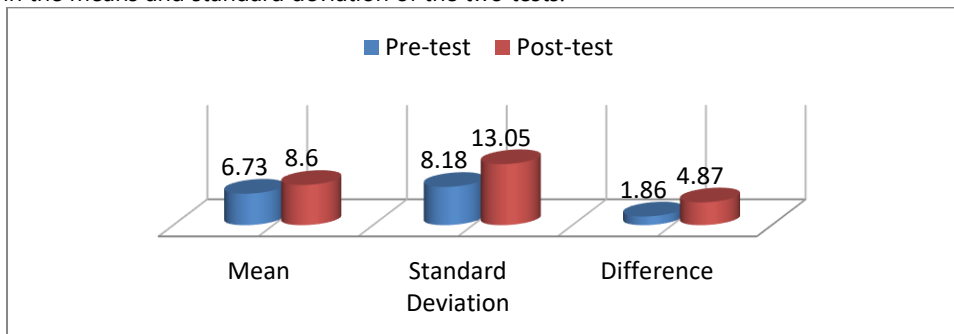
$$SD = 13.05$$

Comparing the two tests' descriptive statistics in Table 6 explains the expected differences between them:

Descriptive Statistics	Pilot Pre-test	Pilot Post-test	Difference
Mean	6.73	8.60	1.86
Standard Deviation	8.18	13.05	4.87

Table 6: Pilot Phase Tests' Means and Standard Deviation Compared

To represent graphically the above statistics, a histogram is used to show the difference in the means and standard deviation of the two tests:



Graph 4: Pilot Phase Tests' Descriptive Statistics Compared

According to the results presented in Table 6 and Graph 4, the researcher can maintain that the treatment session which the (15) students had led to the enhancement of their achievement in the post-test. The researcher argues that the stylistic approach (the suggested treatment) led to better achievement and performance of the students in the post-test. The difference in the means of the two tests (1.86) and the *SD* are a proof of the subjects' improvement in their scores. Moreover, the differences in the descriptive statistics strengthen the research hypothesis which claims that applying stylistics to teaching literature boosts students' performance in understanding, analysing and interpreting literary texts.

1.5 T-test of the Pilot Phase

The *t*-test is the appropriate test used to compare two means (Miller, 1996). It aims at knowing whether there are statistically significant differences between two tests (ibid.). In order to get the *t* value, the formula below is applied (Cohen et al, 2007: 543):

$$t = \frac{\text{Sample one mean} - \text{sample two mean}}{\text{SE of the difference in means}}$$

$$t = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2)}{SE}$$

Where t stands for the t-test and SE stands for the standard error of the difference in means.

The SE formula is as follows:

$$SE = SD / \text{sq root of } N = \frac{SD_{post} - SD_{pre}}{\sqrt{N}}$$

Where SD stands for standard deviation and N stands for the number of the sample.

The following data are taken into consideration to calculate the value of the t-test:

\bar{X}_1 : Post-test mean

\bar{X}_2 : Pre-test mean

SD_{pre} : Standard Deviation of the pre-test

SD_{post} : Standard Deviation of the post-test

In this case,

$$SE = \frac{SD_{post} - SD_{pre}}{\sqrt{N}} = \frac{4.87}{\sqrt{15}} = 1.25$$

Using the previously mentioned formula of the t-test, the researcher gets the following:

$$t\text{-test} = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2)}{SE} = \frac{1.86}{1.25} = 0.31$$

2. Final Experimental Study

After the pilot experiment, the researcher got fruitful feedback from the fifteen students using a questionnaire as an evaluation form given to them after sitting for the pilot post-test. Therefore, she made some changes and modifications to conduct the final version of the experiment. The pilot experimental design aims at establishing reliability and validity (Wallace, 1998). The participants' comments were about the content, the delivery and the structure of the session. The students' suggestions indicate their commitment and concern with the treatment.

For instance, the students proposed reducing the length of the selected literary texts to ease the understanding of them. Also, they suggested adding glossaries to the texts explaining any odd or difficult words or phrases. The researcher further focused more on pair and group work to create a good learning atmosphere and to reinforce the learner-centred approach of the new LMD syllabus of literature in EFL Departments. Taking into account all the given comments, the researcher conducted the final experiment which is composed of two phases.

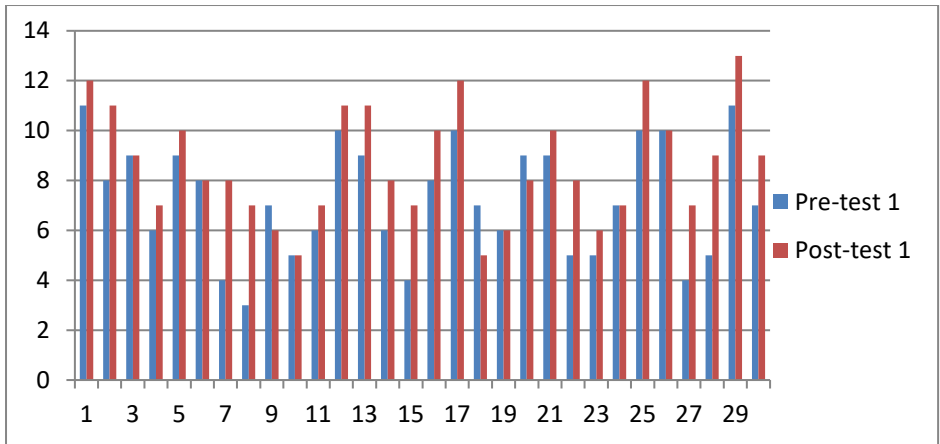
2.1 Phase One of the Final Experiment

The first phase has two stages. Stage one consists of a traditional lecture followed by a pre-test. Stage two is composed of the stylistic approach based session followed by a post-test. The scores of the two tests are as follows:

Student (Subject)	Score of the Pre-test	Score of the Post-test	Mean
1	11	12	1
2	8	11	3
3	9	9	0
4	6	7	1
5	9	10	1
6	8	8	0
7	4	8	4
8	3	7	4
9	7	6	1
10	5	5	0
11	6	7	1
12	10	11	1
13	9	11	2
14	6	8	2
15	4	7	3
16	8	10	2
17	10	12	2
18	7	5	2
19	6	6	0
20	9	8	1
21	9	10	1
22	5	8	3
23	5	6	1
24	7	7	0
25	10	12	2
26	10	10	0
27	4	7	3
28	5	9	4
29	11	13	2
30	7	9	2
Sum of Scores ($\sum X$)	218	259	41
Mean of Scores (\bar{X})	7.26	8.63	1.63

Table 7: Students' Scores in the First Pre-test and Post-test

To present graphically the first phase tests' scores, the following histogram is used:



Graph 5: Histogram Representing the First Phase Tests' Scores

Table 7 and Graph 5 reveal the following:

- There is a noticeable progress in the subjects' scores from the pre-test to the post-test.
- The sum of scores in the post-test is larger than the sum of scores in the pre-test.
- The mean of scores in the post-test is larger than the mean of scores in the pre-test.

Comparing the means of scores clarifies the statistical representation of the students' scores in the two tests. The first pre-test mean shows the following data:

N : Number of subjects = 30

$\sum X$ = The sum of scores = 218

\bar{X} = The mean

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum FX}{N} = \frac{218}{30} = 7.26$$

Whereas, the first post-test mean is calculated as follows:

N = 30

$\sum X$ = 259

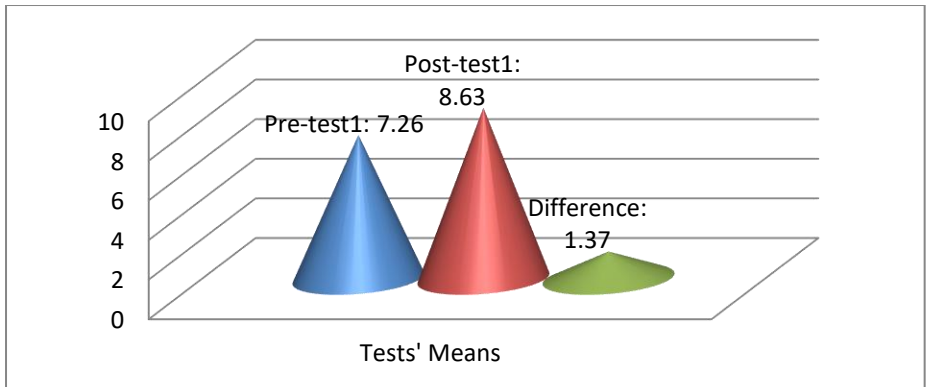
$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum FX}{N} = 8.63$$

The difference in means between pre-test1 and post-test1 is put as follows:

Tests	Means
Pre-test 1	7.26
Post-test 1	8.63
Difference	1.37

Table 8: First Phase Tests' Means Compared

These statistics are presented in the following graph:



Graph 6: First Phase Tests' Means Compared

The results showed in Table 8 and Graph 6 reveal the noticeable difference in the scores of the subjects from pre-test 1 to post-test 1, that is very clear in the difference in the scores' mean (1.37), and this shows the students' improvement in the post-test. Thus, the researcher makes an initial claim that this progress is the outcome of the suggested treatment.

Therefore, it is essential to highlight the important role of stylistics in enhancing the subjects' performance in post-test 1 in order to know the reason behind the over-scoring. Integrating stylistics helps the students to understand how language works in context and to make their intuitions come true for reaching a fruitful interpretation of the selected text. The researcher can thus make a preliminary claim that the progress in the first post-test's scores reinforces the alternative hypothesis (H_1) put for the research, which maintains that applying the stylistic approach into teaching literature in EFL classes boosts students' understanding and interpretive abilities.

2.1.1 Analysis and Interpretation of the First Phase Results

Descriptive statistics of the first phase tests require the calculation of the frequency distribution of the obtained scores, the mean, the variance and the standard deviation, and computing the t-test to verify the validity of the results. Descriptive statistics and graphic representations are needed in any statistically-based experimental research in order to get the logic behind any experiment conducted on case study approach (Wallace, 1998). Thus, it is recommended to account for the frequency distribution of the subjects' scores: the researcher has to check out the number of students who have the same score in each test (ibid.). The following table shows the frequency distribution of the first phase tests' scores (the scores are ordered from the lowest to the highest):

Pre-test 1		Post-test1	
Score (X_{pre1})	Frequency (f)	Score (X_{post1})	Frequency (f)
3	1	3	0
4	3	4	0
5	4	5	2
6	4	6	3
7	4	7	6
8	3	8	5
9	5	9	3
10	4	10	4
11	2	11	3
12	0	12	3
13	0	13	1

Table 9: Frequency Distribution of Scores in the First Phase Tests

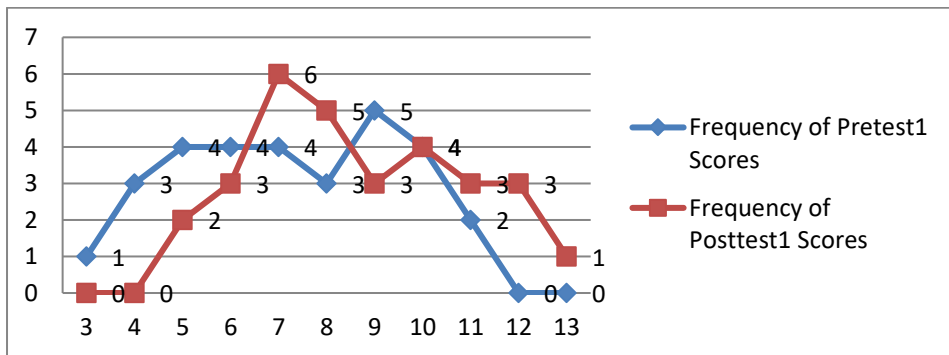
Therefore, the researcher finds out the following:

The scores' values range from 03 to 13

1- The Pre-test: 24 scores <10/ 4 scores= 10/ 2 scores >10.

2- The Post-test: 19 scores <10/ 4 scores=10/ 7 scores >10.

The following graph shows the distribution of the first phase scores:



Graph 7: Frequency Polygon for the First Phase Tests' Scores

The frequency distribution polygon (Graph 7) clearly reveals the following:

To make the calculation of the descriptive statistics, the researcher should first find out the scores' range, the mode and the median. The aim of getting such results is to reach

some relevant implications of the tests' scores taking into consideration the proposed treatment the students have gone through. The researcher thus finds out the following results:

- The values of scores 9, 5, 6, 7 and 10 are the most frequent in the first pre-test, whereas the values of scores 7, 8 and 10 are the most frequent in the first post-test.
- The range is (8) in the pre-test, and it is (8) in the post-test as well (the range is the difference between the two extreme scores- the highest and the lowest).
- The mode of the pre-test is (9), whereas the mode of the post-test is (7).
- The median of the pre-test is (7), but the median of the post-test is (8).

2.1.2 Statistical Considerations of the First Phase Tests

To start with, the researcher computes the mean, the variance and the standard deviation of the pre-test and then she moves to the post-test to make use of all the raw data she has got in order to find out the logic behind these score values.

a- Pre-test 1:

Table of score frequency, and calculating the mean and the standard deviation are all done here:

Statistical Calculations of Pre-test 1:

Score (X)	f	X ²	FX	fX ²
3	1	9	3	9
4	3	16	12	144
5	4	25	20	400
6	4	36	24	576
7	4	49	28	784
8	3	64	24	576
9	5	81	45	2025
10	4	100	40	1600
11	2	121	22	484
12	0	144	0	0
N= 30			$\sum FX = 218$	$\sum FX^2 = 6598$

Table 10: Statistical Calculations of the First Pre-test

X represents the score

F represents frequency

$$\text{Mean: } \bar{X}_{\text{pre1}} = \frac{\sum FX}{N} = 7.26$$

$$\text{Variance: } S^2 = \frac{\sum FX^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2 = \frac{6598}{30} - (7.26)^2 = 167.22$$

$$\text{Standard Deviation: } SD = \sqrt{\frac{\sum FX^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2} = \sqrt{167.22} = 12.93$$

Statistical Calculations of Pre-test 1:

$$\bar{X}_{\text{pre1}} = 7.26$$

$$SD = 12.93$$

b- Post-test 1

Table of score frequency, and computing the mean and the *SD* are done below:

- *Post-test 1 Statistical Calculations:*

Score (X)	F	X ²	fX	fX ²
3	0	9	0	0
4	0	16	0	0
5	2	25	10	100
6	3	36	18	324
7	6	49	42	1764
8	5	64	40	1600
9	3	81	36	1296
10	4	100	40	1600
11	3	121	33	1089
12	3	144	36	1296
N = 30			$\sum FX = 255$	$\sum FX^2 = 9069$

Table 11: Statistical Calculations of the First Post-test

X: score

f: frequency

$$\text{Mean: } \bar{X}_{\text{post1}} = \frac{\sum FX}{N} = 8.63$$

$$\text{Variance: } S^2 = \frac{\sum FX^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2 = \frac{9069}{30} - (8.63)^2 = 227.82$$

$$\text{Standard Deviation: } SD = \sqrt{\frac{\sum FX^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2} = 15.09$$

Statistical Calculations of Post-test 1:

$$\bar{X}_{\text{post1}} = 8.63$$

$$SD = 15.09$$

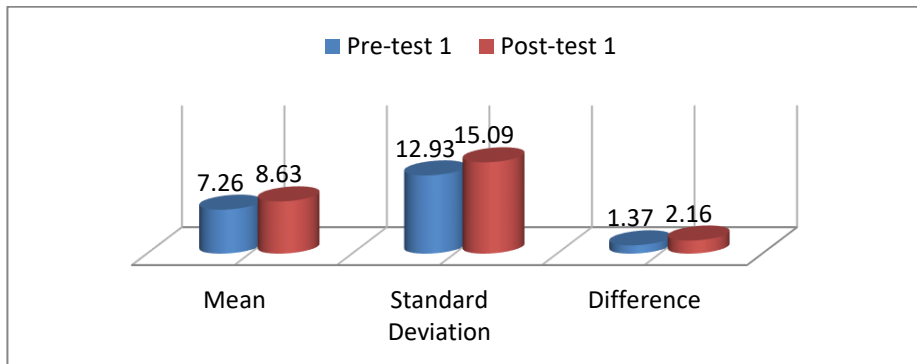
These statistical calculations lead to observing the difference between the two values of the mean and the *SD* of each test

Taking into account the differences between the two tests of the first phase (pre-test1 and post-test1) in descriptive statistics, the following table is put to compare the two means and the two values of *SD*:

	Pre-test One	Post-test One	Difference
Mean	7.26	8.63	1.37
Standard Deviation	12.93	15.09	2.16

Table 12: Comparing Means and Standard Deviation Values of the First Phase Tests

The following histogram is used to introduce graphically the above-stated statistics:



Graph 8: Comparing Means and Standard Deviation Values of the First Phase Tests

Table 12 and Graph 8 show that the experiment's treatment has a positive impact on students' scores in the post-test. Nevertheless, the researcher cannot only rely on the descriptive statistics (the means and the standard deviation) of the two tests to determine the effectiveness of the suggested approach, and therefore she needs to calculate the inferential statistics to find out the t-test value to consolidate the obtained results.

The results of the first phase experiment reveal that using the stylistic approach gave its anticipated outcomes. The difference in the means between pre-test1 and post-test1 is an evidence of the post-test better scoring and students' improved performance. Students' performance refers to the ability of comprehension and interpretation of literary texts. Moreover, the significant difference in the standard deviation (2.16) confirms the supposition which maintains that the better results the subjects got in the first post-test 1 are due to the stylistic approach-based session. The differences in the statistical descriptions also support the alternative research hypothesis which maintains that using stylistics in EFL classes of literature improves students' understanding and interpretive abilities in analysing literary texts.

2.1.3 T-test of the First Phase: Inferential Statistics

To confirm the present study's hypothesis (H_1), the researcher tries to find out the t -test as the most suitable testing procedure in this case. The t -test compares the means of the two tests in the first phase.

According to Cohen et al (2007: 543), the formula of the t -test is the following:

$$t = \frac{\text{Sample one mean} - \text{sample two mean}}{\text{SE of the difference in means}} = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2)}{SE}$$

Where t stands for the t -test and SE stands for the standard error of the difference in means.

The SE formula is as follows:

$$SE = SD / \text{sq root of } N = \frac{SD_{post} - SD_{pre}}{\sqrt{N}}$$

Where SD stands for standard deviation and N stands for the number of the sample.

The following data are taken into consideration to calculate the value of the t -test:

\bar{X}_1 : Post-test mean

\bar{X}_2 : Pre-test mean

SD_{pre} : Standard Deviation of the pre-test

SD_{post} : Standard Deviation of the post-test

In this case,

$$SE = \frac{SD_{post} - SD_{pre}}{\sqrt{N}} = \frac{15.09 - 12.93}{\sqrt{30}} = 0.39$$

Using the previously mentioned formula of the t -test, the researcher gets the following:

$$t\text{-test} = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2)}{SE} = \frac{1.37}{0.39} = 3.51$$

$t\text{-test} = 3.51$

2.2 Phase Two of the Final Experiment

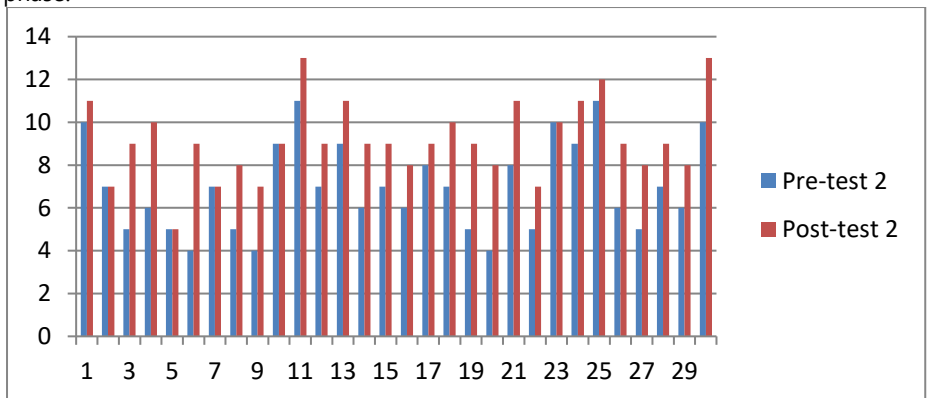
After the students had finished the first experimental phase, a second phase was conducted. Phase 2 consists of two stages. Stage 3 is composed of a traditional lecture followed by a test (pre-test 2) and stage four is composed of the stylistics based session followed by a test (post-test2). The table of the second pre-test and post-test scores is shown below:

Student (Subject)	Score of the Pre-test	Score of the Post-test	Mean
1	10	11	1
2	7	7	0
3	5	9	4
4	6	10	4
5	5	5	0
6	4	9	5
7	7	7	0
8	5	8	3
9	4	7	3

10	9	9	0
11	11	13	2
12	7	9	2
13	9	11	2
14	6	9	3
15	7	9	2
16	6	8	2
17	8	9	1
18	7	10	3
19	5	9	4
20	4	8	4
21	8	11	3
22	5	7	2
23	10	10	0
24	9	11	2
25	11	12	1
26	6	9	3
27	5	8	3
28	7	9	2
29	6	8	2
30	10	13	3
Sum of Scores ($\sum X$)	209	275	66
Mean of Scores (\bar{X})	6.96	9.16	2.2

Table 13: Students' Scores in the Second Pre-test and Post-test

The following histogram graphically describes the participants' scores in the second phase:



Graph 9: Histogram Representing the Second Phase Tests' Scores

Table 13 and Graph 9 show the following:

- There is a clear improvement in the students' scores from the second pre-test to the second post-test.
- The summation of scores in the second post-test is larger than the summation of scores in the second pre-test.
- The mean of scores in the second post-test is bigger than the mean of scores in the second pre-test.
- Comparing the means of scores clarifies the statistical representation of the students' scores in the two tests.

