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Migrant Workers and Policy Implication within the G20 Framework

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Abstract

This study explores the pivotal role of migrant workers, contributing over 70% to international migrants and projected to generate USD 626 billion in remittances in 2022. Despite their substantial impact, migrant workers face challenges such as modern slavery and discrimination, necessitating urgent international collaboration. Focused on the G20 framework, the research examines how collaborative efforts are vital in addressing issues arising from inadequate worker safeguards in global trade agreements. Amid the COVID-19 pandemic, the G20's recognition of migrant worker concerns becomes a potential catalyst for enhanced international collaboration on social protection, aiming to formulate equitable and sustainable policies. Using a qualitative approach, including case study analysis and G20 document interpretation, this research provides a comprehensive understanding of the complex global issue of migrant worker protection. The concepts of migrant workers and multilateral cooperation are used as the theoretical framework to scrutinise the dynamic of migrant workers in the policy implication within the G20 framework.

Keywords: Migrant Workers, G20, Policy Implication, Multilateral Cooperation

1. Introduction

Migrants, commonly referred to as migrant workers, are individuals who relocate in search of employment opportunities. They typically move from regions with limited job prospects to areas where there is a demand for labour. This migration pattern, noted by geographer E. G. Ravenstein since the 19th century, highlights a trend where people leave their native lands in pursuit of better employment opportunities. Ravenstein's research underscores that the primary motivation for migration is employment, although there are additional factors like family reunification, conflict, and political persecution (Fan, 2020).

As indicated in Fan's (2020) research, migrant workers constitute over 70% of the working-age international migrant population, which includes individuals aged 15 and above. These workers significantly contribute to the economic development of their host countries through their skills, labour, services, and enhanced

competitiveness. Their impact is evident in various aspects, such as remittances, as well as the transfer of skills and knowledge upon their return to their home countries. This contribution is a result of the substantial number of migrant workers who address labour market gaps in destination countries, undertaking roles that may be undesirable or challenging for the local citizens (International Labour Organization, n.d.).

Nations undergoing swift economic expansion and creating more job opportunities often find themselves facing a labour demand that surpasses the available workforce. A case in point is the shortage of labour in agriculture and manufacturing in New Zealand during the 1960s, prompting the influx of low-skilled labour from Tonga and the Cook Islands. Similarly, Mexicans have been migrating north since the 1960s to work in foreign-owned assembly plants near the United States (US) border. Both scenarios share comparable migration patterns, driven by historical connections and geographical proximity (Fan, 2020).

Migrant workers play a significant role in bolstering a country's economy, particularly as they predominantly hail from low and middle-income nations. The funds sent back by these migrant workers, known as remittances, serve as a crucial financial support system for the economies of their countries of origin. According to World Economic Forum data, global remittances are projected to reach USD 626 billion in 2022, reflecting a 5% increase from the previous year (Broom, 2023).

India, as the leading source of migrant workers, stands out for generating the highest global remittances. World Bank data for 2021 reveals that remittances from Indian migrant workers amounted to USD 100 billion, reflecting a 7.5% increase from the previous year and contributing 3% to India's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This figure surpasses the remittances from other major countries with high numbers of migrant workers, including Mexico (USD 60 billion), China (USD 51 billion), the Philippines (USD 38 billion), Egypt (USD 32 billion), and Pakistan (USD 29 billion) (Ani, 2022).

In Indonesia, migrant workers also make a substantial contribution to the country's income. In 2018, Indonesian migrant workers contributed a record-high amount of USD 11.2 billion to state income through remittances (International Organization for Migration Indonesia, n.d.). The primary source of remittance for Indonesian migrant workers was Saudi Arabia, accounting for USD 2.8 billion, with approximately 837,000 PMI working there. Besides Saudi Arabia, significant remittances also originated from Malaysia, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, amounting to USD 2.5 billion, USD 1.47 billion, and USD 1.37 billion, respectively (Gianie, 2023).

While migrant workers contribute significantly to income generation, they also grapple with a range of challenges, including modern slavery, discrimination, breaches of employment contracts, torture, violence, and hazardous working conditions characterized by filth and danger. These difficulties are more prevalent among migrant workers with lower skill levels. Additionally, migrant workers often confront issues related to their legal status. In certain countries, obtaining legal recognition as a migrant worker can be arduous, leading some to work illegally. Illegal status poses obstacles for migrant workers in accessing healthcare services, and they may not receive health or employment insurance from their employers due to the uncertainty of their status. This situation has direct implications for the occupational health and safety risks faced by migrant workers, especially those who lack awareness of the laws governing their status and the rights they should be entitled to (Norredam & Agyemang, 2019).

A study conducted by Kalayaan, a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) focusing on human rights issues, particularly those concerning domestic migrant workers in the United Kingdom (UK), revealed that among 1,000 migrant workers surveyed, a significant number faced various forms of abuse. Specifically, 84% experienced psychological violence, 54% were subjected to confinement abroad, 38% endured physical torture, and 10% encountered sexual harassment. Kalayaan's findings also highlighted that 49% of migrant workers had their passports confiscated by their employers, limiting their ability to travel (Sengupta, 2007).

Similar challenges are observed in Indonesia, where a report from the Indonesian Migrant Worker Protection Agency indicates that from 2000 to 2023, they facilitated the repatriation of 1,937 deceased Indonesian Migrant Workers and 3,377 ailing Indonesian migrant workers. This suggests that, on average, two deceased Indonesian

migrant workers and four Indonesian migrant workers facing health issues, memory loss, depression, and even disabilities are repatriated to Indonesia daily (Gianie, 2023).

Hence, it can be asserted that the matter of migrant workers is a pressing concern demanding prompt and precise resolution, given their substantial representation in the workforce across numerous nations. While migrant workers play a pivotal role in the global economy, they frequently confront significant challenges related to labour rights and living conditions. Addressing this issue requires collaborative efforts between countries. The G20 framework emerges as a strategic platform for addressing various facets of migrant worker concerns, given that the majority of G20 member countries serve as both sources and destinations for migrant workers. There is an immediate need to formulate shared policies, exchange information, and implement concrete measures that G20 nations can undertake to enhance the protection and well-being of migrant workers, establishing a more equitable and sustainable foundation for cross-border labour mobility. Therefore, this article aims to spotlight the migrant worker issue and explore the repercussions of policies implemented within the G20 framework.

2. Method

This qualitative research focuses on a comprehensive analysis of a single case study concerning migrant workers' issues within the G20 framework and the implementation of policies. The methodology involves gathering outcomes or hypotheses derived from prior research, followed by the interpretation of these results. Our analysis of the G20 framework's approach to addressing migrant worker issues relies on the examination of documents issued by the G20, serving as the basis for evaluating its policy recommendations. In addition to official G20 documents, our references include journal articles and online sources to provide a thorough analysis of this topic. The process of data analysis is conducted concurrently with the collection of data from various documents.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. Migrant Workers

Migration is an activity of a person or group that moves from its place of origin to the place where money becomes its destination. If the activity has crossed the international border, it is commonly called international migration. People who move to their destination are generally known as migrants. However, not everyone who moves is called a migrant. Those people could be stated as migrants if they have lived in their destination for more than a year (Kompasiana, 2023).

Based on the "Glossary on Migration" by the International Organization of Migration (IOM), according to the United Nations Conventions on The Law of Human Rights of Migrant Workers and Their Family Members, migrant workers settle called a person who works or dedicate themselves to work where they do not become the citizen. Migrant workers or labour migrants are also referred to as a person who move (migration) from one to another place to get a certain thing (IOM UN Migration, 2019). In this certain condition, the definition of migrant workers expands for someone who has migrated internationally and has definitively become more inclusive. By the expanding of meaning, migrant workers have stated as a person, either who has not worked or who will look for a job and a person who has worked regardless of the original purpose or the main purpose of that person is to migrate. However, migrant workers do not include border workers, members of liberal professions and/or artists, sailors and specific persons who come to get an education or training (International Labour Organization, 2021).

IOM has categorised migrant workers as economic migrants. This classification encompasses various groups such as entrepreneurs, contractual migrant workers, settled migrant workers, highly skilled migrant workers, immigrant investors, project-specific workers, seasonal migrant workers, and temporary migrant workers. A migrant worker is defined as an individual who moves from a certain place to get a job, whereas the term 'economic migrants' refers to the larger category, including a personal activity entrance to a certain country for

doing an economic activity such as investors or businessmen. Nevertheless, the term 'economic migrants' be able to be conceived tighter as a part of the 'economic migrants' category (Fauzan, 2020).

3.2. Multilateral Cooperations

Multilateral cooperation has collaboration involvement with all the member countries. This collaboration consists of several developed countries and developing countries. During the development of multilateral cooperation, there is a new dynamic emerged that exists in informal groups within international politics area. The emergence of informal cooperation groups will emphasize the collaboration of member countries in addressing global issues. Therefore, it could be stated as a form of collective management responding to global issues (Cooper & Momani, 2014). The policy coordination at the multilateral level also becomes a characteristic of multilateral cooperation.

One of the main features of multilateral cooperation is policy coordination at the multilateral level. This coordination is key in maintaining the continuity and effectiveness of cooperation between one and other countries. Facing complicated global issues, multilateral cooperation offers a platform where the countries able to work together attain mutual benefit solutions.

The emergence of multipolarity is the result of a decrease in the concentration of economic activity within the international system and an increase in concentration beyond the previous core. Compared to unipolar systems, multipolar systems generate a bigger value of cooperation. However, the cooperation system becomes more difficult as more countries have different preferences, interests, and beliefs. The G20 is a form of cooperation that is reflected in multilateralism. The G20 was established to encourage cooperation between one and other countries and is held informally with changes of leadership arrangement that always change every year and the secretariat provided by the leader (Wade, 2011). Through the G20, the countries are provided meetings and gatherings, doing a dialogue, and working together in formulating a global policy that eclipsed bigger challenges in the world.

The G20 is not only a place where the developed and developing countries interact with one another, but this is also a reflection of the spirit of multilateralism that is necessary to carry out global issues. In this context, this is important to recognize that multilateral cooperation is not an easy process. The challenges and complexities require a strong commitment, precise a diplomacy strategy, and the ability to figure out a solution among diverse interests.

In the presence of multilateral collaboration, all countries have an opportunity to handle the differences and build mutual agreements. Multilateral cooperation is not only about solving a problem but also about building the foundations for long-term global stability. By constantly developing and strengthening the multilateral instruments of cooperation, the world effectively responds the issues involving all humanity. Facing global challenges such as climate change, economic inequality, and humanitarian crises, multilateral cooperation will essentially create a more just world, sustainable, and safe for all.

4. Results and Discussions

4.1. Globalisation and Migration: A Recent Trend

Globalisation involves the integration of countries, including economic integration, the transfer of policies across national borders, the exchange of knowledge and culture, and the dissemination of power. The concept of globalisation has evolved with diverse definitions over the years, some associating it with progress, development, stability, integration, and cooperation, while others link it to decline, colonisation, and destabilisation. Moreover, globalisation is a dynamic phenomenon, signifying a continuous process that evolves alongside the development of human society (Al-Rodhan & Stoudmann, 2006). Thus, globalisation can be characterised as the broadening, deepening, and acceleration of worldwide connectivity in all aspects of contemporary social life (Czaika & de Haas, 2014).

Globalisation refers to the establishment of strong economic, informational, political, cultural, and other interdependent connections between countries, which play a crucial role in shaping future development. Among the significant manifestations of these connections are migration flows, denoting the movement of people between countries resulting from the disparate development of the world economy, disparities in economic conditions and opportunities across nations, varying degrees of engagement in the processes of modernisation and globalisation, and the requirements of the global labour market (Zubiashvili, 2017).

Czaika and de Haas (2014) view globalisation as both a technological and political phenomenon. Technology plays a role in diminishing the costs associated with air transportation and communication, facilitating easier movement of people between different locations. This trend is reminiscent of the 1960s when the advancement of revolutionary transportation systems and communication technology acted as prerequisites for a 'migration explosion'. The surge in migration is also fuelled by the escalating demand for foreign workers in specific regions worldwide, as exemplified by the post-war history of Europe, intricately linked to the emergence of large-scale migration flows directed towards Western European countries from various global regions (Zubiashvili, 2017). Furthermore, the reduction of restrictions on international trade through free trade agreements has fostered greater global interconnectedness, affording people increased freedom to migrate and access information technology (Čiarnienė & Kumpikaitė-Valiūnienė, 2008).

Moreover, this process facilitates migrants in reinforcing established connections and transferring funds to and from the destination country. The rise in literacy and educational levels aligns with technological advancements that facilitate access to global information through television, mobile phones, and internet networks, thereby simplifying the migration process (Czaika & de Haas, 2014). Consequently, in the current phase of global development, there exists a close interrelation between the flow of goods and capital and human migration movements. Thus, globalisation and migration sometimes exhibit distinct geographical directions, complement each other, and serve as both conditions and consequences of one another (Zubiashvili, 2017).

Regarding migrant workers, globalisation presents an opportunity for individuals to pursue a better quality of life in foreign countries, particularly when the ease of movement is facilitated by various modes of transportation and heightened global demand for labour. Migrant workers typically engage in informal sector employment, often under a permanent or contractual work arrangement. It is not uncommon for these workers to lack adequate welfare provisions, as they may not receive benefits such as health insurance, severance pay, or pensions. This leaves migrant workers in a precarious position, especially when confronted with uncertain circumstances such as job termination, illness, or workplace accidents, and when encountering challenges in securing employment in the destination country (Misra, 2007).

In 2005, the termination of the multifibre arrangement under the regulations of the World Trade Organization (WTO) had a profound impact on global trade agreements. Unfortunately, this led to the displacement of many female contract workers in countries like Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Swaziland, particularly in the textile and garment industry. Due to the lack of adequate severance pay, unemployment insurance, and job prospects, many young female workers became vulnerable to exploitation by labour recruiters. These recruiters sought to capitalise on the challenging circumstances faced by these workers by offering overseas employment opportunities that they might otherwise reject due to a lack of viable alternatives.

Global trade agreements, often deficient in adequate labour standards and protections, frequently lead to the exploitation of migrant workers. An illustrative example is the US African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), which prompted heightened investment in Africa, resulting in the growth of textile and garment factories within Export Processing Zones (EPZ) in nations like Uganda. To occupy low-wage positions in these factories, agents from Uganda and Kenya enlist young female workers from Kenya. Upon reaching Uganda, as documented by Kenyan labour unions, numerous women encountered exploitation and were subjected to trafficking for forced labour and other exploitative activities, including sexual practices. Referred to as 'AGOA Girls,' certain female workers find themselves in precarious circumstances in Uganda, given their migrant status and the lack of labour law protection in the country (Misra, 2007).

Currently, data from the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 2021 indicates an upward trajectory in the trend of migrant workers. In 2019, the tally of migrant workers stood at 169 million individuals, compared to 150 million in 2013. This figure is anticipated to continue its ascent. Approximately 58.5% of migrant workers are male, with the remaining 41.5% being female. The lower representation of female migrant workers highlights the challenges they confront, including gender discrimination and the domestic responsibilities of being a wife, necessitating a balance between work and family commitments. Additionally, migrant workers continue to be largely comprised of adults, constituting approximately 86%, while teenagers and the elderly make up only around 10% and 3.5%, respectively (International Labour Organization, 2021). Considering the insights into migrant workers and the available data, it becomes evident that globalisation serves as an avenue for migrants to secure improved employment opportunities. However, these migrant workers are not exempt from challenges, including exploitation, discrimination, and insufficient health and employment insurance. Teeple (2000) suggests that globalization, also interpreted as a 'triumph of capitalism,' acts as the impetus behind the expansion of the global labour market and the ensuing competition in wages. This competition, in turn, leads to migrant workers obtaining minimal welfare benefits.

4.2. Dynamic Issues of Migrant Workers in G20

The migrant workers are the most attention topic that is discussed continuously in G20. This topic is based on the dynamics of development global issue level that impacted on migration flows. The large influx of refugees brings significant problems in many sectors, especially in the economic sectors. Hence, a comprehensive coordination approach for major countries to solve these problems is needed by considering their long-term impacts (G20 2015, 2015b). Many ways in engagement groups of G20 2015 have agreed that there must be cooperation between the members and admit the right of refugees to work, provide skills development and cooperate with various international institutions through job opening programs for the refugees (G20 2015, 2015a). If it is done, the existence of these immigrants will have a positive impact on economic growth, especially in filling the demand for domestic labour. Therefore, we can see that G20 emphasises the importance of cooperation. It is not only increasing the capacity of skills for refugees but also cooperation in providing employment.

Furthermore, in G20 2015 in China, it was restated in the communique that migration worker is the answer to the opportunities and challenges regarding the creation of labour markets, reducing inequalities and encouraging inclusive labour to force this migration could be managed properly (G20 2016, 2016). To create these growth and development efforts, need anticipatory actions regarding changing skills of working requirements, supporting entrepreneurship, encouraging decent and safe work, and strengthening social protection systems. The G20 members must promote the internship quality programs in terms of increasing the quality and quantity.

The G20 2017 Summit was held in Germany while a G20 Africa partnership program was launched. This partnership is the result of aspirations from African countries where migration activities occur in their territories due to high economic inequality and poverty (G20 2017, 2017b). In this partnership, the G20 seeks to drive economic growth through inclusive and sustainable development, increasing the value of investment and education assistance to improve people's skills. In addition to the agenda of the "G20 Labour and Employment Ministers Meeting 2017" has declared a fair and integrated policy regarding the labour market for migrants and refugees. Regarding the practice, they hope that it becomes a guideline for G20 countries as the implementation could be adjusted again to the national conditions and policies of each country. The policy particularly discusses the provision of access to the employment market, the development of workers' capabilities, the promotion of decent work and letters of economic and community acceptance (G20 2017, 2017a).

Meanwhile, in the next round of the G20 in 2018 held in Argentina, less agreement was created about migration issues. The G20 Leaders declaration is concerned about the express occurrence of massive migration flows which also had an impact on many aspects, one of them being about economic aspect. The country's leaders emphasised the need for joint action to solve the problem and swiftly respond to the needs of immigrants. Although each country's economy is stable and experiencing growth, in reality, the labour market still faces a challenge. One of these challenges is the significant migration program. This matter needed to create a

framework and innovative policy. The detailing issue will be considered in the next round of the G20 (G20 2018, 2018).

The attention to migrant workers issues in the G20 was continuously discussed in the Labour Minister's Meeting in 2019. According to the declaration at the ministerial level, the G20 is concerned about migrant's average work in the informal sector. In addition, the G20 Osaka Leaders' Declaration emphasized that the large number of refugees impacts global matters, humanitarian, political, social, and economic sectors. The G20 has emphasised that cooperation is crucial to address the root causes of displacement. and fill humanitarian needs. This issue's emphasis on increasing migrants and the impact on several sectors are sustainable issues that have been discussed at the G20 (G20 2019, 2019).

The G20 meeting in 2020 became the most important meeting response to the COVID-19 pandemic. In 2020, the G20 attention to the migrant workers are vulnerable workers affected by COVID-19. The cooperation to mitigate the impact of the pandemic is an important step that was decided in the G20 Declaration in 2020. Furthermore, in line with the previous meeting, this G20 meeting has agreed to help solve the problem of the rising of migrants (G20 2020, 2020). The results of the G20 meeting in 2020 were a foundation for the 2021 meeting which was still marked by several impacts due to the pandemic.

Meeting in 2021, the G20 pay attention to the improved flexible, crisis-responsive and adequate social protection systems that are accessible to everyone during the COVID-19 pandemic. Special emphasis is placed on temporary or part-time workers, informal workers, self-employed, migrants, and low-income workers. One of the solutions sought in dealing with the impact of the pandemic is to encourage decent work for migrant workers. The policies taken here include expanding the social security rights for migrant workers. In the G20 leadership declaration, it was explained that the global economy is facing new challenges related to migration as a result of the pandemic. The measurement supports the inclusion of migrants, including migrant workers. For example, the G20 recognizes how important it is to prevent migrant smuggling and irregular migration flows as part of a comprehensive approach to safe, orderly, and orderly migration flows (G20 2021, 2021).

Furthermore, in 2022 the G20 observed that digital technology and automation have changed the world of work. Existing disparities in many countries and conditions for migrant workers have been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. It is significant to prevent the negative impact of current trends on the labour market. The G20 leaders agreed to support the full inclusion of migrant workers at the Bali Summit 2020 (G20 2022, 2022). This shows that the challenges of the job market are not only the impact of COVID-19, but also the improvement of digital technology provides its challenges for increasing human resource capacity in the job market.

The delineation above shows that the attention to the issue of migrant workers is motivated by several developments in international dynamics along with the increasing flow of migrants. In addition, the presence of the COVID-19 pandemic has presented some challenges for the job market which of course not only provide challenges for economic performance, but also the job market. The vulnerable position of migrant workers is a challenge for the G20 to strengthen cooperation between countries in dealing with this issue. The inclusion of the migrant workers' agenda declaration provides the number of policy implications that must be taken by G20 countries in dealing with the current issue of migrant workers.

The migrant workers' issue will not only explain employment matters, such as the labour market and raising the capacity of the workers but also the related issue tied to social protection. G20 member countries are not only responsible for the world economy but also play an important role in policy responses to migration challenges and opportunities impacting migrants, their countries of origin, their transit countries, and the global economy. Concerning the migration flows in G20 countries, here is a diagram illustrating migration flows to some G20 countries in 2010-2020:

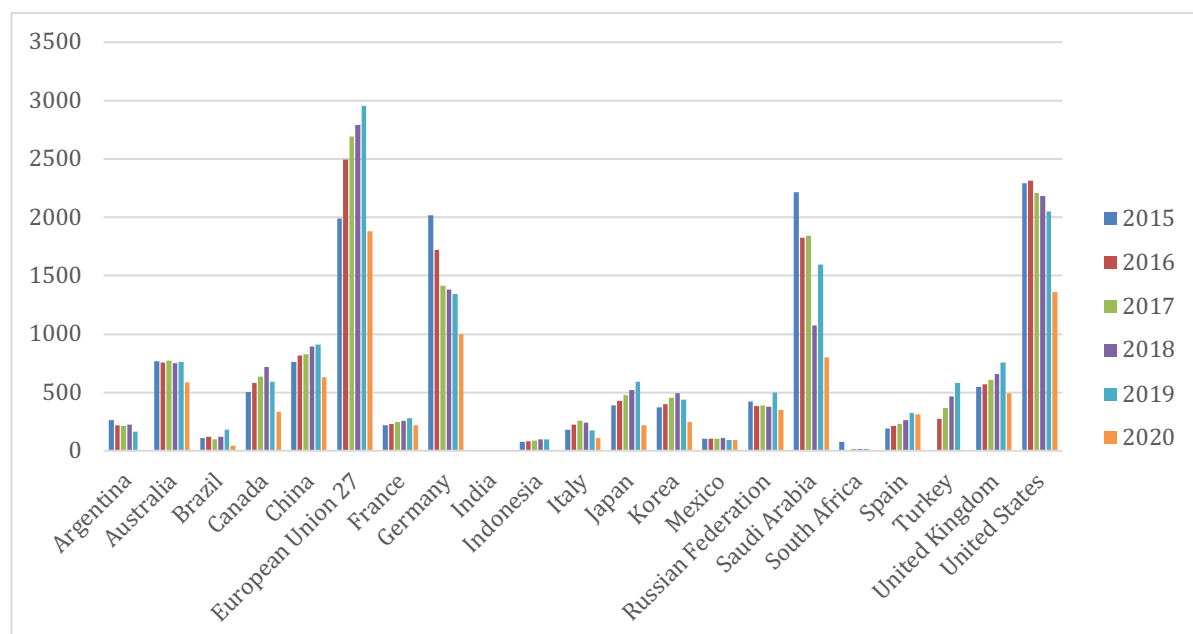


Figure 1: The migration flow to several countries of G20 in 2015-2020 (in thousand)

Source: (OECD/ILO/IOM/UNHCR, 2021), managed by authors

The diagram above shows that from 2015-2020 there is a trend in different levels of migration flows among G20 member countries. There was a decrease in migration flows from 2019 to 2020. The US was the top destination country, with over 1 million migrant visits in 2020. In addition, Germany ranked second with nearly 1 million migrants, most of whom were temporary and came from other EU member states. With nearly about 800,000 migrant workers in Saudi Arabia in 2020, the country ranked third (OECD/ILO/IOM/UNHCR, 2021).

Most labour immigration policies across the world select immigrants based on their professional profile. Jobs are classified into categories that require either low-skilled or high-skilled workers, depending on the level of formal education, training, and work experience required to perform a particular job. The immigration systems in high-income countries generally favour workers who aspire to work in higher-skilled or higher-paying jobs and impose restrictions on those who wish to work in lower-skilled jobs. The immigration system is not straightforward and should be constantly adapted to meet the rapidly changing external environment. The government needs to consider not only the role of migrant workers but also other possible solutions to labour demand in important sectors. This includes whether demand for local workers can be met by raising wages, improving working conditions, or using labour-saving technology (Fernández-Reino et al., 2020).

Migration dynamics tend to provide a wide array of economic benefits, although the negative impacts are limited. However, the overall impact of immigration on domestic employment and wages remains limited. On the other hand, because many immigrants tend to be of productive working age, immigration increases the number of working-age residents in the total population. In addition, developed countries that are popular destinations have selective immigration policies. This approach is attributed to the demand for increased education of immigrants to find the criteria for employability in destination countries, especially developed countries. Therefore, it is important to improve the quality of skills of migrant workers. Immigration can make an essential contribution to labour force growth, but governments must be able to balance labour needs with the skills of immigrants. In this regard, more must be done to use migrants' skills better and adapt labour mobility management systems to employers' needs. (Kadkoy & Sak, 2019).

Those delineation shows the variation of workers' positions also the scope of employment needs to be given more attention for every country. In this method, access to the proper work becomes attention in facing the issue of migrant workers. The sufficient skill that is suitable for the job offering in the destination country becomes an important thing. Access to the proper work is an issue that is a concern in the meeting of G20. Seeing this

condition, G20 as a multilateral forum gives a chance for every country member to transparently communicate with each other regarding migrant worker matters. The mapping of skill issues of migrant workers that are faced by the country of G20 in the destination country or the country of origin of the migrant is important. As the forum is the place for meeting and gathering from developed countries, the G20 can give hope to the consolidation and collaboration to solve the problem related to the migrant workers' skills.

Regarding raising the quality of migrant workers, the other important thing related to the policy of migrant workers is social protection. This important issue is significant as remembering of COVID-19 pandemic gives a severe blow to every country addressing the problem of migrant workers during the pandemic. Several countries have expanded social security measures to protect vulnerable groups such as migrant workers and refugees during the COVID-19 pandemic. For instance, the Republic of Korea has expanded benefits for migrant workers who need to be quarantined, while Saudi Arabia offers free COVID-19 testing and treatment for migrant workers in abnormal conditions. France and Spain have extended migrant workers' residence permits for three months in 2020 to ensure that they have access to healthcare services. Portugal provides certain rights and support, such as health services, social support, employment, and housing to non-national workers, including asylum seekers whose applications are still being processed. Brazil offers an emergency monthly basic income for three months, which includes migrant workers who have not regularized their status. (OECD/ILO/IOM/UNHCR, 2021).

The relationship between migration status and working status between the worker and employer are the important factors that influence working access towards social protections. Many programs are in line with the migrant workers that are tied to the permit to live of migrant workers with their employer. The migrant farmworkers in Canada who obtain a health ID under their Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program (SAWP) are entitled to direct access to most provincial public health insurance systems. Temporary migrant workers often find it difficult to access public health services, immunisation programs, or vaccinations. Despite their right to essential services, they face significant challenges, such as the fear of losing their current or future rights. To address this issue, migrant-sending countries usually try to reach bilateral social security agreements with migrant-receiving countries. Canada has signed 57 social security agreements, 53 of which are still in effect (Hennebry, 2014).

Besides creating an agreement of social warranty bilaterally, there is also another effort to protect the migrant workers. In the past several years one of the most significant expansions and prominent that have been done to several countries is taking an action to give a social warranty to those who work overseas by strengthening their steps to the large support. Full action will be done in this institutional and operational framework (International Organization for Migration, 2017).

Social protection for migrant workers become an important aspect during the COVID-19 pandemic and after the pandemic. The vulnerable position of migrant workers requires concrete steps from every country to take a stand in providing social protection. From the picture above, cooperation between countries can be an alternative to creating a good social protection mechanism for migrant workers. As a multilateral cooperation forum, the G20 is a forum for member countries to further strengthen cooperation between member countries in terms of creating effective social protection mechanisms for migrant workers. This is not a simple matter, because the cooperation is carried out context of social protection which needs to look at the condition of social protection at the domestic level of each member country. Hence, in this case, cooperation which is a collective effort is also accompanied by policy efforts at the domestic level of member countries.

5. Conclusion

Migrant workers play a crucial role in the global economy, contributing over 70% to international migrants within the working-age group, with anticipated remittances reaching USD 626 billion in 2022. Despite the significant impact of migrant workers, they face challenges related to modern slavery, discrimination, and precarious working conditions. Lower-skilled workers encounter additional obstacles, often resorting to illegal employment due to legal status issues. Addressing these challenges necessitates prompt and accurate action, emphasising international collaboration.

International migration, an integral aspect of globalisation, involves individuals seeking livelihoods outside their native countries, particularly as economic migrant workers. Collaborative efforts at a global level, especially within the G20 framework, are deemed crucial for addressing global concerns related to safeguarding migrant workers. Challenges such as exploitation, discrimination, and job insecurity arise from the absence of adequate worker safeguards in international trade agreements.

The G20, recognising the significance of migrant worker issues, has focused on comprehensive coordination in meetings. The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic further underscores the vulnerability of migrant workers, with efforts in subsequent G20 meetings emphasising adaptable social protection systems and improved working conditions. Acknowledging the influence of digital technology on migrant workers in 2022, the G20 advocates for their complete integration.

Migration data from 2015 to 2020 indicates fluctuations in levels among G20 nations, with a marked decline in 2020. Developed countries generally have more receptive labour immigration policies for high-skilled workers. While immigration has a limited impact on domestic employment and wages, it contributes significantly to labour force growth.

Addressing the challenges faced by migrant workers requires enhancing their skills and aligning immigration policies with workforce needs. The primary focus should be on social protection, especially considering the repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic. The G20 is viewed as a potential platform for reinforcing international collaboration on social protection for migrant workers, playing a significant role in responding to migration challenges and opportunities. Sustained cooperation among G20 nations is crucial for formulating equitable and sustainable policies to enhance the protection and welfare of migrant workers.

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Issues and Challenges in Investigating Rape Cases in Bangladesh: Insights from Field-Level Police Officers' Experiences

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Abstract

Sexual assault and rape are pervasive across all nations and cultures. This gender-based crime is considered one of the most heinous crimes in Bangladesh. A first information report (FIR) and subsequent investigation by police officers are the first steps in the criminal justice response to rape. Unfortunately, it is frequently difficult for law enforcement officials to conduct an investigation and guarantee justice for the victims. Delays and improper investigations dampen the enthusiasm of rape victims seeking justice. This paper explores the issues and challenges the police officers confront when investigating rape cases. A qualitative research approach has been applied to this study, where a total of 15 police officers participated in in-depth interviews. This paper reveals that problems with existing legal instruments, crime scene management, and evidence collection processes are apparent in rape case investigations. Furthermore, challenges pertaining to medical and forensic examinations, insufficient logistical support, an excessive number of responsibilities, and various internal and external pressures have a detrimental impact on the efficacy of police investigations. Victim and witness non-cooperation, delays in filing cases, practices of filing false rape cases, informal mediation, and out-of-court settlements all reduce the success rate of police investigations and result in low conviction rates.

Keywords: Rape, Sexual Assault, Investigations, Victims, Medicolegal Evidence, Challenges, Police, Justice

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Violence against women and girls is a global health and human rights issue, defined by the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women as “*physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life*” (United Nations, 1993). Worldwide, 30% of women have experienced rape or attempted rape in their lifetime;

among them, less than 10% have seen the light in legal settings (World Health Organization, 2023; United Women, 2023).

Rape is also a prevalent human rights abuse in Bangladesh, often facilitated by sexual pillage, despite a robust societal and judicial framework (The Daily Star, 2020). Between January and December 2020, 1627 women were raped, 53 killed, 326 attempted, and 14 committed suicide (Odhikar, 2021). The review of rape and violence against women in Bangladesh between 2015 and 2019 portrays that in 2015, gang rapes against women and children were high, with a total of 272 incidents. In 2016, 206 were reported, and in 2017, 25 were reported. In 2019, 892 incidents were committed, with 192 rape attempts and 41 deaths due to injuries. In 2019, religious and ethnic minorities suffered 250 incidents of violence, including rape and murder. The number of reported rape incidents increased from 635 in 2018 to 1080 in 2019 (Siddiqua, Nahar and Akond, 2021).

In Bangladesh, rape is prevalent due to societal stigma, fear of retaliation, and patriarchal culture. Victims often keep quiet due to harassment, public admission embarrassment, and insensitive police stations (BNWLA, 2014). Additionally, patriarchal legacies and attitudes towards women in police cases make it difficult for survivors to report rape cases. Police harassed victims, and police interrogation focused on initiating the attack through revealing clothing, strangers, rides, or bar visits. Male police officers often interrogate rape victims, causing embarrassment and traumatization. They fail to provide timely medical checks, resulting in a negative attitude toward victims.

Additionally, police often assume rape claims as fraudulent, leading to a negative perception of women's virtue (Kabir et al., 2017; Burgess & Hazelwood, 2001). Furthermore, sexual abuse victims often face secondary victimization in the criminal justice system, families, hospitals, and courts, leading to gender inequality and difficulty accessing justice. These fears of re-victimization and embarrassment also deter them from interacting with the criminal justice system (Yesmen, 2019; Banarjee, 2020; Kaithwas & Pandey, 2018).

Investigation delays hinder justice seekers and trial timelines, undermining procedural fairness (Haque, 2007). Internal and external issues, such as organizational culture, police officer dedication, political support, and institutional capacity, impede the successful application of evidence-based investigations (Kashem, 2020). Additionally, the lengthy process of bringing the guilty also obstructs their complaint. (Moslem, 2004). It is evident that physical evidence increases the chances of acquittal and conviction in Bangladesh, but forensic awareness is limited. Fingerprints and DNA are rarely used in police investigations. Only 14.2% of reported rape cases are examined within 24 hours, with the rest taking over seven days (Kashem, 2017). The low conviction rate in rape cases can be attributed to the inability of the police to create a proper investigation report, which can dilute the case or delay its hearing, as noted by Mia (2012). Moreover, it is also found that improper police investigation leads to a lack of convictions, as officers fail to prepare legally strong FIRs, case dockets, and reports and provide witnesses, diluting claims or delaying hearings (Nazrul, 2008).

1.2 Research Question and Objectives of the Study

The following research question is being articulated in the current study: What are the significant issues and challenges to police investigative practices in rape cases? The main objective of the study is to explore the issues and challenges of investigating rape cases by Police Officers. The specific objectives are as follows i) To evaluate the existing legal instruments for investigating rape cases, ii) To examine the existing problems of police investigative practices in rape cases, iii) To identify challenges in collecting and analyzing medico-legal evidence, and iv) To identify significant issues and challenges to improve police investigative practices of rape cases.

This study aims to assess those challenges and obstacles in investigating rape cases, evaluate existing legal instruments and medicolegal evidence, and identify issues in police investigative practices. Additionally, it aims to inform policymakers, criminologists, and criminal justice officials about the actual scenario of investigating rape cases, enabling effective criminal justice responses.

2. Method

This study explored the major issues and challenges faced by the Investigation Officer (IO) of Bangladesh Police in investigating rape cases. A qualitative and descriptive research design that allows the researcher to collect data through face-to-face conversations with the respondents was appropriate for this research. This study collected primary data from Investigation Officers (IOs) of Bangladesh Police who were responsible for investigating rape cases in the Tangail District of Bangladesh. The informants of this study were selected from the sub-inspectors and inspectors of the district police who were experienced and investigated at least five cases in their service tenure. This study interviewed 15 respondents, including 12 sub-inspectors and three inspectors, using an In-depth Interview (IDI) method to collect data on issues and challenges in investigating rape cases at two police stations of District Police, Tangail, Bangladesh. After systematic coding and processing of qualitative data, the thematic analysis method was used to represent the results. This study also considered the academic ethical standards and guidelines for assuring the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants.

3. Results and Discussion

The findings have been analyzed thematically based on the information collected from in-depth interviews with the police officers.

3.1 Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Police Officers

The in-depth interview with police officers revealed that most respondents, aged 41-45, were male, Muslim, and held a bachelor's or master's degree, ranging from 33-52 years. The study found that most respondents, including sub-inspectors and inspectors, served in the police force for 21-30 years, with most starting as constables and currently working as sub-inspectors. The study also reveals that most respondents' tenure in their current workplace is 1 to 3 years.

3.2 Gaps in existing legal instruments and rape case investigation by police

The Constitution of Bangladesh, the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898, relevant special laws, the Evidence Act 1872, the Torture and Custodial Death (Prevention) Act 2013, Criminal Rule and Orders 2009, Police Regulations of Bengal (PRB) 1943, the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment 1984, and judicial precedents must all be followed by investigating officers, (Bari, 2015). The study indicates that most investigating officers (IO) are familiar with statutory laws and provisions for investigating rape cases, following sections 375 of the Penal Code 1860, The Women and Child Repression Act 2000, and High Court Guidelines. Although most IOs have argued that the legal instruments are up to date, there are implementation challenges. An inspector stated the main legal instruments for rape case investigation as follows-

“In Rape cases, we follow section 375 of the Penal Code and The Women and Child Repression Act 2000. We also try to follow the High Court Guidelines for investigating rape cases.”

At the same time, some IOs have identified issues with existing legal instruments that need to be modified or updated to cope with the future pattern of sexual violence. The foremost concern is that the Penal Code lacks specific definitions for rape, consent, and proof of physical resistance. Aside from that, there is a concern with the victim's age. In the penal code, the wife's age is stated as more than 13, contrary to others' age of 18. An officer stated,

“Recent years have seen a rise in rape cases involving consensual relationships between the plaintiff and defendant, particularly when the victim is under 18 and consents to sexual intercourse, making it challenging to prove consensually”.

Recently, based on the present rape trend, Bangladesh has passed new legislation allowing the death penalty to rape offenders. The IOs of rape cases believe it is not a valid solution to sexual violence or rape. As a result of the new law, Human Rights Watch (2021) warns that reporting rape can discourage victims and even encourage rapists to murder to avoid prosecution. Moreover, another legal challenge is that current laws protect women and children

but not severe sexual assault against boys. Sexual assault against males is charged as an “unnatural offense.” Current legislation does not address marital rape or transgender crimes. Additionally, rape with a child bride aged 13 or older violates the Child Marriage Restraint Act 2017 (BLAST, 2018).

3.3 Existing problems in the practice of investigating Rape cases by police

The IOs stated that investigating rape cases in the Bangladeshi scenario made it more challenging. From the start of the investigation process to the end, they experienced different types of challenges. This section analyses the challenges IOs face during an investigation of rape cases as follows:

3.3.1 Problems in crime scene management

Crime scene management is crucial in investigations, as it provides a detailed picture of events through witness testimony, crime scene photographs, physical exhibits, and scene analysis (Gehl & Plecas, 2017). A rape case involves two crime scenes: the crime location and the physical person of the rape victim. The crime scene search aims to determine the crime, document it, gather evidence, establish a relationship between the victim and suspect, identify witnesses, and apprehend the perpetrator (Jetmore, 2006). The study indicates that most investigating officers believe rape incidents are often reported delayed, and the crime scene can be restored if the complaint is filed promptly. Time-consuming and contaminated crime scenes make it challenging for investigators to collect evidence, especially in cases of forcible rape, as victims often arrive after an extended period, making the search difficult or impossible. An officer noted that,

“We can consider the victim’s body a crime scene in rape cases because the traces of forceful intercourse can be found in the victim’s body.”

On top of that, police can only record crime scenes and gather physical evidence or trace evidence if the rape occurred in a solitary place, despite curious onlookers often destroying or sabotaging the scene. A study suggests that most rapes occur inside. In that case, IOs require photographs and videotaped evidence of a struggle, such as damaged furniture or disarray of belongings (Ali et al., 2015). Furthermore, an inspector addressed the lack of a skilled workforce to re-create a crime scene.

3.3.2 Problems in the evidence collection process

The study highlights the importance of thorough investigation and proper collection of physical evidence in criminal investigations, stating by most IOs that most cases are unsuccessful due to the time lapse between the incidents and filing a complaint. Moreover, rape testimony is destroyed by showering, bathing, peeing, and time. IOs stated that they confiscated physical evidence like the victim’s clothes, bed, blanket, and video CD or memory card of the incident in rape cases. In addition, proper evidence collection, including clothing undergarments, hair and fibers, and semen, is crucial (Basu, 2012; Jetmore, 2006). However, the medical report, filed alongside charge sheets, is the most critical evidence that state investigators and the court rely on. One police officer noted,

“Physical evidence in rape cases is challenging to collect due to the victim’s failure to maintain it intact, potential spoilage or wash, and the victim’s late arrival at the police station, making it difficult for the police to seize the evidence.”

The study also finds that collecting physical evidence is challenging in rape cases as perpetrators promise to marry, with victims reporting allegations delayed and some cases involving mediation (*Shalish*) by village elders or *panchayet*. One IO cited that,

*“In rape cases, collecting physical evidence becomes more difficult, where the victim had a sexual connection based on a deceptive promise of marriage. Because, in such cases, the victim arrives at the police station after several days have elapsed. They usually arrive after failing to mediate in a mediation (*shalish*).”*

3.3.3 Problems in the Medical Examination Process

The study suggests that a medical examination is typically conducted after filing an FIR at the police station, but late arrivals increase the risk of damage or loss of evidence. *Salish* is one of the reasons behind the delayed lawsuit. A study found that 14.2 percent of alleged rape instances were reported for medical examination within 24 hours (Ali et al., 2015). In most rape cases, medical examinations are performed at the district level (Basu, 2012). In some circumstances, the distance between the police station and the government hospital facility causes delays in the medical examination process in rape cases. One officer cited that,

“Mostly, the medical examination of the rape victim takes place in the district government hospital in rape cases. As a result, when the hospital is far away from the police station or the victim’s residence, the medical examination is also delayed.”

Another issue of concern is the presence of male doctors in the medical investigation of rape in the hospital. A study reveals that male medical officials conduct most tests despite female attendants present during medical examinations, indicating a lack of representation for female medical officers (Basu, 2012). Similar reluctance experienced by one female officer, and she noted that,

“The victim appears to have changed her mind and is reluctant to undergo medical testing. After speaking with the doctor, I learned this happened in most cases. This might be due to fear, shyness, or the two-finger test. This occurs more commonly in the case of male doctors.”

Medical examinations show no evidence of forcible intercourse, with cases involving marriage promises and others where the victim absconded with the defendant(s). A study found that 43.31 percent of rape cases involved illegal consenting sexual intercourse, with court-presumed consent under section 144A of the Evidence Act 1872 (Sarker et al., 2015). As one officer put it,

“Medical examinations are difficult in cases of rape allegations connected to a false promise of marriage. This type of issue takes longer to reach the police. The medical examination revealed no evidence of recent sexual intercourse or forceful intercourse.”

3.3.4 Recalcitrant from the victim and witness

It is derived from the IO interview that the majority of police officers say that they did not receive adequate assistance from the victim in many cases. Witnesses, in certain circumstances, are reluctant to testify in court and submit statements (*Muchleka*). Victims of rape often resist cooperation with IOs due to potential monetary recompense and false promises of marriage, potentially leading to a fraudulent marriage. One officer noted that,

*“In many cases, the rape victim mediates with the perpetrator and begins to refuse to cooperate with the IO. They generally mediate through Village meetings (*Shalish*).”*

The victim’s choice of out-of-court settlements and societal pressure is a procrastination in the justice system, according to the IOs. A study reveals that in rape cases, complainants are often pressured to withdraw and settle the issue outside court. This is usually done when the perpetrator has more power, leading community leaders and local government officials to act in favor of the perpetrator through informal mediation and pressuring the complainants to withdraw their complaints (BLAST, 2018).

Officers also stated that witnesses in women’s rape cases face threats or intimidation for not testifying, and their willingness to testify is influenced by procrastination and repetitive scheduling, leading to forgetting and uncooperative behavior. IOs believe that the high fallout rate of police investigation reports in Bangladesh is primarily due to the non-cooperation of victims and witnesses, who are often vulnerable and fear retaliation, preventing their assistance in crime investigations.

3.3.5 Inadequate Women Police Officer in Police Stations

According to this study, in rape cases, some police officers (9 out of 15) believe that appointing a female police officer as the IO is necessary for effective investigation. All the officers agreed that women officers must conduct

an efficient interview with the female victim to question the victim and record a statement. The victim can deliberately express her experience of suffering without fear or embarrassment to the female officer. However, they pointed out that the number of women officers with the rank of SI is insufficient to assign women as IO in all cases of rape. In truth, many police stations do not have women officers at the SI level. In that situation, the victim faces unease while lodging a police report (Alam, 2017). One IO from SI rank said that,

“The number of women SI available for deployment as IO in rape cases is insufficient. In some police stations, there are no female SI officers at all. In our police station, for example, there are no female police officers of SI rank. An ASI female officer performs her duties in the women and child help desk.”

Exceptionally, some officers (6 out of 15) thought that assigning a female officer to investigate rape cases is not essential; it is sufficient to have a female police present throughout interrogation and statement-taking.

3.4 Key Challenges in the collection and analysis of Medicolegal evidence

3.4.1 Challenges in the Collection of Medicolegal Evidence

According to this study, some officers claim that collecting medicolegal evidence is the medical officer's job, and there are no challenges in managing medicolegal evidence. On the contrary, some officers claimed that gathering medicolegal evidence becomes problematic when the victim resists the medical examination. For instance, one officer noted that,

“Some victims are reluctant to undergo medical examinations. Collecting medicolegal evidence and conducting forensic analysis becomes difficult in this situation.”

The entire physical examination is the responsibility of the forensic department, and primarily, male doctors from the forensic unit examine the victim with the assistance of a female nurse. The appearance of a male doctor as an examiner is a source of trauma for the victim, particularly in a country like Bangladesh, where social norms and religious values are significant. Delays in rape reports and hospital appearances can make it challenging to collect medicolegal evidence. One officer noted that,

“It becomes difficult to obtain uncontaminated medicolegal evidence if the victim arrives late at the police station and her medical examination is likewise delayed. Because when a doctor examines a victim, they collect medicolegal evidence.”

The transportation of medicolegal evidence, particularly DNA analysis in rape cases, is challenging for police officers, who must travel alone and face significant risks. Most participants reported that they had to transport the evidence to a forensic laboratory at their own cost and were given allowances later on. From the words of one police officer,

“We must convey medicolegal evidence to the forensic laboratory using public transportation at our own expense. It is dangerous since medical evidence is crucial in proving or disproving a case. However, we receive some allowances, although they are insufficient.”

So, it can be concluded that delays in medical examinations, victim's unwillingness to undergo evaluation, and logistical support issues impede the collection and analysis of medicolegal evidence in rape cases.

3.4.2 Challenges in Forensic examination of Medicolegal evidence

Medio-legal evidence is undoubtedly one of the decisive weapons to prove rape cases. In this study, all the officers in rape cases file investigative reports based on medical and forensic examination results, ensuring they do not contradict expert opinions based on medicolegal evidence. An officer of Inspector rank claims that,

“We must produce an investigative report in line with the medical examination reports. We do not produce an investigative report contradicting an expert opinion based on medicolegal evidence.”

The study also found that Bangladesh has a shortage of forensic laboratories, causing delays in forensic examination reports. However, less than half (6 officers) received other forensic reports promptly, except for DNA analysis, which took longer. One officer noted this issue-

“Only three laboratories in Bangladesh can conduct forensic examinations. The CID and the other two labs are under much pressure, so getting the forensic examination report is delayed.”

The police officer agreed that using fingerprint and DNA technology improves the chances of identifying and prosecuting criminals. Nevertheless, forensic awareness and knowledge of many criminal forensic advances is low in Bangladesh. IO's stated that fingerprints and DNA evidence are rarely collected and utilized except in highly publicized cases. These findings are supported by Kashem's (2017) study on rape case investigation.

Additionally, IOs face challenges if a victim is sexually active before the rape. A woman can even carry the DNA of her sexual partners, which can be contaminated with perpetrators' DNA or sperm. Some other medical conditions, such as erectile dysfunction, impotence, premature ejaculation before penetration, and ejaculation incompetence, can all also impact the outcome of medicolegal evidence in rape cases. It is seen that in only 5.5% of rape cases, spermatozoa were found positive (Ali et al., 2015).

3.5 Key infrastructural challenges in investigative practices by Police

3.5.1 pressure of duty

A study shows that about 61.66 percent of police officers work more than 15 hours (even up to 20 hours) each day, while 23.34 percent work between 12 and 15 hours, and a minor percentage work fewer than 12 hours per day. Thus, approximately 84 percent of police officers work more than 12 hours daily (Rahman & Hossain, 2017). In this study, identical outcomes were observed and agreed by 11 out of 15 officers. A police officer has to perform duties including crime prevention and patrolling, public order management, warrant execution and criminal arrest, search and seizure, VIP/VVIP security duty, verification role, community policing activities, bit policing activities, escort duties (money, personnel, documents, etc.), and public awareness activities, as well as investigation of cases. In addition, they have to work more than 12 hours every day. Since there is no weekly holiday, all officers must work under pressure nearly seven days a week. A police officer describes duty pressures and duty hours as a barrier to efficiently performing investigative work as

“Most likely, police officers are the only government employees with no weekly holidays. We are required to perform 12-hour patrolling duty regularly. In general, police officers work in two shifts, day and night, each lasting 12 hours. There are also other duties. So, how can one properly concentrate on an investigative job under such a load of duties?”

Furthermore, the majority of police officers believed that they lacked mental rest due to the excessive pressure of various duties other than investigation. Moreover, because investigative work requires more spontaneous time and focus, the pressure of duties makes it challenging to conduct a thorough examination. However, several officers reported that the duty pressure in a busy police station is higher than the upazilla level in a remote place. One Inspector noted that,

“We try to adjust duty schedules, considering the investigative work of officers, because the number of officers is comparatively fewer than the pressure of policing activity. However, in a busy police station, this is not always possible.”

Therefore, it can be concluded that without investigative work, police officers are required to perform vast duties, and duty pressure is widespread. These huge workloads make it difficult to improve investigative function and investigation of rape cases.

3.5.2 Frequent transfer

As a government employee, a police officer transfers a routine system. According to this study, some officers (9 out of 15 officers) consider frequent workplace change challenging to investigate cases effectively. The new IO on a case faces hurdles in continuing investigation. Moreover, police officers are required to testify in court as

IOs, and most officers believe that transferring to another police unit poses a significant challenge for them. Few think that transferring poses no challenges in the investigative functions of policing. For instance, one officer cited that,

“We must hand over the docket of cases to the Officer-In-Charge (OC) of the police station in the case of a transfer. The OC then assigns a new Investigation Officer (IO) to conduct the case investigation—the new IO attempts to enter the case and undertake an investigation, which can be difficult sometimes. Furthermore, when an officer is transferred to another district or range, he must appear in court as a witness. This is also an issue.”

3.5.3 Lack of logistics support

The analysis shows that a shortage of logistical support plagues the police. The majority of police officers expressed their dissatisfaction with the absence of adequate logistical support for the collection and preservation of physical evidence. Similarly, a study has identified the lack of support services for collecting and preserving forensic evidence as the fundamental cause for the limited utilization of physical evidence in cases (Kashem, 2017). One officer expressed the current situation as follows:

“We have a shortage of kits and other necessary equipment for collecting and preserving physical evidence. No lockers or cabinets are provided by the government in the police station. Every police station has a Storeroom (Malkhana) where evidence is stored. Generally, we have to keep documents under our responsibility. Every officer has cabinets that they purchased at their own expense.”

Police officers also added that the police station’s seating arrangements for sub-inspectors are poor, with no government-sponsored chair tables. Officers often have to seat multiple officers in a single room, making investigations difficult. Financial support for investigative work is also insufficient. In many cases, the IO has to bear the medical expenses of the poor victim and the costs of managing an unclaimed corpse. Moreover, inadequate transportation makes it difficult for officers to conduct investigations and other policing tasks. Police officers consider these problems problematic for healthily performing policing and investigative work. Other work also supports these findings, as the police station lacks an operating budget, limiting financial support for investigative functions. Transportation also hinders IO’s timely arrival at crime scenes, resulting in inadequate investigation reports (Kashem, 2017). One officer noted that,

“We often have to pay for the victim’s medical examination. Moreover, we must move the victim to the hospital or court at our own cost. Even most officers use their motorcycles for investigation and other policing duties.”

3.5.4 Inadequate training facilities

The IO plays a significant role in investigating the proceedings, taking witness statements, collecting evidence, and submitting an investigative report (Uddin et al., 2017). In most situations, the Inspector and Sub-Inspector officers who work in the police station undertake the investigation responsibilities. However, the required training facilities for officers serving as IOs in the field are insufficient. According to the findings of this study, no particular training for investigating rape cases is included in basic training. They are given basic training in criminal investigation at the Bangladesh Police Academy. They are also offered many short-term training courses in the in-service training centers. One officer pointed out the training shortcomings as,

“We must undergo many in-service training sessions, although they usually last three to seven days. That is not sufficient. I believe we lack specialized training on forensics and investigation.”

As a consequence, field-level police officers have insufficient knowledge of investigative tactics. Police officers who serve in specialized police units receive specialized training and possess specialized skills. Although there are courses available at CID, including Preventing Repression of Women and Children, Special Training Course on Human Rights, Prosecution and Investigation Courses, Post-Blast Investigation Course, Training Course on Technology-Based Investigation, Special Investigation Training Course, and so on (BD Police, 2021). Another officer highlighted the gap as,

“We do not have access to specialized training. Specific police units, such as DB and CID, get specialized training on investigation. The range of specialized training available to police officers working in thanas is limited.”

It can be summarized that IOs in the police station need more training facilities related to the investigation to perform efficiently.

3.5.5 External pressure

Many factors affect the performance and decision-making of an officer; they can be internal or external, social or environmental (Cojean et al., 2020; White, 2003). This study has also attempted to determine external pressure's impact on investigating rape cases. In this study, it is learned that most officers stated they were not under any external pressure when investigating rape cases. As rape is a sensitive issue, officers did not consider lobbying (*Todbir*). However, some officers argue that they have been affected by political interference or the influence of a powerful elite when the assailants belong to a powerful group. In investigating other offenses, this powerful political influence is even more apparent. One officer cited that,

“In rape cases, external lobbying is less than in other instances. When the offender is powerful, powerful elites usually try to influence us. In fact, they threaten to harm or transfer us from our existing police station.”

The officer viewed this external influence or threat as an investigative hurdle that hindered police officers' ability to investigate rape cases effectively. A few officers have also stated that they have been subjected to media pressure. In many circumstances, the media publishes details about a case before examining the incident's authenticity. According to the officers, the media publishes every update about a case, making it difficult for police to apprehend the perpetrators. One officer cited that,

“In highly publicized cases, we are forced to submit charge sheets due to media pressure, even if the cases have not been thoroughly investigated. This is a challenging issue.”

It can be inferred that external pressures such as political interference, the influence of the elite, and the influence of the media pose significant challenges to police officers conducting proper rape case investigations.

3.5.6 Departmental pressure

This study found that few officers (4 officers out of 15) mentioned the departmental pressure they faced when investigating rape cases. The nature of departmental pressure is related to apprehending offenders rapidly and submitting investigation reports rapidly. Basically, this happened in highly publicized cases. Due to this pressure, the IO became demoralized and submitted an investigation report without completing the proper investigation. One officer said,

“Our higher officers pressurize us to deliver an investigative report as soon as possible. There is sometimes pressure to apprehend the offender immediately. This harms our mental health and makes it difficult to conduct effective investigations.”

Another officer opinioned,

“Occasionally, we receive a phone call from a superior officer from another police unit pleading our case on behalf of a relative or acquaintance who is a suspect in a crime. Most people try to lobby through their influential connections even if they have a legal claim.”

Hence, it is evident that departmental pressure exists in the police department, although in a limited number of instances. However, departmental pressure can demoralize investigators and make it difficult to conduct investigations earnestly.

4. Conclusions

Police are the first responder from the criminal justice system to rape survivors. In many cases, the judicial proceedings begin after a lawsuit is filed at the police station. Police investigate rape cases, collect evidence, apprehend suspects, and finally submit investigation reports to the court. However, police have to face several issues and challenges during the investigation. The current study explores the problems and challenges that police officers face when investigating a rape case. Ambiguities in current legislation, lack of sufficient officers in the police station, lack of logistical support, and a variety of pressures such as media pressure, superior officer's pressure, and pressure from the powerful elite all pose hurdles to a proper rape investigation.

As a result, a strong emphasis on training and skill development, medicolegal and forensic evidence, job stress reduction, and proper logistical support is essential. A victim-friendly environment in the police station and hospital is also required in rape cases, in addition to social awareness and responsive societal responses to rape victims. Cooperation between police, doctors, and courts can ensure prompt justice to the rape victims. In this approach, eliminating the issues and challenges that police officers encounter and promptly responding to rape victims can help ensure proper investigation and subsequent justice.

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Online Political Discourse in Cambodia: Does Facebook Serve as a Public Sphere or the Spiral of Silence?

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Abstract

With the emergence of web-as-participation platforms, social media such as Facebook allows users to discuss public opinion for political and social changes in both small groups and the public sphere. To understand whether Facebook is a free without-fear public sphere, this study aimed to investigate the attitudes and behaviours of Facebook users toward political opinion expression on the political Facebook platform called Politikoffee. To address this research gap, this study focused on Cambodian Politikoffee participants aged between 18 and 33, who are considered active tech-savvy and public activists. The data were collected through digital ethnography on the Politikoffee Facebook platforms and in-depth semi-structured interviews with 8 respondents. To gain comprehensive insights into the attitudes and behaviours of Facebook users toward political opinion expression, the results were analysed in conjunction with the 'Spiral of Silence Theory'. The spiral of silence theory suggests that users tend to express their genuine ideas when they feel the majority supports their opinion. In contrast, they might remain silent if they realise only a small social group upholds their idea because they fear social isolation. In examining whether Facebook serves as a free and fear-free public sphere, the study discovered that Facebook users were concerned about online political discourse due to socio-psychological factors, including 1) the restriction of freedom of expression, 2) the fear of political arrest, 3) the prevalence of political nepotism, 4) worries about digital surveillance, 5) concerns about digital footprint, 6) political knowledge deficiency, and 7) the traumatising effects of civil war, which can trigger their self-censorship.

Keywords: Political Opinion Expression, Online Political Participation, Political Self-Disclosure, Social Media, The Spiral of Silence

1. Introduction

In the digital era, social media is seemingly considered a public sphere, allowing citizens to access news, join like-minded groups widely, and enhance a democratising mechanism for users to openly converse with politicians (Young, 2021). Habermas (1989) asserts that a public sphere is where individuals can gather to discuss public opinion for political changes. As of 2023, Cambodia has 10.45 million active Facebook users (Datareportal, 2023), making it an influential platform for citizens to distribute and receive information. Similarly, Cambodian citizens have consumed Facebook not only for entertainment but also to access daily

information and express their opinions (Chunly, 2019; Vorn & Ly, 2020). The focus of this study was to explore the complexities of social media for political knowledge dissemination in Cambodia by analysing the case of the Cambodian political Facebook platforms. As of September 2023, a Facebook platform in Cambodia called the 'Politikoffee' is considered a politically like-minded civic discourse platform. With 2,571 members on the Politikoffee Facebook group, and 14K Likes and 14K Followers on the Politikoffee Facebook Page, members actively debate and discuss the status quo of socio-political and economic issues on its Facebook group, Facebook page and weekly in-person forums. During the 2018 national election in Cambodia, when all independent media agencies were shut down, individuals turned to Facebook to fulfil their needs and satisfaction in engaging in political discussion, which users could broadcast, disseminate and debate (Chunly, 2019); and criticise the government (Association for Progressive Communications, 2017).

However, a significant research gap persists in Cambodia regarding Facebook as a public sphere for online political discourse as political opinion expression has yet to be thoroughly examined. Therefore, to the best of our knowledge, this study aims to explore the users' motives for their attitudes and behaviours in utilising the Facebook group for civic discourse. Additionally, it investigates whether Facebook is a free public sphere without fear, where users can express their opinions about sensitive political issues in Cambodia.

This study aims to determine whether the Facebook group serves as an effective digital technology transformation tool for users to express sensitive issues and gain more knowledge about politics in Cambodia. In addition, it provides deeper insights into examining the socio-psychological factors and social climate that influence individuals to express or suppress their political opinions on Facebook. The study makes a significant contribution to the field of media and communication, benefiting policymakers and academics by aiding in the understanding of the potential issues within Cambodia's digital media landscape.

2. Literature Review

In this chapter, the study primarily demonstrates the most recent discourse on three main aspects of literature: digital surveillance and political self-disclosure, the digital media sphere in Cambodia, and the theoretical framework of the spiral of silence. To deeply dive into Facebook users' reasons for political opinion expression and oppression, the literature review also discusses the spiral of silence theory in conjunction with critical concepts, including fear of isolation, cognitive dissonance, knowledge deficiency, and corrective action.

2.1. Digital Surveillance and Political Self-disclosure

Several scholars have expressed different views on whether social media serves as a public sphere for individuals to engage in political and free communicative actions. Kruse et al. (2018) found that digital surveillance by government, peers and colleagues could alter users' behaviour on social media, leading to the oppression of opinions. In contrast, Diamond (2010) contends that digital technology has expanded the free flow of political, social, and economic discussions, instantly disseminating them to mass audiences. Morris and Morris (2013) argue that the emergence of the internet has energised 'citizen-based democracy', allowing individuals or groups to express their political opinions—a sign of democratic hope. For example, during the National Assembly election in 2013 in Cambodia, digital media facilitated the anti-government demonstrations when the opposition party claimed electoral fraud. These protests, mainly initiated through online networking, led to intense demonstrations and several deaths (Association for Progressive Communications, 2017). Political self-disclosure in Cambodia has triggered safety and security concerns. As of 2020, numerous opposition activists were imprisoned, and nearly 100 party members and civil society representatives faced court proceedings (Freedom House, 2021). In summary, while social media platforms provide more public space for citizens to exercise their civic rights and empower democracy, digital surveillance appears to deter individuals from disclosing their political standpoints, as online opinions can be continuously and unconsciously tracked and monitored.

2.2. *The Digital Media Landscape in Cambodia*

In Cambodia's digital media landscape, online freedom is considered partially free with some internet users facing arrest for online activities (Freedom House, 2022; Young, 2021). The country is often described as a semi-authoritarian state where political participation is still regulated (Chunly, 2019). Interestingly, Doyle (2021) asserts that social media has broadened the space for citizens to express their public concerns, especially in the absence of independent media outlets.

Political discussions on Facebook are noted to have a positive impact on the government's decisions and behavioural changes (Vong & Hok, 2018). For instance, in 2016, Prime Minister Hun Sen amended Cambodia's road traffic law following an outbreak of youth critique (Doyle, 2021). Eng and Hughes (2017) highlight that young people in Cambodia have played a pivotal role in the 2013 national election and political engagement, and online users actively participated in discussions on political content, covering elections, land concessions, factory worker protests, corruption, and issues related to natural resources. Din (2020) confirms that socioeconomic development significantly contributes to young people's knowledge in higher education, media literacy, technology usage and social construction. These factors empower the youth to become more sophisticated and active in political discussion compared to the older generations.

2.3. *Spiral of Silence Theory*

In the 'Spiral of Silence theory', individuals are more likely to express their genuine ideas when they believe the majority endorses their opinion. However, they tend to remain silent if they realise only a small social group supports their idea because they fear social isolation (Liu et al., 2017). Noelle-Neumann (1974) affirms that individuals choose to stay silent and conform to the majority, even when they disagree with prevailing ideas due to the fear of making a mistake, being alone and lacking confidence in their decision-making abilities. Therefore, concerns about self-presentation could discourage individuals from disclosing their political opinions, influenced by continuous digital surveillance and various social environments on Facebook (Liu et al., 2017).

To examine the spiral of silence theory, several scholars strive to explore various socio-psychological factors that shed light on why people remain silent and the influential factors in their social climate that can trigger them to suppress or express their opinions in public. In social psychology, Geiger and Swim (2016) argue that individuals are unwilling to express their opinions due to a lack of knowledge about a particular topic. Additionally, people may conceal their genuine opinions because they are influenced by psychological characteristics such as 'social inhibition, shyness, or fear of embarrassment' (Miller & McFarland, 1987, p. 299); 'fear of ostracism or ridicule' (Hampton et al., 2014, p. 1). In such circumstances, people's perceptions can be manipulated by pluralistic ignorance, fear of embarrassment, and digital surveillance, resulting in 'cognitive dissonance'. Kopp et al. (2019) assert that the concept of cognitive dissonance referred to as 'psychological discomfort', arises when people's behaviours are inconsistent with their beliefs and values. Individuals may try to suppress opposing thoughts with their friends to maintain harmony and friendships on social media (Duncan et al., 2020).

In contrast, some people are more likely to confront heterogeneous opinions, aligning with the concept of corrective action. Duncan et al. (2020) confirm that corrective action refers to individuals with firm ideas unlikely to change their standpoint. They will vigorously continue expressing their opinion even if endorsed by the minority. In this sense, individuals could have ambivalent attitudes and willingness to express or suppress their ideas in public, influenced by various socio-psychological phenomena, including the fear of isolation, digital surveillance, and knowledge deficiency, which can result in a spiral of silence. However, if a person's perception is strongly inclined by corrective action, they will be less likely to be influenced by the spiral of silence.

3. **Research Methodology and Approach**

This research study employed an empirical approach, aiming to shed light on the attitudes and behaviours of Facebook users. The objective was to examine whether Facebook serves as a free and fearless public sphere for users to express their opinions on social and political issues. The study was designed to comprehend and observe respondents' perceptions and reactions through the descriptive analysis of the in-depth semi-structured interviews, aiming to explore respondents' answers in greater detail.

3.1. Research Approach

Data was collected through qualitative methods, specifically digital ethnography and in-depth semi-structured interviews. Digital ethnography involved the analysis of all content posted on the Politikoffee Facebook page and the Facebook group from January 1, 2023, to September 30, 2023, encompassing the content before and during the election in Cambodia. In the social phenomenon of digital communications, digital ethnography enabled the researcher to observe and collect details about how digital media users interact, communicate, and behave on the platform. This analysis included online users' comments, visuals, audio files and reactions (Masten & Plowman, 2003; Georgakopoulou & Spilioti, 2016). Furthermore, digital ethnography allowed the researcher to understand the most favoured topics and the extent of political opinion expression or suppression among youths on the Politikoffee Facebook.

The semi-structured interview was conducted with 8 Politikoffee participants who regularly use Facebook to share their perspectives on Cambodia's political issues and participate in the Politikoffee Facebook platform. The purpose of the semi-structured interview was to explore respondents' attitudes, behaviour, and reactions toward political opinion expression on Facebook. The questions centred on the key issues related to public opinion expression on Facebook, the level of concern regarding political discussion and the role of Facebook as a public sphere.

3.2. Research Instrument

In-depth semi-structured interview questions were divided into three main parts, comprising with 17 questions. The first part aimed to understand respondents' Facebook usage, while the second part focused on their attitudes and behaviour toward expressing political opinions on Facebook. Last, the final set of questions was designed to investigate whether Facebook serves as a free and fear-free public sphere in relation to the spiral of silence theory.

3.3. Sample

The study's respondents were recruited based on the following criteria:

The respondents are Cambodian citizens of Millennials and Gen Z, aged 19 to 33 years old. These age groups were chosen as they are actively tech-savvy and collectively represent up to 65% of the Cambodian population (Din, 2020).

Respondents were recruited by snowball sampling. The researcher contacted and requested the Politikoffee coordinator via Facebook and Telegram Messenger to recommend participants for the semi-structured interviews.

4. Research Results

4.1. Phase 1: Description of Digital Ethnography through Facebook Analysis

The digital ethnography data were collected by analysing Politikoffee's Facebook Page, which posted 65 pieces of content, covering various topics such as Cambodian politics, human rights, social issues, international relations, international politics, media development and youth empowerment from January 1 to September 30, 2023. The content was posted in the form of event announcements, public opinion discussions and knowledge sharing. Figure 1 illustrates that within nine months of 2023, the Politikoffee Facebook page announced 19

weekly forum topics. However, the number of online engagements on each topic is low, with only 30 comments in total. Most of them consist of positive stickers, while a few are debating comments as shown below:

“What can citizens do to ensure the separation of the three independent powers—legislation, executive and judicial?” (Facebook post on April 27, 2023)

“Why do all Cambodian parties, signatories, nations and the United Nations require Cambodia to establish a constitution based on the principles of the Paris Peace Agreement of October 23, 1991?” (Facebook post on September 21, 2023)

Through digital ethnography data, analysing the online engagement of the comments and reactions reveals that the Politikoffee participants are seemingly fascinated by topics such as politics, economics, corruption, diplomacy, and elections (see Figure 1).