Using these scores, the following data are obtained:

First, the second pre-test mean is computed as follows:

Pre-test 2

N : Number of subjects = 30

$\sum X = 209$

$\bar{X}_{pre2} = 6,96$

After stage 3, the randomly chosen subjects had the treatment session. After that, they sit for the second post-test. The second post-test mean is calculated as follows:

Post-test 2

$N = 30$

$\sum X = 275$

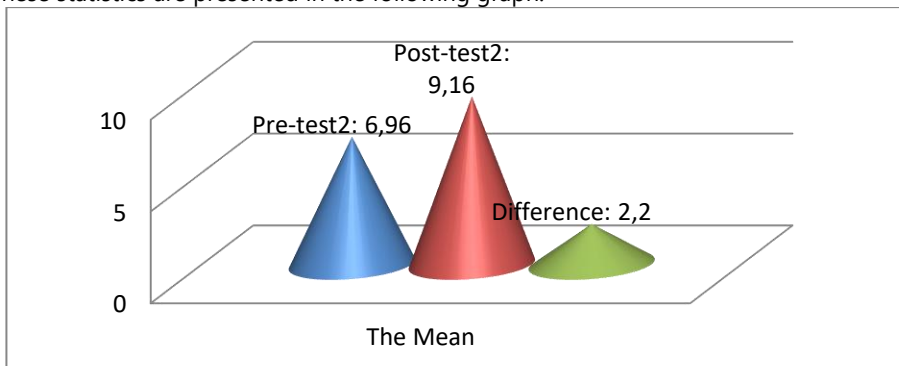
$\bar{X}_{post2} = 9,16$

The two means of the second phase tests are as follows:

Tests/Differences	Means
Pre-test 2	6.96
Post-test 2	9.16
Difference	2.20

Table 14: Difference in Means of the Second Phase Tests

These statistics are presented in the following graph:



Graph 10: Second Phase Tests' Means Compared

Table 14 and Graph 10 reveal that the scores of subjects in the pre-test are lower than the scores of the post-test after the treatment session. In phase 2, the difference in means is 2,20. The mean of pre-test 2 is 6,96 and the mean of the post-test2 is 9,16. Therefore, one can say that EFL students' rate of understanding and interpretation of literary texts has retrieved when the treatment is withdrawn.

The difference in means of phase 2 reveals that the subjects got high grades (scores) in post-test 2. This significant difference may be attributed to the adopted stylistic approach that aims at enhancing students' understanding and interpretation of literary texts.

2.2.1 Analysis and Interpretation of the Second Phase Results

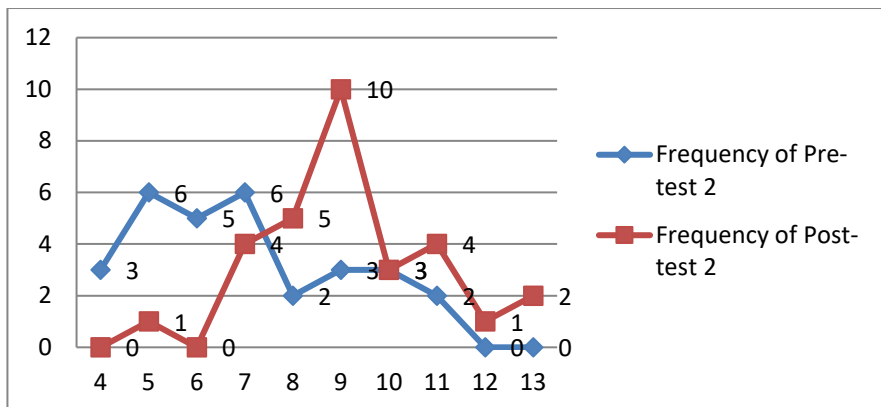
Any experimental study based on statistics needs spotting light on the way participants scored in each test by means of descriptive statistics and graphs in order to understand the relationship between the experiment's variables (Cohen et al, 2007). Descriptive statistics of the second phase tests include the calculation of the frequency distribution of the tests' scores, the variance and the standard deviation, and then checking the validity of all these results having recourse to the *t*-test. The frequency distribution of the second phase tests' scores is displayed in the table below, arranging the scores from the lowest to the highest:

Pre-test 2		Post-test 2	
Score (X_{pre2})	Frequency (f)	Score (X_{post2})	Frequency (f)
4	3	4	0
5	6	5	1
6	5	6	0
7	6	7	4
8	2	8	5
9	3	9	10
10	3	10	3
11	2	11	4
12	0	12	1
13	0	13	2

Table 15: Frequency Distribution of Scores in the Second Phase Tests

- The scores' values of the second phase tests range from 4 to 13.
- Pre-test 2: - 2 scores >10 - 25 scores <10 - 3 scores = 10
- Post-test 2: - 7 scores >10 - 20 scores <10 - 3 scores = 10

The following graph shows the distribution of the second phase scores:



Graph 11: Frequency Polygon for the Second Phase Tests' Scores

The above-designed graph reveals the following facts:

- The most frequent scores in the second pre-test are 5, 6 and 7.
- The most frequent scores in the second post-test are 8, 9 and 11.
- The range is 7 in the pre-test, but it is 8 in the post-test (the range is the difference between the two extreme scores- the highest and the lowest).
- The modes of the pre-test are 5 and 7, whereas the mode of the post-test is 9.
- The median of the pre-test is 7, but the median of the post-test is 9.

2.2.2 Statistical Considerations of the Second Phase Tests

The second phase is composed of two stages: stage 3 and stage 4. The third stage consists of a traditional lecture followed by the second pre-test, whereas the fourth stage consists of the stylistics-based session followed by the second post-test.

Here are the calculations of the second phase tests: - **Pre-test 2:**

Score (X)	F	X ²	fX	fX ²
4	3	16	12	144
5	6	25	30	900
6	5	36	30	900
7	6	49	42	1764
8	2	64	16	256
9	3	81	36	1296
10	3	100	30	900
11	2	121	22	484
12	0	144	0	0
13	0	169	0	0
N = 30		$\sum fX = 218$		$\sum fX^2 = 6644$

Table 16: Statistical Calculations of the Second Pre-test

X score

f frequency

$$\text{Mean: } \bar{X}_{\text{pre2}} = \frac{\sum FX}{N} = 6.96$$

$$\text{Variance: } S^2 = \frac{\sum FX^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2 = \frac{6644}{30} - (6.96)^2 = 173.02$$

Standard Deviation:

$$\text{Standard Deviation: } SD = \sqrt{\frac{\sum FX^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2} = 13.15$$

Statistical Calculations of the Second Pre-test:

$$\bar{X}_{\text{pre2}} = 6.96$$

$$SD = 13.15$$

- Post-test 2:

Score (X)	F	X ²	fX	fX ²
4	0	16	0	0
5	1	25	5	25
6	0	36	0	0
7	4	49	28	784
8	5	64	40	1600
9	10	81	90	8100
10	3	100	30	900
11	4	121	44	1936
12	1	144	12	144
13	2	169	26	676
	N= 30		$\sum FX = 275$	$\sum FX^2 = 14165$

Table 17: Statistical Calculations of the Second Post-test

X: score

f: frequency

$$\text{Mean: } \bar{X}_{\text{post2}} = \frac{\sum FX}{N} = 9.16$$

$$\text{Variance: } S^2 = \frac{\sum FX^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2 = \frac{14165}{30} - (9.16)^2 = 388.26$$

$$\text{Standard Deviation: } SD = \sqrt{\frac{\sum FX^2}{N} - \bar{X}^2} = 19.70$$

Statistical Calculations of the Second Post-test:

$$\bar{X}_{\text{post2}} = 9.16$$

$$SD = 19.70$$

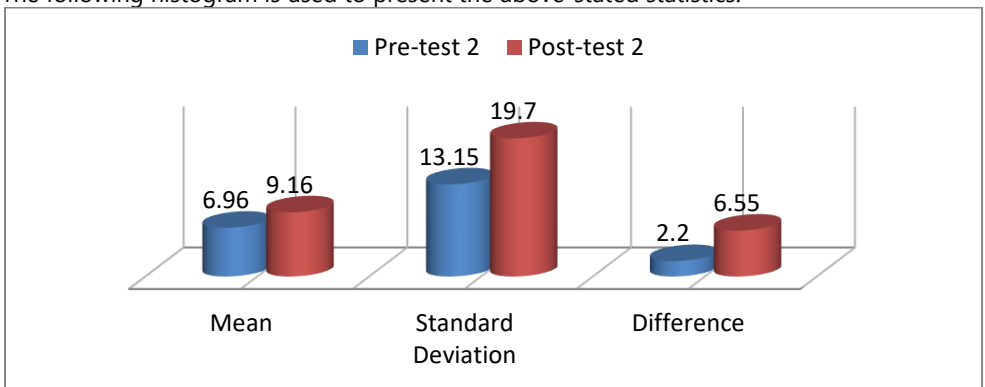
2.2.3 Comparison of the Means and Standard Deviation Values of the Second Phase Tests

In order to know about the differences between the two tests' descriptive statistics in phase 2, the following table is introduced:

	Pre-test Two	Post-test Two	Difference
Mean	6.96	9.16	2.20
Standard Deviation	13.15	19.70	6.55

Table 18: Comparison of the Means and Standard Deviation Values of the Second Phase Tests

The following histogram is used to present the above-stated statistics:



Graph 12: Comparison of the Means and Standard Deviation Values of the Second Phase Tests

The results of the second phase experiment reveal that applying the stylistic approach gave its expected outcomes. The difference in the means in pre-test 2 and post-test 2 is a proof of the post-test improved scoring and performance (students' understanding and interpretation of literary texts). The difference in the standard deviation (6,55) comes to confirm the fact that the better scores got by the thirty subjects in the second post-test are due to the treatment (the suggested approach) introduced by the researcher.

2.2.4 T-test of the Second Phase: Inferential Statistics

To check the researcher's hypotheses, the most suitable testing and statistical procedure is the *t*-test. The latter is regarded as an appropriate test to be held to compare two means (Miller, 1996). The question the *t*-test tackles is whether the means are statistically different. A *t*-test which is a statistical hypothesis test is applied to find out if two sets of data are significantly unlike, and is usually used when the test statistic would follow a common distribution if the value of a scaling term in the test statistic was known (ibid.). When the scaling term is not known and is changed by an estimate based on the data, the test statistic (under some conditions) follows students'*t*

distribution (ibid.). The t -test assesses whether the means of two tests in each phase are statistically different from each other. This analysis is suitable when comparing the means of two tests, and particularly proper as the analysis for the post-test in the experimental design (Good, 2000; Gonick & Smith, 1993).

The t -test is the best test used to make a comparison between two means in order to check if there are significant statistical differences between two groups or two tests. In order to compute the t -test value (t), the researcher applies the following formula:

$$t = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2)}{SE}$$

The SE formula is as follows:

$$SE = SD / \text{sq root of } N$$

Where SD stands for standard deviation and N stands for the number of the sample.

The researcher takes into account the descriptive statistics obtained:

\bar{X}_1 : Post-test mean

\bar{X}_2 : Pre-test mean

SD_1 : Post-test standard deviation

SD_2 : Pre-test standard deviation

N = Sample number

In this case,

$$SE = \frac{SD_{post} - SD_{pre}}{\sqrt{N}} = \frac{19.70 - 13.15}{\sqrt{30}} = 1.19$$

Using the previously mentioned formula of the t -test, the researcher gets the following:

$$t\text{-test} = \frac{(\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2)}{SE} = \frac{2.20}{1.19} = 1.84$$

3. Validity of the Treatment

To examine statistically the difference between the tests of the first and the second phases, the following procedures ought to be made: finding out the means, the standard deviation and the degree of freedom, having the observed statistics, getting the critical values and hypotheses' testing. These procedures help the researcher to decide on to what extent the data are the same and the degree to which the data differ (Miller, 1996).

In order to get a clear idea about the scores of all stages of the final experiment, the following table summarizes the means of the four tests of the two phases:

Test	Mean	Difference
Pre-test 1	7.26	1.37
Post-test 1	8.63	//
Pre-test 2	6.96	2.20
Post-test 2	9.16	//

Table 19: Means and Differences of the Two Phases

The previously-stated statistics in Table 19 are graphically described in the following histogram:



Graph 13: Means and Differences of the Two Phases

Table 19 and Graph 13 reveal that the scores of subjects in the two pre-tests are lower than the scores of the two post-tests after the treatment sessions. In phase 1, the difference in means is 1.37, and in phase 2 this difference is 2.20. The mean of pre-test1 is 7.26 and the mean of pre-test 2 is 6.96. Therefore, one can say that EFL students' rate of understanding and interpretation of literary texts has retrieved when the treatment is withdrawn. In the present experiment, the means of the post-tests are larger than the means of the two pre-tests. In phase 2, the researcher withdraws the treatment and thus the mean decreases to approximate the first mean before introducing the suggested approach.

The standard deviation values of the two phases are compared to confirm the validity of the treatment and this is shown in the following table:

Test	SD	Difference
Pre-test 1	12,93	2,16
Post-test 1	15,09	//
Pre-test 2	13,15	6,55
Post-test 2	19,70	//

Table 20: Standard Deviation Values of the Two Phases

All these statistics in Table 20 are described in the following histogram:



Graph 14: Standard Deviation Values of the Two Phases

According to Cohen et al (2007), in ABAB experimental designs, each time the treatment is withdrawn, the subjects' performance level retrieves and regains the first level that is identified in pre-tests. In phase one, the *SD* of the pre-test is 12,93 and it rises to 15,09 in the post-test after the treatment. In phase two, the *SD* of the pre-test is 13,15 and it rises to 19,70. All the previously-mentioned facts lead the researcher to claim the validity of the treatment, the stylistic approach to analyse literary texts in literature classes at university which if applied appropriately enhances the students' understanding and interpretation of literary materials.

4. Statistical Significance and Hypothesis Testing

a) Degree of Freedom

Taking into consideration Miller's vision (1996), the degree of freedom *df* for the t-test of the sample size is the following:

$df = N_1 - N_2$ for the two groups (a control group and an experimental group)

$df = N - 1$ for paired or matched group (a single group)

Thus, the *df* of the experiment's sample size is as follows:

$df = N - 1 = 30 - 1 = 29$

b) Alpha Decision Level

The alpha decision level is often set at $\alpha < 0.05$ or at the more conservative $\alpha < 0.01$ in language experimental researches (Brown, 1995). In the present experiment, the researcher sets the alpha level at $\alpha < 0.05$, so in this case only 5% chance of error can be tolerated. Since there is a logic to expect that one mean is higher than the other in the experiment, the test is one tailed (directional); the one-tailed test makes suppositions on the population and the direction of the results (Cohen et al, 2007). Taking into account having a one-tailed test, the researcher expects that the subjects' scores in the post-test are better than their scores in the pre-test (ibid.).

To test the significance, the researcher needs to set a risk level (called the alpha level). In most social research works, the alpha level is set at 0.05 (Miller, 1996). This means that five times out of a hundred the researcher would find a statistically significant difference between the means even if there was none (i.e., by chance). To test the hypotheses, the researcher sets the alpha decision level in advance. She decides to set α at 0.05 and this means that only 5% of the research's results might have occurred by chance and 95% of the results occurred because of the conducted experiment.

c) Setting the Critical Value

$\alpha < 0.05$; $df = N - 1 = 30 - 1 = 29$

t_{crit} : Critical value

$t_{crit} = 1.69$ (According to Fisher & Yates (1995), the level of significance for one-tailed test is equal to 1.69)

Having $\alpha < 0.05$ for one tailed test and the df value, the corresponding critical value for t in Fisher and Yates's table of critical values (See the t Distribution in Appendices) is 1.69.

In this case:

$t_{obs} > t_{crit}$ ($3.51 > 1.69$ and $1.84 > 1.69$) in the two phases of the final experiment.

Since the observed value t_{obs} is larger than or equal to the critical value t_{crit} , the null hypothesis will be refused in favour of the alternative hypothesis (Miller, 1996). Thus, the researcher comes to the conclusion that the independent variable affected the dependent variable.

d) Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis testing involves the use of statistics to settle on the probability that a particular hypothesis is true (Cohen et al, 2007). The common process of hypothesis testing consists of four stages (ibid.):

1. Formulating the null hypothesis (H_0) which states that the observations are usually the consequence of pure chance, and the alternative hypothesis (H_1) which states that the observations generally demonstrate a true effect pooled with an element of chance variation.
2. Identifying a test statistic that can be used to assess the truth of the null hypothesis.
3. Calculating the p-value, which is the probability that a test statistic at least as significant as the one observed would be obtained assuming that the null hypothesis was true. If the p-value gets smaller, the evidence against the null hypothesis will be stronger.
4. Comparing the p-value to a tolerable significance value (the alpha value). If the observed effect is statistically significant, the null hypothesis is ruled out, and in this case the alternative hypothesis is valid.

Hence, the researcher takes into account the following statistical hypotheses:

$$H_0: \bar{X}_1 \leq \bar{X}_2$$

$$H_1: \bar{X}_1 > \bar{X}_2$$

H_0 is the null hypothesis

H_1 is the alternative hypothesis

Thus, if the mean of the post-test is inferior to the mean of the pre-test, the null hypothesis can be accepted and the research will stop (Brown, 1995). If the mean of the post-test is larger than the mean of the pre-test, the null hypothesis will be refused and then research continues accepting the alternative hypothesis.

The First Phase

Alpha Level $\alpha < 0.05$

Observed Statistics $t_{obs} = 3.51$

Critical Value $t_{crit} = 1.69$

Degree of Freedom: $df = 29$

The researcher notices that the observed statistic is larger than the critical value ($3.51 > 1.69$). Thus, the null hypothesis is refused. Rejecting the null hypothesis H_0 , the alternative hypothesis H_1 is then accepted. Therefore, there is only 5% probability that the observed mean ($\bar{X}_1 > \bar{X}_2$) happened by chance.

The Second Phase

Taking into account the following data:

Alpha level $\alpha < 0.05$

Observed Statistics $t_{obs} = 1.84$

Critical Value $t_{crit} = 1.69$

Degree of freedom: $df = 29$

The researcher gets the following results:

Since the critical value is less than the observed statistic ($1.84 > 1.69$), the null hypothesis is refused. Thus, the alternative hypothesis H_1 is accepted. Therefore, there is only 5% probability that the observed mean ($\overline{X}_1 > \overline{X}_2$) happened by chance.

The researcher gathers all the needed information for testing the hypotheses:

Statistical hypotheses: $H_0: \overline{X}_{pre} = \overline{X}_{post}$

$H_1: \overline{X}_{post} > \overline{X}_{pre}$

The null hypothesis H_0 states that there is no statistically significant difference between the two tests' means. However, the alternative hypothesis H_1 supposes that there is statistically a significant difference between the means of the pre-test and the post-test.

The alpha decision level $\alpha < 0.05$

One tailed test means one tailed decision

Degree of freedom: $df = 29$

Observed statistics: $t_{obs1} = 3.51$

Observed statistics: $t_{obs2} = 1.84$

Critical statistics: $t_{crit} = 1.69$

5. Interpretation of Results

The results the researcher got from the previously mentioned statistics and t -tests show that the means in the two phases are significantly different: $\overline{X}_{post1} > \overline{X}_{pre1}$ viz. $8.63 > 7.26$ and $\overline{X}_{post2} > \overline{X}_{pre2}$ viz. $9.16 > 6.96$. The null hypothesis H_0 is refused at $\alpha < 0.05$. This means that the researcher is 95% sure that the relationship between the dependent variable 'D', the scores of all the tests and the independent variable 'ID' (the stylistic approach) does not occur by chance: it is caused by the impact of the stylistic approach followed in the literature class which contributed a great deal in enhancing the students' understanding and interpretation of literary texts.

The null hypothesis H_0 is not supported at $\alpha < 0.05$ because $t_{obs} > t_{crit}$ ($3.51 > 1.69$). Since H_0 is rejected, the alternative hypothesis H_1 is then accepted. In fact, there is only 5% probability that the difference in means ($\overline{X}_{post} > \overline{X}_{pre}$) occurred by chance, or 95% probability that this observed difference was the result of other factors rather than chance factors. Since the null hypothesis is rejected, the researcher is 95% sure that the relationship between the post-test scores (the dependent variable D) and the suggested treatment (the independent variable ID) did not happen by chance, and thus she confirms the alternative hypothesis H_1 which maintains the causal relationship between the two variables and which states that the participants' better scores (the output) are affected by the suggested teaching approach (the treatment; the input).

However, the researcher should find out the 'the effect size' of the treatment because the statistical significance of the tests' results is numerically argued, and this makes chance an unlikely explanation (Kirk, 1999, quoted in Cohen et al, 2007: 522). The effect size (Eta squared) formula for a paired sample *t*-test is as follows:

$$\text{Eta squared} = \frac{t^2}{t^2 + (N_1 - 1)}$$

$$\text{So in phase 1: Eta squared} = \frac{t^2}{t^2 + (N_1 - 1)} = \frac{3.57^2}{3.57^2 + (29)} = 0.29$$

$$\text{In phase 2: Eta squared} = \frac{t^2}{t^2 + (N_1 - 1)} = \frac{1.84^2}{1.84^2 + (29)} = 0.10$$

Referring to Cohen's guidance (1988), the effect size values in the two phases indicate that there is a high effect of the input (x) on the output (y), in which the input is the suggested approach as a treatment and the output is the participants' scores of the post-test. The Eta squared in statistics shows the substantial difference between the scores in the two tests of each phase which is because of the treatment proposed to know the effect of applying the stylistic approach to literature teaching in EFL classes on students' performance.

6. Discussing the Findings of the Experiment

Integrating the stylistic approach into the teaching of literature can boost students' understanding and interpretation of literary texts. Analysing texts stylistically, students will be aware of the way language works in the different literary genres. Following this approach, EFL learners can improve their critical thinking skills. In this case, they will be able to develop an overall analysis of any literary text. It is the approach followed by the teacher that can create motivation and interest among students.

EFL teachers of literature can work on a number of activities that help their classes make a fruitful stylistic analysis. Students ought to be exposed to a variety of activities that enhance their critical thinking skills. They should be given the opportunity to express their knowledge and their understanding. Traditional teaching approaches do not succeed to attract students' attention. Therefore, introducing new approaches is a necessity in EFL classes of literature to create motivation and engagement among learners.

Conclusion

The sample of thirty students from a population of second year LMD students of English at the University of Ouargla throughout the experimental treatment received alternative sessions in literature to improve their understanding and interpretive abilities in analysing literary texts. The findings confirm the alternative hypothesis (H_1) put earlier at the beginning. Therefore, the researcher finds out that using the stylistic approach enhances EFL students' understanding and interpretive capabilities in literature classes, and thus their achievement. Analysing a literary text stylistically, students can improve their critical thinking.

The statistical validity of the study tests' results makes the researcher more self-confident to confirm again the hypothesis of the undertaken research work (H_1). In a nutshell, the statistical analysis and the differences in means of all tests of the

experiment show that using the suggested approach enhances the thirty students' grades, and this fact reinforces the effectiveness of having recourse to innovative approaches in teaching literature at Algerian universities.

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CET Based Education Management as Means to Promote Indonesia's Education Quality

Esti Marina¹

Cakti Indra Gunawan²

Abstract:

Indonesia, as an archipelagic country with a dense population, has significant discrepancy in national education quality, where regions are far from Nation's capital—outside of Java island or at nation's border, are having difficulties and lower quality than ones relatively closer. This resulting Indonesia to be ranked 62nd amongst all 72 participating countries in the last report of Programme for International Student Assessment [PISA] 2015. Currently, there are seven major issues regarding Indonesia's current education system; (1) the current national program of 12 years compulsory education still has no law or any legal constitution, (2) an increase in number of high school's drop-out—76.45% in period year of 2015/2016, (3) an urgency to evaluate religious education material at schools due to many issues and threats related to terrorism and certain religious act-group anarchy, (4) some school type implement different school curriculum from National school curriculum, (5) education financial aids are not distributed evenly, (6) cases of abuse, bullying and extortion in school, and (7) a mismatch between school taught materials and required knowledge skills for working. Cakti Economic Theory [CET] based education management is considered a great strategy to promotes equality in national education quality. CET proposed an integrated system which solves the problems by having (1) open-accessed online visual report, (2) consistent reward and punishment, (3) integrated school curriculum, and (4) government's full role on school's funding and budgeting, to solve inequality and problematic issues regarding national education quality. Indonesia government should educate its citizens and conduct this system responsibly to ensure full participation of all elements of people, towards open governance for national education quality improvements and equality.

Key words: Cakti Economic Theory, Education Management, National Education

¹Pelita Harapan University, Indonesia [esti.irdh@gmail.com]

²Tribhuwana Tunggaladewi University, Indonesia [cakti.irdh@gmail.com]

Introduction

On the last report of Programme for International Student Assessment [PISA]¹ 2015 conducted by The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Indonesia was ranked 62nd amongst all 72 participating countries (Pellini, 2016). Indonesia was behind Singapore (1st) and Malaysia (52nd) as its neighbouring country. The PISA Report 2015 has found that Indonesia's quality of schools' educational resources is one of the highest (fourth out of 69) among PISA-participating countries and economies (OECD, 2015), but this does not mean that schools in Indonesia have all that they need equally. Some regions are still poorly equipped. The Assistant of General Director for Education of The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Qian Tang, stated that there is significant discrepancy in Indonesia's national education quality, where regions far from Nation's capital—outside of Java island or at nation's border, are having difficulties and lower quality than ones relatively closer (Suastha, 2016). Hence, Indonesia needs a proper strategy to ensure the quality of education for all equally.

Some studies had tried to formulate innovation towards an effective system, and management strategies to ensure the quality of education process. But still, the studies were conducted in nations where the condition is mainly different from Indonesia. Indonesia, is an archipelagic country with a dense population, its anthropological and geographical conditions often become the source of hindrance and challenge to conduct national development in various sectors. Although some of the theories and principles are relevant enough to be used, still, Indonesia with its conditions and circumstances, needs a proper practical approach. Technology can be a solution to such circumstances, to promote equality in education throughout the nation (Phipps & Merisotis, 2008; King, 2016). People have been familiar with internet access and network, and conduct daily activities and interactions through technology. This phenomenon motivates Gunawan (2007, p.1) in formulating Cakti Economic Theory (CET), as a management system to improve economic development and human resource quality, materially and spiritually in Indonesia, including education sector. Therefore, this study was held to give an empirical review on how the proposed system can be implemented to solve Indonesia's current national education issues.

¹The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is an on-going triennial survey that assesses the extent to which 15-year-olds students near the end of compulsory education have acquired key knowledge and skills that are essential for full participation in modern societies. PISA offers insights for education policy and practice, and helps monitor trends in students' acquisition of knowledge and skills across countries and in different demographic subgroups within each country (<http://www.oecd.org/pisa/aboutpisa/>).

Cakti Economic Theory (CET) Based Education Management

Cakti Economic Theory (CET) is a modern humanity economic theory that aims for economic acceleration and human resource quality improvement, materially and spiritually in a country (Gunawan, 2017, p.1—2). CET has five success indicators which are (1) human resource quality improvement in science and technological field, and concrete implementations of religious values; (2) equal improvement in national socio-economic and welfare, monopoly-free economic system, and optimum natural resource, industry and people's enterprises utilization; (3) improvement in education, academics and applied science sector, based on spiritual values, customs and traditions, and integrated health service; (4) improvement and strengthening in national defence and security, a conducive political climate, and law supremacy; and also (5) a consistent, direct and actual reward and punishment system for all societies. To achieve its third indicator regarding to education, tradition and health quality improvement, CET's mission is to facilitate people with an integrated open-access online report program infrastructure, a minimum education level of master degree, and strong national identity to preserve national culture and values for its young generation (Gunawan, 2017, p.2—3). An education process that also includes culture, customs and traditions related material is also important to reinforce citizen's sense of nationality (Durmaz, Platt & Yigitcanlar, 2013; Gunawan, 2017, p.29—32). Reward and punishment system is the main control means for the implementation of this management system (Gunawan, 2017, p.4—5). There are several dimensions that needed to be paid attention in this TEC based education management. *First*, is the online visual report system that can be accessed openly by anyone through mobile phones, laptop, or other gadgets in 24 hours (Gunawan, 2017, p.7—17). This is to ensure that the collected datas are valid and actual (Jann et al., 1997; Phipps & Merisotis, 2000). This method also involves all education elements—students, teachers, parents, school committees, and government, to access and evaluate the system based on their real-life experiences (Phipps & Merisotis, 2000; Weinstein, Curran & Clarke, 2003). *Second*, is a consistent reward and punishment system that is given directly and transparently in equal manner (Gunawan, 2017, p.18). Rewards will be given to students who manage to well regulate their studies, to value exemplary conducts and achievements (Weinstein, Curran & Clarke, 2003). Rewards can be given as compliments, awards, trophies, scholarships or any other privileges. Punishments will be given to those who fail to do so, and for improper behaviour and activities, that are not aligned with values or norms (Weinstein, Curran & Clarke, 2003). Punishments are also needed to be accompanied with depth investigation, and treatments to solve the core problems of the phenomenon, to eliminate chance of unfavored behaviour to be happened in the future (Weinstein,

Curran & Clarke, 2003). An immediate act for rewards and punishments for each conduct will strengthen student's association between their conducts and norms and values (Emmer & Stough, 2001; Weinstein, Curran, & Clarke, 2003; Horner, Sugai, & Anderson, 2010). *Third*, it is important to implement an integrated curriculum, consisting broad material and spiritual knowledge (Gunawan, 2017, p33—34). It is also important to equip students with knowledge regarding culture identification, and strong sense of nationalism (Kysilka, 1998). Such integrated curriculum has to be able to formulate various academic and non-academic material—leadership, health and wellness, arts etc., in wide variations of activities, inside or outside the classroom, so that students can optimally explore their interests and potentials, to facilitates them to apply their knowledge and experiences as a whole (Kysilka, 1998; Trudeau & Sheppard, 2008). Through this manner, students are encouraged to possess high intellectual ability and broad knowledge to be applied and give positive impacts for national development (Kysilka, 1998; Yonggen, 2001). Knowledge about culture, customs and traditions, will strengthen student's pride and nationalism, to prevent and protect society from terrorism and segregation threats (Yonggen, 2001; Gunawan, 2017, p.29—32). *Fourth*, to ensure that the education process is conducted in proper manner, the government should be in charge of school funding management. This way students would be able to study and achieving more without having to worry about school expenses (Gunawan, 2017, p.33—34). Education is people's rights, so it is odd to charge them for something they should be freely gained in the first place, the government should provide this service (UUD 1945, pasal 31; Cohen et al., 2009; Bray & Kwo, 2013). The budget should be composed and adjusted well, towards equal distribution of national education quality. Through government's role and full responsibility in education fund management, students and schools can focus on the learning and teaching process itself (Konu & Rimpela, 2002; Cohen et al., 2009; Bray & Kwo, 2013). Economic and welfare disparities are also the profound causes of this inequality phenomenon—families who are wealthier have more opportunities for high quality school and services while the less fortunates don't, and this creates a 'vicious circle', which is not to be expected (Yonggen, 2001; Hanushek & Wößmann, 2007). If the funding responsibility is taken by the government, then the chain could be broken and equality could be achieved. This TEC based education management is considered a great strategy to improve national education quality, and to lessen the disparities between the regions. Indonesia's geographic factors as an archipelagic country, often become hindrance and challenge in national development, and technology is a solution to this (Phipps & Merisotis, 2008). Moreover, people can openly contribute to this process simultaneously, to create a transparent and open government practice (Gunawan, 2017, p.7—19).

Indonesia's Current National Education Issues

UbaidMatraji, Coordinator of Indonesia Network of Education Watch (JPPI), during the commemoration of Indonesia National Education Day, said that there are seven major issues regarding Indonesia's current education system. (1) The current national program of 12 years compulsory education still has no law or any legal constitution—the last amendment was still 9 years compulsory (Government Act No.47 2008). This is a fundamental problem that a system being conducted nationally has even no legal act. Then how are the government supposed to implement the system in a responsible manner? (2) There is an increase in number of high school's drop-out that became another problem since the implementation of the 12 years compulsory education. UNICEF highlighted that drop-out rates increase further towards senior secondary school—almost one in five children who complete the junior level do not continue into the final years of their education. As a result, the high school gross participation rate was only 76.45% in period year of 2015/2016 (Indonesian Ministry of Culture and Education [Kemdikbud], 2016). Reasons behind this number vary i.e. school distance, low economic status, and early-age marriage (Indrawan, 2016; Huda, 2017). (3) There is an urgency to evaluate religious education material at schools. Recently, there has been many issues and threats related to terrorism and certain religious act-group anarchy (Mulia, Mei 25 2017; Gumilang, November 26 2016). It is feared that such act would ended up in *coup d'etat* and threatens Indonesia's national ideology (Wijaya, August 4 2017). It is necessary to enrich materials related to religiosity and nationalism, to prevent those unexpected possibilities, and to ensure peace and solidarity amongst citizens. (4) There is some school type that implement different school curriculum from National school curriculum i.e. pesantren and madrasah¹. These types of schools tend to be less preferred, in the contrary of boarding schools trend that is being popular nowadays². To counter anarchical religious act and youth moral degradation issues recently, pesantren and madrasah try to equip their student with deeper and more comprehensive understanding of religious value. It is a loss to let this effort to be marginalized. Government should deal with this double-barrelled curriculum standard issue immediately (Ubaid, 2017). (5) JPPI encouraged the government to distribute 'Kartu Indonesia Pintar'³ more evenly and addressing the rightful awardees. Low

¹A type of school in Southeast Asia, offering second-level training in Islamic subjects. The term is *pesantren* on Java, *surau* on Sumatra, *pondok* on the Malay Peninsula and Cambodia, and *madrasah* in the Philippines and Singapore (<http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t236/e0632>)

² Boarding schools in Indonesia implement national curriculum alongside their own special curriculum. While pesantren and madrasah implement different set of curricula (Maknun, 2005).

³Kartu Indonesia Pintar (KIP) is part of National program of Indonesia Pintar (Smart Indonesia Program) that provides financial aids for students (age 6—21) from low economic family background to ensure their

economic status is one of the factors behind school dropout rates (Sirin, 2005). This program's vision is noble, but if the distribution is not carried evenly, then it won't be able to solve the issue, hence issue regarding social-exclusivity will soon emerge. Corruption and misuse of the fund is also part of the problem in this system. Government should reconsider a proper distribution strategy regarding this matter. (6) There still many cases regarding abuse, bullying and extortion in school. The perpetrators vary from students, school teachers and staffs, even parents abusing other students or parents (Nailufar, 2017; Effendi, 2017; Movanita, 2017; Johan, 2017). This disturbing social relationship will cause insecurities and hinder students' school wellbeing and academic performance (Konu&Rimpela, 2002; Soutter, O'Steen& Gilmore, 2012; Roffey, 2012). Extortion indicates that there has been a mishandled in school's funding budget and expenses. This sporadic phenomenon happens not only in the suburb or rural areas, but also in the city and urban area. (7) Lastly, there is a mismatch between school taught materials and required knowledge skills for working. The essential purpose in school was to taught student knowledge and skills to sustain life, to create products and service in economic manner, and to actualize themselves (Brophy, 2008). In reality, there are still more than seven billion jobless people; it is about 5.5% of Indonesia total population (Sawitri, 2016). It is perceived as another issue since Indonesia is participating in ASEAN Economic Community¹, that make the citizen will not only compete nationally, but globally for job opportunities. Those seven major issues reflect that Indonesia education quality requires attention and improvements. Indonesia needs to develop a proper education management system that suites and meets it's certain issues and conditions, to ensure education feasibility for all, equally. Ensuring nation's education quality is a fundamental act to improve other quality simultaneously (Hanushek&Wößmann, 2007).

Discussion

This study's objective is to address and review Indonesia's major issues regarding national education with CET perspective. Through the result, author wishes to formulate a proper and suitable national education system for Indonesia, based on CET principles. Theoretically, CET dimensions can provide solution regarding these problems. This

compulsory education feasibility (<http://www.tnp2k.go.id/id/tanya-jawab/klaster-i/program-indonesia-pintar-melalui-kartu-indonesia-pintar-kip/>)

¹ASEAN Economic Community is a multilateral agreement for integrated and cohesive; competitive, innovative and dynamic; with enhanced connectivity and sectoral cooperation; and a more resilient, inclusive, and people-oriented, people-centred community, integrated with the global economy, economic climate of ASEAN participating countries. This treaty permits citizens of participating countries to work and live in other ASEAN country. <http://asean.org/asean-economic-community/>

network-based system technology would also be a solution to ensure equality throughout Indonesia's geographical condition. CET's online open access visual report system would ensure that the primary data collected would always be actual and factual (Jann et al., 1997; Phipps & Merisotis, 2000). This online report system would provide people means to express and evaluate government service and system, 24 hours a day, anywhere on their phone or laptop. Problems, complaints, even actual reports of on-going issues can be monitored, as well as people's suggestion, ideas, and compliments. People would be able to actively monitor government programs and performance. This way, chance of corruption and misuse of educational funding and policy would be decreased (Kolstad & Wiig, 2009). Through the reported data, related parties would easily obtain information and quality of various aspects, even from regions far away from their location, hence it is easier to decide which lacking region needs immediate treatment and aids to promote their education quality and feasibility. CET's online reporting system would serve as base for delivering reward and punishment. Rewards would motivate and give example for employees, staffs, teachers, even students for their extraordinary performance (Johnson, 1986; Reeves, 2003). This would inspire others to follow and being updated with innovations and breakthrough. A healthy competition climate would be developed and drives people more towards fruitful conducts for better education quality and equality (Lipton, 1977). Act of punishment would make sure related parties perform as what to expect. Improper conducts and performance would lead to consequences i.e. extra credits to go through, more workshop relating lacking skill, and extra treatment depends on the issue. Punishment could also be given with withdrawing some privileges they normally obtain i.e. less excursion spending etc. Penalties, fines, even jail sentence could be given for serious cases. By giving sense of being watched, it would create Hawthorne's effect¹ for better self-managed conducts and performance (Ivancevich, Matteson & Konopaske, 1990). CET proposes to implement an integrated curriculum that enables students to receive knowledge and skill, and actualize them as a whole, for the sake of society. By this integrated curriculum, students would not only study current compulsory materials, but also have chance to study broader selection of knowledge and skills. Global society demand is updating day to day, therefore there will always be new things to learn and new performance criteria to meet (Fullan, 2007). This demand can be assessed and monitored through visual online report system, for the government to act upon,

¹ The Hawthorne effect has become a term referring to the tendency of some people to work harder and perform better when they are participants in an experiment; behaviour is changed due to the attention subjects receive from the researchers, rather than because of any manipulation in dependent variables. <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/overcoming-pain/201011/the-hawthorne-effect-and-the-overestimation-treatment-effectiveness>

resulting in formulation of new teaching materials and strategy for students. Issues regarding religious education can also be solved through this integrated curriculum implementation, since religiosity and moral character development is also part of the pillars. This way, a double-barrelled school curriculum would be eliminated. Government full role on funding and budgeting would allow schools and students areless distracted in doing their study. It would eliminate chances of extortion and mishandled funding. A proper budget plan adjusted to necessities would optimize nation’s education fund management (Ilon, 1994). This way, it is to be expected that lacking region would be addressed accordingly. No school would perform and spend excessively while some others are lacking. For better understanding on how CET tackles each issue, see table 1 below,