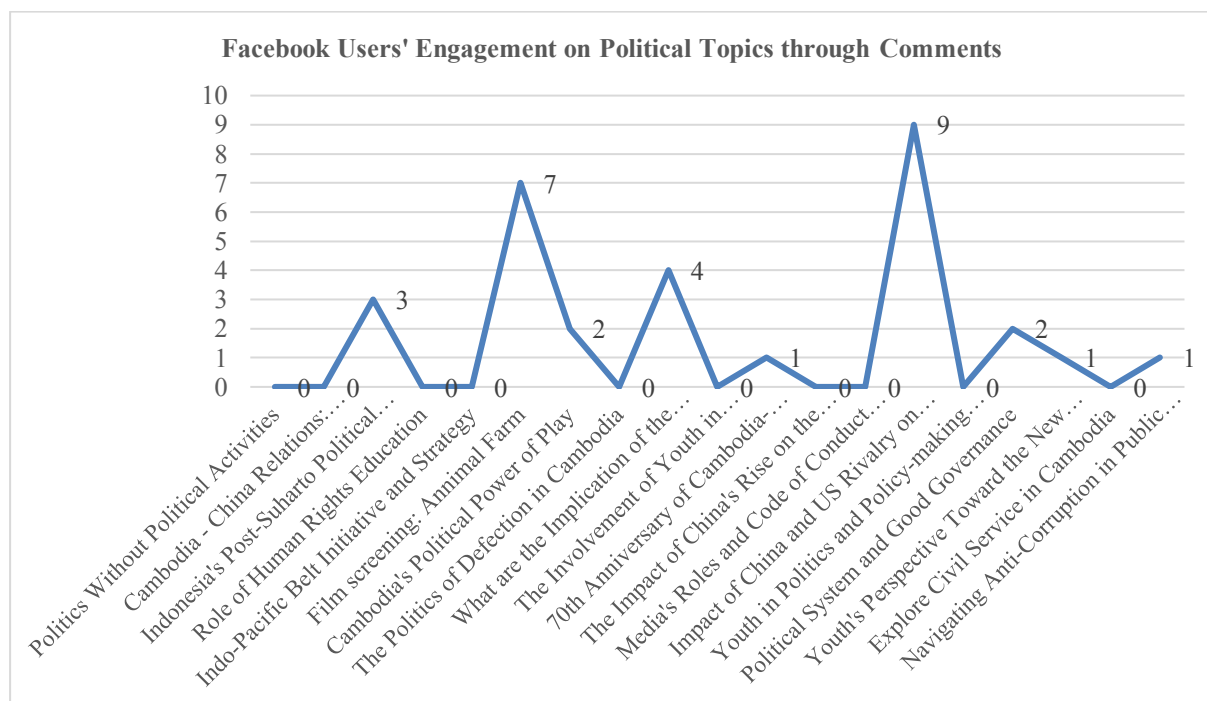


Figure 1: Digital Ethnography Data Collection on the Politikoffee Facebook Page from January 1 to September 30, 2023

| | Activity |
|---------------------|--|
| Weekly Public Forum | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Politics Without Political Activities ▪ Cambodia - China Relations: A Positive-Sum Game? ▪ Indonesia's Post-Suharto Political Reform and the Rise of Jokowi ▪ Indo-Pacific Belt Initiative and Strategy ▪ Film screening: Animal Farm ▪ Cambodia's Political Power of Play ▪ The Politics of Defection in Cambodia ▪ What is the Implication of the Success of the Thai Pro-democracy Opposition for Cambodia's July Election? ▪ The Involvement of Youth in Election Observation ▪ 70th Anniversary of Cambodia-United Kingdom: Understanding the Diplomatic Relations ▪ The Impact of China's Rise on the Liberal World Order ▪ Media's Roles and Code of Conduct in Elections ▪ Impact of China and US Rivalry on Cambodia's Economy ▪ Youth in Politics and Policymaking in Germany ▪ Political System and Good Governance |

| | |
|---------------|--|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Youth's Perspective Toward the New Cabinet of Cambodia ▪ Explore Civil Service in Cambodia ▪ Navigating Anti-Corruption in Public Sector |
| Opinion Piece | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cambodia's Hidden Killer: The Tragedy of Road Traffic Accidents ▪ Why is Women's Participation in Society Important? ▪ Cambodia's Foreign Policy in Regional Politics ▪ What is Media and Information Literacy? ▪ The Security of Digital Literacy |

4.2. Phase 2: Description of the Interview Findings

The sample for this study consists of eight Politikoffee participants, all of whom are Cambodian Facebook users aged between 19 and 33 years old. This group of respondents is actively tech-savvy, representing up to 65% of the Cambodian population (Din, 2020), and can potentially provide more insights and constructive ideas about politics-related issues for this research study. Nearly all of them have an educational background in politics-related subjects, including political science, international relations, law, public policy, and media. Two of the eight respondents are a political advocate and a freelance journalist, identified as public activists who are more willing to disclose their political opinions and confront heterogeneous perspectives. The other six respondents are interested in anonymous political discussion and enthusiastic about broadening their knowledge and understanding of politics. However, they expressed concern and hesitation about publicly expressing their political standpoints. Thus, this finding reveals that social-demographic variables such as employment and education have a dynamic correlation with political opinion disclosure.

Respondent's Demographic Characteristics (n=8)

Gender:

Male 5

Female 3

Age Range:

19-33

Age and Gender:

1st Respondent (22, Male)

2nd Respondent (19, Female)

3rd Respondent (25, Male)

4th Respondent (19, Female)

5th Respondent (20, Male)

6th Respondent (24, Male)

7th Respondent (30, Female)

8th Respondent (33, Male)

Major:

Bachelor of Business Administration

Bachelor of International Relations

Master of Law

Bachelor of International Relations

Bachelor of Political Science

Bachelor of Media and Communication

Master of Public Policy

Bachelor of Media and Communication

Job Occupation:

Political Advocate

Student

Legal Consultant

Student

Student

Freelance Journalist

Student

INGO Staff

Current Residency:

Cambodia and Australia

4.2.1. User's Attitude and Behaviour toward Facebook Usage

In the interview, both R1 and R5 stated that they primarily use Facebook to connect with friends and access a diverse range of political information from digital media outlets, including Radio Free Asia (RFA), Radio France International (RFI), and Voice of America (VOA). For example, R1 and R5 explained:

I use Facebook to connect with friends and share content, including political issues or discussions. That's how I use the platform to receive information as well. (R1, Political Advocate)

I use Facebook to stay updated on politics and diplomacy involving our leaders with other countries worldwide. Additionally, I am enthusiastic about following the political situation in Cambodia and EU countries, the war in Ukraine, the flood in Libya, and the revolution in Myanmar. (R5, Student)

Moreover, R2 mentioned that initially, she used Facebook primarily for communicating with friends. However, amidst the COVID-19 pandemic, she began exploring online courses. She used Facebook to connect with online lecturers and discover suitable applications for remote studying. The interview results indicate that respondents use Facebook for three main reasons: 1) to connect with the social community, such as friends and family; 2) to receive and share political and social information; and 3) to seek professional and academic opportunities.

4.2.2. Political Situation in Cambodia

The interview results indicate that Cambodia's current political situation is partly paralysed. During the interview, R6 explained that, in comparison to the law a few years ago, he believes that political opinion expression in Cambodia has improved. However, online discussions only scratch the surface because many people lack political knowledge, and citizens are still afraid to express their opinions on Facebook. Therefore, political opinions on Facebook have many loopholes. R1 viewed the ruling and opposition parties as not working collaboratively, and they could not even have a proper conversation with each other. R1 explained:

The political situation in Cambodia is hopeless because we don't have any potential opposition party to participate in the election. It leaves people no choice in the July 2023 election. As you know, 2 million people supported them in the commune election. By not allowing this party to register in the election, they will remove a party that has 2 million people who are willing to vote for it. (R1, Political Advocate)

Moreover, workplaces have significantly influenced people's political behaviour in Cambodia, often deterring individuals from expressing their political opinions. R8 revealed:

Some institutions discourage staff from expressing political opinions as it can impact the institutions' reputation. The institutions tend to be government-friendly and operate as a development agency, avoiding involvement in political issues. They are indifferent to who leads the country and solely focus on fulfilling their mission. (R8, INGO Staff)

Furthermore, respondents explained that Cambodia's political environment creates discomfort for individuals with diverse perspectives engaging in political discussions, and there is a reluctance to accept differing political views. Specifically, people express concern about the interpretation of the law, as they are unsure whether what they believe is right might be interpreted as wrong. R4 illustrated:

Expressing political opinions on Facebook requires a deep understanding of the context of the discussion. It is generally acceptable when highlighting positive aspects that align with popular sentiments. In contrast, expressing rebellious views could harm employment and the surrounding environment. For example, if colleagues are supporters, expressing negative opinions may lead to workplace conflicts. This is the dynamic influence of why some individuals feel hesitant to openly express their views. A prevailing belief among many Cambodian citizens is encapsulated in the proverb: 'Do not bring an egg to hit a stone', conveying the idea that those with less power might find it risky to challenge those in power. (R4, Student)

The respondents clarified that, for instance, in the context of freedom of expression, people comprehend the law, and their activity is a form of freedom of expression. Conversely, in the political discussion context, freedom of expression can be interpreted in many forms, so when we post, share, or hear comments, we need to double-check and have second thoughts. We need to think about the consequences of our online activities. R4 stated:

I believe that political expression in Cambodia remains constrained because some citizens resist expressing their opinions. They fear engaging in political discussions, as they worry that their expressions might be misinterpreted as protests or against a particular party. They intend not to go against the government but to provide constructive feedback on their loophole. Unfortunately, even when expressing such views, they are often perceived as against the government. This situation prevents

citizens from expressing their genuine political opinions in Cambodia. This behaviour does not align with the true essence of democracy in our country, differing from the democratic practices observed in America and EU countries. (R4, Student)

The absence of freedom of the press also results in the absence of opinion expression, especially when the media cannot fulfil its obligation to seek the truth and report it to the public. R2 mentions that, concerning land concession issues, I observed that the news was not adequately disseminated to the public through traditional media until a Facebook page brought attention to these matters.

4.2.3. The User's Attitudes and Behaviours Toward Political Self-disclosure in Cambodia

To explore the respondents' perspectives toward political opinion expression on Facebook in Cambodia, interviewees were asked a few questions: What is the limited instance of civil discourse that deters them from freely expressing their political point of view on the Politikoffee Facebook group? What do they think about political opinions expressed on social media in Cambodia? Why are they concerned or unconcerned about expressing a political point of view on the Politikoffee Facebook group in Cambodia?

In the interview, R8 depicted that according to institutional law, everyone has the right to express opinions on social media. Still, he practices self-censorship because he believes that freedom of expression in Cambodia remains limited. Criticising societal issues could lead to negative consequences, so he refrains from sharing political opinions. Besides, R1 added that political opinion expression is likely to be worried when users feel suspicious about spies' attempts to monitor online political participation. This suspicion triggers individuals to post political content reluctantly. Otherwise, they need to cautiously verify all the content before posting. These concerns destructively impact the genuine meaning of the message that individuals intend to disseminate. R1 elaborated:

We need to double-check our wording, and sometimes we need to change from one word to another. For example, in the last few weeks, we hosted a film screening event about 'Animal Farm' in the Cambodian language, which would be translated as 'Revolution'. Then, to avoid controversy, we just changed the word 'Revolution' to 'Change'. (R1, Political Advocate)

Consequently, some people decide not to express their opinions publicly. However, they are more likely to be comfortable expressing their opinion in a group such as a messenger or Facebook group. The respondents explained that, although it is still a public space, it has its boundaries and is secure. For example, in the Politikoffee group, there are approximately 2,500 members. Therefore, only 2,500 people could access that content when they expressed their opinions. Each member could not share it with the public, which helped create a comfortable environment for expressing political opinions.

I am willing to express my political opinions in the Politikoffee group because I believe in the confidentiality of the Politikoffee group, and the group has a ground rule not to share those messages outside the group. However, I choose not to express my opinions on public social media platforms because I am concerned about digital footprints, where messages can be easily spread. (R8, INGO Staff)

Comparing online political opinions to in-person discussions, it is much more comfortable to have face-to-face conversations because we can involve more people and exchange knowledge on politics and human rights. People often fear digital surveillance during online discussions, while in-person discussions or closed-door meetings provide a sense of security. (R6, Freelance Journalist)

Given the concern about digital surveillance from various unknown parties, each member seems worried about political opinion expression on Facebook. R1 described:

Some spies or people might want to monitor our discussion. So, getting people to engage in our content is not easy. Also, they are affected by the external environment. For example, they saw a case of their Facebook friends getting a lawsuit because of posting content complaining about any policy or high-ranking government officers, and they got arrested. Thus, some members might get afraid and think our group is unsafe for expressing their opinions. (R1, Political Advocate)

In addition, R4 indicated that opinion expression on social media in Cambodia is complicated due to the prevalence of nepotism. I have observed that whenever one party expresses an opinion, another party opposes and attacks their ideas. For example, R3 explained:

The factors that deter people from political disclosure include fear and the threat of repercussions. In the context of nepotism, individuals residing in the same community or village may face discrimination and encounter difficulties accessing public services if their political views differ from those managing these services. (R3, Legal Consultant)

Taken together, the interview results divulge that in Cambodia, political self-censorship is influenced by socio-psychological factors that deter them from freely expressing their political opinions, such as the restriction of freedom of expression, digital surveillance, cases of political arrest and prevalence of political nepotism.

4.2.4. The Key Findings of User's Political Self-disclosure in Relation to the Spiral of Silence Theory

To examine the political self-disclosure in relation to the spiral of silence theory, respondents were asked a few questions: Are they willing to express their political opinion when most members of the Politikoffee group do not endorse it? What motivates them to participate in the political discussion on Facebook? Are there any social barriers, such as family, friends, colleagues, or government, that can deter them from freely participating in civic discourse?

In the interview, R3 expressed that he refrains from expressing his political opinion if it is not endorsed by most people, as doing so may lead to feeling under pressure after the discussion. R2 added that discussing political issues on Facebook in Cambodia is noticeably limited and almost absent from broader debates. I have observed that each page lacks public engagement, with most participants being individuals studying in that field. For instance, R7 explained:

I am concerned about sharing my political opinions, especially when they lack widespread public support. Despite some people endorsing my views, I still lack confidence in expressing these sensitive opinions openly. Even if I decide to voice them, I find it challenging to express them genuinely from the bottom of my heart because I feel unsafe to fully express such opinions on social media. (R7, Student)

However, R5 believed different groups of people have different political perspectives, and just because the majority does not endorse an opinion. It does not mean that it is wrong. He is willing to express his opinions if they are accurate and do not involve libel or defamation. In addition, R1 said he dared to express his political opinion despite not being endorsed by the majority of the Politikoffee members if he firmly believed his reason was logical. R1 also highlighted that he feels unworried about expressing his opinion in the Facebook group among his friends because they always have political debates and welcome all constructive comments and ideas. In contrast, he feels concerned about publicly disclosing his political argument and needs to discuss it in a smaller group to double-check and confirm with others. If the majority agree with his claim, he will publicly express it. R5 explained:

I have some concerns, but as a youth, I recognise the importance of learning and understanding politics because it is the lifeblood of a country. The stability of political status is crucial for its development. Despite potential threats, I am not afraid because, in a democratic society, freedom of expression is a right granted to citizens by the constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia. This is why I believe freedom of expression is necessary. Furthermore, I never express opinions with the intent of defaming anyone.

My aim is to contribute ideas for social construction and highlight social loopholes. For instance, I have commented on the inactivity of traffic police and politicians to inspire social change. (R5, Student)

The respondents seem more confident publicly sharing their political opinions on Facebook if their identity cannot be revealed. R1 stated:

I will be more confident if my account doesn't represent me. For example, I have another anonymous Facebook account that I can freely engage in both positive and negative opinions online since I believe that the Facebook platform is a place where I can express my opinion freely if my Facebook account is anonymous. (R1, Political Advocate)

If it is an important issue, I believe it is appropriate to share and discuss it on Facebook. If others perceive it as opposing or biased, that's merely their intuitive judgment. However, providing concise evidence to support our thoughts is crucial for others to critically analyse government policies and assess the applicability of policies that can benefit citizens and society. Thus, I am unafraid to voice my political opinions, exercising my freedom of expression. (R6, Freelance Journalist)

Given the embracing of the concept of democracy, some interviewees reported they are confident in providing commentary on political issues through Facebook posts because, as voters, they have the right to express their political opinions. R6 and R2 explained:

I dare to express my political opinions without fear because every citizen is a voter. Hence, we have the right to choose the leaders we believe can lead the country toward development. If we, as voters, lack an understanding of politics, how can we select the right person to be a leader? (R6, Freelance Journalist)

As citizens, we must understand political issues if we aspire for Cambodia to be a democratic country. Without an understanding of politics, our nation's progress may be obstructed, especially since we are the voters and we must be responsible for making decisions that shape the direction of our country. (R2, Student)

Concerning political opinion expression, the Politikoffee team carefully drafted a weekly forum agenda, taking into consideration each member's safety. If a topic sounds sensitive, the team will weigh the potential negative consequences and may opt not to include that sensitive topic. R1 stated:

For example, in our last discussion, we addressed the border issues between Cambodia and Vietnam. During that session, one of our members expressed a differing opinion, stating that discussing this topic could lead to trouble for all of us. The conversation became highly controversial, and we could not host a forum on that topic. (R1, Political Advocate)

Taking a comprehensive look at the societal factors that deter people from expressing their political points of view, R7 explained that citizens may feel reluctant or afraid to disclose their political opinions because our country went through long-standing wars for several years and citizens were traumatised by the wars and mass killing that has deeply influenced their mindset, compelling many to remain silent out of fear. This inclination towards silence, ingrained during the Pol Pot regime, where secrecy was paramount for survival, continues to persist in the Cambodian people's mindset. Even though the younger generation did not directly experience the horrors of the Pol Pot regime, their mindset has been shaped by the narratives passed down from their parents, creating a lasting impact across generations. Furthermore, citizens today are often apprehensive, witnessing the arrest of individuals who express their political opinions without adequate support or solutions. R6 described:

During the recent election, I observed that prominent parties faced restrictions on expressing their political views and were arrested without apparent reasons. This has led citizens to feel apprehensive about voicing their opinions. Additionally, politicians and environmental activists encountered

limitations in expressing their views, with accusations that their actions were influenced by foreign incitement. Consequently, individuals believe their expression is under digital surveillance, particularly on Facebook, a public platform where everyone can readily view them, including those from opposition or ruling parties. This concern stems from the fear of potential threats in the future. (R6, Freelance Journalist)

R1 also elaborated that political knowledge is essential in contributing to active political discussion on Facebook. When he initially engaged in politics, he hesitated to discuss it with others. However, when he became more educated and matured in political discussions with people, holding both like-minded and heterogeneous political perspectives, he discovered approaches to encourage them to join political discussions. R1 explained:

Political knowledge is important. Political education and history are essential topics. When youths have this kind of knowledge, they will be open-minded and confident to discuss political content. (R1, Political Advocate)

Moreover, R6 noted that political knowledge deficiency also deters individuals from expressing political opinions. Many are ill-informed about politics due to limited social media coverage, especially in some rural areas of Cambodia. Consequently, youths and general citizens in rural areas face challenges in staying informed about politics due to poverty and a lack of internet coverage.

5. Discussion

The essential findings from this study can be elucidated as follows: Most respondents tend to utilise Facebook for three main purposes: 1) to connect with their social community, such as friends and family, 2) to receive and share political and social information, and 3) to seek professional and academic opportunities. This result is consistent with other researchers. For instance, Gil De Zúñiga et al. (2012) discovered that users utilise social media platforms such as Facebook to participate in civic and political discourse. Cambodians use Facebook for entertainment, daily information, and opinion expression (Chunly, 2019; Vorn & Ly, 2020). Simultaneously, respondents also use Facebook for social capital. Ellison et al. (2007) assert that social capital is crucial in social media usage as individuals use a platform to enhance their mutual and close relationships. Moreover, it helps them to stay connected with friends and communities, facilitating the formation of new connections.

5.1. User's Perception Toward Political Discourse on Facebook in Relation to the Spiral of Silence

This study interprets the interview data in conjunction with the spiral of silence theory and other critical concepts to explore socio-psychological factors that influence Facebook users to suppress and express their opinions on online political platforms. In examining the spiral of silence theory to comprehend whether Facebook is a free without-fear public sphere, the findings discover that users seem concerned about political self-disclosure. The respondents are more willing to express their political opinions in the smaller Facebook group or through an anonymous account. Exceptionally, only respondents whose occupations as political advocates and journalists actively engage with political or social issues, are more inclined to express their political opinions on Facebook. This result strikes the critical findings that the respondents' political self-disclosure is also slightly influenced by corrective action because some people are more likely to confront heterogeneous opinions. However, it is essential to note that these expressions are not necessarily endorsed by a broader audience or the majority. Duncan et al. (2020) confirm that corrective action refers to people with firm ideas that are unlikely to alter their standpoint. They will vigorously continue expressing their opinion despite being endorsed by merely the minority. This is especially true when respondents are confident in their political opinion expression and have concrete reasons that are unlikely to alter their views. If an individual's perception is strongly influenced by corrective action, he or she will be less likely to be swayed by the spiral of silence.

Generally, a significant number of respondents still feel reluctant to publicly reveal their political ideas on Facebook due to pressure from various socio-psychological factors. These include the limitation of freedom of

expression, concerns about the safety of their digital footprint, worries about digital surveillance, the fear of political arrests, and a deficiency in political knowledge. These factors collectively contribute to triggering self-censorship among the respondents. Moreover, political traumatising serves as a longstanding and prevailing socio-psychological factor that destructively influences and instils fear in Cambodian people's minds, inhibiting them from expressing their opinions due to the historical context of wars and mass killings, exemplified by the civil war under the Pol Pot regime.

Simultaneously, the limited internet coverage in rural areas poses a significant obstacle for youth and the Cambodian population in general. This limitation hinders their ability to access political and societal information adequately, resulting in political illiteracy and discouraging people from confidently engaging in political discussion. This research finding aligns with the perspectives of various researchers. For example, Hampton et al. (2014) argue that people's perceptions are influenced by 'fear of ostracism or ridicule' (p. 1), knowledge deficiency (Geiger & Swim, 2016) and concerns about digital surveillance (Liu et al., 2017). In this context, the attitudes and behaviours of respondents can lead to cognitive dissonance. Kopp et al. (2019) assert that the concept of cognitive dissonance, or called psychological discomfort, arises when people's behaviours are inconsistent with their beliefs and values. Individuals tend to avoid expressing their opposing thoughts with their friends to maintain harmony and their friendship on social media (Duncan et al., 2020). In this sense, the respondents' political self-disclosure may result in a spiral of silence. This aligns with Noelle-Neumann's (1974) assertion that individuals remain silent and conform to prevailing opinions despite disagreeing with them. This reluctance is driven by the fear of making a mistake, being alone and lacking confidence in their decision-making abilities.

6. Conclusion

The study divulges that Facebook has expanded the public space available for Cambodian youths to access more political information. However, a significant portion of individuals remain apprehensive and hesitant to express their political opinions on Facebook. This reluctance results from various factors, including constraints on freedom of expression, the fear of political arrests, the pervasiveness of political nepotism, concerns about digital surveillance, the insecurity of digital footprints, a lack of political knowledge, and the traumatising effects of civil wars.

The study indicates that socio-demographic variables, such as education, employment status, and age significantly shape users' attitudes and behaviours concerning political opinions disclosure on the digital platform. The results indicate that individuals with roles as political advocates and journalists actively involved in political or social issues are more inclined to express their political opinions on Facebook. Therefore, future researchers should focus on the examination of the influence of users' social-demographic variables on political opinion disclosure.

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Ethnicity, Inequality and Economic Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Influence of Ethnicity in Political Mobilization and Resource Distribution: The Case of 2013 Presidential Elections in Kenya

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Abstract

This article examines the influence of ethnicity in political mobilization and resource distribution the case of 2013 presidential elections in Kenya. Politics of identity have long created incentives for political mobilization and resource distribution in ways that have direct and indirect correlation to economic development. The 2013 presidential elections in Kenya provide a useful platform to examine how identity politics continues to shape resource access and distribution with its attendant dynamics. The study uses both primary and secondary data to display the hypothesis that identity politics unfairly influences resource distribution in Kenya. A combination of Primordialism, Constructivism and Instrumentalism theory provide the lens of analysis. It concludes that ethnicity if not securitized, could eventually lead to inequality and weaken the fabric of economic development.

Keywords: Identity Politics, Resource Distribution, Political Mobilization, Primordialism, Constructivism, Instrumentalism

1. Introduction

Kenya is one of the most ethnically fragmented societies in Africa. Ethnicity a sense of culturally constructed group identity assumes social and cultural processes that define identity and interaction between and among ethnic groups. Politics of identity have been employed by political leaders/elites as a key variable to create incentives for political mobilization and resource distribution in ways that have direct and indirect correlation to economic development. The 2013 presidential elections in Kenya provide a useful platform on which to examine how identity politics continues to shape resource access and distribution with its attendant. The 2013 presidential elections saw the presidential candidate, Uhuru Kenyatta and his running mate, William Ruto facing criminal charges at the Hague-based International Criminal Court (ICC). They had been accused of bearing responsibility for the election violence of 2007 in Kenya.

In Kenya, ethnicity is often used as a key driver to trigger and escalate perennial ethnic tensions, electoral conflicts, and violence. Ethnic-based politics dates to the divide and rule-based policies by the colonial administration which led to ethnic and racial dualism in the structural architecture of politics in Kenya. The elites have used ethnic identity approach to ensure survival and reproduction in the contemporary political economy in Kenya.

Since independence in 1963, ethnicity has been a tool of political mobilization of groups sharing language, culture, and ancestry. During the provincial administration and the wake of devolved governance under the 2010 constitution, Kenyan regions have been balkanized politically along ethnic and tribal units. This was highly evident during 24-year regime of President Arap Moi.

The dominant political groups used an ethnic structural construct to control the centralized political powers, and violence was used to intimidate and influence other minority groups to join the dominant political groupings, like the Kikuyu during Jomo Kenyatta's leadership and later on the Kalenjin community under Moi regime. Evidently the manifestation of ethnicity has had a negative connotation because it sets groups against each other as they jostle to control and gain access to state power and is deployed as a tool for political mobilization which leads to polarization along tribal lines in Kenyan society as witnessed in the 2007 post-election violence.

Kenya, like many other countries of the world and Africa in particular has been facing major challenges in managing its elections, violent conflicts during election cycles. The country has always been left with a deep scar whenever there is an occurrence of electoral violence which creates ethnic polarization and poses a great threat to the stability of the nation state and its democratic processes. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 under *Article 10 (2) a, b and c*: introduced devolved government and citizen participation as the most transformative aspect to promote Kenya's democratic processes (Government of Kenya, 2010). This aimed at seeking redress on the ingrained regional inequality, unemployment, and low growth by devolving political and financial responsibility to counties. It also intended to promote citizens right and responsibility to participate in local governance and decision-making processes in Kenya.

Hence, public participation in Kenya is part of a democratic process. The youth that represent a majority in the population of Kenya have been mobilized in previous elections to trigger and escalate electoral violence dating back to December 1991, when Parliament repealed Section 2(A) of the Kenya Constitution introducing the multiparty politics. The worst electoral violence occurred during 2007/2008 post-election violence that resulted in the deaths of 1200 people.

2. Objective of the study

The specific objective of the study is to;

1. To determine the extent to which politics of identity have long created incentives for political mobilization and resource distribution in ways that have correlation to economic development.
2. To provide a useful platform on which to critically examine how identity politics continues to shape resource access and distribution with its attendant dynamics with case study of the 2013 presidential elections in Kenya

3. Understanding the Context of Kenyan Electoral System and Ethnicity

The electoral process in Kenya is premised on a liberal democratic system of government where elections play a critical role in constituting and periodically renewing government. Oloo (2010) argued that elections in Kenya are the kernel of political accountability and a means of ensuring reciprocity between leaders and citizens. Although elections are not synonymous with democracy, they assist to achieve democratic principles mainly through the ballot. Hence, credibility of elections lies in the outcome of an electoral process which highly depends on how the process abides by the principle of 'procedural certainty and substantive uncertainty'. This indicates that the goal of elections should be to ensure a fair and transparent electoral process whose outcome reflects the will of Kenyan voters.

4. Theoretical Framework

This study adopts three more integrative explanatory models that build on the strengths of the different extant theories of ethnic conflict, the scholarly and policy that uses a multidimensional approach to explain the nature of ethnicity as a trigger and driver to ethnic politics. This study is based on three main fundamental theories including Primordialism, Constructivism and Instrumentalism that play a complimentary role to provide the lens of analysis of ethnic driven conflict during the 2013 presidential elections in Kenya.

Primordialists, postulates that ethnic group is a natural phenomenon that determine their personal identity and turn into a natural community. Ethnic conflicts fundamentally spring from differences in ethnic identities (Esteban, Laura, and Ray, 2012). Ethnic identity is assigned at birth, inherent in human nature, and passed on genealogically from generation to generation. Because ethnic differences under primordialism are ancestral, deep, and irreconcilable, ethnic conflicts arise inevitably from ‘ancient hatreds’ between ethnic groups and ‘mutual fear’ of domination, expulsion or even extinction (Geertz, 1963). Primordialists, emphasizes that ethnic differences in identities as fundamental source of inter-ethnic hatreds, fear, and conflicts.

Hence, primordialists argue that, ethnically heterogeneous states will unavoidably experience ethnic conflicts (Vanhanen, 1999). In reference to Kenyan political landscape, Okoth and Ogot (2008) who argued that the phenomenon of electoral and political conflicts in Africa has traditionally been explained in terms of inter-ethnic hatred have supported these sentiments. Ethnic identification is a result of inherent long standing and usually unchanging sets of alliance which is inevitable.

In principle, primordialism ideas are supported by constructivism theory which views ethnicity as the social and cultural aspects of the learning process based on differences in ethnic identities. These have undergone cognitive structural transformation, constructs hypotheses, and decisions advanced by generations and their groups such as political groups.

Instrumentalism implies the individual’s identity and allegiance within a group for political or economic reasons. As a form of identity therefore, ethnicity is more a tool to pursue individual’s economic, social and political interests. In Kenya, ethnic conflict emerges during elections when ethnic identities are politicized or manipulated to generate political and socio-economic advantages for individuals within an ethnic group at the cost of depriving or neglecting other entities. The Moi regime from 1978 to 2002 was organized around favouring the Rift Valley region generally and the Kalenjin community specifically.

Although this study is based on three main theories; Primordialism, Constructivism and Instrumentalism to offer explanation of ethnic and electoral conflicts in Kenya, neither can offer independent explanation on ethnic conflicts satisfactorily. This study outlines a model showing a possible interaction between core concepts of Primordialism, Constructivism and Instrumentalism.

According to the integrative model, informal and formal interpersonal interactions about grievances/frustration arising from the instrumentalization of ethnicity enhance ethnic cohesion whilst crystalizing primordial identities. Ethnic cohesion within dominated groups in turn induces a sense of insecurity and frustration among dominant political groups and motivating mass violence by the latter as the power-holding.

5. Kenyan Political Landscape

The use of Kenyan youth in political violence dates back to colonial era through ‘divide and rule’ policies where young people were mobilized by political actors to trigger and escalate inter-community conflict, the effects of which may still have importance for the prevalence of political violence. The colonial development policies such as the construction of a colonial state and land allocation led to sustained effects on inequality, land ownership, and regional differences.

Elections in Kenya, under universal adult suffrage, began with polls in May 1963 (under British rule) to decide who would lead Kenya into independence under a *de facto* one-party state, which led to banning opposition parties. This era led to the beginning of political rivalry and ethno-regional animosity as a result of historical grievances. Struggles for access to power seemingly ethnically oriented, between those perceived to be outside and those in the inner circle of government became the norm¹.

The government policies and practices during this era excluded youth from participating in development processes, thus denying a majority of the population the opportunity to play critical role in governance processes. This led to the country witnessing retrogressive political participation where politicians used ethnic identity to achieve political gains.

Oloo (2010) noted that after independence, ethnic politics was intensified by the formation of militia groups by the warlords to manage and control politics by exploiting vulnerabilities especially among the youth. This led to a shift in the role local communities in Kenya from being liberators to perpetrators of political violence and ethnic animosity. The elites have used ethnic based structures to mobilize, recruit and perpetuate structural violence to gain political support. This led to formation of ethnically based political parties with the aim of reclaiming political power and regain access to state resources which contributed to the formation of ethnic militia groups. This escalated with the introduction of Multi party political system leading to the formation of militia groups such as *Jeshi La Mzee* to harass political opponents using criminal gangs during electoral process in Kenya.

This trend spread over to the grass roots with ethnic orientations of groups in politics to trigger and escalate tension during election period. A number of reforms were introduced to curb such ethnic regional conflicts and tensions during electoral periods and promote the principles of good governance within a democratic space. It is included the introduction of multi-party governance intended to reduce political supremacy and divisive rivalry between ethnic groups for control of strategic resources in the country (Human Rights Watch, 1993). Other reforms targeted the use of elections as a democratic principle to ensure equity and equality in distribution of power and resources.

The introduction of multiparty politics in 1992 intensified political animosity and polarized the country along ethnic lines. This also witnessed scale up of ethnic tensions, elections malpractices, increased poverty levels, existing injustices and grievance on land and unemployment among others which made election violence persistent.

Kenya holds its general elections every five years as guided by a legal framework within the constitution 2010 that prescribes electoral laws and codes of conduct. This is intended to ensure free, fair and credible elections as enshrined in the in the Elections Act (No.24 of 2011), and, among other laws, codes of conduct and regulations set up by the Electoral Management Body (EMB)².

In addition, Kenya has signed and ratified international and regional treaties which provides standards on the conduct of democratic elections such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights³, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights⁴, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women⁵ and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights⁶. Furthermore, Kenya has agreed to, and endorsed, the African Union (AU) Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa and the UN Security Council on Peace and Security such and the African Union Agenda 2063.

¹ Documenting Marginalization and rise of Militia groups in Kenya: (Eds.) Militia, Rebels and Islamic Militants: Human Insecurity and State Crisis in Africa , Pretoria, Institute of Security Studies, pp. 147-181, 2010.

² The Elections Act provides for the conduct of elections to the Office of the President, the National Assembly, the Senate, county governor and county assembly; to provide for the conduct of referenda; to provide for election dispute resolution and for such connected purposes, including offences and sanctions to candidates and political parties.

³ Article 19–21.

⁴ Article 19–25.

⁵ Article, 7

⁶ Articles, 13, 23 and 31

The constitution of Kenya has clear provisions to guide Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) on the management of electoral process including preparations and conducting elections, declaration of election results and filing of election petitions challenging the conduct of election both at County and National level of government, and assumptions of office. Hence the international charters and election related laws in Kenya regulates the conduct and outcomes of elections with aims at ensuring the electoral management body (IEBC) delivers a free, fair, credible and peaceful elections.

The Constitution of Kenya 2010 under *Article 10 (2) a, b and c*: introduced devolved government and citizen participation as the most transformative aspect to promote Kenya's democratic processes (Government of Kenya, 2010). This aimed to seek redress on the ingrained regional inequality, unemployment, and low growth by devolving political and financial responsibility to counties. It also aimed to promote citizens right and responsibility to participate in local governance and decision-making processes in Kenya. Hence, public participation in Kenya is part of a democratic process.

Democratic institutions support the existing legal process to solve electoral dispute in Kenya by aggrieved party, aspirants or party. Democratic institutions including the Independent Electoral Boundaries Commission, Political Parties Dispute Tribunal and the court system where applicable should resolve the disputes arising from party nominations and other electoral process jointly. Hence, youth and citizens should not be mobilized to contest election results or party wrangles. These democratic institutions are briefly discussed below;

First, Kenya's Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) is an independent, non-partisan electoral management body in Kenya. The IEBC is the constitutional body charged with the mandate of managing Kenya's electoral process and has in place supplementary regulations on the registration of electors, election petitions and election procedures.

The March 4, 2013 general elections were conducted using a framework under the 2010 constitution and supervised by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). There were multiagency and multi-stakeholders' approach to curb the possibilities of a repeat of the deeply flawed 2007/8 post-election conflict which left more than 1000 people dead and more than 600 000 internally displaced. The Interim Independent Electoral Commission (IEBC) had done commendable work in managing the by-elections resulting from the 2007 elections and the 2010 national referendum and successfully introduced new election technology, which was adopted during 2013 general election to support voter registration as the cornerstone of an electoral democracy. Hence, the Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) technology allowed for credible electoral process supported broad participation of all eligible voters, ensured inclusivity and ensured transparent voter registration and verification process. There is consensus that the IEBC largely met its obligations in establishing an accurate, inclusive and credible voter register, with 14. 3 million voters registered to vote in the 2013 elections.

Second, the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP) is an office established under section 33 of the political parties Act of 2011 with functions⁷ to regulate political parties' activities.

Third, the Political Parties Liaison Committee (PPLC) established under section 38 of the political parties Act 2011 both at National and County levels of government. PPLC role is to provide a platform for dialogue between the Registrar of political parties, Commission and political parties. This committee can also perform other tasks prescribed by the registrar.

Fourth, is the Political Parties Disputes Tribunal (PPDT) is established under section 39 of the Political Parties Act of 2011. The PPDT is critical before elections to ensure that disputes arising internally as a result of party nominations are resolved. It has the same jurisdictional powers as other tribunals in Kenya Magistrates Courts (Lower Courts in Kenya) within the courts system. Once matters are held under the PPDT, contesting party to the dispute can file an appeal to the High Court. PPDT is a quasi-judicial body with the mandate of resolving disputes arising from political parties' activities. In addition to resolving disputes, the PPDT works closely with

⁷ Section 34 of the Political Parties Act

other stakeholders in the political process including IEBC, Registrar of Political Parties and Independent Liaison Committee to promote issue based politics and people – centered democracy in Kenya.

6. Ethnic Politics during 2013 Presidential Elections in Kenya

The enactment of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya laid the foundation for a complete overhaul of the Kenyan electoral framework. Based on Agenda IV of the 2008 National Accord proposals, The Office of Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP), National Police Service and Judiciary went through institutional reforms. Other reforms included among the reforms undertaken were the consolidation of all electoral management laws into one statute, and significant changes to the resolution of electoral disputes.

Also safeguarding the right to vote and to be elected in the Bill of Rights and other legal changes provided a framework for the March 2013 general elections, in which Kenyans cast votes for six elective positions including President, Governor, Senator, Member of National Assembly, Women Representative and Member of County Assembly (MCA).

The election actors acknowledged that the root causes of the 2007 electoral conflict were not fully resolved causing vulnerability for a possible violence outbreak due to high level of community animosity on the ground. Hence election actors championed the need to address agenda item 4 (four) of the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Process focused on addressing long-term issues and the root causes of political, ethnic, and gender-based violence during the 2013 elections.⁸ The people Daily (2013) reported the regrouping of ethnically inclined militia groups in Kenya. Struggles to control Counties rekindled ethnic and sub ethnic identities as a result of failure to honor the terms of 2007 pact which led to major fallouts and contributed to the rise in tension for a possible violence during the 2013 presidential race. The campaigns sparked intra-ethnic rivalry and revived old inter-ethnic tensions between “indigenous” groups and “settlers” in various parts of the country.

This implies that March 4, 2013 presidential elections experienced tensions, which created the fear of a repeat of 2007/8 post-election violence. There was massive exodus witnessed by migrations of people back to their rural areas and relocations among residents in the various informal settlements to relocate to safer neighborhoods within the slums or to the rural areas. They relocated to territories assumed to be safer due to mass support from the ethnically aligned dominant political coalition especially CORD and the Jubilee as the main contenders. Hence, safety was informed or influenced by the availability of friends, relatives or kinsmen in the villages or the informal settlements. Hence fears of eruption of violence due to the bitter historic political rivalry from and among the allies of Kikuyu and Luo as the scenario between PNU and ODM during 2007 general elections.

7. Cracks in Negotiated Democracy

The negotiated democracy in Kenyan political arena by the elites has been used to create a majoritarian system and a mechanism to consolidate numbers, power brokering and sharing. This has created conflicts and tensions among competing interest through individuals, political parties and communities involved. Kivuva⁹ acknowledged that 2013 elections was highly competitive and depicted high level of negotiations for power sharing among ethnically diverse and ethnically homogenous counties as well as the negotiations between elites (as the brokers of negotiated democracy) and the public.

The mobilization of party primaries in 2013 elections was highly based on sub-ethnic identities and evaluation of incumbent leaders' development record and inclusivity in access to County resources leading to power agreements among political parties. Many political parties such as Party of National Unity (PNU) and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and politicians dishonored political agreements of 2007 during 2013 elections

⁸ Wachira, G. Arendshorst, T. and Charles, S. M. (2008) Citizen in Action: Making Peace in the Post –Election Crisis in Kenya – 2008 (Nairobi: Nairobi Peace Initiative – Africa and Litscher, J. 'Kenya: The National Accord and Reconciliation Act 2008', In Unpacking the Mystery of Mediation in Africa peace processes, Mediation Support Project (MSP) CSS and Swiss peace, 2008.

⁹ Joshua Kivuva, in his Negotiated Democracy and its Place in Kenya's Devolved System of Government: An Examination of the 2013 General Elections maps the terrain of Kenyan politics in the wake of the devolved system of government

leading to cracks and tensions. The 2013 elections witnessed continued negotiations to form larger political coalitions and alliances at the national level, aimed mainly at winning the presidential vote.

Towards this end, existing political parties signed MoUs and other coalition documents. Uhuru Kenyatta's The National Alliance (TNA) and William Ruto's United Republican Party (URP) formed the Jubilee Alliance Party (JAP). Although not part of the formal MoU, Charity Ngilu's NARC also identified with the Jubilee Alliance. The second major alliance was formed by ODM, Ford-K and Wiper-Movement to form the Cord Coalition. These were the major coalitions that contested the 2013 presidential vote and dominated other contests for Governor, Senator, Women Representatives Members of Parliament (MPs) and MCA. The negotiations were spearheaded by either of the two broad national coalitions and took place in the multiethnic counties driven by the national objective of winning the presidential elections in 2013. This was known as "the two-horse race" between (ODM-Cord) presidential candidate and TNA candidate.

8. Conclusion and Recommendations

Ethnicity has been the salient force behind eruption of political tensions and violence. The 2013 presidential elections were highly contested and politically divided election based on the two main political rivals susceptible/ vulnerable to violent eruption (Conflict / violent situations witnessed in some parts of the country – opposition strong holds mainly). Although judiciary received 188 petitions and a presidential petition, National and international observers perceived the 2013 elections as peaceful and credible. They argued that the electoral process was free, fair and credible with contestation being on mode of transmission.

The Human Rights Watch (2014) contended that although the 2013 elections were relatively peaceful, and despite banning the criminal gangs in Kenya, ethnic politics still prevailed. The politicians continued to employ and use the criminal gangs to fuel ethnic political tensions and animosity. This paper contends that the various ethnic identities developed right from the establishment of the post-colonial state of Kenya with the dominant ethnic groups which hold key economic and political positions in Kenya breeds apprehension and tension amongst ethnic groups, promotes unequal distribution of resources along ethnic lines and employ excessive executive powers for political patronage. Hence there is need to promote national identity based national values, institutions, and practices in Kenya during electoral process,

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Analysis of China's Interests in Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) Policy in Pakistan

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Abstract

This research aims to analyze China's interests through the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) policy in Pakistan. Currently, Pakistan is China's strategic partner in implementing the BRI project. Infrastructure development for several sectors in Pakistan is being carried out massively through direct financial loans from China. Of course, this raises questions about China's interests in Pakistan and this study attempts to answer these questions. This research uses descriptive qualitative research methods, with literature study as a data collection technique. In analyzing the issues raised, this research uses the theories of offensive realism, hegemony, and national interests. The results of this research show that China's efforts in Pakistan are a form of Chinese maneuvering that plays an active role in achieving its interests, namely hegemony. Through the BRI project, China can connect with the largest oil-producing countries to meet high industrial needs. Second, the connectivity created by BRI allows China to increase its force projection capabilities in the South Asia region. Third is political interests, where China can create a positive image to ensure a substantial increase in diplomatic power in strengthening its international status. Meanwhile, the last one is ideological interests, where China uses slogans such as "Chinese Dream" for the stability and legitimacy of Xi Jinping and the Chinese Communist Party towards their domestic society.

Keywords: Belt and Road Initiative, Hegemony, Pakistan National Interest

1. Introduction

China is a country that is very aggressive in carrying out foreign policy through foreign aid. One of the goals is to fund various activities or investment projects. A white paper document released by China's Information Office of the State Council shows that since 1950 China has provided aid amounting to Renminbi (RMB) 256.3 billion to various countries, including grants amounting to RMB 106.2 billion. In 2013, under President Xi Jinping's administration, China launched a foreign policy through the One Belt, One Road (OBOR) project (Anam & Ristiyani, 2018). In this regard, the Aid Data report states that China is currently financing 13,427 projects in 165 countries worth \$843 billion. The term One Belt One Road or "one belt, one road" refers to the Silk Road Economic

Belt that stretches through Eurasia connecting China and Europe. Meanwhile, the Road refers to the Maritime Silk Road of the 21st century, which connects China to the Mediterranean Sea reaching East Africa and the Indian Ocean, and ultimately connecting China with more than 60 countries. In 2016, One Belt One Road (OBOR) was later refined into the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in official Chinese documents (Islam, 2019).

The rise of China is currently seen as an effort to compete with the major powers in the world, namely the United States and Russia. China's transformation into one of the largest countries in the world is also supported by its foreign policy. During the leadership of President Xi Jinping, China rose to become an increasingly unrivaled world economic power. One of the leading economic development policy strategies launched by President Xi Jinping is "One Belt One Road" (OBOR) which has been transformed into the Belt Road Initiative (BRI). This strategy was formed based on the inspiration of traditional trade routes known as the Silk Road in the past (Sucipto, 2018). The following is a map of the Belt Road Initiative proposed by China.



Figure 1: Map of China's Belt Road Initiative

Source: Xinhua Net, 2018

The One Belt One Road (OBOR) policy is one of China's giant projects that crosses 3 (three) continents, namely the Asian continent, the European continent, and the African continent. If this project is successfully implemented, the One Belt One Road (OBOR) project will be the most ambitious initiative ever initiated by a government in the contemporary era, because it will involve a total of 65 countries on three continents with a total population of around 4.4 billion people (Wijaya, 2020). The Belt Road Initiative aims to improve global networks between developed and developing countries. The Belt Road Initiative (BRI) focuses on strengthening networks that facilitate the flow of free trade to be efficient and productive as well as further integration in international markets, both physically and digitally (Putri & Ma'arif, 2019).

The goal that President Xi Jinping wants to achieve through the Belt Road Initiative (BRI) policy is to revive the glory days that China achieved through the Silk Road in the past. Not only that, through the Belt Road Initiative (BRI) President Xi Jinping also wants to bring China's rise to a strong country compared to other countries in the future by his dreams as stated in the Chinese Dream (Li, 2015). The Belt Road Initiative (BRI) program is currently aimed at the South Asia region, in this region China is trying to build its hegemony and is also trying to win the sympathy of South Asian countries from its rival country, namely the United States. The South Asia region is an important strategic partner in China's Belt Road Initiative (BRI) program, this region functions as the main link of the maritime silk route which aims to connect the Chinese coast with South Asia, the Middle East, and the European continent via the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean.

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is one of China's soft power strategies in the South Asia region. This strategy is used to compete with large countries such as the United States, which has already established its hegemony in the South Asian region. China under President Xi Jinping's progress in various fields shows a revival from previously sinking under the unipolar superpower United States (US). Today China is back to life with an average economic

rate of above 7%. Even Standard Chartered Bank research in 2010 predicted that by 2030 China's economic strength would shift US dominance to second place. China's Maritime Silk Road Initiative (MSRI) and the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) are two interconnected agendas in the "Belt and Road". This connectivity project is being intensively promoted by China because it involves massive infrastructure components which have generated controversy regarding China's potential to be transformed into the global geopolitical landscape (Blanchard & Flint, 2017).

One of China's priority zones regarding the BRI project is South Asia. This is because of South Asia's strategic location at the crossing point of China's proposed Silk Road Economic Belt. China's Belt and Road Initiative in South Asia includes four sub-projects namely, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor (BCIM), Trans-Himalayan Corridor and China's cooperation with Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives (Singh, 2019). In this region, Pakistan is the country that is the largest part of China's flagship project. This can be seen from the comparison of BRI project budget allocations in each country. For example, Bangladesh, under the BRI project, Chinese investment in Bangladesh reached more than 38 billion USD (Singh, 2019). Another comparison is Nepal where in 2020 the Prime Minister of Nepal signed an agreement worth 2.4 billion USD for the BRI project. Meanwhile, in Pakistan, China is willing to spend huge amounts of money to build mega-mega projects which have become known as the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The BRI sub-project is a series of giant infrastructure development projects in Pakistan which include road construction, energy production, storage facilities, ports, transportation, and various other elements. The plan for an economic corridor between Pakistan and China has been discussed since 2013 and at that time the signing of an agreement between the two parties had begun. In the same year, eight more agreements were signed worth 18 billion USD as part of this economic corridor. In the following year, further development was experienced through the commitment of Chinese banks and companies who pledged approximately 45.6 billion USD for the development of infrastructure and energy projects (Ahmad & Mi, 2017). The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor was officially launched in April 2015 when Chinese President Xi Jinping visited Pakistan. The two governments then drafted a "Long Term Plan", starting in 2017 and drastically expanding the projected timeline for implementation to 2030. Projected costs rose to 62 billion USD. Until now, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is considered a flagship project for its speed of progress. Currently, there are more than 20 projects that have been completed (Mardell, 2020). The project is by far one of the most ambitious and most expensive components of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and for China CPEC is the pilot and main project of the BRI. This project in Pakistan has even received a lot of international attention and scrutiny, especially from countries where other BRI projects are located (Habibie & Zhu, 2020).

The huge loan funds provided by China for various projects within the BRI-CPEC framework certainly raise questions about China's goals or interests in Pakistan. The main argument in this research is that China's interest in Pakistan through the Belt and Road Initiative policy is that China wants to expand its hegemony in the South Asian region by controlling strategic sectors in Pakistan which will later influence the Chinese economy. In this case, Pakistan, apart from having great economic potential, also has the potential to be used as an ally by China in balancing the power of the United States in the South Asia region. Therefore, China uses its economic and financial power to invest, provide economic assistance, and provide opportunities for its partner countries to borrow. In this case, looking for opportunities to gain more advantages over other countries, with the final result of gaining hegemony. For this reason, this research aims to analyze China's interests through the Belt and Road Initiative policy in Pakistan.

2. Literature Review

In this research, several previous studies were used as references to support and compare the research results obtained. This research focuses on the Chinese project, namely the Belt and Road Initiative in Pakistan, and the Chinese interests behind the project. The following are some of the references used: The first research is entitled "Factors Influencing China to Shape the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) Cooperation", by Simosir and Pahlawan (2017). The results of this research explain the reasons why China formed CPEC. The factor that influenced China to establish CPEC was to provide transportation access for China to reduce the distance between Chinese energy imports and international trade which must pass through the Strait of Malacca to reach the Arabian

Sea. As part of OBOR, CPEC will provide economic opportunities for the western region of China and the South Asian region, especially Pakistan.

The second research (Kurniawan, 2016), is entitled “One Belt One Road (OBOR): China’s Liberal Security Agenda?”. This research discusses the One Belt One Road (OBOR) Initiative offered by the Chinese government as a multilateral cooperation mechanism across regions, which includes East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, West Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe. The OBOR initiative is important to examine from various scientific perspectives because it is the most ambitious multilateral cooperation idea ever offered by a single country. From a geographical perspective, OBOR cooperation will be bigger than the European Union and only smaller than the United Nations. Using the perspective of liberal thought as an analytical framework, this article frames the OBOR initiative as the Chinese government’s agenda to maintain and improve security stability in the region. The main argument in this paper is that regional security stability is an important condition for China to maintain its rise in the international political arena. Through multilateral mechanisms, the Chinese government invites countries in the region to be actively involved in sharing roles (division of labor) in maintaining and improving regional stability with economic cooperation as a cornerstone sector.

The third research is entitled “Implementation of China’s One Belt One Road (OBOR) Policy Concept in the Infrastructure Development Cooperation Framework in Indonesia” by (Fahrizal et al., 2019). The research aims to determine the influence that China’s OBOR has on infrastructure development in Indonesia. The research results show that infrastructure cooperation between the two countries continues to increase, which has a significant impact on Indonesia’s infrastructure development, although it cannot be denied that many obstacles must be faced. The potential of OBOR can be used to achieve Indonesia’s national interests because OBOR is in line with the vision of the World Maritime Axis. This is related to three of the five pillars contained in the World Maritime Axis vision, namely maritime connectivity, maritime economy, and maritime culture. It is hoped that the development of maritime infrastructure will increase the connectivity of maritime routes throughout the archipelago, which will then have an impact on Indonesia’s maritime economic activities. This route will be used to further speed up the development process, as well as equalize development results. So, this can boost Indonesia’s economic growth. In this research, several previous studies were used as references to support and compare the research results obtained. This research focuses on the Chinese project, namely the Belt and Road Initiative in Pakistan, and the Chinese interests behind the project.

3. Framework

3.1 Offensive Realism

John J Mearsheimer (Mearsheimer, 2001) introduced the theory of offensive realism which explains that a country’s policies are expansionist to achieve hegemony. According to him, the basis for this action was the result of uncertain conditions in the anarchic international system, giving rise to concerns about threats from other countries.

In the view of offensive realism, all countries will compete to maximize their power through aggressive and expansive policies at every opportunity to gain benefits that exceed what has been sacrificed. In increasing its strength, a country can increase its weapons, unilateral diplomacy, implement a mercantilist economic system, and expand aggressively to other countries. The ultimate goal is that every country will compete to become a hegemon country, at least at the regional level and ultimately at the global level. Hegemony is carried out so that other countries cannot and do not dare to act aggressively (Toft, 2005).

Offensive realism states that states are motivated to ensure their security within the system. Therefore, security will be achieved through regional hegemony to become the most powerful country in the system, as Mearsheimer said only a misguided country will miss the opportunity to become a hegemon in the system (Dugis, 2016).

3.2 National Interest

To achieve national interests, a country establishes foreign policies to regulate the country so that it is more focused on conducting international relations. National interests indirectly also function as a country's access to see cross-border phenomena. State activities in international relations also need to be considered because every action taken must take into account the policies that have been established by that country. Because national interests influence a country to make decisions in establishing international relations. National interests are divided into several categories, namely based on their importance, nature, and scope (Pea, 2016).

National interests are the goals and ambitions of a country whether economic, political, military, or cultural. According to the mainstream in International Relations Studies, this concept is important as a basis for countries in conducting international relations. National interests are closely related to state power as a goal and instrument. When national interests aim to pursue power and power is used as an instrument to achieve national interests, the consequences in the international system are the emergence of a balance of power, conflict, and war (Bainus & Rachman, 2018).

3.3 The Concept of Hegemony

Hegemony is defined as a state that is so strong that it dominates all other states in the system on both a global and regional scale. To achieve hegemony, a country must have sufficient power. However, power of course requires the support of economic prosperity to fulfill other powers. Therefore, one type of power that a country must have to achieve hegemony is economic. Economic strength is mentioned by Mearsheimer as latent power which talks about socio-economic capabilities that help build military strength. The power referred to is very closely related to the economic welfare of a country. Therefore, superpowers or great powers expand their power to achieve hegemony (Toft, 2005).

Of course, the problem of hegemony launched by the state is in the context of realizing the national interests of that country. National interests are the goals and ambitions of a country, whether economic, political, or cultural. According to the mainstream in the study of International Relations, this concept is important as a basis for countries in conducting international relations. National interests cover several aspects. First, defense interests. In this case, a country's national interest is the protection of the nation-state and its citizens against threats of physical violence directed from other countries. Second, economic interests, in this case, increase the economic welfare of the nation-state in its relations with other countries. Third, political interests, in this case, the maintenance of an international political and economic system in which nation-states can feel safe. Fourth, ideological interests. This talks about the protection and continuation of the set of values that the people of a country have and believe in (Bainus & Rachman, 2018).

Therefore, the analysis of this paper is based on offensive realism, namely seeing that China's efforts through the BRI in Pakistan are to achieve hegemony in an uncertain international system. China's efforts are to pursue hegemony at the regional level with the subsequent aim of achieving global hegemony. The issue of hegemony launched by China is in the context of realizing its national interests. Furthermore, in this research, China's interests will be seen from the four aspects above, namely: defense interests, economic interests, political interests, and ideological interests.

4. Method

Researchers used qualitative research methods with a descriptive approach. The author's data collection technique is to use library research. Qualitative research places more emphasis on analyzing inductive thinking processes that are related to the dynamics of relationships between observed phenomena and always uses scientific logic. The qualitative method aims to develop the concept of sensitivity to the problems faced, explain the reality related to exploring theories from below (grounded theory), and develop an understanding of one or more of the phenomena faced (Gunawan, 2013).

Qualitative research is interpretive research, in which researchers are directly involved in ongoing and ongoing research with informants (Creswell, 2019, p. 264). The data collection technique in this research is through library research, library research involves a step-by-step process used in collecting information to write papers, make

presentations, or complete certain research projects (Bungin, 2020: 232). The library research process itself includes identifying and finding relevant information, analyzing what the researcher finds, and then developing and expressing the researcher's ideas (Bungin, 2020, p. 232).

5. Results

The Belt and Road Initiative was first initiated by President Xi Jinping in 2011, this program was a big ambition during his leadership era (Cai, 2017). This program aims to strengthen infrastructure, trade, and investment networks between China and other developing countries, especially the continents of Europe and Asia (Eurasia), and $\frac{3}{4}$ of energy sources with a target of 4.4 billion from 30% of global GDP, 63% of the total global population (Khairani et al., 2019). The term belt itself means a series of land roads, pipelines, railways, and other infrastructure through Central Asia, all the way to the European continent. Meanwhile, the term Road refers to a series of ports and maritime trade routes that enter through the China Sea and Indian Ocean to the Middle East, the east coast of Africa, and beyond to the European continent (Wijaya, 2020).

The Belt and Road Initiative policy created by the People's Republic of China is based on historical, empirical, and practical values. According to the history of the founding of China, this trade route has existed for centuries. Through this policy, President Xi Jinping wants to try the Silk Road again. President Xi Jinping emphasized that this program will be the focus of foreign policy in his era of leadership and become economic diplomacy for China (Wei, 2016), thereby showing that this policy is used as a soft power tool in China's foreign policy towards countries on the Asian continent in the next few years.

China's Belt and Road Initiative has two land trade routes called the New Silk Road Economic Belt and a sea trade route called the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. The concept of the New Silk Road Economic Belt was introduced by President Xi Jinping during his first state visit to Kazakhstan in 2013. This land trade route starts from the Xi'an region in China, mainland Central Asia, and Russia and reaches Germany (Jetin, 2017). The following is a map of One Belt One Road China/China's Belt Road Initiative which depicts land routes and maritime routes.



Figure 2: Map of the Maritime Silk Road-Silk Road Economic Belt

Source: Thomson Reuters, 2017

The concept of the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road was announced by President Xi Jinping when he visited Indonesia in October 2013. This route was built to strengthen China's diplomacy with the South and Southeast Asia regions which focuses on maritime trade (Wibawati et al., 2018). The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road will link China's southeastern coastal regions—Fuzhou and Quanzhou in Fujian Province, Guangzhou and Zhanjiang in Guangdong, Beihai in Guangxi, and Haikou in Hainan—to Europe via the South China Sea and Indian Ocean on one route, and the South Pacific on one route. another path. From Hanoi, Vietnam the sea route goes to the South China Sea and then the Strait of Malacca to Kuala Lumpur. It then joins Jakarta, Indonesia, before crossing

Colombo, Sri Lanka, and Kolkata, India. After that, it heads to Nairobi, Kenya, and continues north to the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea to reach Athens, Greece before finishing in Venice (Wibawati et al., 2018).

6. Discussion

China's various maneuvers in the international world in recent years have shown an expansionist gesture. In line with the offensive realism approach of (Mearsheimer, 2001), this aggressive and expansionist character depicts China's efforts to seize a strategic position in the region. Various policies that tend to be aggressive in Asia, such as the invasion of the South China Sea which does not respect the principles of international law, are China's strategic steps to achieve hegemony (Prawira, 2019).

Apart from expansion in the South China Sea, various investment policies through the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in many developing countries are an integral part of China's big goals. In this case, the implementation of BRI in Pakistan is one part of the big steps and systematic efforts made by China to become a hegemon in this region. Furthermore, achieving BRI goals in Pakistan is driven by various motives which can be broken down into four interests, namely economic interests, security interests, political interests, and ideological interests.

6.1 Economic Interests

China, in its efforts to achieve hegemony in the region, is trying to maximize its economic power by formulating strategic policies in Pakistan. This is because a good or strong economy will maximize other strengths such as military, political, and so on. In other words, to have power you need the support of economic prosperity to fulfill other powers. One of the economic factors influencing China's interests in Pakistan under the BRI project is energy. Pakistan is a country that is very rich in energy resources such as oil, natural gas, coal, hydro, and nuclear electricity and has large wind potential. Based on data from Worldometers (2016), Pakistan's crude oil reserves reach 353,500,000 barrels. Every year Pakistan produces about 9.1% of its total oil reserves. Pakistan also had gas reserves of 19 trillion cubic feet (TCF) in 2017. As for coal, 2019 data shows that Pakistan has coal reserves of 3,064 million tons with production of 0.1% in 2019. Some literature even states that Pakistan has coal reserves totaling 175 billion tons which will last more than 200 years (BP, 2021). Apart from that, Pakistan also has huge wind potential, and is a form of renewable energy used to produce electricity. The United States Agency for International Development and the National Renewable Energy Laboratory stated that the energy potential in Pakistan has the potential to create a very large market in the future.

Pakistan, which is rich in energy resources, will of course be a fairly good bargaining position for large industrial countries like China. According to CEIC data (2021), in 2020 China's exports of industrial products were reported at 281.9 million USD. To maintain economic stability, the sustainability of domestic industry must continue to run optimally. Therefore, to drive industry, sufficient energy availability is needed. Very rapid economic growth means that energy needs are also increasing in China. As the largest industrial manufacturing country in the world (Richter, 2021), China is the second highest energy consumer in the world. Currently, energy has become a very crucial issue in the country. About 72% of China's energy needs come from coal. Meanwhile, energy demand for petroleum is estimated to increase by 3.8% every year, and in 2020 China's energy demand will even reach 8.8 million bpd. Currently, China is also trying to switch from oil to gas. This means that the need for natural gas energy in 2020 is estimated to reach 9.5 trillion cubic feet (TCF), an increase of 11.7% from the previous year (Alexander, 2018).

The problem of energy imports from the Middle East and Africa is one of the factors behind China establishing corridor economic cooperation with Pakistan (Simosir & Pahlawan, 2017). The Belt and Road Initiative project will provide opportunities for China to explore energy resources in Pakistan. That is why 33 billion USD from China's budget for BRI projects is allocated to build mega-mega projects in the energy sector. Apart from that, the BRI policy in Pakistan is a form of China's strategy in dealing with threats to its oil energy supplies that pass through the Malacca Strait. The Gwadar-Kashgar oil pipeline which is within the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) cooperation framework is a form of China's anticipation. So, it could be said that one of China's interests behind the construction and development of strategic ports such as Gwadar under the BRI policy is to

secure its energy availability. Infrastructure development in Pakistan will provide flexibility for China in securing its energy supplies. Apart from that, the construction of road, rail, and port infrastructure will facilitate the distribution and exchange of goods between the two countries. Pakistan's BRI policy has the potential to increase Eurasian regional connectivity. The existence of the BRI project in Pakistan will strengthen China's position vis-à-vis other industrial countries in the Middle East. BRI in Pakistan will significantly increase China's capacity to expand its economic and strategic ties with energy-rich Middle Eastern countries. BRI in Pakistan will also enable China to connect Arab countries to the BRI network in Central Asia and Eurasia. Due to their competition with Iran, many of these countries are reluctant to use Iran's transit routes for such purposes (Habibie & Zhu, 2020).

One of the BRI mega projects in Pakistan is the construction of a highway from Kashgar to Gwadar. Currently, this highway is actively used for bilateral trade between the two countries. If plans to modernize further actually occur, then economic activity will be even more massive and China's economic interests will be easily achieved. In addition, one of the categories of China's BRI project implementation in Pakistan is the Gwadar Project. Most of the BRI projects were even diverted to the Gwadar region, especially the construction and development of Gwadar Port. It is important to note that Gwadar Port is located at the meeting point between regions with great potential in terms of energy resources such as the Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia. The port is also located at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, outside the Strait of Hormuz (VOA Indonesia, 2016). One of the important components of the BRI project in Pakistan, apart from facilitating industrial and infrastructure development and developing modern transportation and telecommunications networks that promote connectivity between China and Pakistan, Pakistan also allowed China to lease and develop the strategic Gwadar port for 40 years (The Maritime Executive, 2019).

This allows China to control this very strategic port. The BRI project at Gwadar Port will be China's gateway to international markets and will streamline energy imports for China. Pakistan will be a way for China to connect with countries in the region that have great energy potential. In other words, BRI in Pakistan will significantly increase China's capacity to expand its economic and strategic ties with energy-rich Middle Eastern countries. These conditions will of course provide great economic opportunities for China. For example, Gwadar Port will serve as a major transit and transshipment port for China's trade with the Middle East and Africa. The BRI project in Gwadar will also attract a lot of direct investment from Arab countries. For example, Qatar has planned to invest in food storage facilities to be established at the Gwadar port (Ilyas, 2019). In addition, the oil and petrochemical investment zone in Gwadar also attracts investment from oil-exporting countries that will produce refined petroleum products for the Pakistani and Chinese markets. The UAE has even planned to set up an oil refinery worth 5 to 6 billion USD in Gwadar. Saudi Arabia has also signed an agreement for the construction of an oil refinery worth 10 billion USD to be established at the deep sea port in Gwadar (Ahmed, 2019). The strategic location of Gwadar Port has made China very interested in investing in recent years under the BRI project. Apart from having a large economic impact on China, this port also opens up opportunities for China to increase its naval projection capabilities in South Asia through the Port of Gwadar (Rousseau, 2014). An example of the importance of the Gwadar area for China, because it is considered strategic, is China's commitment to convert a loan of 230 million USD for the development of Gwadar airport into a grant. Additionally, another 140 million USD for the development of a 19 km long toll road connecting Gwadar to Pakistan's coastal highway was also converted into an interest-free loan (Haider, 2015).

The implementation of China's BRI policy in Pakistan consumes a large budget for the construction of mega-mega projects. However, this is China's strategy for expansion which will ultimately make China gain more benefits and exceed what it sacrifices. The BRI policy is a manifestation of China's economic power which is then used to invest, provide economic assistance, and even deliberately lend money to developing countries like Pakistan at high interest rates to get more profits. For example, the total budget of BRI projects in Pakistan is 62 billion USD. However, according to securities companies in Pakistan, the country must pay debts of 90 billion USD. In other words, by 2030 Pakistan must pay debts for the CPEC project on average 3.7 billion USD every year (Putri, 2019). The implementation of the BRI project in Pakistan has had a lot of influence on Pakistan's economy. This makes the government continue to strive to encourage the development of various infrastructure projects. However, this has resulted in increasing the percentage of the Pakistani government's debt to China. According to Forbes (2018), in the fourth quarter of 2017 Pakistan's government debt reached 85,052 million

USD, an increase from the third quarter of 33,172 million USD. In this case, in 2017 Pakistan's government debt was equivalent to 67.20% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (Panos, 2018). The amount of Pakistan's debt is indeed increasing every year. In fact, according to the Central Bank of Pakistan, in 2015 the ratio of foreign debt to Gross Domestic Product reached around 63.3 percent of Pakistan's foreign debt. In 2018, this figure rose to 72.1 percent (Aryaguna & Windiani, 2021). When Pakistan was unable to fulfill its debt obligations according to the applicable or agreed deadline and tempo, that was when China obtained economic and even political concessions. In this case, the debt then becomes a trap for Pakistan. China will take over BRI mega-mega projects, and it is this country that will receive tax benefits from each BRI mega project.

6.2 Security Interests

BRI policy is of course inseparable from the security interests of China itself. For China, to maximize its interests in every BRI mega-mega project in Pakistan, the country needs to guarantee the security of certain areas or points that are considered very strategic and important for the smooth running of its giant project. One of the most important points is the Strait of Malacca. About 60% of world trade passes through the Strait of Malacca. For China itself, around 80% of energy source imports originating from various regions pass through the Malacca Strait before reaching China (Nugroho, 2021). The existence of the Malacca Strait as an international trade route makes this area very vulnerable to various interventions. China's biggest concern is intervention from outside parties who want to gain interest from this route. For example, the United States and India have the potential to blockade China's oil access through the Malacca Strait. The United States does have the potential to control this waterway. This can be seen from the active presence of the US in Asia Pacific waters. Even the United States aircraft carrier USS Nimitz has carried out joint exercises with Indian Navy ships in the Malacca Strait (CNN Indonesia, 2020). The US blockade of the Strait of Hormuz is certainly a lesson and a fear for China. If there is a blockade in the Malacca Strait, in less than six months the Chinese economy will stop (Rahmadani, 2019). Therefore, securing the Malacca Strait is a priority for China from economic and security aspects. In addition, collaborating with Pakistan will indirectly reduce China's dependence on the Malacca Strait.

Apart from that, in terms of security related to BRI, the projection of China's military power globally is related to the BRI project worth 900 billion USD which is currently being vigorously promoted by Xi Jinping. Pakistan's BRI policy will also provide an opportunity for China to increase its naval projection capabilities in South Asia to enhance its security. For example, the construction of a Chinese military base in Jiwani will supply the services, maintenance, and logistical support needed by China's warships. Jiwani is a region in Pakistan that has geographical proximity to Gwadar Port which is an important port for China's BRI Project (Irfan, 2018). So, in this case it is correct to say that the BRI policy in Pakistan is the reason for China to maximize its military capabilities and deployment. Pakistan and China's agreement to hand over the Gwadar Port area under Chinese management in the long term will also allow China to use this port as a means to secure its military supplies for the maintenance of its naval assets. If Gwadar is under Chinese management, then Gwadar port could be used to transport Chinese military equipment and personnel via Pakistan. In essence, Pakistan's BRI would allow China to substantially increase its military capabilities in the Indian Ocean, Arabian Sea, and Persian Gulf.

Apart from that, the tense relations between Pakistan and India have a big impact on power competition in the South Asia region, especially for the two current superpowers, namely China and the United States, which are currently in tense relations due to the trade war. China itself, like Pakistan, is also often involved in border conflicts and various other conflict motives with India. In this case, China will be an ally that will offer assistance to Pakistan amidst India's aggressiveness which is currently strengthening relations with the United States. For China, Pakistan is a very strong country.

6.3 Political Interests

Political interests cannot be separated from China's BRI project. This is because even in the preparation of this project carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, it was stated that this project was very important as a diplomatic and political tool (Simosir & Pahlawan, 2017). Therefore, in every implementation of BRI projects in various countries, China's political interests will continue to exist in it. China's political interests behind the

BRI policy in Pakistan can be seen in its efforts to strengthen its international status. This speaks about China's image in the eyes of the world behind this huge project.

In this regard, BRI seems to have been presented by China as a solution to various countries' problems, especially developing and less developed countries with minimal infrastructure such as Pakistan. Pakistan faces various problems such as poverty, low human development index, regional disparities in rural and urban areas, and lack of infrastructure to support accessibility, even over the last 40 years, infrastructure investment in Pakistan has been very low. Pakistan only has one large port, namely in Karachi, and does not have a capable rail system. Therefore, the BRI policy is present as a solution to these various problems which will then build a positive image of China.