Table 1. CET innovations and targeted issues

CET Dimensions	Innovations	Issue(s) addressed	Challenge
Open-access online visual report system	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provides access for everyone 2. Can be accessed 24hrs a day 3. Can be accessed everywhere through internet connections 4. Online platform for delivering materials that can be accessed even from remote areas 5. Provides actual and factual data regarding education quality 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Indonesia’s geographical condition is no longer hindrance for national development 2. People can monitor government programs and activities, chances of misconduct will be lessened, promotes transparency 3. Immediate response and aids to promote equality in education quality development 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Must provide integrated online system 2. Education and workshop related to proposed system for citizen

<p>Consistent and direct reward and punishment system</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Direct and observable consequences for every conduct 2. Can be manifested in various forms when needed 3. Based on real and valid records of behaviour 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Creates healthy-competitive climates between students and teachers to promote their productivity 2. Internalising norms and value inside personnel's daily conduct 3. Eliminating unfavourable conducts (corruption, bullying, abuse, etc.) 4. Motivates students for progressive performance to decrease misconducts 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Commitment and discipline from all citizens 2. Accesible resource for consequence determinating 3. Citizen's compliance to the system and consequence
<p>Integrated curriculum</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Broad material and spiritual knowledge. 2. Can be implemented in all type of schools. 3. Strenghten and deepen students's value of nationality and religiosity 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. One standard integrated curriculum to decrease differences and margins 2. Promote knowledge and value to prevent anarchical acts and terrorism 3. Adaptive materials to world's job demand career qualification. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Education and workshop related to curriculum and teaching management 2. Appropriate learning facilities
<p>Government full role on school funding and budgeting</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Students and teachers focus on school and learning matters 2. Resource will be distributed accordingly to all regions 3. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Equal distribution for "Kartu Indonesia Pintar" and any kind of school fees 2. Decrease misconduct opportunities (corruption and extortion) 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discipline and integrity from all citizen 2. Open and accesible financial report

Conclusion

To conclude this study, theoretically, CET based education management is a solution to promote Indonesia's education quality equally. CET online visual online report would provide accesible information portal that can be accesed anytime and everywhere, regarding regions' education quality and serves as based for governments conducts. Consistent and direct reward and punishment would nurture discipline and increase productivity of teachers and students to perform progressively. Integrated national curricullum would equip students with broad knoeledge and skills to actualize themselves and compete globally for career opportunity. Last, but not least, government's full role on school funding and budgetting will ensure all students to have the same opportunity of education, also to optimize national resource to be spent accordingly and efficiently. CET program initiation will be further conducted as a pilot project in Pagersari Village, Malang Regent, Indonesia. The objective of this program is to proof the proposed theory, while simultaneously aid Pagersari people. Alongside, a continue evaluation and innovations will be conducted to perfect CET system. CET aims to be implemented nationally even globally. Therefore, more studies regarding this theory and programs from various fields and perspectives are encouraged.

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IBUISC '17

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS

“The Creation of the New World in a Globalized Era”

Stream:

Psychology

Understanding about Corruption in Students

Erjona Poga¹

Abstract:

Despite a strong attention paid to corruption, in this paper we review on an experiment on corruption, to inquire different crucial factors of corruptibility. Using findings from N=59 students, results indicate that males show more corrupt behaviour, and that there is a slight tendency for students who have had work experience, to show such behaviour. Also, the results indicate that, receiving a fixed payment, doesn't have a considerable effect on students corruption behaviour. However, these results may leave us unable to generalize to larger groups, firstly because the sample is too small, and secondly, because of different reasons may have had effects on student's choices and behaviours.

Keywords: Corruption, Experimental economics, bribery, behaviour

Introduction

Worldwide, corruption is experienced as a serious problem causing harm not only in politics and public administration, but also in the business sector. Corruption is deviant behavior which manifests itself in an abuse of a function in politics, society, or economy in favor of another person or institution. This abuse of a function occurs on one's own or the other's initiative in order to achieve an advantage for oneself or a third party. As a result, a damage or disadvantage to politics, society, or economy is expected or does actually appear. The corrupt actions are kept secret in mutual, amicable agreement. While without doubt money sometimes changed hands in return for such favors, it was more common that a favor would be offered in return, a preferable outcome given the lack of money in the system and the paucity of consumer goods upon which to spend it. People turn to corruption as a way of supplementing their income. Thus, within the education system corruption is fueled by the needs of low-paid workers and the availability of money to pay bribes coupled with a low possibility of detection. To improve our understanding of corruption of students we have made an experiment that allows us to investigate the effects of corruption on the behavior of economics and non-economist student. Do economists behave in a more self-interested way than non-

¹ University of Tirana, Albania [eri_poga@hotmail.com]

economist? Some empirical studies argue that they do; this view has been seriously challenged recently (Frank & Schulze, 2000). It has not been common to focus attention on corruption in education. However, it may be necessary. Collapsing public expenditures have driven all institutions to generate their own resources, for which there is no precedent, and no regulatory structure in place to give them guidance. One thing is abundantly clear: whenever rules and regulations are confusing one must expect a high level of corruption (S. Heyneman, 2007).

Literature review

Corruption is one of the biggest global issues, ahead of extreme poverty, unemployment, the rising cost of food and energy, climate change, and terrorism. Its origins are very old, and concern about corruption has shaped the development of public services. Corruption is defined as an illegitimate exchange of resources involving the use or abuse of public or collective responsibility for personal gains, benefits, profits or privileges (Chen & Tang, 2006). Corruption levels can vary within a country of different types. It may not have been common to pay attention on corruption in education. (S. Heyneman, 2007). He stated that corruption is difficult to quantify but the perception of corruption is quantifiable. However, corruption in education helps to "grease the wheels" in the labor market, and provides workers with entry into more lucrative, and possibly corrupt jobs, the return to education could be higher if corruption in education is pervasive. 'The policies and recommendations, offered by many scholars, that are effective in developed countries, might not always work for countries in transition, mostly because of different socio-economic contexts' (Orkodashvili et. al, 2011). It must be noted here that, low pay cannot simply be offered as an excuse for corrupt behavior, as there is still a moral element (Rodgers & Round, 2009). For example, as Heyneman (2007) states, between 79 percent and 84 percent of the students they surveyed in Bulgaria, Moldova, and Serbia, were aware that corrupt practices took place in relation to university admission. (Rodgers & Round 2009). Meanwhile, different results have been given from different studies. As Frank et al. (1993) and Selten and Ockenfels (1998) reported, a clear gender pattern in their prisoner's dilemma experiment (the effect of which was even stronger than the effect of being an economist), they disaggregated both economists and non-economists into female and male subgroups. Carter and Irons (1991) provide the additional evidence that economics students behave 'closer' to strategies predicted by game theory. Knowing this, we saw of interest introducing the following hypothesis:

H1: 'Students who receive a fixed payment, show less interest on receiving a big cash reward'

Although the average student does not change his or her attitude towards corruption as he or she progresses through university, it could be that economists do. (Frank & Schulze, 2000). Male economists are most corrupt; however, female economists are only insignificantly less so. Both female and male non-economists are significantly less corrupt than male economists, with male non-economists being the least corrupt subgroup. Surprisingly, men take the extreme positions with respect to economist/non-economist differences, whereas women have a middle position. The issue is that which interpretation is the right one? While it is true that we are ultimately interested in real world behavior and experimental situations are different, results from 'real-world' observations are almost always open to conflicting interpretations as we cannot exclude all the influences. We are, however, very skeptical about survey, such as answer tendencies inherent in the method; peoples' answers may, e.g. be biased towards what they perceive as 'socially acceptable' or 'normal'. Economists and non-economists may simply differ in their perception of what constitutes a 'socially acceptable' behavior, or the misunderstood of the case, supposed to be solved by them. An experiment on economists behavior, must therefore disentangle the effects of different perceptions about others behavior, from the effects of different motivation. Prisoner's dilemma situations typically cannot do that just as ultimatum bargaining games cannot. What our experiment tries is controlling for possible varying perceptions of 'socially acceptable' behavior amongst economists and non-economists. But is important to emphasize the data on the number of semesters studied does not allow us to address the issue whether students become more cooperative as they progress in their studies, and whether economists behavior changes over time, which would point to an indoctrination effect, both of which effects have been found by Frank et al. (1993). 'People with a strong love-of-money orientation enter the business major (Tang, 2013). Even if business students have ethics courses, there are little evidence that supports the notion that, students who take ethics courses will make ethical decisions (Conroy and Emerson 2004; Ritter 2006; Traiser and Eighmy 2011). In fact, highly educated executives in recent scandals received their training at the best, elite, and privileged business schools (Merriam, 2002). Scholars argue that these scandals are not caused by executives lack of 'intelligence' or 'brains', but rather by their self-interests and lack of "wisdom", "virtue" (Feiner, 2004), or integrity, honesty and character. The ethics gap, found between undergraduate business students and non-business students, is discouraging to researchers. Some wonder whether the business curriculum has contributed to it, or failed to decrease it (Morrison, 2001). The top business schools, not only fail to improve the moral character of students but actually weaken it (Aguilera, 2008). After taking a single semester of introductory economics, for example, students show a significant decline in honesty and increase in self-interest (Chen & Tang, 2013).

Experimental design and results

Methodology

The experiment was conducted at the University of Tirana, Albania, over one session, with a total of N=59 participants, in the spring of 2016. It took place right before a meeting of the Excellence Students, and they were asked to considerate a certain situation: 'The Students Club has lost 20000 lekë. The money has fallen into a drain-pipe, and the only way to get them out, was by a plumber company. The Students Club expects from you to choose the most effective firm. A total of ten firms represent their offers, of which only you know about. It is provided the price the Club has to pay to the company for the service, and the amount you will get from each company if you choose the respective one. Of all the papers filled, only one of them will be chosen casually, and that gets to be the winner'.

The offers listed in the hand-outs were:

Firm	The price the Student Club has to pay	The amount you receive
A1	2000	500
A2	4000	1000
A3	6000	1500
A4	8000	2000
A5	10000	2500
A6	12000	3000
A7	14000	3500
A8	16000	4000
A9	18000	4500
A10	20000	5000

Table 1

After the meeting, the students were assured that the one form would be drawn randomly, and the payment would be made to the winner student. An example to explain was given, and students were asked to provide their decision, their field of study, when did they start and finish their bachelor studies, sex, work experience(s). To test the hypothesis that a fixed payment might influence corruption, the following statement was provided: 'If your sheet is chosen, you will receive an extra 1000 lekë payment, regardless the firm you choose'.

Fifty-nine students participated in the experiment, of which 30 were economic students, and 29 non-economic. 12 of the students were male, and 47 were females, and all of them first year students in Master's program. Hand-outs were distributed, answered, and collected before their meeting took place, and among the payments, the 'chosen one' was selected, after the meeting.

Results

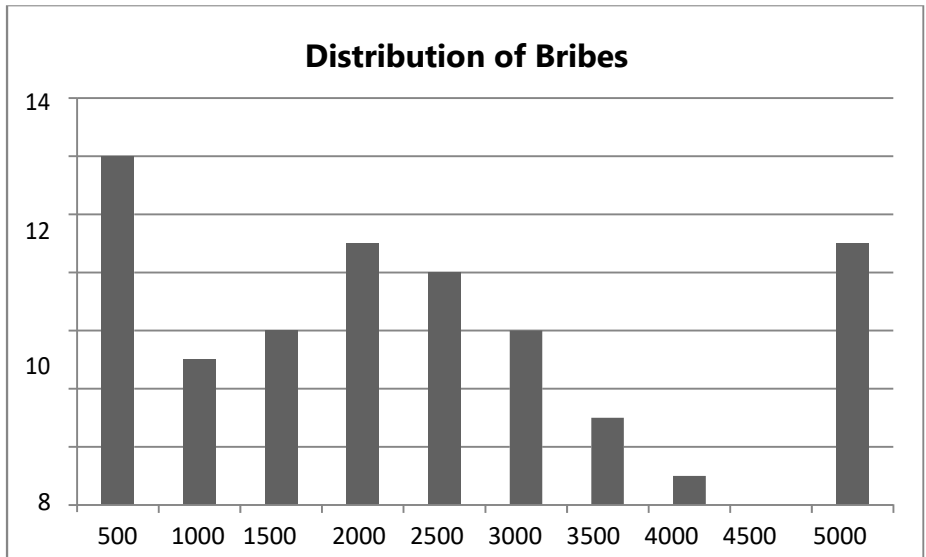


Fig. 1

The distribution of bribes is provided in Fig. 1. Median is 2000, and the mean is around the choice 2500 (2322). Only 20% were honest (12 out of 59), and 15.25% chose the maximum bribe (9 out of 59). (More descriptive data available in Appendix 1)

The interest of this study, is identifying possible differences between economic and non-economic students. By this logic, we name the dummy variable ECON for economist students and takes the value 1, and NON-ECON for the remaining, value 0. In the analysis is taken into consideration also gender, for which value 1 stands for MALE. Also, a dummy variable EXP stands for students who have had work experience. If he has had experience, takes value 1, and 0 otherwise.

All the regressions were run, using SPSS program, which provides us with significance and regression equation coefficients, shown in Table 2.

Variable	Coefficients	Sig.
Constant	4.089	0.232
MALE	0.724	0.487
ECON	-1.1481	0.072
EXP	0.11	0.762

Table 2

Results indicate that males show more corrupt behaviour. There is a slight tendency also for students who have had work experience to show such behaviour. Both coefficients for these two variables are significant. H1: 'Students who receive a fixed payment, show less interest on receiving a big cash reward'. It was of interest for our study, to analyze the fixed payment and non-fixed payment factor, since it might be a different behavior between these two groups. It may be expected that, students who receive a fixed payment, may show less interest in going for the big cash award, the firm choice A10. But running the appropriate analysis, it seems that it wasn't significant enough to prove the correlation ($p < 0.05$). The respective correlation coefficient is too weak, $(-0.27 > -0.6)$, which is considered as acceptable). As a result, H1 is rejected.

Conclusions

In this study, we report on an experiment, with students studying economics and non-economics fields, to analyze how they reacted in front of fixed and non-fixed payments, towards corruption. Students studying economics received a fixed payment, and the rest didn't receive any payment. We hypothesized that students who actually received a fixed payment, would show less interest towards corruption, with the idea that they had already 'won' something, so why risk. We didn't find this to be true, since some students who actually received a fixed payment, also went for the maximum bribe. More precisely, 15.25% of all students chose the maximum bribe, and that shows us that not many students are considered as highly corrupted. The variables taken into consideration for the analysis were: field of study, gender, and work experience. Based on the results, it seems that males tend to be more corrupted than females. Some point, even students who have worked before, show about the same tendency. Going back to the hypothesis, it was rejected, that is because it didn't indicate to a strong correlation coefficient $(-0.27 > -0.6)$. To sum up, receiving a fixed payment, doesn't have any strong effect on students choice of corruption. We also need to be realistic, that these results may leave us unable to generalize to larger groups, firstly because the sample is too small, and secondly, because of different reasons may have had effects on student's choices and behaviours.

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Appendix 1

Descriptive		GENDER1	Field of study2	Work Exp3	Choice
N	Valid	59	59	59	59
	Missing	0	0	0	0
Mean		.20	.51	.47	2322.03
Median		.00	1.00	.00	2000.00
Std. Deviation		.406	.504	.504	1467.354
Variance		.165	.254	.254	2153126.826
Minimum		0	0	0	500
Maximum		1	1	1	5000

1 1=Male, 0=female

2 1=Economic,0=non-economics

3 1=has had work experience, 0=hasn't

Study of a Special Psychotherapy Program for Female Criminals

Gunel Aslanova¹

Abstract:

The research is dedicated to the study of a special psychotherapy program for female criminals. The proposed program includes an individual approach to female criminals, depending on committed crime by them. They can achieve resocialization of their personality by carrying out their individuality in the productive psycho-social environment which is include their self-actualization during their rehabilitation process. As a result of research was detected that productive - self-actualization oriented environment has a significant impact on the reintegration of female criminals into society.

Key words: self-actualization, psychotherapy, female, criminal

Introduction

During experimental study, we created a favorable emotional environment that takes into account the characteristics of self-actualization. We included the components of the level of self-actualization in a psychotherapeutic environment, focused on the self-actualization of the personality of the woman criminal (level of assertiveness, detection of inner potential, the adoption of universal values and realization in behavior), as well as many techniques for developing the feeling of compassion. The theoretical basis of this program is a humanistic psychological concept. Full realization of man's natural potential, direction to self-actualization, achievement of perfection are considered as the basic principles of the humanistic psychological concept. As a result of the study, it was found that women who committed crimes have different psychological content, depending on the crime they have committed. Therefore, the proposed program contains an individual approach to the personality of the criminal woman, depending on the crime they have committed. We determined that the criminal behavior of women is affected by three factors: gender-based violence, inability to self-actualization and lack of compassion. In carrying out psychological work with women

¹ Baku State University, Azerbaijan [aslanovagm@gmail.com]

who committed the crime by taking into account these factors of the crime in addition, we also classified women who committed crimes during psychological work in the form of groups against property, personality and morality, depending on the kind of crime that they committed, psychological work was carried out in accordance with individual group program.

Main Part

A description of the individual psychotherapy program for the criminal woman personality. In the psychotherapy process, criminal women are more likely directed to learn about their mood, emotions, thoughts and behaviors, and to respond more accurately to vital changes. They perceive their personal mood, feelings, thoughts and behaviors in the process of psychotherapy both consciously and unconsciously. It is extremely important for a psychologist and a criminal woman to establish mutual relations directed to accept each other. Although the prisoner has the key to self-actualization, to the development, but the therapist must have some personal qualities to teach him how to use this key. The psychologist should not play the role towards the prisoner, he must be himself. It should express to be itself, being expressed in own words, behave in an own way, adequate emotions and attitudes. Also, the psychologist should have a fairly warm attitude with the prisoner, perceive and understand her, and give her "non-conditional positive attention" beyond assessment and moral judgment. In such circumstances, the prisoner's "I" will be able to re-enter her removed features to the personality. Only after this acceptance the prisoner may have inner harmony. The psychologist should strive to identify the positive essence of the prisoner. At this point the psychologist should not be bored, be irritated, hate and accuse her. The psychologist does not advise, comment, he only listens and understands. As with every human being, the criminal has positive feelings and kindness. In the process of psychotherapy, she absorbs moral values by escaping from the negative emotions, animal instincts.

Steps of individual psychotherapeutic support to convicted women:

1. The convict is diagnosed;
2. Situation is defined (before the crime, moment of crime, after the crime);
3. Referred to free expressions;
4. A psychotherapist reflects and clarifies the patient's feelings and thoughts;
5. Gradually positive emotions are detected;
6. An insight occurs;
7. The election becomes clear;

8. Positive actions are realized;
9. The insight is developing;
10. Independence is developing;
11. Demand for support is reduced.

Description of the group of psychotherapy program directed to the personality of the criminal woman. Note that group psychotherapy begins with salute "circle". Circle means an emotional start of the work by having an important significance in group psychotherapy. Convicted women greet each other and psychologist, group rules are defined equally and then group psychotherapy continues with discussions, role-playing games. The guidelines help to organize the work of the group and create solidarity. This includes privacy, one speaking and absolute participation rules. Additional rules can be determined during the course. The direction of the group discussions is determined by the psychologist and participants equally. Also, the stages of a common road towards the group's goals are determined during the discussions. The psychologist offers two or three alternatives. The distribution of responsibilities is included to the obligations of the group. The psychologist objectively praises or criticizes participants without taking such responsibility. By these methods we also can investigate the level of their achievement and create conditions for self-improvement, self-affirmation, identification of their internal potential, acceptance of universal values and their realization in their behavior. From the social point of view, we develop their communication habits in front of other prisoners. After psychotherapy starts the work connected with the free activity in the comfortable environment from emotional point of view. In this case, convicted women are fully free on issues they want to share. Convicted women are usually able to discuss a few topics at this time. The only requirement laid on front of them in this case is do not interrupt the subject of others and join the debate without accusing the speaker. All this helps to create catharsis in the participants. The first phase of the program focuses on the identification of the detection of violence and its negative impact on personality, its development, as well as the analysis of the correlation between the commitment of the crime and the factor of exposure to violence by the woman committed a crime. The phase of the program which is focused on the direction we follow is comprised of 2 psychotherapy sessions per person per week, including one individual and one group. The individual therapy period is 45 minutes, and the group psychotherapy period is 60 minutes. The first phase is expected to last 10-12 weeks. It is not necessary to conduct group therapies according to division which is based on the kind of crime since the fact of exposure to violence is found among women who commit all kinds of crimes. In individual psychotherapy, a crisis-response safety plan is being developed, being carried out an intensive work with trauma and with the attitude to trauma.

The second phase of the program focuses on the elimination of the negative effects of violence on personality, its development, as well as the re-establishment of personality qualities eliminated after a result of unformed and negative effects of violence and, in other words, on resettlement. The second phase of the program which is focused on the direction we mentioned is comprised of 2 psychotherapy sessions per person per week, including one individual and one group. The individual therapy period is 45 minutes, and the group psychotherapy period is 60 minutes. The second phase is also expected to last 10-12 weeks. Group psychotherapy is based on the kind of crime based on the type criteria of crime that we investigate. In our study, both phases were conducted in parallel for 10 weeks. We have tried to experimentally explore the socio-psychological factors affecting the psychological features of their personality, their socio-psychological factors, as well as the social and psychological aspects of their resuscitation, in the conditions created specifically through the materials corresponding to the psychological characteristics of the criminal woman personality. An experimental study of the psychological traits of criminal women was conducted at the female penitentiary institution No. 4 of the Ministry of Justice Penitentiary Service from April 2014 to July 2014. 169 women prisoners were involved in the study. 169 people were concentrated in 3 groups, the first group consisted of 33 women who committed crimes against personality, the second group consisted of 100 women who committed crimes against property, and the third group of 36 women who committed crimes against morality. This study was conducted with the participation of a psychologist from the Penal Service of the Ministry of Justice, Female Penitentiary institution No. 4. We have applied our special therapy program in the experimental group which include 30 criminal women (10 against personality, 10 against property, 10 against morality) in order to focus on self-actualization. The application of various psychotherapeutic techniques has allowed us to solve the following issues:

- a) ensure that criminal women understand the cause-and-effect relationship between the psychological trauma as a result of exposure to violence and crime they committed;
- b) adopt the characteristics of assertiveness, to be focused on individual development, self-discipline, self-development and self-taught;
- c) identify the inner potential of the criminal woman and make full use of her potential;
- d) integrate into universal values and to formulate the ability to perform these values in their behavior;
- e) formation of the feeling of compassion.

In addition, the issue of helping to create free and independent lifestyles for the implementation of their personal potential, the reintegration into the society and the recapturing of the society after the release of the existing software has been resolved.

The results obtained during the testing of control group's comparison with the experimental group confirmed the development perspective of the self-actualization potential of the experimental group (Table 1).

Development perspective of self-actualization potential in experimental group

Table 1

level of self-actualization	Experimental group		Control group	
	Number of convicted women	%	Number of convicted women	%
Less than 40	27	90	0	0
40-45	3	10	24	80
45-55	0	0	6	20

Thus, the obtained results constitute the basis of our special therapy program making resuscitation directed to criminal women for their rehabilitation of criminal woman personality. Discussion. In psychotherapy of women who commit crimes against personality, the main goal is to form a person's personal goals, beliefs, orientation and principles, to be driven indoors, to be free, do not be exposed to external factors, and do not be influenced by other people's comments. In addition, the goals of therapy also include the formation of a personality protecting proportionality, internally free with eliminated conformity in relation to itself and others. Women committing a crime against personality produce crimes against personality as a result of certain external influences because they have extreme tendency to love, to the sympathy of other people and feel the dissatisfaction of being loved. Therefore, after the release, for the prevention of these persons from committing the same crimes again should be developed the principles that they possess. Focusing on the flexibility of applying the principles in different situations in individual and group psychotherapies should be the main target for those committing this kind of crime. The ability of the person to respond rapidly to the changing situation, the formation of treatment when applying the various standard principles, and to eliminate dogmatism, which is manifested by very strongly support of general principles, reflect the successful outcome of psychotherapy. The results of the study suggest that the crimes committed by women who commit crimes against personality are not linked to the unformation of values, let's pretend that they are linked to the dependence on opinion of the surrounding people because they are dependent in a conformable manner, to the lack of the freedom of self-expression, of the independent attitude to the environment and the reason of deficiency of flexibility of behavior. That is, even it is contrary with action

values, difficulties in the realization of those values caused by the absence of flexibility of behavior, the non-independent attitude to the environment, and the dependence on others' opinions in a conformable manner, cause to commit this action. After being released, the rehabilitation psychologist should support the resuscitation of the assertive feature in order to provide readaptation and reintegration into society to prevent commitment of a crime again. In the psychotherapy of women who have committed a crime against morality the main goal is the identification of a limited "I" with more general global values by developing it. Persons who commit such a crime not only do not have universal values but also do not have an inner peace and a balance of freedom. Formation of the right orientation to themselves and others has a significant importance in the individual and group psychotherapies directed towards the persons who belong to this classification. There are special difficulties in reintegrating into society persons who commit this type of crime. Thus, their behavior is not positively welcomed in the environment, and they always feel this negative attitude towards them. Therefore, a correctional psychologist should support them in order to gain the feeling of freedom that is not the result of the struggle with others, universal values such as justice, equality, and humanism to ensure their reintegration to society. This feeling will force them to reinforce the universal values that they received as a result of psychotherapy when they were in penitentiary institution, while at the same time will cause the avoidance to commit the same action without affecting negative external factors again. Women who committed a crime against property. Formation of correct orientation to time of persons belonging to this classification will have a key importance aimed at identifying internal potentials in individual and group psychotherapies. People belonging to this classification do not always behave in the same way, that is, time is not always competent in their attitude. The existence of spontaneous desires of these persons who have committed these kind of crime without analysis "now and here" rationally, without gaining past experiences, without having to make plans for the future, whether they lived in the future or in the past, causes to commit the crime. Women who have committed a crime against property because of the reason that they want to achieve material suddenly, or just wanting to get suddenly what they already had in the past without planning, without calculating the steps in a sense commit crimes against property, that provides sudden possession and reward. For this reason, the primary goal should be the formation of the principles of "now and here" in psychotherapy, that ideals and goals are not the means to reach the demands, rather the determination that the activity constitutes the content, the calculation of real steps to achieve these ideals, and the providing different demands in adaptive ways. As a result, after therapy, a person will turn into someone who aspires to accept himself as he is in reality, with a sense of

eliminated inferiority, turning false goals into realistic goals, with a gradually disappearing fear related to his own life. He will live "now and here", understand the meaning and significance of what he has done, and will act consciously, not under the pressure of external factors. Consideration of the internal potential in unity with the past, now and with the future after being released to freedom, correctly oriented to the time will ensure its reintegration into society. In addition, a lesser inclination to feelings of guilt, regret and resentment will cause him to be more comfortable psychologically. The correctional psychologist should be useful in establishing a conscious connection of his hopes with his goals set in the present-while in prison, to build faith in the future on realistic plans for preventing the repetition of the same crime, for a more comfortable life.

Conclusion

The purpose of the program is to organize a non-violent environment for the criminal women to improve their self-esteem and desire for self-esteem, as well as the elimination of negative effects on their psychological state as a result of violence. The direction of the program:

1. Create a mechanism directed to resuscitation of negative or not formed positive personal qualities of criminal women caused by negative effects of exposure to early violence;
2. Form the desire of the criminal women for self-actualization ;
3. After the release of criminal women, to provide tools ensuring their readaptation and reintegration into society.

Positive aspects of working with the program are:

- Rejection of authoritarian and penal-oriented regulations on criminal woman during reformatory ;
- Independent analysis of the act committed by a criminal woman, and central position of her personal feelings and experiences;
- The utilization of different types of training by using widely the experience of a criminal woman;

The main feature of the program is the creation of a prosperous, comfortable environment for criminal woman personality to reveal her inner potential, directed to self-actualization, self-fulfillment. The development program of self-actualization potential for criminal woman personality is aimed at developing the following areas of personality:

1. Ability to master the assertiveness, ability to regulate emotions;
2. Detect internal potential;

3. Adopt universal values and carry out them in behavior;
4. Form a feeling of compassion. Emotionally comfortable environment encompasses all techniques of humanistic psychotherapy, which allows women to detect their internal worlds, taking into consideration their personality characteristics, depending on the crimes committed by convicted women.

Recommendations

The tasks that need to be solved by the program include the following:

1. Eliminate psychological traumas of the criminal women caused as a result of exposure to violence, support to avoid commit the same action again by explaining cause-and-effect relationship between committed acts and the fact of violence;
2. Help the criminal women to organize their optimal, effective and healthy levels of activity. The core of the program constitutes the humanist psychological concept and psychosocial approach to personality, which, in turn, are the theories that stand in humanist and environment-centered position, and improving personality directed to self-actualization and upbringing.

On the basis of all these noted facts, the criminal women can objectively analyze her action that she has committed beyond the dogmatic thought and finally arises a personality who is assertive, revealing her inner potential and identifying the universal moral values with her own internal principles.

It should be noted that this program allows to criminal women an individual approach depending on the crime they have committed.

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IBUISC '17

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS

“The Creation of the New World in a Globalized Era”

Stream:

Engineering

Applications of Artificial Intelligence Using IoT

Omar Al-Talaheeh¹

Abstract:

Artificial intelligence (or machine language) is giving the machine the sense and the brain of a human mind, giving them the ability to analyze their surrounding and the human commands using multiple complex algorithms (Algorithmic Trading) and human rules, Usually when people say AI, they mostly think about robots and self-driving cars and most importantly they think that it's going to happen in the future ironically that's wrong, AI is used in our everyday life here's an example, when we use Siri to find us a restaurant she uses the past data and analyses on their rating and distance and there and pick one for you according to that, but the future of AI is bigger than that, it's enormous soon everything will be AI, from houses and cars and even our surrounding environment. Meanwhile, IoT is a giving every small thing an IP address (intent protocol) and the internet, that needs that we can take information from every device connect to it and analyze it to make everything easier an example imagines when you enter your home and it was very hot outside and you were sweating what will happen when you enter your home which is connected to it? First, the air conditioner will turn on to cool down your temperature slowly then the register will activate the ice machine to make you a cold glass of water and it will play some music to help you calm your nerves the mean idea is that it will make life much easier, and it will save a lot of costs and time by making everything connected to each other but what will happen when we combine AI with IoT? in this paper I'll explain the application of AI using IoT

Key words: Artificial Intelligence, AI, IoT, Sensors

Introduction

Artificial intelligence or (AI) for short has many definitions giving a machine the human behavior and the ability to learn something new by their own by analyzing and trying to solve a series complex problem by their own. It all started with John McCarthy the first person ever to give to ever create a language to deal with Artificial Intelligence called Lisp, it was designed to manipulate data stings, it's considered one of the oldest

¹ University of Petra, Jordan [omar.talafeeh@gmail.com]

programming language to ever lived to this day artificial intelligence uses complex mathematics (like calculus and probability theory) and uses problem-solving techniques (like Decision Models, Strengths, and Limitations of Network-Based Techniques, Means-Ends Analysis, Production Systems) but how did all being? it started with Christopher Strachey when he designed a program that could play a complete game of checkers at a reasonable speed, he was the director of the Programming Research Group at the University of Oxford later the department started doing research on the AI and publishing papers, but for now artificial intelligence has accelerated quickly from four reasons. First of all because now everything become smart, TVs and smartphone cars and even houses, researchers with the help of Mark Zuckerberg and along with Elon Musk are trying to make AI turn into deep AI (thinking on their own) they achieved that but sadly they had stopped it, the two machines started a new language between each other that no one knows. Second, it's because coding has become open source, that means anyone can take the code and makes changes to it and send it back, with the help of Sony who made AI projects open sources AI is developing very fast with the help of programmers from all over the world. Artificial intelligence has developed fast and it was and it was noted when deep blue a computer Chess playing system designed my IBM play Russian grandmaster Garry Kasparov in one of their six games and it was the first computer it ever won two games and had three draws. Artificial intelligence is strong, strong enough to duplicate human intellectual abilities and learn from their own mistakes and that's what we call strong artificial intelligence (strong AI) and it's a lot different from normal it can perform tasks on its own just like human being using algorithm is stored by a computer program sadly there is no example for it right now because it's in initial stage but it exists on the papers, On the other hand, regular artificial intelligence do exist and we see it in our everyday life just like Facebook and Amazon, they take their tasks from humans and they put in manually so it could be performed.

The bright side of Artificial intelligence

Artificial intelligence can help us a lot and make our lives much easier, using Artificial intelligence can make the chance to make an error almost zero and achieved the result much faster than human would ever would, not only that it also can replace humans who have dangerous jobs by combining it with Robots, that way we won't risk any humans live or put him in any dangers situation, another key thing to remember that artificial intelligence is when it used in smart phones when it corrects your typing or most importantly when it guesses when word you're going to type also we have Siri which works like our personal assistants in considered as artificial intelligence. Artificial

intelligence now is used to search for Bitcoins on the black market using mathematical equations along with supercomputers with AI you can make a lap to search for Bitcoins which you can sell on the black market for three thousand US dollars but artificial intelligence is now used in organizations, they use it in avatars to describes your behavior and interact with users using the database it stored from collation your information from the internet or from social media they can take your clothes from your social media photos and put them on your avatar all by their own, a famous company who did that is Xbox with their Xbox360 with Kinect. Also, iPhone has recently putting artificial intelligence on their smartphones in a large way, their new characteristic to their phone is that you can make emojis to duplicate your face and start to re-say what you said using artificial intelligence and animation, they even copy your face movements and your face expressions.

The dark side of Artificial intelligence

One of the main disadvantages of artificial intelligence machines that use Artificial intelligence needs lots of maintenance and repair and most immortality needs updates regularly, also replacing humans with machines looks like a great idea that will save much time and effort but if we do it in every field that will lead to unemployment and that might affect us in a very bad way also that leads us to an important case, is it ethical to use machines instead of human beings? Then again to another case that will can robots work on the creative files side? Machines that use artificial intelligence can't work on designing or in the drawing filed (that for now). The last thing it might be dangers. Many people think that AI would take over humans someday AI is still young to think on its own and to make big decisions far from all that artificial intelligence has its weakness and strengths, hopefully, in the near future, it would be solved in an ethical way and o be helpful for humanity. The Internet of Things or (IoT) for short is giving devices, machines objects even humans a unique address called Internet Protocol address or (IP address) for short that allows them the ability to transfer data over a network without any human intervention. Internet of things is becoming more interesting every day, it's developing very fast because the internet is spreading very fast and becoming available to more people day by day, Microsoft has newly launched a project to connects google glass with sensor on your body that way you can monitor your health on your glass screen, hopefully, IoT will develop one day to become Internet of everything and be available to everyone that is to say that because IoT is connection an object with an object throw the network (mostly internet services) development of Internet of Things. It all started in 1832 with electrical telegraph created by Baron Schilling a device that allows two machines to connect with each

other but around 2008 Internet of Things was officially born according to CISCO, a leading company in technology and in network field, then Google launched google glass which fully uses Internet of Things symbiotically amazon started investing in drones and trying to connect it with Internet of Things (drones with phones) so it can use it in delivering in what way can benefit Internet of Things will giving every object internet and an IP address is like giving them life, we can use them to benefit us without asking them applications of Internet of Things:

- I. Home automation, Internet of Things can control your whole house or control your health life just like the fridge to make you a cool drink even to make it monitor your health by using small sensors
- II. It can reduce errors, collecting real time shared data will reduce the percentages of having an error or at least it gives us the opportunity to solve it when after it finishes and even better while it's happening
- III. Enhanced Patient Experience: The connectivity of the health care system through the internet of things, places emphasis on the needs of the patient. That is, proactive treatments, improved accuracy when it comes to diagnosis, timely intervention by physicians and enhanced treatment outcomes result in accountable care that is highly trusted by patients.
- IV. Also, we can use internet of thing in cars using IoT will lower the cost of enhances sensors and the will lead us to more space and now for internet of everything, the idea is to bring everything together from people to data and even to micropores it's more advanced then internet of things and it's still in its early days, it's based on internet of things because the fast developing of IP (the new version of it called IPv6) and the increase, if it's global reach internet of everything, it has been established and like internet of things, it has many risks, it has two major problems privacy and energy, the major problem is energy it needs a lot to handle because it takes information from many types of objects

According to CISCO internet of everything needs four elements things, data, people, process:

- I. Things: This element includes many physical items like sensors, meters, actuators, and other types of devices that can be attached to any object, that are or will can connect to the network and sharing information. These things will sense and deliver more data, respond to control inputs, and provide more information to help people and machines make decisions. Examples of "things" in the Internet of Everything include smart meters that communicate

energy consumption, assembly line robots that automate factory floor operations, and smart transportation systems that adapt to traffic conditions.

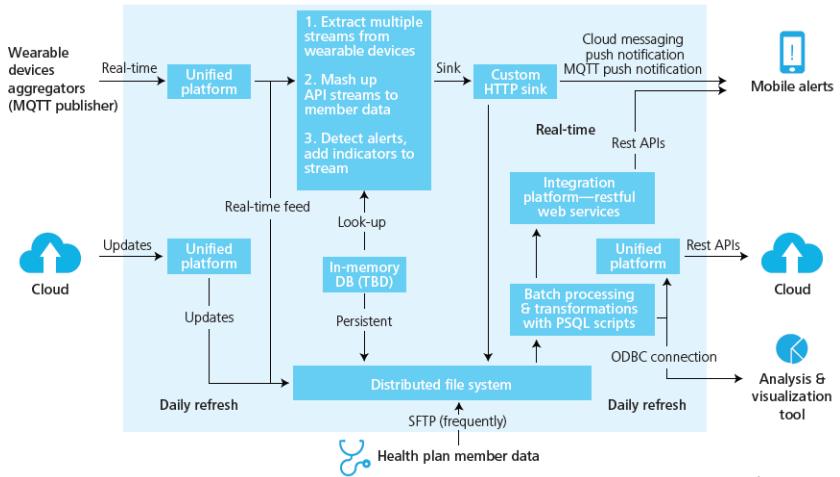
- II. Data: devices typically gather data and stream it over the Internet to a central source, where it is analyzed and processed. Such data is expected to surpass today's largest social media data set by another order of magnitude. Much of this data has very transient value. In fact, its value vanishes almost as quickly as it is created. As a result, not all generated data can be or should be stored. As the capabilities of things connected to the Internet continue to advance, they will become more intelligent and overcome the limits of traditional batch-oriented data analysis by combining data into more useful information. Rather than just reporting raw data, connected things will soon send higher-level information and insights back to machines, computers, and people in real time for further evaluation and decision making. The intelligent network touches everything—and is the only place where it's possible to build the scalable intelligence required to meet and utilize this new wave of 'data in motion'. This transformation made possible by the emergence of the Internet of Everything is important because it will enable faster, more intelligent decision making by both people and machines, as well as more effective control over our environment.
- III. People: People will continue to connect through devices, like smartphones, PCs and tablets, as well as through social networks, such as Facebook and LinkedIn. As the Internet of Everything emerges, the interaction of people on the Internet will evolve. For example, it may become common to wear sensors on our skin or in our clothes that collect and transmit data to healthcare providers. Some analysts even suggest that people may become individual nodes that produce a constant stream of static data.
- IV. Process: This includes evolving technology, business, organizational and other processes that will be needed in order to manage and, to a large extent, automate the explosive growth in connections—and the resultant accumulation, analysis and communication of data—that will be inevitable in the Internet of Everything. Processes will also play an important role in how each of these entities—people, data, and things—interact with each other within the Internet of Everything to deliver societal benefits and economic value.