In this regard, China's BRI project in Pakistan in recent years has received a lot of attention and good response from the international community, it could even be said that it has never escaped media coverage. If this project goes ahead it could have significant consequences for China's political interests. The BRI project in Pakistan will ensure a substantial increase in China's diplomatic and political power in international interactions. Investing in Pakistan will allow China to maximize its relations with Middle Eastern countries, especially members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates) and Iran (Habibie & Zhu, 2020).

6.4 Ideological Interests

China is a country that has national strength in the form of Natural Resources (SDA) and Human Resources (HR). However, the country's previous movements were isolationist, due to the leadership style of the rulers at that time and the communist ideology that China had as a country. This was seen during the leadership of one of China's leading figures, Mao Zedong. However, since Deng Xiaoping's leadership in 1978, a policy known as the "Open Door Policy" or economic reform was initiated, making China officially make the economy the basis of their foreign policy. This trend was continued by subsequent Chinese leaders, Hu Jintao officially emphasized in 2003 the concept of Peaceful Development, which refers to China's rise in contrast to the rise of previous great powers that used hard power as a weapon. Xi Jinping in 2013 expanded this concept by issuing the "Chinese Dream" policy (Oedi, 2019).

The use of the terms above by Chinese presidents is suspected to maintain the legitimacy of power and public trust (Nufus, 2014). Xi Jinping used the ideology of China's rise to suppress domestic politics regarding the issue of the democracy movement. Public trust in the president and the Chinese Communist Party is maintained by evoking ideologies rooted in Confucianism with slogans that are close to the public (Nufus, 2014). The BRI project is one embodiment of the "Chinese Dream" which confirms China as a country that is truly active in fulfilling the vision that President Xi Jinping has loudly voiced. This project is considered to threaten the dominance of the United States after the end of the Cold War (James, 2021). China is truly taking a "peaceful" approach to fulfill its interests in other countries. This can be seen from several Chinese projects in African or Asian countries which did not receive significant upheaval from these countries, including Pakistan.

During the Cold War, ideology became something crucial in campaigning for hegemony in a region. Today, ideology remains important but is not actively voiced compared to economic interests which are a more promising proposition. For this reason, China's ideological interests in the BRI project are more about the stability and legitimacy of Xi Jinping and the Chinese Communist Party towards their domestic society. The ideology related to the rise of China through slogans that have emotional closeness to society is considered capable of awakening the spirit of nationalism among the Chinese people in general. This is also a medium for the Chinese Communist Party to remind the people that China's rise from colonialism in the past cannot be separated from the role of the party itself.

7. Conclusion

The Belt and Road Initiative project in Pakistan is a form of Chinese maneuvering as one of the active efforts currently being made to achieve its interests. China has economic interests related to energy needs for the

sustainability of its industry, China will also be connected to the largest oil-producing countries. Other interests are related to security which will provide an opportunity for China to increase its naval projection capabilities in South Asia and make Pakistan an ally in countering Indian aggression. The third is political interests, where China wants to build a positive image to ensure a substantial increase in diplomatic power to strengthen its international status. While the latter is an ideological interest, in this case, China uses slogans such as “Chinese Dream” for the stability and legitimacy of Xi Jinping and the Chinese Communist Party towards Chinese domestic society.

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Neoliberal Economy and Inequalization¹: The Experience of Underprivileged Global Regions during 1985-2008

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Abstract

The perspective of plausible new paradigm of inflated unequal economic growth during the era of globalization produced a mounting paradoxical order of persistent inequality in a new form. The paradigm of massive historical process spurred by the Neo-liberal doctrine deteriorated the developing regions with sheer experience of the concentration of poverty and social insecurity. The most tragic aspect is that it eroded the hope of success of the poor regions by creating their dependency institutionalized with the institutionalization of ever-growing gap between countries and within countries. However, the usual consequence of the crises of neoliberal financial market capitalism led to a new political dimension of 'Post-neoliberalism'. Focusing briefly on these key-issues, the present article attempts to explore the consequential effect of the unleashed capital over the developing and underprivileged global regions. Finally, the article concludes with the need for the accomplishment of the solidarity of common development towards the space of social security and a real democratic global environment. Hence, the approach towards social solidarity would invariably be an alternative paradigm of today's global society.

Keywords: Alternative Paradigm, Inequality, Post-Neoliberalism, Social Insecurity, Social Solidarity, Unleashed Capital

1. Introduction

1.1. Globalization, Its Voyage and the Reality

As a massive historical process, the voyage of world capitalism is tremendous. It is capable enough to explore the new model in place of an old one to defend its uncompromising 'rights' and 'privileges' and to promote its expansion ruthlessly. In reality, in the process of its prospect, once it brought about the so-called commercial revolution and ensured its transition to the industrial revolution in the course of its development. This gave rise

¹ Ralf Dahrendorf used the terminology, 'Inequalization' to denote the new form of social exclusion caused from economic globalization which endangered civil society in the multi-dimensional ways (Dahrendorf, Ralf (1995). *Economic Opportunity, Civil Society and Political Liberty*. Discussion Paper 58, March, UNRISD.

to a hegemonic order based on the dominant ideology of liberalism. It is needless to say that it was the manifestation of 'mature' capitalism of Keynesianism which conveyed a device of historical compromise between the policies of laissez-faire and domestic control which gained momentum during the Bretton Woods world order in the post-war period. However, since the beginning of the 1980s, this principle of compromise has been eroded sharply with the deregulatory market-driven strategies as a response to the growing dissatisfactions over the capacity of the welfare state. However, spurred by Neo-liberal doctrine and based on the myth of greater interconnectedness of the people and interdependence of the global states, the new paradigm tends to project a conscious political tool in the name of 'new opportunity' with the enormity of transnational capital and ruthless expansion of corporations that are mostly 'non-transparent'. – This is a self-creating and self-regulating arrangement that is popularly known as globalization – a neoliberal consensus that established a 'new political play field' (Sader, 2009) with the demands for the 'retreat of the state'. It is more likely a scenario of the shift from 'mature' capitalism to transnationalism or global capitalism. Emir Sader tells us that this paradoxical order which caused the shift brought about a number of displacements.² Ralf Dahrendorf found a complexion of the 'new forms of inequality' and 'new kinds of social exclusion' associated with the growth of an 'underclass' of which people are 'truly disadvantaged' (Dahrendorf, 1995). The author expressed vigorously the arguments that in this fragile system, "the rich can get richer without them; government can even get re-elected without their votes; and GNP can rise and rise and rise" (ibid.). This whole complexion of uncompromising order that the present world is experiencing is, however, the consequence of new choices of unilateral power-relations, Dahrendorf called it "perverse choices" (ibid.).

But, a reality of understanding of different nature developed when the transnational individual states needed to reassert their power especially after the epoch-making international affair of 11 September, 2001 following the skeptical policy of protection. However, the climactic device of the retreat of the state has been eroded away when the dominant states have found adequate reasons to rationalize and legitimize the policy of protectionism in an order of 'new globalization' – really, an era of confusions.

These plausible arrangements are continuing the legacy of unreal growth followed by squeezing policy measures with the exacerbating multi-variant inequalities and widening gaps mostly in the developing and underdeveloped countries. Because, in the ever-changing global perspective, the globalizers have to measure 'success' not in the light of hope of the hapless millions but how the weak nations have swallowed medicines, as if "that would cure their ills" (Byres, 1997) or, how far these countries have succeeded in reducing themselves in size and their scope. In this perspective, either these countries are trying to catch up with equality measures or they have lost their ways in the labyrinth.

2. Literature Review

The Neoliberalism which embraces a game of unequal power relations in the global arena in the name of 'equality of opportunity' produced ultimately a mounting paradox. Bjorn Hettne viewed it as the self-creating and self-regulating arrangement which articulated the interests of the 'strong economic actors' (Hettne, 1997). Joseph A. Camilleri commented that the jargon of the new economy has resulted in the complexion of predominance of "mutually-reinforcing power of transnational capital..." (Camilleri, 2000). This situation has ultimately resulted in the massive commercialization of human relations and deepening concentration of global capital what Douglas Hellinger called, a fragile arrangement of "just to go into deregulated markets and make a quick profit and get out" (Douglas, 1995). Consequently, the new order intimately associated with the policy of free market about which Raff Carmen commented that it has not freed the markets rather 'enslaves countries' (Carmen, 1996). – Dilip S. Swamy called it a hidden global agenda of recolonization 'without occupation' (Swamy, 1997).

² The displacements about which Emir Sader spoke of, are: the state "by the market, workers and citizens by consumers, rights by competition, work and electoral documents by credit cards, public squares by shopping centers, human companionship by television, social policies by private corporate welfare, the national by the global, social integration by social exclusion, equality by discrimination, justice by inequality, solidarity by selfishness, humanism by consumerism, social parties and movements by NGOs and volunteer organizations" (Sader, Emir (2009). Postneoliberalism in Latin America. *Development Dialogue*, No. 51).

In this order of unequal trade liberalization, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank - the twin patronages and mostly controversial lending institutions became more and more intrusive when they introduced the package of stabilization with 'insistent cross conditionalities' during the 1980s. During its new inception, despite wide ranging debates as it was expressed in the 'Arusha Initiative',³ the IMF began to impose 'medicines' for the sick nations with monopolistic overtones of decision-making. Therefore, the developing world had to face new precarious IMF arrangements about the history of which Ismail-Sabri Abdalla called "the international monetary disorder" (Abdalla, 1980).

With this paradoxical order of crises, globalization contextualized itself more in the developing countries in the name of 'stabilization' which tended to give rise to "Structural Adjustment Programmes" (SAPs). In practice, as Hiemenz stated, "stabilization" is a device of the SAPs for the implementation of imposed programmes a new paradigm of unilateral massive process on a regular basis for the reduction of state interventions, "privatization of statal enterprises, liberalization of foreign trade and international capital transactions, devaluation of national currencies, deregulation of the domestic capital market and a slimming of public administration in the broadest sense" (Hiemenz, 1993).

Strikingly enough, in 1998, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) acknowledged the order of widening income gaps. While the situation of extreme inequality heightens the importance of the policy of equity, the IMF Fiscal Affairs Department tried to exalt the argument that the 'policy choices are not always so easy' (IMF Fiscal Affairs Department, 2004). Therefore, it prescribed the medicines: "the most effective tool for redistributing income is fiscal policy" (ibid.). Killick and Malick identified the complicated and varied degree of effects of SAP measures which caused the poor to be at high risk (Killick and Malick, 1991). Ngaire Woods meaningfully analyzed the role of the IMF, World Bank and other international organizations like, WTO, G-8, and the EU that these "will manage globalization but in the interests of their most powerful members. Institutions will only accommodate the needs and interests of weaker states where in so doing they do not diminish the dominant position of powerful states" (Woods, 2005).

3. Research Problem and Purpose

However, the question is unequivocally significant – what is the 'historical' order of globalization and how far has it exacerbated inequality – the threat of 'new' socio-economic insecurity and growing 'new' inequality faced by the teeming millions in the developing and underdeveloped countries during the so called epoch making era of globalization? Hence, the study of the nature of the socio-economic inequality in the developing world during the period under study (1985-2008), is likely to yield a prognostication closer to the reality of poverty and the socio-political and economic trend.

4. Research Method

As the objective of the study suggests that the research question thought to be addressed, the present study is the combination of descriptive and diagnostic research. The descriptive method is used for describing the trend of global poverty in general and the intensity of inequality, widening gap and the threat of insecurity in the underprivileged global regions in particular during the period selected for study. The study also intended to diagnose the impact of Neoliberal Economy over the regions. In fine, the research design that was followed was an eclectic design to describe and diagnose simultaneously so that the objective of the study could be properly addressed.

³ The 'Arusha Initiative' was taken up in the South North Conference on "The International Monetary System and the New International Order" held in Arusha, Tanzania from 30th June to 3rd July, 1980. In the 'Arusha Initiative' it was found inadequacies of the IMF that it "is not scientific not objective not neutral ..." and "a basically political institution ..." ("Arusha Initiative — A call for a United Nations Conference on International Money and Finance". *Development Dialogue*, 1980: 2).

5. Analytical Discussions and Results

5.1. Historical Disorder of Global Inequality - Population factor and Development Domain

During the late 1950s, the understanding of over-population as a threat and the calculation of doubling and further doubling of population in the countries led to the realization of a rational interlink between population and the protection of the population in the early 1970s. However, the literature on the discourses on population, like Paul Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb*, contributed to the understanding of the fear of global disaster. (Ehrlich, 1968). In 1972, the Club of Rome to its credit offered explicitly the idea of the world as a 'system' of which existence was endangered as a consequence. It is worth noting that despite some achievements on some indicators, like economic growth, literacy, child mortality etc. in the developing countries up to the mid-1970s which happened 'historically', low rates of per capita income continue due to the high rates of population growth (Trainer, 1997).

Table 1.1: Demographic Trend and the Growth of Population

| Region | Total population (millions) | | | Annual population growth rate (%) | | Total fertility rate (births per woman) | |
|---|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|---|------------|
| | 1975 | 2003 | 2015 ^a | 1975-2003 | 2003-15 ^a | 1970-75 | 2000-05 |
| Developing Countries | 2967.1 | 5022.4 | 5885.6 | 1.9 | 1.3 | 5.5 | 2.9 |
| Least Developed | 355.2 | 723.2 | 950.1 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 6.6 | 5.0 |
| Arab States | 144.6 | 303.9 | 386.0 | 2.7 | 2.0 | 6.7 | 3.7 |
| East Asia and the Pacific | 1310.4 | 1928.1 | 2108.9 | 1.4 | 0.7 | 5.0 | 1.9 |
| Latin America and the Caribbean | 318.4 | 540.7 | 628.3 | 1.9 | 1.3 | 5.1 | 2.5 |
| South Asia | 838.7 | 1503.4 | 1801.4 | 2.1 | 1.5 | 5.6 | 3.2 |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 313.1 | 674.2 | 877.4 | 2.7 | 2.2 | 6.8 | 5.5 |
| Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS ^b | 366.6 | 406.3 | 396.8 | 0.4 | -0.2 | 2.5 | 1.5 |
| OECD ^c | 925.7 | 1157.3 | 1233.6 | 0.8 | 0.5 | 2.6 | 1.8 |
| High Income | 781.8 | 948.3 | 1005.6 | 0.7 | 0.5 | 2.2 | 1.7 |
| Middle Income | 1849.6 | 2748.6 | 3182.5 | 1.4 | 0.8 | 4.5 | 2.1 |
| Low Income | 1440.9 | 2614.5 | 3128.5 | 2.1 | 1.6 | 6.0 | 3.9 |
| World | 4073.7 | 6313.8 | 7219.4 | 1.6 | 1.1 | 4.5 | 2.6 |

Notes: (a) Data refer to medium-Variant projection; (b) Commonwealth of Independent States; (c) Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Source: UNDP Human Development Report – 2005, Oxford University Press.

It appears from the Table 1.1 that the occurrence of the rapid growth of population is mainly concentrated in the middle and low income countries. The records in the Table 1.1 demonstrate that the rate of growth (in percentage) of population in the regions where incidence of poverty is high between 1975 and 2003 corresponded to the high fertility rate. There we find that Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS and the OECD countries show a low annual growth rate (0.4% and 0.8% respectively) between 1975 and 2003 and an estimate of population (-0.2% and 0.5% respectively - annual growth rate) between 2003 and 2015 with low fertility rate. By contrast, Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia where "extreme poverty is heavily concentrated" (Sen, 2006), show grievous records of annual growth rate (2.7% and 2.1% respectively) between 1975 and 2003 with high rate of fertility. One thing is clear that the developing and the least developed countries which constitute 91 percent of the world's population (2003), are still carrying out the evidences of rapid growth of population and "exhibit no perceptible approach to the demographic transition" (Eswaran, 2006). This situation 'blights the lives' of many people in large regions of the world which is also a strong evidence of the continuation of impoverishment and "underdeveloped living conditions" (Trainer: op.cit.). It attributes to the agreement that the

indicators failed to ensure a real effect, as Trainer told, “if satisfactory development were taking place the force of the most important factor generating the population problem would diminish” (ibid.). While these two factors are reinforcing to each other, the story of the ever-growing number of sparrows in the developing and underdeveloped global house continues and multiplies.

5. 2. Global Poverty – The Reality

UNDP has made the implication of poverty crystal clear and emphasized more on the ‘situation’ which holds up individual from the ‘basic needs’ that ultimately causes poverty of manifold nature. However, the totality of the multidimensional concepts⁴ of manifold poverties⁵ has been analyzed by Isidro Morales as ‘situational syndrome’ (Morales, 1994). Majid Rahnema conceived of ‘four dimensions of poverty’ of which the first and foremost is ‘the materialities’, lack of which is perceived as poverty which may be of ‘non-material’ and of ‘material’ in nature. The non-material factors indicate ‘one’s inability to meet one’s end and ‘material’ factors include “discrimination, inequality, political or other forms of oppression and domination, absence of entitlements...” etc. (Rahnema, 2000).

While the traditional concept of development conceived of the myth of sharing through ‘increased productivity’ and many modern analysts viewed about ‘trickle-down effect’, Robert Chambers spoke of the ‘deprivation trap’ of poverty in which the factors, like ‘powerlessness’, ‘vulnerability’, ‘physical weakness’, ‘poverty’ and ‘isolation’ construct webs and interact with each other (Chambers, 1983). The conceptual framework of poverty was further rigidly grounded by scholars like Dreze and Sen who raised the question of ‘deprivation’ in the forefront and viewed that poverty is ultimately a matter of “capacity deprivation” (Dreze and Sen, 1998), Caroline Thomas called it “society focused approach” which considers the problem in the light of distribution system (Thomas, 2005). More significantly, in 1997, UNDP focused attention on various forms of deprivation as it reported, “deprivation in basic capacities encompasses deprivation in years of life, health, housing, knowledge, participation, personal security and environment. When these different kinds of deprivation interact, they severely constrain human choices.” (UNDP, 1997).

These conceptual analyses indicate about the fact that the present world is passing through a more appalling contrasts – while a few are markedly prosperous and have their immense economic abundance, many have to survive on sub-standard incomes. However, the greater regions of Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia etc., commonly known as ‘poor regions’ are variously described as ‘backward’, ‘underdeveloped’, and ‘developing’ regions. As UNDP reported, the regions of South Asia, East Asia and, South-East Asia and the Pacific combined had 960 million of the 1.3 billion people who existed on the income of less than US \$1 a day. Some 840 million lived with hunger and the number was growing from the middle of 1990s. In Latin America, Poverty had been growing and the Sub-Saharan Africa had the highest incidence of both human poverty and income poverty (UNDP, 1998). As the UNDP (2005) stated that while in 2003 the High Income and High Income OECD countries recorded the mortality rate of under-five (per 1000 live births) only 6 in number, it is recorded 183 in Low Human Development Countries and 179 in Sub-Saharan African countries (UNDP, 2005). While the World Bank’s (2006) estimate of inequality between countries showed a trend of steady decline from 78 percent in 1988 to 74 percent in 1993, and 67 percent in 2000 (World Bank, 2006), and the orthodox group’s measurement of extreme poverty shows also a declining trend during 1990s, Caroline Thomas revealed the fact that the scenario is “uneven” (Thomas, 2005: op. cit.).

However, the above discussion refers to the situation when a large part of the world’s population did not have the money to satisfy their basic needs, dollar was growing evermore as a result of globalization. Consequently,

⁴ It comprises the concepts, like absolute standard of poverty, relative concept of poverty, secondary poverty, temporary poverty, chronic poverty, etc. — (For fuller conceptualization, Vide, Scott, Wolf (1981). *Concepts and Measurement of Poverty*. UNRISD).

⁵ The Hammarskjöld Foundation explained poverty of manifold, which are: Poverty of subsistence (due to insufficient income, food, shelter, etc.), Poverty of protection (due to bad health system, violence etc.); Poverty of affection (due to authoritarianism, oppression, exploitative relations with the natural environment, etc.); Poverty of understanding (due to poor quality of education); Poverty of participation (due to marginalization and discrimination of women, children and minorities); Poverty of identity (due to imposition of alien values upon local and regional cultures, forced migration, political exile, etc.). (For details, Vide, Development and Human Needs – Reflection on a New Perspective, *Development Dialogue*, 1989: 1).

the new global construction of market economy generated a gap that caused inequality which is ultimately both a cause and consequence of poverty.

Table 2.1: Number of People Living on US \$ 1 a Day and Its Change during 1990s

| Region | Number (millions) | | | (%) ^a of people Below Poverty Line | | |
|---|-------------------|-------------|----------------|---|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| | 1990 | 1999 | Change | 1990 | 1999 | Change |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 241 | 315 | (+) 74 | 47.4 | 49.0 | (+) 1.6 |
| East Asia and the Pacific | 486 | 279 | (-) 207 | 30.5 | 15.6 | (-) 14.9 |
| South Asia | 506 | 488 | (-) 18 | 45.0 | 36.6 | (-) 8.4 |
| Latin America and the Caribbean | 48 | 57 | (+) 9 | 11.0 | 11.1 | (+) 0.1 |
| Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS ^b | 31 | 97 | (+) 66 | 6.8 | 20.3 | (+) 13.5 |
| Middle East and North Africa | 5 | 6 | (+) 1 | 2.1 | 2.2 | (+) 0.1 |
| Total^c | 1286 | 1145 | (-) 141 | 27.2^d | 22.9^d | (-) 4.3^d |

Notes: (a) Percentage of total regional population; (b) Measured using \$ 2 a day poverty line, the international poverty line- also, a more appropriate extreme poverty line for central and Eastern Europe, and the CIS; (c) Data for all the regions are based on \$ 1 a day poverty line and (d) Data show average of the regions.

Source: UNDP (2003), *Human Development Report – 2003*, Oxford University Press.

The Table 2.1 demonstrates that during the period specified, the total number of People living on US \$ 1 a Day declined from 1286 million to 1145 million which means the reduction of 141 million (or, 4.3% reduction in average) people below the poverty line. But, it does not indicate overall progress, because much of the positive records, as UNDP cited, had been driven by China which recorded the lifting of 150 million people out of poverty during 1990s with 9 percent annual economic growth (UNDP, 2003). However, it appears from the Table 2.1 that East Asia and the Pacific carried a significant record of improvement in poverty reduction (or, 14.9% reduction, from 30.5% to 15.6% or, 486 million to 279 million). The other regions showed an overall bleak scenario. The DFID (2001) estimated the poverty trends during 1990-1998 of middle-income countries. It revealed that though income poverty during the period 'has fallen by over one-third' in aggregate, one of the reversed records also revealed that it had been more than double in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (DFID, 2001). Likewise, in our present analysis, it appears that in Central and Eastern Europe and in the Commonwealth of Independent States, the number of people below poverty line (measured with \$ 2 a day) increased disappointingly by 66 million which had more than tripled (or, as records demonstrate, 13.5% increment) the number in 1990. Further, it appears from the DFID study that on overall basis, the number of people living below US \$1 a day declined by 41 million (from 179 to 138 million, with 3% reduction - estimated) but, according to the poverty line estimated below US \$ 2 a day, the regions recorded an additional increase of 40 million people.⁶ Thus, the records are no cause for complacency.

Isidro Morales estimated that in Latin American Countries 'the intensity of poverty declined' during 1970-80 but increased from 1980-86 by 2 percent as compared to 1980 and it 'became more acute' – the records of which contrasted to the CEPAL (Commission for Latin America) figures (Morales, 1994: op.cit.). In our estimate, it appears that in Latin America and the Caribbean, the records (Table 2.1) had been disappointing during 1990-99, the decade of growing globalization. Even though the percentage of people compared to the total regional population below the poverty line stayed almost similar during the period, more 9 million people had been added to the figure of 1990. The Middle East and the North African Countries demonstrate an almost similar picture with the addition of 1 million poor people.

For the Sub-Saharan region, the end of colonial domination of the European powers, especially by Britain, France, Portugal, Holland and Belgium, had been symbolized with the 'wind change' in 1960. However, in

⁶ DFID used the data of Global Economic Prospects and the Developing Countries 2001 – Data are based on 1993 purchasing power parity.

reality, the process of decolonization and the transition to independence of these sick countries had been hindered either by the 'different attitudes' of predominance of these external powers or by the indigenous prolonged conflicts. The powers which wanted to preserve their empires followed the strategy of withdrawing military dictatorship from the regions, at last. But, the infant countries faced unprecedented domination of 'Mercenarism' in the era of globalization. In fact, this 'mercenarism' in Africa was "an instrument of foreign policy and a neocolonialist device of western government" (Francis, 1999). Whether legitimate or legal or not, the mercenary companies with their corporate nature got stronghold legitimacy as these are "privately approved by the western governments and international financial institutions (ibid.). The Strategic Resource Corporations (SRC), the parent multinational firm which comprises a large number of companies, followed the device of making Africa safe for investment for financial gains from diamond, oil and other rich mineral resources in the name of their fragile arrangements of stability, economic prosperity and security.

This had been genuinely a precarious situation in which the globalizers forged justice and deprived the teeming millions of being liberated constitutionally as the mercenaries were 'opposition to self-determination'. Joseph Stiglitz, the noble laureate and eminent economist rightly commented, "historically, Africa is the region most exploited by globalization: during the years of colonialism the world took its resources but gave back little in return..." (Stiglitz, 2006). This story of exploitation still continues without territorial occupation.

However, if not failed altogether, the Sub-Saharan African Countries showed a worrying instance with the record of dismal economic performance. All independent studies and institutions revealed the records of both income poverty and human poverty. As the UNDP (2003) noted that during 1990s, the per capita income fell in 54 countries of which "32 are top priority countries facing economic crises. Many are extremely poor, and most are in Sub-Saharan Africa" (UNDP, 2003: op. cit.). Emmerij, Jolly and Weiss estimated that despite 'costly' SAP policies followed by most countries to integrate the global economy, a bulk of population of Sub-Saharan African countries lacked the basic needs and, thereby, the number of people with below US \$1 a day rose from about 240 million to more than 290 million during 1990-98 (Emmerij, Jolly and Weiss, 2001). It appears from our present analysis that the number had risen from 241 million to 315 million between 1990 and 1999 or, an additional about 74 million poor people had been recorded over the years (estimated) (Table 2.1). In percentile terms, the countries recorded 1.6 percent increment of the people with US \$ 1 a day during 1990-99. Mentioning the estimates of Ravallion, Chen and Sangraula (2007), the World Bank illustrations with US \$ 1 a day poverty line demonstrated similar growing trend of the number of poor in South Asian and Sub-Saharan African countries during 1993-2002. It revealed the fact that the subsequent decline of the rate of poverty in the developing countries (from 28 percent in 1993 to 22 percent in 2002) was mainly the result of the declining trend of rural poverty (from 37 percent to 29 percent). Whereas, the urban rate of poverty remained almost constant (at 13 percent) during the period (1993-2002). However, strikingly, the illustrations also revealed the reality that only the East Asia and the Pacific have driven this positive change of large decline (from 1036 million in 1993 to 883 million in 2003). In South Asian and Sub-Saharan African countries, the number of poor people in rural areas continued its rising trend (World Bank, 2008).

However, of the 48 Sub-Saharan countries, 15 countries have been selected (by using purposive sampling method), most of which are 'Top' and 'High' priority countries, to see the trend of incidence of poverty by using both National Poverty Line of the individual countries and the International Poverty Line (People living below US \$ 1 and 1.25 a day). Available records of the selected countries of Sub-Saharan Africa during the period specified in the Table 2.2 differently for each country illustrate that the incidence of poverty increased almost in every country enormously. This trend of increasing poverty confirms that the enormity of poverty is probably because of the progress of the global 'winners'. As per data available, the Table 2.2 in our present study provides a clear message about the 21st century trend of poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa. Of the selected countries, nine countries, i.e. Burundi, Chad, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Niger, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Zambia had disappointingly recorded more than 60 percent people below poverty line (estimated with National Poverty Line) – strikingly, it is more than 70 percent in Madagascar and Sierra Leone (71.3% and 70.2%

Table 2.2: Number of People Living below Poverty Line and the Present State of their Living Below US \$ 1 and 1.25 a day in some Selected Sub-Saharan African Countries (in %)

| Countries | HDI ^a rank | HPI ^b rank | National Poverty Line (People Below Poverty Line) | | | People Below \$1 ^c and \$ 1.25 ^d a day | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--|---------------|----------------------------|--|---------------|----------------------------|
| | | | Year | Number (%) | Change (%) ^e | Year | Number (%) | Change (%) ^f |
| Botswana | 125 | 75 | 1987-2000 | N.A. | - | 1990-2001 | 23.5 | (+) 7.7 |
| | 125 | 81 | 2000-2006 | N.A. | | 2000-2007 | 31.2 | |
| Burundi | 171 | 80 | 1987-2000 | N.A. | - | 1990-2001 | 58.4 | (+) 22.9 |
| | 174 | 116 | 2000-2006 | 68.0 | | 2000-2007 | 81.3 | |
| Cameroon | 142 | 58 | 1987-2000 | N.A. | - | 1990-2001 | 33.4 | (-) 0.6 |
| | 153 | 95 | 2000-2006 | 40.2 | | 2000-2007 | 32.8 | |
| Central African Rep. | 168 | 85 | 1987-2000 | N.A. | - | 1990-2001 | 66.6 | (-) 4.2 |
| | 179 | 125 | 2000-2006 | N.A. | | 2000-2007 | 62.4 | |
| Chad | 165 | 88 | 1987-2000 | N.A. | - | 1990-2001 | N.A. | - |
| | 175 | 132 | 2000-2006 | 64.0 | | 2000-2007 | 61.9 | |
| Lesotho | 137 | 83 | 1987-2000 | N.A. | - | 1990-2001 | 43.1 | (+) 0.3 |
| | 156 | 106 | 2000-2006 | 68.0 | | 2000-2007 | 43.4 | |
| Madagascar | 149 | 57 | 1987-2000 | 71.3 | 00 | 1990-2001 | 49.1 | (+) 18.7 |
| | 145 | 113 | 2000-2006 | 71.3 | | 2000-2007 | 67.8 | |
| Malawi | 162 | 82 | 1987-2000 | 65.3 | 00 | 1990-2001 | 41.7 | (+) 32.2 |
| | 160 | 90 | 2000-2006 | 65.3 | | 2000-2007 | 73.9 | |
| Mozambique | 170 | 87 | 1987-2000 | N.A. | - | 1990-2001 | 37.9 | (+) 36.8 |
| | 172 | 127 | 2000-2006 | 54.1 | | 2000-2007 | 74.7 | |
| Namibia | 124 | 62 | 1987-2000 | N.A. | - | 1990-2001 | 34.9 | (+) 15.0 |
| | 128 | 70 | 2000-2006 | N.A. | | 2000-2007 | 49.9 | |
| Niger | 174 | 94 | 1987-2000 | N.A. | - | 1990-2001 | 61.4 | (+) 4.5 |
| | 182 | 134 | 2000-2006 | 63.0 | | 2000-2007 | 65.9 | |
| Rwanda | 158 | 77 | 1987-2000 | N.A. | - | 1990-2001 | 35.7 | (+) 40.9 |
| | 167 | 100 | 2000-2006 | 60.3 | | 2000-2007 | 76.6 | |
| Sierra Leone | 175 | N.A. | 1987-2000 | N.A. | - | 1990-2001 | 57.0 | (-) 3.6 |
| | 180 | 128 | 2000-2006 | 70.2 | | 2000-2007 | 53.4 | |
| Tanzania (United Rep. of) | 160 | 59 | 1987-2000 | 41.6 | (-) 5.9 | 1990-2001 | 19.9 | (+) 68.6 |
| | 151 | 93 | 2000-2006 | 35.7 | | 2000-2007 | 88.5 | |
| Zambia | 163 | 89 | 1987-2000 | 72.9 | (-) 4.9 | 1990-2001 | 63.7 | (+) 0.6 |
| | 164 | 110 | 2000-2006 | 68.0 | | 2000-2007 | 64.3 | |

Notes: (a) Human Development Index – a composite Development Index measured by UNDP; (b) Human Development Index – a composite Poverty Index measured by UNDP; (c) International Poverty Line: people below US \$ 1 a day is less than US \$ 1.08 a day at 1993 International Prices. (Data in Column 8, related to the period during 1990-2001 in Column 7, refer to the population below US \$ 1 a day); (d) The International Income Poverty Line is people below US \$ 1.25 a day, at 2005 International Prices adjusted for PPP (Purchasing Power Parity). (The data in Column 8 related to the period during 2007-2007 in Column 7, refer to the population below US \$ 1.25 a day); (e) Calculated on the basis of data in Column 5 of different periods; (f) Calculated on the basis of data in Column 8 of different periods. Here, the International Poverty Lines of US \$ 1 a day and US \$ 1.25 a day, produced by the World Bank for poverty measures, are considered for comparative analyses and (g) NA - (Data) Not Available.

Sources: UNDP (2003), Human Development Report – 2003, Oxford University Press, and UNDP (2009), Human Development Report – 2009, Palgrave Macmillan.

respectively). While globalization has exposed 'more risks' (Stiglitz, 2006: op.cit.) to these countries and generated more markets at the same time, our present estimate (Table 2.2) shows the records of persistent extreme poverty or its ever-growing trend in the region (estimated with International Poverty Line – people below US \$ 1 a day and 1.25 a day) when compared to the poverty trend of 1990-99 (Table 2.1). Among the total countries selected for analyses, 11 countries saw average incomes fall - Cameroon saw almost stagnation

and only 2 countries, Central African Republic and Sierra Leone experienced a reduction of poverty between 1990-2001 and 2000-2007. But, in Burundi, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda and Tanzania, available records illustrate a trend of rapid increment of extreme poverty during the period specified between 1990-2001 and 2000-2007 with additional 22.9 percent, 18.7 percent, 32.2 percent, 36.8 percent, 15.0 percent, 40.9 percent, and 68.6 percent respectively. However, the situation of the countries, especially Burundi, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda and Tanzania as the records demonstrate, had more been worsened with doubling or even with tripling the rate of increment which was further multiplied with the growing trend of population in the countries (UNDP, 2009). Consequently, the share of world poverty of Sub-Saharan Africa had risen rapidly and the overall situation had further been deteriorated with the sheer experience of the concentration of poverty and social insecurity in these countries.

It is argued that the new global development paradigm has created a paradoxical space – “as the links grow closer and faster ... the gaps grow wider” (Emmerij, Jolly and Weiss: op. cit.). The gaps were between the haves and have-nots, internationally, nationally and regionally. The irony is that while a rich individual country or the Group of 8 (G8) put the issue of globalization of economies on the global agenda, Burkina Faso faced fragile economies. As a result, it felt insecurity and a need for a new policy perspective of ‘Millennium Development Compact’ – really, a ‘real’ division but the division “between the winners and losers” (Desai, 1997).

The most tragic aspect is that the global economy has eroded the hope of success of the poor regions in general and Sub-Saharan Africa in particular by creating their dependency institutionalized with the institutionalization of poverty and ever-growing gap for which Thierry Lemaesquier and Alejandro Grinspun held the view that the task of poverty elimination becomes “increasingly difficult” (Lemaesquier and Grinspun, 1999). However, the traditional aristocratic tone associated with dominant influence has been a cause for creating the regions of marginalization and greater insecurity with manifold nature from within and from outside. We may call this a situation of a hopeless future.

5. 3. Success in the Latin American and Caribbean Countries — Rhetoric and the Reality

While there is a consensus on hope and the dire need of success of the teeming millions, the varied evidences do not confirm a uniform global improvement and the improvement of the standard of living of the majority people in the developing countries. Guy Standing viewed that “the meaning of ‘success’ was being vociferously challenged by the 1980s” and, however, the subsequent decades – 1980s and 1990s “became as an era of insecurity” (Standing, 1997). Yet, groups in the individual developing countries are not diminished altogether because of different capacities of different groups to hold their share in national income, and the impetus of creating gaps within countries offered by the west. However, the global agenda of ‘success’ explain considerable progress in some developing countries but without internal solidarity and balance.

It seems that the market economy was a fallacious arrangement as it worked and generated a periphery of a global-game which was unashamedly creating all cleavages, especially in the underprivileged regions. The experiences tended to raise the pertinent questions: are the neoliberal steps mutually consistent with the hopes and desires of the commoners since these were spurred with the new spirit - ‘gain wealth, forgetting all but self’? Moreover, how can the ‘success’ of ‘exceptional growth’ in the developing world guarantee of a positive environment since an order of within country reality of inequality demonstrates an odd?

However, the tragic projection of ‘economic miracle’ in Asian countries and the success stories of Latin American ‘new globalizers’ may easily be supported by their external behaviour of industrial policies, foreign investment and economic growth. But, the order of within country reality of them demonstrates an odd as it is a stem which created ample scope of ‘eureka’ of the extortioners and native exporters and professionals by creating rapid share of income differentials. However, the growing inequality in the share of income and consumption tended to become as a stimulus to unreal growth associated with the smugness of the new globalizers.

Joseph Stiglitz noted the failure of Africa, Latin America and the countries of economies in transition and celebrated the ‘commendable’ success of Asia as “today, the developing countries around the world are looking to Asia, to the examples of success, to see what they can learn” (Stiglitz: op. cit.). In a comparative estimate between Latin America and East Asia Birdsall and Sabot found high inequality in the income distribution and unequal distribution of education which ‘constrained economic growth in the region’ of Latin America. The scholars suggested, “The challenge in Latin America is to find ways to reduce inequality, not by transfers, but by eliminating consumption subsidies for the rich and increasing the productivity of the poor” (Birdsall and Sabot, 2007). Also, the World Bank estimates (2006) found a declining trend of international inequality during the 1990s as a consequence of ‘inequality reducing effects of income growth in China and South Asia’ (World Bank, 2006: op. cit.).

Table 3.1: Share of Income and the Trend of widening gap in selected 10 Latin American and Caribbean Countries of High Human Development and Medium Human Development

| Countries | HDI ^a rank | Year | Share of Income in (%) | | Inequality measure ^b (Richest 10% to Poorest 10%) ^c | Change (%) ^d |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|------|------------------------|--------------|--|-------------------------|
| | | | Poorest 10% | Richest 10% | | |
| Uruguay | 50 | 1998 | 1.6 | 33.8 | 20.12 | (-) 0.65 |
| | | 2007 | 1.7 | 34.8 | 19.47 | |
| Mexico | 53 | 1998 | 1.2 | 41.6 | 33.67 | (-) 13.62 |
| | | 2007 | 1.8 | 37.9 | 20.05 | |
| Costa Rica | 54 | 1997 | 1.7 | 34.6 | 19.35 | (+) 3.32 |
| | | 2007 | 1.5 | 35.5 | 22.67 | |
| Panama | 60 | 1997 | 1.2 | 38.4 | 31.0 | (+) 19.75 |
| | | 2007 | 0.8 | 41.4 | 50.75 | |
| Colombia | 77 | 1996 | 1.1 | 46.1 | 40.9 | (+) 15.48 |
| | | 2007 | 0.8 | 45.9 | 56.38 | |
| Peru | 78 | 1996 | 1.6 | 35.4 | 21.13 | (+) 3.14 |
| | | 2007 | 1.5 | 37.9 | 24.27 | |
| Ecuador | 80 | 1995 | 2.2 | 33.8 | 14.36 | (+) 20.72 |
| | | 2007 | 1.2 | 43.3 | 35.08 | |
| Jamaica | 100 | 2000 | 2.7 | 30.3 | 10.22 | (+) 5.73 |
| | | 2007 | 2.1 | 35.6 | 15.95 | |
| El Salvador | 106 | 1998 | 1.2 | 39.4 | 31.83 | (+) 4.17 |
| | | 2007 | 1.0 | 37.0 | 36.0 | |
| Bolivia | 113 | 1999 | 1.3 | 32.0 | 23.61 | (+) 63.59 |
| | | 2007 | 0.5 | 44.1 | 87.2 | |
| Average of selected 10 Countries | Previous State | – | 1.58 | 36.54 | 34.96 | (+) 3.09 |
| | Present State | | 1.29 | 39.34 | 38.05 | |

Notes: (a) Human Development Index – a composite development index measured by UNDP – HDI Rank is noted as per data of UNDP (2009) *Human Development Report – 2009*; (b) Calculated on the basis of data in columns 4 & 5; (c) It shows the ratio of income share of the richest group to that of the poorest and (d) Calculated on the basis of data in column 6.

Sources: UNDP (2003), *Human Development Report – 2003* and UNDP (2005), *Human Development Report – 2005*, Oxford University Press, and UNDP (2009), *Human Development Report – 2009*, Palgrave Macmillan.

But, Stewart and Berry arguably contextualized the effects of liberalization on developing countries and categorized these countries into four⁷ all of which in many ways face the worsening of income distributions. It

⁷ Stewart and Berry divided the developing countries into four types for analyses: (i) Manufacturing-goods export producers (MEP), like Thailand; (ii) Primary-goods export producers (PEP), like Ghana and Uganda; (iii) Mineral exporters (MINEX), like Zambia and Nigeria and (iv) Import-substitution industrializing countries (IS) – many Latin American countries are in this category (Stewart, Frances & Berry, Albert (2000). *Globalization Liberalization, and Inequality: Expectations and Experience*. In Hurrell, Andrew and Woods, Ngaire (eds.), *Inequality, Globalization, and World Politics*. Oxford University Press.

simultaneously created privileged classes of higher income groups in varied nature in different categories of countries and offered them considerable advantages (Stewart and Berry, 2000). While UNDP (2003) analyzed the larger disparities within China between coastal and inland regions and significant growth of metropolises, like Shanghai, Beijing and Tianjin (UNDP, 2003: op. cit.), Caroline Thomas viewed that the ‘new globalizers’, like China, India and Mexico ensured significant growth “but the benefits were not well distributed within those countries” (Thomas, 2005: op. cit.). Likewise, in case of India, the World Bank calculations pointed out the persistent concentration of poverty in the poorer states - Assam, Bihar, Orissa etc. when compared to the richer states, like Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka etc. which indicated that the overall reduction of poverty with uneven progress in many states did not rule out the possibility of impoverishment among regions (World Bank

Development Policy Review, 2004). The calculations of R. Radhakrishna and K. Hanumantha Rao, on the basis of data of the Planning Commission (2002) showed impoverishment of many Indian states and found widening gaps and urban-rural disparities (Radhakrishna, and Rao, 2006). Deaton and Dreze found strong evidences of “a pervasive inequality” and the intensification of regional disparities in the nineties (Deaton and Dreze, 2003). Even though Dreze and Sen intended to go beyond the arguments ‘both for and against’ the reforms, pointed out the government’s ‘insufficient’ and ‘ineffective’ effort in the basic areas i.e. education, health care, social security, land reforms etc. And, therefore, the authors emphasized the need for expanding ‘social opportunities’ and acknowledged the persistent widespread deprivation and ‘social inequality’ in India (Dreze and Sen, 2002).

For the selected 10 developing countries (Table 3.1) on the whole, the records show the trend of income inequality and the persistent widening gaps between the richest and poorest people. Colombia, Peru, Ecuador and El Salvador – 4 countries of the same region experienced a severe worsening of the income distribution. The records demonstrate that the bottom 10 percent population in each country had a share in national income and the estimated inequality measure is recorded a growing trend. On the whole, the records of share in income of the poorest in Colombia and the estimated inequality are comparable to Bolivia. In fact, the estimated inequality measure is recorded very high in Bolivia during the period. Our estimate indicates that the share of the richest 10 percent (36.54% previous state on overall basis and 39.34% in 2007) shows a growing trend on overall basis. Further, Jamaica is a Sub-Saharan country with uneven economic development where the share of income of the richest 10% had been growing rapidly (30.3% in 2000 and 35.6% in 2007) during the period under study.

Stewart and Berry stated about the extensive ‘deterioration in income distribution’ during the wave of liberalization in Mexico. The authors found uncertainty of primary income distribution and the evidences as the possible source of increasing inequality in this country including Colombia, Ecuador, Uruguay etc. (Stewart and Berry, 2000: op. cit.). UNDP (2005) Report measured by Gini coefficient (using GDP per capita, PPP US \$) UNDP’s calculations about Mexico to explain income inequality between rich and poor people revealed the lower share of national income of the poorest with higher Gini coefficient value - 54.6. However, UNDP (2005) identified Mexico as a country of high income inequality (UNDP, 2005: op. cit.). Even though in our estimate Mexico and Uruguay demonstrate slightly a positive trend in terms of inequality measure during the period under study, Costa Rica and Panama, the two Latin American countries show the slowing down of share on income of the poorest 10% people (1.7% in 1997 and 1.5% in 2007 in case of Costa Rica and 1.2% in 1997 and 0.8% in case of Panama). For Panama, the record shows more worsening trend in income distribution with high inequality measure of richest 10% to poorest 10%.

However, the overall sub-national socio-economic data of the 10 developing countries in no way indicate the improvement of condition in terms of income inequality. Rather, it tended to create/continue a process of social exclusion which was defined “as the opposite of social integration, mirroring the perceived importance of being part of society, of being included” (Haan, 1999).

6. Observations, Possibilities and the Alternative

To our concern, while distributive system has an important consequential effect on the relationship between the share of income and poverty, the conflict between the unequal distribution of wealth and impoverishment is evident. Not very surprisingly, the new dimension of inequality, the consequence of the unjust victory of market

forces received considerable attention among the globalizers who are conscious not to dispel the reality and to raise enormous arguments in favour of market economy which are mostly non-transparent. However, in case of failure of 'development' in any globalized developing country with which indigenous choice of space does not relate, the plausible arguments are inflated that it is because of 'opportunities being unequal', and market failure, or "unequal distribution of political influence" (World Bank, 2006: op. cit.), or lack of 'civil society' or 'good governance' which 'exclude disadvantaged group'.

However, it is more imperative to point out the pervasive effect of the self-regulated global economy. Indeed, this has augmented the persistent inequality in a new form following an evident route which is not manageable and beyond control to the global disadvantaged groups. However, the unilateral disruptive measure denies distributive considerations but establishes the space of centralization – it "individualizes and centralizes at the same time" (Dahrendorf, 1995: op. cit.). Consequently, the space which appears can better be called 'new inequality' which is associated with 'new' social exclusion and insecurity. The far-reaching implication of this diverse world is that the global poorest will follow the path way of 'never-to-be-developed' but the richest will follow the track of re-development not 'de-development'. We do, however, agree with the meaningful assertion of Ralf Dahrendorf that "inequality can be a source of hope and progress in an environment which is sufficiently open to enable people to make good and improve their life chances by their own efforts. The new inequality, however, is of a different kind; it would be better described as Inequalization, the opposite of leveling, building paths to the top for some and digging holes for others, creating cleavages splitting" (ibid.).

While it is ironically awesome, a recent analytical perspective usually emerged as a consequence of the crises of neoliberal financial market capitalism which came in the limelight at the end of August 2008. Michael Brie pointed out the crises of neoliberal finance market capitalism which are: over accumulation crisis, reproduction crisis, integration crisis, democracy crisis and security crisis (Brie, 2009). This has led us to a new political dimension of 'Post-neoliberalism'. In this perspective, it may be addressed that whether 'Neoliberalism came to an end' (Altvater, 2009), or the 'delegitimation of neoliberalism' is taken place – are the issues of debate. But, it is important that in the 'Post-neoliberal' scenario, the pioneer countries of globalization, is confronted by the question of continuity of political and economic dominance at the global level. This situation coupled with the unleashed capital about which Michael Brie viewed that this 'will give rise to a further decivilization' (Brie, 2009: op. cit.). Nevertheless, while this situation is not conducive to the Washington consensus and the order of 'Post-neoliberal' perspective demands for the 'restructuring of Capitalism', Elmer Altvater observed, "Post-neoliberalism in financial markets is nothing less than a bundle of methods to save capitalist finance from the overshooting irrationality of financial neoliberalism. It might be post neoliberal, but it is not in the same instance a post capitalist order" (Altvater, 2009: op. cit.). Perhaps, this is a new reality which is more than globalization and new globalizing system.

Obviously, the twenty-first century dubious complexities tend to have perceived that the present scenario of the developing world is in high risk and fear. It is the risk of the new fashioned capitalism and the fear of suspicious arguments justifying the 'triumph' of the uncompromising market forces neglecting the 'continuing sources of social tension from deprivations and inequalities' (Bellamy, 2003). This comprehensively calls for what Bob Deacon called "a more humane and socially just new world order" (Deacon, 2000), or what Michael Brie hoped for the transition to a 'four-in-one perspective' which would ascertain an emancipated way of life. The elements which would cause social solidarity are: citizens' involvement, reproductive labour, associated goods and personal self-realization (Brie, 2009: op. cit.). Brie further viewed that the contemporary social and political struggles against capitalist globalization 'have helped the nuclei of participatory democracy to emerge' However, Brie asserted, "the decisive condition for the emergence of a new economic order and way of life is the struggle for the democratization of democracy" (ibid.).

To conclude, in order to construct a solid base of a valid alternative global paradigm, it is convincingly imperative for the regulation of global fierce competition and uneven growth between countries and within countries for achieving the goal of real social justice. However, the contemporary international environment needs the openness of approaches and realistic attitudes for the accomplishment of the 'solidarity of common development' and the creation of the space of social security and a real democratic environment which is free

from all kinds of socio-economic threatening towards social solidarity. Otherwise, growth will be mounted but development will be in the horns of a dilemma.

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Reality Behind “One People, One Vote” : Redistricting Manipulation and Partisan Politics in the United States

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Abstract

Although political parties are not mentioned in the U.S. Constitution, the two-party electoral system is well-established in American elections and gerrymandering naturally occurs to benefit the party that controls both a state’s legislative chambers and the governor’s office. Tracing the evolution of partisan gerrymandering and examining the gerrymandering practices, this research finds that redistricting manipulation enabled by two-party electoral system, is a tale as old as time and it has continued for over two hundred years, rising or falling depending on the intensity of partisan politics. In 21st century, political polarization and gerrymandering have been feeding off each other. When the redistricting process is manipulated by entrenched partisan gerrymanders, it has become counterproductive to fair representation, competitive election, and translating public will into policies. As long as the foxes are allowed to guard the hen houses, partisan politicians will continue to abuse “one person, one vote” principle and pick voters.

Keywords: Gerrymandering, Two-Party Electoral System, Partisan Politics, Redistricting, Polarization

1. Introduction

In the United States legislative districts are redrawn every 10 years following the decennial census to reflect changes in population over the past 10 years and make sure each district represents the same number of people. Ideally, the House of Representatives—and by extension state legislatures—are supposed to be an “exact portrait, a miniature” of the people as a whole in the words of John Adams. But this mechanism to ensure democracy are increasingly proved to be counterproductive towards achieving fair representation, competitive election and “one people, one vote” democracy. Increasingly rampant political tribalism or polarization is manipulating this process to gain partisan interests. Popularly known as gerrymandering, abusing power for partisan purpose during redrawing the lines represents the current state of American two-party system, which American electoral system is frequently described as. (Maisel, 2007, p23)

In Federalist Paper No.10, written in 1787 to mobilize citizens of the newly found republic to ratify the federal Constitution, James Madison argued against political factions, “adverse to the rights of other citizens and to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community.” In 1796, when his second term in office drew to a close, George Washington cautioned against three dangers that would pose threat to American democracy :

regionalism, partisanship and foreign entanglement. He believed parties led to divisive, disruptive, and the tools of demagogues seeking power. (Hofstadter, 1969) He feared that partisanship would lead to a “spirit of revenge”, gripped by which the government would not govern for the good of people, but only to grab and maintain their control of power. (p105, 1935) Ironically, first American political parties came into being to build coalition to further the Framers’ conflicting views about how to govern during the ratification period. And it also exhibited the ugly partisanship they feared. The Jeffersonian Democratic Republican party and the Federalist party of Washington, Adams and Hamilton campaigned vigorously and gerrymandering entered the picture then (in 1788) when Patrick Henry attempted to draw district that would block his rival, James Madison, from winning a seat in the U.S. Senate. Ever since then, American parties have been playing important roles in its democracy, especially in the electoral system. But political parties are not mentioned at all in the Constitution. So, how parties, which served as instruments of political leaders to advance their political philosophy in the early eras, evolved into institutions that play a major role in the electoral process? Examining the relationship between partisan politics and gerrymandering will shed light on how partisan politics are sabotaging the true face of “one people, one vote” and eroding American democracy.

2. The Evolution of Redistricting Politics and Gerrymandering

Redistricting, which means redrawing district lines following the decennial census, determines who represent Americans in the House of Representative and state legislatures as well as who is going to be elected as president. Ideally, through the federal reapportionment and state redistricting process, political districts are readjusted in accordance with demographic changes. However, the redistricting process is frequently gerrymandered to benefit a particular political party or group. Tracing its history and digging into the manipulation process will help to understand this unique component of American politics.

In the United States, redistricting manipulation is a tale as old as time. Although the term gerrymandering was coined by *The Boston Gazette* to describe salamander-like Massachusetts map drawn by Governor Elbridge Gerry to “consolidate the Federalist Party in a few districts and thus gave disproportionate representation to Democratic-Republican Party,” (Britannica, 2023) the practice of drawing the map to favor one political party or individual can be traced back to the most powerful Virginia legislator, Patrick Henry in 1788 and his failed attempt to sabotage James Madison’s senator election.

From then on, it has continued for over two hundred years, rising or falling depending on the intensity of partisan politics. There was evidence that there emerged fewer obvious cases of gerrymandering during the “Era of Good Feelings” following the demise of the Federalist Party. But gerrymandering increased in the 1830s when Democratic and its rival Whig were established. After the Civil War, it increased dramatically because the newly freed Black men had the rights to vote and the Democratic Party in the southern states drew gerrymandered map to maximize their advantage over the Republican Party supported by Black voters at that time. For example, in 1882, South Carolina created a “boa” district that packed Black voters—who made up the majority of the state’s population—into one district, so that every other district had a white majority.

Far more disturbing scenario displayed when the three streams of migration to the urban areas from 1870s to 1940s made the US a predominantly urbanized society, and the state legislature failed to adjust to changing population distribution. Even when the Congress fixed its members to 435 in 1913, state legislature dominated by rural interest still refused to reappointing voting districts. Some states had not redistricted since the 1900 census. As a result, voting power for urban people was diluted, while voting power in shrinking rural areas were strengthened, benefiting native-born White Americans. In the 1946 Illinois case, *Colegrove V. Green*, the Supreme Court declined to intervene citing political problems in its decision. At that time, a majority of all Illinoisans lived in Cook County (greater Chicago), but they had no one to represent them in the general assembly or in the state’s congressional delegation, while they paid 53% of the state’s taxes. (Stebenne, 2012; Little, 2023)

In the 1960s, under Chief Justice Earl Warren, the activist Supreme Court decided to change this. With a series of cases known as “reapportionment revolution”, the Supreme Court firmly established “one person, one vote”

requirements on federal, state and local legislatures. In *Baker v. Carr* (1962), as well as subsequent *Gray v. Sanders* (1963), *Wesberry v. Sanders* (1964), and *Reynolds v. Sims* (1964), the Court ruled that all state voting districts must have roughly equal populations. In addition, states must reapportion their federal congressional districts after every decennial census to ensure each of the 435 members in the U.S. House of Representatives represents roughly the same number of people. (Seabrook 2022)

Unfortunately, the equal-population redistricting has opened door to partisan manipulation and also current political and racial gerrymandering. (Seabrook 2022, p123, 126) The “one person, one vote” reapportionment revolution has created single-member district which has “directly led to the current crisis of gerrymandering” (Ostrow, 2018, p1034) Districts are ironically drawn to secure incumbent seats and advance partisan interests. Especially, when computer technologies have made it easier for partisan politics to exert its role in drawing distorted maps strategically favoring one party. David Stebenne believes by the late 1970s, technology firms in California had designed “sophisticated computer software that would enable parties to draw these really exotic-shaped districts that maximize partisan advantage while still preserving equal-population districts.” (2018) But that is just a beginning, the 21st century technology advances, especially big data, algorithms and generative artificial intelligence, make boundary manipulation more precise, strategic and hidden. Michael Li, senior counsel for the Brennan Center for Justice said, “with computers, you can draw thousands of maps or redraw lines a million different ways.” Sophisticated computer programs like the GIS software conspires with big data and algorithm, rendering redistricting a partisan competition to choose their voters. As Justice Elena Kagan wrote in her *Rucho v. Common Cause* dissent opinion, with all the data available today, “mapmakers can generate thousands of possibilities at the touch of a key—and then choose the one giving their party maximum advantage.” (2019, p9) “The effect is to make gerrymanders far more effective and durable than before, insulating politicians against all but the most titanic shifts in the political tides. These are not your grandfather’s—let alone the Framers’—gerrymanders.” (2019, p10)

In the meantime, political polarization and gerrymandering have been feeding off each other since the Reagan Administration. The worst gerrymandering occurred when Barack Obama was elected as the first African-American president and the country’s electoral map was largely blue. Democrats held the majority of seats in both houses of the legislature in twenty-seven states. Republican State Leadership Committee (RSLC) run by Chris Jankowski, Kark Rove and Ed Gillespie, a super-PAC-like organization, launched the Redistricting Majority Project (REDMAP Initiative) with the goal of gaining control over the redistricting process. The project focused resources on states projected to gain or lose Congressional seats based on the latest Census. David Daley, editor-in-chief of the online publication *Salon*, who authored the book, *Ratf**ked: The True Story Behind the Secret Plan to Steal America’s Democracy*, argued that it is a system so rigged that it hardly matters anymore who’s running for office. (XXV, 2016) Daley once said in a *Wbur* article that “the Republicans spent \$30 million on this and they were able to build themselves a firewall, a full Chamber of Congress for a decade, for less than the price of a losing Senate race in a small state.” (XXVI, 2016) The mid-term election proved to be an even bigger “wave” election, nationally, in addition to REDMAP targeted states. There were 25 states where Republicans hold majorities in both legislative chambers. Twenty legislative bodies which were previously split or under Democratic control are now under Republican control. In Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania and North Carolina, Republicans have maintained a majority in the state legislature until now even as Democrats have won gubernatorial and other statewide races. (Kolbert, 2016, Daley, 2016)

In the latest redistricting cycle following the 2020 census, both parties were seeking to press ahead to expand their advantages where they could. Partisan gerrymandering is widespread in the 2020 redistricting process. This redistricting cycle was the first since the Supreme Court’s 2019 ruling that gerrymandering for party advantage cannot be challenged in federal court. In *Rucho v. Common Cause* (2019), the Supreme Court’s conservative majority, over the bitter objections of its more liberal members, declared (5–4) that “partisan gerrymandering claims present political questions beyond the reach of the federal courts.” Obviously, redistricting did give Republicans control of the House, a razor-thin majority of five seats. Given the maps were artificially engineered to reduce competition, there were fewer competitive districts in the 2022 mid-term election than at any point in the last 52 years. (Li and Leaverton, 2022) The contest largely focused on 30 House seats that were decided by 4 percentage points or less. (Leaverton, 2023) This has negative consequences because candidates elected in these

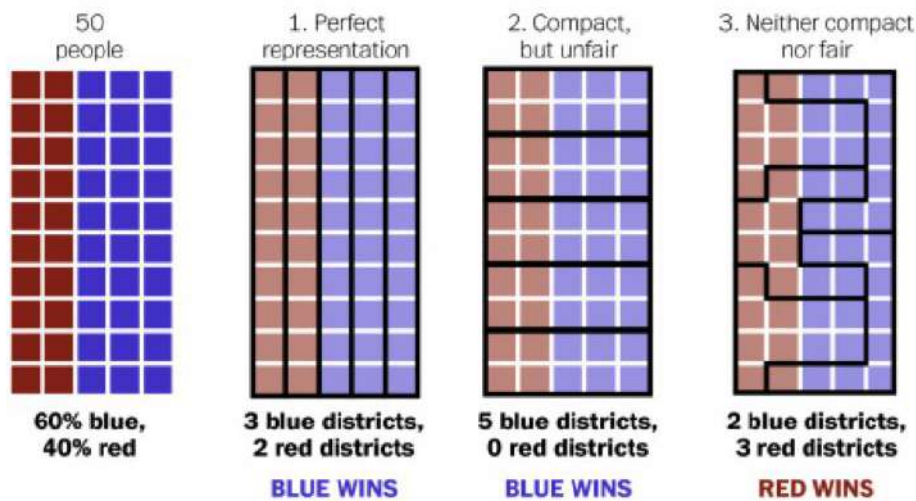
districts have little incentive to seek the support of moderate voters in campaigning or legislating, further increasing the House's partisan polarization.

3. The “Art” of Redistricting Manipulation

Manipulating the boundaries of legislative districts to achieve political ends gives one political party an advantage and leaves voters who support the other party's candidate disenfranchised and their voice deprived. Elaine Kamarck, a senior fellow at Brookings Institution, also a superdelegate to the Democratic Convention thinks “gerrymandering has become a refined art” when Democrats or Republicans are dividing units as miniscule as streets into different political districts for their political gains. (2018) Gerrymandering is generally known as the art of packing and cracking, both of which can be implemented by a party to maximize its electoral chances through gerrymandering.

Gerrymandering, explained

Three different ways to divide 50 people into five districts

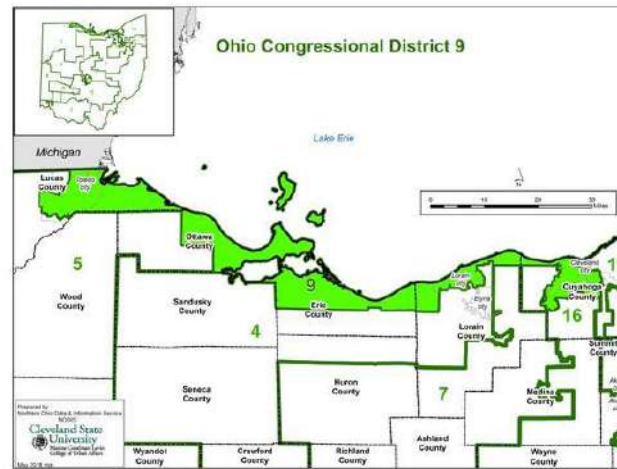


WASHINGTONPOST.COM/WONKBLOG

Adapted from Stephen Nass

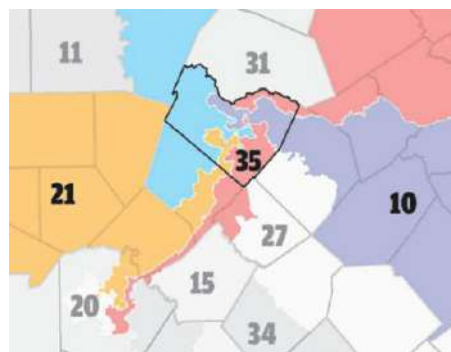
Source: Washington Post Website, Wonkblog

Packing involves cramming as many of the opposing party's supporters into as few districts as possible. In these few districts, the “packed” supporters are likely to elect their preferred candidates, but the groups' voting strength is weakened everywhere else. (as shown when red wins in situation 3) Imagine in a Republican-controlled state, what would happen if these Republicans-in-charge try to concentrate as many likely Democratic voters into one district as possible? This would give Democrats one non-competitive House seat for years to come, and would also ensure the adjacent districts to be Republican-leaning, resulting in a net gain of Republican seats in the House of Representatives for that state and nationwide. In Ohio, the prime example of the REDMAP Initiative, the RSLC (Republican State Leadership Committee) spent nearly one million on Ohio House of Representatives race before the 2010 election. And the redistricting operations, referred to as “the bunker”, were headquartered in a secretly rented hotel room rather than in the office of the state General Assembly. As a result, Ohioans who were Democrats-leaning were “packed” into four irregularly shaped, barely contiguous districts, reducing the Democratic political power in the state up to 2018. (2019) Ohio's notorious 9th district was labeled the ‘snake by the lake’ because it is so long and skinny that it looks like a snake. It spans five counties and is painstakingly designed to pack as many Democrat-leaning cities by Lake Erie into one district as possible. The has the effect of minimizing the number of Democrat voters in neighboring districts, increasing the chances of more Republicans getting voted across the state.



Source: American Civil Liberty Union Website

Cracking is just the opposite of packing. It means scattering the rest of the opposing party's supporters into districts where they have no chance of winning. Splitting voters with similar characteristics, such as party affiliation, average household income and race across multiple districts. With their voting strength divided, these groups' votes are being diluted, so they will fail to elect their preferred candidates in any of the districts. (as shown when blue wins in situation 2) Suppose a Democratic-controlled state contains a large, Republican-leaning population that is grouped together and could form its own congressional district. The Democrats in control could crack this large group of Republicans in half, and add the individuals to other heavily Democratic districts on either side. Instead of having two Democratic districts and one Republican district, the gerrymandered maps would lead to three likely-Democratic leaning districts. For example, Austin Texas, a city with six congressional districts, was namely the most cracked city by a *New York Time's* article. (2021) In the 2020 election, President Biden won Travis County, which includes Austin, by 45 percentage points. But five of Austin's six congressional seats are occupied by Republicans. Democratic votes in Austin were cracked into multiple districts sprawling among conservative areas. There are about 435,000 Democratic voters in Travis County, and only about 160,000 Republicans — but Democrats were only given one seat.



Decidedly Blue, Travis County was divided by 21,35, 10, 17 and 25 districts. (Source *Austin Chronicle* "Hearing on Gerrymandering Set for April 27")

4. Partisan Redistricting Manipulation

Redistricting manipulation is deeply intertwined with partisan politics because two-party electoral system is the pillar of American election. When self-interested politicians are in charge of the redistricting of their own voting districts, the results are predictable. When one party controls both a state's legislative chambers and the governor's office, gerrymandering happens. In 2020, Republicans have complete control over the redistricting process in 20 states, and Democrats in 10. Republicans have the potential to gerrymander in Ohio, Texas, Florida, Georgia and North Carolina. Democrats have the upper hand in New York, Illinois, Oregon and

Maryland. It is just like letting foxes guard the hen houses, which leads to the scenario that even the worst incumbents rarely fear they will lose their seats. A growing number of scholars and research centers, like Brennan Center for Justice, Princeton Gerrymandering Project, FiveThirtyEight, and The Algorithm-Assisted Redistricting Methodology (ALARM Project) of Harvard University, believe it is time to move the process into sunlight for public scrutiny. (Semeraro, 2017; Stephanopoulos, 2018, 2021; Seabrook, 2017, 2022). But, with partisan politics playing out in full and a Supreme Court increasingly becoming more conservative than the majority of Americans (Jesse, Malhotra and Sen, 2022), the fundamental conflicts inherent in the electoral institutions might continue to “spoil the victors”.

4.1. Single Member Districts with Plurality-Winner Elections

American Framers discussed single-member districts at the Constitutional Convention in 1787. In Federalist Paper NO. 56, James Madison put forward that Representatives of local districts knew better and they could defend local interests. He envisioned that single member districts would “divide the largest state into 10 or 12 districts and it will be found that there will be not peculiar interests will not be within the knowledge of the Representative of the district.”(1788) However, when party system came into being, “it became apparent single-member districts would allow for better representation of partisan interests.” (Maisel, 2007, p18) Plus, the winners are determined by a plurality of votes, not a majority. Thus, the winner-takes-all-single-member districts both enables substantial partisan gerrymandering and constrains fair redistricting preventing proportional representation in legislation.

Single-member districts began with the Reapportionment Act of 1842, and redistricting legislation had been passed every decade from 1862 to 1911. It was not firmly established and remains in effect today until when Congress passed The Single-Member District Mandate in 1967. The mandate was implemented to preserve minority representation and ensure the newly enfranchised black voters to exercise their voting rights. In the 21st century, Congressional districts average nearly 700,000 residents and have extremely diverse population. Obviously, the electoral districts created in the name of representation do not pertain today. Rather, in the context of two-party electoral system, it created unparalleled opportunity to tamper with the redistricting process and manipulating districting boundaries. If one party fully controls the state legislature at the time of redistricting, the motive and opportunity to gerrymander are present, so do the opportunities to disadvantage its rival party. In the words of Nick Seabrook, a political scientist at the University of North Florida and the author of *One Person, One Vote: A Surprising History of Gerrymandering in America*, “in fixing one problem, they create a whole new one.” (Avery, 2022) Partisan gerrymanders, governors and legislative leaders of party-in-power, have often produced maps that entrench majority control which creates absolute majority or the momentum to ensure safe districts and the minority party are locked out of the process. For example, the 2022 court-drawn maps used by North Carolina was balanced and competitive, electing 7 Republican and Democratic Representatives respectively to the Congress in the mid-term election. But, when the North Carolina Supreme Court flipped to Republican majority, it abandoned “rulings limiting partisan gerrymandering and greenlit an aggressive redrawing of district maps.” (Li, 2023) In Oct. 2023, the state’s Republican actors pitched a new map that would create 10 districts that appear to favor a Republican candidate, three that favor a Democrat and one that could be considered competitive.

4.2. Partisan Politics Empowering Gerrymander Actors

The Elections Clause, Article I, Section four, Clause 1, is the primary source of constitutional authority to regulate elections for the U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate. The Clause directs and empowers states to determine the “Times, Places, and Manner” of congressional elections, but gives Congress the authority to “make or alter” state regulations. The Supreme Court has interpreted the Elections Clause expansively, granting states the authority to enact a complete code for such elections, including rules concerning public notices, voter registration, voter protection, fraud prevention, vote counting, and determination of election results. (Constitution Annotated, Library of Congress)

Thus, the U.S. Constitution did not include the district redrawing specifically when it stipulates how Congressional representatives should be chosen. Today, the constitutional requirement (Article I, section 2) that House members be elected “by the People of the several States” eventually became the basis for the U.S. Supreme Court to hold that congressional districts must be as equal in population as possible (“one person, one vote”). (Smith and Tokaji) For state legislative districts, the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution requires that districts be substantially equal. In practice, normally a 10 percent deviation in population from one district to the next is seen as a safe standard. In most states, the legislature is responsible for redistricting. And this creates huge conflicts of interest because they are drawing lines for their own districts, which means they are the foxes to guard the hen houses.

The Supreme Court has been empowered to interpret election clauses and decides whether it is unconstitutional. State actors may breach the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in redistricting process, but the Supreme Court has the authority to impose redrawing order. But pendulum of the highest court has been swinging from liberal to conservative constantly and the partisan bias is becoming more and more obvious in recent years. In *Rucho v. Common Cause*, a 5-4 party-line vote closed the door on partisan gerrymandering claims on the basis that gerrymandering claims are not justiciable under the political question doctrine because the Constitution delegates oversight of congressional districting to Congress, not the courts. “No case is a better illustration of the partisan trend in the Supreme Court’s election law decisions than *Rucho v. Common Cause*.” (Bondurant, 2021, p1049) In research published in Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, a decade-long longitudinal survey shows that since 2020, the Supreme Court has become much more conservative than the public and is now more similar to Republican in its ideological position on key issues. (Jessee, Malhotra, and Sen, 2022)

Therefore, gerrymandering is being empowered by the institutions, which creates hotbed for partisan actors to maintain and expand their parties’ interests by manipulating the redistricting process.