Nevertheless, Internet of Things has a lot of disadvantages. The main disadvantage of Internet of Things is the lack of privacy and security, connecting everything to the internet because it might be attacked by hackers which allow them to access your personal network and your personal information. Also, the complication of connecting everything to everything and also to the internet is enormous that doesn't include any bugs or failures. Importantly it will take away our lives from us, we will depend more and more on technology that the next generation will be controlled by technology and what we consider the most is our safety, the idea that our information can be misused without us knowing is terrifying. Internet of Things has many disadvantages despite all that it has a bright future that will help humanity to develop and grow in a beautiful way. Now after all that fast growth in technology, it's time to mix this together so we could have the result that would help humanity. Artificial intelligence and IoT are a huge thing now. Artificial intelligence in IoT will help us speed up the process of handling big data and most importantly analyze it faster, on the other hand, the challenges of that are magnificent, two important challenges that we face are compatibility and complexity. Solving these two problems will be the bugs issue that we will ever face, other problems artificial intelligence might solve them by themselves but big data as the main uses, big data as defined by Wikipedia. "Is a term for data sets that are so large or complex that traditional data processing application software is inadequate to deal with them. Since the data sets are so huge, the challenges include capture, storage, analysis, data curation, search, sharing, transfer, visualization, querying, updating and information privacy. However, it's more likely used to reference predictive analytics, user behavior analytics, advanced data methods (including artificial intelligence) rather than simply the size of the data set."

Plans for our future

Many projects and ideas have been associated, from cities to countries but the most important thing that we are hoping to do is to team up IoT and Artificial Intelligence with medicine. Putting sensors on human parts will give them the ability to monitor blood pressure and another medical thing on time minute by minute. An important thing to say that IoT won't really work perfectly without artificial intelligence. IoT will help cities and big companies to reform better but all of that will need time to analyze the data that comes from the sensors, computers along with humans can analyze the data and restore it back but that will take a lot of time and it will cost more because we need coolers to cool down the processor machines.

Figure 10.10 The IoT specifications view



Source: Deloitte's IoT Reference Architecture.

Graphic: Deloitte University Press | DUPress.com

Conclusion

Artificial intelligence has a bright future even with all problems that it's facing, with the help of programmers of all over the world and with the help of many researchers. Applications of artificial intelligence using IoT is still a new thing, for now, only big company has access to it like Microsoft, Walmart, Amazon. IoT along with internet of everything will face a lot of problems, dealing with tiny technology with a large quantum is a very difficult thing and for teaming up together is even harder, and many projects are still on the drawing board just like smart thermostat or greenhouses.

The Art of Data Mining

(Outlier Detection Techniques in Data Mining)

Gerta Kapllani¹

Abstract:

Data mining refers to extracting or “mining” patterns of data from large quantities of data. The process means exploring useful information from databases for business profits. Outlier detection which are becoming real issues in the era of big data. They are considered to be an important part of data mining. Most often they are studied because they would interfere with desired analysis or because they provide useful information. Many outlier detection techniques have been researched during years though there are still many challenges in identifying the most suitable technique for excellent results in analyzing data. This paper tries to provide a general view and an easier understanding of the research on outlier detection methods, statistical and non statistical ones. Furthermore this template will give a comparison between each category of the methods from related work used for detecting outliers, how these techniques developed and many challenges regarded to them.

Introduction

We are drowning in information while starving for knowledge at the same time (J.Naisbett, 1982).As the amount of data continues to grow, different techniques are developed in order to discover interesting knowledge in databases. The process known as data mining is the process of extracting knowledge from big databases(Han H, 2001). Data mining techniques are studied and used due to its importance in the business industry. They provide a better understanding of user behavior, improving the business services in order to increase the profits (Chen, 1996).To be pointed out is that the mining process fails if the samples are not a good representation from the large data. The recent development in data mining has lead to an important role to outlier detection which is also known as outlier mining that refers to the process of identifying rare patterns from the data set that are inconsistent with remaining data(Han R, 2000).There are various factors that determine outlier detection problem. Over time there have been developed many techniques statistical and non statistical that try to

¹ University of New York Tirana, Albania [gertakapllani@yahoo.com]

resolve this problem. This phenomenon is also known as anomaly detection, something that is different from normal behavior. A standard method to detect outliers is to create a model of normal data and compare future observations against the model (Chandola, 2009). Outlier detection techniques seem to be a very challenging topic on these days. However this template tries to provide a structured overview of the research on outlier detection techniques hoping in giving a better understanding of different research that has been done on this topic.

1. Data Mining definition

Over years there have been out many different statements definitions about data mining. Firstly stated as extraction of knowledge from large amount of data (Han et. al., 2001). The SAS Institute (2000) defines data mining as the process of selecting, exploring, modeling large amount of data to uncover previously unknown data patterns for business advantages. Data mining techniques are result of long term of research. They can be implemented in existing software and old hardware but also can be integrated with new systems. No matter the definition, data mining differs from statistical analysis of data (Sato, 2000). The first one is based on historical facts and observed data while data mining tends to discover information. As a matter of fact statistical analysis and data mining are complementary processes as the first one removes the major part of data variation before data mining is used. In addition to that data warehouse tools, identified mainly by OLAP (on-line analysis processing) go along in the process of analyzing data. OLAP tools tend to simplify data while data mining tends to discover hidden knowledge from big data sets (Han, 2001). Beside OLAP there is also Knowledge Discovery in Databases (KDD) whose definition seems to be similar to data mining with some slight differences. KDD refers to the overall process in knowledge discovery from data whereas data mining refers to one singular step on this process. A simple example for better understanding of what data mining stands for is if you group together similar documents returned by search engine according to their context (ex Amazon rainforest, Amazon.com). In contrast what is not data mining is querying a web search engine for information about "Amazon" (F. Giannotti, 2008).

1.1 Data mining processes

1.1.1 Anand and Buchner process model

The data mining process described by Anand (Anand et. al., 1997) consist of eight steps:

1. human resource identification
2. problem specification

- 3.data prospecting
- 4.domain knowledge elicitation
- 5.methodology identification
- 6.data pre-processing
- 7.pattern discovery
- 8.knowledge post-processing

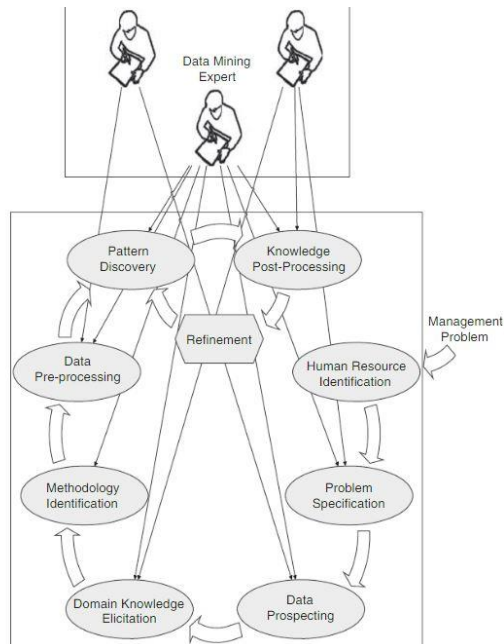


Figure 3 Anand and Buchner process model (Buchner at.al., 1998)

In stage one of the process the roles of human resource are identified. In stage 2 the problems are analyzed and specified. Next step is still analyzing the data and choosing the extract to mine. In the next step, domain knowledge elicitation is to elicit the useful information already known from domain experts. The most appropriate paradigms are chosen in step 5. In the next step data are transformed in such a state that is fit for the mining process. In pattern discovery step are involved knowledge history and computation. In the last step the rules found in the previous step are filtered to be used in this last step.

1.1.2 Data mining process according to Cabena

In this process data mining is referred as extracting previously unknown valid information from large databases and using it for business advantages (Cabena et. al., 1998) Figure 2 shows the steps of the whole process which are similar to the KDD process we have mentioned in the introduction section. There are differences in comparison with Anand and Buchner model though. In this model there is a specific step called mine that turns data information into valid information. At the very last step we get an output analysis and a review.

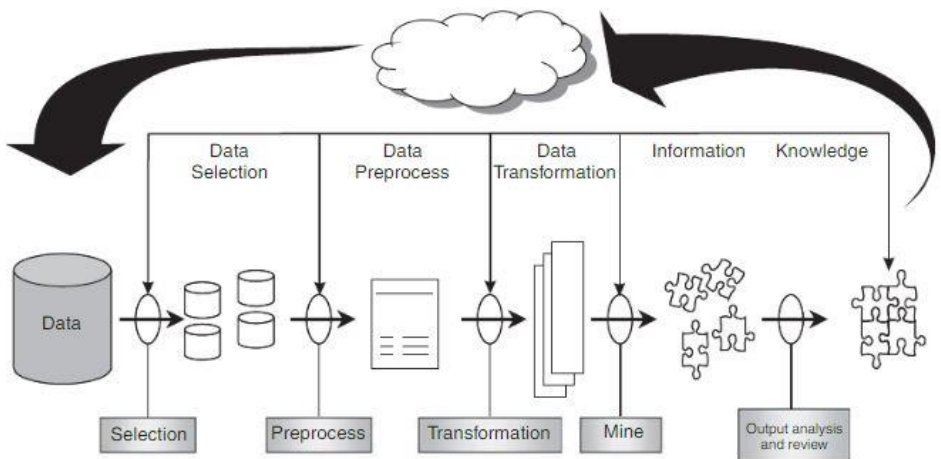


Figure 4 Data mining process according to Cabena (Cabena et. al.,1998)

1.1.3 Data mining process according to Fayyad

According to Fayyad (Fayyad.et.al, 1996), the data mining process includes these steps:

- 1.Retrieving data from large dataset.
- 2.Selecting relevant subset of data.
- 3.Deciding the sampling system, cleaning the data and dealing with missing fields and records.
- 4.Applying the appropriate transformations and projections.
- 5.Fitting models on the preprocessed data

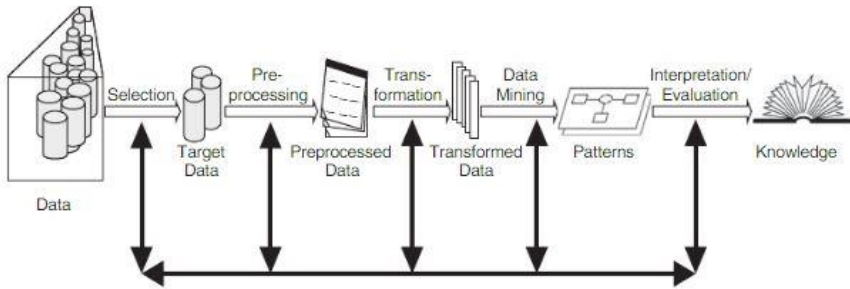


Figure 5 Data mining process according to Fayyad et.al.(1996)

2.Outlier Detection

2.1 What is an outlier in Data Mining

An outlier is one that appears to deviate markedly from other members of the sample in which it occurs (Grubbs,1960). In the same way Hawkins defines outlier detection as data object with a different behavior from expectation(Hawkins, 1980).Some data may derive from homogenous groups others from heterogeneous groups. They can be caused by data entry errors, human errors, incorrect measurements other way it can be considered a rare event (Osborne, 2004). To identify an observation as an outlier is needed to check the underlying distribution of data. The figure below explains the concept of outliers in a simple 2-dimensional data set. N1 and N2 are the regions of the data. Most observations lie in these regions. Points that lie far from these normal regions such as o1 and o2 and from the region O3 are the outliers or anomalies, so they are different from normal data points.

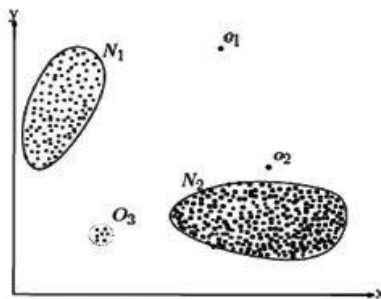


Figure 6 Anomalies (Kamal Malik, 2014)

2.2Types of outliers

Outliers are mainly classified in three categories global outliers, contextual outliers and collective outliers, (Varun Chandola, 2009). Global outlier detection is important in many applications. Many studies have found out that it should be found an appropriate measurement of deviation in order to detect them. Contextual outliers have been used more in time-series data(Weigend et. al., 1995). If data is identified as anomalous in a specific context(but not otherwise) is referred as contextual outlier or anomaly(Song et. al., 2007). In this case each data is defined using two sets of attributes: Contextual attributes that mostly determine context while behavioral attribute which are used to describe non contextual characteristics of an attribute. For a better understanding of the difference between them we have to take into consideration that a data might be an outlier in a context but the same data can possibly be considered as normal in another context in terms of behavior attribute.An example from Weigend shows the monthly temperature over an area on the last years. A temperature 32F might be considered as normal during winter (t_1) but the same instance during summer turns to be considered as anomaly in the time (t_2)(Shekhar, 2001).

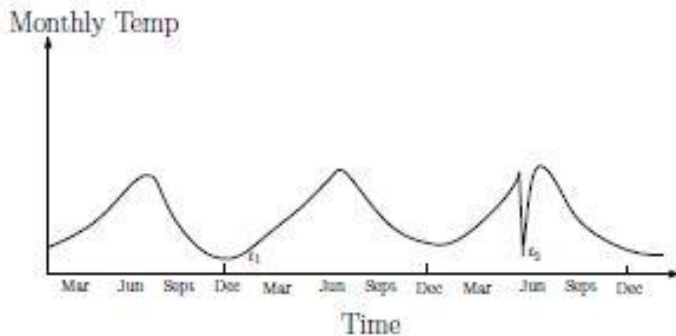


Figure 7 Contextual anomalies, (Weigend et. al., 1995)

Collective outliers. If a set of data is anomalous in comparison to the entire data set it is defined as a collective outlier. Even the individual data in a collective outliers may be anomalous themselves but being identified as a collection of data makes them definition anomalous(Goldberger, 2001). It has to be pointed that collective outliers happen only in data sets where data instances are related. Usually in sequential data and graph data(Noble, 2003).

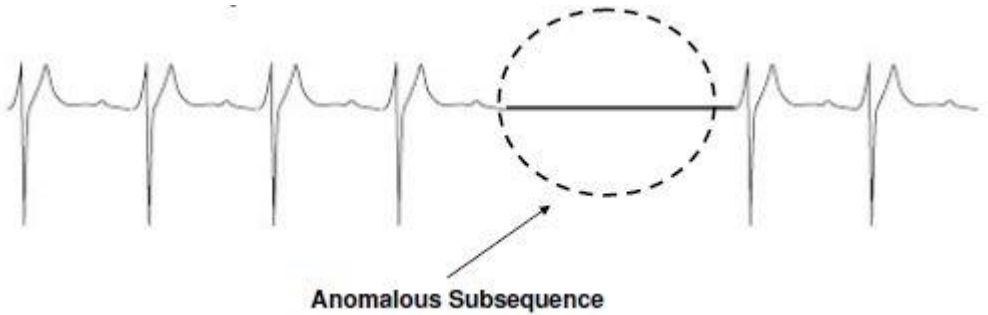


Figure 8 Collective outliers, (Noble, 2003)

2.3 Outlier detection method

There are two reasons for detecting outliers. The first reason is to find outliers that might influence the information gathered from a statistical test and the second reason is to use them in order to obtain useful information. Outlier detection methods are divided in statistical and non-statistical ones that are defined as model free(Williams et. al., 2002). Furthermore the non-statistical methods are categorized in distance-based methods, density-based methods, and clustering-based methods.

Statistical methods are mostly used for one-dimensional data. They assume a known underlying distribution of the observations whereas the non-statistical methods are used for high-dimensional data without any knowledge of underlying distribution of the observations (Hawkins,1980; Barnett, 1994).

2.4 Applications of outliers detection

Mostly in real life situation there is logic of outlier detection. Fraud detection is the typical case where abnormal behavior of the credit card owner is obvious when the card is stolen. In medicine when a test result is abnormal it depends on gender age, gender or similar characteristics. Different studies have come to result that abnormal values can lead to finding measurement error.

3. Statistical Method comparison

Statistical methods assume a probability model for the set of data identifying outliers referring the model and using discordance tests. These methods deal with assumptions of data normality.

Based on previous work Han (2012), normal data instances occur in high probability regions of stochastic model while anomalies occur in low probability regions of stochastic model¹

Similar methods that have been proposed in literature are large in number. They are frequently used by many outlier detection methodologies (Barnett G. , 1994). These methods are used to detect outliers in univariate data set but also multivariate data set.

3.1 Z-score

Z-score is another method frequently used to detect outlier invented by Altman(1968). Z-score value is calculated for each observation. In order to calculate it first should be calculated the mean and standard deviation for the observed value.

$z = \frac{x_i - \bar{X}}{sd}$ where $X_i \sim N(\mu, \sigma^2)$, and sd is the standard deviation of data.

The key idea of this test is that if X follows a normal distribution $N(\mu, \sigma^2)$ then z follows a standard normal distribution $N(0,1)$. Z-scores greater than 3 or less than -3 are considered to be outlier .So all the data should be within three standard deviation from the mean.

According to Shiffler (1988) maximum z-score is dependent on sample size and it is computed as $(n-1)/n$. A special case is considered to be masking problem which means that when a similar case occurs outliers may be neighbors. Iglewicz and Hoaglin(1983) went further on the case. Two estimators used in z-score the mean and standard deviation might be affected by extreme values. To avoid this problem they suggested that the median and the median of the absolute deviation of the median (MAD) are in the modified z-score.

MAD median{| $x_i - X$ |} ,where X is the sample median.

The modified Z-Score (**Mi**) :

$Mi = \frac{0.6745(x_i - X)}{MAD}$ where $E(MAD) = 0.675 \sigma$ for large normal data.

Iglewicz and Hoaglin (1993) concluded that observations are identifies as outliers when $| Mi | > 3.5$ through the simulation based on pseudo-normal observations for sample sizes of 10, 20, and 40.

¹**stochastic model** is a tool for estimating probability distributions of potential outcomes by allowing for random variation in one or more inputs over time.

3.2 Regression as parametric method

Regression is a parametric technique used to detect outliers in statistical methods. It tries to find the dependence of one or multiple variables x on one or multiple variables y . The conditional probability x/y has to be examined. It can be linear or non linear. There are two ways to build the regression model in order to detect the outliers, the direct search and reverse search. The direct search method builds a model based on the portion of the data and then adds new data points incrementally when the preliminary model construction has been finished. The reverse method build the regression model using all the data available from data set. In this case the data with the greater errors are considered to be outliers.

They tend to be excluded from the model (Rousseeuw et. al., 1987). The best way to detect outliers is to compute the regression equation with and without outliers or values that you initially consider as possible outliers.

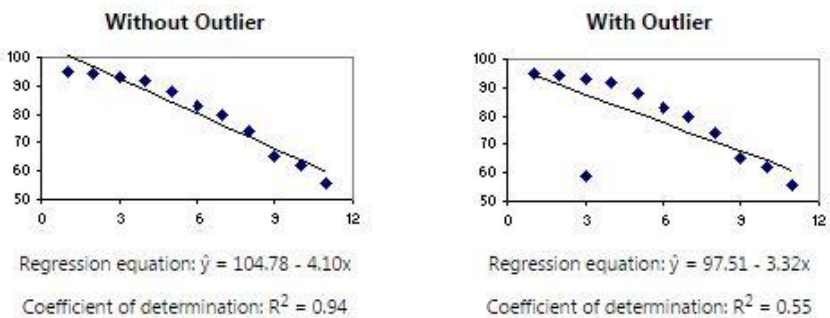


Figure 9 Regression method (Rousseeuw et. al., 1987)

The plot on the right includes an outlier. Result concluded by Rousseeuw study in this example is that the slope tends to be flatter when the outlier is present. So, the outlier seems to influence the data set.

4. Non-statistical method

There have been many studies and research over years for outlier detection methods of large data (Knorr and Ng, 1997). The techniques in this category do not make assumptions about the statistical distribution of the data. To start with, distance based method was proposed by Knorr and Ng.). The second category is about density based

method which uses more complex mechanisms(Zhang,2004).The third category is about clustering based method which is an important part of data mining.Cluster's goal is to discover new sets of categories.

4.1 Distance based method

Distance-based: An object O in a dataset T is a DB(p,D) outlier if at least fraction p of the objects in T are \geq distance D from O (Knorr, 1988). The main idea is to judge an object based on the distance to its neighbours. The algorithm taken in consideration for this part is nested loop, a great choice for high density of data. In contrast to index based algorithm where there is need to build an index which is complicated with many calculations, the nested loop p calculates distances of instances to all other objects to find the instances k nearest neighbors. It divides the buffer space into two halves (first and second arrays)

In the next step it breaks data into blocks and then feed the two blocks into the arrays. Then inside or in between the arrays it computes the distance between each pair of objects. The final step is to find the outlier.

4.2Density based method

In this method a degree of being an outlier called local outlier factor(LOF) is assigned to each object. LOF are very sensitive to densities and shows how isolated the object is compared to objects of neighborhood.(Breunig et al., 2000). The general idea to be tested is if the density around a normal data is equal to the density around its neighbors. In this algorithm the outliers are data with high LOF values.

Local outlier factor (LOF) of point p .Average ratio of lrd's of neighbors of p and lrd of p :

$$LOF_k(p) = \frac{\sum_{o \in kNN(p)} \frac{lrd_k(o)}{lrd_k(p)}}{Card(kNN(p))}$$

*LOF~1 data object is not an outlier
 *LOF>>1 data object is an outlier

Data set LOFs(MinPts=40) reference set

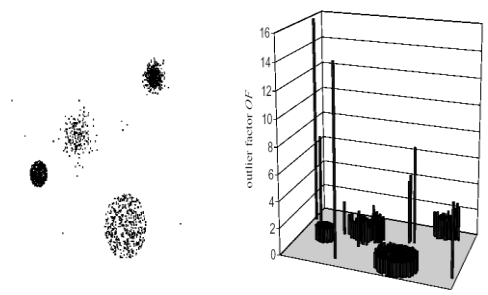


Figure 10 (Kriegel,2010)

4.3 Clustering based method

During the years many clustering methods have been developed. The main rule is that normal data belong to large clusters while outliers belong to small clusters or not any specific one. Partitioning clustering method partitions the data set into a specific number of clusters specified by the user. In this phase there are used different methods such as PAM, k-means, CLARA (Challagalla, 2010). In this section an overview of PAM algorithm is provided. It uses medoids¹ that lead to better class separation. Below are shown the steps required to perform PAM (Han, 2006).

Input:

K: The no. of clusters.

D: Dataset containing n objects.

Output: A set of K-clusters.

Method:

1. Arbitrarily choose k objects in D as the initial medoids.
2. Repeat.
3. Assign each remaining object to the cluster with the nearest medoid.
4. Randomly select a non-medoid object, Orandom.
5. Compute the total cost (S) of swapping initial medoid (Oj) with Orandom.
6. If $S < 0$ then swap Oj with Orandom to form the new set of k-medoids.
7. Up to here there is no change in the medoids.

The final result tells that objects are detected outliers when the cluster contains less than the average number of objects. The benefit of PAM is that new data can be added and still tested for outliers in the future

5. Conclusion and future work

In this paper we have discussed different techniques, algorithm steps for outlier detection in data mining. Previous work concluded that statistical method's computational complexity is high with less efficiency and these techniques have prior

¹ Medoids: most centrally located object in a cluster.

knowledge about data. Distance based methods are not very complex in computing, are scalable and also used for multivariate data though they require distance calculation between each data point. Obviously this leads to high time complexity in detecting the outliers. On the other hand, density based methods as part of non statistical methods are very complex, more efficient than above methods and used for multivariate data. The last of this group are clustering based with less complexity, effectively scalable, used for univariate and multivariate data based on the clustering of similar data. An interesting fact to be mentioned here is that with the growth of dimensionality, it grows even the efficiency of the outlier techniques. Moreover, as outliers are becoming issues in the age of big data, the biggest issue at the very beginning of this paper was to understand outlier's definitions which are not clear themselves. Secondly, how outliers can be found. By graphing the data though doesn't work for more than 2 or more variables. Secondly influencing measures though is ineffective for more than 1 outlier and it is time consuming. The final thought that can be used in future is to come up with a new method which is yours and yours alone. The common approach to outliers after using the detection techniques surely is what to be done after finding them. Common thoughts which we fully adopt expressed over years are: correcting errors, checking distribution assumption, generating models with and without outliers to evaluate the effect. In conclusion after revising many related work, studying different algorithms and techniques and mentioning strong and weak points above what can be added as personal contribution is that the very final technique to be used is up to you. It is your data. Take information about how the data was collected and make the best decisions that can be done.

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List of Figures

Figure 1 Anand and Buchner process model (Buchner et.al., 1998)	382
Figure 2 Data mining process according to Cabena (Cabena et. al.,1998)	383
Figure 3 Data mining process according to Fayyad et.al.(1996)	384
Figure 4 Anomalies (Kamal Malik, 2014)	384
Figure 5 Contextual anomalies, (Weigend et. al., 1995)	385
Figure 6 Collective outliers, (Noble, 2003)	386
Figure 7 Regression method (Rousseeuw et. al., 1987)	388
Figure 8 (Kriegel,2010)	389

The Cognitive Dissonance in Architecture

Dmytro Sopov¹

Abstract:

A little more than 40 years ago, Leon Festinger published *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (1957). Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance has been one of the most influential theories in social psychology. It has generated hundreds and hundreds of studies, from which much has been learned about the determinants of attitudes and beliefs, the internalization of values, the consequences of decisions, the effects of disagreement among persons, and other important psychological processes. This chapter presents an introduction to cognitive dissonance theory, followed by an overview of current perspectives and research on the theory. Topics discussed include: research paradigms in dissonance research (free-choice paradigm, belief-disconfirmation paradigm, effort-justification paradigm, induced-compliance paradigm); and alternative accounts of dissonance phenomena (alternatives to dissonance theory, revisions of dissonance theory). Dissonance is a musical term. It means things are not in harmony. Design dissonance occurs when a product or service sends out cognitive signals that run counter to the desired effect. In the strictest sense of the term, design dissonance often relates to usability—when a design somehow pushes a user in the wrong direction, in terms of both understanding and action. But in a broader sense, design dissonance can create disappointment, particularly when it occurs in relation to a service.

Introduction

Almost half a century ago social psychologist Leon Festinger developed the cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957). The theory has obviously stood the test of time in that it is mentioned in most general and social psychology textbooks today. The theory is somewhat counterintuitive and, in fact, fits into a category of counterintuitive social psychology theories sometimes referred to as action-opinion theories. The fundamental characteristic of action opinion theories is that they propose that actions can influence subsequent beliefs and attitudes. This is counterintuitive in that it would seem logical that our actions are the result of our beliefs/attitudes, not the cause of

¹ Kharkiv National University of Civil Engineering and Architecture, Ukraine
[dcpov93@gmail.com]

them. However, on further examination these types of theories have great intuitive appeal in that the theories, particularly cognitive dissonance, address the pervasive human tendency to rationalize.

Cognitive dissonance theory is based on three fundamental assumptions.

1. Humans are sensitive to inconsistencies between actions and beliefs. • According to the theory, we all recognize, at some level, when we are acting in a way that is inconsistent with our beliefs/attitudes/opinions. In effect, there is a built in alarm that goes off when we notice such an inconsistency, whether we like it or not. For example, if you have a belief that it is wrong to cheat, yet you find yourself cheating on a test, you will notice and be affected by this inconsistency.

2. Recognition of this inconsistency will cause dissonance, and will motivate an individual to resolve the dissonance. • Once you recognize that you have violated one of your principles, according to this theory, you won't just say "oh well". You will feel some sort of mental anguish about this. The degree of dissonance, of course, will vary with the importance of your belief/attitude/principle and with the degree of inconsistency between your behavior and this belief. In any case, according to the theory, the greater the dissonance the more you will be motivated to resolve it.

3. Dissonance will be resolved in one of three basic ways:

a) Change beliefs

• Perhaps the simplest way to resolve dissonance between actions and beliefs is simply to change your beliefs. You could, of course, just decide that cheating is o.k. This would take care of any dissonance. However, if the belief is fundamental and important to you such a course of action is unlikely. Moreover, our basic beliefs and attitudes are pretty stable, and people don't just go around changing basic beliefs/attitudes/opinions all the time, since we rely a lot on our world view in predicting events and organizing our thoughts. Therefore, though this is the simplest option for resolving dissonance it's probably not the most common.

b) Change actions

• A second option would be to make sure that you never do this action again. Lord knows that guilt and anxiety can be motivators for changing behavior. Therefore, you may say to yourself that you will never cheat on a test again, and this may aid in resolving the dissonance. However, aversive conditioning (i.e., guilt/anxiety) can often be a pretty poor way of learning, especially if you can train yourself not to feel these things. Moreover, you may really benefit in some way from the action that's inconsistent with your beliefs. Therefore, the trick would be to get rid of this feeling without changing your beliefs or your actions, and this leads us to the third, and probably most common, method of resolution.

c) Change perception of action

- A third and more complex method of resolution is to change the way you view/remember/perceive your action. In more colloquial terms, you would “rationalize” your actions. For example, you might decide that the test you cheated on was for a dumb class that you didn’t need anyway. Alternatively, you may say to yourself that everyone cheats so why not you? In other words, you think about your action in a different manner or context so that it no longer appears to be inconsistent with your actions. If you reflect on this series of mental gymnastics for a moment, you will probably recognize why cognitive dissonance has come to be so popular. If you’re like me, you notice such post-hoc reconceptualization (rationalizations) of behavior on the part of others all the time, though it’s not so common to see it in one’s self.

Main Part

Is today’s consumerist society headed for collapse because of its exponentially growing, hence unsustainable needs? For some years now, we have been aware of the damaging affect that the material pursuits of both industrial and developing countries have on the earth and its biosphere. Yet, despite numerous well-made rational arguments that urge us to change the catastrophic global waste of natural resources and energy, expanding agricultural regions at the risk of losing the diversity of the biosphere, etc., it is frustrating to find that human inertia overrides sound logic and reason. Surprisingly, this is not a new phenomenon; it is a part of human nature that compels us to comply with group behavior as an extended form of self-preservation. Such conformity has its benefits when there is any chance of a genuine threat to the social group: it is better to flee than to stand around and try to figure out whether you are really in harm’s way. The problem is, such crowd behavior has a way of working against what may be in our best interest, by motivating us to cling to fixed ways of thinking rather than accept better alternatives. In the case of a human-made global disaster, we ignore the rational findings of science and take comfort in the fact that our neighbors don’t appear to be too concerned. There are countless examples where humans chose to follow groupthink rather than the logic of an astute and well-founded argument. Furthermore, history is full of instances where this tendency was used to manipulate and coerce people to do things that just didn’t make sense. Society promotes irrational ideologies and appears resistant to arguments because people maintain group beliefs in the face of logical evidence. “Cognitive dissonance” occurs when a person is faced with two contradictory and incompatible thoughts. This state generates emotional tension and anxiety, and can lead to paralysis and inaction because the decision mechanism cannot resolve the conflict and decide upon any proper course to take. Clearly, this is a very

dangerous state to be in, and human beings must avoid getting locked into a state of indecision (analogous to a computer program freezing up). Situations where this conflict arises are usually social ones, when others hold a contrary opinion. If one has to decide alone, there is usually less conflict among irreconcilable ideas. Biological/social co-evolution propagates the mechanism for groupthink. Apparently, nature predisposes us to accept a decision conforming to what the majority of a group believes. The unavoidable tendency to conform easily overrides both rational behavior and moral inhibitions. Evidence demonstrates again and again how normal persons ignore their sensory apparatus to trust a false piece of information only because it is the accepted group opinion. In laboratory experiments reviewed here, people were led to abandon their own direct perception and to instead adopt a (deliberately false) groupthink opinion. In a related experiment, normal students were turned into sadistic prison guards (the Stanford Prison experiment). This idea is extended in conclusion with Thomas Kuhn's review of paradigm shifts in science, which can now be interpreted as just another sudden change of group opinion. Thus, even in science, where one expects rational and intelligent behavior, the acceptance of new theories is just as problematic and is delayed by group conformity, exactly like the same phenomenon occurring in ordinary society. Finally, we get to the point where architects take an action. So what is the main task for those one who "craft" and create a space? Let's have a closer look at the process of creating. All design starts with the customer, person who gave us tasks and set up "borders". After receiving that list architects start the creation process, trying to find the proper shape for a specific region, searching for prototypes, materials and structure requirements. Later on, when all those points being followed something "beautiful" rise up. Seems to be a pretty normal algorithm that works as a machine, except one thing. We do forget about an emotional and psychological aspect of human. Each person has its own shape that we create by ourselves since we born. Those contours describe our needs, character and emotional status. There four types of "mind frames": square, circle, triangle and rectangle. You may ask, "How that theory could help us or show up mistakes in our system". The thing is that each space consists or was created using four basic one either, we combine them or intersect them, doesn't matter. When architects bring to life their buildings they actually put each human being in emotional disaster because they don't have an opportunity to choose or change it. For example, if we took person from square "sector" and put him into circle "sector" he may like it visually but emotionally and his inner I, will have a disagreement and that may cause his or her inner "death". The first part of researches leads to the second part "Multifunctional Architecture". At this stage, I would like to change the way how architecture has been recognized by people. Over the ages, architecture acts like a shelter that filled with functions from inside but outer space works as a cover and

nothing more. That system worked over ages and ages. However, it won't have enough profit in the future. For the following reasons:

Firstly, the global warming is not a myth anymore. Till 2100, oceans level will rise up to 2 meters or even more. The most land will go under the water and people should find the way to adapt their environment and become "amphibious". It means that we should think of another way of receiving energy and other supplies by the way of using the power of nature. At this point, architecture should transform into the more difficult organism that will not only protect us but also supply as with that type of energy.

The second reason consists of two problems: Overpopulation and climate change. Those two aspects are major problems that we faced with now. For this stage, my proposal is to create "transformable and functional" type of architecture. This type of architecture should change itself considering the needs and climate changes. It should transform from a monument into a convertible mechanism that will serve as a battery.

Conclusion

To sum up, I can say that architects should get more attention to psychological characteristics either to visual. We should find the solution how to create such kind of space that will satisfy not only materialistic needs but also an emotional. A person who designs buildings cannot invent something beautiful for others and at the same time destroy those others. My proposal is to create a new path for architecture. I would like to put some life into architecture the same as Viktor Frankenstein did in Mary Shelley's novel.

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The Impact of Urbanization on Old Cities and Villages with Historical and Architectural Value

Case of: The City of Bizerte, Tunisia

Dridi Waddah¹

Abstract:

In a time that urban life became the convenient way of life in a world where the city represents the center of many emergent activities, more than half of the world's population currently resides in cities and that number is set to increase by the year 2050. So it's very clear that urbanization is taking a very serious route especially in rural and small villages transforming agricultural economies into thriving manufacturing hubs and creating countless service jobs in emerging markets which will eventually engender a radical change on the village itself and its urban planning and can result in a possible difiguration on its authentic architecture which will pose a problem if it is of a historical value. This problem is already occurring in many developing countries and has already caused mutations in the ancient architectural styles of ancient villages through processes of building transformation or even a total demolition of certain architectural monuments which their historical value is not carefully recognized and are not well preserved by local communities. It is true that it is not possible to avoid this enormous urban transformation especially in times of globalization and rising economy, but it is very necessary to take protective measurements for the prevention of these historical monuments and villages which primarily represents our identity but also a potential touristic destination.

Key words: Architecture, Urbanization, Monuments, Transformation

Introduction

“ When Leo Houng arrived in Shenzhen in 1974, it was an unremarkable Chinese settlement that ‘smelled of countryside’. Since then, he has witnessed the city rise up at a bewildering rate – with little regard for the families caught in its path. ”

Story of cities #39: (Courtesy of Guardian News & Media Ltd)

¹ École Nationale d'Architecture et a'Urbanisme, Tunisia [tunshi94@gmail.com]



green fields surrounding Shenzhen in 1992
(Photograph: Ian Berry/Magnum)



Shenzhen, a megacity of 12 million people
(Photograph: Dowell/Getty Images)

Observing cities like Shenzhen emerging very fast from a very small countryside into one of the largest metropolises in the world or old cities as Bizerte (Tunisia) knowing a considerable urban sprawl¹ can only confirm the fact that urbanization² is developing very fast that even it became possible for the same generation to witness different stages of the city's life, and this same generation of people will participate in the change of the city's parameters in order for it to meet their new « Urban » lifestyle.



Fig 1 : 1964



Fig 2 : 2013

These changes made by the residents of the city will reverberate progressively on the urban configuration of the city itself then eventually on its architectural heritage which will lead into a disfigurement of architecture styles and even into an unwanted metamorphosis³.

¹ Urban sprawl : the spreading of urban developments (such as houses and shopping centers) on undeveloped land near a city, (the merriam-webster dictionary).

² Urbanization : the process by which towns and cities are formed and become larger as more and more people begin living and working in central areas, (the merriam-webster dictionary).

Fig1 : Avenue de France 1964, Bizerte, photo by delcampe.com

Fig2 : Bizerte Avenue Habib Bougatfa, photo by Jebari amina

In this paper, i will be studying the mutations and metamorphosis of the architectural heritage of the city of Bizerte in Tunisia , trying to figure out its causes through the analysis of a number of samples and proposing some eventual solution to prevent it.
Ps : results deriving from this study are based on limited data and resources and are only applicable on tunisian context.

Population growth and Urban sprawl are the starting point.

Bizerte is an ever evolving city, it never ceased evolving and it will never do. Its evolution started since the dawn of antiquity passing by the middle ages and Ottoman period then the French protectorate until these present days many years after the independence and is continuing its evolution in the coming years in order to realise the dream of becoming the first Tunisian Smart City. The city counted in the year 2014 about 569 000 inhabitant and this number is set to increase to 613 000 by the year 2021 , and as a result tot his population growth , the phenomenon of urban sprawl is happening very fast and new construction are expanding on the outskirts of the city.



Fig 3¹ : 1890



Fig 4:1906



Fig 5: 2012

People are occupying not only the outer land but also reoccupying old buildings inside the city , transforming them formally and functionally to meet their new needs creating spontaneously mutations and disfigurations on the citys architectural which has become heterogeneous.

³Metamorphosis : change of physical form, structure, or substance especially by supernatural means (the merriam-webster dictionary.

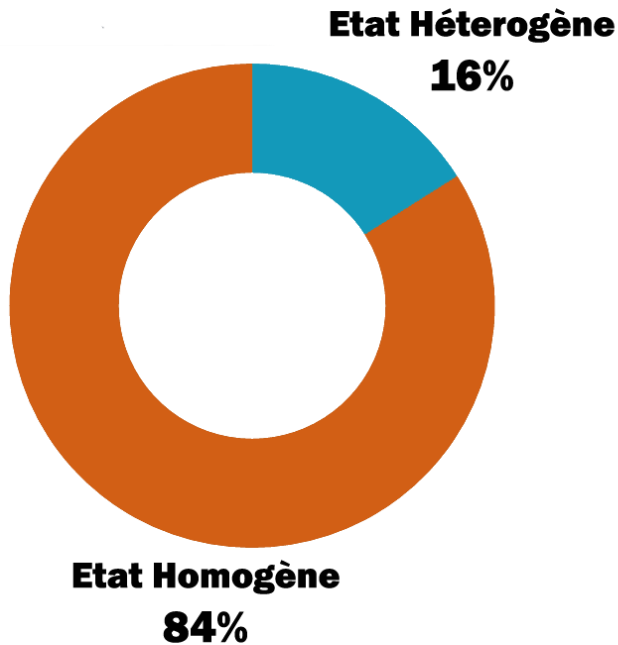
Fig 3 : 1890 before the canal & port, bizerte, wikipedia.org

Fig 4 : 1906 after the canal & port, bizerte , wikipedia.org

Fig 5 : 2012 top view, bizerte , wikipedia.org

The results show that most of the disfigured buildings (16% of the buildings in the old harbour area) are rather scattered in the whole zone than to be concentrated one one small zone however we can clearly see that these buildings are mostly situated on the main and large streets of the study zone.

Fig7¹: camembert showing the proportions of the disfigured buildings compared to the



totality of the buildings

These metamorphoses of the architectural vocabulary of some buildings are generally related to the change of vocation or the function of the building resulting in modifications in the appearance of the façade of the volume in order to meet the new activities of the users. These hypothesis and findings will be confirmed through the following samples.

Fig 7 : statistics of disfigured buildings proportions , study made by the author

Sample 1: Ground floor transformation 1



Fig 8¹: Building location.



Fig 9²: Building photo.

The building in the picture is a residential building situated in the French colonial part of the city of Bizerte and was originally built in the late years of French protectorate in Tunisia.

Currently, the building has undergone some modifications in the ground floor which has been transformed into a small supermarket store with the addition of a separate entry for the remaining residences in the top levels.

The heterogeneity of the new added part is very clear through the use of very different colors and new modern materials such as aluminum as well as the addition of incompatible architectural details such as the new sun shade or the very large bay windows.

From these results, we can conclude that the building has lost his original French colonial style and created a very clear contrast between the old and the new.