5. Conclusion

Tracing the evolution of gerrymandering and examining its relationship with the intensity of partisan politics clearly present a picture of 21st century American election. Politicians are picking the voters, thus “one person, one vote” principle becomes an empty gesture. In the latest round of redistricting, “widespread gerrymandering could limit the electoral power of voters in many affected districts, even if biases mostly cancel out between parties at the national level.” More importantly, partisan manipulation in redistricting reduces electoral competition and responsiveness to public will. (Kenny, McCarten, and et. al., 2023, p4-7) Divisive issues, such as abortion, gun control/rights and transgender right, are increasingly controlled by extremist politicians and the silent majority’s policy needs are being ignored. In the meanwhile, partisan gerrymandering “reinforces the hyper-partisanship that paralyzes American politics and governance.” (Mann, 2016) As long as foxes are allowed to guard the hen houses, the two-party electoral system will continue to distort American election system and pay lip service to “one person, one vote” democracy.

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A Qualitative Analysis of Abortion and SRH Stigma among Chinese Youth: Shedding Light on the Challenges of Sexual and Reproductive Health Education

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Abstract

This study highlights the challenges of addressing abortion stigma and misinformation among Chinese youth. The research aims to fill the identified gaps by employing a grounded theory approach to qualitatively analyze the literature on sexual reproductive health and education in China. The results are synthesized into the Stigmatization and Sexual Reproductive Health Issues (S&SRHI) framework, offering a comprehensive understanding of the factors contributing to stigma surrounding sexual and reproductive health education and services provision. The study recommends using a Peer-led intervention to disseminate accurate information, foster open dialogues, and reduce stigma, thus enhancing knowledge, attitudes, and access to abortion services, informing policy discussions, and guiding the design of effective sexual education programs. However, the study acknowledges limitations and highlights the need for future research to focus on evaluating the effectiveness of this approach and developing a more comprehensive and cultural context framework for addressing abortion stigma.

Keywords: Chinese Youth, Peer-led, Abortion, Sexual Reproductive Health (SRH) Stigma, S&SRHI Framework, Cultural Context

1. Introduction

1.1. Background and Rationale for the Study

When faced with a population of 1.4 billion people (World Population Dashboard, UNFPA 2023), even necessities such as healthcare provision, education, food, and others become complex (Scharping 2013; Bouchard 2014). Faced with a rapidly increasing population, the Chinese government has had to deal with myriad sexual and reproductive health issues and has begun to take steps to curb it, starting with family planning in the early part of the 1970s to reduce growth (Cheng and Selden 1994; Bouchard 2014). Sexual Reproductive Health (SRH) education is crucial to the overall well-being of every young person worldwide (IPPF 2016b; 2016a). Access to quality sexual and reproductive health (SRH) services is a fundamental human right. Though in China, there have been some improvements in this area, existing studies show that the youth, especially

university students in China and those abroad, often lack comprehensive knowledge about abortion services (Norris et al. 2011; Lyu, Shen, and Hesketh 2020; Ma et al. 2008; H. Wang et al. 2015; IPPF 2016b). There exist gaps and differences in accessing SRH services (UNFPA 2017), including the increasing burden of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) like HIV among children and young people, which needs comprehensive education and strengthening (Z. Zou et al. 2023).

1.2. A Glimpse of the Literature

In China, discussions around abortion are often shrouded in secrecy, misinformation, and stigma, which sometimes lead to harmful consequences for those seeking reproductive healthcare (Ma et al. 2008; H. Wang et al. 2015). The study by Dong and colleagues has shown that misinformation, myths, and stigmatization contribute to poor understanding of abortion methods, risks, and legal regulations (Dong et al. 2024). The absence of accurate information can lead to negative attitudes and hinder timely access to safe and legal abortion services.

It also appears that talks around abortion are often marked by social stigma and cultural sensitivities, resulting in inadequate awareness and knowledge among young adults, particularly university students (Guo et al. 2019; Chandrasekaran et al. 2023). Stigmatization of sexual reproductive health and rights issues has profound implications for young adults' reproductive health decisions. The consequences of stigma is far-reaching, affecting mental health, social relationships, and is now a public health concern in China (Y. Wang et al. 2021; Luo et al. 2018). They further stressed that the stigma surrounding sexual behaviors often leads to feelings of shame and secrecy among young migrant women, including suicidal thoughts (Luo et al. 2018).

These attitudes harm informed decision-making, perpetuating negative stereotypes and preventing individuals from seeking the care they need. A study found that many individuals hold misconceptions about the safety and legality of abortion services, which can lead to fear and mistrust. Indeed, the research (Jin and Hu 2023) remarked that induced abortion is a significant issue, with government statistics showing that the average number of abortions annually exceeded 10 million during the 1980s and early 1990s and still exceeded 9.5 million from 2014 to 2019. Poor quality of sex education and reproductive health services are important drivers of induced abortion, especially for younger women.

Even though abortion is legal and accessible in China, other factors, including the false advertisement, lead young, often unmarried women to no longer take the matter seriously, contributing to the high rates of unsafe abortion (Y. Wang et al. 2021). Moreover, traditional cultural values, societal norms, and other risky sexual behaviors play a significant role in perpetuating negative attitudes toward abortion. The studies by (Ma et al. 2008; Guo et al. 2019; Segers 1984) revealed that for many decades in many cultures, women have been expected to prioritize their roles as wives and mothers over their personal autonomy and reproductive rights. This often leads to stigmatization and shame surrounding abortion, making it difficult for women to access safe and legal services, thereby resulting in practices like induced abortions (Wu and Qiu 2010). This emphasizes the need to challenge these pernicious and long-existing attitudes and improve education to ensure informed decision-making.

While stigma and misinformation exist, various efforts and initiatives aim to address these issues. Organizations and individuals are working to improve sexual education and reproductive health services, which could help combat the stigma and provide accurate information (Chandrasekaran et al., 2023; UNFPA & UNESCO, 2022). For example, a collaboration between UNFPA and UNESCO suggested guiding principles for effective public education across all demographics on Sexuality Education in China to improve education for informed decision-making (UNFPA & UNESCO 2022). On the individual level, Chandrasekaran and other's "community-based participatory" research demonstrates ways in which culture and community opinions play a role in influencing the acceptability of abortion (Chandrasekaran et al. 2023), partly affirming Zou and friend's suggestion that parental guidance could reduce risky sexual behaviours among Chinese youth (S. Zou et al. 2021). Additionally, studies have emphasized the importance of improving post-abortion care that caters to the needs of young

people. This highlights the pressing need to address the attitudes and beliefs of communities towards abortion - without further stigmatizing women (Y. Wang et al. 2021).

1.3. The Research Gap

From the literature review, it is revealed that despite advancements in sexual and reproductive health services, addressing abortion stigma in China may require a comprehensive approach that encompasses cultural, social, and educational dimensions. Meanwhile, as discussions around abortion continue to be marked by secrecy, misinformation, and stigma, a recommendation by (Lyu, Shen, and Hesketh 2020) highlighting limited public education and comprehensive sexual education on reproductive health issues, especially abortion, within the Chinese cultural context to raise a pressing need to examine youth-led innovative approaches to address the information gap and misconceptions surrounding them.

1.4. Purpose and Contribution of the Study

While the study aims to investigate and address the challenges related to sexual reproductive health education, specifically focusing on abortion stigma and misinformation among Chinese youth, the purpose is to shed light on the existing gaps in knowledge, awareness, and access to abortion services, and propose interventions, such as a Peer-to-Peer (P2P) approach, to improve education, information dissemination, and reduce stigma surrounding sexual and reproductive health in the Chinese cultural context.

The study seeks to contribute to informed decision-making as it challenges long-standing attitudes that hinder access to safe and legal abortion services. The study also addresses reproductive health issues and highlights the importance of sexual and reproductive health, which is important to the professionalization of social work both in practice and research.

2. Materials and Methods

2.1. Approach

A grounded theory approach developed by sociologists (Saldaña 2021) is adopted to ensure a step-by-step code-to-text analysis of existing literature "to yield meaningful and useful results" (Nowell et al. 2017). This approach has widely been used across many areas to analyze contents qualitatively (Krippendorff 2018), including the social work discipline, where it was used to examine why men choose to undertake social work as a career (Labra et al. 2020) and study social work practices and challenges during the COVID-19 pandemic (Sen et al. 2022).

2.2. Data

To identify themes or codes for the study, all published research from 2000 or later concerning Sexual Reproductive Health and Education in China is reviewed to check their content's applicability to the understudied topic (Tesch 2013, p-119). A chunk of the data was ultimately retrieved from Google Scholar. A methodical search of titles and abstracts using Boolean logic and keyword search terms was undertaken using predefined inclusion and exclusion criteria (Beard, Wentz, and Scotch 2018): the search terms "(abortion OR sexual reproductive health) AND stigma*" were used. Articles were eligible for inclusion if the research concerned abortion and or SRH stigma in China.

2.3. Data Analysis

Our analysis was done manually and involved a three-stage process guided by sub-coding and descriptive coding methods. We picked out excerpts from the literature in the first stage to generate descriptive coding. The second stage, descriptive coding, involved identifying parent themes from the literature. In the third stage, we used the sub-coding to analyze the initial identified themes, identifying specific words or phrases that further emphasized

the information. Using the sub-coding method, we identified the interrelationship between the parent codes. Lastly, as shown in Tables A and B (in the appendix), we grouped the various sub-codings in particular emergent qualities, ultimately identifying five (5) key categories/themes before sorting them to meet the objectives of this paper. At each stage of the analysis, we reviewed the findings iteratively, ensuring the accuracy of our results. Our mentor, an expert in social work, also reviewed our findings to validate them. We discussed all the excerpts, sub-categories, and categories to ensure their appropriateness, interdependence, and accuracy.

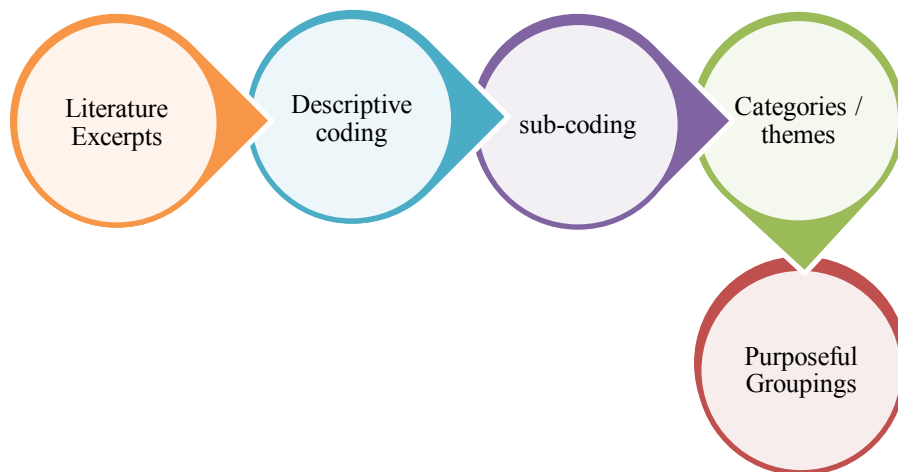


Figure 1: Iterative process of identifying excerpts and coding them into categories

2.4. Trustworthiness

To ensure this framework is comprehensive and trustworthy, we have followed the guidelines presented by Nowell, Lorelli S., et al. These guidelines involve several steps, including becoming familiar with the data, generating initial codes, searching for broader categories, reviewing categories, and defining and naming categories. By doing so, we can ensure that the framework meets the necessary criteria. Further research can be conducted to test the validity of this framework. This approach provides a practical and reliable way to approach policy and research, as suggested by (Nowell et al. 2017).

3. Results

3.1. Stigmatization and Sexual Reproductive Health Issues (SRHI):

The S&SRHI framework comprehensively depicts the central theme of "Stigmatization of Sexual Reproductive Health and Rights Issues," along with its related sub-themes. These sub-themes include "Stigma and Sexual Behaviors," "Consequences of Stigma," "Cultural and Societal Factors," "Marginalization of Vulnerable Populations," and "Poor Quality of Sex Education and Reproductive Health Services." The framework is based on extensive research and literature highlighting the interrelationships between these sub-themes. The S&SRHI framework proposes five descriptive codes and 14 sub-codes, which provide a detailed overview of the Challenges and imperatives of Sexual and Reproductive Health Education in China. Figure 2 gives a visual representation of the five categories and 14 sub-categories. The retrieved sub-categories are purposefully regrouped in Figure 3 and discussed starting from Section 3.1.

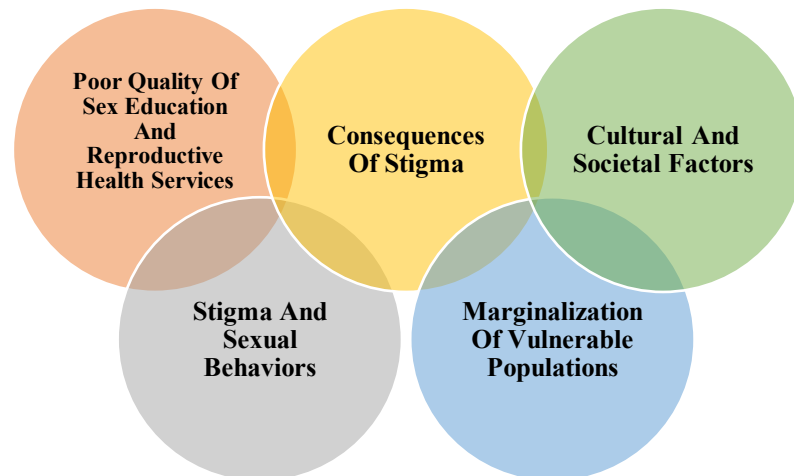


Figure 2: An overview of factors contributing to the stigmatization of sexual reproductive health and rights issues

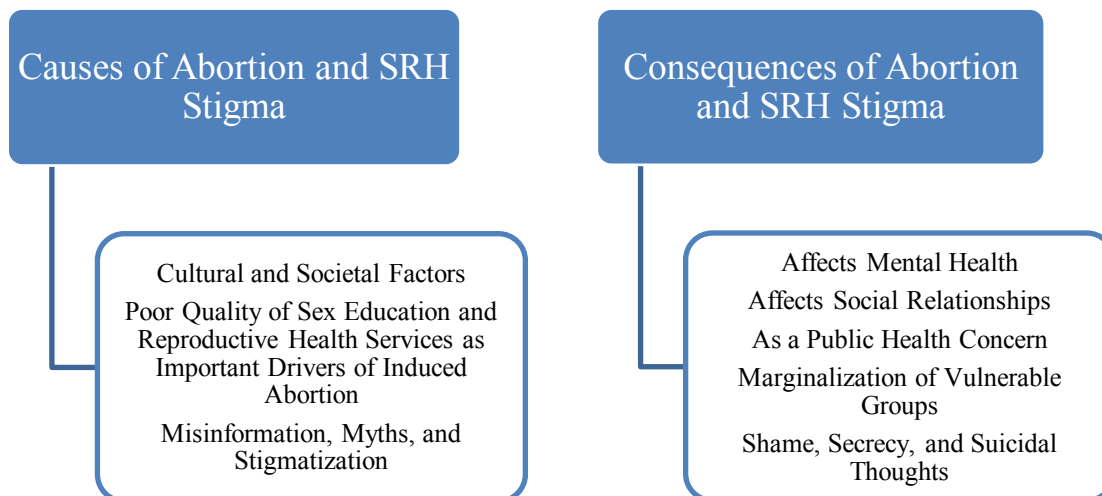


Figure 3: Purposeful Groupings Unveiling the Complex Factors of Abortion and SRH Stigma

3.2. Causes of Abortion and SRH Stigma

3.2.1. Cultural and Societal Factors

Traditional Cultural Values: Traditional cultural values in China prioritize the roles of women as wives and mothers over their personal autonomy and reproductive rights. This emphasis on traditional gender roles can lead to the stigmatization and shame surrounding abortion, making it difficult for women to access safe and legal services. The one-child policy in China has also influenced traditional cultural values and attitudes towards reproduction, including the practice of sex-selective abortion, which has ethical and public policy implications.

Societal Norms: Societal norms in China, influenced by traditional cultural values, often perpetuate negative attitudes toward abortion. The practice of sex-selective abortion and the one-child policy have become embedded in societal norms, posing ethical, legal, and social policy issues. The state-oriented and coercive

approach to sex-selective abortion in China has created complex and intractable ethical and social policy issues, making it challenging to address the stigmatization of abortion and promote access to safe services.

Risky Sexual Behaviors: Poor quality of sex education and reproductive health services are essential drivers of induced abortion, especially for younger women. The lack of accurate information and the perpetuation of negative stereotypes can prevent individuals from making informed decisions about their reproductive health, leading to fear, mistrust, and shame surrounding abortion.

3.2.2. Poor Quality of Sex Education and Reproductive Health Services as Important Drivers of Induced Abortion

The literature highlights that the crucial drivers of induced abortion are multifaceted and include social, cultural, and policy-related factors. In China, the one-child policy and the cultural preference for male offspring have contributed to the practice of sex-selective abortion, leading to a significant gender imbalance. Additionally, the stigma surrounding abortion and the lack of comprehensive sex education have also been identified as essential drivers of induced abortion. The need to improve education, particularly comprehensive sex education, is crucial in addressing the drivers of induced abortion and enhancing access to abortion services among the youth in China. Comprehensive sex education can help dispel myths and misinformation surrounding abortion, empower young adults to make informed decisions about their reproductive health, and reduce the stigma associated with abortion (Ng 2016; Wong 2023).

3.2.3. Misinformation, Myths, and Stigmatization

Misinformation, myths, and stigmatization contribute to the poor understanding of abortion services among university students and young adults. This can lead to various negative consequences, including fear, mistrust, and a lack of access to accurate information and support. The perpetuation of stigmatizing attitudes and misconceptions about abortion safety and legality can further marginalize vulnerable populations, such as women who seek abortions, and prevent them from accessing safe and legal services.

3.3. *Consequences of Abortion and SRH Stigmatization*

3.3.1. Affecting Mental Health (Especially for young women)

Research has shown that internalized stigma, secrecy, and the lack of a safe space to discuss experiences related to abortion care can contribute to adverse mental health outcomes. The internalized stigma associated with abortion work and the decision to disclose experiences can also affect the mental well-being of individuals involved in providing abortion care. Particularly, younger women face unique challenges in accessing abortion services, including lack of information, financial barriers, and social stigma. They are often doubly stigmatized for being sexually active and for seeking abortion services. Moreover, the lack of comprehensive sex education and reproductive health services puts younger women at a higher risk of unintended pregnancies and unsafe abortions. This suggests that the stigma surrounding abortion and reproductive health can have a pervasive impact on the mental health of both service users and providers.

3.3.2. Affecting Social Relationships

The fear of disclosure and the internalized stigma associated with abortion and reproductive health decisions can lead to non-disclosure and a lack of social support, which can, in turn, impact social relationships. The lack of a culture of support for abortion patients and the internalized stigma among women who have had abortions can also affect social relationships and community attitudes toward reproductive health decisions. This indicates that the stigma surrounding sexual and reproductive health can have a broad impact on social relationships at the individual, community, and institutional levels.

3.3.3. As a Public Health Concern

Stigma and discrimination associated with sexual and reproductive health issues, including abortion, pose a significant public health concern. The lack of effective strategies to reduce stigma and discrimination in sexual and reproductive healthcare settings can impede access to care and lead to negative health outcomes. The pervasive nature of stigma across various domains, including community norms, enacted stigma, internalized stigma, non-disclosure, and stigma resilience, underscores the need to address stigma in the context of sexual and reproductive health.

3.3.4. Marginalization of Vulnerable Population

Affecting Women Seeking Abortions: The stigma surrounding abortion in almost every society often prevents women from openly discussing the issue, seeking advice or counseling, or readily accessing safe services. Many women who have decided to terminate a pregnancy keep it a secret from their family, friends, and future partners throughout their lives. Young women and girls, in particular, face double stigmatization for being sexually active and for seeking abortion services. This double stigma, along with various barriers, including cost, cultural norms, and service provider attitudes, makes it more difficult for young women to access abortion services than adult women.

Affecting Provider Attitudes: Abortion stigma has been shown to influence provider attitudes around abortion and may decrease providers' willingness to participate in abortion care. Stigmatizing attitudes, beliefs, and actions toward women seeking abortions are crucially important in shaping how clinical and non-clinical staff feel about their participation in abortion care and whether they facilitate or obstruct this care. Challenging stigmatizing attitudes is essential to ensure that women can access abortion services without facing discrimination or barriers.

3.3.5. Shame, Secrecy, and Suicidal Thoughts

The stigma surrounding sexual behaviors often leads to feelings of shame and secrecy, which can contribute to mental health challenges and even suicidal thoughts. This internalized stigma and non-disclosure can create a barrier to seeking necessary reproductive health care, including abortion services. The fear of judgment and social repercussions may lead to a reluctance to access accurate information and support, further perpetuating the cycle of shame and secrecy.

4. Conclusion

It is crucial to acknowledge the importance of addressing the stigma associated with Sexual Reproductive Health and Education Issues. The S&SRHI framework provides a way to understand the complex interrelationships between various factors contributing to this stigma among Chinese youth. Addressing these factors can create a more inclusive and supportive environment for individuals and communities. Given this, the study anticipates that implementing the peer-led intervention strategy mainly in schools will substantially increase accurate knowledge about abortion and reproductive health among university students.

5. Recommendation

Promoting accurate information about abortion is crucial to overcoming social and cultural barriers to accessing safe abortion services. Women often face limited knowledge about their options for safe abortion services, even in settings where the services are legal and effectively available. Lack of social support and stigma also contribute to the obstacles women face in accessing safe abortion services. Interpersonal communication interventions, such as peer-to-peer education, could be necessary in providing accurate information and overcoming these barriers.

This study suggests implementing a Peer-to-peer (P2P) intervention approach, leveraging the influence of peers to disseminate accurate information, foster open dialogues, and improve access to abortion and sexual health-related services (IPPF 2016b; 2016a). We are optimistic that evaluating the potential impacts of the Peer-to-peer intervention strategy on knowledge, attitudes, and access to abortion services among university students will inform policy discussions and the design of effective sexual education programs.

6. Study Limitations

Interventions that aim to de-stigmatize abortion services are crucial to addressing this barrier. However, this study lacks a substantive model or framework for addressing the abovementioned issues. Additionally, the study primarily focuses on university students in China, and the findings may not be generalizable to other populations or contexts. The study's reliance on existing literature may also limit the scope of the results, as literature availability may be limited, and the data quality may vary. Finally, the study's reliance on manual data analysis may limit the speed and efficiency of the research.

7. Future Direction

Future research should explore the effectiveness of the Peer-to-peer intervention approach in reducing abortion stigma and improving access to sexual and reproductive health services among the youth, particularly university students who are mostly at risk of peer influence. Additionally, a comprehensive framework inculcating the social and cultural factors on access to abortion services is needed to ensure the appropriateness and effectiveness of the intervention. Thus, future studies could focus on this area.

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Appendix

Table A

| Descriptive Coding and Subcoding of Abortion and Sexual Reproductive Health Issues in China |
|---|
| <p>"The students lack knowledge of contraception and are not well prepared for pregnancy." (H. Wang et al. 2015)</p> <p>"Stigma and misinformation exposure play prominent roles in the formation of SRH misperceptions" (Dong et al. 2024)</p> <p>"Induced abortion was associated with increased odds for suicidal ideation among the unmarried female ...in China." (Luo et al. 2018)</p> <p>"...need for policies and programs to ...promote education about both family planning and abortion services among disadvantaged subgroups of women." (Y. Wang et al. 2021)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Descriptive coding: Stigma and Sexual Behaviors</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Subcoding: Shame, Secrecy, and Suicidal Thoughts Lack of Comprehensive Knowledge about Abortion Services Misinformation, Myths, and Stigmatization</p> <p>"... adolescents and unmarried young women have limited access to those services for contraception counseling." "Underutilization of the services occurs among students, immigrants, and those who had a feeling of stigma." (Y. Wang et al. 2021)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Descriptive coding: Marginalization of Vulnerable Populations</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Subcoding: Women Seeking Abortions Promoting Accurate Information Need to Challenge Stigmatizing Attitudes</p> <p>"Induced abortion was associated with increased odds for suicidal ideation among the unmarried female migrant workers in urban cities in China. More attention should be paid to the mental health of the population." (Luo et al. 2018)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Descriptive coding: Consequences of Stigma</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Subcoding: Affecting Mental Health Affecting Social Relationships As a Public Health Concern</p> <p>"... culture and community opinions ...can influence both the acceptability of abortion and experiences seeking abortion care among AAs." (Chandrasekaran et al. 2023)</p> <p>"Risky sexual behaviors were associated with repeat abortion among unmarried young women in China." (Guo et al. 2019)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Descriptive coding: Cultural and Societal Factors</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Subcoding: Traditional Cultural Values Societal Norms Risky Sexual Behaviors</p> <p>"Relatively low levels of sexual knowledge among Chinese adolescents contribute to unsafe sexual behavior A gender-sensitive approach to sex education should be emphasized, with a focus on empowering girls." (Lyu, Shen, and Hesketh 2020)</p> <p>"The high prevalence of pregnancy and abortion ...indicates that sex education and contraceptive services for young people in China do not seem to be adequate. In China, family planning programs are now widely available, free of charge. However, these services are used primarily by adults and rarely by unmarried young people" (Ma et al. 2008)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Descriptive coding: Poor Quality of Sex Education and Reproductive Health Services</p> |

Subcoding:

Important Drivers of Induced Abortion
Especially for Younger Women
Need for Improved Education

Table B**Causes of Abortion and SRH Stigma:**

Cultural and Societal Factors

Poor Quality of Sex Education and Reproductive Health Services as Important Drivers of Induced Abortion

Misinformation, Myths, and Stigmatization

Consequences of Abortion and SRH Stigma:

Affects Mental Health

Affects Social Relationships

As a Public Health Concern

Marginalization of Vulnerable Groups

Shame, Secrecy, and Suicidal Thoughts

Redefining the Mandate of Polytechnic Education for Economic Diversification and Sustainability in Nigeria

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Abstract

Education is fundamental to economic diversification, development, and sustainability. This paper principally examined the place and importance of the mandate of polytechnic education in the economic diversification and sustainable development of Nigeria. For the purpose of objective and scholarly analysis, the Functionalist Theory or Functionalism as the theoretical framework was adopted. Using three factors, namely relevant provisions of the Federal Polytechnic (Amendment) Act, 2019; experiences and lessons from Germany, China, and the Asian Tigers; and the National Board for Technical Education's (NBTE) Skills Advocacy Slogan "Skills, not Degrees," the paper argued that repositioning and strengthening polytechnic education, specifically through the empowerment and skills development of polytechnic graduates and youths, constitute critical success factors in sustainable national development. The paper made appropriate recommendations to rejig polytechnic education in Nigeria, which should include, but are not limited to, increased funding of the polytechnics, a review of the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFUND) sharing formula in favour of the polytechnics, laying much emphasis on the vocational component of polytechnic education, continuous staff capacity development and upward review of the salaries and improvement of the conditions of service of polytechnic workers; fostering a culture of innovation and applied research and development and inauguration of technology incubation centres in all polytechnics in the country.

Keywords: Education, Polytechnic Education, Economic Diversification, Development, Sustainability, Sustainable Development

1. Introduction

Polytechnic education is a major component of tertiary technology education. One of the principal objects and roles of polytechnic education in Nigeria is to train, produce and mobilise technical and vocational manpower, skills and competencies necessary for economic diversification, development of indigenous technology and facilitation of sustainable development of the people and country. Several years after the introduction of polytechnic education, establishment of many polytechnics, public and private, and allocation of gargantuan financial and other resources to the polytechnic sub-sector, many questions are still being asked with respect to the continued relevance of polytechnic education in the country. Has the mandate of polytechnic education been

fully achieved, especially in the context of economic diversification and sustainable development? What should be done to redefine, refocus or strengthen polytechnic education in order to achieve its avowed mandate? To this end, the thrust of this paper is to re-examine the mandate of polytechnic education for economic diversification and sustainability in Nigeria.

2. Theoretical Framework

The importance of theoretical framework as a tool of analysis in any study or research remains sacrosanct. The principal purpose of this paper is to examine the mandate of polytechnic education vis-à-vis economic diversification and sustainability in Nigeria. To this end, the appropriate theoretical framework of analysis best suited for this paper is the Functional Theory or Functionalism. The Functional Theory is an offshoot of systems analysis aimed at the examination of how socio-economic, political, religious, and educational institutions and structures perform or do not perform or fulfill their purposes or functions to support the whole system. In other words, it implies that institutions discharge certain functions or serve purposes that are indispensable for the long-term survival, or continued existence, stability and development of the system. (Mahajan, 1988; Igwe, 2007; Darity, 2008). In sociology, Emile Durkheim, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Talcot Parsons and Robert Merton, etc. are associated with the theory, just as Gabriel Almond is the dominant figure in political science.

3. Clarifications of Key Terms and Concepts

3.1. Defining Polytechnic

Science and technology play decisive roles in every development process. Thus, the importance of polytechnics in the technological advancement and overall development of any nation cannot be over-emphasised. The term “polytechnic” has both Greek and French roots or antecedents. Polytechnic (in Greek, “Polytechnique”) implies “skills in many arts and applied sciences or technology”. The Oxford Advanced American Dictionary defines polytechnic as “a school for higher education in technical and other practical subjects”. According to Kazaure (2021),

Polytechnic refers to non-university tertiary technical education training institutions comprising polytechnics, colleges of science and technology offering a wide variety of technological, science and business-oriented educational training leading to the award of ND, HND and post-HND in Nigeria (p. 3).

The National Policy on Education (NPE) (2014) recognizes and classifies polytechnics under both tertiary and technology education in Nigeria. In the United States of America, polytechnics are referred to as institutes of technology.

3.2. Concept of Education

Generally, education is not only a necessity and valuable instrument (Eze, Okujagu, & Sam-Kalagbor, 2022); it has been described as the most important factor and the greatest investment in human capital capable of enhancing the fundamental productive capacities, knowledge, creative abilities, skills, experience of individuals, etc. necessary to propel development at various levels. Undoubtedly, education plays a very prominent role in the production of quality human capital or manpower necessary for national development. Nelson Mandela was once quoted as having stated that “education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world” and that “the collapse of education is the collapse of a nation”. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) believes that education is not only a human right; it is “the process of facilitating learning or the acquisition of knowledge, skills, values and habits”. UNESCO’s four (4) pillars of education are learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be. “It is through education that societal values, norms, culture, needs and aspirations are inculcated and transferred to the people for quality improvement and societal development” (Ivowi, 2022, p. 291).

Education aims at the development of the individual and society. To this end, Section 1(3) of the National Policy on Education (2014) provides that Nigeria's philosophy of education, among others, is anchored on the beliefs that education is an instrument for national development and social change; it is vital for the promotion of a progressive and united Nigeria; and maximises the creative potential and skills of the individual for self-fulfilment and the general development of society. There are three main types of education: formal, informal and non-formal education, while formal education, which is also regarded as formal learning, is education that takes place in an educational institution or a typical school environment, informal education is education that does not take place in a formal setting. For example, teaching a child by his parents or personal studies aimed at self-development. On the other hand, non-formal education includes adult education, nomadic education, distance learning and computer-programmed learning and training.

3.3. *Quality Education*

Goal Number Four (4) of the Sustainable Development Goal is "Quality Education" (SDG 4). The ultimate ambition of SDG 4, according to the United Nations, is to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all". Quality education as an all-inclusive term, focuses primarily on preparing and equipping the learner for life and not necessarily for assessments. Its target is to ensure the learner's social, emotional, mental, physical, and cognitive development, irrespective of gender, race, ethnicity, socio-economic status, or geographical location (Education International, 2023). It is student-centred. In other words, it enables people to develop all their attributes and skills to achieve their potentials as human beings in the society. Such education dwells on the importance of five critical areas: quality learners, quality learning environment, quality content, quality processes, and quality outcomes. Inclusivity and equitability are strong foundations of quality education. The United Nations envisages that by 2030, education will be used for "transformation of the world". This goal strives to ensure that all girls and boys complete primary and secondary schooling by 2030.

3.4. *Polytechnic Education*

Polytechnic education is an integral part of technical education programmes that enables the acquisition of practical and applied skills and scientific knowledge necessary for the unfolding of autochthonous technological breakthroughs, industrialisation and economic development. Commenting on the subject matter of polytechnic education, Kazaure (2021) notes that it refers to the education that provides full-time courses of instruction and training in technology, applied science, commerce, and management, and other fields of applied learning relevant to the needs of the development of Nigeria in the areas of industrial and agricultural production, distribution, and research in the development and adaptation of technology. To this end, polytechnic education largely involves teaching, training, and research in post-basic institutions of higher learning that specialise in technical, technology-based and applied sciences, leading to the award of the National Diploma (ND) and Higher National Diploma (HND) (the dual certification system). The main purpose of the polytechnic is to provide low, middle, and high levels of manpower required to drive industrial and economic growth and development of society. Semrad & Skrybel (2017) noted that "the purpose of polytechnic education was not only to help students become familiar with the use of various tools and pieces of equipment and the development of practical skills, but also to become acquainted with the world of labour, learn to cooperate and professionally solve problems resulting from working with the latest technologies and new scientific discoveries" (p. 5)

Similarly, providing justifications for polytechnic education in Nigeria, Kalagbor and Harry (2023) strongly argue that being critical for the attainment of sustainable development, polytechnic education guarantees the production of persons with diverse technical and technological skills and competencies in various professions, blends theory and practicals in order to solve real-life challenges, helps to identify industry-related problems and in collaboration with relevant industries and employers proffer functional solutions to them and creates self-employed graduates who, with time, turn out to be employers of labour, thereby reducing the rate of unemployment in the country. For Agi and Akanni (2021), polytechnic education ensures personal development in terms of teamwork, leadership, communication, the evolution of critical thinking, analytical and problem-solving skills. Epelle, Harry and Inokoba (2023) summarized the contributions of polytechnic education in Nigeria to include manpower generation,

equipment fabrication, research and development (R&D), agricultural production and public enlightenment and development. Others are employment generation and wealth creation.

Considering the critical importance of tertiary technology education which is the central focus of polytechnic education in Nigeria, Section 5 (c) (107) of the National Policy on Education (2014) stipulates that the specific goals of technology education at the tertiary level shall be to:

- a) Provide courses of instruction and training in engineering, other technologies, applied sciences, business and management, leading to the production of trained manpower;
- b) Provide the technical knowledge and skills necessary for the agricultural, industrial, commercial and economic development of Nigeria;
- c) give training that imparts the necessary skills for the production of technicians, technologists, and other skilled personnel who shall be enterprising and self-reliant;
- d) train people who can apply scientific knowledge to solve environmental problems for the convenience of man; and
- e) give exposure to professional studies in the technologies.

To further buttress the importance accorded to polytechnic education by the State and Federal Governments of Nigeria as well as individuals, the establishment of polytechnics has continued to increase in the country. At the moment, there are a total of one hundred and seventy-three (173) Federal, state and private-owned polytechnics in Nigeria (NBTE,2023). A breakdown of the above figure shows that there are forty (40) Federal Polytechnics, forty-nine (49) state-owned Polytechnics and eighty-four (84) private polytechnics in the country.

4. Polytechnic Education

4.1. Brief History of Polytechnic Education in Nigeria

Historical studies, memories, knowledge, information, and data enable one to understand, interpret, and analyse the past in order to appreciate and illuminate the present and act as a fundamental basis to plan, guide and project into the future. It is obvious that knowing the past remains the most formidable means of understanding the present and adequately preparing for the future, pleasant or unpleasant. No wonder Winston Churchill recognized that “a nation that forgets its past has no future”. Thus, in order to appreciate the future prospects of polytechnic education in Nigeria, it is germane to locate its historical context. The term “polytechnic” was first used in 1805 in French (“polytechnique”). In 1832, the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society was the first British educational institution to adopt the name polytechnic.

The history of the emergence and establishment of polytechnics in Nigeria predates the attainment of nominal political independence in 1960. Whereas Yaba College of Technology, Lagos, which was founded in 1947 and is generally known as YABATECH, is the first polytechnic in the country, the Lagos City Polytechnic, Lagos, is the first private polytechnic in Nigeria. It was established in 1990 but gained formal recognition by the National Board for Technical Education (NBTE) in 1995. Today, all polytechnics in Nigeria are regulated by the National Board for Technical Education (NBTE). Essentially, the NBTE is responsible for the regulation, accreditation and certification of all academic programmes of the polytechnics (Amie-Ogan, Amadi, Osuji, Wey-Amaewhule & Sam-Kalagbor, 2023).

4.2. Determining and Contextualising the Mandate of Polytechnic Education

Within the context of polytechnic education in Nigeria, polytechnics are statutorily charged with clearly defined mandates or objects. Accordingly, the main objective of polytechnic education is to ensure the promotion of technical and vocational education and training, technology transfer as well as skills development to enhance the socio-economic advancement of the country. Section 2 (a) of the Federal Polytechnic (Amendment) Act, 2019, provides that the functions of the polytechnic shall be:

- a) to provide full-time or part-time courses of instruction and training to produce middle- and high-level manpower

- I. in technology, applied science, commerce, and management; and,
 - II. in such other fields of applied learning relevant to the development of Nigeria in the area of industrial and agricultural production and distribution and for research in the development and adaptation of techniques as the Council may from time to time determine;
- b) to arrange conferences, seminars, and study groups relative to the fields of learning specified in paragraph (a) of this section (i);
 - c) to perform such other functions as, in the opinion of the Council, may serve to promote the objectives of the polytechnic.

Similarly, while some state governments have domesticated some provisions of the Federal Polytechnic (Amendment) Act, 2019, it is important to state that in enacting laws establishing state-owned polytechnics, various state governments have reinforced the central mandate of polytechnic education. For instance, the Port Harcourt Polytechnic (now the Captain Elechi Amadi Polytechnic) (Amendment) Law, 2020, provides that the objects of the polytechnic shall be, among others:

- a) to provide courses of instruction and training in science, engineering, technology, environmental sciences, management, communication and such other fields of learning as the polytechnic may from time to time determine, having regard at all times to the technical and scientific manpower needs of the state in particular and the Federation in general.
- b) to encourage and promote scholarship and conduct research in all fields of learning and human endeavour and more particularly in the disciplines and fields of study mentioned in paragraph (a) of this section;
- c) to relate its courses of instruction, activities and services to the social, cultural and economic needs of the people of Nigeria and needs of society in general;
- d) to provide special training courses, including technical education and in-service training, for members of the public service and the private sector;
- e) to encourage, promote and propagate the repair and maintenance culture;
- f) to prepare and groom students in skills and entrepreneurship and university entry requirements; and
- g) to undertake any other activities and programmes that are appropriate to a polytechnic of the highest standard.

In order to achieve the goals of technology education, which is synonymous with polytechnic education, section 5 (c) (103) of the National Policy on Education (2014) provides, that in pursuance of the goals of technology education, the government shall:

- a) adopt measures to develop and encourage the ideas of technology education through students' exposure to practical industrial work experiences;
- b) improve immediate and long-term prospects of graduates of technology institutions and other professionals with respect to their status and remuneration; and,
- c) encourage technology education institutions to conduct applied research relevant to the needs and aspirations of the nation.

Furthermore, Section 5 (c) (105) of the NPE (2014) specifically states that "polytechnics and other specialized institutions shall continue to maintain a two-tier programme of studies, viz, the National Diploma (ND) and the Higher National Diploma (HND) with a one-year period of industrial experience serving as one of the pre-requisites for entry into degree programmes." Considering the place and roles of polytechnic education in the attainment of technological breakthroughs, Section 5 (107) of the NPE stresses that "technology education institutions shall pay particular attention to research into and the promotion of indigenous technology in Nigeria". This, therefore, is a confirmation that polytechnic education also aims at technology transfer.

4.3. Economic Diversification

Nigeria is the largest producer of oil in Africa and the world's ninth-largest oil exporter. Prior to and after the attainment of political independence, Nigeria has largely remained a monocultural economy, depending substantially on oil revenues. This is, however, with regards to her qualitative arable land, population advantages or strengths, other available and untapped mineral resources, and rich cultural heritage, etc. With the present dwindling economic fortunes, high rate of unemployment and inflation, poverty, kidnapping, militancy, Boko

Haram menace, excessive dependence on and importation of virtually all manufactured goods, low pace of industrialization, huge external debt profile, other security challenges and policy inconsistencies and flip-flops by successive governments, more than ever before, economic diversification or the creation of a multifaceted economy has become not only desirable but indispensable. This is particularly against the background that various development plans and policy documents (e.g., NEEDS.) by the Federal Government have unsuccessfully attempted to diversify Nigeria's economy. Economic diversification in the context of Nigeria's development agenda seeks to reduce the country's overdependence on oil and vulnerability to the vagaries and vicissitudes of oil price fluctuations or swings in the international market.

According to Usman (2022) who sees economic diversification as Nigeria's foremost economic challenge:

economic diversification is an expansion of resources of production, employment, trade, revenues and expenditures in an economy. It is characterized by the transition from dependence on one or a few commodities such as crude oil, minerals and agricultural produce or sustained growth and transition of an economy from dependence on primary activity such as oil and mineral extraction and agriculture, to value addition in these activities.

It can also be seen as "an expansion of sources of production, employment, trade, revenues and expenditures and it is associated with the process of structural economic transformation". Usman identified three dimensions of economic diversification, namely, sectoral contributions to employment and production resulting in an increase in the number of sectors, formal and informal, which contribute substantially to the creation of employment and output (Gross Domestic Product, GDP); export diversification is achieved through international trade by way of the exportation of more goods (especially manufactured products) and services for increased revenues. The third dimension is referred to as "fiscal diversification", which is a movement away from one or a few sources to multiple and sustainable domestic sources of revenue mobilization. The author argues that in Africa, including Nigeria, the state (government) has the responsibility to and should drive economic diversification or transformation by creating, guiding, coordinating and regulating markets through any or a combination of the three dimensions identified above. Only a developmental state has the capacity to play this role and further argues that economic diversification in Nigeria is a "political project", which can be achieved by ensuring political stability and an equitable distribution of power as springboards for economic diversification.

In summary, it is reinstating the fact that economic diversification involves the entire process of shifting an economy away from a single income source towards multiple sources from a growing range of sectors and markets. Economic diversification can equally take the form of corporate or product diversification. Corporate diversification has to do with going into new business area(s) and opportunities. For example, if the chief executive of a dine-in restaurant delves into corporate catering, that will be called diversification. This is, nevertheless, different from operating a new dine-in restaurant in another town or state, approximating business expansion. The rationale for diversification is to enhance profitability, and increase sales and services to be provided and more importantly, reduce the risk of being negatively impacted by external factors such as economic or market changes. At the level of business, there are three types of diversification strategies, to wit:

- i. Concentric Diversification: adding or introducing similar products or services to an existing business for the customer's satisfaction (e.g., adding the sale of laptop to a computer business).
- ii. Horizontal Diversification: adding unrelated and new products or services to an existing business in the product mix.
- iii. Conglomerate Diversification: in this case, it involves the addition or inclusion of a completely different product(s) to a business.

Drawing a relationship between economic diversification and national development, Ohunye, Obaze, Omona and Obamen (2019) are of the view that a diversified economy is an economy that has a number of different revenue streams that provide nations with the capacity for sustainable growth due to their non-reliance on one particular type of revenue. Diversification thus provides a country with the security and reliability that it

needs, so that should one economic revenue stream fail, it has several other options for revenue. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) recognise the significance of economic diversification in the process of development. Ipso facto, Goals 8 and 9 capture it to the extent that they are intended to “promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all, build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation”.

4.4. Sustainability

Sustainability is distilled from the Latin word “Sustinere”, meaning to sustain, maintain, support, uphold or endure. It is the ultimate ambition of most systems. Sustainability implies futurity and the ability to continue, be firmly supported or upheld, especially for a reasonable or long time or indefinitely. It can also be described as a long-term capacity to endure. The organizing principle of sustainability is what is referred to as “Sustainable Development” in development theories and studies.

4.5. Conceptualising Sustainable Development (Global Goals)

Development is a continuous process, a means as well as an end. In terms of definition, it is multidimensional, multifaceted and ramifying. Rodney (1972) posits that development implies increased skills, capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being. Desai and Potter (2008) support Rodney’s view of development to the extent that any true meaning of development must reflect three basic components or core values, such as life sustenance (the provision of basic needs like housing, clothing, food and minimum education). Others are self-esteem, suggesting a feeling of self-respect and independence and freedom which is the ability of people to determine their own destiny. Other basic needs that must be realized include security, welfare, identity and freedom needs, health, education; employment, income and economic, social participation, environmental and justice needs (Kalagbor, 2004). To buttress this, Angaye (1995) stresses that:

development should be seen as improvement in the material, physical, mental, spiritual, and real moral quality of life resulting from rising incomes, the reduction or eradication of poverty, unemployment, unjustified inequalities; the provision of better food, shelter, health, education, and protection; high self-esteem or respect, increased freedom of choice and ability to determine one’s destiny. Consequently, development can be social, economic, physical, educational, political, etc.

According to Ake (2001), development is “the process by which the people create and recreate themselves and their life circumstances to realize higher levels of civilization in accordance with their own choices and values.” As a matter of fact, man is the active agent and ultimate beneficiary of every true development. True development begins and ends with man. Every true development must be sustainable. That is, it must “meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own need”, as stated in the Brundtland Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (Worika, 2002). It involves development that is devoid of the depletion of natural resources. The four pillars of sustainable development are economic sustainability, which aims at reducing extreme poverty and guaranteeing fair-paid employment opportunities for all; social sustainability, which ensures access to basic resources and services and strengthens social cohesion and stability among social groups, and environmental sustainability which emphasizes protection of the environment and limit the impact of human activities on the environment. To this end, sustainable development is development that is economically efficient, ecologically enduring and socially equitable. The fourth pillar of sustainable development is human sustainability—the ability to maintain and improve human capital in society.

To confirm the indispensability of man as the nexus of development, The Report of the South Commission (1993) provides that:

But a nation is its people. Development has, therefore, to be an effort of, by and for the people. True development has to be people-oriented. It has to be directed at the fulfilment of human potentials and the improvement of the social and economic well-being of the people. And it has to be designed to secure what the people themselves perceive to be their social and economic interests. Its first objective must be to end poverty, provide productive employment and satisfy basic needs of the people... this implies that basic goods and health facilities and clean water must be accessible to all.

Development should also strive for qualitative improvement of physical phenomena and the environment; production, distribution, exchange, administrative, managerial and educational processes, procedures and outputs, etc. In addition, Ogbam-Iyam (2021) submits that the “knowledge of science and technology and their applications are at the base and driving for development. A social production with a low level of knowledge and application of science and technology often produces a weak economy of poverty and primitive politics”.

4.6. Education for Sustainability (EFS) or Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)?

Education for sustainable development constitutes a key element of quality education. Education for sustainability means “a transformative learning process that equips students, teachers and the school system with the new knowledge and ways of thinking we need to achieve economic prosperity and responsible citizenship while reforming the health of the living systems upon which our lives depend”(Cloud, 2014).

Sterling (2001) prefers the term “sustainable education” to mean a change of educational culture, one that develops and embodies the theory and practice of sustainability in a way that is critically aware. It is, therefore, a transformative paradigm which values, sustains and realises human potential in relation to the need to attain and sustain social, economic and ecological wellbeing, recognizing that they must be part of the same dynamic. Sterling further argues that sustainable education must also involve cultural shifts, systematic change in thinking and practice which implies four (4) descriptors:

- Sustaining: sustains people, communities and ecosystems
- Tenable: ethically defensible, works with integrity, justice, respect, and inclusiveness
- Healthy: it is a viable system, embodying and nurturing healthy relationships and emergence at different system levels.
- Durable: it is practicable and enduring.

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), Education for Sustainable Development (ESD): is a learning process (or approach to teaching) based on the ideals and principles that underlie sustainability and is concerned with all levels and types of learning to provide quality education and foster sustainable human development—learning to know, learning to be, learning to live together, learning to do and learning to transform one’s self and society. For the first time, the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 to address issues of sustainable development paid special and specific attention to the educational system. Essentially, Chapter 36 of Agenda 21 of the Rio Declaration on sustainable development in the context of education made reference to four (4) fundamental issues, namely:

1. Improve basic education.
2. Reorient existing education to address sustainable development.
3. Develop public understanding and awareness.
4. Training

Ollor (2010) argues that education for sustainable development enables people to develop the knowledge, values and skills to participate in decisions about the way we do things individually and collectively, both locally and globally, that will improve quality of life without damaging the planet for the future. He maintains that the fundamental principles of sustainable development not only involve a process with socio-economic, ethical and environmental dimensions, sustainable development aims at optimal realization of a society's diverse socio-economic, environmental objectives at the same time. There is a clear distinction between "education about sustainable development" and "education for sustainable development."

McKeon (2002) has argued that whereas the former is concerned with the theoretical aspects, the latter is seen as an indispensable and practical tool for the realization of sustainability. Education for sustainable development permits every individual access to acquire knowledge, skills, values, attitudinal and behavioural patterns relevant to determining, defining, and shaping a sustainable future intended to accomplish individual and collective interests and aspirations. It promotes competencies like critical thinking, imaging future scenarios and making decisions in a collaborative way. It calls for the inclusion of principal sustainable development issue areas and agenda items into the teaching-learning curricula of the education system at all levels. Prominent among such areas and items are:

- Climate change education
- Poverty reduction measures
- Biodiversity
- Disaster risk reduction
- Sustainable consumption
- Gender Equality
- Peace and Human Security
- Cultural Diversity
- Health Promotion
- Water
- Sustainable Urbanization, etc.

ESD adopts interdisciplinary, effective and participatory teaching and learning methods that not only act as active motivating forces, but also empower pupils and students to radically change their attitudes, imbibe virtues and take positive actions for the actualization of sustainable development goals. Taking into account its importance, The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted by United Nations from 2000 – 2015 were largely framed to realize education for sustainable development, namely:

- to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
- to achieve universal primary education
- to promote gender equality and empower women
- to reduce child mortality
- to improve maternal health
- to combat HIV/AIDs, malaria and other diseases
- to ensure environmental sustainability
- to establish a global partnership for development.

Similarly, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which replaced the MDGs also adopted by the United Nations in September, 2015, have projected another fifteen years (2015-2030). It contains seventeen (17) goals and 169 targets. The 17 goals are:

1. No poverty
2. Zero Hunger
3. Good health and well-being
4. Quality Education
5. Gender Equality
6. Clean Water and Sanitation
7. Affordable and Clean Energy

8. Decent Work and Economic Growth
9. Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure
10. Reduced Inequalities
11. Sustainable Cities and Communities
12. Responsible Consumption and Production
13. Climate Action
14. Life Below Land
15. Life on Water
16. Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions
17. Partnership for the Goals.

5. Economic Diversification and Sustainable Development (Sustainability): Redefining, Revisiting and Re-examining the Mandate of Polytechnic Education or Repositioning and Strengthening Polytechnic Education?

Fujio Mitarai, the successful Japanese entrepreneur and Chief Executive Officer of Canon Company, is of the view that “diversification and globalization are the keys to the future”. Polytechnic education remains the most viable, reliable, functional and effective channel or route to actualise the goals of economic diversification and sustainable development the world over. Thus, the critical question that comes to the fore at this point is: how can the full realization of the mandate of polytechnic education through the generation and proper utilization of the requisite manpower imbued with relevant knowledge, skills, and competencies facilitate economic diversification and sustainable development in Nigeria? This question will be answered and analysed with reference to the relevant provisions of the Federal Polytechnic (Amendment) Act 2019; experiences and lessons from Germany, China, and the Asian Tigers; and the NBTE advocacy slogan, “Skills, not Degrees”.

5.1. Federal Polytechnic (Amendment) Act, 2019

Without any intention whatsoever to ascribe any form of finality to the need to continuously redefine the mandate of polytechnic education in Nigeria as the need arises, the Federal Polytechnic (Amendment) Act, 2019, which has been domesticated by some states, has not only redefined but reinforced the mandate and relevance of polytechnic education as well as repositioned the capacities of polytechnics to facilitate the development of the people and the country. The most important innovation introduced by the Act that is relevant to this paper can be located in Section 2(a). Accordingly, it provides that the functions of the polytechnic shall be to provide full-time and part-time courses of instruction and training to produce middle- and high-level manpower in technology, applied sciences, commerce, management and other fields of applied learning relevant to the development of Nigeria. This provision has added vigor, more value and impetus to polytechnic education, thereby enhancing its relevance especially in terms of producing the high quality manpower necessary for technological revolution and development. To uphold the relevance of polytechnic education as a major means of diversifying Nigeria’s present ailing economy for economic recovery and transformation, the Federal Government under President Bola Ahmed Tinubu, according to the Executive Secretary of the National Board for Technical Education (NBTE), Prof. Idris Bugaje, has made Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) the fourth pillar in the policy document of the administration. No wonder Onodugo, Amajuri and Nwuba (2015) noted that “diversification is driven by human capital development which is the starting point, driving force and sustaining force”.

5.2. Experiences and Lessons from Germany, China and the Asian Tigers

Experiences and lessons derived from Germany show that Germany has one of the highest concentrations of technical manpower in the world today, primarily because of the special attention and priority given to technology education. Similarly, in 2014, China announced a major education reform through “gradual transition” intended to convert six hundred (600) universities to institutions of applied learning or polytechnics. This was intended to produce more technically trained manpower particularly engineers, senior technicians and other highly skilled workers needed at the production line. Also, the Asian economic miracle of the 1980s to the 1990s was said to have been facilitated by an educated population possessing the right skills set required by the industry. In fact, it

is striking to note that aside from industrialization, agricultural revolution and export, foreign trade and investment, etc; education and technology played very significant roles in the “Asian miracle” characterized by rapid economic development of the “Asian Tigers” – South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore in less than forty years. The highly skilled and technologically educated population was responsible for the huge success recorded in the production and exportation of high-tech goods, including software and electronics. The emergence of South Korea’s Samsung, LG, Kia, and Hyundai electronics, computers and vehicles, etc; speak volumes. Like South Korea, Taiwan also invested heavily in technology education and used her skilled students to achieve extraordinary technological breakthrough in the production of computer hardware, software and solar power, etc. Singapore also encouraged skills development by establishing many technical schools and engaged the services of international corporations to train and upskill and reskill her unskilled labour in information technology, electronics, etc. In Taiwan, there was also very strong funding and support for technical and vocational education. Agba and Ozor (2018) captures the scenario thus:

... one of the major factors as observed in the development stages of the Tigers was the emergence of the educated class that has a mastery over technology.... Education in particular is cited as playing a major role in the mastery of technology... allowed for high levels of literacy cognitive skills and highly productive labour force.

Another significant provision of the Federal Polytechnic (Amendment) Act, 2019, is the extension of the length of service of both teaching and non-teaching staff of the polytechnics to the statutory retirement age of sixty-five (65) years. In fact, S. 14(4) of the Act provides that “notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the Pension Reform Act, the compulsory retirement age of staff of polytechnics shall be 65 years”. The implication of this particular provision is that it allows or enables qualified, competent and experienced staff of the polytechnics more time to meaningfully contribute to teaching, research and community service, with the overall outcome of producing more skilled manpower to drive socio-economic and political development in the country.

Furthermore, S.82(2) (a)(i) of the Act makes provision to the effect that only a Chief Lecturer in the polytechnic system or sector is eligible for appointment into the office of the Rector of a polytechnic. Although some state-owned and private polytechnics are yet to domesticate and adopt the provision, it has gone a great distance to fortify and ensure good corporate management and administration of polytechnics by persons who have the interest, relevant qualifications, knowledge, experience, exposure and passion for polytechnic education, thereby guaranteeing the stability of the institutional leadership of the polytechnics. This provision of the Act was given judicial credence and endorsement by the National Industrial Court of Nigeria (NICN), following the nullification of the appointment of five (5) rectors of federal polytechnics appointed by the former President of the country Muhammadu Buhari, in 2022 in contravention of the provision of the Act.

5.3. NBTE Skills Advocacy Slogan, “Skills, not Degrees”

The adoption of the skills advocacy slogan “Skills, not Degrees” by the National Board for Technical Education (NBTE) marks a fundamental paradigm shift in an attempt to deliberately reawaken the consciousness and awareness of Nigerians in general and participants and stakeholders in the polytechnic sector in particular of the indispensability and centrality of skilled manpower as a core mandate in the provision of polytechnic education in the country. The NBTE, as the supervisor and regulator of polytechnics and polytechnic education in Nigeria, has used the slogan to refocus the attention of the government, managers and operators of the polytechnics to pay greater attention to the promotion and acquisition of problem-solving, business, scientific and technical skills by polytechnic students and graduates. A former Executive Secretary of NBTE, Kazaure (2021), contends that:

as Nigeria aspires to become a major player in the world economy, it is very clear that the most crucial vehicle for attaining such ambitious goal apart from power infrastructure, is a skilled and competent workforce. This is necessary for the effective implementation of national development projects and for attracting necessary international investments especially hi-tech industries (p. 255).

Practical skills have to do with the ability of a person to use one's knowledge to perform a given job, task or activity. They can be acquired and developed through formal education as provided by the polytechnics, especially in terms of on-the-job training, apprenticeships and experience. Skills are generally targeted at solving specific problems. It is important to emphasize that degrees are important only to the extent that they confer academic or theoretical knowledge and problem-solving (practical) skills on the holders. Unlike degrees, skills focus on the practical ability to solve a particular problem(s) or perform specific assignment(s) or task(s). Polytechnic education provides such problem-solving and employability skills, especially the technical variant, that are necessary for creativity, innovation, self-employment, self-reliance and promotion of entrepreneurship, which are imperatives for economic diversification and sustainable development. Essentially, technical skills require the use of tools, instruments and technologies by technicians, technologists and other professionals. They refer to sets of abilities or practical knowledge applied to execute practical tasks chiefly in the applied sciences, engineering, arts, commerce, management and other fields of applied learning aimed at stimulating economic growth and sustainable development.

NICEF, UNICEF and WHO have identified ten (10) life skills, strategies and techniques, to wit:

- Problem-solving skills
- Critical thinking skills
- Effective communication skills
- Decision-making skills
- Creative thinking skills
- Interpersonal relationship skills
- Self-awareness building skills
- Empathy skills – ability to understand, identify and care about other people's needs, problems or concerns
- Stress-coping or management skills; and
- Emotion management skills

According to the current Executive Secretary of the NBTE, Prof. Bugaje, the Board's slogan "Skills, not Degrees" is to encourage Nigerian youths to focus more on acquiring skills than certificates and not discredit university degrees and certificates. He argues that a person who has a skill without even a degree can find a very good job, but a person who has a degree without skills may find it difficult to get a job. He recommends skill acquisition programmes to polytechnics, colleges of education and university graduates to complement their diploma and degree certificates. This is because skills have become the global labour currency of the 21st-century economies and the future of sustainable employment (Bugaje,2021). Over the years, the polytechnics have placed emphasis on the "technical" aspect of their training with respect to TVET and neglected the vocational component.

In order to fill the gap, the NBTE, in a bid to ingrain vocational training in the polytechnic graduates to acquire complete and relevant set skills that will enhance their employability and make them more relevant to society, has directed all polytechnics to establish Skills Development Centres (SDCs) for the purpose of adopting National Skills Qualification (NSQ) training. One major advantage of this innovation is that it will reinforce polytechnic-industry relationship, partnerships and collaborations, especially by way of opening the doors of the polytechnics for training of the informal sector and "offering dual awards of National Diplomas and National Skills Qualifications (NSQ)" (Guidelines and Structure of Skills Development Centre in Polytechnics, 2023). To further boost this effort, the NBTE has approved the integration of the establishment of skills development centres as an integral part of the accreditation of programmes of the polytechnics. The Board has equally given 2023 as the deadline for all polytechnics in the country to establish well-equipped and functional skills development centres and that at the expiration of the deadline, polytechnics that did not comply with the directive will no longer be visited by the Board for accreditation. The Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFUND), on its part, beginning from 2023, has incorporated the provision of equipment and other facilities in the beneficiary polytechnics Skills Development Centre by using the yearly zonal interventions.

5.4. Challenges of Polytechnic Education: A Brief

There is an avalanche of literature by many scholars and public commentators on the challenges militating against the actualisation of the full mandate of polytechnic education in the country. Prominent among such challenges are poor funding and inadequate infrastructure, outdated curriculum, discrimination against polytechnic graduates which is popularly referred to as the B.Sc./HND dichotomy and politicization of the appointment of polytechnic rectors. Although the appointment debacle has been very much addressed by the Federal Polytechnic (Amendment) Act 2019. Others are the non-establishment of the National Polytechnics Commission to specifically regulate and supervise the programmes and activities of the polytechnics as is the case with the National Universities Commission (NUC) and the National Colleges of Education Commission (NCCE); weak polytechnic-industry linkages; corruption; shortage of vocational and technical teachers and training resources; incessant strike actions by staff of polytechnics; poor remuneration; and non-payment of arrears of salaries of staff, especially in some state-owned polytechnics. Furthermore, irregular professional/capacity-building training of staff and the obsolete, inadequate or absence of modern workshops, laboratories and laboratory equipment, and library resources to teach and train learners/students in order to fully discharge the mandate of polytechnic education and deliver the associated benefits for economic diversification and sustainable development of Nigeria are common in the polytechnic sector. (Obasi, 2011; Raji, Raji, Salihu, & Lawal, 2015; Epelle, Harry & Inikoba, 2023).

5.5. Contributions of Polytechnic Education to National Development: A Synopsis

Despite the multidimensional, hydra-headed, and daunting challenges confronting polytechnics in particular and polytechnic education in general in the country, there is visible evidence of the significant contributions of polytechnic education to national development. Some of the notable strides achieved will include the generation of human resources or manpower through the graduation of National Diploma (ND) and Higher National Diploma (HND) graduates who are self-employed or are productively engaged either in the public or private sectors of the economy or in the diaspora. Others are fabrication of equipment, especially prototypes; engagement in agricultural support programmes and production; organization of public enlightenment, education and sensitization using advocacy programmes; organisation and facilitation of local, national and international seminars, conferences and workshops. Furthermore, polytechnic education has contributed to the promotion of research, scholarship and community service, skills exhibitions, continuous human capacity development and professional training of staff of polytechnics for increased productivity etc. (Epelle, Harry & Inokoba, 2023; Obasi, 2011).

6. Conclusions

There is no gainsaying the truism that repositioning and strengthening polytechnic education rather than redefining its mandate constitutes a critical success factor in the conscious attempt and process of achieving genuine economic diversification of Nigeria's ailing economy in order to ensure sustainable national development. Whereas it cannot be denied that it may be necessary in the future to redefine the mandate of polytechnic education as the need arises, the Federal Polytechnic (Amendment) Act, 2019, despite its pitfalls and inadequacies, has made far-reaching provisions capable of reengineering economic diversification and enduring transformation of the country, especially with regard to the core mandate of providing full-time or part-time courses of instruction and training to produce middle- and high-level manpower in technology, applied science, commerce and management, among others. What is needed is for all state-owned polytechnics to domesticate the provisions of the Act and for private polytechnics to also adopt the same to guarantee uniformity and standardization of the mandate. What is more, the government requires a determined and committed political leadership and will to address the various challenges plaguing the actualization of the full mandate of polytechnic education in the country. All stakeholders and actors must forge closer and more harmonious synergy to accomplish this inevitable task. This is particularly against the backdrop of the fact that without putting Nigeria's polytechnic education on the path of stability, progress and prosperity, growing the economy through multiple production lines in order to improve the quality and existential conditions of living of Nigerians may be elusive.

This makes the production of individuals with the relevant skills set (skills development), which is one of the major mandates of polytechnic education, a desideratum and indispensable. As Fredrick Harbison aptly noted: "clearly, a country that is unable to develop the skills and knowledge of its people and utilize them effectively in the national economy will be unable to deliver anything else".

Okoye, Okaro, Egbunike and Obodo (2021) have succinctly summarised and captured the indispensability of polytechnic education vis-à-vis economic diversification and sustainable development as follows:

Polytechnic and colleges of technology need to be refocused to accomplish the task of producing competent technicians and skilled labour upon which manufacturing and industrial activities depend. The current national cacophony which seeks to blur the distinction between polytechnics and universities is definitely in the national interest. Technical and vocational education must be given a pride of place, and a reward system that will attract and retain the interest of young people. An educational system that majors in the production of liberal arts, science and theoretical engineering graduates holds the nation's economy in perpetual subjection to foreign interest (p. 1358).

In the final analysis, skills development through polytechnic education and effective application are the global dictates, contemporary trend, and the pathway that can guarantee holistic diversification of Nigeria's economy for genuine revivification, sustainable development and self-reliance.

7. Recommendations

In light of the foregoing, the ensuing recommendations are considered appropriate and are hereby made:

1. The government should increase the funding of polytechnic education by allocating annual special grants to the polytechnics, especially for the purpose of upgrading and providing modern teaching/learning facilities, workshops, laboratories, etc., and other resources. The indication that the present Federal Government will, with effect from 2024, review upward the budgetary allocation to the education sector to at least 25% of the UNICEF recommended benchmark of 26% of the total annual budget as announced by the Minister of Education, Professor Tahir Mammam is cheering and commendable.
2. There is an urgent need to amend the existing law establishing the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFUND) in order to increase the yearly intervention allocation to the polytechnics. The current sharing formula or ratio of allocation to beneficiary institutions on the basis of 2:1:1, that is, 50% to universities, 25% to polytechnics and 25% to colleges of education needs to be revisited and reviewed in favour of the polytechnics.
3. The organised private sector should be encouraged by government to support the development of polytechnic education through, among others, the provision of research grants and learning/teaching facilities to polytechnics, expansion of polytechnic-industry (Town-Gown) linkages, partnerships and collaboration, especially in terms of skills development. This will bridge the gap between theoretical knowledge and practical application.
4. The Federal Government should, through the President, expeditiously sign into law the bill seeking to remove the dichotomy/discrimination between HND/B.Sc. graduates in employment in order to attract more persons (youths) to enrol in polytechnics.
5. The Federal Polytechnic (Amendment) Act, 2019, should be amended to, inter alia include representatives of the National Board for Technical Education (NBTE) in the Governing Councils of Polytechnics. As the supervisory and regulatory agency of the polytechnics, this will afford the Board an opportunity to provide useful inputs and advice in the management of the polytechnics in particular and the development of polytechnic education in general.
6. More than ever before, the National Polytechnic Commission (NPC) should be inaugurated by the Federal Government to provide the needed impetus and special attention to polytechnic education.
7. The polytechnics should be encouraged and supported to enhance their skills-building capacities by laying much emphasis on the promotion of the vocational component of the polytechnic education which has over the years been neglected.
8. Skills Development Centres (SDCs) should be established in all polytechnics as directed by the National Board for Technical Education (NBTE), adequately equipped and made functional in order to reduce skills shortages in the country, create a more skilled and diverse workforce, enhance their practical

experience, employability and productivity. In other words, this has the potential to increase the skills level of polytechnic graduates, inspire confidence in them and increase their prospects of gaining employment globally (labour mobility). This is paramount because technical, vocational and professional skills are at the core and substructure (foundation) of improving employment opportunities and increasing the chances and success of economic diversification, growth and sustainable development in Nigeria. Moreso, since the focal point of polytechnic education is practical exercises and the acquisition of life-changing skills; the TETFUND has the capacity to and should finance the establishment of the SDCs in the polytechnics.

9. The National Board for Technical Education (NBTE) should continuously review and refocus the curriculum of polytechnic education more on skills development and align the curriculum with the need of the industries and the job market.
10. The NBTE should provide more support for and make entrepreneurship a major component of the curriculum of polytechnic education mandatory for all students to help drive creativity, innovation, productivity, self-employment, self-reliance, economic growth and sustainable development. This will make every polytechnic strive to become an “Entrepreneurship Polytechnic” and cultivate a culture of entrepreneurship among students.
11. Continuous teachers’ capacity development and training should be vigorously pursued to improve polytechnic teacher quality and professional development for effective delivery and performance.
12. Given the parlous state of Nigeria’s economy and the astronomical increase in the prices of goods and services, there is a need for a constant and upward review of the salaries of the polytechnic workers and a general improvement in the terms and conditions of their employment. This will act as a motivation for higher productivity, discourage brain drain and ensure teaching staff retention in the polytechnic system.
13. Aggressive public enlightenment, using various media education and advocacy programmes and platforms on the need for parents to encourage their children/wards and youths to embrace polytechnic education because this is the global trend and the right way to go.
14. Polytechnics should foster a culture of innovation and applied research and development, capable of generating new knowledge, technologies and inventions to address local socio-economic challenges to stimulate economic growth.
15. Technology incubation centres should be established in all polytechnics to encourage entrepreneurship, enable students transform their innovation into viable business propositions, promote technology transfer, commercialize research findings and help start-up businesses effectively take off and stabilize, thereby further diversifying the economy.

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A Comparative Analysis of the Translation Styles in Chinese Versions of *The Wealth of Nations* based on the Adaptation Theory: A Corpus-based Statistical Examination

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Abstract

With the rapid iteration of information technology, information is digitized, translations continue to emerge, and the heat of translation research has reached its peak. Based on corpus statistics and analysis, this study selects two Chinese translations of *The Wealth of Nations* (Guo Da Li's translation and Xie Zong Lin's translation) as the research object from the perspective of adaptation theory and analyzes the translation styles of their translations from the levels of vocabulary, translation method, and discourse. Through a comparative study of the two translations, Xie Zonglin's translation is more inclined toward the Italian translation method, with rich vocabulary, strong readability, and flexible use of sentence expression, while Guo Dali's translation is more inclined toward the direct translation method, with a complete sentence structure and a strong sense of hierarchy. At the same time, it was found that all translations were labeled with their respective times. The translations of Guo Dali and Xie Zonglin are no exception; specifically, they conform to the context, language structure, and translation strategies. This study aimed to provide lessons for corpus translation research.

Keywords: Adaptation Theory, Translations of *the Wealth of Nations*, Translation Style, Corpus

1. Introduction

The Wealth of Nations, written by the British writer Adam Smith (1723-1790) and published in 1776, is known as the "Bible" of economics, which not only lays the theoretical foundation of the free economy of capitalism, but also marks the formation of the classical political economy system. Since Yan Fu's Chinese translation of *The Wealth of Nations* came out in 1902, more than twenty Chinese translations have been published worldwide, most of which are versions of Guo Dali and Wang Yanan's proofreading (Liu, 1992). It is worthwhile to pay attention to the fact that none of the translations have been designated as the final version, because people at different times have different ideas and dissolutions. At present, academic research on the Chinese translation of *The Wealth of Nations* can be roughly summarized into three aspects. The first is research on the theoretical basis of the translation of *The Wealth of Nations*, including the theory of associated translation, text type theory, functional

translation theory, and translation behavior theory; the second is) research on the translation strategies and methods of *The Wealth of Nations*, including the direct translation method, Italian translation method, semantic translation method, dissimilarity translation method, naturalization translation method, and no-text back-translation method (Li, 2020); and the third is research on *The Wealth of Nations* on the framework of modern economic theories.