Fig 8¹: The building location on map, work made by the author.

Fig 9²: Photograph of the building, Bizerte, photo made by the author.

Sample 2: Ground floor transformation 2



Fig 10¹: Building location



Fig 11² : Building photo

The building in the picture is a residential building situated in the French colonial part of the city of Bizerte and was originally built in the late years of French protectorate in Tunisia.

In this sample we can clearly observe the difference between each floor and the new functions from the façade and that is through the different use of the materials in each level , the different styles of the windows and the current condition of each floor.

In this case , it is merely impossible to recognize the original French style of the building which have been totally lost through operations of transformation .

From these results , we can conclude that the building has underwent a total metamorphosis making its new appearance unrecognizable .

Fig 10¹ :The building location on map , work made by the author.

Fig 11² :Photograph of the building , Bizerte, photo made by the author.

Sample 3: Adjoined buildings , Skyline disfiguration.



Fig 12¹: Building location



Fig 13² : Building photo

The building in the picture is a residential building situated in the old harbour part of the city of Bizerte and it was also originally built in the late years of French protectorate in Tunisia.

This building is also underwent a transformation in its ground level by the addition of shops different in style from the original building, however , the difference between this sample and the first two samples is that this building is divided in two halves ; the left part is in a good condition and the right side is in very bad condition , this is generally because the owner is not the same .

On the other side, another type of architectural disfiguration is present here, which is buildings popping on the right side of the old French building which are not respecting the continuity of the French classic style in their facades and that is what caused the disfiguration of the whole skyline of this part and made the old building out of its original context.

Disfigurations and architectural mutations not only affect the building itself but can also affect the whole context and vocabulary of the adjacent facades.

Fig 12 :The building location on map , work made by the author.

Fig 13 :Photograph of the building , Bizerte, photo made by the author.

Sample 4 : transformation in the same floor.



Fig 14¹: Building location



Fig 15² : Building photo

The building in the picture is a residential building situated in the French colonial part of the city of Bizerte and it was also originally built in the by Italians which prove the use of Italian style in the façade. In this case, the building is divided in two halves, the right half is in a bad condition and the left half is in a good condition , and like the last sample this is because the owner is not the same. However , in this case we can spot a new type of minor disfiguration in the façade which is very clear in left side's coronation on the top floor that have been transformed by the owner into a balcony without respecting the Italian style of the original façade .

We can clearly sense that the new balcony is grafted and that it doesn't match the facades architectural vocabulary .

Conclusion

The succession of many different civilizations on the city of Bizerte has really contributed in the variety of architectural styles and construction techniques things that made keeping a unique style or a same façade language or vocabulary a very hard task to do especially with the development of the people needs and the ever evolving new functions and types of use for the building. From the other side, the absence of strict regulations and laws that organizes interventions on buildings in zones with specific architectural style or value made thing even harder to manage city's architectural heritage.

Fig 14¹ :The building location on map , work made by the author.

Fig 15² :Photograph of the building , Bizerte, photo made by the author.

Now, in the current years , with the upcoming vision the future city and the new project for making Bizerte a Smart City ; which is a project that evolves rethinking the city's urban organization from creating new building to updating old ones , the city is facing a major challenge to solve the problem of architectural styles disfiguration and preserving its historical heritage.



Fig 16¹ : Bizerte Smart City project

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3. Shenzhen, a megacity of 12 million people) \$ (Photograph: Dowell/Getty Images).
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6. Metamorphosis : change of physical form, structure, or substance especially by supernatural means (the merriam-webster dictionary).

List of Figures

- Fig 1_: Avenue de France 1964 , Bizerte , photo by delcampe.com
- Fig 2 :.Bizerte Avenue Habib Bougatfa , photo by Jebari amina
- Fig 3 : 1890 before the canal & port, bizerte, wikipedia.org
- Fig 4 : 1906 after the canal & port, bizerte , wikipedia.org
- Fig 5 : 2012 top view, bizerte , wikipedia.org
- Fig 6 : Old harbour map showing locations of disfigured building , study made by the author.
- Fig 7 : statistics of disfigured buildings proportions , study made by the author
- Fig 8 :The building location on map , work made by the author.
- Fig 9:Photograph of the building , Bizerte, photo made by the author.
- Fig 10 :The building location on map , work made by the author.
- Fig 11 :Photograph of the building , Bizerte, photo made by the author.
- Fig 12 :The building location on map , work made by the author.
- Fig 13 :Photograph of the building , Bizerte, photo made by the author.
- Fig 14 :The building location on map , work made by the author.
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IBUISC '17

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT CONGRESS

“The Creation of the New World in a Globalized Era”

Stream:

Art and Design

Social and Political Agendas in Art

Marina Skripnik¹

Maria Knop²

Abstract:

Since the humanity live on the Earth, it constantly interacts with the nature. Unfortunately, a man have never been in complete harmony with nature and not been satisfied only with adaptation to it. During the long period we have been coming to ecological crisis. The main features of this crisis are changes in biosphere, ozone depletion, climate instability and etc. The pernicious policy of globalization has brought to the brink of catastrophe nature, the ecosystem, and the peoples who inhabit them.

The solution of ecological problems partly consists in technology sphere. However, the root of the problem lies in social scope. Ecology is not only biology, but also social science. If we want to survive and save our children, we need to think about it and take measures. In order to try to deal with this problem, Maria and I founded a social art project «EcoTheatre». The project that unite all nations with the main intention – live in harmony with environment. A unique element of the project «EcoTheatre» consists in compound of two different areas – science and art. Through theatre we could popularize eco-friendly lifestyle, involve people in the decision of «green» problems, increase the educational attainment, draw attention to nature’s problems and prevent the negative consequences of non-eco-friendly lifestyle. This project is a new method of dissemination of information to the public. As in usual theatre our theatre has its own scenario. Our scenario is based on interview with various people of different ages and professions (ordinary passers-by in shopping mall, railway station, streets, children at schools and kindergartens, eco-activists, students and travelers). After the interview we got answers on our questions, chose the most splendid and impressive ones. So, these people’s vivid memories we integrate in the main idea of the performance. Our scenario could be named documentary eco-utopia. We are extremely enthusiastic about social agenda in art, particularly in theatre performances. We hope this agenda will stimulate the society to change their mind onto eco-friendly and eco-care side.

¹ Belarus State Economic University, Belarus [marina-skripnik@tut.by]

² Belarus State Economic University, Belarus [masana7373@gmail.com]

Political agenda in art

Art is a means of preserving and transmitting human rational and emotional experience. Through art people can "try" different situations, emotions and images, and thereby make their world more rich and eventful. People seem to go beyond their everyday life and get the opportunity to complete and improve their own picture of the world turning to literature, music, visual or plastic art. Politics has always been a controversial and sensitive subject in public discussions. Especially, in countries, where is not worth to shout about it in the squares. As a result, it becomes a challenge for citizens to talk about political situation in the country and in the world. Their views, opinions, judgments about politics are expressed often through large political movements, consisted of aggressive revolutions, fights and meetings on the cities' streets. However, there is another way to demonstrate, emphasize and mock politics problems. That is art. I mean theatre, literature, fine art, music, cinematography. Artistic creativity, self-expression, activities of politicians have significant impact on the society. There much has been said and written concerning close link between art and politics. This link has been strengthened in ancient times. If we consider interaction of these two spheres of social life, it becomes obviously, it has been a very important instrument of influence on humans many centuries ago. Particularly, art and authority depended on each other in ancient superpowers. Thus, Roman Empire is known for its sculptures dedicated to imperators and commanders. We could see their ideal body type, facial features filled of courage and bravery, and unwittingly we develop respect for them. Popular culture, progress in IT sphere, appearance of global means of communications – all of these significantly affect the politics and art. Actually, the modern person cannot hide from propaganda and suggesting of various opinions. The art in itself is a part of aesthetic and ethical paradigm, reflects spirit of the age. That's why art is not apart from pressing problems. The art aims to form fashion. The fashion influences on lifestyle and worldview of consumer society. The author, in turn, could label everything, stigmatize ones and praise others, and a part of the audience emulated his vision, even not be involved in the politics. The art is frequently a protest, an author's riot, an answer to established norms, stereotypes, public morality. Moreover, political opposition also tends to be there.

Music

Sometimes music influences on politics directly. It concerns anthems, for instance, «Marsellaise» or «God save the Tsar!». Sometimes political situation in the world and in a country or political position of music group is reflected in lyrics. Below I provide two

examples of the short passages from lyrics of an American rock-band «Rage Against The Machine».

- «Bulls on Parade»

«That five sided fist-a-gon (Pentagon)

Tha rotten sore on tha face of mother earth gets bigger».

- «Bullet in the Head»

«No escape from the mass mind rape

Play it again jack and then rewind the tape

Play it again and again and again

Until ya mind is locked in

Believin' all the lies that they're tellin' ya

Buying all the products that they're sellin' ya».

There is a prohibited in Belarus and Russia a rock-band «LyapisTrubetskoy». The band cannot give concerts on the territory of these two countries. That is because of its song «Soldiers of the World», in which the lead singer devoted to events on Maidan and expressed his support to revolutions in the Ukraine. So, it was perceived hostile by the government in Belarus and in Russia.

Literature

At our difficult and turbulent time relations between citizens and authorities, State institutions, political and social forces and trends every day become increasingly acute. And if the relations between ordinary citizen and politics are often invisible, then the writer's position is always in full view. The author, writing about politics, and the author, not touching it, demonstrates two absolutely different world views. Whether the contemporary writers could be beyond the politics? - Yes, he could be, if he is fantasy-writer. And so on. Then there is the next question. Whether the writers could be beyond the politics, if he describes modern life and reality?- Yes, he could be, if he intentionally avoids the politics. The author, avoiding the politics, writes about human and moral topics. It probably complicated in many cases, but these skills are formed with the time. From the other side, there is percentage of authors, believing that they could write about everything. Particularly, make suggestions concerning social and political structure, the system of government, justice, legislature and etc. Ones of them do it directly, others do it sneaky and in secretive way through analogies (George Orwell «1984», Victor Pelevin «Generation P»). Do all authors must write about politics? - No. - Why? Just because it is not interesting for everyone. The relations between human and State are not the last moment in life. There are nature and travelling, inner feelings, relations between people, after all. The writer should be the voice of his century, but voices should sound about different.

Whether should the literature be beyond the politics? - No, there are should be authors, which are not afraid to touch upon the topics of social and political problems. The mind, honor and conscience of the nation should be everywhere. There are shouldn't be closed and taboo zones. The writer is the mouthpiece of public opinion. A talent of the writer is also a measure of his responsibility to people. Those, who manipulate minds, should realize that any word he has to say, any thought and judgment will intensify a thousand fold, will form a picture of the reality for millions of people.

Cinema

We could analyze films as popular films reflect social and psychological or political context. Unfortunately, there aren't many movies after which raise questions and fill the soul with something appropriate. Cinema and politics are inextricably linked. All become obvious, when you monitor carefully the political situation in the world. When the political conflict starts, it immediately reflected in the movies. For instance, where there was a conflict in the South Ossetia, Hollywood made a film «5 days of August». American animated sitcom «South Park» regular mentions and makes fun of various political ideas and figures. There many times appeared the US President, Russian president and the Queen of Great Britain in episodes, even there was an episode about presidential elections in the USA in 2008. Another popular American animated sitcom «The Simpsons» also covers a real American politics. It touches homophobia and gay marriage, issue of migrants, drug and alcohol control, weapons ownership, ecological problems, elections and corruption.

Theatre

In 1929 due to a theatre director Erwin Piscator appeared a term «political theatre». Through the theatre he urges workers to the struggle for free from authority, to revolutionary movement. Now on a par with a term «political theatre» is used a term «relevant theatre». Although both these terms mean a theatre, where the interpretation of political events plays a significant role, where evaluation or certain reaction is given, where obscured or hidden from ordinary citizens facts are shown. It is important to understand the dependence on the fact, in what society theatre performances on a political topic are shown. If there is an authoritarian regime in the country, then a theatre turns into propaganda mainstream or just gives a point of view, differs from the official one and shows the reality. Examples of this are several theatres in Belarus. Theatre «Slave's wings» was created in 2001, as a group of people, united by political and creative views. This project combines art and critical view on social and political situation in Belarus. From 2001 till 2017 were created 12 theatre performances, including 5 street plays. For instance, they showed such plays as «20 000 000» on the

base of chronic of military developments in Iraq in 2003, and documentary performance «Chernobyl». The theatre performances were showed on 50 international theatre festivals in Poland, Russia, the Ukraine, Belarus, Denmark, France. Another striking example is «Belarus Free Theatre», that is considered as one clandestine theatre in Belarus. It represents the art opposition to aesthetics and culture, imposed by the government. Belarus Free Theatre is an international award-winning theatre company founded on principles of freedom of speech and artistic expression. Its focus is on social justice, taboo zones and violation of human rights across the globe. The project started in 2005, when the main independent theatre of the country «Free stage» was closed by the government as the result of strengthening control under the culture sphere. In 2011, the theatre was officially registered in London, when the founders of this theatre got political asylum in United Kingdom.

Social agenda in art

Before the politicized sections of the population, who saw in the theater a social niche for the realization of their orientations, opportunities for real participation in the public life of the country were opened, and in this capacity the theater no longer attracted them. The audience gravitating to the mass values of culture, swept into the mainstream of commercial art, which began to favor many theaters. And such a part of the audience, which is oriented to artistic and aesthetic values, seeks metaphors in the modern theater of meaningful scenic generalizations, but the modern theater has, for the reasons already mentioned above, largely reduced the level of professionalism, and therefore the audience of this category does not find in the theater its needs satisfied and appeals to other kinds of art. However, the theater still has its most important function in working with the viewer. The theater as an art of direct live communication is able to address not only the wide spectator arrays, but also those relatively small groups that for whatever reasons are outside the boundaries of the mass audience. The dynamics of the moods and orientations of the public, the change of stereotypes and the perception of the audience to a greater extent determine the popularity of some performances and the unpopularity of others, and these facts of theatrical and social reality imply comprehension. Alternative theaters are gaining increasing popularity among viewers, satiated with classical productions. Theater Studio «Circle II» in which the actors with disabilities could play. «Theatre is an art which presupposes that the material you are working with people, is the man himself, his integrity. When we make theatre, we are engaged in research and development themselves. In this sense, of course, we can talk about social rehabilitation», the director says. Theater «Inner vision», where they blind actors play. Actors move only with a white cane outside the

theater. But on the stage they act without it. Perhaps this is the magic power of art. These examples of the theater are more social projects than theatrical ones. Now from all sides there is an attack on the theater, and there is a blurring of professional criteria. There are more and more projects aimed not at the viewer, but at the actors, helping them solve social problems. There is a documentary play «Seven» on the rights of women campaign of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) in Belarus against gender-based violence «violence against women is unacceptable». This theatrical performance is an example of an informal approach to the theater, attracting famous people and involving them in the show process, demonstrating to the viewer the need to solve the problem. This project initiates public discussions among young people on the topic of women's rights and gender-based violence, and calls on the Belarusian society to zero tolerance for gender-based violence. One of the leaders of alternative theatre in Poland is a rustic theatre «Wegajty», since 1986, working in line with the «ritual theatre» and folk songs, conducting theatrical research travel to Macedonia, Albania, Slovakia, Ukraine, working on projects of animations with the village children and in nursing homes, connecting in his art the tradition of rural theatre and ecological thinking, in-depth approach to work with the traditional mask, music, aesthetics, and anxiety caused by globalization, environmental and cultural crises. Maria and I founded a social, with some political features, art project called «EcoTheatre». We created a theatre, which talk about ecology problems and its decisions. Our theater project «Voice of Hope» tells about the protection of nature, but not directly, just with a thin thread through the whole theatrical play. The performances are held outdoors in a Park on the roof of one two-storehouses, museum complexes, this choice is more amenable to ordinary perception in an atmosphere familiar to the viewer. As in usual theatre our theatre has its own scenario. Our scenario is based on interview with various people of different ages and professions (ordinary passers-by in shopping mall, railway station, streets, children at schools and kindergartens, eco-activists, students and travelers). So, these people's vivid memories we integrate in the main idea of the performance. Our scenario can be called as documentary eco-utopia. Almost any play is the feeling of reality of a particular person. And if any work of art reflects some epoch, becomes a part of history, then the play must fully and brightly reflect our reality, our perception of the world and the perception of us by other peoples. Thus, the interviews, on which the «Voice of Hope» is based, give this feeling, shows the thoughts of people who are similar to us in their life situations, their thoughts, and also differ in their subtle inner experiences creeping out to the surface on the stage of the play. An example of the theatrical play «Voice of Hope»:«I'm not defending nature. Oh, how to protect it? As long as it does not become property, there will not be any sense. Come in, go into the woods, all the wood, nobody looks after it. It's not your own. Even in the city, pay

attention. Look, there a healthy tree was cut down, and there a healthy tree was cut down, right? So? It was sold and sawed! All. Here are the answers to all the questions. Everything must be given to the people! If it were mine, try to steal or take away. If I get into her pocket, she'll tear off my hand. Yes, because it's my! And if by accident, why not put your hand and grab a piece? This is a well-known truth. So we should not start with nature, but with a person! Then nature is secondary». The interviews on which this production was based, collects a lot of different opinions. Someone protects nature, someone says that everything starts with a person - all these opinions have their own truth, only depends on how it is perceived. There is a common opinion that the content of art leaves emotions. Here, on the one hand, the feelings of the artist are meant, on the other - the emotional push that the audience receives. The artist, inspired by powerful emotions, uses the ability to translate those skills into a work of art. The embodiment is successful, if the appropriate emotions arose among the public. This is the case when we can talk about emotional experience. Theatre is one of the best transmitters of feelings and emotions. Therefore, we chose this art form to convey our feelings of the protection of nature. We want to show the viewer its beauty and the necessity of its preservation. Through theatre it is easier to penetrate into the human soul, revealing the feelings of the artist and leaving the mark. The artist who wants to change the world faces the question, how art can affect this world. There are two possible answers to it. The first answer is that art can capture the imagination and change human consciousness. If the consciousness of people changes, then these changed people will be able to change the world in which they live. Art here is understood as a language that allows an artist to send a message that is supposed to penetrate the souls of recipients, change their views, their attitudes, their ethics. Art makes emotions more expressive, not expressing these emotions themselves, but passing from the artist. The value of art is in the transition from personal understanding of the feeling to understanding the world around us. In this play we show how the grayness of the city is confronted with a green utopia that seems ideal, what we all do in our everyday life, dreaming in our thoughts of something other than reality. As they say: «Theatre is not a reflecting mirror, but a magnifying glass». Everyone can see in the theater their secret thoughts, not expressed for certain reasons, hidden dreams, invented problems. An example of the theatrical play «Voice of Hope»:

«... Across the streets from the slopes of the hill streams flow down, merging into a small river. Their shores are not chained in stone, they are overgrown with sedge, reeds and bamboo. Every year boys and girls of Utopia thinned these thickets, collecting fresh organic material to repair the roofs of their houses. These days, the ringing of young voices echoes the croaking of streams, and frightened ducks and otters run out into the streets - as if people and wild animals have decided to swap homes. The animals are not

threatened in the streets because the city is free of wheeled vehicles, thanks to the constant population and good planning, except that sometimes a self-propelled chair on flexible mechanical legs will run through the streets, carrying the oldest resident of Utopia to the city council ...».

The sound of utopia in this fragment embodies the notable problems of ecology and society, which found a solution in the Utopia city, drawing the viewer's attention to their existence in life. So we draw people's attention to those objects that are not natural, which have already become common in big cities. The theater tells the story not only with the words and gestures of the actors, but also with musical accompaniment. Music is another means of information flow that helps in the dissemination of emotions. This is the strongest tool for transferring information to the viewer. In the play «Voice of Hope» we use the musical accompaniment, which is played live during a performance by famous Belarusian musicians. Acting as a form of social communication, theatre promotes the formation of interpersonal relationships of people, establishes an interpersonal connection characterized by social-life importance. The theatre has become a means of social orientation. The theatre is characterized by «educated experience» feelings that are not always socialized by everyday life, this is what makes it specific and extremely important social value. Today, when there is a wide revision of social, ideological, spiritual orientations, the social, cultural, aesthetic, moral role of the artistic theatre is immeasurably increasing. The very nature of the art is oriented to a live perception of the public and dialogues with it, conditioned the existence of the theater in unity and at the same time the struggle of stable and dynamic principles.

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