Numerous scholars have achieved certain results in the above aspects; however, few scholars have carried out research on the translation styles of different Chinese translations of *The Wealth of Nations* based on corpus. Advances in corpus research and tools have facilitated the long-term collection and storage of translated texts, providing technical support for measuring and comparing the linguistic complexity of different periods. Based on a self-constructed corpus, this dissertation investigates the influence of different eras on the linguistic style of translators from the perspective of adaptation theory through a comparative study of two Chinese translations of Guo Dali and Xie Zonglin.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Definition of adaptation theory and its research methodology

To understand pragmatics, Verschueren defines the theory of conformity as the use of language that must include the constant making of linguistic choices, consciously or unconsciously, for reasons both internal and external to the language. These choices can be located at any level of linguistic form: phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, or semantic. Making choices is a two-way process that requires choices to be made in the production and interpretation of discourse (Verschueren, 2000), which means that people make linguistic choices to adapt to either the internal or external aspects of language.

Belgian linguist Jef Verschueren first proposed the theory of conformity as a pragmatic phenomenon that refers to speakers' adjustment of their speech behavior to achieve a certain purpose when communicating with the listener. Such adjustments can be changes in linguistic form, tone of voice, speed of speech, etc., aimed at adapting to the listener's needs, expectations, emotional state, and so on. In other words, conformity is an adjustment behavior for better communication, and is a discourse phenomenon closely related to the hearer. This kind of adjustment behavior can occur in many situations, such as in formal speeches, business negotiations, and daily conversations. By adapting, speakers can better connect with hearers, convey information, and realize their communication purposes. According to the book *Understanding Pragmatics*, the theory of conformity can be broadly understood as six main points. First, linguistic choices can be made in any possible utterance structure, and linguistic choices coexist with utterance structures; second, language users can make linguistic choices according to different forms or strategies; third, linguistic choices are behaviors made in response to matter, either consciously or unconsciously; fourth, linguistic choices appear in the process of production and linguistic interpretation, and the choices play a role; fifth, language users should make appropriate linguistic choices and linguistic adjustments regardless of meeting readers' needs (Xu & Xiao, 2018); sixth, linguistic choices have some alternatives, and when language users make choices, they can use acceptance or rejection to respond (Wang, 2022). According to the book, language use can be categorized into three attributes: variability, negotiability, and conformity. Among these three attributes, the basic core is conformity, which is also the goal of language use and, to a certain extent, satisfies the communicative needs of language users (Yang & Liu, 2017).

The research methods of *adaptation theory* can be divided into four levels: contextual, structural, dynamic, and consciousness salience. Combining the above four levels, the specific research methods can be further specified as the following four points: the first is corpus analysis, in which researchers can collect a large amount of linguistic data, such as books, news reports, social media posts, etc., and analyze the linguistic expressions in them in order to understand the effects of different contexts and social factors on linguistic expressions; the second is experimental research, in which researchers can design experiments to test the effects of different contexts and social factors on linguistic expressions, for example, asking participants to use different linguistic styles and tones in a specific context; thirdly, questionnaires, researchers can design questionnaires to find out how people choose different linguistic expressions in a specific context, as well as the degree of their preference for and acceptance

of different linguistic expressions; fourthly, cognitive neuroscience research, researchers can use neural science techniques, such as functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), to study the changes in brain activity and related cognitive mechanisms when people use different language expressions. Generally, cutting from different angles can help scholars conduct better academic research and explain linguistic phenomena. In this dissertation, the corpus is used as an auxiliary tool to study the two levels of linguistic conformity and structural conformity and to analyze the linguistic choices and conformity of different ages by comparing the two Chinese translations of Guo Da Li and Xie Zong Lin.

2.2 Translation Style Study

Translation style refers to a translator's unique personality traits in terms of text selection, translation strategies, and methods (Jiang, 2023). The study of translation style can help scholars consider the translator's linguistic habits and the social and cultural environment in which they live in a more comprehensive way to gain a deeper understanding of the reasons behind the translator's behavior. Through an in-depth study of translation style, the essence of translation can be better understood, and more accurate and effective translation services can be provided for cross-cultural communication and dissemination. At present, domestic scholars have made full use of corpus tools to make more successful research results in different countries and different types of literary works. First, in the research of foreign literature, for example, in the linguistic and literary analysis of Shakespeare's plays, the linguistic and literary features of Shakespeare's plays, such as the extensive use of vocabulary (Chen, 2023), the vocabulary and linguistic variations (Li, 2021), and the image portrayal of the characters, have been revealed through corpus research, and its literary and artistic characteristics are deeply explored. Second, in the study of Chinese literature, some scholars have conducted in-depth research on Lu Xun's literary works, analyzed the semantics of verbs in his novels, and found that there are some unique linguistic phenomena, such as synthesis, abstraction, and borrowing of meanings of verbs, which have revealed the linguistic and literary features of his novels in depth. Third, in a cross-cultural comparative study, scholars have analyzed the linguistic and literary features of Chinese and Western novels through the use of corpus technology. Utilizing corpus technology to conduct comparative studies of literary works between Chinese and Western cultures. For example, in a comparative study of the semantics and usage of time words in Chinese and Western literary works, it was found that in Chinese and Western cultures, there are different characteristics of the expression of time, a finding that profoundly reflects the differences in people's perceptions and expressions of time in different cultural contexts. These research results not only deepen our understanding of literature, language, and culture, but also provide practical guidance and theoretical support for cross-cultural communication, cultural dissemination, and translation style research, and provide a better reference for the study of the translation styles of different literary works.

It can be seen through the literature combing that the existing literature mainly focuses on the study of adaptation theory and translation, but the past research mainly focuses on the use of purely qualitative methods to study the translator's translation strategy and to observe the overall characteristics of the translated text from the outside (Wang, 2011). However, this kind of research cannot provide an objective, real, and detailed description of the translation style directly from a linguistic point of view. Few studies have specifically aimed to compare the linguistic styles of different translations using the theory of conformity on the basis of corpus analysis. In view of this, this paper tries to take advantage of the corpus, combined with the guidance of compliance theory, based on the differentiation route method and corpus technology tools to explore the translation style of different translations, so that the research conclusions to a certain extent overcome the subjective one-sidedness of traditional research, and are more scientific and objective through the extraction of data statistics.

3. Corpus Selection and Research Methodology

3.1 Corpus selection

The Wealth of Nations, published many years ago during the Scottish Enlightenment and Scottish Agricultural Revolution, is one of the two masterpieces of world economic history. Since its publication, it has been translated

into many languages and has enjoyed a good reputation in the world, for which Yan Fu has studied its translations, as shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1: Years of publication of The Wealth of Nations in different countries

| particular year | nations | particular year | multilingualism |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| 1776 | German | 1880 | Sweden |
| 1778 | French | 1902 | sino |
| 1779 | Denmark | 1927 | Polish |
| 1790 | Italy | 1928 | Czech Republic (from 1993) |
| 1792 | Spanish | 1933 | Suomi |
| 1796 | the Netherlands | 1934 | Romania |
| 1802 | Georgia | 1948 | Istanbul |
| 1811 | Portugal | 1957 | South Korea (Republic of Korea) |
| 1870 | Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) | 1959 | Arabian |

Table 2: Number of translations of The Wealth of Nations in different countries

| quantities | nations | quantities | nations |
|------------|---------------------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| 14 | Japanese | 2 | Denmark |
| 10 | German | 2 | Polish |
| 7 | Spanish | 2 | Portugal |
| 6 | Italy | 2 | Romania |
| 6 | Georgia | 1 | Czech Republic (from 1993) |
| 6 | French | 1 | Egypt |
| 5 | Sweden | 1 | Suomi |
| 5 | South Korea (Republic of Korea) | 1 | the Netherlands |
| 4 | sino | 1 | Istanbul |

When it comes to domestic translations of The Wealth of Nations, it is worth noting that until the end of the 20th century, there were only two translations. One of them was by Yan Fu, who is considered to be one of the most famous reformers and translators. However, translations of The Wealth of Nations have sprung up in China as we enter the 21st century. Currently, 20 translations have been published, as shown in Table 3, which demonstrates the importance of Chinese attachment to Adam Smith's economic theories.

Table 3: Details of Chinese translation of The Wealth of Nations

| serial number | translator (of writing) | particular year | publisher |
|---------------|---|-----------------|--|
| 1 | Yan Fu (1853-1921), influential Chinese writer and translator of Western books, esp. on social sciences | 1901 | The Commercial Press, Shanghai (from 1897) |
| 2 | Guo Dali, Wang Yanan | 1931 | Shanghai Ethnic Publishing House |
| 3 | Yang Jingnian (1935-), PRC politician | 2001 | Shaanxi People's Publishing House |
| 4 | Xie Zujun | 2003 | Central South University Press |
| 5 | Tang Risong | 2005 | Huaxia Publishing House |
| 6 | Yang Jingnian (1935-), PRC politician | 2006 | Shaanxi People's Publishing House |
| 7 | Fang Wenhua, He Aijun and He Kuanjun | 2006 | Shaanxi People's Publishing House |
| 8 | Jiao Mei, Chinese caramel tree | 2006 | Guangming Daily Publishing House |
| 9 | Chen Xing (1956-), Chinese movie director | 2006 | Shaanxi Normal University Press |
| 10 | Zhang Xing, Tian Yaowu and Gong Shuanghong | 2007 | Beijing Publishing House |
| 11 | Sun Shanchun, Li Chunchang | 2008 | Volume Publishing Company |
| 12 | Hu Changming | 2009 | People's Daily Publishing House |

| | | | |
|----|---|------|--|
| 13 | Chen Jianping (1933-), PRC figure skater, 1995-1998 | 2009 | China Business Press |
| 14 | Xu Teng (1962-), Chinese short story writer | 2009 | New World Publishing |
| 15 | Sun Shanchun, Li Chunchang | 2010 | Volume Publishing Company |
| 16 | Julie (name) | 2010 | China Business Press |
| 17 | Wang Xun, Ji Fei | 2010 | Tsinghua University Press |
| 18 | Dai Guangnian (1889-1969), Chinese American poet | 2010 | Wuhan University Press |
| 19 | Zhang Li | 2011 | Nanjing Yilin Press |
| 20 | Xie Zonglin, Li Huaxia | 2011 | Central Compilation and Translation Publishing House |
| 21 | Hao Jing | 2012 | The Overseas Chinese Publishing House |
| 22 | Xie Zujun | 2014 | Henan Literature and Art Publishing House |

Many scholars have conducted academic research on these translation studies. According to Zhi.com and Wanfang data, Huang Yan (2020) systematically organized and mined for the illustrated version of *The Wealth of Nations* and analyzed the trend of the development of illustrations in *The Wealth of Nations*, its characteristics, and the reasons for choosing the various high translations of *The Wealth of Nations*. Combined with Martinec and Salway's model of graphic-text relationship adaptation, an analysis of *The Wealth of Nations* is carried out to summarize the basic laws and ways of illustrations in the process of translation. Finally, it was found that illustrations can not only assist readers to understand the related economic theoretical ideas, but also show the relationship between powers, reproduce different socio-cultural factors, and stimulate readers' empathy and participation. Martinec & Salway's graphic-textual relationship synthesis model is pertinent to the study of illustrations in translations, and there are three kinds of translations: detail, enhancement, and extension, of which detail takes up the highest percentage. highest (Huang, 2020).

In addition, Cao Zhi (2014) discusses the theory of purpose, arguing that the purpose of the act of translation is the determining factor of the whole translation process, and that translators should choose appropriate translation methods according to the purpose of translation to realize the intended purpose and function of the translated text in the incoming language. By taking three Chinese translations of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* as examples, he compares the differences in translation purpose, translation strategy, faithfulness, conciseness, and authenticity of the translations and summarizes their respective features (Cao, 2014).

To summarize, comparative studies on different versions of *The Wealth of Nations* have been conducted from different perspectives. However, few scholars have studied the Chinese translations of Guo Dali and Xie Zonglin based on the corpus under the theory of conformity; therefore, this study selects the full text of *The Wealth of Nations* and its two Chinese translations published by the publisher Penguin Classics in 2018, as shown in Table 4. *adaptation theory* explains that linguistic choices are made consciously or unconsciously for reasons both internal and external to the language. Guo Dali's translation and Xie Zonglin's translation are no exceptions. Both of these duos made different linguistic choices and adjustments in the translation process.

Table 4: Information on the Chinese translation of The Wealth of Nations

| | publishers | Year of publication | Original word count | Number of words/translation |
|---|--|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| Li Kuo (1906-1976), Chinese communist leader, played a leading role in the development of China's economy | Shanghai Ethnic Publishing House | 1931 | 163798 | 14359 |
| Xie Zonglin (1890-1968), revolutionary and martyr | Central Compilation and Translation Publishing House | 2011 | 205000 | 15556 |

Based on two Chinese translations of Guo Dali and Xie Zonglin's *The Wealth of Nations*, this study created the English-Chinese Parallel Corpus (ECPC).

3.2 Research methodology

To further obtain the correct research analysis, this study first informatizes the corpus, followed by corpus cleaning, and finally performs manual checking and corpus alignment to construct the parallel corpus of the original text of *The Wealth of Nations* and the English-Chinese bilingual corpus. Among them, Guo Dali's translation totaled 163,798 words, Xie Zonglin's translation totaled 205,000 words, and *The Wealth of Nations* totaled 88,796 words. Based on WordSmith 8.0 and AntConc 3.5.9 technical analysis, this study further explores the differences between the two translations and their translation styles under the theory of conformity at the levels of words, sentences, paragraphs, and chapters.

4. A comparative study and analysis of two Chinese translations from the perspective of adaptation theory

4.1 Lexical analysis

In the field of corpus translation studies, Token, which is the total number of words in the corpus, can be counted repeatedly, and each occurrence can be counted as a token, while Type is the number of non-repeated occurrences of a token. In translation, the Type/Token Ratio reflects the richness of the vocabulary in the examined text and the magnitude of their variations (Baker, 2000). This ratio reflects the breadth of the vocabulary; that is, the lower the repetition rate of the vocabulary, the greater the ratio between formants and classants. In short, the higher the TTR, the higher the lexical richness of the text and vice versa. However, when dealing with longer texts, the number of dummy words increases, leading to a decrease in the confidence of the class character/form character ratio, and simple TTR data cannot be compared. Therefore, to eliminate this effect, this study adopts the class/formant ratio of every 1,000 words as the unit of calculation for calculation and statistics, that is, Standardized Type/Token Ratio (STTR) (Hu, Zhu, & Li, 2018), which can exclude the effect of the total number of words in the article on the results and make the statistical results more scientific and objective.

The number of class symbols, the number of form symbols, the ratio of class symbols to form symbols, and the ratio of standard class symbols to form symbols of Guo Dali's and Xie Zonglin's translations are analyzed using the software and are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Lexical analysis data

| | number of class characters (computing) (Types) | Tokens | Type Token Ratio (TTR) | Standardlist Type Token Ratio (STTR) |
|---|--|--------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Li Kuo (1906-1976), Chinese communist leader, played a leading role in the development of China's economy | 13027 | 14359 | 90.72 | 92.35 |
| Xie Zonglin (1890-1968), revolutionary and martyr | 12501 | 15556 | 80.42 | 94.02 |

As shown in the above table, in terms of the four basic datasets, the two translations differ greatly. In the Chinese translation of *The Wealth of Nations*, Xie's translation uses 15,556 formulas, which is 1,197 more than Guo's translation. If we do not double count the number of formulas and only count the class characters, Xie's translation has 526 fewer than Guo's translation. The STTR of Guo Da Li's translation was 92.35, whereas that of Xie Zong Lin's translation was 94.02. Therefore, in the process of comparing the two corpora, it is concluded that the lexical richness of Xie Zong Lin's translation is slightly higher than that of Guo Da Li's. In the comparison of the two translations, the total number of morphemes in Xie's translation is slightly higher than that in Guo Dali's translation, indicating that Xie's translation is more explicit in conveying the message of *The Wealth of Nations*, pays more attention to the diversity of interpretations in the source language, and tends to adopt explicit translations to express the implicit meaning of the original author, further confirming that Xie's translation tends to be an Italian

translation. Guo's translation, on the other hand, is more inclined to direct translation and tends to be faithful to the sentence length of the original text on the basis of which it conveys the message of the original text. Both versions of the translation point out that, in order to emphasize Adam Smith's intention expressed in *The Wealth of Nations*, the translator adds, retains, or deletes the original text to varying degrees, demonstrating the translator's subjective initiative. Meanwhile, for the same source language translation, Guo's translation has a low degree of lexical variation and uses a narrower vocabulary range, whereas Xie's translation shows a greater degree of lexical variation. This further supports the phenomenon that Xie's translation consciously increased the number of morphological characters to better help readers understand the original text and suggests that Xie's translation was subject to fewer constraints from the original text during the translation process.

4.2 Analysis of translation methods

A comparison of the two translations shows that Xie Zonglin is more oriented to contextual semantics and uses more paraphrase, while Guo Dali is more oriented to the original sentences and uses more direct translation. Direct translation can not only reproduce or even construct the metaphorical imagery of the source language but also promote cultural exchange between the two sides. The translator's intentional direct translation allows the reader to make cognitive transformations in the reorganization of meaning, which is a new refreshing and reconstruction of personal knowledge schema, and also promotes the reader's cognition and understanding of the world, so as to truly achieve the purpose of cultural exchange through translation.

Table 6: Statistics on translation methods of the two translations of *The Wealth of Nations*

| | Percentage of direct translation/% | Percentage of Italian translation (or + Hanyu Pinyin) / % | Percentage of transliteration/% |
|---|------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| Li Kuo (1906-1976), Chinese communist leader, played a leading role in the development of China's economy | 87.9 | 12.1 | 0 |
| Xie Zonglin (1890-1968), revolutionary and martyr | 67.3 | 29.2 | 3.5 |

4.3 Discourse-level analysis

This section examines the two translations from the perspective of discourse coherence. In discourse, coherence is an important element of study. Coherence is realized through articulation, which ensures the connection between sentences through lexical and grammatical means. In the translation process, the appropriate use of articulation can improve the coherence of the translated text and make it easier for readers to understand. Therefore, the means of articulation are also an important aspect of the study of translation styles (Cai & Yu, 2018).

The language of *The Wealth of Nations* is logically rigorous and simple. When Adam Smith discusses economic theories, he tends to start from principles, deduce step-by-step, and go deeper and deeper layer-by-layer, which makes the structure of economic theories clear and tight, and the process of argumentation is well-organized. At the same time, he avoids the use of incomprehensible terms or long and complicated sentences, and to further enable readers to better understand the concepts he put forward, he argues economic theories through concrete examples and facts. However, when translating, different translators have added conjunctions to better reflect the logical relationship between sentences in the original text, taking into account the contextual context and adding conjunctions accordingly. Table 7 presents the use of conjunctions in the two translations.

Table 7: Statistical Comparison of the Use of Conjunctions in the Two Translations of *The Wealth of Nations*

| | Li Kuo (1906-1976), Chinese communist leader, played a leading role in the development of China's economy | Xie Zonglin (1890-1968), revolutionary and martyr |
|--------------------|---|---|
| stand side by side | 5968 | 7399 |
| timing | 2782 | 3981 |

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-------|-------|
| cause and effect prerequisite | 1534 | 2854 |
| plot shift in a book | 1499 | 4562 |
| add up the total frequency | 1712 | 3756 |
| | 13485 | 22552 |
| | 8.23% | 11.0% |

The data in Table 7 show that the two translated versions have some similarity and individuality in the use of conjunctions. The similarity is reflected in the fact that both versions are able to clearly express various semantic relations implied in the original text, such as juxtaposition, causality, time, transitivity, and conditionality, and clearly convey the semantic information of the original text to the readers by adding various kinds of conjunctions in the translated text. The individuality is shown in: the ratio of conjunctions in Xie's translation is higher than that in Guo's translation, and the translation is more explicit; the number of conjunctions in the two translations is 13,485 and 22,552, respectively, and the frequency is 8.23% and 11.0%, respectively, which is a significant difference. From this, it can be inferred that Xie Zonglin is more committed to digging out semantic relations between the original texts that are not explicit in the translation, strives to provide readers with more accurate information, and is more precise and scholarly in his expression. More precise and scholarly, with rigorous syntax, allows readers to fully experience the author's contemporaneous thoughts and ideas.

Through the statistical analysis of Guo Dali's and Xie Zonglin's translations, it was found that there are the following differences in the translation styles of the two translators: Guo Dali pays more attention to the source language as a guide, adopts the direct translation method more often, has a more complex sentence structure, and pays more attention to the consistency and accuracy of the language structure of the translation and the original language; Xie Zonglin is more inclined to be oriented by the target language, adopts the Italian translation method more often, has more diversified wording and a more flexible expression of sentences, and pays more attention to the readability and acceptability of the translated text. Xie Zonglin, on the other hand, tends to be more oriented toward the target language, adopts the Italian translation method more often, uses more diversified words, expresses more flexible sentence patterns, and pays attention to the readability and acceptability of the translation.

To summarize, the two countries adopted different degrees of linguistic conformity because they were in different eras. From the beginning of the 20th century to the founding of New China, China's economic system was dominated by a bureaucratic capitalist economy, and a variety of economic components coexisted. During this period, the introduction of foreign economic theories was the main way in which China's economic theories evolved, and Western economic work caused a boom in China. After the May Fourth Movement, the translation of Chinese economic works mainly included the translation of Western economic books and Marxist economic works. In the 1930s, the influence of political forces permeating all aspects of society was largely diluted, unintentionally or intentionally, the content of economic monographs on bourgeois economic views and ideas. For practical genre and readability considerations, most foreign translations of economics have chosen traditional Chinese terms (Zeng & Wei, 2022). Meanwhile, China was reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country after signing unfair treaties with the West at the end of the Qing Dynasty. Against this background, Chinese reformers hoped to change China's situation through reforms and modernization movements. Therefore, they paid attention to learning from the West, which, in the case of Britain, was undergoing a series of capitalist industrial revolutions, whereas China's national capitalism was just beginning, with slow economic development, a low standard of living for peasants, poor treatment of the working class, widespread poverty and unemployment among the civil population, and an increase in social instability. Thus, in view of the fact that after the October Socialist Revolution, there was no longer any capitalist future to speak of in China and that *The Wealth of Nations*, the founding work of Western economics, was the source of many modern Western economic ideas. He prepared for the translation of *Capital* when he systematically translated *The Wealth of Nations* as well as other bourgeois classical economic treatises for the purpose of propagating the Marxist political economy. Thus, the 1931 edition of *The Wealth of Nations* had the mission of ideological preparation and propaganda. However, due to the lack of

an independent economy and the distinctive characteristics of the times, Guo Dali had to make his own linguistic choices and adjustments to bring the translation into line with the context of the times. Therefore, Guo Da Li's version of *The Wealth of Nations*, as the first vernacular translation, tried to pay attention to the use of popularized language for interpretation, to satisfy the needs of society and readers at that time, and, to a certain extent, to contribute to the formation of the elements of the local discourse of economics.

Second, Xie Zonglin lived in a brand-new period in China. Since 1978, when China began to implement the policy of reform and opening-up, the economic system has gradually developed in the direction of public ownership as the mainstay and the coexistence of a variety of ownership systems. Since the 1990s, the development of the socialist market economy system has entered a stage of perfection, with the rapid release of market vitality, and economic development has achieved remarkable results. At the same time, China's economy, society, culture, and other aspects of further development and international exchanges have become increasingly frequent, and the demand for understanding Western economics has increased. Western mainstream economic theories have been widely disseminated in China through continuous translations and exchanges and have occupied an important position in China's diversified economic system. Used as the "bible" of the market economy, *The Wealth of Nations* provides a detailed and profound discussion of the construction of a free market economic system and the relationship between the government and the market, which has a certain guiding effect on the construction of China's socialist market economy. If you want to reach such an effect, you must let this grandiose content, numerous chapters, daunting professional tome on the bookshelf of the mass readers, but also make it easier for contemporary readers to understand its main theme and essence, Xie Zonglin made his own linguistic choices and made adjustments when translating the book. He removed some content that was not suitable for modern readers and tried to interpret it in popular language while retaining the original arrangement of the chapters. In the early days, the translator's understanding and translation of the text were not fixed and standardized; rather, with the passage of time, his understanding of the text and the system of economic principles continued to be further deepened. As a result, Xie Zonglin's translations are more expressive than those of the early days, and they are more accurate and scholarly in terms of expression with a more rigorous syntactic structure. At the same time, with the passage of time, new vocabularies emerged, and as a result, more corresponding economic vocabularies appeared in Chinese. Against this background, Xie Zonglin has an advantage over Guo Dali in translation. In addition, since the reform and opening up of *The Wealth of Nations*, it has received renewed attention. Scholars are eager to understand the original content of *The Wealth of Nations*, to draw nourishment from it, and to provide theoretical references for the construction of a socialist market economy and the development of productive forces.

To better convey ideas and achieve the translator's purpose, the translator conforms to the linguistic choice by deleting a few sentences or even a few paragraphs. Comparing Guo Da Li's translation with Xie Zong Lin's, it can be seen that Guo Da Li's translation is much shorter than Xie Zong Lin's. From this, it can be seen that Guo Da Li roughly translated most of the original text and only a small part of the original text has not been translated. Specifically, Guo Dali mainly deleted two parts in his translation of *The Wealth of Nations*: first, in translating the last two paragraphs of Chapter 4 of the original text about the history of the monetary system in England and France, Guo Dali deleted two paragraphs; second, when discussing the real and nominal prices of commodities, the price of labor, and the price of money, Adam Smith discusses and analyzes a great deal of economic ideas, but in Guo Dali's translation, a large part of the original text, A large portion of the passage, was also deleted. In Guo Dali's translation, he considers the reader's interests. He knew that readers might not be interested in this part of the text, so he conformed to the translation method by deleting this part of the text.

5. Conclusions

Based on the results of the corpus analysis, this dissertation conducted a preliminary study of the linguistic choices and translation conformity of *The Wealth of Nations* from the perspective of adaptation theory. The purpose of this thesis is to apply adaptation theory to two Chinese translations of different eras. After a comparative study of these two versions from the perspective of adaptation theory, the author concludes that different eras have a significant influence on different translators and their translations. In other words, translators from different eras made different linguistic choices and translation strategies in their respective translation processes. The main findings are as follows:

A comparison of the different Chinese translations of Guo Da Li's and Xie Zong Lin's *The Wealth of Nations* shows that Guo Da Li's and Xie Zong Lin's linguistic choices are based on context, including the selection and adaptation of the material and social worlds. Xie Zonglin's translation has a richer vocabulary than Guo Dali's, and Xie Zonglin prefers paraphrasing in his translation, while Guo Dali prefers direct translation. In translating the social world into the original text, Guo Da Li chose to translate it according to the culture of the time, while Xie Zonglin translated it into the culture accepted in his time. In short, both Guo Dali and Xie Zonglinjun attempted to make linguistic choices and adaptations to make their translations more responsive to their time. A comparative study of their translations revealed that Guo Dali used free translations. He conformingly abridged passages in the translation process to increase the readability of his translation.

This essay proves that translated works are the products of their time. Different translations reflect the political and cultural characteristics of their times to varying degrees. Therefore, translators tend to make linguistic choices and adjustments based on the characteristics of their time. Overall, the research results of this study still need to be supplemented, and we need to continue to study the materials of the works related to the two of them. At the same time, to further validate the theory of conformity, the author should compare more translations and analyze more translations of different epochal backgrounds to make a more perfect research.

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From Securing the State Security to Regional Disorder: An Exploration of Instability in North Eastern Kenya

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Abstract

From the colonial time to date, North Eastern Kenya has witnessed sporadic incidents of instability characterised by conflict and insecurity. Scholarly studies have attributed instability to state capacity that includes structural weaknesses such as inability to monopolize the use of violence, poor border controls and ineffective law enforcement. However, such studies do not explain why the state does not function to its optimal capacity in the region. This paper argues that instability in North Eastern Kenya is a deliberate creation of disorder by the state. Measures taken by both the colonial and post-colonial governments to secure their interests have subsequently rendered the region unstable. It argues that the colonial government in an attempt to secure the white highlands used the Northern Frontier District as a buffer zone with minimal investment. Similarly, the post-colonial government curved it out as a security zone to tame insurgency and denied it the necessary attention required to make it safe and secure.

Keywords: Instability, Conflict, Insecurity, North-Eastern Kenya

1. Introduction

This paper is about instability in North Eastern Kenya. It tries to trace the origin of instability in North Eastern Kenya from the colonial period to date. Through historical tracing, it aims at demonstrating that instability manifesting as conflict, insecurity and poverty in the region today is not by default but it is due to the deliberate or conscious errors of omission and/or commission made by both the colonial and post-colonial state that aimed at enhancing the security of the state at the expense of establishing order in the region.

Social political and economic processes that underpin state fragility and instability in the North Eastern region are deeply rooted in Kenya's pre-colonial and colonial history. However, certain key aspects or issues in that history are necessary for this paper to illustrate or elaborate on the dynamics of instability today. Of importance is the establishment of colonial authority in the region particularly administration of the local population, establishment of international boundaries demarcating spheres of influence and border relations with neighbouring states.

Literature portrays North Eastern Kenya as a region characterised by conflict, insecurity and instability that is attributed to failure of the state to govern. For instance, the works of Menkhaus, (2007); Menkhaus, (2015) and Menkhaus, (2009) put a lot of emphasis on the inability of the state to penetrate and establish viable institutions to govern the region.

All these scholars attribute the cause of instability to the inability of the state to function as expected. However, they do not further their analysis to explain why both the colonial and post-colonial governments did not commit to longterm solutions to instability in the region. This paper aims at filling this gap by arguing that the state in its attempt to secure to enhance security in the region, committed errors that that rendered the region fragile and prone to conflict and insecurity. The empirical weaknesses of the state evident in the region did not emerge by default but by design to enhance the security of the state at the expense of establishing order in the region.

This paper largely embraces historical tracing to show the origin of instability in North Eastern Kenya. The rationale behind this method is that it allows one to look at past events, analyse them and use that information to explain current situations and even predict the future. This involved digging into the history of the region with the aim of understanding the origin of instability in the region. This was undertaken by dividing the history of the region into colonial and post-colonial era. This categorisation enables one to analyse events that took place and show how errors of omission or commission by the colonial and post-colonial governments could explain the origin and persistence of instability in North Eastern Kenya. The study begins by analysing colonial origins of instability given that colonialism laid the foundation upon which the post-colonial state emerged. It then delves into the post-colonial period to look at how the government addressed the challenges that emerged in the region to see whether measures taken by the government stabilised the region or worsened the situation. In order to comprehensively analyse historical events that occurred, we sourced information from archives and relevant published books and articles. Archival material used in this paper was sourced from the Weston Library at Oxford University. With the assistance of a researcher in Oxford, we had access to the Weston Library where we got archival material on North Eastern Kenya. From the archival material we got unpublished information from journals kept by colonial administrators and police officers concerning the state of governance and instability in the region in the colonial period. We prioritised material containing information on how the colonial government governed the region. Besides archival materials we conducted desk research where we reviewed peer reviewed articles and books on instability to get a conceptual handle on the subject and to understand what other scholars say about North Eastern Kenya. We sourced journal articles through the use of search engines such as google scholar

With respect to the organization of the paper, the next section discusses the analytical approach adopted in this study. This is followed by the origin of instability, from the colonial to post-colonial era with the view of highlighting on the loopholes that necessitated state fragility to emerge and prevail to date. Here, we try to demonstrate how the colonial and the post-colonial governments engaged in actions that mainly targeted the security of the state at the expense of restoring order in the region hence. A situation that produced fertile ground for disorder characterised by cross border insurgency, conflict, insecurity and poverty

2. Analytical Framework: On State Fragility and Instability

This paper adopts the overarching debate on state fragility and instability to explain instability as experienced in the North Eastern region of Kenya. State fragility discourse revolves around the Weberian notion of the state. Discussions on the state are in relation to its ability to establish and maintain monopoly of violence, have control over its territory, maintain law and order and enhance the general welfare of its citizens (Di John, 2008; Francois, 2006; Hill, 2007). To this end, analysis of stability is in relation to its capacity to establish territorial control, secure borders and maintain presence in frontier zones, promote human security and earn legitimacy from citizens (Hanlon, 2012).

Stability within the state is achievable when the state can demonstrate its ability to meet the above obligations. That involves providing an enabling environment for people to secure their livelihood and provide safety nets when livelihoods are threatened, protecting citizens from both internal and external aggression and promote human

development through enhanced economic and opportunities, political freedoms and social freedoms through education and healthcare (Barnet and Adger, 2007). Thus, failure to meet the above obligations erodes the strength of the state and render it fragile and prone to violence (Hout, 2010). On the contrary, some scholars argue that the Weberian conceptualization is mainly concerned with the empirical and juridical components of statehood i.e. what is required for a political entity to qualify to be a state (Jackson and Rosberg, 1982:2). Such analysis only shed light on empirical weaknesses that manifest as political instability characterised by internal conflict and violence, partial control of territory and population (Jackson and Rosberg, 1982:2).

Such analysis of the state pegged on empirical statehood may not be appropriate in developing countries especially in Africa. Basic attributes of statehood such as monopoly of violence, effective government governed by legislation, ability to exercise control over territory and people within it do not exist. Such analysis does not shed light on local power dynamics in a fragile context i.e. how local elite adapt in the face of fragility, the strategies they use to ensure physical and economic security and the impact of adaptation processes on the changing notion of political order (Raeymaekers, 2005). Raeymaekers(2005) further suggests that instability is not breakdown of political order but a situation signifying continuous struggle between various forces in society to control functions related to state performance.

The foregoing discussion kind of criminalises the state for failing to function as expected to restore order and normalcy in fragile states. However, it does not explain why the state behaves in a manner that breeds fragility that later translates to instability. To this end, we introduce the works of Chabal and Daloz (1999) who introduced the paradigm of instrumentalization of political disorder. In this paradigm, they talk of the benefits that the political elite derive from low levels of political institutionalisation. At the core of this paradigm is the argument that the state in Africa is vacuous and ineffectual. Vacuous in the sense that it did not emerge as a political entity that integrated and consolidated all political interest within its territory and became vulnerable to patronage. On the other hand, it is ineffectual meaning that it is characterised by a political elite with no interest to institutionalising the state and its apparatus. Consequently, lack of emphasis on rule of law, separation of powers and a strong bureaucracy.

According to Chabal and Daloz (1999), the vacuous and ineffectual nature of the state amounts to political disorder. They are of the view that disorder does not necessarily mean chaos or anarchy but it is a condition that creates opportunity for those who take advantage of the system to further their interests. Rather than saying that the state is fragile, they argue that the state is vacuous since it is not insulated from social forces that determine politics and explain the low levels of political institutionalisation. In other words, the state is not weak but vacuous. They argue that no state in Africa meets the criteria of the Weberian ideal state therefore it only makes sense to say that the state is vacuous and ineffectual (Chabal and Daloz, 1999:1).

By arguing that disorder does not mean weakness, these authors give us another perspective from which to engage with the state fragility discourse. Their paradigm enables us to understand why the state behaves in a manner that breeds instability. In North Eastern Kenya, this paradigm enables us to demonstrate that the origin of instability in the region is attributed to the vacuous and ineffectual nature of the state that amounted to disorder experienced today.

The foregoing discussion leads us to another analytical framework put forth by Jackson and Dexter (2014). They begin from the premise that conflict is neither spontaneous nor inevitable but, it occurs due to the presence of actors and agents that produce and sustain it. Rather than look at causes or structural determinants of conflict, they argue that organised and sustained violence occurs where there are material and discursive structures. That is, presence of the military as an instrument of violence, economic basis for war or conflict, military norms and values and agents to execute violence. This led them to develop the structure_ agent framework for analysing conflict situations.

Structure refers to the enabling environment for conflict while agent refers to those who perpetuate the conflict. These are mutually reinforcing in the sense that in the absence of an enabling environment, actor/agents have no

stimulus or justification to use violence. Without actors or agents, societies endure conditions without plunging in to conflict (Jackson and Dexter, 2014: 2).

The structure_ agent framework enables us to understand conflict as a socially constructed phenomenon that is embedded in specific historical and spatial context. It comprises three components such as, structures of political violence, agents of political violence and discursive practices that construct violence (Jackson and Dexter, 2014:2). For the purpose of analysis in this paper, we combine the works of Chabal and Daloz (1999) and Dexter and Jackson (2014) to come up with the analytical framework. In this paper, instrumentality of disorder helps us to explain the behaviour of the state (conscious acts of omission and commission) that breeds instability. Structure and agency help us to explain the historical and political conditions behind instability in North Eastern Kenya.

3. The Colonial origins of instability in North Eastern Kenya

The analysis of the colonial origins of instability in North Eastern Kenya begins with the establishment of the northern frontier of Kenya. The Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1897 consolidated attempts to establish boundaries between Northern Kenya and Ethiopia (Oba, 2013). However, challenges arose particularly concerning placing communities within localities. For instance, the Boran inhabited the region but cross over to the Ethiopian side during dry season and on the British territory in wet season. More so it was not easy to determine tribal boundaries in the absence of physical markers and it was not easy to distribute water and pasture between the two territories (Oba, 2013). In light of such challenges, negotiations occurred between the British and the Ethiopian empire over trans- frontier grazing and water by nomadic population on the frontiers of the two territories culminating into the Trans -Frontier Treaty of 14/5/1897 (Oba, 2013). Proposals made by the two parties reflected the guiding principles of the treaty. The Ethiopian empire proposed free movement in and out the frontier so long as they obeyed the authority of the territory they moved into while the British emphasised on access rights to resources being reserved for those occupying either side of the frontier(Oba, 2013:45). Article 1 part (a) and (b) set the conditions that governed cross-frontier movements between the two territories. The provisions of the treaty as quoted by Oba, (2013:45) from Wylde, (1901: 475) are as follows; (a). *'The subjects or persons protected by each of the contracting parties shall have full liberty to come and go and engage in commerce in the territories of the other, enjoying protection of the government within whose jurisdiction they are; but it is forbidden for armed bands from either side to cross the frontier of the other on any pretext whatever without previous authorization from the competent authority'*.

(b). *'The tribes occupying either side of the line shall have the right to use the grazing grounds on the other side, but during their migration, it is understood that they shall be subject to the jurisdictions of the territorial authority. Free access to the nearest wells is equally reserved to the tribes occupying either side of the line'*.

The first boundary marker known as the Red line or the Maud line emerged in 1903 (Oba, 2013). In 1907, an international treaty between Ethiopia and Britain recognised the 'Red Line' drawn separating the two territories and recognising the international frontier (Oba, 2013). The Northern frontier emerged following agreements between the colonial power and the Ethiopian empire, a phenomenon that lay foundations for future sources of insecurity and instability (Khadiagala, 2010). The immediate effect of the 'Red Line' on the nomadic people had to do with their access to water and pasture. The Maud Line left most wells and pasture on the Ethiopian side. The new boundary enforced dispossessed groups of their resources given the little or no understanding of local conception of territory. For instance, the line placed Gadaduma wells and grazing land that originally belonged to the Boran in Ethiopian territory thereby raising concerns about their access to those resources in times of scarcity (Oba, 2013). Following the dissatisfaction of the British with the distribution of wells and pasture, 1908 saw the emergence of the second commission to readjust the 'line' northwards to give the British subjects a fair share of resources (Oba, 2013: 53). The new boundary line dubbed the Blue Line was rejected by Ethiopians who insisted on observing the Red line. 1911 the year of Northern Frontier District (NFD) consolidation characterised by the establishment of special service office to patrol the frontier while safeguarding the Blue Line (Oba, 2013).

The treaty became a source of instability in various ways. It gave rise to unmanned porous borders. Free movement of people between the two territories enabled people to exercise their agency to undermine the state (Oba, 2013). The British not having effectively administered the region did not want to invest in the supply of water and pasture

for its subjects and pushed for an agreement that would allow the local people to continue with their lives as they had before. Consequently, they did not exercise control over the local population whose presence at any place depended on the availability of water and pasture.

4. Consolidating territory and exercising control in Northern Frontier District (NFD)

In the context of a contested frontier between the British and Ethiopian Empire need arose to establish control and maintain law and order in the Northern Frontier District. The need to administer the region fulfilled two objectives; to prevent any further movement of Ethiopian bandits and outlaws and to discourage the westward movement of the Somali into NFD who were migrating in large numbers at that time (Oba, 2013:51). Thus, the administration put in place operated on the policy of containing movement into and within the district. The specific tasks to be accomplished included preventing Somali groups already in the region from encroaching on other groups grazing area, prevent groups from moving towards the Tana River basin, prevent more Ogaden groups from Italian Somali land and Ogaden from Abyssinia/Ethiopia from moving into British territory (BA.MSS. Afr. 5. 1116). The first attempt to establish British influence in the frontier was in 1902 with the appointment of a frontier inspector to police the frontier who later founded the Hurrington post in Moyale (Oba, 2013: 51). The inspector personified the presence of British authority and influence in the frontier and remained so for the period from 1902-1905 (ibid). Despite the challenges one officer would face policing the vast frontier, the British Colonial government was very reluctant to enhance its presence at the frontier reason being the region was not worth investing in. such attitudes could be noticed in colonial officer's response to the quest for more staff in the region. For instance, I reference to NFD and its inhabitants a governor stated in his report 'The Somali, averse to manual labour is not a useful population. A lot of expenses are incurred in the region without returns does not encourage any further development' (Bodleian Archives/MSS. Afr. S. 702). In 1911, the military took over frontier policing in view of pending attacks by Ethiopian forces over contested boundary after readjustment in 1908 (Oba, 2013: 91).

Early administrative establishments in NFD were in frontier towns to facilitate management of the frontier. The administrative headquarters of NFD was in Isiolo with specific attention to the frontier for the purposes of checking on the expansionist activities of Abyssinia/ Ethiopian Empire and the westward movement of the Somali. Military establishments at the frontier were in Moyale, Isiolo and Marsabit to fulfil the above (Bodleian Archives, MSS.Afr. S. 702). Besides the military, there were also police posts strategically established alongside the military posts to enhance frontier security and check on local community. In the interior, the function of the police was to segregate the somali from the other communities. From 1913-1926 police posts emerged in Wajir at Habaswein and Arbo to patrol the somali boundary; Garissa had two post at Balambala to take care of the Tana River basin and water and a post in Ijara to check on friction between communities at water points (BA/MSS. Afr. 5. 1631.1). Frontier posts in the 1940s included Mandera with outpost at Dandu, Melka Muri and Lulis; Moyale with outposts at Sololo, Buna, Gunar and Heilu serviced with a full platoon to secure contested wells of Gaddaduma at the border (BA/MSS.Afr.5. 1631.2).

Besides the military and police, a hand full of regional administrators also worked within the region namely Provincial commissioner, District Commissioner and Chiefs. They carried out judicial functions. The District Commissioner was gazetted as the first class magistrate and could preside over criminal cases (BA/MSS. Afr.5. 1116). On matters security, the District Commissioner (DC) sanctioned patrols though from late 1940s onwards, commanders did it in consultation with the DC (BA/MSS. Afr. 5. 1116). From 1930s onwards, locals were engaged in the colonial governance structure to serve as chiefs, headmen and tribal police. Their knowledge of the terrain of the region attracted the British to incorporate them to support the colonial administration in maintaining law and order. These local leaders were encouraged to administer justice in accordance with their customs in the local tribunals. Headmen had the responsibility of tax collection and ensuring that communities stuck to their grazing zones while the tribal police enforced rules governing grazing (BA/MSS. Afr.5.1116). Later in 1940s, the tribal police had the responsibility to maintain law and order in the frontier through combating cross border raids when the military left the frontier (BA/MSS. Ar. 5. 497).

5. Governing the local population

As noted in the previous section one of the main tasks of the administration in this region was to contain the movement of the Somali southwards the British territory. To this end, the colonial administration pursued a policy of settling Somali groups and allocating grazing areas and wells to support their animals. The Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 on native leasehold that defined specific areas for communities in the colony (police 143). This policy encouraged settling communities in designated areas. Archival material indicate that the task of settling the natives was at the discretion of colonial administrators since there were no guidelines as to how the task would be undertaken (BA/MSS.Afr. s583). What appears to have been the guiding principle in allocating and settling communities in NFD was the need to segregate the Somali groups from the other communities like the Borana. The Somali groups were 'troublesome, *always having issues with others and amongst themselves*' (BA/MSS. Afr. 5. 497).

From the end of World War 1 to early 1930s, boundaries separating the Somali groups (Degodia, Adjuran and Ogaden) from the Boran emerged along natural resources and roads. The southern boundary markers were UasoNyiro River and Lakdera. The Aulihan (Ogaden sub-clan) occupied areas south of the UasoNyiro River administered from Bura. The Western tribal borders at Habaswein road marked the border between the Ogaden and Degodia to the East and the Boran and the Adjuran to the west. North Western borders- Wajir- Dubasa- Butullo –was a complicated boundary as it marked the Boran areas though the Degodia were allowed to cross over to access water at the Makaror, NurAbikur wells (BA/MSS.Afr.5.1631/).

Demarcation of boundaries and settling of communities in NFD did not go without challenges. Information gathered from archival material (BA/MSS. Afr. 5. 497) indicates that some of the challenges were as follows; one was to ensure fair distribution of wells and pasture to minimise conflict over them. The Degodia suffered shortage compared to the Ogaden while the Boran fairly supplied. For instance, they had nine wells out of which only five were in use after moving the Degodia from the area. The main reason for relocating the Degodia East of Habaswein –Wajir-Butello track was to ease tension between them and the Boran over the use of El Nur and Makaror wells. At the same time, restricting them from accessing the wells would deny them access to permanent water sources to the North during dry seasons forcing them to move to Wajir where they would cause congestion at the Arbu wells. Crossing back to the wells bred tension between the Degodia and Boran leading to the decision not to restrict any group from accessing that the two wells at El Nur.

Control of movement within designated grazing zones also became an issue. Despite the Outlying Districts Ordinance of 1913 that restricted movement in and out of the NFD, it was not possible to contain groups within specific localities. There was the tendency to move away from areas where the nomads felt they were constrained by law as pointed out by colonial officers that '*they moved back and forth running away from all sorts of law and order*'. Control of movement was critical, as it would facilitate collection of tax. Tax evasion was possible through the abuse of trans-frontier treaties by the local population who took advantage of the freedom to cross over to Ethiopia where the British authorities would not pursue them to enforce tax collection. The Degodia and Adjuran escaped poll tax by escaping to Ethiopia (Castagno, 1964).

6. Post-Colonial origins of instability in North Eastern Kenya

At independence, the state faced a major threat to its stability. That is, to maintain its territory as one political entity. Various groups threatened to go back to their traditional way of life that they enjoyed in the precolonial time in disregard of the state. Peterson, (2020) observed that the Somali of North Eastern Kenya argued that the Somali inhabited areas of Kenya belonged to the republic of Somalia. The Boran on the north envisioned a future under the Ethiopian empire. To the west, the Luo and Luhya showed interest in joining their ethnic brethren in Eastern Uganda. The Swahili at the coast emphasised the fact that the Indian Ocean coast belonged to the sultan of Zanzibar. This implied that Kenya's borders were open to amendment (Peterson, 2020) and the unity of the state was at stake (Ringquist, 2011). The Kenyan government did not support the move by the Somali to break away resulting into a separatist conflict called the shifta war that lasted from 193 to 1968 (Castagno, 1964). The war became a major threat to regime stability and attracted state military intervention (Branch, 2014).

In order to secure its territory, the state took certain measures ranging from state sponsored violence to policy orientation that managed to end the shifta war. However, these measures ended up producing new dynamics of instability in the region. Sporadic conflict and insecurity continue to characterise North Eastern Kenya. The post-colonial state is partly responsible for the instability that has plagued the region over the years. Subsequent sections of this paper analyses state response to the shifta war with the aim of demonstrating how they created instability in post-colonial Kenya.

Attempts to secure regime stability were characterised by use of state violence and collective punishment (Anderson and McKnight, 2014). Collective punishment here refers to subjecting an entire community to punishment for crime or offence committed by a few individuals in a particular community (Whitaker, 2012; Whitaker, 2015). State violence on the other hand refers to the use of excessive force characterised by harassment and abuse of citizens by state security agencies (Anderson, 2014). State intervention to counter insurgency was characterised by militarization of the region, use of excessive force on the local population and collective punishment. In the context of the shifta insurgency, state perception of the Somali in North Eastern Kenya was that of an enemy within the territory hostile to the state hence the justification for state organised violence and intimidation against ethnic Somali (Whitaker, 2015).

Early 1960s the administration focused on containment of movement in North Eastern Kenya. In 1966, the government established villages in Somali inhabited areas of Marsabit, Moyale, Isiolo, Wajir, Mandera and Garissa and forcefully allocated them to according to clans (Whitaker, 2012). This was a strategy to demobilize clan militia into manageable units to keep them under tight security check (Whitaker, 2015; Anderson, 2014). The Public Security Regulation of March 1967 that empowered the provincial administration to define and force residency of clans in specific areas (Whitaker, 2012). The policy restricted movement and grazing within five miles radius of the village and a pass was required for one to move out of the village. This kind of policy changed perceptions of communities on resources and their use by defining the connection between clans and geographical location that later manifested as the exercise of exclusionary land rights by clans in their areas of residence (Menkhaus, 2015).

The immediate effect of the forced village project was that rotational grazing dwindled and settlements emerged around water points leaving no reserves to be used in drier seasons (Birch and Grahn, 2007) e.g. Wajir West (Oxfam,2008). Government policies constrained the mobility of nomadic pastoralists in Wajir and Grissa and undermined their ability to secure livelihood through rotational grazing since they hindered them from exploring variable sources of water and pasture (Birch and Grahn, 2007).

Mobility is a rational move to secure livelihood among nomadic pastoralists in arid and semi- arid lands. Nori, Taylor and Sensi, (2008) argue that moving out to other grazing areas allowed pasture to regenerate and it is also a strategy of range land management that regulated the use of available resources. The move by the Government of Kenya to allocate grazing areas along clan lines interfered with traditional rangeland management systems that supported pastoralism further weakening the capacity of nomads to adopt to adverse weather conditions.

The village project was a deliberate move by the state to frustrate pastoralism. Conditions in the villages did not allow for productive livestock keeping given the fact that a large number of animals were concentrated in an area leading to over grazing. Transformation from nomadic pastoralism to sedentary life was a serious threat to securing livelihood as it limited mobility and the ability of nomads to respond to changing weather conditions for the survival of their livestock (Khalif and Oba, 2013). Dire conditions in the government villages led to low productivity and loss of animals resulting into contraction of livelihood and dependence on food aid from the government (Anderson, 2014). This was a strategy to demobilize clan militia into manageable units to keep them under tight security check (Whitaker, 2015; Anderson, 2014).

Prolonged political, economic and social marginalisation, inappropriate development policies, resource competition and adverse climatic conditions have limited the ability of pastoralists to have a sustainable livelihood (Oxfam, 2008). Livelihood security is a critical factor for people to be secure from violence in pastoral

communities (Barnet and Adger, 2007). Violence and conflict shapes social structure where survival is characterised by social competition and conflict over water and pasture (Mburu, 1999).

Constraints to secure and sustainable livelihood precipitates violent conflict in two forms. One, direct confrontation between clans as a means of securing livelihood. This mainly occurs in times scarcity when water and pasture are not available prompting migration of people and livestock to areas with these resources (Barnet, 2003). Contact with other clans in resource rich areas enhances the vulnerability of pastoralists to violent conflict over access to water and pasture. In other words, scarcity brings different groups the proximity of each other heightening tension that may result into conflict and loss of animals (Theisen, 2012).

From 1967 to early 90s, the region remained under emergency laws and military expeditions to quell inter- clan and inter- ethnic conflict over resources. Clashes between the Degodia and Adjuran over occupancy of Wajir attracted military expedition that resulted into the Wagalla massacre in 1984(Whitaker, 2015). Anderson (2014) narrates how state response to communal clashes in Wajir destabilised lives and resulted into a massacre “ on the tenth of February 1984, Wajir was subjected to military curfew, surrounded by military men, policemen and general service unit who conducted routine screening separating the Degodia from other clans. All Degodia men were rounded up and taken to the newly constructed airstrip in Wagalla where they were tortured and their bodies thrown in the forest” (Anderson, 2014:1). Similar incidences occurred in Garissa in the early 1980s in response to the killing of an administration officer by local militia. All men of Somali origin were rounded up in a primary school, tortured, murdered, all houses in bulla Kartasi torched, women raped and men killed and their bodies thrown in to river Tana (Anderson, 2014).

Poor governance has a stake in the state of security in this region. Structural weaknesses of the state and the collapse of the state in Somalia fuel insecurity in the region. While referring to governing the frontier, Menkhaus (2005) notes that Kenya share vast borders with Somalia and Ethiopia that are not under the full control of the state. Agade (2014) concurs with Menkhaus by stating that in the vast northern frontier there is minimal state presence that cannot provide adequate security. For instance, the 933 kilometre western border has only 3 immigration post and minimal police presence. This situation contributes to insecurity along the international borders given the proximity of the region to conflict in South Sudan, other pastoral communities such as the Toposa and Karamojong (Agade, 2014). Insecurity manifests as cross border insurgencies, the existence of armed groups that challenge the authority of the state and proliferation of illicit arms (Kumsa, Jones and Williams, 2009). The prevalence of these issues is due to negligence and laxity of the state in governing its Northern frontiers. Just like the colonial government, the post-colonial government did not make serious efforts to manage border movements because of the transhumant nature of local population.

State agencies are confronted with the challenge of monitoring cross-border flows of people and goods (Chumba, Okoth and Were, 2016). Consequently, illicit arms and criminal elements flow into North Eastern Kenya. Ineffective border control mechanisms and minimal police presence produces a permissive environment for arms smuggling (Wepundi, Nthiga, Kabuu, Murray and del Frate, 2011). For instance, smugglers from Somalia transport between one to ten guns across the Kenya Somalia border on foot or disguised as charcoal or vegetables transported by bus to Dadaab refugee camp where they are stored awaiting onward movement to other areas(Gastrow, 2011). By 1991, the military and police suffered major setbacks in law enforcement due to the superiority of weapons in the control of militias and bandits (Menkhaus, 2005).

Poor border management and security systems in North Eastern Kenya has contributed to establishment of Al-Shabaab's cross-border presence and clandestine networks (Chumba et al). The region is vulnerable to radicalization given the dominance of Islam among local population, presence of long standing grievances and Al-Shabaab. Socio-economic and historical marginalization plays a huge role in radicalization in Muslim occupied regions of North Eastern Kenya. These factors produce collective identity and a unifying factor through which people can be mobilised for a course. People in this region share common experiences in the face of poverty and under-development due to neglect by the state. Botha, (2014) argues that group characteristics have enhanced their vulnerability to radicalization by Al-Shabab given collective identity can easily be politicised. Economic, decline, violent conflict and lack of strong state intervention is the driving force behind radicalization in this region.

Recruitment is easier in areas with wide spread poverty, inequality, ethnic and religious tension, political marginalisation and insecurity. Al-Shabab thrives on the long-standing grievances locals have with the state to inculcate anti-state sentiments and mobilize them into the jihad movement (Botha, 2014).

Al-Shabab has the capacity to exploit local conditions to achieve its goals (Anderson, 2014). It has the tendency to blend jihadi *theology* with the long-standing grievances of citizens in marginalised regions of Kenya. Socio-economic and political grievances of Muslims at the coast and North Eastern Kenya serve as a mechanism to mobilise the Kenyan umma to join jihad. Al-Shabaab has effectively managed to blend jihadi ideology with local conditions to orchestrate and justify violence against non-Muslims. In the recent past, Kenya has witnessed dangerous attacks orchestrated by Al-Shabaab and its affiliates. Examples to illustrate this include several incidences in Wajir and Garissa as shown here.

With limited opportunities to improve on their lives, people especially the youth are lured into organised crime (Barnet and Adger, 2007). The youth in pastoral areas have very limited opportunities to sustainable source of livelihood. Their social position in the society is characterised by poverty as they do not own livestock and they not empowered through education to pursue other economic endeavours through formal employment (Kralti, 2014). Consequently, decisions to join vigilantes, militia and other criminal gangs is usually to demonstrate their frustrations, grievances and desire for revenge (Barnet and Adger, 2007). In North Eastern Kenya, organisations such as Al Shabaab have taken advantage of situational factors such as social, economic and political exclusion of the Somali to expand their networks in Garissa area (Anderson and McKnight, 2015). These scholars further argue that members of Al Shabaab often lure recruits to join the organisation by using the ‘victimisation narrative’ i.e. locals are victims of neglect by the state and offer alternative to joblessness. Many people have been hired to fight in south central Somalia from the 1990s on contracts ranging between 50 dollars to 200 dollars a month (Anderson and McKnight, 2015).

Another aspect of governance that contributed to instability in the region has to do with poor policy choice and implementation. Odhiambo (2008) observed that the arid and semi-arid region of North Eastern Kenya did not get appropriate policy consideration despite its unique status. Instead, previous policy preferences enhanced marginalization through skewed allocation and distribution of resources, infrastructure development, social service delivery and economic transformation. Development planning anchored on sessional paper number 10 of 1965 emphasised on allocating resources to areas with high potential for agricultural production neglecting arid and semi-arid areas (Odhiambo 2008; Government of Kenya 2011). In other words, the government deliberately deprived the region of resources for development. Having securitized the region, the government did not take into consideration its development needs and challenges. A phenomenon that later kept instability afloat. Socio-economic and political marginalisation of regions threatens stability (The World Bank, 2011). For instance, deprivation threatens the survival of marginalized groups who opt to obtain political and economic resources through political violence (Howard, 2010). Consequently, underdevelopment becomes a source of instability as poverty increases the likelihood of conflict (Duffield, 2001).

7. Discussion

The presentation above paints a picture of what happened in the colonial and post-colonial times. This section analyses these activities with the aim of showing how the state deliberately bred instability in the region. Both the colonial and post-colonial state exhibit political disorder, a phenomenon occasioned by their vacuous and ineffectual nature as put forth by Chabal and Daloz (1999). The state is vacuous in the sense that it did not integrate local community with the aim of subduing them to its authority. The colonial government did very little to control people in North Eastern Kenya since they did not have economic interests in the region. The colonial government was only interested in securing its area of influence to ensure that Ethiopian emperor did not annex the northern frontier. This it achieved by drawing international boundary between the colony and the Ethiopian empire.

The ineffectual nature of the state is characterised by low levels of institutionalisation. The colonial government deliberately left the region loosely governed by the trans-frontier treaty of 1897. This is because they were not interested in investing in the region to provide water and pasture for pastoralists, the treaty offered a solution to

that problem as its subjects continued to access resources across the border. The choice to have international boundary governed by the Trans Frontier Treaty of 1897 amounted to a critical error of commission by the colonial government. The error later resulted into disorder leading to instability in the region. As Oba, (2013) observed, the British did not enforce articles 1(a) of the treaty that forbade armed groups from crossing over into the territory without formal authorization. The enforcement of the treaty required the establishment of proper administrative infrastructure to govern cross border movement within the framework of the treaty. This was not the case as the entire frontier was manned by one official who couldn't check on cross border movement of armed gangs.

Administrative laxity gave rise to porous borders that the post-colonial state inherited. As observed by Menkhaus (2005), the entire northern frontier has never been fully controlled by the state given the minimal presence of state in that region. Just like the colonial government, the post-colonial government did not invest much in securing the region from cross border movement of people and illicit goods. Poor governance of the northern frontier breeds instability and insecurity. Given the proximity of the region to war-torn countries such as Somalia and Sudan, one expects the state to be concerned about its security and make arrangements to enhance security. Despite this situation in the north, the borders remain porous allowing free flow of illicit goods, a situation that has facilitated the proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

From the discussion above we argue that instability in northern Kenya is not by default but by design. International borders were designed to be porous to allow for free movement back and forth courtesy of the Trans Frontier Treaty of 1897. Despite being in a troubled neighbourhood, the government remained reluctant to enhance presence by putting up more administrative and security agencies to effectively govern the region. That is to say that administrative laxity in the region remained a viable option for the state since there was no political will to invest in the region.

Persistence of insecurity, in the region in the post-colonial era is also by design. As indicated earlier in this paper, policy choices by the government ended up marginalising the region from economic development pushing people to find alternative means of survival such as joining terrorist groups and participating in organised crime.

North eastern Kenya remains unstable due to the existence of an enabling environment that has sustained conflict and insecurity to date. Administrative laxity in the region created a conducive environment for trans-national organised crime and terrorism. This enhanced insecurity in the region since the government did not resolve the issue. Poor policy choices that resulted into systemic marginalization of the region denying it foundations of development.

8. Conclusion

Instability manifested as conflict and insecurity in North Eastern Kenya is the creation of both the colonial and post-colonial state. The state in an attempt to enhance its security committed errors of omission and commission that ended up breeding instability in Northern Kenya. The colonial government's interest in the region was minimal, as it did not favour agricultural production due to unfavourable environmental conditions. The colonial government was keen on securing its sphere of influence to contain the downward movement of the Ethiopians and Somali pastoralists towards the white highlands. Thus, it did not invest in establishing meaningful structures of governance to maintain law and order and secure its borders in the region. Instead, it allowed the northern frontier to be governed by the provisions of the Trans frontier treaty of 1897. This culminated into porous borders that facilitated the free flow of people and illicit goods into the region. The post-colonial government on the other hand deliberately neglected the region by pursuing policy options that automatically denied the region resources for development there by laying the foundation perennial conflict and insecurity among the local communities as they struggle to sustain their source of livelihood.

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Government Policy in Tackling Illegal Foreign Worker Issues in Indonesia: Complexity, Uncertainty and Divergence

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Abstract

The influx of illegal foreign workers to Indonesia is one of the fundamental issues which has become serious concern for the Indonesian government. Debates on the international migration phenomena contribute to an increasing number of the illegal foreign workers issue. This qualitative research analyses the foreign worker issues in Indonesia by the document analysis from government policies from 2015 to 2018, organizational reports, and journal articles. This study examines the wickedness of the illegal foreign workers issues in Indonesia based on the Brian Head's wicked problem concept. This study discusses the characteristics of wicked problems: complexity, uncertainty, and divergence in illegal foreign worker issues in Indonesia. The study finds the illegal foreign worker issues in Indonesia are only resolved by the law enforcement taskforce among agencies in relation to collaboration, cooperation and national security. A conceptual framework is proposed the immigration enforcement team is urged to improve the use of technology, citizen participation, interagency partnership, equipment, vehicles and boats. Further research extends the involvement of citizen's participation and the use of technology in enforcing the immigration law and handling the illegal foreign workers.

Keywords: Illegal Foreign Workers, Wicked Problems, International Migration, Collaboration

1. Introduction

The influx of illegal foreign workers to Indonesia is one of fundamental issues that has become a serious concern for the Indonesian government. According to the Global Legal Monitor (Johnson, 2017), it is reported millions of Chinese people come to work illegally in Indonesia. However, the Indonesian government and the Indonesian President, Widodo (2016, as cited in Supardi) argue it is only a slander that is supposed to disturb the government's reputation. The Chief of the Indonesian Coordinating Board, Lembong claims the concern regarding the illegal foreign workers issues contradicts to the government efforts to invite foreign investments (Adiwijaya, 2017). Based on the 2016 foreign workers data, a total of 74,183 foreign workers are registered where 23,000 of which are Chinese nationality. While, the Director General of Immigration reveals the Directorate General of Immigration has done deportation action towards 7,887 illegal foreign workers in 2016. This number shows Indonesia is still facing the high number of illegal foreign worker cases (Wisnu, 2016).

Overcoming this problem is not an easy task for the government. The government has tried to overcome this issue through some regulations and policies. The approaches do not effectively solve the problems because of the wickedness of the illegal foreign worker issue. Head (2008) argues the wicked problem is constructed from the complexity of the problem, the uncertainty of risk and the value divergence. Debates on the international migration phenomena contribute to an increasing number of the illegal foreign workers issue. The issue causes the positive and negative impacts to Indonesia as relentless consequences. Meanwhile, the nature of the topic is vague; whether the government makes efforts to handle that issue successfully. In fact, the situation is so complex, the risk is uncertain, and the value is divergence. Since the wickedness is raised by those elements, an interagency collaboration provides a better approach to tackle this issue. Previous researches on the wicked problems and illegal workers issues in Indonesia (Ariani, 2018; Jazuli, 2018; N Roberts, 2000) were limited to a bottom-up design, legal approaches, and immigration law perspectives.

The study finds the illegal foreign worker issues in Indonesia are resolved by the law enforcement taskforce among agencies in relation to collaboration, cooperation and national security. A conceptual framework is proposed the immigration enforcement operation team is urged to improve the use of technology, citizen participation, interagency partnership, equipment, vehicles and boats. Further research extends the involvement of citizen's participation and the use of technology in enforcing the immigration law and handling the illegal foreign workers.

2. Literature Review

2.1. *Illegal Foreign Worker Issue as the Impact of International Migration*

Some works reveal that the number of people who migrate to another country is gradually increasing each year. According to Tacoli and Okali (2002), the international migration has been increased and intensified in the last two decades. Li (2008) argues even though the international migration has occurred before the globalisation era, the speed, the complexity, the scope, and the volume are different. The United Nation (2015) revealed in 2015 the number of migrants reached 244 million people, while in 2000 the number of migrants was only 173 million people. This shows the increasing trends of the international migration are reaching 4.7 million people each year. Lee (1966) explains migration is influenced by a set of factors including the factors associated with the area of origin, factors associated with the area of destination, intervening obstacles and personal factors. Tranos, Gheasi, and Nijkamp (2015) argue the migration movement could be studied through two factors that become the reason why people move from the origin country to the other country. There are push factors like unemployment, poverty, and conflict; while the pull factors are employment opportunities, wealth, and political stabilities.

Further, it is undeniable that the globalisation contributes to intensifying the international migration these days. Czaika and Haas (2015) explain that the globalisation should be seen not only as a technological process but also a political process. They argue technological change has supported the migrants by reducing the barriers to mobility like travel and communication cost, strengthening the transnational network, and improving access to global information. While politically, the free market economy policy has lifted the international barrier for trade and capital flow. (Li, 2008) argues the integration of the world economic as an impact of economic globalisation has raised the demand for labour in the different part of the world. The demand for labour could be identified as the pulling factor of migration.

Regarding the impact of International migration, some studies have shown varies results. The proponent of International Migration believes the international migration brings some positive impacts to the economics of the country. Li (2008) argues the developed countries need the international migration as a source to replenish their population and labour force. Tacoli and Ocali (2002) believe the migration contributes to sustainable development and local economic growth. On the other hand, the opponent of International Migration believes this issue could bring some serious threats to the country especially to the national security. In her article, Tallmeister (2013) argues the international migration has brought some threats not only to the receiving country but also the origin country. She mentions the threats are including societal security, economic security, internal security and public security. In societal security, she argues Immigration could affect the collective identity like cultural, linguistic, religious and national identity. In economic security, she believes the international migration could affect the

labour market in the receiving country. In accordance with Tallmeister, McAlexander (2016) argues the increase in migration has affected to the increasing number of terrorism. In his research, He analyses the data by using Bayesian methods to identify the correlation between the migration flows and terrorism number in Western Europe countries between 1980 and 2004.

Furthermore, come as a consequence of the international migration, some countries are facing the surge of illegal foreign workers (Boswell and Straubhaar, 2004). The existence of the illegal foreign workers has raised the attention of the researcher to study the impact of this issue. Shechory, Ben-David and Soen (2010) argue "the labour migration issue has many angles and can be analysed from a different point of view." Since then, there are some articles which discuss this issue from some different perspectives. Accordingly, Illegal foreign workers could be defined as a foreigner who does not have either residence permit or a work permit. While Wohlfeld (2014) defines people who stay or work without necessary document required under immigration law as an irregular migrant. Thus, it the illegal foreign workers could be classified as irregular migrant since the unavailability of the documents.

In their article, Boswell and Straubhaar (2004) argue the government needs to take serious action regarding this problem. Their consideration is based on two reasons why the government should consider tackling the illegal foreign workers. The first is the rising concern from interest groups and the increasing of the public anxiety relating to this issue. They believe that illegal workers not only have impacts on employment, wages, welfare system or immigrant rights but the illegal workers also considered as a serious threat to law and national security. The second reason is the plan of the government to expand the legal worker programmes. They believe by combating illegal workers and expanding the legal job opportunity for the migrants, the government is aiming to receive more incentives from the employment of foreign workers.

Furthermore, there is assumed that illegal foreign worker affects the native workers job opportunity and wages. Venturini (2004) argues the existence of illegal workers has affected the employment of the national workers. The research which held in southern European countries reveals that the illegal foreign workers have damaged the native workers. The reason is the availability of the illegal foreign worker has reduced the companies' cost in attracting native workers from other regions or setting a new factory in the area with a high number of labours. However, in affecting native workers' wages, in their study, Freidberg, and Hunt (1995) argues the existence of illegal foreign worker does not affect the reduction of native workers wage.

In contrast with Boswell and Straubhaar (2004) and Venturini (2004), Entorf and Moebert (2004) have different views on the impact of the illegal foreign worker. From an economic perspective, they (p.10) believe "illegal immigration could have positive effects on the wealth of nations." In this point, illegal workers are believed to fulfil the demand of labour in booming economies. Further, since illegal workers are identified as unskilled workers, they argue that illegal workers could substitute for low-skilled workers and be a complement for high-skilled workers.

2.2. Wicked Problems

The concern on wicked problem first came up in a discussion when Horst Rittel in 1960s revealed that the decision makers are now facing a higher class of social problem called wicked problem (McCall & Burge, 2016). Churchman (1967) reveals in a seminar Horst Rittel explains there are some problem which is so complex and the solution to approach the problem often causes a worse issue than the symptom. Then, Rittel and Webber (1973) discuss the further explanation of the wicked problem in their work as a critic of the scientific approach which not relevant to address the contemporary issue.

In the contemporary public planning, the policy makers are facing a different social problem than the previous one (Horst Rittel & Melvin Webber, 1973). They believe the traditional problem-solving methods which based on scientific approach would not able to address the problem. This is because the social problems are becoming more complex, hard to be defined, vague and interconnected each other. In their work, Rittel and Webber (1973) mentions twelve characteristics of a problem which could be defined as a wicked problem. In short, the wicked

problem is a unique problem which hard to be formulated because of the constrained system and the solution which implemented might not really address the problem.

In the modern literatures, a wicked problem is still relevant with the current condition. Some researchers concerned with this problem and have tried to develop some approaches to tackle this issue (Conklin & Weil, 1998; Head & Alford, 2008, 2013; Nancy Roberts, 2000). Those authors have used the Rittel and Webber's wicked problem characteristics as a basis to develop an understanding and problem solving on the contemporary wicked problem's phenomena.

In their work, Conklin and Weil (1998) assess the wicked problem in the organisation. They believe there are some problems which called wicked that could not be solved by using a simple problem-solving method. They argue the wicked problem is difficult to solve since there is no definitive problem or solution, many stakeholders involved and constructed from interlocking issues and constraints. Further, Roberts (2001) develops hers characteristic of the wicked problem based on Coklin and Weil's work; however, she emphasises on the changing constraint which constructs the wicked problem. She (2001) believes "the problem-solving process is complex because constraints, such as resources and political ramifications, are constantly changing."

More specific characteristic is defined by Brian Head (2008). In his works, Head (2008) argues that the wicked problem is constructed from three interconnected elements. The first element is the complexity of the problem. Head (2008) believes the wicked problem is constructed from the complexity of the elements and interdependencies. In different work, Head and Alford (2008) argue "the complexity of the problem refers to difficulties in acquiring knowledge and solution." They believe this complexity is caused by the interdependencies of process and structures. Further, Newman and Head (2015) argue the wicked problem is complex since "they have shifting boundaries and moving parts as well as far-reaching and cascading negative externalities."

The other element is the scientific uncertainty. In general, the uncertainty in the wicked problem is related to the scientific limitation that could not predict what outcome would be happened. This condition has made the government are not able to decide the strategies to tackle the wicked problem since the problem seems intractable (Head, 2014). Head (2008) argues "the uncertainty in the wicked problem related to risks, consequences of action, and changing patterns." In another work, Head and Alford (2013) argue the gaps in reliable knowledge have brought uncertainty on the risk and outcome.

Lastly, the divergence of value becomes an element which contributes to the wickedness of the problem. The involvement of the many different stakeholders in the problem could not be denied become a factor that constructs the wicked problem. Head and Alford (2013) argue wicked problems cannot be separated from the social pluralism since it involves with multiple interests and values of stakeholders. Head (2008) believes the wicked problem is constructed by a high divergence of viewpoints, values, and strategic intentions.

Head believes the wicked problem only happens if those elements including complexity, uncertainty, and value divergence are highly involved in the problem. He believes that even though complexity constructs the wickedness of the problem, it is not enough to trigger the wicked problem if the risk of outcome is certain and there is no divergence in value. Then, the disagreement of value will not contribute to the wickedness of the problem, if the problem is not complex and the outcome is certain.

2.3. Interagency Collaboration Approach

Previously, it was explained that the wickedness is constructed from several elements involving different stakeholders. Thus, all of the government's efforts in overcoming this problem would not effectively address this problem, unless the government takes a different approach besides a traditional linear approach. Conklin and Weil (1998) argue the traditional linear approach which based on linear and mechanistic universe would not be able to overcome the wicked problem. They argue this approach is obsolete and no longer meets the demands of the world since the wicked problem is constructed by interlocking issues and constraints, so this approach would not able to tackle the problem.

It is argued one of the most appropriate alternative approaches that could be implemented to overcome this problem is by developing interagency collaboration. As argued by Roberts (2000) in her paper, the wicked problems could be tamed by using collaborative strategy. argues the interagency collaboration has been used as a managerial tool to overcome the wicked issues like social exclusion, drugs, alcohol and crime in the United Kingdom during The Blair government. In addition, Keast (2015) argues internal and vertical organisational form is not adequate to response the wicked issue. He believes it needs more comprehensive and horizontal model of integration to response to the wicked issue.

In regards to the collaboration in public sector, according to Mulgan (2005) the collaboration concept firstly introduced in the United Kingdom by Blair's government in the launch of social exclusion unit in 1997 with the Joined-up government term (Carey, 2015). Blair's Labour government introduced the collaboration or partnership as an ideal alternative to response the previous government's new public management approach which emphasise the market and competition (Hudson et al., 1999). The previous new public management claimed has built an unseen border between the public sectors. Bogdanor (2005) believes the new public management has caused the fragmentation of the government. Ling (2002) argues the joined-up government comes as a response to a fragmented government which prevents the achievement of important policies.

Compared with the new public management concept, the Joined-up government differs in term of their approach from its predecessor. While, the new public management emphasises on the disaggregation, competition, and incentivization of public sector (Dunleavy et al., 2005), the joined up government emphasises the better integration not only between government departments and agencies but also private sectors (Bogdanor, 2005). express the new generation of public sector has left away from the new public management structural devolution, disaggregation, single-purpose organisation towards the whole-of-government approach. This reform toward the joined-up government concept is necessary to embrace the cooperation and eliminate the wall between public sectors.

Moreover, according to Ling (2002), the joined-up government approach has created a new way of working across the organisation which emphasises on the coordination. "'Partnership' focuses on the mechanisms used by two or more organisations to work together on a shared agenda while keeping their own organisational identity and purpose (Ling, 2002)". He believes the coordination which develops through partnership offers greater value for money and a better public services. Hood (2005) emphasises the importance of coordination in the Joined-up government. He argues that the coordination is the main doctrine of the joined-up government. He claims the various units of government need to operate and present as a unit to face or deal with interrelated problems. Page (2005) believes "Joined-up government is about harnessing the resources of several organisations simultaneously to produce better or more cost-effective results, or even address problems that were previously thought to be addressable as they were insoluble by organisations acting separately."

Nevertheless, although the coordination becomes the main doctrine of Joined up Government concept (Hood 2005), Keast (2015) claims the joined-up government requires more complex interagency relationship than the coordination. Relating to the form of the interagency relationship, some authors have developed some frameworks which describe and clarify the relationship between the organisations. Mattesich and Monsey (1992) argue the relationship in a collaboration needs a commitment regarding mutual relationship and goal; responsibility; mutual authority and accountability; and resource and reward sharing. They distinguish the form of interagency relationship into three forms based on the degree of consensus called 3Cs: Cooperation, Coordination, and Collaboration. They believe the relationship in cooperation is informal without a defined mission, structure and planning. In the coordination and collaboration form, the relationship is formal and shares the same mission. However, differently with coordination, the relationship in collaboration is more intense by bringing the different agencies into a new structure with a shared mission, commitment, resources, and risk.

The other model of interagency relationship is developed by Himmelman (2001) through an interagency relationship development continuum. He claims that organisations coalition could be implemented in four strategies based on the relationship to the challenges and opportunities namely Networking, Coordinating,

Cooperating, and Collaborating. He (2001) confirms "each strategy evolves from or builds upon another". This continuum has clearly shown the different relationship in each strategy.

Relating to the interagency collaboration in addressing a wicked problem, Roberts (2000) believes the use of collaborative strategy is necessary to address the wicked problem if the power among the stakeholders is dispersed and not contested. In her article, Roberts discusses the implementation of stakeholder collaboration in Afghanistan's relief and recovery effort as an alternative strategy to response the failure of authoritative and competitive strategy. Based on that experience, she argues that the collaboration is an essential learning process. Since every stakeholder is a specialist in their own area, hearing from those involved stakeholders can help to understand the problems and the solution. Furthermore, according to Head (2014), the collaborative work is preferred to reduce the uncertainty in the wicked problem. It is because the collaboration work has made the decision-making process more informed and consensual.

Moreover, the needs for collaboration in addressing a wicked problem discussed by Mattesich and Monsey. In their work, they explain the autonomy and individual agency effort would struggle to address the issue in a complex system. While the interagency collaboration can bring many beneficial results in addressing a complex issue. They claim collaboration not only could reduce the research and planning related expenses but also could improve the effectivity and accessibility of services. They believe the collaboration through integrated service system will eliminate the duplication of cost and effort. Thus, the efforts to tackle the complex problem will be more effective and efficient.

3. Method

To respond the issues and fill the knowledge gaps, this paper examines the wickedness of the illegal foreign workers issues in Indonesia based on the Brian Head's wicked problem concept. This qualitative research analyses the foreign worker issues in Indonesia by the document analysis (Bowen, 2009) collected from government policies from 2015 to 2018, organizational reports, and journal articles. The question is to what extent the illegal foreign worker issues in Indonesian have been tackled by the Indonesian government? This study examines the wickedness of the illegal foreign workers issues in Indonesia based on the Brian Head's wicked problem concept. This study discusses the characteristics of wicked problem: complexity, uncertainty, and divergence in illegal foreign worker issues in Indonesia.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Illegal Foreign Workers in Indonesia

Coming as the consequences of the international migration, the illegal foreign worker issues have raised the policy makers' attention. The analysis of wicked problems in illegal foreign worker issues in Indonesia is discussed as follows by using the Brian's Head concept with the elements are threefold: complexity, uncertainty and divergence.

4.2. Complexity

The illegal foreign worker issue in Indonesia is so complex which is constructed from several multidimensional aspects involving different stakeholders. The complexities are identified with several reasons such as legislation of foreign worker employment, authority overlap among agencies, and the new Indonesian visa waiver policy.

One issue that constructs the complexity of this problem is the Indonesian legislation. Boswell and Straubhar (2004) believe that the illegal employment is caused by legislation which restricts the possibilities of legal employment. In that regards, the legislation in Indonesia about the foreign worker employment has restricted the possibilities for the employers to hire the legal foreign worker. The Indonesian foreign workers regulation is too complicated because there are some responsibilities and documentations to be fulfilled by the employers in hiring

foreign workers. Additionally, the workers need to meet the required documents before they enter and work in Indonesia.

Based on the Indonesian Manpower Minister's Regulation Number 16 of 2015 on the foreign workers employment procedures, the Indonesian government has set some obligations for the employers when hiring the foreign workers. Foreign workers in Indonesia must be categorized as investors or professionals at the designated workplace or corporation. In the article 5 (section 1) the employers shall hold the letter called RPTKA or the foreign worker utilisation plan and shall obtain the IMTA letter or the foreign worker's work permit as a prerequisite for a working visa application after the employers hold the RPTKA letter. After a foreign worker holding the working visa prior to their arrival in Indonesia, they shall convert their working visa to the temporary residence permit at the local immigration office not exceeding 30 days after the arrival. This shows that to obtain the working visa, a foreign worker goes through an ineffective bureaucratic procedure involving two different agencies. This fragmented policy among agencies and an ineffective process of applying work visa and permit contribute to the complexity of the problem.

With this regulation, the Indonesian government is aiming to protect the Indonesian native workers, but this complicated regulation has resulted in the illegal foreign workers issue. Employers find difficulties to hire the foreign workers because the process is not transparent and accountable. Boswell and Straubhar (2004) argue the restriction of legal foreign workers opportunities has left the employers without any option than hiring the foreign workers illegally. This condition leads to the probability of the employers looking for another easier and less complicated way to employ the foreign workers. In that regards, the chance for the employer to employ the illegal foreign works is increasing.

Secondly, this issue becomes more complex because there is a regulatory overlap in the illegal worker's law enforcement. There are some regulations which become the legal basis for some agencies to conduct an immigration enforcement operation to oversee foreigners during they stay in Indonesia. Those agencies are The Directorate General of Immigration, and The Ministry of Manpower. Based on their own regulation, each agency has an authority to conduct an immigration enforcement operation on the people who are allegedly claimed as illegal foreign workers. According to Indonesian Immigration Law No.6 of 2011, The Directorate General of Immigration has given an authority to implement task and function in Immigration including an immigration enforcement operation. While the Ministry of Manpower has an authority to conduct a supervision toward the foreign workers which was written under the Minister of Manpower Regulation No.3 of 1990. This condition leads to the ineffectivity of immigration law enforcement which is conducted by the Directorate General of Immigration. Aagaard (2011) believes that a regulatory overlap could affect the efficiency in a public sector. He believes reducing the regulatory overlap could save billion dollars annually.

Furthermore, the complexity of this problem is amplified by the Indonesian new visa policy and boosting economy growth policy. According to BAPPENAS (2015), the economic policy packages aims to boost National economic condition through some deregulations and de-bureaucratization of some economic sectors. In the tourism sector, the government tried to attract more foreign tourist by implementing the visa waiver program. Based on the Indonesian presidential regulation No.69 of 2015 then revised by the Presidential Regulation No.21 of 2016, Indonesia has waived the visa for tourists who come from 169 eligible countries. With this regulation, the eligible tourists are can stay in Indonesia for 30 days without having a visa prior to their arrival. Even though this policy claimed to boost the local economic growth from inbound tourist (Indonesia Investments, 2014; Pujiharini & Ichihashi, 2016), this policy has raised concern about its impact on national security.

Related to the national security, this policy is claimed to have brought a significant contribution to the increasing number of illegal foreign workers in Indonesia. It is argued this policy has left a gap for the employers to hire the foreign worker illegally. Based on The Indonesia Government Regulation No.31 of 2013, to obtain an Indonesian Visa, the foreigner to lodge application their documents for application at the Indonesian representative or embassy by filling out their administration data and fulfilling the requirements in a particular letter of guarantee from the sponsor. This letter of guarantee is required by the government to find out who is responsible for the foreigner's activity during their stay in Indonesia. By eliminating the letter of guarantee requirement, the Indonesian government has given a chance for the foreigner to violate their tourism visa by working illegally. This condition

happens because the Indonesian government could not identify the sponsor of the foreigner without the letter of guarantee.

The above analyses demonstrate there is no clear problem definition for this problem. This problem is constructed from many different factors which constrain each other. This condition has caused the real problem of biased. So, the Indonesian government cannot define the best solution to overcome this problem. Related to this condition, Conklin and Weil (1998) believe the appropriate solution could not be defined if there was no definitive problem.

4.3. Uncertainty

In the terms of uncertainty, like the other wicked problems, the illegal foreign workers problem brings uncertainty for the Indonesian government to formulate the solution and strategy to overcome this problem because ineffective policy instruments. In addition, the limitation of Directorate General of Immigration in conducting the immigration enforcement operation. Based on the Indonesian Immigration law, Indonesia government has set some punishments for the foreigners who violate the Immigration Law. According to article No. 122 letter a, "imprisonment punishment for a maximum of 5 (five) years or fine sentence for maximum Rp.500.000.000 (equals to USD32.000) for every Foreigner who intentionally misuses or carries out activities that are not in accordance with the purpose and objective of such Residence Permit provided". Further, based on the article No. 118, the same punishment is applied to the sponsor who found guilty in providing incorrect information or complies with no guarantee provided. According to the Directorate General of Immigration annual report, there are 265 foreigners have been sentenced guilty of violating their Residence Permit during 2016. This number has shown an increase from the previous year, which was recorded only 215 foreigners. This condition shows that the punishment unlikely decrease the number of Immigration Law violation.

Based on the Indonesian Immigration Law No. 6 of 2011, the Minister of Law and Human Right has an authority to establish an immigration enforcement operation team consisting the government agencies which is responsible for supervising foreigner's activity in Indonesia. Therefore, in 2016, the Minister of Law and Human Right issued the Law and Human Right Minister's Decree No. 50 of 2016 regarding the Immigration law enforcement team. According to this Minister's decree, the team was established to create the coordinated immigration law enforcement within the Indonesian territory. Based on the decree, the Immigration Law Enforcement team is established on three different government level: Centrally, Regionally, and Locally. At each government's level, this team is led by the Directorate General of Immigration. Additionally, the member of this team consists of some agencies for the immigration joint operation like the Ministry of manpower, regional and local government, Indonesia National Police, Ministry of Finance, and Indonesia Intelligence Agency. According to Susilawati (2016), the role of the immigration law enforcement team is crucial to support the Directorate General of Immigration's role in supervising foreigner's activities. Relating to the illegal foreign worker issue, the establishment of the immigration law enforcement team is expected to help the Directorate General of Immigration to tackle the illegal foreign worker issue as an immigration law violation. However, there is a big gap between the number of Immigration offices and the number of cities in Indonesia which hamper the immigration enforcement operation effectivity. Susilawati (2016) believes the limited number of Directorate General of Immigration staff in immigration offices has affected the effectiveness of immigration enforcement operation especially in gathering information about foreigner's activity.

The limitation of the Directorate General of Immigration's capacity to supervise the foreign workers activity contributes to the complexity of this problem. As it is explained, the Directorate General of Immigration is the agency which has a responsibility to supervise the foreigner's activity in Indonesia. The Immigration law describes the role of Directorate General of Immigration in conducting the immigration enforcement operation. Relating to the operation, the immigration enforcement operation to foreigner's activity includes three phases (Bahri et al., 2013). The first supervision is when the foreigners apply for an Indonesian visa at the Indonesian embassy. The second one is when foreigners enter the Indonesian territory appearing at the Indonesian border control for the Immigration examination. The last one is during the foreigner's stay within Indonesia area.

In relation to the effectivity of the immigration enforcement operation, it could be argued that there are some factors that influence this activity with the most concerning geographical factor. According to the Directorate

General of Immigration official website (2017), there are 123 local immigration offices in Indonesia. By comparing the number of local immigration office with the number of cities, it shows a significant gap that causes immigration enforcement operation in effective.

It is analysed the complexity of illegal foreign worker in Indonesia is affected by the regulatory overlap between the Directorate General of Immigration and the Ministry of Manpower about the authority in conducting an immigration enforcement operation. According to Aagard (2011), to avoid the problem which caused by regulatory overlap, those agencies need to develop an effective coordination. Developing the coordination between involved stakeholders still becomes a challenge for the local immigration office. In his work, argues the lack of coordination between Immigration office and the other agencies become one of the challenges in conducting Immigration law enforcement. The establishment of immigration law enforcement team is expected to develop a better coordination for the immigration enforcement operation. Thus, the authority overlaps which becomes one obstacle of immigration law enforcement action could be eliminated.

In addition, deregulation in foreign worker employment procedures might bring unintended outcomes for the community. That example shows that the Indonesian government is facing an uncertainty about the consequences of the actions. Head (2008) believes the uncertainty of the risk could bring conflict and generate social cohesions. In this case, if the government implemented some unpopular policies with the unintended outcomes, these might cause several conflicts within the citizens.

4.4. Divergence

The wickedness of illegal workers issue in Indonesia is influenced by the divergence opinion from the Indonesian citizen regarding the existence of foreign workers. This condition has made the government could not take the appropriate solution to overcome this problem. The efforts of government in overcoming this problem might trigger a conflict in the community. According to the chairperson of Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Roeslani (as cited in Setiawan 2016) argues the existence of foreign worker would improve the native worker's competencies and contribute to the increase of the foreign exchange. On the other hand, the existence of foreign worker has raised the other people's concern on its impact to the society and economy.

This divergence comes as the impact of nationalism value which ingrains in most Indonesian people. According to Grenville (2014), nationalism value has become the main stance of Indonesian in struggling to achieve its Independence. Then, after the Independence Day, the nationalism value still becomes the government's main principle to set their policy. Grenville (2014) argues in the first two decades after the independence, the Indonesian Government has nationalised many foreign companies as the reflection of the Indonesian value of nationalism and foreigner distrust. In this globalisation era, the value of nationalism still influences the Indonesian citizen's mindset. Concerning on the foreign worker issue, some people are still sceptical about the benefits of foreign workers. They believe foreign investments and foreign workers could bring many devastated impacts to the countries. For instance, the debate on the revision of the Government Regulation No.35 of 2015 about the foreign worker.

In this new regulation, for the ease of doing business, the Indonesian government has removed the regulation about an expat worker's obligation to be able to speak the Indonesian language. This new regulation has raised controversy among the citizens. The Minister of Manpower, Hanif Dhakiri (2015 as cited in Zubaidah) believes this deregulation is intended to make a better and more reliable investment climate. Following the Dhakiri's statement, the Indonesian Cabinet Secretary, Pramono Anung affirms the president has removed the language requirement for the foreign worker since this obligation could become a barrier for the government to boost the economic growth (Wisanggeni, 2015).

In contrast with those arguments, by enacting this policy, the government has not taken the value of nationalism into account. They consider this new regulation will affect the native worker job opportunity (Prawira, 2015; Zubaidah, 2015). Since Indonesia is still facing an unemployment problem, the government needs to protect the native worker's job opportunity. This condition shows that the value divergence has affected the government's

decision to address illegal foreign workers issue. Furthermore, the divergence of value is not only identified in the citizen's point of view, but also in some government agencies. As an organisation, every government agency has their own value which becomes the basis for their action. In this case, the divergence of value in the government agency could be seen on the debates regarding the implementation of the new visa waiver policy. The Ministry of Tourism believes this policy would bring benefit to the economic growth while the Ministry of Law and Human Right argues this policy needs to be evaluated. This condition shows there is a divergence in value because the Ministry of Tourism owns an economic value, but the Ministry of Law and Human Rights owns the national security value. This condition could make the problem solving on this wicked issue more complex.

Due to its nature, the wicked problem could be only a symptom of another problem. Relating to this issue, the illegal foreign worker might be a symptom of another fundamental problem (Horst Rittel & Melvin Webber, 1973). The Immigration law enforcement team efforts in strengthening the immigration enforcement operation could reduce the illegal foreign worker number; however, it might not really address the bigger issue behind this problem since it will only tackle the symptoms of the problems. The interagency relationship needs to be developed not only in the implementation of the policy but also in the decision-making process. Developing interagency relationship in the decision-making process is crucial to formulate the most appropriate policy to overcome the problem. Himmelman (2001) affirms the collaboration in the decision-making process is needed to produce an important specific outcome. Relating to this issue, Keast (2011, as cited in Carey 2015) argues the integration of public agencies needs to be developed into three levels of activities: Macro activity which covers strategic planning and financing, Meso activity which cover relationship and managerial integration, and Micro activity which covers direct relationships between practitioners and clients. As an interagency partnership, the immigration law enforcement taskforce is recommended to improve the use of technology, citizen participation, the use of equipment, vehicles and boats.

However, it is argued that in overcoming the illegal foreign workers issue as a wicked problem, the government needs to develop the current coordination stage into more complex relationship stages in the Himmelman's relationship continuum. Carey (2015) believes "joined-up government requires those more complex relationships to the right of the continuum, supported by an equally complex set of structural and cultural changes". The further development is important because in the current coordination stage the relationship between the members is limited to information sharing. It is argued that there is inadequate information sharing to tackle the wickedness of Illegal foreign worker issue. This team needs to be developed further to the collaboration stages which cover the shared budget and shared resources and risks

Table 1: Wicked Problems in Illegal Worker Issues in Indonesia

| Characteristics | Aspects | Problems |
|-----------------|--------------|---|
| Complexity | Legislations | Complicated work visa Requirements and Procedures Authority Overlap Among Agencies Visa waiver policy |
| Uncertainty | Policies | Ineffective policy instruments Limitation of law enforcement team Regulatory overlap |
| Divergence | Values | Indonesian citizen opinions Perspective of tourism and economy Ease of doing business Perspective of national security |

5. Conclusion

The Indonesian government has established an interagency cooperation called the immigration enforcement operation team as a joined-up action to address illegal foreign worker issues. This team has implemented a horizontal approach by encouraging the participation of the other agencies. The participation of those agencies is crucial to support the Directorate General of Immigration's role in supervising Foreigner's activity within Indonesian territory. It concludes the illegal foreign worker issues in Indonesia are resolved by the law enforcement taskforce among agencies in relation to collaboration, cooperation and national security. This cooperation only

supports the implementation of the immigration enforcement operation not in the decision-making process. Three characteristics of wicked problems in illegal worker issues in Indonesia are complexity with legislations, uncertainty with policies, and divergence with values and its specific problems. As shown in the Table 1, there are three characteristics of wicked problems in illegal worker issues in Indonesia comprising aspects of legislations, policies, and values with its specific problems.

It is proposed the immigration enforcement operation team should be developed further into more comprehensive and integrated partnership such as a task force as a form of collaboration. This form of collaboration is fundamental as a resource and risk sharing in addressing this problem. The immigration enforcement operation team is urged to improve the use of technology, citizen participation, interagency partnership, equipment, vehicles and boats. This paper is limited to a discussion of the role of citizen's participation in strengthening the Immigration law enforcement team. Further research extends the involvement of citizen's participation in immigration law enforcement and the use of advanced technology.

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An Approach to the Performance of Passport Services through Workload and Work Environment: Study at the Wonosobo Immigration Office

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Abstract

This study aims to identify the effect of workload and work environment on the performance of passport issuance services at the Wonosobo Immigration Office. Workload is defined as a series of tasks that must be carried out by a work unit within an organization or by an individual who serves in a position within a certain period of time. Meanwhile, the work environment is defined as a place where a worker completes his duties in accordance with the goals to be achieved. There is a mismatch in the number of human resources in passport services compared to the high level of passport applications. The research method used in this research is quantitative method. Data collection was carried out through observation and distribution of questionnaires. Sampling using total sampling techniques, and data analysis was carried out using a Likert scale. The data analysis technique applied in this study is using multiple linear regression data analysis techniques. The results of data collection show the significance of workload of 0.32 and work environment of 0.21 greater than 0.05, which means that there is an influence of workload and work environment on employee performance in passport services. This study recommends increasing the number of human resources and improving the work environment to improve the performance of passport issuance services.

Keywords: Workload, Work Environment, Performance of Passport Issuance Services

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduce the Problem

Humans are always involved in social life and organizations in various aspects of their lives. This is very evident in their daily life in the home environment, in social groups, educational institutions, and in various other aspects of life, because it is needed to meet the needs of his life (Bründl et al., 2017).

According to an article by Costanza (2007), efforts to meet the needs of human life need to work, because by working humans can meet all their needs. One form of human community is the population. A population is a group of humans who live in a certain area. Population growth in Indonesia is currently very high which causes difficult employment. This makes many Indonesian citizens flock to complain their fate in other countries.

With many cases of Indonesian citizens who go to many other countries to become Indonesian migrant employees, it has led to an increase in international crossings. The increasing opening of international crossings has led to increasing demands for immigration services. The implementation of services in the field of immigration carried out by human resources includes Indonesian immigration personnel. Immigration services that are required to be good must be jointly followed by an increase in human resources (Low, 2021).

1.2 Explore Importance of the Problem

According to the provisions of the Minister of Law and Human Rights' Regulation Number 23 of 2019 regarding the Organisation and Work Procedures of the Immigration Office, Wonosobo Immigration Office is one of the technical task implementation units in the field of immigration in the Central Java region. One of the duties and functions of the Wonosobo Immigration Office is to provide immigration services, which include immigration stay permit services and passport making services. Passport services at the Wonosobo Immigration Office are divided into 2 (two) places, namely at the Wonosobo Immigration Office and the Magelang Immigration Office Work Unit.

Based on data obtained from the Immigration Office, in 2022 there were 35,854 passport applications. If calculated every month there are 2,988 passport issuances and every day there are approximately 100 passport issuances. Based on the passport statistics report of the Wonosobo Immigration Office, passport applications every day are not comparable to the number of employees in the passport service subsection which only amounts to nine employees. Based on these data, it can be seen that until now there is still no effort from the government to overcome the problem of the gap between the implementation of duties and functions with the number of existing employees. If left unchecked, it can result in a decrease in employee performance, especially in employee motivation and productivity.

Increasing the efficiency of immigration service performance at the Wonosobo Immigration Office can be achieved if it is supported by a conducive work environment and atmosphere, including the provision of adequate and well-organized space. A good working environment is very important for the smooth running of the duties of Wonosobo Immigration Office employees, so it is also necessary to prepare a comfortable working environment and conducive office atmosphere, as well as proper room arrangement.

A pleasant, comfortable work environment and a conducive office atmosphere will create comfort for employees, it allows employees to work optimally and has a direct effect on carrying out their duties with full responsibility. Inadequate work environment conditions can cause high levels of stress in employees, increase the risk of illness, and hinder employees' ability to concentrate which can reduce productivity at work (Rasool et al., 2021).

A good working atmosphere is created by a well-organized organization, but if the organization is not well-organized, it will lead to an unclear division of labor and confusing channels of assignment and responsibility that can affect employee performance to work optimally. Workload levels, work environment conditions, and performance have a significant impact on the operational sustainability of an office (Irawanto et al., 2021).

1.3 Describe Relevant Scholarship

1.3.1 Workload

Workload refers to a series of tasks that must be carried out by a work unit in an organization or by an individual who serves in a position, within a predetermined period of time. According to Hancock et al. (2019) workload

reflects the number of tasks assigned to an employee. Excessive workload is one of the triggers for work stress which can lead to a decrease in the quality of work performed.

According to Matthew et al (2020) workload is the difference between a worker's ability and capacity in carrying out the required tasks. Moreover, the fact that humans have properties related to physical and mental, therefore each person has a different level of burden.

According to Kramer (2020), workload is a condition where there are demands from work that must be completed within a predetermined time. Workload can also mean that in each of the tasks completed there are differences in the level of employee ability and employee capacity in completing the work they face with a certain period of time.

According to Staats et al. (2020), workload is the method through which an individual carries out his or her job tasks or a group of jobs that must be completed under regular circumstances at a specific period. Drawing from multiple prior interpretations, it may be inferred that the concept of workload refers to the instances in which an individual is faced with superfluous expectations that surpass their typical capacity and aptitude to work. Employee productivity may suffer if they are given excessive work to do, which will ultimately affect the organization's success.

1.3.2 Work Environment

According to Toropova et al. (2021), one of the factors that inspires workers to provide their best effort is a perfect work environment. López-Cabarcos et al. (2022) define a work environment as a location where individuals carry out tasks linked to their jobs. Due to its potential to impact the calibre of work output, the workplace environment is particularly relevant.

Hansel et al (2024) define the work environment as something that can influence employees to carry out the tasks ordered to them, which in turn can affect discipline at work. So, the definition of work environment is a place where a worker completes his tasks in accordance with the goals to be achieved. Hansel also said that work environment has an influence on work results.

When the workplace environment is safe and comfortable, it will enable work to be done easily and subsequently get better work results. If the work environment does not provide a sense of comfort for workers, it will cause boredom and feelings of discomfort which will ultimately have an undesirable impact on the organisation. Therefore, the work environment should be used as a way to maximise worker performance and make them comfortable in completing their work (Putri et al., 2019).

1.4 Problem Formulations

The following is the formulation of the hypothesis of this study using a 95% confidence level, $\alpha = 0.05$:

H1: Workload affects Passport Service Performance at the Wonosobo Immigration Office

H2: Work Environment affects the Performance of Passport Services at the Wonosobo Immigration Office

H3: Workload and Work Environment simultaneously affect the Performance of Passport Services at the Wonosobo Immigration Office.

2. Method

This research uses quantitative methods, namely with survey techniques and using questionnaires as instruments for the sample. The use of questionnaires is to collect information which is then used as a tool to assess associations and individual behavior (Sugiyono, 2017).

Surveys are one of the tools used in quantitative research methodologies to gather data from a sample of people, or respondents. In this study, written questionnaires were employed to gather primary data. After the survey, the

data collected are statistically evaluated to produce insightful study findings. Surveys can help researchers communicate new features or trends to their respondents and gather enough data to gain information fast and efficiently (Sugiyono, 2017).

2.1 Participant (Subject) Characteristics

In this study, the population was employees at the Wonosobo Immigration Office. Wonosobo Immigration Office was chosen because it has a fairly high workload in passport issuance services, especially in Central Java Province. To facilitate service, recently Wonosobo Immigration Office also has a representative office in Magelang City. Currently, the number of employees at the Wonosobo Immigration Office is 42 people, as shown in the following table:

Table 1: Characteristics by Gender

| Gender | Total | Percentage (%) |
|--------------|-----------|----------------|
| Men | 33 | 79 % |
| Women | 9 | 21% |
| Total | 42 | 100 % |

Source: Primary data processed 2024

Characteristics of respondents of Wonosobo Immigration Office employees based on age are presented in the following table:

Table 2: Characteristics by Age

| Age | Total | Percentage (%) |
|-----------------|-----------|----------------|
| <25 years old | 3 | 7% |
| 26-35 years old | 12 | 29% |
| 36-45 years old | 20 | 48% |
| >46 years old | 7 | 17% |
| Total | 42 | 100% |

Source: Primary data processed 2024

2.2 Sampling Procedures

Samples in quantitative research are subsets of the population that contain several individuals with comparable features. The Saturated Sampling Technique, according to Sugiyono (2017), is a sample selection technique in which every member of the population is selected as a sample. Since the Wonosobo Immigration Office employed the Total Sampling Technique as the sampling method for this study, every employee was included in the sample. The following is a table of the results of distributing questionnaires.

Table 3: Questionnaire Distribution

| Description | Jumlah |
|---|--------|
| Questionnaires that have been distributed | 42 |
| Successfully collected questionnaires | 42 |
| Questionnaires can be processed | 42 |
| Questionnaires can not be processed | 0 |

Source: Primary data processed 2024

The results of the data collection through the distribution of questionnaires showed positive achievements, especially as all the questionnaires were successfully collected in accordance with the sample predetermined in the research planning stage.

3. Results

3.1 Classical Assumption Test

3.1.1 Normality Test

The normality test in this study was carried out using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test. The results provide a significance value that will help in assessing the normality of the data. If the significance value resulting from the Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test is greater than 0.05, this indicates that the residuals in this regression model fulfil the assumption of normality. In other words, the distribution of residuals can be considered close to a normal distribution.

Table 4: Normality Test

| One Sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| | | Unstandardized Residual |
| N | | 42 |
| Normal Parameters a,b | Mean | .0000000 |
| | Std. Deviation | 1.452965 20 |
| Most Extreme Differences | Absolute | .129 |
| | Positive | .109 |
| | Negative | -.129 |
| Test Statistic | | .129 |
| Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed) | | .075 ^c |
| a. Test distribution is Normal. | | |

Source: Primary data processed 2024

From the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test results listed in the table above, it can be concluded that the Significance value is 0.075. This figure exceeds the commonly used threshold of 0.05. With a significance value higher than 0.05, this indicates that the data used in this study has characteristics that approach or follow the normal distribution.

3.1.2 Multicollinearity test

To determine if the independent variables in a regression model have a strong link, multicollinearity testing is utilised. A decent regression model is typically distinguished by the lack of a significant correlation between the independent variables. A technique to identify potential multicollinearity is to calculate the variance inflation factor (VIF) and tolerance. When the VIF exceeds 10 or the tolerance value is less than 0.10, multicollinearity is indicated. (Ghozali, 2018).

Table 5: Multicollinearity Test

| | | Coefficients ^a | | | | Collinearity Statistics | |
|-----------------------------|------------|---------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------------|------------|
| Unstandardized Coefficients | | Standardized Coefficients | | | | | |
| Model | B | Std. Error | Beta | t | Sig. | Tolerance | VIF |
| 1 | (Constant) | 7.672 | 2.543 | | 3.017 | .004 | |
| | Workload | .245 | .110 | .329 | 2.230 | .032 | .776 1.288 |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|------|------|------|-------|------|-------|
| Work | .360 | .150 | .353 | 2.396 | .776 | |
| Environment | | | | | .021 | 1.288 |

a. Dependent Variable: Kinerja

Source: Primary data processed 2024

The multicollinearity test results are displayed in the table above, where it is evident that the tolerance values for the workload (X1) and work environment (X2) variables are both 0.776. In addition, 1.288 is the VIF value for both the Workload variable (X1) and the Work Environment variable (X2).

The interpretation of these results is that the tolerance values for both independent variables, namely Workload (X1) and Work Environment (X2), are much greater than the 0.10 threshold often used as an indicator of multicollinearity. In addition, the VIF values for both are also well below the threshold of 10, confirming that there is no multicollinearity problem between all the independent variables in the regression model.

3.1.3 Heteroscedasticity test

The purpose of the heteroscedasticity test is to ascertain whether the residual variation in the regression model between data is non-uniform. The White test method was applied in this investigation.

Table 6: Heteroscedasticity Test

| Model Summary | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|---------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Model | R | RSquare | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of the Estimate |
| 1 | .451 ^a | .203 | .092 | 3.12338 |
| Predictors: | (Constant), | X1X2, | X2. | X1, X1 KUADRAT, X2 KUADRAT |

Source: Primary data processed 2024

Based on the table above, it can be seen that the R Square value is 0.203. Then the data is calculated using the formula ($N * R \text{ Square}$) where N is the number of research respondents totalling 42 respondents. Then obtained c2 count ($42 \times 0.203 = 8.526$). And c2 table is calculated by looking at the df value, namely 5 with an alpha of 0.05, which is obtained 11.0705. From the data above, it is known that c2 count is smaller than c2 table, namely $8.526 < 11.0705$. It can be concluded that using the White test in this study there are no symptoms of heteroscedasticity.

3.2 Statistics and Data Analysis

3.2.1 Multiple Linear Regression Test Results

The purpose of multiple linear regression testing is to determine whether the workload and work environment at the Wonosobo Immigration Office have an effect on the quality of passport services provided. Following data processing with the SPSS 24 programme, the following multiple linear regression test results were obtained:

Table 7: Multiple Linear Regression Test

| Coefficients ^a | | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|---|------|
| Model | | UnstandardizedB | Coeffici ents Std. Error | Standardi zed t Coefficients Beta | Sig. |
| 1 | (Constant) | 7.672 | 2.543 | 3.017 | .004 |
| | Workload | .245 | .110 | .329 | .032 |

| | | | | | |
|------------------|------|------|------|-------|------|
| Work Environment | .360 | .150 | .353 | 2.396 | .021 |
|------------------|------|------|------|-------|------|

a. Dependent Variable: Kinerja

Source: Primary data processed 2024

The Constant value (a) in the table above is 7.672, while the X1 and X2 values (b / regression coefficients) are 0.245 and 0.360. These values allow the regression equation to be stated as follows:

$$Y = a + b_1.X_1 + b_2.X_2 \text{ atau } Y = 7,672 + 0,245 + 0,360$$

Meaning:

A constant of 7.672 indicates that the performance variable's consistent value is 7.672.

The X1 coefficient of regression of 0.245 means that the workload value will rise by 0.245 for every 1% increase in the workload value. This indicates that the workload value determined in this study will increase in proportion to the employee's actual workload.

Meanwhile, the 0.360 X2 regression coefficient shows that the Work Environment value will rise by 0.360 for every 1% increase in the Work Environment value. In this case, the greater the work environment value that can be noted in the study, the better the working conditions offered to employees.

Considering that both regression coefficients are positive, it can be said that variables X1 (workload) and X2 (work environment) have a positive influence on Y (performance). That is, the Wonosobo Immigration Office's passport services operate better the more work is done there and the better the work environment is. In the context of public services, this research emphasises the significance of effective management in relation to attempts to enhance the workload and work environment in order to achieve optimal performance levels.

Decision making in multiple regression tests:

- R Square of 0.342 indicates that workload and work environment have a 34.2% impact on performance, the dependent variable.
- The calculated F value of 10,158 > F Table with a significance level of 0.000 < 0.05 shows that the elements of workload and work environment (X) have an impact on performance (Y). This implies that the regression model can be used to predict performance variables.

3.2.2 Multiple Linear Regression Test Results

The T test has the aim of measuring whether or not there is an independent (partial) influence shown by the workload and work environment variables (X) on the performance variable (Y). The basis for decision making in the T test is:

- It can be stated that there has been sufficient evidence to support the hypothesis that variable X influences variable Y if the calculated t value is higher than the matching table t value
- In contrast, there is not sufficient data to support the hypothesis that variable X influences variable Y if the calculated value of t is less than the matching t table value.

$$\text{Calculation of t table} = t(\alpha/2; n-k-1) = (0.05/2; 42-2-1) = t(0.023; 39) = 2.02269$$

Table 8: Multiple Linear Regression Test

| Coefficients ^a | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|------|
| Model | | Unstandardized B | Coefficients Std. Error | Standardized Coefficients Beta | t | Sig. |
| 1 | (Constant) | 7.672 | 2.543 | | 3.017 | .004 |

| | | | | | |
|------------------|------|------|------|-------|------|
| Workload | .245 | .110 | .329 | 2.230 | .032 |
| Work Environment | .360 | .150 | .353 | 2.396 | .021 |

a. Dependent Variable: Kinerja

Source: Primary data processed 2024

- Testing the First Hypothesis (H1):
Since the calculated t value of 2.230 is higher than the t table of 2.02269, it may be said that H1 is accepted, indicating that X1 (workload) has a beneficial impact on Y (performance).
- Second Hypothesis Testing (H2):
Since the calculated t value of 2.396 is higher than the t table of 2.02269, it may be said that H2 is accepted, indicating that X2 (Work Environment) has a beneficial impact on Y (Performance).

3.2.3 F Test Results

To ascertain if the workload and work environment variables (X) have a substantial combined (simultaneous) effect on the performance variable (Y), the F test is used. The F test's decision-making framework is based on:

- There is sufficient data to conclude that variable X influences variable Y simultaneously if the significance value is less than 0.05 or the calculated F value is higher than the F table with a calculated F of 3.23..
- In contrast, there is insufficient evidence to conclude that variable X and variable Y are affected simultaneously if the significance value is higher than 0.05 or the calculated F value is lower than the F table with a calculated F of 3.23.

Table 9: F Test

| ANOVA ^a | | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------|---------------|----|-------------|--------|-------------------|
| Model | | Sum of Square | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
| 1 | Regression | 45.087 | 2 | 22.5442 | 10.158 | .000 ^b |
| | Residual | 86.555 | 39 | .219 | | |
| | total | 131.643 | 41 | | | |

a. Dependent Variable: Performance

b. Predictors: (Constant), Work Environment, Workload

Source: Primary data processed 2024

According to the preceding table, the significant value for the simultaneous influence of X1 and X2 on Y is 0.000 <0.05, and the computed F value is 10.158 > F table 3.23. Thus, it can be said that H3 is acknowledged, showing that the Wonosobo Immigration Office's workload and work environment both affect passport service performance concurrently.

4. Discussion

4.1 The Effect of Workload on Passport Service Performance

According to the study's first hypothesis (H1), workload affects how well passport services are performed at the Wonosobo Immigration Office. The estimated t value, 2.230, is more than the t table value of 2.02269, according to data analysis. Thus, it can be said that H1 is accepted, suggesting that the Workload variable (X1) has a positive impact on the Performance variable (Y). The study's findings support the notion that performance in passport issuing services at the Wonosobo Immigration Office is significantly influenced by workload.

This research identifies that Workload is evaluated using five important indicators, namely achievement targets, job conditions, job standards, task authority, and responsibility. The results showed that the higher the workload experienced by employees without an appropriate division of tasks, the greater the negative impact on employee performance at the Wonosobo Immigration Office. This can result in a decrease in employee productivity and work efficiency.

This finding is in line with the results of research conducted by Jahari (2019), Parulian et al. (2020), Rusmiati et al. (2021) which also showed that workload has a positive and significant effect on employee performance in several companies in Indonesia. Thus, it can be asserted that the role of Workload in influencing employee performance is a consistent phenomenon in the context of various immigration offices. This is because Indonesian society has a character that is not much different, especially in communities on the island of Java (Dewantara et al., 2019).

From the description above, it can be concluded that Workload does have a significant influence on Passport Service Performance at the Wonosobo Immigration Office. These findings can provide a basis for decision making and management at the Immigration Office to design more effective strategies for managing workload and improving employee performance, with the aim of providing better passport services to the community in the future.

4.2 The Effect of Work Environment on Passport Service Performance

The study's second hypothesis (H2) asserts that the work environment at the Wonosobo Immigration Office affects the quality of passport services provided. The computed t value is 2.396, which is more than the t table value of 2.02269, according to the data analysis results. Therefore, it can be said that H2 is accepted, indicating that the Work Environment variable (X2) has a positive impact on the Performance variable (Y). This suggests that the performance of passport issuing services at the Wonosobo Immigration Office is significantly influenced by the work environment.

In this study, Work Environment is measured using 3 (three) important indicators, namely the work atmosphere, environmental conditions of the workplace, and the availability of equipment and facilities that can provide support for employee performance. A good layout in the workspace can increase employee morale and productivity. In addition, a positive working atmosphere and good co-operation between sections also play an important role in improving productivity and overall performance (López-Cabarcos et al., 2022).

This result is consistent with studies by Taheri et al. (2020) and Iis et al. (2022). Therefore, it can be said that, in the context of public service agencies, the influence of work environment on passport service performance is not just a local phenomenon but also broadly relevant.

From the description above, it can be concluded that the Work Environment does have a real influence on Passport Service Performance at the Wonosobo Immigration Office, which can be the basis for related parties to make improvements and improvements to the Work Environment in order to improve the quality of public services in the future.

4.3 The Effect of Workload and Work Environment on Passport Service Performance

According to the third hypothesis (H3), the Wonosobo Immigration Office's passport service performance is concurrently impacted by workload and work environment. Based on data analysis, it is known that the calculated F value is $10.158 > F_{table} 3.23$ and the significance value for the simultaneous influence of X1 and X2 on Y is $0.000 < 0.05$. Therefore, it can be concluded that H3 is accepted, meaning that work environment and workload have an impact on passport issuance services performance at the Wonosobo Immigration Office simultaneously.. If the workload increases, it will cause employee performance to decrease because they cannot be maximised in carrying out their duties. The decline in employee performance, apart from being influenced by inappropriate

workload, is also influenced by work environment factors. Employees feel less enthusiastic if the spatial arrangement is poor. Coordination between sections is also needed to increase productivity at work. This is in line with research conducted by Tjiabrata et al. (2017), Asriani et al. (2018), and Musa & Suriadj (2020). Based on the description above, it is known that Workload and Work Environment when tested simultaneously have an influence on Passport Service Performance at the Wonosobo Immigration Office.

5. Conclusion

Based on the discussion contained in the previous chapter, the results of research on the Effect of Workload and Work Environment on Passport Service Performance at the Wonosobo Immigration Office which consists of 3 (three) variables, namely workload variables (X1), work environment variables (X2), and performance variables (Y). The conclusions that can be drawn from the results of data processing are as follows:

- Workload (X1) has a significant influence on performance (Y) at the Immigration Office Class II Non TPI Wonosobo. The results of statistical analysis show that the higher the workload, the lower the performance of passport services.
- The work environment (X2) also has a significant effect on performance (Y). This indicates that good work environment conditions can improve passport service performance.
- The combination of workload (X1) and work environment (X2) variables together also has a significant effect on performance (Y). This indicates that both workload management and work environment improvements can help improve the performance of passport issuance services effectively and efficiently.

Thus, the results of this study underscore the importance of managing workload and creating a conducive work environment to improve passport service performance at the Wonosobo Class II Non TPI Immigration Office. Improvement efforts in this case can provide significant benefits for related parties in improving public services. Based on the results of the study, there is a fairly high workload of employees in the passport service section and a less supportive work environment. This is due to the addition of administrative work areas, namely the existence of the Immigration office work unit as a representative in Magelang, and Purworejo. To overcome the high workload and lack of work environment problems, it is recommended to the Wonosobo Immigration Office to propose additional employees with a high level of public service motivation. To overcome problems in the work environment, the following should be considered: 1) the office must create a comfortable community for its workers, 2) provision of adequate rest time, 3) provision of self-development opportunities, 4) provision of facilities and infrastructure that support the work environment (Britt, 2000).

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Text Mining Algorithm Naive Bayes Classifier to Improve Quality Sentiment Analysis Passport Mobile Application

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Abstract

Mobile Passport is an application that can be used as a digital service for people in Indonesia to apply for a new passport and an official online passport replacement from the Directorate General of Immigration replacing APAPO (Online Passport Service Application). User reviews of the Mobile Passport application are the output of big data generated as a result of the Internet of Things. The problem formulation in this research is how the implementation of the Naive Bayes text mining classifier algorithm can analyze the reviews contained in the Mobile Passport application as well as the accuracy, precision and recall values. This research uses the KDD (Knowledge Discovery and database) method which consists of data selection, data preprocessing, transformation, data mining, and evaluation using the R Studio tool. The resulting knowledge and information from this process is used as a useful knowledge base in decision making. The Naive Bayes classifier algorithm method in this research is used because of its reliability in handling data quickly and accurate predictions based on class probabilities, thus enabling research to obtain consistent and reliable results.

Keywords: Text Mining, Algorithm, Naive Bayes Classifier, Sentiment Analysis, KDD, Mobile Passport

1. Introduction

The development of information and communication technology encourages society to enter the era of Society 5.0, this era is a condition of society that can overcome various obstacles and social problems by utilizing various technologies that always make innovations born in the era of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 such as large amounts of data (Big Data), artificial intelligence (Artificial Intelligence), internet of everything (Internet on Things) and robots to improve the quality of human life (Kantar & Kilimci, 2023). This condition is directly proportional to the increase in internet users in Indonesia. The results of the 2022-2023 survey show that the number of Internet users in Indonesia in 2023 recorded by the Indonesian Internet Service Provider Association (APJII) is more than 196,700,000 people out of a total population of approximately 266,910,000 people. Thus, the percentage of internet users in Indonesia is 73.7%, this figure is greater than the survey in 2018 of 64.8% and has increased over time. This is evidenced by the survey period, internet users grew 8.9% or a total of 25,537,353 people (APJII, n.d.).

Google Play and Apple apps are platforms that provide the Mobile Passport Application, the Google Play website states that "Mobile Passport is an application that can be used by the public to submit new passport applications and replace passports online receipts from the Directorate General of Immigration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia." This application is here to improve the quality of service (McConkey & Olukoya, 2023). The Mobile Passport application replaces the function of the Online Passport Service (APAPO) application by adding more complex application features and functions. Based on evaluations and observations on the social media of the directorate general of immigration in November 2023, the use of the Mobile Passport application has several obstacles and problems that occur both during the trial and at the time of its current use. Both of these mobile-based applications can be downloaded on Google Play and App Store (Chembakottu et al., 2023).

The switch to the use of the APAPO application to Mobile Passport has several obstacles and problems that occur both during the trial and at the time of its current use. Both of these mobile-based applications can be downloaded on Google Play and App Store (Lee et al., 2023). Users of the Mobile Passport application can provide reviews and ratings on the application. The provision of this review is one of the data outputs generated from the use of the internet in this online-based passport service. With the increasing amount of text data from Mobile Passport Application reviews. Then the data can be processed into information in detail and intact. Google Play itself is a service operated by Google. This website has stores or media used to sell products such as apps, games, music or songs, and books. Users can access Google Play Services from an Android smartphone (Play Store), website, or Google TV (Sinclair et al., 2024). The Apple Apps site is a service operated by Apple, just like Google Play, Apple Apps also provides application products, games, and music/songs, users can also access Apple Apps services from iOS smartphones (Apps Store) (Nokkaew et al., 2024). The review feature from its users is interesting to these two sites because it is useful as a benchmark for the responses of application users downloaded on the platform. Application reviews that contain positive feedback suggestions or negative complaints can affect prospective passport applicants who will download the application. Getting review data is not an easy thing because the number of reviews is quite large and makes it difficult if data is taken manually. So a method is needed that can filter and retrieve review data automatically and quickly in classifying negative reviews and positive reviews (Nilashi et al., 2023).

Users of the Mobile Passport application can provide reviews and ratings on the application. The provision of this review is one of the data outputs generated from the use of the internet in this online-based passport service. With the increasing amount of text data from Mobile Passport Application reviews. Then the data can be processed into information in detail and intact (Sadare et al., 2023). Google Play itself is a service operated by Google. This website has stores or media used to sell products such as apps, games, music or songs, and books. Users can access Google Play Services from an Android smartphone (Play Store), website, or Google TV. The Apple Apps site is a service operated by Apple, just like Google Play, Apple Apps also provides application products, games, and music/songs, users can also access Apple Apps services from iOS smartphones (Apps Store). The review feature from its users is interesting to these two sites because it is useful as a benchmark for the responses of application users downloaded on the platform. Application reviews that contain positive feedback suggestions or negative complaints can affect prospective passport applicants who will download the application (Qureshi et al., 2023). Getting review data is not an easy thing because the number of reviews is quite large and makes it difficult if data is taken manually. So a method is needed that can filter and retrieve review data automatically and quickly in classifying negative reviews and positive reviews.

In this study, the implementation of text mining was carried out which is part of data mining, where the data is in text format, all data for text mining is in text format (Perea-Khalifi et al., 2024). Text mining is a fairly broad term that describes various technologies for analyzing and processing semistructured and unstructured text data. In the process, technology is needed to meet the need to "convert text into numbers" so that powerful algorithms can be applied to process large databases in a document to convert text into structured data, in the form of numbers, and apply analytical algorithms certainly requires knowledge of how to use and combine these techniques. The initial challenge was to convert this text data into numerical format for subsequent analysis. One of the criteria of text mining is that the review data of the Mobile Passport application that enters the Google Play and Apple Apps sites continues to grow every day, this makes it difficult for related agencies to obtain comprehensive information data

provide users with instant access to the latest information, customized recommendations, or even personalized solutions, creating an environment where scientific research and mobile technology collaborate effectively to support users in exploring and utilizing information efficiently.

2. Method

In an era where mobile apps have become an integral part of everyday life, this study highlights the importance of careful data analysis to improve the functionality and usability of apps. The use of Naïve Bayes methods in data analysis from mobile applications allows researchers to identify users' behavior patterns, preferences, and their needs. By utilizing this classification algorithm, applications can be better tailored to the individual needs of users, improving the overall user experience. In the scientific description, the study provides valuable insights into how information technology, particularly in the context of mobile applications, can be maximized to better meet user expectations and demands. Using data from a wide span of time, the research builds a solid foundation for the development of applications that are more adaptive and responsive to future user needs. Mobile application research and research using text mining using the Naïve bayes Classifier algorithm show a close relationship in the time span of 2017 to 2023 in the context of information technology development reflected in the figure below.

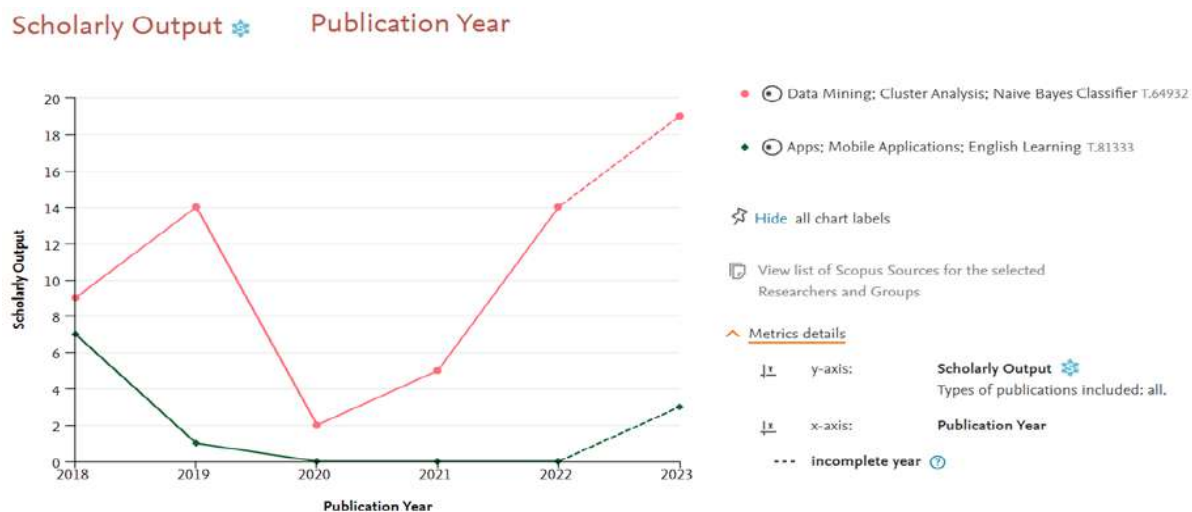


Figure 2: Text Mining and Mobile Application Research Data

The application of text mining is driven by trial-and-error experiments based on the experience of previous researchers (Huo et al., 2024). While relative data mining methodologies have long been used (e.g. CRISP-DM, SEMMA, KDD), Available data measures encourage early sampling and simplification activities. As the older brother of text mining, data mining through the same process has been around since the early 1990s developing several well-known methodologies. In this study, researchers conducted text mining, then researchers determined the right method using the Knowledge Discovery in Databases (KDD) method (Alazab et al., 2024). Understanding Knowledge Discovery in Databases is a method of obtaining knowledge from existing databases. There are relationships in existing databases, the results of knowledge and information from the process are used as a knowledge base that is useful in decision-making. KDD in data mining is often used to dig up information hidden in databases in very large quantities (Yu et al., 2023). This research design refers to the Knowledge Discovery in Database (KDD) model which has 5 stages, namely data selection, data preprocessing, transformation, data mining, and evaluation. Data Selection, Preprocessing, Transformation, Data Mining, and Evaluation.

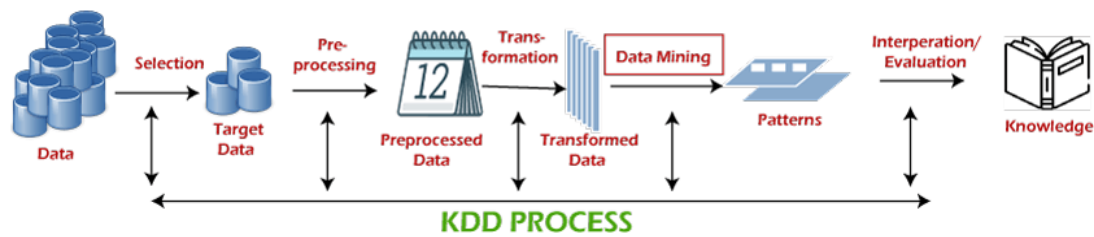


Figure 3: Model Desain Knowledge Discovery in Database (KDD)

3. Results

Text mining using the Naive Bayes Classifier algorithm has been widely done, but each study has a different update (novelty) and object of research. The research to be carried out uses the object of research on the Mobile Passport application officially issued by the Directorate General of Immigration of Indonesia. Contributions from each journal above are used as material related to the collection of theories, methods, and techniques of text mining carried out. Several journals are listed so that the research carried out is stronger and has a reference basis in its implementation. Then a process flow is carried out to parse the text mining process following the Knowledge Discovery and Database (KDD) method consisting of data selection, data preprocessing, transformation, data mining, and evaluation (Liu et al., 2024).

3.1 Data Selection

The data taken is primary data sourced from Google Play and Apple Apps sites, data collection is carried out using web scrapping techniques using Python programming languages through colab.research.google.com website. The next step, open the website that will be scrapping the review data, namely Mobile Passport on the Google Play site to see the App ID in the address. Based on the version history of the Mobile Passport application, limited data is retrieved since the last version and the version before the last to get a more accurate sentiment analysis based on the latest application conditions in version 5.0.3 and version 5.2.1. Review data obtained from both sources (Google Play, Apple Apps) is put together in the form of file.csv with a total of 1,598 reviews from October 1, 2023, to December 30, 2023, consisting of 1,358 reviews sourced from the Google Play site and 240 reviews sourced from the Apple Apps site.

3.2 Preprocessing Data

Data processing is done using descriptive analysis and machine learning methods. The descriptive analysis method is used to describe in general the Mobile Passport Application reviews contained in the Google Play and Apple Apps websites then data processing with machine learning methods, in this case, the data that has been obtained will be preprocessed data which includes translating foreign language reviews, spelling normalization, case folding, deleting numbers and punctuation, filtering and tokenizing (Ashar & Maharani, 2022).

3.3 Transformation

The transformation stage of the KDD method can be run as a model representation, this model representation is made from data that is still in the form of sentences that are still arranged in the form of words into numbers so that they can be processed and calculated (Farooqi et al., 2023). Each review will be assigned a sentiment label based on the sentiment score that has been obtained. The sentiment score of each word is obtained based on the number of words detected in the lexicon dictionary, the lexicon dictionary is commonly called the dictionary of opinion words which usually take the form of positive and negative. Output files with the name format 'pelabelan.csv' are the results of labeling sentiment scores with 3 kinds of classification results including negative, neutral, and positive reviews. Based on the calculation of sentiment class scores and labeling, the number of sentiments with a score smaller than zero (<0) was 495 reviews or 31%, reviews with a sentiment score equal to

zero ($=0$) were 827 reviews or 52%, and 17% of reviews had a sentiment score of more than zero (>0) with a total of 276 reviews. Reviews with positive labels obtained contain thanks, positive impressions that users get during the process of making passports, and other compliments, while reviews with negative labels contain insults, insults and negative impressions in the process of making passports usually also as a form of user dissatisfaction, while reviews with neutral labels can be caused by several things including the number of negative words and positive words in 1 sentence the same amount, It can be caused by negative and positive words that are not found in the Lexicon dictionary.

3.4 Data Mining

The process of data mining or data mining at the KDD stage can also be called text mining or text mining, because the data that researchers use is in the form of text, then at this stage, the Naive Bayes classifier algorithm is implemented for sentiment analysis of Mobile Passport application reviews (Karthikeyan et al., 2024). This stage is carried out after the data has passed the sentiment class labeling, this process is carried out by classification analysis, namely by making training data and testing data, then classifying with the Naive Bayes classifier algorithm and visualizing barplots and word clouds of the positive and negative words produced.

3.5 Evaluation

The process of implementing the text mining algorithm Naive Bayes classifier for sentiment analysis of Mobile Passport reviews is carried out by forming training data and testing data. Previously, this process was carried out based on the KDD method with stages of data selection, preprocessing, transformation, data mining, and evaluation. Based on Table 4.26, the average total value of accuracy, precision, and recall in this study was 84.99%, 87.37%, and 91.31%. Accuracy is the sum of the proportions of predictions that are appropriate or correct. Accuracy is also a parameter of the degree of similarity and accuracy between the actual value and the predicted value. Then, Precision is the proportion of the number of relevant and controlled text documents among all documents selected by the system. Precision is used as the level of accuracy between the information requested and the answer issued by the system (Behiry & Aly, 2023). Recall is the proportion of the number of relevant text documents under control among all relevant text documents in a collection or data set. Recall is used as a measure of the success of the system in recovering information (Manning et al., 2009). Thus, the magnitude of the confusion matrix value is more than 80%, so it can be said that the Naive Bayes classifier algorithm is well used in this study.

4. Discussion

The process of data mining or data mining at the KDD stage can also be called text mining or text mining, because the data that researchers use is in the form of text, then at this stage, the Naive Bayes classifier algorithm is implemented for sentiment analysis of Mobile Passport application reviews (Amarudin et al., 2024). This stage is carried out after the data has passed the sentiment class labeling, this process is carried out by classification analysis, namely by making training data and testing data, then classifying with the Naive Bayes classifier algorithm and visualizing barplots and word clouds of the positive and negative words produced. Training data is used to form models in classification, the model will later become a representation of knowledge that will be used to predict new data classes. The new data used will be known as data testing. The amount of training data in this text-mining process affects the accuracy value. As much training data as possible, the model will learn more so that its accuracy will be better, Comparison of the value of training and testing data obtained in the formation of the classification model there are 3 data components, including a comparison of 70% training data and 30% testing data from a total of 1598 reviews as many as 1119 reviews as training data and 479 reviews as testing data, comparison of 80% training data and 20% testing data from a total of 1598 reviews as many as 1278 reviews as training data and 320 reviews as testing data and comparison of 90% training data and 10% testing data from a total of 1598 reviews as many as 1438 reviews as training data and 160 reviews as testing data.

From the three comparisons above, each data set ratio (training data and data testing) was carried out 5 times by making pseudorandom numbers many times using the `set.seed(n)` formula in the R Studio software used. Pseudorandom numbers are numbers that are used as references in pseudorandomization, pseudo-meaning is that

the number is not a number that is generated randomly, but through a process that has a material or seed (seed). The selected seed will be used as a parameter of the random function. Furthermore, classification is carried out by implementing the Naive Bayes classifier algorithm for positive sentiment and negative sentiment, in the process of text mining, of course using the confusion matrix method in the evaluation process to find out the accuracy value of the algorithm used (Shahpurkar et al., 2024). Confusion matrix is one of the important tools in evaluation methods used in machine learning which usually contains two or more categories. From the confusion matrix table, it can be seen that the value of 306 is a TP (True Positive) value which means that there is a lot of data whose actual class is positive and the prediction class is positive. The value of 31 is an FN (False Negative) value which means that there is a lot of data whose actual class is positive and the prediction class is negative. Then, the value 49 is said to be FP (False Positive) means that there is a lot of data whose actual class is negative and the prediction class is positive. The value 93 called TN (True Negative) means that there is a lot of data whose actual class is negative and the prediction class is negative.

In the dataset with a ratio of 70:30, the accuracy, precision, and recall values for experiment 1 were 83.3%, 86.2%, and 90.8%. As for experiment 2, the confusion matrix values obtained successively for accuracy, precision, and recall values were 84.55%, 85.95%, and 93.13%, then for experiment 3 were 85.8%, 87.3%, and 92.66%, then for experiment 4 each the accuracy, precision and recall values obtained were 82.05%, 84.02%, and 90.43%. From the results of research on the 70:30 dataset, the highest accuracy value was occupied by experiment 5 with set.seed(10) with an accuracy value of 86.64%, then the highest precision value of 88.27% was obtained in experiment 5, and the highest recall value in experiment 5 with a recall value of 93.49%. It can be concluded that in the 70:30 dataset, the fifth experiment with a randomization value of 10 (set.seed(10)) has a large confusion matrix value compared to randomization values of 2, 4, 6, and 8. Table 4.26 above shows that with a ratio of 80:20 in experiment 1 the accuracy, precision, and recall values obtained were 83.75%, 87.39%, and 89.73% respectively. Then in the second experiment, 85.94%, 90.87%, and 88.84% were obtained for accuracy, precision, and recall values, respectively. Furthermore, in the third experiment, it was 86.25%, 87.89%, and 92.02% and in the fourth experiment, the confusion matrix values obtained were 83.44%, 86.90%, and 89.64% then in the fifth experiment the accuracy, precision, and recall values obtained were 86.88%, 87.34% and 94.52%. Thus, the highest accuracy value in the 80:20 dataset was obtained in experiment 5 with a value of 86.88%, while the highest precision value was found in experiment 2 with a value of 90.87%, and the highest recall value in experiment 5 with a value of 94.52%.

The results of the study in the 90:10 data set presented in Table 4.26 above showed the results of accuracy, precision, and recall in experiment 1 were 79.38%, 81.82%, and 87.38%. Then in experiment 2 of 84.38%, 88.18%, and 88.99%, the accuracy value in experiment 3 was 87.5%, precision was 90% and recall was 91.67%. As for experiment 4 88.12%, 89.74%, and 93.75% for the accuracy value of precision and recall. In experiment 5 obtained confusion matrix values of 86.88%, 88.5%, and 92.59%. So it can be concluded in the dataset 90:10 the highest accuracy value was obtained in experiment 4 at 88.12%, the highest precision value in experiment 3 with a value of 90%, and the highest recall value of 93.75% in experiment 4 with the set.seed(8) / randomization 8.

The results of the three data set experiments above found that the average accuracy value of precision and recall in the 70:30 data set was 84.47%, 86.38%, and 92.10%. As for the 80:20 dataset, the average values of accuracy, precision, and recall were 85.25%, 88.08%, and 90.56%. The average value of accuracy, precision, and recall in the 90:10 dataset was 85.25%, 87.65%, and 90.88%. It can be concluded that the highest accuracy value is with an average of 85.25% on the 80:20 dataset and 90:10 dataset, then the highest precision value is with a value of 88.08% on the 80:20 dataset, and the highest recall value is on the 70:30 dataset with a value of 92.10%. Thus, the 80:20 data set is the best dataset for classifying existing reviews because it has the highest scores for both confusion matrix values (accuracy and precision). These results are under the Pareto Principle, namely 80: 20, and states that the 80: 20 concept can be applied in all aspects of human life ranging from socio-cultural, socio-economic, socio-political, and others. The mathematical spirit of Pareto's law is that 80% of reactions result from 20% of actions performed. but it does not rule out the possibility that in a study not only using this ratio.

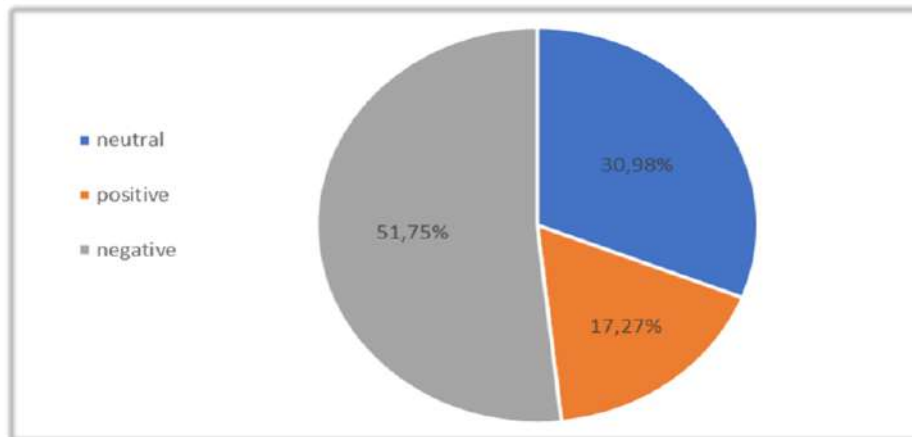


Figure 4: Results of Sentiment Analysis using Knowledge Discovery in Database (KDD) Design Model

The Mobile Passport application is an application issued officially by the Directorate General of Immigration, this application can be downloaded on Google Play and Apple Apps, since it was inaugurated on January 26, 2022, this application has been downloaded by more than 1,000,000 users. The rating of this application only reaches 2.7 out of 5 stars on the Google Play platform and a rating of 2.1 out of 5 stars on the Apple Apps platform. This value shows that the services provided by the Directorate General of Immigration are not perfect and have not met user expectations. The results of the sentiment analysis showed that of the 1,598 reviews taken since the application was updated in version 5.03 and version 5.2.1, 495 of them obtained a sentiment score smaller than zero (<0), and 276 of them obtained a positive sentiment score or greater than zero (>0) and 827 other reviews or equivalent to 52% of reviews had a sentiment score equal to zero or in this case categorized as neutral. These results show that service errors in passport-making services are still quite high, reaching 31% negative reviews.

Based on the facts that have been described, it can be seen that the results of sentiment analysis are relevant and have interpreted the rating obtained in the Mobile Passport application. The results of sentiment analysis and rating of the Mobile Passport application illustrate that the error in the application is quite high. Therefore, it is necessary to evaluate and improve the performance of the Mobile Passport application as one of the digital services to the public issued by the Directorate General of Immigration of Indonesia.

4. Conclusion

The process of implementing the Naive Bayes classifier text mining algorithm for sentiment analysis of Mobile Passport reviews is carried out by forming training data and testing data. Previously, this process was carried out based on the KDD method with stages of data selection, preprocessing, transformation, data mining and evaluation. From this research, it can be concluded that the implementation of the text mining algorithm using Naive Bayes to analyze the sentiment of reviews of the Mobile Passport application on the Google Play Store has succeeded in providing very satisfying results. With consistent accuracy, precision and recall values above 80%, this algorithm has proven to be effective in processing and analyzing user reviews well. These results have important implications in improving the quality of mobile passport applications, because they allow developers to be more efficient in understanding and responding to user reviews, thus potentially making a significant contribution to the Indonesian Directorate General of Immigration in making improvements to mobile passport applications.

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Fantasy Theme Analysis of Culture Shock in the *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* Student Community

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Abstract

Indonesia's Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology created a program called *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* (PMM), which allows students to take courses outside their study program and campus for one semester. The exchange process then brings together students from various cultural backgrounds, creating cross-cultural interactions. Interestingly, even though there are cultural differences, fantasy themes can be formed, becoming a common understanding among the students involved. This research uses a qualitative approach with Symbolic Convergence Theory, which is analyzed using the Fantasy Theme Analysis method. Direct observations were carried out on the second batch student community of the *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* program at the Universitas Sumatera Utara (USU) and continued with an in-depth interview process with 13 community members. The result is that six fantasy themes and their symbolic cues are formed in phases of culture shock. One of the fantasy themes succeeded in forming a rhetorical vision of the Nusantara Module activities in the recovery phase.

Keywords: *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka*, Nusantara Module, Symbolic Convergence Theory, Fantasy Theme Analysis, Culture Shock Phase, Rhetorical Vision

1. Introduction

Since 2020, the Indonesian Government has issued the *Merdeka Belajar-Kampus Merdeka* policy through the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, which allows students to take courses outside their study program and campus for one semester (Bureau of Cooperation and Public Relations, 2020). One of the programs launched is *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka*, where students can take courses at other universities outside their home island. The exchange process then brings together students from various cultural backgrounds in one place. Existing cultural differences can influence the communication process (Neuliep, 2016; Nuraeni et al., 2022). However, what is interesting is that even though there are cultural differences, fantasy themes can be formed, becoming a common understanding among the students involved (Elsakina & Yohana, 2016; Song, 2015; Wu, 2021).

Bringing together students from various cultural backgrounds follows the objectives of the *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* program. Students are expected to be able to build cross-cultural understanding and friendship. During the three years it has been implemented, the *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* Program, abbreviated as PMM, has been attended by around 38,000 students from all over Indonesia (Doddy, 2023). We can see that tens of thousands of intercultural communications have occurred by looking at those numbers.

Stewart L. Tubis, quoted by Liliweri (2002) in Lubis (2019), stated that intercultural communication involves interactions between individuals from different cultural backgrounds. Liliweri (2002) added that culture in this statement indicates differences in lifestyle patterns implemented and inherited by a community group that lasts through various generations (Lubis, 2019). However, an individual who encounters or is in a new culture may only be able to accept a culture different from their origin after some time. Kohls L. Robert (1984) argues that individuals may feel confused and anxious because they have a different lifestyle in a new environment. These situations are known as culture shock (Shen & Chen, 2020).

Students who take part in the PMM program feel culture shock from other students of different cultures and the environment on the new campus. One of the PMM student communities who experienced this phenomenon was students who were accepted at the Universitas Sumatera Utara (USU), Medan, North Sumatera. Those who meet in one place because they have the same goals and hopes ultimately end up in a community (Cobigo et al., 2016). Within this community, students interact to understand and adapt to each other.

The students carried out intense interactions by telling each other various stories and experiences, which were then responded to by each other and ultimately became an understanding for all students in the community. This situation produces themes called fantasy (Efianda et al., 2015). A fantasy theme is the content of a message that is dramatized to trigger the formation of a fantasy chain. However, not all messages can form a fantasy theme (Christin, 2018). Fantasy theme analysis was first initiated by Ernest G. Bormann in 1972 for small-group analysis. Then, Bormann explained that this theory could be used at various levels of communication (Dickerson, 2018).

The *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* student community at the Universitas Sumatera Utara developed fantasy themes to understand each other. Using Bormann's theory, this research analyzes the fantasy theme of culture shock that forms in the student community of the *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* program at the Universitas Sumatera Utara.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Intercultural Communication

Communication will always occur in human life, whether we realize it or not (Hamid, 2016). In practice, humans use verbal and nonverbal symbols that are constructed in the form of messages as a means of communicating. However, these verbal and nonverbal symbols will only be understood by people who have agreed on the meaning of something (Neuliep, 2016). Suppose an individual meets another individual from a different culture. In that case, the two individuals' frames of reference may differ because they are unaware of all aspects of each other's culture (Sihabudin, 2022). These situations ultimately hampered the communication process. Even so, it cannot be denied that culture is the main foundation that serves as a guide and becomes a link in communication between individuals involved in it (Nasrullah, 2018).

Intercultural communication occurs due to factors that cannot be avoided. DeVito (1997) explains that increased human mobilization, immigration patterns, economic dependence, advances in communications technology, and the desire for political stability are the most influential things (Sihabudin, 2022). To increase communication success, understanding the cultural factors of the interlocutor, such as values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviour, must be improved (Susilo et al., 2023).

2.2 Culture Shock

Even though technological advances and ease of mobilization increase the intensity of intercultural communication, this does not mean communication runs without obstacles. Xia (2009) describes that an individual can experience uncommon feelings that can directly impact the individual, such as experiencing psychological stress when in a new environment (Maizan et al., 2020). This phenomenon is called culture shock (Shen & Chen, 2020).

Dayakisni (2008) explains that the term culture shock was first introduced by a Canadian anthropologist named Kalervo Oberg in 1954 (Intan, 2019; Shen & Chen, 2020). Oberg concludes that culture shock is a pretty intense reaction that reflects an individual's inability to face their new environment, so at a certain level, it can disrupt their identity (Maizan et al., 2020). Triandis's (1990) research results show that the more significant the differences between the original and new cultures, the more difficult it is for new individuals to adapt (Harunasari & Halim, 2021). A year after Oberg presented his ideas regarding the phases of culture shock, Sverre Lysgaard (1955) united these separate phases and described them as a U curve, better known as the *U-Curve Hypothesis* theory (Wittwer, 2021).

The first phase is known as the *Honeymoon Phase*, where this phase is filled with hopes and expectations for a new culture. Everyone likes this phase because they have yet to encounter difficulties in experiencing new situations (Intan, 2019). The second phase is the *Crisis Phase*, which is synonymous with individuals' disappointment and dissatisfaction with a reality that does not match their expectations of the new culture (Mufidah & Fadilah, 2022). Conflicts and disputes may arise during this phase. Then the third phase is called the *Recovery Phase*. In this phase, the individuals involved have begun to get used to the existing cultural differences. They begin to have the confidence to interact smoothly with people in that culture (Shen & Chen, 2020). The final one is the *Adaptation Phase*, where individuals can adapt and accept the new culture more confidently, be more active in socializing, and begin to enjoy their new life (Shen & Chen, 2020). However, remember that each individual needs a different time to reach the adaptation phase.

2.3 Community

A community is several individuals who interact and support each other because similar experiences or characteristics bind them, have a sense of belonging, and are often connected by physical proximity (Cobigo et al., 2016). Communication is present in the community as a bridge between members. Even though there will still be socioeconomic disparities, all community members can act as both communicators and communicators (Nurghida, 2017).

Muzafer Sherif in Sentosa (2009) provides several characteristics of a community, namely 1) there are similar motives that encourage interaction between its members; 2) there are differences in the reactions and skills of each individual as a result of the interactions that develop; 3) the formation of organizational structure to achieve common goals; and 4) the formation of behavioural guidelines that regulate procedures for interaction and activities to achieve goals (Mulyana & Budiantoro, 2019).

2.4 Symbolic Convergence Theory

Symbolic Convergence Theory is a communication theory initiated by Ernest G. Bormann in 1972 at the University of Minnesota (Dickerson, 2018). Bormann states that this theory combines aspects of social science and humanism and can be considered a general communication theory (Christin, 2018). There are two basic assumptions in this theory, which are 1) communication forms reality and 2) each individual's understanding of a symbol can experience convergence or unification so that it can be understood together (Elsakina & Yohana, 2016).

Symbolic Convergence Theory begins when a group member pitches a dramatic story, including a funny story, to the group. Other members who catch the story may respond to the story. This series of stories is the core part of symbolic convergence, namely the fantasy theme (Efianda et al., 2015). As symbolic convergence continues, a

fantasy chain reaction builds group consciousness and creates a rhetorical vision. However, Bormann notes that not all fantasy themes will appear and trigger a fantasy chain because some messages do not (Christin, 2018).

2.5 Fantasy Theme Analysis

Fantasy Theme Analysis is an analysis method that Ernest G. Bormann also initiated. This method is used to identify and explain group consciousness or symbolic convergence itself. Hopkins (2011) explains that the Fantasy Theme Analysis method helps to analyze symbols produced by group members through emotions, words, codes, and nonverbal behaviour (Efianda et al., 2015). In contrast to commonly held views of narratives as silly and detached from reality, fantasy here involves past or imagined future events that unravel intrigues from shared realities (Afolayan et al., 2019). Fantasy themes describe narratives that explain group experiences and become a shared reality for all group members (Song, 2015). Robert Freed Bales explained that an essential function of fantasy themes is that they can reduce group tension and turn it into group solidarity (Mutiaz, 2019).

Initially, Bormann (1972) showed only two levels in the symbolic convergence process. However, Bormann (1982) added a third level, ultimately becoming fantasy themes, fantasy types, and rhetorical visions (Christin, 2018). The fantasy theme is the basic unit at this level. Fantasy themes can be conveyed through jokes, analogies, and other word games that can increase enthusiasm for interaction (Prasanti & Indriani, 2018). After sharing several fantasy themes and repeating some of these themes, group members will move to a more abstract level and provide an overview of the fantasy themes that refer to all similar dramatizations (Song, 2015). A cue or abbreviated label synonymous with a particular topic appears in this phase (Christin, 2018; Shields & Preston, 1985). The final level is a rhetorical vision where the fantasy theme has developed and spread outside the group to become a fantasy of the outside community (Mutiaz, 2019). West and Turner (2007) argue that this phenomenon forms a rhetorical community (Prasanti & Indriani, 2018).

Apart from the three levels above, one more term often appears in Fantasy Theme Analysis, namely Fantasy Chain. Bormann (1990) explains a fantasy chain as "...a series of ideas that members link together like a play (Kusuma, 2019)." The fantasy chain is defined as a process in which the message sent succeeds in getting a response from group members so that the intensity of communication also increases (Prasanti & Indriani, 2018).

3. Method

This research uses a qualitative approach to describe, analyze, and report the results of interviews and observations in the field (Hamid U & Nucifera, 2019). The theory used is Symbolic Convergence Theory with its inherent analysis method, namely Fantasy Theme Analysis, initiated by Ernest G. Bormann in 1972. Fantasy theme analysis provides insight into the shared views of members of a group or organization (Song, 2015). First, the researcher directly observed the interactions within the *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* student community at the Universitas Sumatera Utara. Then, the author compiled a list of symbolic cues to find fantasy themes formed from August 2022 to January 2023 (Christin, 2018). By conducting in-depth interviews, researchers collected information from 13 informants participating in the program. As explained by Bormann, Howell, Nichols, and Shapiro, the best way to uncover a group's symbolic meaning is by collecting messages, stories, past stories, and anecdotes that they tell and retell (Song, 2015).

After all the data is collected, it will be processed to become more informative and easy to understand (Nursyafitri, 2022). Fantasy themes will be sorted again to determine those related to culture shock. Similar fantasy themes will be grouped into fantasy types, forming a rhetorical vision (Song, 2015).

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 General Description of Research Objects

The *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* Program, organized by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology since 2020, has provided opportunities for students to study outside their home universities and home

islands. Students will also gain experience by exchanging culture with other students from Indonesia through a credit conversion system equivalent to a maximum of 20 credits (Anwar, 2022). Students successfully accepted into the PMM program must take the Nusantara Module (*Modul Nusantara*) course, equivalent to 4 credits. Based on the information page regarding this program released by the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Nusantara Module is a series of activities aimed at increasing students' understanding of tolerance and introducing Indonesian culture through four sub-activities, namely *Kebhinekaan*, Inspiration, Reflection, and Social Contribution (MBKM Team, 2023). In its implementation, the Nusantara Module activities will be guided by one Nusantara Module Lecturer, assisted by one Liaison Officer (LO). Besides that, students can take courses from their respective recipient universities for the rest of their schedules.

The *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* program, which is abbreviated as PMM, has been going on for three batches with a total number of participants of around 38,000. In 2024, PMM will reopen with a quota of 15,505 students (Doddy, 2023). One of the universities active as a recipient university is the Universitas Sumatera Utara, commonly abbreviated as USU, located in Medan, North Sumatera. Based on the official document regarding the *Student Arrival Certificate* published by the Universitas Sumatera Utara on September 12, 2022, USU accepted 160 students from all over Indonesia in the second batch of PMM (Ikhsan, 2022). During the program, the 160 students interacted directly and online through the group feature in the WhatsApp application.

4.2 Results

The researcher found nine symbolic cues in different fantasy themes after conducting direct observations in the PMM student community at USU from July 2022 to January 2023. These nine symbolic cues were then used as guidelines in the in-depth interview process with 13 informants who participated in the second batch of the PMM program at USU. In-depth interviews were conducted online via the Zoom Meeting application between October 2023 and January 2024. However, in this research, the researcher and the informants agreed not to reveal their names and only use the informant code.

Table 1: List of Informant Codes

| Number | Informant Code | Age (Years) |
|--------|----------------|-------------|
| 1 | Informant 1 | 23 |
| 2 | Informant 2 | 22 |
| 3 | Informant 3 | 23 |
| 4 | Informant 4 | 22 |
| 5 | Informant 5 | 23 |
| 6 | Informant 6 | 22 |
| 7 | Informant 7 | 22 |
| 8 | Informant 8 | 23 |
| 9 | Informant 9 | 22 |
| 10 | Informant 10 | 24 |
| 11 | Informant 11 | 22 |
| 12 | Informant 12 | 23 |
| 13 | Informant 13 | 22 |

Source: *Results of Data Processing by Researchers, 2024*

Based on the results of in-depth interviews with the informants above, six new fantasy themes were formed, so the total fantasy themes created in the second batch PMM student community at USU was 15. Next, the researcher reduced the data into six fantasy themes related to culture shock.

Table 2: Fantasy Themes Related to Culture Shock

| Fantasy Theme | Symbolic Cue in Fantasy Type | Time and Place |
|---|------------------------------|--|
| The <i>Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka's</i> Twibbon at the Universitas Sumatera Utara | Redesign of Twibbon | WhatsApp Groups of The PMM Community on July 8-27, 2022 |
| Election of PMM Community's Leader and Committee at the Universitas Sumatera Utara | Tribal Chief | WhatsApp Groups of The PMM Community on July 26-August 10, 2022 and Zoom Meeting on August 2, 2022 |
| Departure | Dormitory | Results of In-depth Interviews (October 2023-January 2024) |
| Volunteer for the Universitas Sumatera Utara's Anniversary Event | Unfair | WhatsApp Groups of The PMM Community on September 22-23, 2022 and Results of In-depth Interviews (October 2023-January 2024) |
| Nusantara Module Activities | Toba Lake | Hall of the Faculty of Economics and Business, Universitas Sumatera Utara on November 24, 2022, and Results of In-depth Interviews (October 2023-January 2024) |
| Inbound Student Release Event for the <i>Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka</i> Program, Universitas Sumatera Utara | Memory | The Universitas Sumatera Utara on January 13, 2023 |

Source: Results of In-depth Interviews Reprocessed by Researchers, 2024

4.3 Fantasy Theme in The Culture Shock Phase

After getting the fantasy themes and symbolic cues formed in the second batch of the *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* student community at the Universitas Sumatera Utara, the researcher will classify each fantasy theme into stages of culture shock. The Canadian anthropologist Kalervo Oberg introduced the term culture shock in 1954, which means an individual's reaction to facing a new environment that can cause an identity crisis at a certain level. In his research results, Oberg also explained the four phases experienced by individuals in the process of culture shock (Maizan et al., 2020). Several years later, Sverre Lysgaard described these phases as a U curve, better known as the U-curve hypothesis, in 1955 (Wittwer, 2021).

4.3.1 Honeymoon Phase

In this phase, individuals tend to have a positive feeling toward the cultural differences that occur (Shen & Chen, 2020). Individuals may not have encountered difficulties interacting with each other (Intan, 2019). In the second batch of the PMM student community at the Universitas Sumatera Utara, the fantasy theme about "The *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka's* Twibbon at the Universitas Sumatera Utara" and the fantasy theme about "Election of PMM Community's Leader and Committee at the Universitas Sumatera Utara" occurred in the honeymoon phase.

1. Fantasy Theme: The *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka's* Twibbon at the Universitas Sumatera Utara

Twibbon refers to posts on social media combined with attractive frames designed in such a way (Pertiwi et al., 2021). Many organizations now provide twibbon when holding an event, including the Universitas Sumatera Utara, when accepting students for the PMM program. Only after the students were accepted and joined the WhatsApp Group did Informant 9 become the first student to post a fantasy theme regarding twibbon.

"Why would I send a message like that? First, I felt enthusiastic about being able to pass the PMM program at the Universitas Sumatera Utara. Then, I also saw other friends who had passed the PMM program at other universities had uploaded twibbon. Secondly, twibbon is also an indirect reward for ourselves because we have passed this program." (Informant 9, Interview 2023)

After responding to the fantasy theme, USU immediately provided a twibbon that students could upload. However, enthusiastic students felt that USU's twibbon design could have been more attractive. Several students also took the initiative to redesign the twibbon.

“At that time, USU perhaps designed the twibbon simply because students had urged it. Then, students feel less satisfied. Meanwhile, my friends at other universities have good designs. So, I am a little afraid of missing out. Then, I volunteered to redesign it because I like design and had free time.” (Informant 13, Interview 2023)

Other informants also responded to the students' enthusiasm expressed in the twibbon. According to them, the latest design for Twibbon is indeed better, and they appreciate this.

“Actually, if you look at our friends at that time, they were very excited about becoming PMM students who could go to the biggest campus in North Sumatera. It was positive to see them eager in showing their talents in editing and so on.” (Informant 10, Interview 2024)

The fantasy chains about Twibbon begin to fade as the end of July 2022 approaches, and the next fantasy theme emerges.

2. Fantasy Theme: Election of PMM Community's Leader and Committee at the Universitas Sumatera Utara

Based on the PMM Student Briefing results, held on July 26, 2022, online via the Zoom Meeting application, the PMM committee requires each Receiving University to elect one student as chairman, called the "tribal chief." The tribal chief will be tasked with 1) conveying the aspirations of tribal members (PMM students), 2) conveying messages from Receiving Universities and PMM coordinators, and 3) keeping the team in solid condition (Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka [Official], 2022). The new term about tribal chief then sparked a new fantasy theme in the student community.

“I was confused and thought, 'What is a tribal chief? What does it do? why does it have to exist?' There are so many questions that I do not know the answers to. Then, at that time, the person chosen as tribal chief was a male student from Java. I finally found out what a tribal chief was like after arriving at USU. It turns out he is like the leader of all the students who take part in PMM at that one university.” (Informant 11, Interview 2023)

The presence of tribal chiefs in the PMM community is essential for students. In this fantasy theme, more students responded to give their responses.

“In my opinion, the tribal chief election is very interesting because there are several candidates who express their opinions. I also think that the tribal chief is important because during the briefing, many issues, such as harassment, came up. Apart from that, there was also a lot of confusing information before we departed. So, we have to look for leaders who can take responsibility for these things.” (Informant 3, Interview 2023)

Interactions still carried out online via WhatsApp groups mean that students are also confused about when the right time to elect a tribal chief is.

“As for my opinion, I feel half-assed about the election actually. If it is done online, we do not really know each other to know what the person will be like. However, if it is done offline, our time is quite limited because the PMM committee requires the presence of the tribal chief before departing to take care of data. So, it is good to do it online.” (Informant 8, Interview 2024)

The election of tribal chiefs was finally carried out online via the Zoom Meeting application according to mutual agreement. After the tribal chief was successfully elected, the students continued to form a committee structure. Several informants expressed their interest in joining.

"To be honest, I was hesitant to take part on the committee because I felt that the students from Sabang to Merauke would all be cool. Then, I also saw that the majority of respondents in the WhatsApp group were students in semester 5 and above, while I was still in semester 3. After that, I got to know one of the female students who was from my city. We became close and talked a lot. After the election of tribal chief, my friend asked me to become the committee and we discussed what we wanted to become. Because I am also active on a committee in several organizations, I suggest choosing a treasurer. I also thought that maybe being a treasurer was not so busy after all. Finally, I became the first treasurer, and my friend became the second treasurer." (Informant 2, Interview 2023)

The fantasy theme about tribal chiefs began to stop being responded to around mid-August 2022. At that time, the PMM student schedule was getting closer to departing for USU. A new fantasy theme begins to form.

Based on information from the informants in the two fantasy themes above, they felt excited to respond to each other. Students who have just been accepted into the PMM program form expectations about the new environment and new people they meet, even though it has only been done online (Mufidah & Fadilah, 2022). The students spread the symbol through dialogue exchanges, which were ultimately understood by all community members (Wu, 2021).

4.3.2 Crisis Phase

The crisis phase usually occurs after students have interacted for a while. However, students participating in the PMM program can immediately experience a crisis phase when they first arrive in a new environment (Mufidah & Fadilah, 2022). The joy felt at the beginning can turn into anxiety and depression due to barriers to cross-cultural adaptation (Shen & Chen, 2020). In the PMM student community at USU, the fantasy themes that emerge in this phase are "Departure" and "Volunteer for the Universitas Sumatera Utara's Anniversary Event."

1. Fantasy Theme: Departure

Based on the results of interviews with 13 informants, the theme related to the departure of PMM students to USU became an exciting fantasy to discuss. Before leaving, they are excited and have expectations about the new environment. However, after arriving at USU and meeting other students in person, several informants immediately felt a culture shock.

"I departed on the second day. I also asked one of the students who had arrived there first about the conditions and facilities of the dormitory. I asked for a picture because I felt confused in the new environment. Then, when I arrived, I felt that sometimes I did not understand their language because they spoke their respective regional languages. There are those who speak quickly and there are also those who are quiet when speaking" (Informant 4, Interview 2023)

"I left on the last day. When I just got there, I immediately attended the welcoming party. Even though I was quite tired and sleepy, I felt the event was fun and lively. Before leaving, the thing I was most worried about was where to stay because I am the type of person who is easily disgusted if I see something dirty. So, when the students who were leaving on the first day arrived, I immediately asked them for reviews about the dormitory. As for the rooms, they are still quite clean. However, when I first entered, I was most disgusted by the bathroom. If you call it dirty, not really, but it is not clean either. I ended up wearing slippers when showering, and I did not even dare to defecate. After a while, I cleaned the bathroom

myself, but it was not as clean as I wanted. I then tried to make peace with the situation.” (Informant 5, Interview 2023)

In the departure fantasy theme, students are most looking forward to the dormitory they will live in for four and a half months at USU. Apart from that, differences in language and student attitudes also hinder communication. The fantasy theme of departure began to fade when students began to focus on studying at USU.

2. Fantasy Theme: Volunteer for the Universitas Sumatera Utara’s Anniversary Event

Not long after the students had experienced their studies, USU held several events to commemorate their anniversary. In this event, USU then involved PMM students as volunteers. However, during the volunteer recruitment process, several informants interviewed felt there was deception, so the fantasy about volunteers became one that they remembered.

“I remember very well that the incident regarding the selection of volunteers occurred at night when I was in my room. I myself believe that the process was planned by the tribal chief and the people behind it, so that their friends were included first. So, even though there are people who fill up the form quickly, those chosen are still the people closest to them.” (Informant 7, Interview 2023)

“During the first volunteer activity, I proposed the election via Google Form because I felt that the tribal chief would only choose core committees or those close to him. At that time, there was also information that the volunteer would get money. Finally, everyone got excited and wanted to join. In fact, do not talk about the money issue so that only those who are interested participate. Moreover, at that time, distribution of funds was late.” (Informant 12, Interview 2023)

Unfortunately, volunteer activities that attract students’ attention have limited quotas. Although some students believed that there was deception in this matter, other students stated that the election was carried out with the consideration of students who were having problems disbursing funds.

“So, what is being debated is that the tribal chief was quite close to one of the female students, so perhaps he first spread the information to his friends. Then, the chief, who was close to me, informed me regarding this matter. The other students who were selected were having problems disbursing funds, so they were selected by tribal chief outside who filled out the Google Form.” (Informant 9, Interview 2023)

The fantasy about volunteers that had caused tension gradually faded, and most students accepted the reality. Discussions stopped at the end of September. However, a second event related to the anniversary asked PMM students to act as volunteers again. The second event was held in mid-October, and the fantasy theme of volunteers was discussed again, although not on a larger scale. Several informants gave their opinions about the second volunteer activity, which they felt was still unfair.

“I did not become a volunteer on the second event, but I followed the conversation. At that time, the students became noisy again because the information distributed in the dormitory WhatsApp group only asked for a list of people who had empty schedules on Thursday. I myself did not know that it turned out to be a volunteer. The other students were also angry.” (Informant 13, Interview 2023)

Discussions about volunteers then died down around the end of October when the event had passed.

In the crisis phase, conflict may arise due to the obstacles experienced by each individual. One of the causes can be obstacles in communication. Students may need help to integrate into the new environment and be accepted by existing groups (Shen & Chen, 2020). Even though Robert Freed Bales in Mutiaz (2019) states that the function of fantasy themes is to reduce group tension, Bormaan, Cragan, and Shields (2001) state that fantasy themes can also take a destructive form (Kartikawangi, 2013).

4.3.3 Recovery Phase

Mufidah and Fadilah (2022) argue that individuals have begun to understand and adapt to new circumstances through their approaches (Mufidah & Fadilah, 2022). In this phase, the fantasy theme formed is about the “Nusantara Module Activities,” a mandatory subject for PMM students. This activity is the thing that students will remember most because they can learn and visit new places directly. According to informants, Lake Toba, an icon of North Sumatera, is the most anticipated destination during the Nusantara Module activities.

“At that time, when other groups were already carrying out Nusantara Module activities outside, several groups were still carrying out activities only within USU. During our evening social gathering, we focused on discussing groups who had not yet been to Lake Toba. Maybe other friends who have not gone feel disappointed because Lake Toba has become an icon of Medan itself.” (Informant 8, Interview 2024)

The unfavourable experiences of other groups hampered in the Nusantara Module activities aroused the sympathy of all students. However, as time passed, this became a joke among PMM students at USU. They teased each other about Lake Toba.

“The Nusantara Module’s activity of going to Lake Toba also became a joke. Other groups seemed to favor their respective groups, while my group went to Lake Toba, and it was unclear when. At that time, during an evening social gathering, my group friends also expressed their complaints to the person in charge of PMM.” (Informant 2, Interview 2023)

“I still remember my group. Our group’s lecturers did not want to go to Berastagi, let alone Lake Toba. That is what I remember most; it even became a joke in my group. I told my friend who was participating in PMM at another university that it was difficult for my lecturer to go to Lake Toba, even though that was my goal to go to USU.” (Informant 12, Interview 2023)

The students, who were previously very sensitive towards each other, started to get used to it, even making jokes about the Nusantara Module activities. In this phase, students begin to understand the character of their friends, so they do not feel too stressed (Intan, 2019). The fantasy theme of the Nusantara Module describes students’ experiences, which become a shared reality for all community members (Song, 2015).

4.3.4 Adaptation Phase

The final phase of culture shock is the adaptation phase, which means that individuals can adapt and accept the new culture more confidently, thereby making them enjoy their new life (Shen & Chen, 2020). In the USU PMM student community, the fantasy theme formed in this phase is the “Inbound Student Release Event for the *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* Program, Universitas Sumatera Utara.” This event was the last activity held by USU before the students returned to their homes. In this event, each Nusantara Module group was asked to present something. The informants told the stories of their respective groups in preparing the performance.

“My group really tried hard. Previously, we wanted to show a flash mob, but we felt it was not proper because this was an exchange of students from all over Indonesia. Then, it happened that my group friend was competent in dancing, so she directed us. Actually, at that time, we also felt doubtful, but because it was the last time, we prepared everything; we even practised in the girls' dormitory until 9 pm.” (Informant 13, Interview 2023)

“At that time, my group performed a poetry musical and there was also one person who sang in Javanese. And I did not join the performance due to me was going to the toilet at that time. The musicalization of the poem was planned impromptu because initially, my group was only represented by those who sang Javanese. Then, someone invited us to add a musicalization to the poem. She does the poetry and we sing in the back.” (Informant 1, Interview 2024)

“When my group was performing, I did not participate because I was documenting. However, at that time I also performed singing with two of my friends. I felt it was the last chance, so I had to make memories after five months together. I have also adapted, so I feel more confident.” (Informant 6, Interview 2023)

In this phase, students are more active and confident in socializing with each other and preparing joint performances. Several informants also said that they better understood the situations and conditions of their respective friends, so they felt comfortable with each other. Even though there may still be uncomfortable situations, most of the culture shock has been overcome (Mufidah & Fadilah, 2022). The fantasy themes formed in the phases of culture shock form their own emotions, motifs, and meanings for USU PMM students (Adams, 2013).

4.4 Rhetorical Vision of the Nusantara Module Activities: Visiting Iconic Destinations in New Areas

Of the six fantasy themes formed, the fantasy about the Nusantara Module activities succeeded in creating a fantasy chain until the final stage, namely rhetorical vision. Rhetorical vision is a fantasy theme that has developed outside the group, thus creating a rhetorical community (Mutiaz, 2019; Prasanti & Indriani, 2018). In the USU PMM student community, several informants said that they liked exchanging stories about the Nusantara Module activities they experienced at USU with their PMM friends at other universities. Their friends also had similar experiences (Christin, 2018).

“If to tell a story on purpose, maybe there is not one. So, usually when my friend updates their status, I comment, so there is a chat. Usually, we discuss about Nusantara Module activities, such as telling stories about what destinations we are going to.” (Informant 8, Interview 2024)

“I like to tell my friends at other universities that it is difficult for my lecturers to go to Lake Toba or Berastagi. My Nusantara Module activities were only carried out on campus and they were only giving us snacks. My friends were surprised to hear this, but it turns out there are also some groups that did not dare to go anywhere until the funds for the activity had been disbursed. Then, after the distribution had been disbursed, they only went to destinations that were close by. I think that only happens at USU.” (Informant 12, Interview 2023)

The rhetorical vision of the Nusantara Module illustrates that the experience of the Nusantara Module in each university can be a similar story. Through dialogue exchanges, students create shared understandings and then form rhetorical communities (Shields & Preston, 1985).

5. Conclusion

Based on the results of the research and analysis above, there are six fantasy themes along with symbolic cues that were formed within the *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* student community at the Universitas Sumatera Utara during four phases of culture shock, namely:

1. Honeymoon Phase: Fantasy Theme about The *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka*'s Twibbon at the Universitas Sumatera Utara with the symbolic cue ‘Redesign of Twibbon’ and Fantasy Theme about Election of PMM Community’s Leader and Committee at the Universitas Sumatera Utara with the symbolic cue ‘Tribal Chief’.
2. Crisis Phase: Fantasy Theme about Departure with the symbolic cue ‘Dormitory’ and Fantasy Theme about Volunteer for the Universitas Sumatera Utara’s Anniversary Event with the symbolic cue ‘Unfair’.
3. Recovery Phase: Fantasy Theme about Nusantara Module Activities with the symbolic cue ‘Lake Toba’.
4. Adaptation Phase: Fantasy Theme about Inbound Student Release Event for the *Pertukaran Mahasiswa Merdeka* Program, Universitas Sumatera Utara, with the symbolic cue ‘Memories’.

One of the fantasy themes succeeds in making the fantasy chain reach the stage of rhetorical vision, namely when individuals outside the community know and also experience similar experiences. The rhetorical vision of the Nusantara Module activities is an experience shared by all students who take part in the PMM program. Visiting

iconic destinations in new areas is the most frequently shared thing. This rhetorical vision was formed during the recovery phase and then continued to be discussed until the students returned.

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Addressing the Impact of Immigration Policy on Children's Well-Being after Forced Migration

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Abstract

Migration stands as an urgent and current global phenomenon, given the escalating challenges of climate change and political instability. As these issues persist, more populations will be compelled to relocate. It is crucial to establish effective strategies that can facilitate the smooth transition of vulnerable groups, particularly children. Strategic interventions should be developed with a profound understanding of their distinct needs and vulnerabilities. The objective of this research is to address the mental well-being of immigrant children. It sought to identify common patterns in their emotional and behavioral responses after migration while compiling an extensive inventory of factors that can either protect or jeopardize their mental health. To get the big picture, this research uses Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory as the tool of analysis. The findings underscored that several migration-related factors significantly influenced the mental health of the children. Immigration policymakers should prioritize inclusivity and equity to ensure that all children have access to the support and resources they need to thrive. This includes implementing policies that address systemic barriers and promote a supportive and nurturing learning environment for all immigrant children. By incorporating these implications into social practices and policies, the government can create environments that foster resilience in children and support their overall well-being and development.

Keywords: Immigration Policy, Forced Migration, Children's Well-Being, Mental Health, Immigrant Resilience

1. Introduction

Immigration policies, pivotal in regulating global mobility, influence not only incoming migration but also impact international trade, tourism, and diplomatic relations. Amid evolving global dynamics, the study of immigration policies gains prominence due to issues like refugees, border security, and diplomatic tensions (Shin, 2019; Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016). Recognizing the nexus between immigration policies, migration, and children's psychological well-being is imperative. Immigration policy is a key aspect in regulating the movement of people across national borders (Brabandt & Mau, 2013; Canning, 2020; Mau et al., 2015)

In the context of changing global dynamics, immigration research is becoming increasingly relevant. As a result of the growth of global mobility, many people move across countries for various purposes such as tourism, business, education, and migration (Saraswati et al., 2024). Immigration policies play an important role in regulating these movements, and a good understanding of these policies is essential (Capoani et al., 2024; Finotelli & Sciortino, 2013; Guiraudon, 2003; Tran & Warikoo, 2021). Countries that have open immigration policies can encourage tourism, investment, and business exchange, while restrictive policies can limit economic potential (Feeney et al., 2023; Purnomo, 2018; World Tourism Organization, 2013).

Nevertheless, in terms of security threats, countries need to have strict control over who enters their territory. Research on immigration policies can help identify and develop solutions to address these threats. Issues of migration and refugees are important topics in the world today (Boese, 2023; Higgins et al., 2023; Nickerson et al., 2023; Saunders et al., 2020). Research on immigration policies can help in designing better policies to address this problem, such as providing protection to refugees and facilitating safe migration, especially children.

There are two terms known by the world community, namely asylum seeker and refugee. According to international law, asylum seekers and refugees have differences, as reported on the website of the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees (UNHCR), an asylum seeker in this case is a foreign national who stops at a country to seek protection, but the process has not been completed. While refugees are asylums that have been officially registered with UNHCR and their requests have not been considered and are waiting to be departed to the destination country.

Indonesia has a very strategic geographical location, located in international trade and shipping routes, flanked by two continents and two oceans namely the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. This makes Indonesia a transit country which has consequences in the form of an influx of thousands of asylum seekers who want to get refugee status and will continue to destination countries such as Malaysia, Thailand, and Australia (Ali et al., 2016; Dewansyah & Handayani, 2018; Tan, 2016). Indonesia has not ratified the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol and does not yet have a refugee status determination system. Thus, the Government of Indonesia issued a regulation for handling refugees from abroad, namely Presidential Regulation Number 125 of 2016. Article 2 paragraph 1 states that the handling of refugees is carried out based on cooperation between the central government and the United Nations through the High Commissioner for Refugees in Indonesia and/or international organizations. Therefore, the Government of Indonesia authorizes UNHCR to carry out its refugee protection mandate and to address refugee issues in Indonesia.

Based on data from UNHCR's official website as of February 2024, there are more than 13,100 persons of concern to UNHCR Indonesia, including 9,991 refugees and 3,158 asylum seekers. 72% of refugees in Indonesia come from 3 countries, namely Afghanistan 57%, Somalia 10%, and Myanmar 5%. During the transit period in Indonesia, refugees are under the responsibility of the host country. The handling and designation of refugees established by UNHCR is in accordance with its mandate in the UNHCR Statute of 1950 that, all States (including those that have not ratified) shall uphold the standards of refugee protection established as part of general international law (Saunders et al., 2020; Wien et al., 2020). This is because of the principle of non-refoulement which has been recognized as *jus cogens* contained in the 1951 Convention. The principle of nonrefoulement is a principle that contains the norm that it is not justified for government authorities to expel, remove, or deny entry to refugees into their jurisdiction, both those who have received official status recognition as refugees from UNHCR and those who have not received recognition as refugees.

Asylum seekers and refugees who come to Indonesia are not only adults, 27% of the total number of people registered with UNHCR Indonesia are children, there are more than 3,500 child refugees from various countries, and 65 children coming without family companions, 33 children separated from their parents (Rumiarta & Jayantiari, 2023). There are needs and rights attached to the child that must be protected. However, limited research discusses the impact of international migration on the mentality of youngsters. They are the most vulnerable group and deserve to be protected. Therefore, an immigration policy needs to be made specifically to facilitate them when entering their destination country and getting the right to a decent life as it should be (Matias, 2020). Various

types of psychological impacts need to be mapped, especially for forced migration from natural or non-natural disasters.

This research aims to investigate the impact of immigration policy on children's well-being after forced migration. It is hoped that this research will provide benefits in understanding the latest developments in immigration policy research, particularly from a psychological perspective. The results can be a valuable reference for academics, policymakers, and researchers who want to understand key players in this domain. Additionally, this research can guide further research in immigration policy.

2. Method

The research approach utilized in this work is qualitative, with a degree of descriptive explanation. Meanwhile, the analysis is carried out through reduction. The research method is based on participant observation to collect primary data and secondary data provided by the Indonesian government and local or international organizations, and it is combined with Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems theory to contextualize the observed phenomenon with international migration studies. The data validity is tested using the triangulation method, which combines participant observation of the author during his time as an official in the Directorate General of Immigration, as well as secondary data, both qualitative and quantitative, to strengthen its argumentation.

As an analytical tool, Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory stresses the numerous layers of influence that determine human development, ranging from individual influences to larger social circumstances (Darling, 2007; Mary & Antony, 2022; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2013; Paat, 2013). When studying children's well-being after forced migration using this theory, an evaluation will be conducted of the numerous ecological systems that influence the migrant child's life. This comprises the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem. Paat (2013) further explains that Family, school, and peers comprise the child's microsystem. Migration can disturb these microsystems, such as family relationships or school adaptations, affecting the child's well-being. The mesosystem encompasses microsystem interactions. Migrant children need a connection between home and their adopted community. These systems' interactions and assistance can improve well-being, but disagreements or lack of support can be difficult. The legal, political, social, and communal structures of the exosystem indirectly affect the kid. Immigration, healthcare, and education policies can influence migrant children. The social macrosystem includes values, norms, and ideologies. As they adjust to the host country's culture, migrant children may endure acculturation stress, which can harm them. Development is affected by chronosystem alterations. For children, the adjustment process may vary based on their age at migration, length of time since movement, and migration experiences.

By taking into account these various ecological systems, Bronfenbrenner's theory provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the multifaceted influences on migrant children's well-being, allowing policymakers, psychologists, and researchers to develop interventions and support systems tailored to their specific needs.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Forced Migration and its Impact on Children

Children's migration often results in changes in their social support configuration. They lose important emotional references such as the immediate family, peers, teachers, religious community, and extended family. The new configuration of social supports at their destination influences their acculturation, their expectations for the future, their current life satisfaction, and their capacity to cope with the daily problems and stressful events that may occur in the migration process (McEwen et al., 2022; Müller et al., 2019; Ni et al., 2016). Migrant children often have high aspirations for the future and a positive outlook when they arrive at their migration destination. However, over time, negative views can replace them when they are faced with isolation, loneliness, lack of acceptance from new communities, and discrimination (Dewansyah & Handayani, 2018; Miežanskienė, 2023) This can trigger symptoms of depression.

The family environment, as children's main source of social support, is destabilized after migration. This can occur due to family separation, the death of a family member, parental trauma, and changes in the family's socioeconomic status due to difficulty finding work (Longobardi et al., 2017; Martínez García & Martín López, 2015; McEwen et al., 2022). Conflicts in parent-child relationships also frequently arise, which can be a risk factor for migrant children's mental health and acculturation (Nugroho Adhi et al., 2021). As seen in what happened to the Rohingya community in Aceh, discrimination, racism, bullying, and xenophobia are common experiences for many migrants and are the focus of much research. Cultural discrimination is significantly associated with depression, antisocial behavior, lower self-esteem, and lower levels of life satisfaction. These experiences often arise due to ethnic differences, and cultural distance, such as skin color, religion, accent, language, clothing, academic background, and/or lack of social connections (Juang et al., 2018; Keles et al., 2018; Khamis, 2019) In facing discrimination, migrant children tend to seek support from teachers, peers, parents, or religious beliefs as their coping strategy. This social support can help them overcome experiences of discrimination.

Barriers to access resources, such as bureaucratic issues in visa status, regulatory changes, or complicated permits, can be a barrier for migrant children. They may have to face these obstacles for years, which can result in feelings of uncertainty, hopelessness, depression, and reduced hope and outlook for the future (Duihof et al., 2020; Elsayed et al., 2019) The recent incident of massive rejection of Rohingya refugees in Banda Aceh reveals that some unintended migration is similar to illegal international migration due to internal movement restrictions and unresponsive immigration policies. Children experiencing such migration can face difficulties in accessing public facilities for a decent life.

3.2. Immigration Policy Impact on Children's Well-being

Regarding the rights of refugee children according to the Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 contained in article 22 states that:

- 1) States Parties shall take appropriate measures to ensure that a child who is seeking refugee status or who is considered a refugee in accordance with applicable international or domestic law and procedures shall, whether unaccompanied or accompanied by his or her parents or by any other person, receive appropriate protection and humanitarian assistance in the enjoyment of applicable rights outlined in the present Convention and in other international human rights or humanitarian instruments to which the said States are Parties.
- 2) For this purpose, States Parties shall provide, as they consider appropriate, cooperation in any efforts by the United Nations and other competent intergovernmental organizations or non-governmental organizations cooperating with the United Nations to protect and assist such a child and to trace the parents or other members of the family of any refugee child to obtain information necessary for reunification with his or her family. In cases where no parents or other members of the family can be found, the child shall be accorded the same protection as any other child permanently or temporarily deprived of his or her family environment for any reason, as set forth in the present Convention.

According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), access to public facilities is a fundamental right, regardless of the child's nationality. Education is one example that must be highlighted by either the government or the donor agency such as IOM. To improve access to formal education, IOM works with local government partners. In addition, IOM provides regular education for refugee and asylum-seeker children under IOM's responsibility through homeschooling, language courses, thematic education, early childhood education, and continuing formal education. IOM also organizes computer literacy classes and other vocational training courses for refugee adolescents and adults. In Indonesia, until now there is no definite regulation on education for refugee children and asylum seekers. Similarly, mental health issues in migrant children have not yet become the government's attention.

There is no legal basis for the Indonesian government to fulfill the well-being of refugee children. Presidential Decree No.125 of 2016 only regulates the discovery, shelter, security, supervision, and funding, no regulation

specifically mentions the need for mental health for refugee children. Although, the fulfillment of mental rehabilitation for refugee children is not the responsibility of the Indonesian government. The government may cooperate with donor agencies to finance assistance for the mental health problems of child refugees by first providing certainty of their immigration status in Indonesia. However, until now the Government of Indonesia is still trying to get refugee children in Indonesia their rights including their right to live a decent life like access to mental health care. This is due to the form of responsibility of Indonesia which has ratified the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child.

As a form of Indonesia's responsibility towards the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Government of Indonesia must formulate an immigration policy in favor of child migrants. Regarding access to mental healthcare, immigrant children still have the right to receive help regardless of their status as refugees. The government may ignore the immigration status of the children and grant them special visas for their remaining and have access to public services, especially mental healthcare.

3.3. Key Considerations and Challenges on the Children's Well-Being after Forced Migration

Treating immigrant populations from a public sector perspective presents unique considerations and challenges that require cultural competence, sensitivity, and awareness of the diverse needs of these individuals and families. Some key considerations and challenges when working with immigrant populations encompass cultural competence, language barriers, acculturation and adjustment, legal and immigration issues, trauma and migration experiences, family dynamics, access to resources, and intersectionality (Paat, 2013).

To formulate rigorous immigration policy for children's migrants who were displaced from their origins, officials, first, need to be culturally competent and aware of the cultural norms, values, and beliefs of the immigrant populations they serve (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2015; Innes & Booher, 2004). Understanding and respecting cultural differences is essential for building trust and rapport with clients. Secondly, language barriers can hinder effective communication and access to services for immigrant families. For this reason, officials may need to utilize interpreters or bilingual staff to ensure that clients fully understand information and can express their needs. Thirdly, immigrant families may face challenges related to acculturation, adaptation to a new culture, and navigating unfamiliar systems. Officials should be sensitive to these adjustment issues and provide support to facilitate the integration process. Fourthly, immigrant families may encounter legal and immigration-related challenges that impact their well-being and access to services. Officials should be knowledgeable about immigration policies and resources to assist immigrant children in navigating these complex systems.

Fifthly, many immigrant families have experienced trauma, displacement, or difficult migration journeys. Officials need to be aware of the potential impact of these experiences on mental health and well-being and provide trauma-informed care. Sixthly, cultural norms and family structures may vary among immigrant families, influencing decision-making processes and relationships. Officials should understand and respect these dynamics to effectively support family units. Seventhly, immigrant families may face barriers in accessing healthcare, education, housing, and other essential services. Officials play a crucial role in connecting families to resources and advocating for their needs within the community. Lastly, immigrant populations are diverse and may experience intersecting forms of discrimination or marginalization based on factors such as race, ethnicity, gender, or socioeconomic status. Officials should consider these intersecting identities in their practice (Neal & Neal, 2013).

Recent observation conducted in Detention House Jakarta in early February 2024 shows that children and women are the most vulnerable group that needs immediate attention from policymakers. Some migrants identified as illegal while others registered as asylum seekers and refugees. Asylum seekers and refugees received financial aid from IOM and non-state donor agencies as established at the community house in Srengseng district in West Jakarta. Meanwhile, migrants who have not registered are treated as illegal migrants with no access to public facilities. Currently, there is a family with three children from Rwanda who reside in the Detention House without access to education. They are reported suffering from hernia and depression as many other children. In response to these issues, the Detention House sent the children to a partner hospital or healthcare center. Still, there are no specific policy alternatives to ensure their rights to live well despite their immigration status.

By addressing these considerations and challenges with sensitivity and cultural humility, the government can effectively support and empower immigrant children and their families by considering the various levels of their ecological systems and implementing culturally responsive interventions (Mary & Antony, 2022; Paat, 2013). Here are some strategies to support and empower immigrant children and their families within the context of their ecological systems:

Microsystem Support: Build strong relationships with immigrant children and their families to understand their unique needs and challenges within the family unit. Provide culturally sensitive mental health services and interventions that address the family dynamics and promote positive parent-child relationships. Facilitate opportunities for children to learn about their home country, maintain connections to their culture, and navigate the acculturation process. Practically, this kind of support is barely feasible, since immigrant children and their families are arranged in the detention center for a maximum ten-year period. Whenever the arrangement exceeds the maximum period or is granted asylum seekers or refugee status, they will be moved to the available community house. During the period of detention, the children only have access to basic health services from the nearest health facility. This condition creates uncertainty in planning their future life, which hinders the acculturation process. Unless they are granted permanent immigration status or resettled in another destination country.

Mesosystem Support: Collaborate with schools, community organizations, and other service providers to create a supportive network for immigrant families. Coordinate services and resources between different microsystems to ensure a holistic approach to supporting the child's development and well-being. In practice, support on this level is enjoyed the most by immigrant children who have been granted asylum seekers or refugee status. Especially in education, some donor agencies like IOM and Jesuit Refugee Service (JSR) are available to provide the funding. It means that the government must intervene in this situation, which discriminates against the ungranted status group of immigrant children.

Exosystem Support: Advocate for policies and programs that support immigrant families' access to employment, education, healthcare, and social services. Connect the children with ethnocultural community organizations that can provide additional support and resources tailored to their needs. Practically, the government has not yet provided the intended policy to ensure the fulfillment of immigrant children to thrive in their lives. Since 2018 the central government has put an order to the local governments to provide basic needs and temporary shelter for asylum seekers and refugees. The basic needs include primary education, community housing, and basic healthcare. However, for those who have not been granted the intended status and exceed the maximum period of detention will suffer uncertain nationality or statelessness. This statelessness, for children, impacts negatively their rights in the future.

Macrosystem Support: Promote cultural sensitivity and respect for diversity within the broader community and advocate for anti-discrimination laws to protect immigrant populations. Provide education and training for officials and professionals on working with culturally diverse immigrant populations to enhance service delivery. This cultural context has been challenged by the mass rejection of Acehnese people by the immigrants from Rohingya. The violence and persecution impact severely the majority of immigrants, women, and children.

The mass broke through police cordons and forcibly loaded 137 refugees into two trucks, moving them to another location in Banda Aceh. This event left the refugees gasped and traumatized. UNHCR replies that this mass attack on refugees is not isolated but is the result of a coordinated online campaign of misinformation, disinformation, and hate speech against refugees and attempts to undermine Indonesia's efforts to save the lives of desperate people. UNHCR reminds everyone that desperate refugee children, women, and men seeking refuge in Indonesia are victims of persecution and conflict, and survivors of deadly sea voyages. Indonesia, with its long-standing humanitarian traditions, has helped save the lives of these desperate people, who would otherwise die at sea, like hundreds of others.

Another case observed involves an immigrant child from Syria who has been granted asylum seeker status, accused of bullying and abusive behavior to other elementary students in a private school in Serpong, Banten province. The investigation reveals that the immigrant child hardly copes with the new environment and lacks of

interpersonal skills due to mental health issues carried out from the previous unpleasant experience during the migration process. Eventually, the immigrant child was resettled to the USA for permanent residency. This shows how serious mental health problems are for child refugees. In cases like this, intensive assistance needs to be done to ensure the mental readiness of the child to blend in with the local community. Of course, this initiative must be standardized and protected by binding rules for all relevant institutions to oversee its success, including the Indonesian immigration agency (Celik et al., 2019; Cleary et al., 2018).

Chronosystem Support: Recognize and address the impact of life transitions and cross-country moves on immigrant children's development and adaptation. Stay informed about changes in immigration policies and regulations that may affect immigrant families and provide relevant support and resources. The existing immigration policy has not officially recognized the status of asylum seekers or refugees. Every foreigner who crosses the Indonesian border without legal documentation will be treated as an illegal migrant or undocumented person and will end up in detention, without exception those seeking asylum or forced displacement. For this reason, immigration policy intervention is imperative to favor the rights of forced-displaced migrants.

Thus, from the above illustration of how the different levels of systems work in Indonesia's context, the government must take immediate action to reform the immigration policy, particularly, in treating the immigrant children equally. By taking a holistic approach that considers the interconnectedness of the various ecological systems, the government can effectively support and empower immigrant children and their families in their acculturation process, promote resilience, and facilitate their successful integration into the host society.

4. Conclusion

Immigration policy is not only a tool for controlling the movement of people between countries but also has a significant impact on various aspects of international life, including immigration, international trade, tourism, and diplomacy. Current issues such as refugees, border security, and diplomatic relations between countries have reinforced the relevance of research in immigration policy. As global dynamics continue to change, governments and the international community need to continue to consider the implications of immigration policy in formulating appropriate and sustainable policies.

This research studies immigrant children's well-being by identifying the environment and interactions in response to forced migration. The author observed the phenomenon to provide an overview of the available evidence in the intersecting fields of child psychology and forced migration utilizing Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory. This is beneficial to identify knowledge gaps in the research and identify the main characteristics and factors associated with the field, which can guide a path of future study on the impacts of immigration policy on immigrant children. The result is intended to create more efficient interventions and design beneficial policies that direct aid effectively and quickly to those who need it most. As is the case in most countries today, current legal barriers are a risk factor for children's cultural acculturation and subsequently their mental health.

To be more precise, the childhood resilience analysis through Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory has several recommendations for immigration policymakers. Firstly, the policies should adopt a holistic approach that addresses the interconnectedness of the systems. Secondly, the government and the stakeholders need to collaborate effectively to create supportive environments for children. Thirdly, immigration policy should incorporate cultural sensitivity training for officials and promote inclusive practices that celebrate the diversity of students and families. Fourthly, executive-level officials should focus on providing long-term support for children, including access to counseling services, mentorship programs, and other interventions that promote resilience throughout different developmental stages. Lastly, immigration policymakers should prioritize inclusivity and equity to ensure that all children have access to the support and resources they need to thrive. This includes implementing policies that address systemic barriers and promote a supportive and nurturing learning environment for all immigrant children. By incorporating these implications into social practices and policies, the government can create environments that foster resilience in children and support their overall well-being and development.

Further research is needed to follow the development of immigrant children through long-term studies to track their acculturation, particularly those who have received a psychological diagnosis, as well as those who receive help to measure and improve interventions. More studies focusing on the experiences of migrant women need to illustrate their specific experiences, or what factors may hinder their migration to safer countries. The authors declare there are no competing personal or financial interests that could have influenced the work reported.

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Human Rights Approach to Improve Passport Services for Vulnerable Groups in Indonesia

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Abstract

Immigration offices and units in Indonesia are committed to improving passport services, particularly for vulnerable groups by applying a human rights approach. These commitments are justified by the enactment of Regulation Number 2 of 2022 regarding Human Rights-Based Public Services and Circular Letter of the Directorate General of Immigration Number: IMI-UM.01.01-2435 of 2018 on Facilities for Vulnerable Groups in Passport Issuance Based on Human Rights Dimensions. This underpins the responsibility of the Directorate General of Immigration to provide services following human rights principles, regardless of any conditions. This study aims to explore the coherence between passport services provided for vulnerable groups and the principles of human-rights-based public services. In addition, this study also provides recommendations to improve passport services for vulnerable groups. A qualitative approach is used to analyze primary data obtained from field observations and interviews with immigration authorities and communities sampled from the South Jakarta immigration office, as well as secondary data collected through relevant documents. The results found that while most of the services provided for vulnerable groups have been implemented following the human rights-based public service principles, it is still constrained by factors, such as, lack of dissemination and disclosure of information regarding the priority service, uneven distribution of supporting facilities, lack of training of immigration officials in providing human rights-based services, limited features for vulnerable groups on the online passport application 'm-passport', and the shortage of officers who master the sign language.

Keywords: Human Rights, Public Service, Passport

1. Introduction

Modernization and globalization have brought significant improvements to countries worldwide, including Indonesia. One of the sectors that has benefited from this development is the government, particularly in the development of human rights and democracy. Advancements have led to major bureaucracy reforms, or known as 'Bureaucratic Reform.' Since the 'bureaucratic reform' era, the delivery of public services has been a focal point, particularly because public service serves as an indicator of good governance. Good governance is simply defined in public administration as the process of maximizing public interest (Keping, 2018). A Key feature of good governance is that it is a form of collaborative approach to manage public affairs which involves the state and its

citizens. Good governance has six essentials, including, legitimacy, transparency, accountability, rule of law, responsiveness, and effectiveness (Keping, 2018).

Based on Act Number 25 of 2009 regarding Public Services, public services is the activity of meeting the needs of citizens for their goods and/ or administrative services provided by government officials. In this context, public servants (i.e., central, regional, state-owned enterprises, and regional state-owned enterprise agencies) are responsible for meeting the needs of the community and implementing the provisions of laws and regulations. The task of providing services for the public is not an easy one, since carrying out public services encompasses critical issues, such as, the rule of law, human rights protection, protection of minorities, and protection of social values (Spicker, 2009).

Fair access to public services is fundamental for democratic states and societies (Bell & Gilke, 2024). In the context of a democratic state, the government which manages public services upholds democratic principles. However, improving the quality of service for the community is a challenging task, particularly with the increasingly complex society and growing awareness of democracy ideals (Pasaribu & Briando, 2019). Democracy which is accepted as the world's dominant form of government and as an international system built by democratic ideals today is facing a greater threat than ever before (Audretsch & Moog, 2022).

Democracy is a fundamental principle underpinning the administration of the government of Indonesia. In essence, democracy is a form of government from the people, by the people, and for the people. This is in line with Indonesia's 'Pancasila Democracy', which emphasizes that political power is entirely in the hands of its people, and governance involves the active participation of its citizens. Conceptually, a government's legitimacy relies upon the support of its people.

From the broad concept of democracy, Dahl identified five important criteria for the functioning of the democratic process, which includes (Dahl, 2015):

1. The effective participation of the citizens;
2. An equal right to vote;
3. Clarity and understanding of government policies;
4. An exclusive power to determine the government's agenda; and
5. Community involvement or inclusion.

These principles guarantee democratic justice, meaning that every citizen can fulfill his or her rights and receive equal treatment in every public administration.

In a globalized world, human rights serve as a normative conception. It has a critical role in supporting an independent country, recognizing national identity, empowering human resources, promoting gender equality, encouraging democratic inclusion, protecting personal rights, and advancing the country itself (Gauri & Gloppen, 2012). Human rights are closely related to the progress of the state. A human rights approach may minimize poverty and inequality both at a national and global level by upholding human rights, increasing moral pressure, and encouraging citizens to maintain their dignity in the political, legal, and social spheres. In other words, a human rights-based approach works on two sides of the 'supply and demand' of the state's development (Gauri & Gloppen, 2012).

As the fundamental ideology of Indonesia, the fifth precept of Pancasila mentions 'social justice for every Indonesian citizens'. This implies equal rights and opportunities for every Indonesians in every administration, without any distinction, including access to public services. Article 34 of Act Number 39 of 1999 regarding Human Rights also provides a legal basis for active citizen participation and inclusion in governance and access to every service provided by the Indonesian government.

As an agency providing services to the community in the form of granting passports, the immigration offices in Indonesia are dedicated to improving their passport services while simultaneously upholding the rights of the

holder. Since the Regulation of the Minister of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia Number 2 of 2022 regarding Human Rights-Based Public Services was enacted, immigration offices and units in Indonesia have applied a number of innovations to support policies improving service quality align with human rights principles and to meet public expectation. The regulation defines human rights-based public services (P2HAM) as public services provided by offices or units based on P2HAM criterias with regards to principles and laws concerning human rights. These services include, economic rights, social rights, cultural rights, civil and political rights, as well as the rights of vulnerable groups.

'Vulnerable groups' are those categorized as elderly (aged more than 60 years), children aged less than 5 years, pregnant or lactating women, people with disabilities, people with special needs, and people who are sick or ill. This group is given priority in the context of human rights-based passport services because they have limited access and opportunities of receiving such services compared to the general public. Immigration offices and units provide a 'priority' passport service to these group, allowing them to obtain passports through the 'priority' passport service. This service allows them to apply for their passport without the necessity to register as a regular applicant. Through this service, applicants are given the ease of access to directly submit their passport application to the immigration office or unit. A special lane is provided for this 'priority' service which is separate from regular passport applicants.

However, despite efforts to constantly improve services that have been put in place, a lack of evaluation of the policy still persists. Evaluation and assessment of the extent to which the implementation of the passport services for the vulnerable groups adheres to the human rights principles and improve services are still limited, thus a comprehensive evaluation method needs to be developed.

The Indonesian government has a grand design for bureaucratic reform to achieve world-class public services, as stated in the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 81 of 2010. The regulation contains the grand design of bureaucratic reform from 2010 to 2025, which is divided into three main phases. The first phase (2010-2014) focuses on strengthening public service regulations, the second phase (2015-2019) focuses more on improving service performance, and the last phase (2020-2025) prioritizes on the realization of dynamic public services.

In the current phase today, the immigration agency is faced with complex issues and challenges, mainly related to hierarchical and organizational issues. These issues weakens policy and budget formulation, and in turn, lead to the non-fulfillment of many aspects of the grand design, specifically in terms of providing services to citizens (Purnomo, 2018). The current administration focuses on implementing dynamic public services, especially on issues of transparency, promptness, and accessibility. However, this challenge is constrained by the limited resources faced by the Directorate General of Immigration. Inline with the current administration's vision, public services (i.e., passport services) should be improved. Protection, especially for vulnerable groups, requires robust legal or regulatory frameworks rooted in human rights principles, and be effectively implemented (Susilo, 2020). This is intended to create equality and accessibility that can be directly benefited by them.

This study will explore the concept of human rights-based public services that prioritize human rights approaches to protect, fulfill, enforce, and promote human rights in public service. Regarding passport services for vulnerable groups, this study attempts to address the following question: 'To what extent do the passport services for vulnerable groups adhere to the concept of human rights-based public services and what recommendations can be given to improve the service?'. The purpose and significance of this research are to analyse the coherence between passport services for vulnerable groups and the principles of human-rights based public services and provide recommendations to improve the service.

2. Method

This research applied a qualitative approach with a descriptive and interpretive method to comprehensively address the research question. Processes and outcomes (i.e., interaction patterns between individuals in an organization and work procedures) are the emphasis in a qualitative research (Anggito & Setiawan, 2018). A qualitative

approach is more suitable to study humans in an organizational context, because this approach allows for exploration of the meaning beneath their interactions and experiences (Dooris et al., 2020). This research also applied an interpretive method to analyze data, involving interpretation of what the researchers observed, heard, and understood. A number of factors may intertwine when analyzing with an interpretive method, including, individual history, background, and previous knowledge (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

The instruments used in this research were observations, interviews, and analysis of relevant documents. Observation was conducted in June of 2023, which focused on immigration officers carrying out services to vulnerable groups. In a qualitative study, the number of participants involved is not limited (Phillips, 2021). Interviews were conducted *via* a semi-structured interview towards five participants. Interviews serve not only to obtain information, but also applied as a tool to understand the participant's perspectives and meaning of their world (Mahat-Shamir et al., 2021). Relevant documents reviewed and analysed were regulations, laws, procedures, articles, and reports. Reduction, classification, and triangulation procedures were utilized for data analysis and provide validity of the collected data.

The research took place at South Jakarta Immigration Office. This location was chosen as the research location because it is considered representative of the population of passport delivery for vulnerable groups in Indonesia.

3. Results

Human Rights are rights inherently and naturally possessed by every human being since their beginning of life. These rights act as a gift to live, maintain life, and life in this world (Qamar, 2013). These rights become values that are prioritized above authoritarian power (Audretsch & Moog, 2022). In the context of the state, the interrelationship between human rights and legal framework is closely intertwined. One may argue that legal systems that are effective in a state or country fosters the upholding of the human rights of its citizens, and *vice versa* the enforcement of human rights serves as an indicator of the legal system's efficacy. As a *rule of law*, the law has the preeminent position, obligatory to all citizens without exception, making it a tool to realize ideas and conceptions regarding justice that are contingent upon the value of human rights (Qamar, 2013). Therefore, the protection of human rights is a fundamental component of the rule of law in Indonesia.

Global development and the modernization have significantly impacted Indonesian, promoting the development of democracy and human rights regime across various aspects of life, from, ideology, politics, economy, socio-culture, defense to security. According to the perspective of international law and international relations, human rights gained momentum after the second world war and earned its legitimacy with the establishment of the 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights' (UDHR) in 1948. UDHR, considered to be the fundamental international human rights law, embodies the freedom and rights of every individual.

The principles of democratic justice and human rights in Indonesia are recognized, upheld, and protected due to their incorporation within the state's ideology (Pancasila), constitution, and Act Number 39 of 1999 regarding Human Rights. This legal framework is a basis for citizens to exercise their rights and to obtain proper services from the government.

Since 2014, passport service in Indonesia has undergone reforms. One of them is the issuance of Standard Operational Procedure (SOP) Number IMI.2-GR.01.01-1383 regarding Online Issuance of New Passports in the Integrated Passport Service System (SPPT), which emphasizes the ease of passport application. Other innovations subsequently emerged to improve services to the community, such as, passport services on weekends (weekend service), passport services in the morning and evening outside working hours (early morning service and sunset service), and collective passport service.

However, among the innovations, the immigration agency overlooked crucial components, which includes, democracy, citizenship, and human rights. Departing from the 'New Public Service' paradigm, immigration service innovations should incorporate democratic and citizenship values. The inclusion and participation of citizens is crucial to determine the course of society based on moral principles, which is then referred to as 'civic

virtue' (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2007). This virtue encompasses active involvement in governance, participation, and prioritization of the organization's best interest (Ficapal-Cusi et al., 2020).

The National Action Plan for Human Rights defined in Presidential Regulation Number 75 of 2015, which was later amended by Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 33 of 2018, marked the start of human rights initiatives in the public sector. This regulation explicitly stipulates that as a standard in providing services to vulnerable groups in line with human rights principles, the Directorate General of Immigration must issue a circular letter to every immigration offices in Indonesia.

In 2018, The Ministry of Law and Human Rights of Indonesia introduced Regulation of the Minister of Law and Human Rights Number 27 of 2018 on Human Rights-Based Public Service Awards. The regulation provided procedures and mechanisms to reward immigration offices and units that succeeds to deliver essential services in accordance with human rights principles. Certain criterias were specified in this regulation, such as, accessibility, availability of officers, availability of facilities, and compliance of employees with established service standards. This regulation has at least set the framework, standards, and benchmark for human rights and human rights-based public services, particularly for vulnerable groups. This regulation also marked the starting point in providing reference, motivation, and assessment framework for immigration offices and units to provide human rights-based services.

In the same year, The Directorate General of Immigration also issued Circular Letter Number IMI-UM.01.01-2435 on Facilities for Vulnerable Groups in Passport Issuance Based on Human Rights Dimensions as a result of the Presidential Regulation Number 33 of 2018. The objective of this regulation is to provide basic guidelines for immigration offices, immigration office units, passport services unit, and public service malls throughout Indonesia in passport issuance for vulnerable groups.

The latest guideline regarding human rights-based public service was issued in 2022 with the Minister of Law and Human Rights Regulation Number 2 of 2022. This regulation explicitly defined human rights, human rights principles, and the objectives of human rights-based public service. In addition, it also outlines the establishment, declaration, development, and evaluation of human rights-based public service.

One form of service provided as an embodiment of public service based on human rights dimensions is the 'prioritas' passport service (or also known as the 'priority' passport service). This service, which vary in different names as a form of innovation at each immigration office or unit, provides ease of passport application for vulnerable groups. Through 'prioritas', applicants (categorized in vulnerable groups) are able to apply for their passport directly to the local immigration office or unit (by walking-in), without the necessity to apply through the regular passport application. The applicants are given a special lane and area, separating them from regular applicants.

The workflow of the priority passport service is similar to the regular passport application or passport replacement. The priority passport service for vulnerable groups differs, in that, these groups are not required to register *via* the 'm-paspor' online application. Applicants can lodge their application directly by simply walking-in to the nearest immigration office or unit with the required documents, such as, identification card (KTP), family card (KK), birth certificate/ marriage certificate/ diploma/ baptism certificate, Indonesian citizenship certificate (for foreign nationals who have obtained Indonesian citizenship through naturalization or statement to choose the Indonesian citizenship), and latest passport (for those who have an Indonesian passport before).

The workflow of the priority passport service as referred to Standard Operational Procedure Number IMI-0006.GR.01.02 of 2022 on Services for Regular Passports, Passports for Vulnerable Groups, Passports for Persons with Special Needs or Disabilities, is illustrated in the figure below:

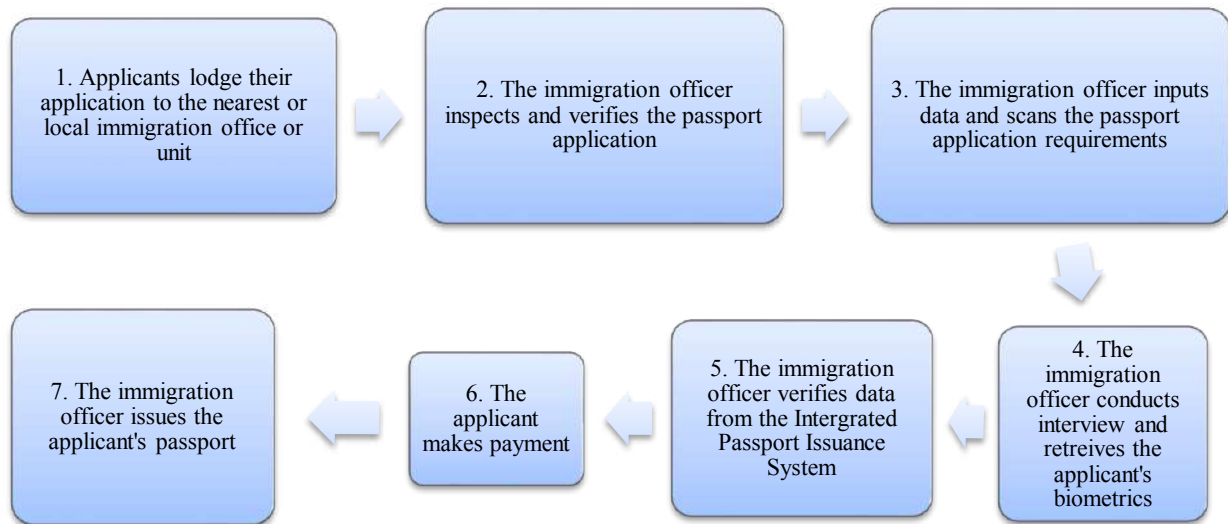


Chart 1: Services for Regular Passports, Passports for Vulnerable Groups, Passports for Persons with Special Needs or Disabilities

Source: Directorate General of Immigration, 2022

Based upon the findings from interviews with participants, a number of issues were identified in the implementation of the priority passport service, and needs to be addressed to improve service delivery to vulnerable groups. One main issue is the limited space of the immigration office or unit to provide an area to conduct the biometric collection (i.e., interview and photo process) specifically for the vulnerable groups. This limitation is caused by the office's limited budget and area to establish such a space. In addition, the lack of dissemination through social medias contributes to the lack of awareness regarding the priority passport service among vulnerable groups. These limitations brought ramifications on peoples expectation of a passport service which is supposed to adhere to human rights principles.

To address the extent of coherence between passport service intended for vulnerable groups with the concept of human-rights-based public service, the analysis is grounded by nine fundamental principles of public administration which are critical in designing and delivering service, namely (Ministry for Modernization of the State and Public Administration, 2021):

1. Active participation of citizens at every stage of the service, particularly the involvement of minorities and vulnerable groups;
2. The plan and design of policies or programs should prioritize vulnerable groups;
3. Systemmatic analysis and evaluation of the foreseeable consequences;
4. Balanced focus between the process and outcomes of the service;
5. Data privacy and security;
6. Data misuse cases should be prioritized as a serious issue to be addressed;
7. An on-going monitoring and assessment tool is available for service delivery;
8. Sustainability; and
9. Transparency, accountability, and accessibility.

3.1. Active participation of citizens at every stage of the service, particularly the involvement of minorities and vulnerable groups

In designing and developing service programs, the immigration agency must ensure that vulnerable groups are involved at each stage of the process, starting from the early research, development, piloting, and monitoring stage.

The aim is to eliminate the gap between the plan and actual outcomes, maladministration, and avoid discriminatory practices that may lead to human rights abuse.

Based on observations and interviews conducted, the implementation of the priority service has involved citizens from vulnerable groups, but not in every stage. Active participation of vulnerable groups is only carried out through questionnaire filling activities to assess their opinions about the extent to which these services have been able to reach them.

3.2. The plan and design of policies or programs should prioritize vulnerable groups

To ensure equal access to passport service for vulnerable groups, the immigration agency is required to ensure direct accessibility to the every citizen without intermediaries. Service delivery should be direct, easily accessed, and free of additional costs.

In its implementation, the passport service delivery for vulnerable groups at the immigration office and unit has been recognized by applicants. Passport applicants from vulnerable groups receive priority in the service, such as in terms of a special lane and designated service area.

3.3. Systemmatic analysis and evaluation of the foreseeable consequences

The Immigration office and unit must be able to conduct continuous analysis of the risks and consequences associated with their service and develop solutions and mitigation measures in order to continuously improve the services provided.

Based on the results of interviews and observations conducted at the immigration office, it was discovered that there are consequences of the 'priority' service, such as an expedited process, leading to resentment among regular passport applicant's that wish to be served in the same way. They complained mostly about the discriminatory practice and that there were differences in the degree of service. The immigration officer (as a participant) suggested that communicating to the passport applicants the purpose of the priority service is intended for those with urgent and legitimate needs could assist in alleviating these resentments.

3.4. Balanced focus between the process and outcomes of the service

Immigration office and units must realize and recognize every stage of service, from the processing stage to the final result or product, are equally important. The development of services should not only focus on results or targets, but also needs to consider basic principles throughout the design and conceptualization process.

In practice, many aspects of the 'priority' service are not considered by immigration. Services mainly emphasize on the end result without regard to the resources and facilities required to carry out services to vulnerable groups. Most of the immigration officers have not received prior training to carry out the 'priority' service policy. Therefore, service delivery is practically based on their prior knowledge and experience.

Since a human rights approach in public service is a relatively new field for immigration, the immigration office and unit have not prepared the necessary infrastructure to support services for vulnerable groups (e.g., the allocation of designated counters, lanes or queues, and space or area).

3.5. Data privacy and security

Data collected and managed in the immigration database (i.e., immigration information and management system) administered by the Directorate of Immigration Information Systems and Technology, as a whole, is well-kept and protected by a series of legal and technical support to ensure confidentiality, security, and compliance with international standards for data protection. Legal frameworks include, Act Number 6 of 2011 on Immigration, Act Number 11 of 2008 on Electronic Information and Transactions (as amended in Act Number 19 of 2016), and

Ministerial Regulation number 20 of 2016 on Personal Data Protection in Electronic Systems. Technical measures, include, encryption, network security, security testing, and compliance with legal standards.

Security and privacy of personal data are not only carried out when applicants apply for passports, but also if the public wishes to submit criticisms, suggestions, and file complaints through official channels.

3.6. Data misuse cases should be prioritized as a serious issue to be addressed

The immigration agency should anticipate the possibility of security risks, such as, data breach or data falsification carried out by irresponsible parties or third parties (intermediaries) during the passport application process. This starts from the formulation, trials, to the evaluation stages.

In its implementation, the priority passport service did not identify potential threats. Immigration officers directly delivered services to vulnerable groups without involving intermediaries.

3.7. An ongoing monitoring and assessment tool is available for service delivery

Constant supervision and assessment are required to ensure the protection of citizen's rights and prevent maladministration that may limit their access to their passport at the immigration office or unit.

Proactive monitoring during implementation, both for the general public and vulnerable groups, is rarely carried out. Improvements to the implementation of 'priority' services, and other immigration services, are usually carried out reactively, namely to urgent and widespread complaints. Complaints are addressed through medias or platforms officially provided by the immigration office, such as, Whatsapp, Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, telephone, and email.

3.8. Sustainability

On the one hand, to ensure the involvement and inclusion of stakeholders, service providers (i.e., immigration officers) must be knowledgeable, responsible, resourceful, and willing to carry out their duties. On the other hand, vulnerable groups as the recipient of the service, should understand about their rights, how to claim them, and to whom those claims are to be addressed to if their rights are not fulfilled. This is required to ensure that accountability, transparency, participation, and non-discrimination principles are met.

Generally, vulnerable groups have understood their role and capacity as the recipient of immigration services. However, the 'priority' program as a human rights-based service is perceived as a relatively new innovation, resulting in inadequate service that the immigration officers are able to provide due to factors including limited resource allocation and lack of personnel training.

3.9. Transparency, accountability, and accessibility

Information on the standards and conditions of passport granting services through the 'priority' program, the rights and obligations of passport applicants, fees, and the mechanism for submitting complaints have all been properly prepared by the immigration office.

Based on the interviews and observations conducted in the field, it was discovered that the implementation of passport services for vulnerable groups ensured transparency. This can be found from service information, posters and banners displaying details of official fees, the display of passport service SOPs, service information available through social media platforms, and the availability of online complaint submissions.

However, based on interviews with participants from vulnerable groups, it was established that the dissemination and disclosure of information had not been carried out optimally by the immigration authorities. Vulnerable groups still face limitations to obtain information on the service. A main complaint is the lack of concise information

regarding the 'priority' service on social media and the office's website. This led them to directly ask the officers at the immigration office for assistance. Furthermore, it was also discovered that there were also limitations of information or features for vulnerable groups on the online passport application 'm-passport' making it more difficult for them to apply for a passport.

To ensure the coherence between the passport services for vulnerable groups and the context of human rights-based public services, certain criterias must be met as outlined in Regulation of the Minister of Law and Human Rights Number 2 of 2022 on Human Rights-Based Public Services, which include:

1. Accessibility and availability of infrastructure and/ or facilities;
2. Availability of resources;
3. Officer's compliance to service standards;
4. Innovation; and
5. Integrity.

The accessibility and availability of infrastructure and facilities are available. These include: the presence of service information banners, service information through social media platforms (such as: Instagram, twitter, website), customer service counters, online complaint submission services, special parking areas for disabled groups, lanes and counters for vulnerable groups, special toilets for the disabled, guiding blocks for vulnerable groups, lactation/ breastfeeding rooms, play area for children, signposts for 'priority' services, special seats for vulnerable groups, wheelchairs and walking sticks, and ramps to facilitate vulnerable groups.

Certain issues need to be addressed, such as, untrained officers in providing human rights-based services and shortage of officers who master sign language which is essential for the deaf.

Officer's compliance to the overall service standards has been evident through the 'Pubic Satisfaction Index' (IKM) survey, which shows satisfactory results from the immigration services delivery.

Finally, passport services for vulnerable groups have been able to meet the criteria of innovation and integrity in serving the community. This is based on the interviews conducted, which reveals that the 'priority' service program is a significant advancement in improving the quality of services, particularly in the human rights dimension, which is still relatively new in Indonesia

4. Conclusion

The passport services provided for the vulnerable groups have mostly been implemented in accordance with the human rights-based public service principles, Act Number 39 of 1999 regarding Human Rights, Regulation of the Minister of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia Number 2 of 2022 on Human Rights-Based Public Services, and Circular Letter of the Director General of Immigration Number IMI-UM.01.01-2435 on Facilities for Vulnerable Groups in Passport Issuance Based on Human Rights Dimensions.

However, there are still issues that needs to be addressed and allow room for improvement. These issues include: lack of dissemination and disclosure of information regarding the 'priority' service, uneven distribution of supporting facilities, lack of training of immigration officials in providing human rights-based services, limited features for vulnerable groups on the online passport application 'm-passport' and the shortage of officers who master the sign language.

5. Recommendations

Based on the findings, a number of recommendations are proposed:

1. To address limited infrastructure and facilities, budget expansion and procurement of supporting resources and utilization of unused spaces can be implemented;
2. To improve officer and staff's competency, it is recommended for them to be educated and trained to provide a human rights-based service;

- To improve services through the online passport application 'm-paspor', it is recommended to provide a special column to the initial features to facilitate passport application for vulnerable groups.

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Communication Geography Analysis in Jatiwangi Conflict Resolution

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Abstract

The Decree of the Central Government of the Republic of Indonesia which established the Rebanda Triangle Strategic Industrial Area which covers the Cirebon City - Subang Regency – Majalengka Regency area has given rise to various changes and social conflicts in this region. This research aims to see how the community resolves the conflict over land conversion and the elimination of local cultural identity that occurred in Jatiwangi District, Majalengka Regency. This research uses the communication geography model by Adams and Jansson as analysis tools which is combined with Henri Lefebvre's thoughts about "right to the city". This research has a critical, postmodern paradigm, with case study methods and qualitative data. The research results show that the people of Jatiwangi carry out communication geography to maintain their public areas and cultural identity through various festivals, art performances, and proposing the Terracotta City concept in the spatial planning of the Majalengka region which was organized by the Jatiwangi Art Factory (JAF), a local artist community.

Keywords: Conflict Resolution, Jatiwangi Art Factory, Communication Geography

1. Introduction

As a developing country, Indonesia continues to carry out what is called "development." Various development projects are carried out for the purpose of advancing the nation and state. Development projects carried out include: highways, airports, ports and development of industrial areas. In development projects there are often conflicts between the government, investors and the community due to eviction or land conversion with all its social impacts. One of the development projects carried out by the government of the Republic of Indonesia is the Strategic Industrial Area called the Rebanda Triangle with three points, namely the Cirebon-Subang-Majalengka area.



Figure 1: Three points of Rebane Triangle

Source: <https://twitter.com/infobijb/status/1095507126074687488>

The word rebana (means tambourine) is an abbreviation of Cirebon-Subang-Majalengka. This area is facilitated by 3 main infrastructures: Cirebon City Port, Patimban Container Port in Subang Regency and Kertajati International Airport in Majalengka Regency. These three points are connected by the Cipali toll road. With the development of industrial areas, the rapid flow of modernization entered this region, and gave rise to various social conflicts. One of them is in Jatiwangi District, Majalengka Regency.

Of the many social conflicts that occur, this research will highlight land conflicts and the elimination of local culture. In land use, many community lands and public spaces are converted into industrial activity areas for investors. In cultural identity conflicts, local cultural identities are forcibly replaced with modern industrial identities. The urgency of this research is because the Indonesian Government carries out a lot of development which ultimately does not improve the welfare of the community and maintain local cultural identity which is the nation's wealth. This research offers real examples and enlightenment for the government, various community groups, both in Indonesia and other parts of the world in carrying out conflict resolution in maintaining community rights to public areas and maintaining their cultural identity amidst ever-present changes. This research specifically explores data from a community of artists who call themselves the Jatiwangi Art Factory (JAF), which the researchers consider to be intellectual actors in conflict resolution in the Jatiwangi area.

Research on JAF was carried out by Lukito & Nugroho (2021) regarding how the space production process was carried out by the Jatiwangi community at the Rampak Genteng Festival. In relation to festivals and culture identity, Kolokytha (2022) research in Greece reveals that festivals are bottom-up cultural diplomacy for society in its existence and identity, and Hidayat, (2022) and Dalil & Rahardjo, (2021) sees the importance of the role of interaction between agents and opinion leaders in strengthening the cultural identity of a community. In the development process that the Indonesian government continues to carry out, research by Malik (2018) sees that cultural identity can continue to be maintained and can coexist with modernization. With these references, this research aims to offer a way of conflict resolution in civilized manner that can be carried out by the community, and strengthen community emancipation in regional management.

This research uses the communication geography model by Adams and Janssons as an analytical tool. Communication Geography is a field of study by Falkheimer & Jansson, 2006 defined as communication studies which focuses on studying how communication produces space and how space produces communication, and how this relationship occurs (Rafika Dhona, 2018).

| | |
|--|---|
| REPRESENTATIONS (places in communication) | TEXTURES (communication in places) |
| CONNECTIONS (spaces in communication) | STRUCTURES (communication in spaces) |

Figure 2: Adams & Jansson's Communication geography Framework

Source: Rafika Dhona (2018)

Adams (2009) at the beginning of his research used communication research objects that occurred in the media. However, in developing the theory with Jansson, they changed the word media to communication. Furthermore, Adam and Janssons explained that communication geography studies the relationship between two major elements in two scientific disciplines, namely place belonging to geography and space belonging to communication science which is often associated with context and content.

Representation discusses how places are represented in communication (places in communication). The communication in question is how an area is displayed in various communication contexts. Communication that exists in mass media, social media, and various people's conversations about an area. Texture (communication in places) discusses how communication is interpreted in a particular place or local context. Place here does not always mean an area that has boundaries, but texture refers more to the communication actions that make up a particular space. Structure discusses how the communication process takes place between certain spaces which ultimately forms a hierarchy or structures these spaces (communication in spaces). Here communication means a path or pattern of movement based on the ideology that lives in these spaces. This field examines the idea of power geometries, a concept coined by Doreen Massey in 1991. Connection discusses how spaces are formed in a communication process (spaces in communication). This field has the perspective that space is always produced by, for and in a mediated relationship/connection. In Rafika Dhona (2018) observations, research on communication geography is still minimal in Indonesia, and he calls for this study area as an alternative for developing academic studies in communication science.

Communication geography is related to Lefebvre's spatial thinking. Lefebvre argues that space is a social product (Ibadi, 2023) . Space is something dynamic, changing and not fixed. The changing element is communication. Lefebvre was interested in how information, the material object of communication, becomes a force that changes space (Lefebvre, 1905). Space is produced by the interrelation of every aspect within it, namely: economics, politics, culture and other aspects. Lefebvre sees that when the interests of various parties meet each other in a space, conflict contestation occurs. As a Marxian, Lefebvre's thinking has a development perspective from the perspective of peripheral groups, namely groups of people who experience injustice in urban development (Sugiyono, 2022). From this point of view, an important idea used in this research is the "right to the city," namely the idea of how conflicts should be resolved. Lefebvre states that society has a "right to the city," which is a concept that refers to whom the right to the city is addressed to. Right to the city promotes public emancipation in a specific spatial context. Lefebvre proposes that there is an opportunity for the community to form a social space where the community is actively involved in managing it. This is the concept Lefebvre offers which is called "urban revolution" and this is "the work of art" Sugiyono (2022). In this research, Lefebvre's thinking about the right to the city (urban area), is applied in the research area which is a rural area (rural). Furthermore, this research will use the term "right to territory."

From the data presented, the problem of this research is how communication should be carried out by the Jatiwangi community in achieving conflict resolution. With the communication geography model used as an analytical tool, the formulation of this research problem is how communication geography is carried out by the Jatiwangi community in resolving land conflicts and Jatiwangi cultural identity. This research aims to see how the Jatiwangi community communicates in achieving conflict resolution. The significance of this research is to provide an example of how people in other regions can seek conflict resolution without physical violence and still be able to live a meaningful life in their culture.

2. Method

2.1. *Paradigm and Approach*

This research has a critical paradigm, especially postmodernism. A critical paradigm is a paradigm that tries to reveal something behind the veil. The ontology of critical research is historical realism, where the reality observed is pseudo, and is formed by social, cultural and political economic historical processes. Epistemology in this paradigm is transactional or subjective, where the relationship between the researcher and the object of study is bridged by certain values. Meanwhile, axiology has the value of supporting science towards society (Muhammad & Luthfiah, 2017). If modernism is based on the subject's consciousness as the power to give meaning to reality, postmodernism emphasizes that meaning is not only determined by the subject's consciousness, but is also outside the will of the subject in power. Meaning is beyond the domination of the rational system. Postmodernist rationality is plural.

This research uses a qualitative approach that more concerned with how that reality arrived at than it is with what that reality entails (Cooper & White, 2012). In this approach, the researcher creates a picture of the research context, observes various facts, makes a detailed report from the respondents' views and conducts a study of the situation that occurred. The research method used is a case study, which Yin, 2003 defines as the preferred research strategy to answer when how or why questions are being posed and researcher has no control over event, and when the focus in on contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). Case studies are also empirical investigations of phenomena that exist in real, everyday life (Muhammad & Luthfiah, 2017).

2.2. *Location and Time.*

Field observations were carried out at several points in Jatiwangi District, and several points in Jakarta City, where researchers conducted interviews and observations when JAF members carried out artistic activities during 2020 to 2023.

2.3. *Subject and object.*

The subject is JAF, the object is JAF's communication actions and the emancipation of local communities regarding the topic.

2.4. *Data Collection Technique*

Primary data collection was carried out by: interviews with research subjects, field observations, mass media/social media observations and various literature related to the research topic. The key informant for this research is Yudi Arief, one of the founders of JAF. The informants were several JAF activists, including: Ahmad Sujai, Tedi Nurmanto, Tamtam, Dila Novita Dewi and artist-in-residence from the city of Medan, Ika Nasution. Field observations were carried out by observing the daily life of the Jatiwangi people, various JAF activities, areas that were points of conflict, objects that showed the cultural identity of the Jatiwangi people and literature study. The main focus of observation is on the communication actions carried out by JAF and the Jatiwangi community regarding the land and cultural identity of Jatiwangi as the research object.

2.5. *Data Validity*

To obtain valid data, data was checked from interviews with various sources, observation results at several field points, and mass media and social media observations.

2.6. *Data Analysis Technique*

This is done by organizing data, sorting it into manageable units, synthesizing it, looking for and finding patterns, finding what is important and what is learned and deciding what can be presented as research data (Moleong, 2017).

3. Results

3.1. Public Area.

One of the geographical areas that has become a point of conflict in Jatiwangi District is the yard of the former Djatiwangi sugar factory. This arena is the largest open public area which in 2012 was in the process of being converted into a shopping mall by the private sector.



Figure 3: An artist in-residence of JAF in the yard of the former Djatiwangi Sugar Factory

Source: *Researcher Documentation*

3.2. Local Culture Identity

Another “area” of conflict highlighted in this research is cultural identity, where the original culture of society will be replaced with modern industrial culture. Jatiwangi is legendary as the best roof tile producer in Southeast Asia. Jatiwangi was known as a producer of roof tiles in the colonial era, because at that time Dutch offices and houses in Batavia (the name of the capital of Indonesia during the Dutch colonial era), the city of Bandung (the resting city of Dutch colonial officials) had roof tiles made by Jatiwangi. During the independence era, from 1980 – 2000 Jatiwangi roof tiles were exported to Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam. The domestic mega project built using the results of the Jatiwangi land industry is Soekarno Hatta International Airport, Cengkareng which is the capital airport of Indonesia.



Figure 4. Roof Tile Factory in Jatiwangi

Source: <https://www.datatempo.co/foto/detail/P1002201400078/>

3.3. Jatiwangi Art Factory (JAF)

Jatiwangi Art Factory (JAF) is an arts community initiated by two brothers, residents of Jatiwangi District, named Arief Yudi and Ginggi Hasyim, on September 27 2005. This community is headquartered at Jalan Makmur Number 71, Jatisura, Jatiwangi, Majalengka, West Java 45454 .



Figure 5: Jatiwangi Art Factory (JAF) Community

Source: @detitikdua

This artist community has a strong intellectual capacity. Ahmad Sujai is a bachelor of communication science, Dila Novita Dewi is a final semester law student, Ginggi Hasyim once served as Head of Jatisura Village, Tedi Nurmanto is a musician who is an alumnus of the onebeat program, an artist exchange program initiated by the United States Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other highly educated activists. This community has a strong network on a local, national and international scale, is very active in organizing and participating in various local, national and international scale activities.

4. Discussion

Representation (places in communication). In communication geography, the term representation refers to how a place is represented in communication. Driven by JAF, the people of Jatiwangi held the Rampak Genteng (rings the roof tile together) Festival for the first time in 2012 in the yard of the former Djatiwangi sugar factory, which is the largest public area which is in the process of being converted into a shopping mall. This festival involves 1200 residents of all ages and various professions from 16 villages in Jatiwangi District. At the Rampak Genteng Festival, all participants were also invited to recite the "Jatiwangi Pledge" which reads:

JATIWANGI PLEDGE

With the grace of God Almighty, we as owners of Jatiwangi culture vow:

We are determined to respect the works of our ancestors, and always create, innovate, to pass on to future generations;

We are determined to prepare ourselves as well as possible to face the development and progress of Jatiwangi in the future;

That we will maintain culture, process clay, with more dignity, creativity, and respect environmental norms;

We are determined together, to maintain comfort, tranquility and security, based on love and mutual respect.

Jatiwangi, 3rd November 2012.

Source: Siagian, (2019)



Figure 6: Rampak Genteng Festival

Source: Nadila (2021)

The rampak genteng festival is the community's resistance in forming a representation of the former Djatiwangi sugar factory yard. As stated by Lukito & Nugroho, (2021) that in this festival, the people of Jatiwangi associate themselves with roof tiles which is their culture. Until now, the Rampak Genteng Festival has become a routine activity which is held every 3 years. If in 2012 there were 1,200 participants, then in 2015 there were 5,000 participants, in 2018 there were 11,000 participants, and during the 2021 pandemic, participants were limited to 1,000 people. During its journey, JAF succeeded in involving the regional government of Majalengka Regency, the provincial government, the central government and its international network in celebrating the Rampak Genteng Festival. This festival, which displays local cultural attractions, also receives coverage from various mass media. JAF's success in increasing the number of participants in the Rampak Genteng Festival, involving the government from the sub-district level to the central government and extensive mass media coverage succeeded in stopping the process of changing the function of this area into a social area for the Jatiwangi community. This can be interpreted as success in defending the community's rights to public space.

Textures (communication in places). In communication geography, textures refer to how the communication process in the form of actions is interpreted in an area. The specific local context is therefore important. The Rampak Genteng Festival in the largest public area in this region gives texture to Jatiwangi District. Kolokytha (2022) underlines that cultural initiatives that emerge from lower society can replace the role of policy makers by providing cultural experiences to the participants involved. What JAF did to coordinate the Rampak Genteng Festival was what Lefebvre thought was an effort to explore how civil society seizes the hegemony of the state and capitalism to then manage the spaces of a geographic region. A festival that involves sounding roof tiles together with other clay musical instruments, such as drums, guitar tiles, singing various songs and various other activities in a large open space, this festival also attracts the attention of people passing by and watching. Creating interactions between the roof tiles, each individual and sounding the roof tiles together can provide what in communication geography is called texture. The experience is felt and fosters an interpretation of the meaning of roof tiles in the minds of participants and spectators. Roof tile textures and clay culture are visible in this communication geography.

Structures (communication in spaces). In communication geography, this field examines how information flows through spaces in a certain hierarchy of channels. In the case of the conflict in the Jatiwangi area, JAF is fighting for regional government communication channels to maintain the cultural characteristics of roof tiles and clay as

typical characteristics of Jatiwangi culture. In the midst of the ongoing geographical, economic and cultural landscape struggle in Jatiwangi, JAF had the opportunity to organize the 5th Indonesia Contemporary Ceramic Biennale (ICCB) in 2019. ICCB is an activity that places ceramics as a result of human work in contemporary art. In this activity which was attended by participants from all over the country, JAF succeeded in presenting West Java Governor Ridwan Kamil, who is also an architect who designed various iconic buildings in Indonesia, various Asian countries, and has worked as an architect for 5 years in the United States. This moment was used by JAF Terracotta City as a theme. At this moment, the idea of a terracotta city was successfully voiced to regional authorities in West Java Province, who also had an interest in revitalizing local entrepreneurs. Terracotta icons were approved by the Governor at three strategic points in West Java province, namely: West and East Gates of Kertajati International Airport; Tourism Information Center Office Building and Majalengka Regency square. Thus, the concept of Majalengka as a Terracotta City operates within the government spaces of Majalengka Regency. This is what Lefebvre said, namely that the identity of a region is determined by the interrelationship between activities related to various aspects, including politics within it.



Figure 7: West Java Governor Mr. Ridwan Kamil and Majalengka Square

Source: Johny (2021)

Connections (spaces in communication). In communication geography refers to how spaces are formed in a mediated communication process. In the case used as the object of this research, apart from roof tile festival, JAF made connections to form the Jatiwangi space as a geographical area characterized by terracotta by creating various works of art made from clay, including musical instruments played by a group of artists who are members of the Lair Pantura Band.



Figure 8: Lair Pantura Band with Clay Musical Instruments

Source: Researcher Documentation

In the Lair Pantura Band, these clay musical instruments are combined with folk art music called "Tarling Pantura". Tarling comes from the words gitar-suling (guitar-flute) so that the sound of guitar and flute music is dominant in playing this music (Hidayatullah, 2015). Meanwhile, pantura comes from the word pantai utara Jawa

(north coast of Java). This area was the main trade route built by the Dutch colonial government. Tarling Pantura's music is rhythmic between pop and exotic dangdut. Tarling music is usually played at night to be heard or to accompany listeners in dancing as entertainment for the community or to relieve work fatigue for the community and truck drivers on the commercial route in the northern coast region. Lair is taken from the Cirebon (name of an area) language which means birth. This means that the birth of the Lair Pantura Band is the birth of today's tarling music or contemporary tarling music. Lair Pantura Band's creativity in packaging various folk arts in a contemporary format builds what is called a connection in communication geography.

Hidayat (2022) highlights that cultural identity is represented in a person's daily behavior. To maintain this cultural identity, Anggraeni & Hidayat (2020) and Dalil & Rahardjo (2021) see the important role of agent interaction in strengthening the cultural identity of a community. Research Kinkaid (2020) highlights how the production of space can be realized and actualized in the political potential of society. This research shows how the political power of society in the production of space can be realized.

The important data conveyed is that in its efforts to maintain territorial management rights and local cultural identity, JAF is not always "successful". One of the failures that is visible to the naked eye is in the case of the construction of Ciborelang Market, the largest market in the Jatiwangi area which was built in 2016. The contractor (with approval from the Majalengka Regency Government) removed roof tile/terracotta elements in the building design. The market roof is closed using light steel which is considered more efficient. JAF collected donations of roof tiles from tile factories in Jatiwangi to cover the roof of the Ciborelang market. Ten trucks of roof tiles were collected and given to the contractor for free. However this movement failed because the building structure had already been erected with a steel roof design. This failure does not reduce JAF's enthusiasm to continue building community emancipation in managing the Jatiwangi area. As Yudi Arief said, there are two words that will always be repeated in the struggle of the Jatiwangi people: clay and dignity.

Until now, JAF continues to carry out activities and produce works. The Rampak Genteng Festival is regularly held every 3 years, and the Ministry of Tourism includes the Rampak Genteng Festival in the 10 best national events. Lair Pantura Band continues to perform at various Jatiwangi community activities, national and international stages. One of the national events in 2023 where the Lair Pantura Band will perform is the Synchronize Festival (Rosmalia, 2023). Meanwhile, invitations to perform all over the world continue to arrive (Dewi, 2022). Sujai dkk., (2017) stated that creating symbols that can be captured by various senses in various events is also an important consideration in efforts to voice opinions and instill the myth that clay is Jatiwangi's cultural identity that can go global. The struggle of the JAF community and the Jatiwangi community to obtain regional management rights has had a significant influence on the regional government as regional authority. On various occasions, West Java Governor Ridwan Kamil stated that the Rebana Triangle area must have work, live and play functions (<https://bappeda.jabarprov.go.id>) and it will be arranged in a more "humanistic" concept (Wamad, 2023).

5. Conclusion

From a communication geography perspective, the people of Jatiwangi carry out conflict resolution to maintain their public areas and cultural identity by holding various festivals, bringing to life various forms of tile/terracotta cultural displays through music and performances, and proposing regional spatial planning that reflects Jatiwangi's cultural identity, without rejecting the presence of the concept. Rebana Triangle Strategic Industrial Area which they really couldn't refuse.

5.1. Recommendation

This research offers novelty by applying Lefebvre's right to the city concept in rural area research. This research also opens up an area of study in communication geography science which in Indonesia is not yet popular and has not even been discovered (Rafika Dhona, 2018), where there are very many field cases.

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South Korea's Environmental Securitization Process in Facing the Impact of China's Fine Dust

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Abstract

Research has revealed how China's economic policies influence South Korea's securitization strategy in the context of fine dust pollution between China and South Korea. The evolution of South Korea's approach to addressing this issue is highlighted through the difference in approaches between earlier and more recent studies. Policies such as the Blue Sky Project underscore the practical implications of securitization in international relations, emphasizing the importance of diplomatic cooperation in addressing environmental threats collectively. Therefore, securitization involves transforming social-political issues into security concerns, necessitating extraordinary measures to address perceived existential threats. South Korea has strategically utilized securitization to respond to the fine dust issue caused by China's negative technological impacts. By portraying the situation as a national security problem, this research will examine South Korea's implementation of complex measures, initiating diplomatic efforts and international agreements to reduce fine dust particles' environmental and public health risks. Alarming trends in air quality decline, influenced by hazardous fine dust particle flows and reinforced by media coverage, have propelled South Korea to respond effectively. The significance of this issue is amplified by its environmental and public health implications, creating an urgent need for comprehensive action. In a thorough investigation, this research seeks to explain the intricate interaction between environmental challenges arising from fine dust pollution, media narrative influence, and South Korea's strategic securitization usage.

Keywords: South Korea, Securitization, Environment, Moon Jae In, China

1. Introduction

Fine dust blowing from the deserts of Mongolia and China has been a well-known meteorological phenomenon in East Asia, especially in the spring (Husar et al., 2001). This phenomenon is known locally as "whangsa" which means "yellow sand" in Korean, and has been a part of regional meteorological history (Kwon et al., 2002). However, public attention to this fine dust has increased in recent decades due to growing scientific evidence. Choi et al. and Li et al. showed that besides natural dust, this phenomenon also carries man-made pollution from China, causing public health concerns in South Korea. Particular attention has focused on the understanding that the dust, after passing through densely industrialized areas in eastern China, is contaminated with carcinogenic substances,

mainly in the form of invisible nano-sized particles known as PM_{2.5} or fine dust (J. C. Choi et al., 2001; Kwon et al., 2002; Li et al., 2012).

Over the past two decades, the annual average concentrations of PM₁₀ and PM_{2.5} in Seoul, Korea, have undergone significant changes, providing insight into the city's air quality dynamics. While PM₁₀ has fluctuated over the years, a consistent decline has occurred since 2002, with annual average concentrations decreasing from 58 µg/m³ in 1998 to 47 µg/m³ in 2016. However, it should be noted that this still exceeds the Korean air quality standard (50 µg/m³) and the WHO recommendation (20 µg/m³) (WHO, 2021; Xavier Leflaive et al., 2021). An examination of data from the Annual Report on Air Quality in Korea (2016) revealed that Seoul faces higher air pollution challenges than many other major cities worldwide. PM₁₀ concentrations in Seoul are much higher than in some global cities, reaching 1.4 to 2.8 times, exposing significant health risks, especially for children and the elderly (Laura Bicker, 2019).

When exploring the complex challenges faced by the fine dust crisis, it becomes clear that its implications extend beyond the boundaries of public health. China's role as a significant generator of dust storms and a large contributor to global carbon emissions is a crucial focus of attention. Data from the IEA (2020) shows that in 2019, China and South Korea ranked in the top two globally in carbon dioxide emissions, accounting for about 30.03% of global emissions. China's air pollution problem has developed into a global issue with far-reaching impacts.

A comprehensive study by Lin et al. (2014) showed that increased air pollution in China significantly affects pollutant concentrations in distant regions such as the western United States. These impacts suggest that pollution from China affects the country and its neighboring countries, such as South Korea and Japan. The correlation between China's air pollution and declining air quality in cities such as Seoul and Tokyo has been documented by several researchers, including Martin Fackler (2013) and Julian Ryall & Audrey Yoo (2013). However, establishing a direct causal link between Chinese pollution, excellent dust, and adverse impacts in South Korea is a complex challenge.

The cyclical emissions dynamics between the two countries add another level of complexity to the issue. Research by Lin et al. (2014) used the GEOS-Chem model to simulate the impact of export-related emissions from China on air quality in the United States. The results confirmed that China is the world's largest contributor to air pollution, with the most significant impact on air pollution levels in South Korea. This corresponds to the airflow direction from China to South Korea, which exacerbates air pollution in the country. China's policies make it the most significant contributor to air pollution and the producer of the highest pollution levels worldwide. The resulting pollutants cause local environmental problems and directly impact temperature and regional climate change before the rains. This reveals the inevitable link between China's pollution and the ecological challenges faced by South Korea.

The study by Kim et al. (2020) highlighted the detrimental impact of air pollution on the central nervous system (CNS), suggesting that air pollution in the environment may act as a neurotoxin. Human epidemiological studies and animal studies have supported this claim, suggesting that air pollution has the potential to exert detrimental effects on the CNS, potentially contributing to CNS diseases such as cognitive decline, dementia, anxiety, depression, schizophrenia, and attention hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). Joint research by Jia and Ku (2019) highlighted the critical link between Asian dust and air pollution from China, which significantly impacts mortality rates in South Korea, particularly related to respiratory and cardiovascular diseases.

The data showed that an increase in China's average Air Quality Index (AQI) could result in a significant increase in respiratory and cardiovascular mortality rates in South Korea, especially in vulnerable groups such as children under five years old and the elderly (Jia and Ku 2019). South Korea's National Institute of Environmental Research (NIER) states that fine dust comes not only from overseas but also from within the country, with the primary sources of fine dust emissions within South Korea being boilers, automobiles, and various industrial facilities. Analyses show that most of the formation of fine dust in South Korea can be attributed to domestic factors, although contributions from foreign sources are also significant (Kim et al., 2020).

The statement by Kim et al. highlighted the persistent improvement in air quality on the Korean Peninsula, with fine dust levels increasing remarkably between 2012 and 2013. The addition of PM_{2.5} particles in 2015 is of particular concern, with seven major cities, including Seoul, reporting persistent atmospheric particles smaller than 2.5 micrometers (PM_{2.5}). This increase was attributed to the increased use of coal in China, which leads to increased air pollution during westerly winds and extends the period of concern from winter to autumn and spring (Kim et al. 2020). The economic impact of fine dust pollution in South Korea is significant, with estimates suggesting that the country incurred costs totaling around 10-12 trillion won in 2018, equivalent to 8.8-10 billion USD (Kim et al., 2020). This calculation includes the monetary value of different air pollutants such as fine particulate matter, volatile organic compounds, and sulfur oxides. However, such estimates are conservative and do not include other contributing factors, such as long-term health issues that may require government subsidies in the future (Jia & Ku, 2019).

The cost, estimated at 10 trillion won, may be much higher if health-related expenditures, decreased consumption, and industrial activity due to fine dust pollution are considered. In perspective, 10 trillion won equals about 0.35% of South Korea's GDP and 10% of the country's economic growth rate (Dongwook Kim et al., 2022). In addition to the economic impact, the media also plays a vital role in influencing policy support and public perceptions regarding fine dust. Choi (2021) found that media reports on fine dust can influence public opinion and tend to blame individuals or government entities for the problem. The study also identified a correlation between walking time, fine dust levels, and the volume of media reports on fine dust, suggesting that negative perceptions created by media reports may influence people's behavior more than actual increases in dust concentrations (Kim et al., 2020).

In the context of South Korea's response to the fine dust crisis, securitization becomes a relevant lens to analyze the political dynamics involved. Securitization refers to the process by which political issues are elevated to security concerns that require extraordinary measures. It allows states to use unusual measures to address what they perceive to be an existential threat to national security, albeit not necessarily an objective threat to their survival. The securitization process involves using rhetoric and discourse to portray political issues as existential threats to the state, thus requiring extraordinary measures to address them (Rens van Munster, 2012).

Research on state securitization of environmental impacts has generated substantial academic output over the years, exploring various aspects of this phenomenon. Some studies have highlighted the need for more in-depth analysis, particularly in understanding how securitization affects policy and resource allocation (Peters & Mayhew, 2016). Focusing on the human dimension of securitization has also been emphasized, highlighting the importance of perceptions and frameworks in this process (Setiawan & Hapsari, 2018).

Research has uncovered how China's economic policies affect South Korea's securitization strategy in the context of fine dust pollution between China and South Korea. The difference in approach between earlier and more recent studies shows the evolution of South Korea's approach to dealing with this issue (Jia & Ku, 2019; Salam et al., 2023). Case studies such as the Blue Sky Project highlight the practical implications of securitization in international relations, emphasizing the importance of diplomatic cooperation in addressing shared environmental threats (Nabila, 2020).

Therefore, securitization involves transforming socio-political issues into security concerns, which require extraordinary measures to address perceived existential threats. South Korea has strategically utilized securitization to respond to the fine dust problem caused by negative technological impacts from China. Describing the situation as a national security issue, this study will examine how South Korea has implemented complex measures and initiated diplomatic efforts and international agreements to mitigate fine dust particles' environmental and public health risks.

The alarming trend in deteriorating air quality, influenced by the influx of harmful fine dust particles and sustained by media coverage, has prompted South Korea to respond effectively. The issue's significance is magnified by its environmental and public health implications, creating an urgent need for comprehensive action. In a thorough

investigation, this research seeks to explain the complex interplay between the ecological challenges of fine dust pollution, the influence of media narratives, and South Korea's strategic use of securitization.

2. Method

This qualitative research explores South Korea's securitization process against fine dust from China during the Moon Jae-in administration. Using observations and interviews as the primary data sources, official documents from South Korean and Chinese government websites are the primary references. The research approach focuses on qualitative methodology, emphasizing intuitive and systematic techniques to enhance understanding. Descriptive research was chosen to describe the securitization process without specific intervention. Data sources involved words and actions, with an emphasis on qualitative aspects. Secondary data was collected through literature review and documentation, covering various sources such as government agencies and news portals. The analysis involved an iterative process of data reduction, presentation, and conclusion. Triangulation ensures data validity by comparing patterns and explanations from analyses with other sources. The research was conducted without the researcher's physical presence at the research site, relying on written documents published by South Korean official bodies and other official institutions. Secondary data was obtained from the UPNVJ library, UI, and the National Library.

3. Results

3.1 South Korea's Domestic Policy on Fine Dust Management

Korea has set ambient air quality standards for seven major pollutants: SO₂, NO₂, CO, fine particulates (PM₁₀ and PM_{2.5}), ozone, lead, and benzene. Industry-specific emission standards are set for 29 substances. Stricter emission standards can be applied for industrial complexes and other areas experiencing severe air pollution, referred to as 'air preservation special action areas.' The Korean Constitution, in Article 35, states that all people have the right to live in a healthy and comfortable environment. The country's environmental regulatory framework comprises laws, enforcement decrees, and ministerial and derivative regulations. Many environmental laws have been amended since 2006, especially those governing air, water, land, and environmental impact assessment (EIA) pollution, as well as several new laws adopted.

In 2017, the Korean government strengthened regulations on volatile organic compounds (VOCs) emissions for cities with a population of half a million or more. They plan to expand the regulatory targets gradually depending on annual petrol sales. In addition, installing petrol vapor recovery systems will become mandatory in cities with a population of half a million or more, with financial support for installation costs. Other measures include banning solid fuels in areas that exceed environmental standards, mandatory use of clean fuels in some areas, and strengthening air quality monitoring networks. The Moon Jae-In government prioritized the fight against fine dust in 2017.

The Fine Dust Management Comprehensive Plan (known as the "26 September action") is much more ambitious than its predecessor to reduce fine particulate emissions and the number of days of poor air quality. Emergency measures are implemented when fine dust concentrations are high, including driving restrictions and adjustments to business operating hours. These measures will be extended to the private sector and further outside the Seoul Metropolitan Area, with stricter implementation and possibly considering alternative methods to reduce air pollution.

South Korea's Fine Dust Management Comprehensive Plan has five strategic directions to control fine dust pollution. Firstly, the plan aims to control fine dust in highly polluted areas intensively. The control program Total emissions, previously applied only in the Seoul Metropolitan Area, will be extended to almost the entire country, including areas such as Chung-Cheong, Dongman, and Gwang-yang, by applying new rates to emissions of secondary pollutants such as nitrogen oxides (NO_x). Secondly, a holistic approach to fine dust reduction will be adopted. The new plan will see PM_{2.5} precursors as one of the targets to control and seek synergies with other national energy policies, addressing the interrelationships between air pollutants in management. Third,

international cooperation and joint action will be promoted. Practical solutions for regional joint actions to reduce fine dust emissions will be developed and implemented. Fourth, the plan will focus on managing health risks and protecting people from fine dust. Measures will be taken to strengthen the management of indoor and outdoor activities during high-concentration episodes and provide public protection services for vulnerable groups. Fifth, science-based response capacity will be enhanced. Fragmented research will be systematically integrated to improve the accuracy of emission inventories, and technologies such as satellite imagery or aircraft will be applied for 3-D fine dust analysis.

The measures to be implemented within the framework of the Comprehensive Plan can be divided into two groups: short-term measures to be implemented immediately in the first half of 2018 and medium- to long-term measures to be completed by 2022, the last year of the Moon Jae-in administration. Emergency reduction and health protection measures will be prioritized in the short term. In the medium to long term, more fundamental issues will be addressed through intensive control of domestic emitters in four key sectors, in line with efforts for international cooperation.

The core strategy for the power generation sector includes reducing the share of coal-fired power generation by re-evaluating the potential for new coal-fired power plants to be converted to green power sources. Measures for this sector aim to reduce emissions by 25% by 2022, equivalent to 12,511 tonnes of emissions, which accounts for 3.9% of total national emissions. For the industrial sector, measures include increasing business facilities subject to emission limit regulations and strengthening emission monitoring. The targeted emission reduction percentage is 32% by 2022, equivalent to 52,791 tonnes of emissions, which accounts for 16.3% of Korea's total emissions. Actions for the transport sector are divided into on-road and off-road transport sectors. Measures for the on-road transport sector focus on retrofitting old diesel vehicles and increasing the use of environmentally friendly vehicles. The goal is to reduce emissions by 32% by 2022, equivalent to 28,984 tonnes of emissions, which accounts for 9% of Korea's total emissions.

The government is also strengthening the management of emissions from ships and ports by tightening standards for sulfur content in ships' fuel. Measures to reduce fine dust from the ambient focus on strengthening the management of emission sources and setting stricter standards for the content of VOCs in paints. The ambient emission reduction target is 15% by 2022, equivalent to 8,987 tonnes of emissions, which accounts for 2.8% of Korea's total emissions. The government also plans to address dust re-lift by installing flower beds on roads, changing road design standards, and improving the management of VOCs at refueling stations. These measures also include the promotion of solid waste recycling and constructing recycling stations in rural areas. In addition, the government will implement proper shredding and disposal projects for agricultural crop residues currently disposed of by illegal burning. This includes the construction of 'Neighbourhood Sorting Stations' to recycle and store solid waste and an increase in the number of recycling stations in rural areas each year. Active measures will also be promoted to eradicate illegal burning.

3.2 South Korea's International Cooperation in Fine Dust Pollution Management

In 2017, China was highlighted as a major source of fine dust particles in South Korea, with up to 70% of fine dust in the country originating from China (KH 디지털 2, 2017). Fine dust particles are picked up from the deserts of Mongolia and China through prevailing winds during certain seasons (Laura Bicker, 2019). Geographically, the Korean peninsula is under the influence of air pollution from three Chinese provinces adjacent to Korea. The concentration of fine dust or particulate matter (PM) with PM10 in the Chinese capital is 46.2 times the World Health Organisation (WHO) threshold. Meanwhile, in Seoul, PM10 levels are at twice the government threshold to meet the inferior air quality for health.

Under the Moon Jae-in administration, media reports linking China to fine dust air pollutants quadrupled between 2015 and 2017. South Korea adopts a holistic approach by actively participating in international forums, such as the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) and the United Nations Environment Conference (UNEP). The country designed a joint strategy within this framework to strengthen emission monitoring and support global initiatives to achieve fine dust reduction goals. Within the framework of international cooperation, South Korea has shared

its best practices in reducing emissions and addressing air pollution. Knowledge exchange programs between countries have been essential for developing innovative and proven practical solutions to the delicate dust problem (Yuna Ku et al., 2023).

In this regard, South Korea has engaged in various international collaborations with other state actors to address the fine dust problem as a security issue. Cooperation with neighbouring countries and participation in global environmental initiatives indicate the various actors' efforts to secure fine dust internationally. The forms of cooperation carried out by South Korea include:

3.2.1 Bilateral Cooperation with China

During the Moon Jae-in administration, South Korea established bilateral cooperation with China to reduce fine dust pollution (EPIC, 2023; Lu et al., 2023; M. Zhang, 2023). President Moon Jae-in's visit to China in 2017 accelerated bilateral atmospheric cooperation by initiating the "Blue Sky Plan" (J. Zhang et al., 2019). South Korea has implemented various emergency measures for fine dust reduction, such as restricting vehicle operations in high-density cities since 2018. However, practical regional cooperation, including China, is needed to reduce air pollution levels significantly. Future efforts should be made to establish a joint action cooperation system (Lu et al., 2023; M. Zhang, 2023).

The Blue Sky Plan is an environmental initiative implemented in China to address air pollution, including fine dust pollution. It involves various policies and projects to improve air quality and reduce particle pollution. The plan encourages technological reforms in environmental enterprises and industries, supported by significant Blue Sky Science and Technology Project investments. The Blue Sky Plan is a comprehensive strategy that includes various measures to combat air pollution and improve overall air quality. The policy actors behind China's Blue Sky Plan include various government agencies, research institutions, and international partners (EPIC, 2023; Lu et al., 2023; J. Zhang et al., 2019; M. Zhang, 2023).

Key actors include the Chinese Government, the Ministry of Ecology and Environment (MEE), the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology (MIIT), research institutes or think tanks such as the Energy Foundation China (EFC), and the South Korean government's key cooperation partner. In practice, periodic and performance evaluations will monitor China's Blue Sky Plan for effectiveness. The plan will be closely monitored to ensure that the intended goals and objectives are achieved. The Chinese government has established regular PM2.5 monitoring stations to track air quality and pollution levels. A cost-benefit analysis is also conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of the Blue Sky Plan. This evaluation is used to make necessary adjustments to the plan to ensure its continued effectiveness in reducing air pollution and improving air quality in China.

China's Blue Sky Plan is part of a series of measures the Chinese government took to reduce air pollution and promote sustainable development. These measures align with broader environmental policies and balance economic growth and ecological sustainability. In this regard, China has taken aggressive action in critical sectors such as industry, energy, and transport to reduce emissions of air pollutants and greenhouse gases and reduce the number of days with high air pollution. The Blue Sky Plan is supported by efforts to improve the legal framework, increase funding, and strengthen environmental monitoring.

In addition, there is significant investment from the Blue Sky Science and Technology Project, which aims to reform technology in environmental enterprises and industries. These measures align with China's goal of transitioning to a more sustainable, low-carbon economy. In addition to efforts to reduce pollution and promote sustainable development, China is also adopting a mediation approach in international conflicts. By mediating in such conflicts, China hopes to be accepted by most countries in the world, which in turn provides excellent opportunities and benefits to its economy. This approach helps China secure its position in the international arena and strengthen its economy (Juned, 2023; Rifaldi & Juned, 2023).

3.2.1 South Korea's Participation in Other International Cooperation Frameworks on Pollution and Fine Dust Management

In December 2022, South Korea, China, and Japan held a virtual trilateral meeting to discuss joint efforts to reduce air pollution from fine dust and move towards carbon neutrality. The 23rd Tripartite Environment Ministers Meeting was attended by South Korean Minister of Environment Han Wha-jin, Chinese Minister of Ecology and Environment Huang Runqiu, and Japanese Minister of State for the Environment Miki Yamada (TCS, 2022). The meeting resulted in signing a joint agreement highlighting their desire to work together on environmental issues. In interstate relations, competition over resources and territory, such as fishing grounds and the Northern Sea Route, is potentially exacerbated by climate change pressures.

The northward shift of fishing grounds around Japan has increased friction between states in an already tense regional environment. Militarisation in the Arctic region is explicitly mentioned as a climate change-related security threat, and increased maritime traffic in Northeast Asia can potentially complicate relations between states. Given the region's increasing climate change-related risks, there is an urgent need for a climate security agenda in East Asia. The DCAF report highlights the importance of governance and security sector reform in implementing the climate security agenda. It emphasizes the military's role in responding to climate change-related risks effectively and accountable. The report also identifies concrete steps that East Asian actors can take to address climate security risks, drawing on experiences elsewhere and proposing recommendations for implementing an SSG-based approach to climate security.

In addition to East Asian regional initiatives, South Korea is also engaged in international cooperation to address air pollution. For example, South Korea has participated in the UNFCCC and committed to reducing greenhouse gas emissions. For example, South Korea attended the 26th meeting of the UN Conference of the Parties on Climate Change (COP26) in Glasgow in November 2021, where leaders of Small Island Developing States (SIDS) highlighted the real threat of climate change to their survival and livelihoods (Brief, 2023). South Korea, as the fifth-largest economy in the Asia-Pacific, has also participated in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and has committed with other member countries to promote sustainable development and reduce air pollution through its Sustainable Energy Action Plan and Sustainable Transportation Action Plan frameworks (S. Zhang et al., 2021).

In addition, South Korea and the United States (US) have collaborated to improve air quality and reduce exposure to toxic chemicals. The US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) (EPA 2023) and the Korean Ministry of Environment have worked together to improve air and water quality and reduce exposure to toxic chemicals. The Korea-United States Air Quality Study (KORUS-AQ) is an international multi-organisation mission to observe air quality in the Korean peninsula and surrounding waters (NASA, 2023).

Finally, South Korea has partnered with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) under the Moon Jae-in administration (2017-2022) to combat air pollution and improve air quality. This partnership includes the Seoul, Incheon, and Gyeonggi provinces, which are jointly developing a series of measures to combat air pollution. In this regard, the South Korean government and UNEP are committed to increasing efforts for better air quality, including through global action platforms such as the International Day of Clean Air for Blue Skies, free from Air Pollution (UNEP, 2023).

4. Discussion

South Korea has implemented various policies and measures to reduce fine dust, yielding tangible results. The country introduced the Comprehensive Plan for Mitigating Fine Dust Particles, which includes a new air pollution warning system, a commitment to environmental cooperation between China and South Korea, and various domestic measures to reduce air pollutants (Song, 2023).

In addition, the South Korean government has enacted the Special Act on Fine Dust Reduction and Management and the Fine Dust Management Master Plan to facilitate effective and long-term solutions through active communication among key stakeholders, including the public or the general public (Tae Yong Jung, 2019). In addition, South Korea has set ambitious targets to improve air quality, with the newly released master plan aiming

to lower fine dust concentrations by more than 35 percent compared to 2018 levels by 2030. These efforts demonstrate South Korea's commitment to addressing the fine dust problem and its dedication to achieving significant air quality improvements.

The South Korean public has responded to media framing and narratives of the fine dust issue, particularly as an environmental safety issue, with great concern and demands for action. Research has shown that the public in South Korea considers fine dust pollution one of the country's most critical problems, with 97% of Koreans believing it to be a severe threat (Ellie Jimin Kim, 2020). Media portrayals of fine dust as an environmental safety issue have contributed to public anger and fear, prompting calls for immediate and effective action to address the problem. The relationship between actual fine dust concentrations and media exposure has influenced changes in outdoor activity behavior in South Korea, suggesting that media coverage impacts public behavior and awareness. The public response to the media framing of fine dust as an environmental safety issue is also evident in the legislative action taken by the South Korean National Assembly. In March 2019, the National Assembly declared the fine dust problem a 'social disaster' (Kim et al. 2020). This declaration reflects the growing public recognition of the severity of the situation and the need for decisive government action. In addition, public sentiments and concerns over fine dust pollution have been reinforced by the media's portrayal of the issue as a social disaster and a significant risk to public health. Media coverage of the crisis has increased public pressure on the government to take effective action to address the problem. The public demand for action is evident in the criticism of President Moon Jae-in's failure to address the crisis, indicating that the public holds the government responsible for addressing the problem (Kim et al., 2020).

South Korea has implemented a series of policies and measures to address the severe impact of fine dust. By introducing the Comprehensive Plan for Mitigating Fine Dust Particles and through specific regulations and master plans, the South Korean government demonstrated a strong commitment to air quality improvement and environmental protection. These measures also include international cooperation, especially with China, to address transboundary pollution. The importance of the fine dust issue is reflected in government policies, public responses, and media portrayals. The South Korean public responded to the issue with great concern, influenced by media exposure that framed fine dust as an environmental safety threat and public health risk. This created significant public pressure on the government to act.

Legislative actions, such as the declaration of fine dust as a 'social disaster' by South Korea's National Assembly, reflect the growing awareness in society of the seriousness of the issue. Media scrutiny of the government's response, including criticism of failures in handling the fine dust crisis, emphasizes the government's responsibility to take adequate measures. In addition, research shows that media exposure affects people's awareness and behavior, especially in outdoor activities. This suggests that the media sector has a crucial role in environmental securitization, where environmental issues such as fine dust are seen as security concerns that require immediate and effective responses.

South Korea has played an active role in forums such as ASEM, UNEP, and trilateral meetings with China and Japan in international cooperation. These international collaborations highlight the importance of cross-border cooperation in addressing complex and transnational environmental issues. Overall, South Korea's efforts in dealing with the impacts of fine dust reflect a blend of progressive domestic policies, active community responses, and strong international cooperation. This suggests that the process of environmental securitization has become increasingly important in a global context, where environmental issues such as fine dust are not only seen as public health concerns but also as security threats that require cross-sector and cross-national responses.

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Influential Factors Affecting Business Lobbying in Brazil: An Empirical Study

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Abstract

This article explores the factors influencing Business Lobbying in Brazil. Using Agency and Social Exchange Theories, the study uses qualitative research and multiple-methods approaches to analyze prominent Brazilian Business Lobbying. Six themes emerged: Technology Use, Government Relations within corporations, Monitoring and Engagement, Soft Skills, Customer Needs, Corporate Governance, Transparency, and Integrity. This research contributes to the Agency Theory by providing new perspectives on the relationship between principals and agents, and the Social Exchange Theory explores the social interaction between public servants and business lobbyists. The findings can be applied to other sectors, such as government NGOs, educational institutions, international organizations, political organizations, cooperatives, and partnerships. The study's significance lays the groundwork for future research, helping business policymakers enhance transparency and integrity and create an efficient and equitable framework for accessibility and availability.

Keywords: Business Lobbying, Brazil, Agency Theory

1. Introduction

Business lobbying can be advantageous in democratic systems but can also result in influential groups manipulating laws and regulations, leading to unfair competition and policy capture (Barbera et al., 2017; Battaglini, 2017; Little, 2016; Manacorda, Tesei, 2016; Petrovay et al., 2016; Beyers, 2004; Bouwen, 2004)). In Brazil, in the 1990s, due to the implementation of privatization programs, redefining the relationship between private enterprises and the state has been a challenge, requiring a more explicit and well-defined connection between private companies and the state, impacting the market economy (Enikolopov et al., 2020; Battaglini & Patacchini, 2019; Campante et al., 2018; Frye, 2002; Rasmussen, 2015). Additionally, the privatization programs have created a demand for professionals who can deal with companies (Dias & Navarro, 2017; Baumgartner & Leech, 2001; Baye et al., 1993; Bernhagen, & Mitchell, 2009; Bertrand, Bombardini, & Trebbi, 2014)

Although scholars have become interested in business lobbying over the past decades, it is unrealistic to assume that the factors influencing it are entirely known. Nonetheless, business lobbying has been widely studied (a) between countries (Dokuka et al., 2014; Falck et al., 2014; Edmond, 2013; Bond et al., 2012); as a fundamental part of (b) global trade (Woll, 2008); (c) influencing oligarchies (Frye, 2002); and (d) environmental groups (Gullberg, 2008); about (e) professionalization, strategy, and influence (Santos et al., 2017); or (f) organized interests (Lowery, 2007). In addition, business lobbying has been associated with public policy, democracy, and corruption (Dokuka et al., 2014; Falck et al., 2014).

Therefore, the factors influencing business lobbying in Brazil are indeterminate and are examined in this work. It is designed to capture the complex texture of Brazilian democracy as a valuable goal in its concept.

In addition, despite a 40-year discussion in Congress, business lobbying remains unregulated in Brazil. However, Brazil is not the only country facing this issue. Over half of the OECD countries still lack laws governing lobbying interactions with public officials (OECD, 2023), as illustrated in the following Figure 1:

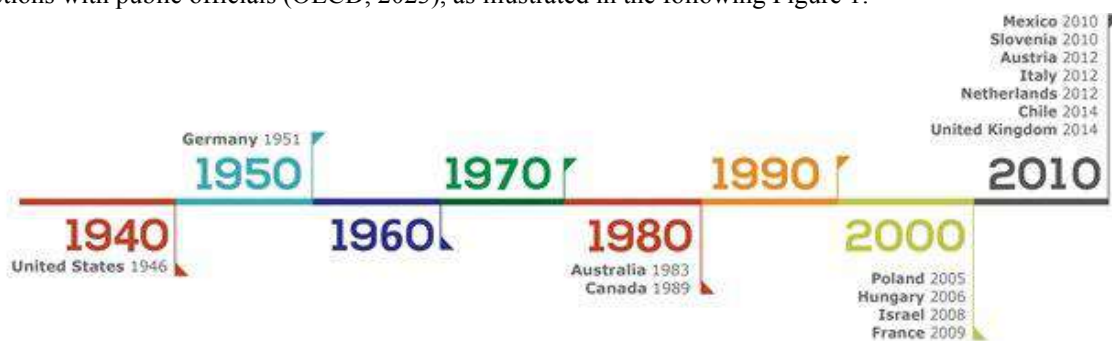


Figure 1: Timeline of Lobbying regulations. Source: OECD, 2023

As a result, influence may be illegitimate when exercised through dubious and illegal means (Cohen, 2007; 1998; 1997; Cohen & Malloy, 2014). Given this, narrow interest groups may attempt to monopolize influence, creating unnecessary and inefficient public policies that result in unsatisfactory outcomes and distrust in public institutions (Doner & Schneider, 2000; Drope & Hansen, 2006; Dür, 2008; Lowery, 2007).

We opted for the supporting Agency Theory because the relationship between the business lobbyists and their principals is relevant to this research (Eisenhardt, 1989; Arrow, 1985). In addition, we chose the Social Exchange Theory, which helps us understand the relationship between business lobbyists and public servants (Blau, 1964).

2. Background

After the dictatorship regime, a new democratic civilian government was elected in 1985, and a new constitution was enacted in 1988. A new era of Business Lobbying began after the privatizations that swept the Brazilian Economy after 1990 through the National Privatization Plan (Law 8.130/90).

On a global scale, Stopford, Strange, and Henley (1991) argued that while governments still maintained control over territorial boundaries and issued currency, they were increasingly weakened by the ever-increasing presence of private capital in the Economy. Globalization, then, swept the globe. Meanwhile, the Brazilian government considered it more appropriate to privatize banks, issuing concessions and services in Brazil (Teles & Dias, 2022). Consequently, the power of the government to control the Economy decreased, and the power of corporations increased (Stopford & Strange, 1991; Strange, 1992).

Finally, the research context is supported by the idea that in modern democracies, potent interests that attempt to influence government decisions, including policymaking, legislation, and the awarding of contracts, are an everyday reality (OECD, 2009). This work is limited to the company-government relationship. Other relationships, such as government-government and company-company, are not part of this work and should be investigated separately.

Therefore, the following assumptions are used here to explain the factors that influence activity in Brazil: (a) The lack of activity regulation highlights a risk of monopoly influence by narrow interest groups; (b) Influence may be undue when exercised through dubious and unlawful practices. (c) The lack of regulation of lobbying may unduly influence policymaking, and the resulting public policies may need to be more efficient, bringing about unsatisfactory results and distrust of public institutions. (d) The business lobby in Brazil has been an influential factor in shaping the country's economic landscape, leading to the Research Question: *What are the factors that influence Business Lobby in Brazil?*

3. Methodology

In this study, we opted for a qualitative, inductive study, following Saunders et al., 2009, adopting Focus Groups, or collective, semi-structured interview approach since it includes a predetermined list of questions and space for impromptu inquiries that could come during an interview, following Myers and Newman's (2007).

3.1. Sampling

This article utilized three sampling methods: (i) purposive sampling, (ii) criterion sampling, and (iii) snowball sampling, as they were the most appropriate for the research. A purposeful sampling strategy was chosen because the data quality is more important than quantity. It would only be possible to comprehend the nuances of the analyzed phenomenon using a questionnaire. Because the following criteria were used to select participants and interviewees, criterion sampling was used: (a) Brazilians; (b) undergraduates; (c) from the Business Lobbying sector; (d) a minimum of 15 years of professional experience. The snowball sampling strategy was chosen because participants could assist in locating additional participants/interviewees. It was instrumental in the Focus Group, where, for instance, one participant (P#1) brought two additional participants (P#6 and P#7) to the session. Then, email invitations were sent to invite IT experts and interviewees from Brazil with at least five years of experience in the IT industry. Upon confirmation of their participation, an online chat was scheduled for 3 August 2023 at 20 h, conducted through the Zoom® platform. Raw data were collected and video recorded in MP4 format following the interview protocol.

4. Findings and Analysis

The Focus Group session gathered 18 participants and one facilitator, totaling 19 participants. The invitations (n = 20) were sent via Calendar, phone call, text, and voice mail, with a 90 percent response rate formalized via email to those who confirmed.

Prior to the commencement of the study, a disclaimer was presented to the participants outlining the absence of commercial intent, the voluntary nature of participation, the preservation of anonymity and confidentiality in regards to participant identities and company names for ethical and compliance reasons, as well as the freedom to withdraw from the study at any point. Ethnographic information pertaining to the participants is displayed in Table 1.

Table 1: Focus Group ethnographic summary

| Participants | Job position | Local | Time of Experience (Years) | Gender (M/F) | Education Level |
|----------------|--|------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| P#1 | Executive Director | São Paulo | 33 | M | Doctorate |
| P#2 | Director of Government Affairs | Distrito Federal | 21 | M | MBA |
| P#3 | Journalist / Government Affairs Consultant | Distrito Federal | 8 | M | Undergraduated |
| P#4 | Attorney / Government Affairs Coordinator | Distrito Federal | 11 | M | MBA |
| P#5 | Translator / Regulatory Consultant | Distrito Federal | 3 | M | Undergraduated |
| P#6 | Electronic Engineer / Professor | Rio de Janeiro | 25 | M | Doctorate |
| P#7 | CEO | São Paulo | 10 | F | MBA |
| P#8 | Corporate Attorney | São Paulo | 10 | M | Master |
| P#9 | Executive Partner | Distrito Federal | 19 | M | Master |
| P#10 | Executive Partner | Distrito Federal | 11 | M | MBA |
| P#11 | Senior Consultant | São Paulo | 16 | F | Master |
| P#12 | Journalist / Executive Partner | Distrito Federal | 37 | F | MBA |
| P#13 | Government Affairs Director | Santa Catarina | 12 | M | MBA |
| P#14 | Government Affairs Director | Rio de Janeiro | 20 | M | Doctorate |
| P#15 | Executive Director | São Paulo | 22 | F | Master |
| P#16 | Executive Director | Distrito Federal | 25 | M | MBA |
| P#17 | Executive Partner | Distrito Federal | 10 | F | Master |
| P#18 | Content Director | Distrito Federal | 20 | F | MBA |
| Average | | | 17 | M (~84,6%) | Master (~30,8%) |

Note: Focus Group started on 28 August 2023, from 8:08 p.m. to 9:29 p.m.

Table 1 shows that 84.6 percent of the participants in the Focus Group session were male (15.4 percent female). The average time of work experience is 17 years. The participants were also mostly from the Southeastern Brazil (84.6 percent), 100 percent were business lobbyists. Finally, regarding the level of education, 100 percent are undergraduate, at least, while 30.8 percent are master's, and 15.4 percent doctors.

4.1. Content Analysis

The raw data was transcribed and translated into English, resulting in 8,140 valid answers. The software NVivo® 12 - student edition was used to generate charts, including a frequency distribution, illustrated in Figure 2.

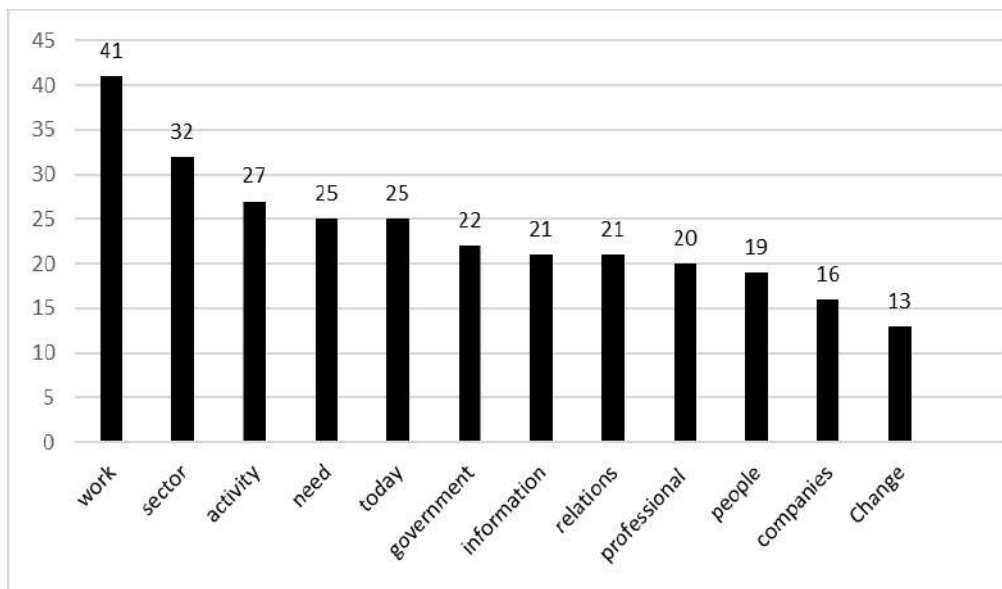


Figure 2: Focus Group Frequency Distribution. Source: NVivo 12 and dataset

Table 2: Focus Group Coding: categories, subcategories and open codes

| Themes | Theme 1 | Theme 2 | Theme 3 | Theme 4 | Theme 5 | Theme 6 |
|----------------------|---|--|----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Categories | Use of Technology | Government relations within corporations | Monitoring and Engagement | Soft skills | Customer needs | Corporate governance |
| | large volume of activities | face-to-face communications | Virtual challenges | Communication | analysis | Capital markets |
| | large volume of information | remote communications | Lack of contact | Diplomacy | identify the customer's needs | business in general |
| | communication tools | government strategy | Socialization needed | Negotiation | organization | regulations |
| | efficient execution | heterogeneity | essential for engagement | persuasion | structured information | National Congress |
| Subcategories | Access to and efficient treatment of information update | essential for monitoring activities Stakeholder mapping | | training | | Legislative power / Executive power advocacy Transparency Integrity Legal terminology |

4.2. Cluster Analysis

Table 3 show the Cluster analysis, employed to avoid elite bias, following Myers & Newman (2007).

Table 3: Focus Group Cluster Analysis

| Management Level | Themes | Theme 1 | Theme 2 | Theme 3 | Theme 4 | Theme 5 | Theme 6 |
|------------------|--------------|-------------------|--|---------------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------------|
| | Participants | Use of Technology | Government relations within corporations | Monitoring and Engagement | Soft skills | Customer needs | Corporate Governance |
| H | P#1 | •• | ••• | • | ••• | - | ••• |
| H | P#2 | •• | •• | • | ••• | ••• | •• |
| H | P#7 | • | • | ••• | •• | ••• | - |
| H | P#13 | • | ••• | •• | • | • | ••• |
| H | P#14 | •• | - | ••• | • | •• | ••• |
| H | P#15 | - | •• | ••• | • | ••• | ••• |
| H | P#16 | - | - | ••• | - | ••• | ••• |
| H | P#17 | •• | - | ••• | ••• | •• | •• |
| H | P#18 | •• | ••• | ••• | • | • | •• |
| M | P#3 | - | - | ••• | - | •• | - |
| M | P#4 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| M | P#9 | ••• | •• | • | ••• | ••• | ••• |
| M | P#10 | • | - | ••• | ••• | •• | - |
| M | P#11 | ••• | ••• | ••• | •• | ••• | • |
| M | P#6 | ••• | ••• | •• | ••• | ••• | • |
| L | P#5 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| L | P#8 | •• | ••• | •• | • | • | •• |
| L | P#12 | •• | - | ••• | - | ••• | - |

Note: H=High; M=Medium; L= Low management level

Note₂: (•) = Relevant; (•••) = Extremely Relevant; (-) =non-Relevant

Table 3 shows that not all participants agreed equally. For instance, Theme 3, Monitoring and Engagement, has been perceived as the most influential for the three management levels. The themes were found to be more relevant to certain management groups due to their different perspectives and weights.

5. Answers to the Research Question

The answer to the Research Question is that we found evidence to support six factors that influence Business Lobbying in Brazil, such as (a) the Use of Technology, (b) Government relations within corporations, (c) Monitoring and Engagement, (d) Soft skills, (e) Customer needs; (f) Corporate governance, including (f') transparency, and (f'') integrity; (g) Hard skills, and (h) legal uncertainty, detailed in the following paragraphs:

The analysis of the findings suggests that the (a) *Use of Technology* is a relevant factor affecting the Business Lobby activity in Brazil. Interviewee #12 highlights the negative impact of advanced technology on business lobbying, stating that it creates a distancing between public and private agents due to competitive issues and vulnerability. Introducing new technologies like Instagram and WhatsApp has significantly impacted phone companies, leading to significant regulatory changes. Interviewee I#1 states that “the improvement of communication channels, streaming capacity, peer-to-peer communication technologies were something that changed because there was no such thing in the past. In the old days, you talked to the person on the phone.” (I#1)

(b) *Government relations within corporations* are a relevant factor affecting the Business Lobby activity in Brazil. P#14 highlights the importance of metric recognition for business lobbyist activity, such as president recognition or subsidies to work within Congress or the Executive. However, there is yet to be a quick solution to this issue. P#13 emphasizes the relevance of government relations within corporations to business lobbyist activity, as it helps align the business’s radar with the specific demands of the business. This level of grip is sought through performance, ensuring that the business’s positioning and dialogue with Social Exchanges are well-aligned with the specific issues the business is experiencing. For instance, I#3 declared, “I think every self-respecting company, a big company, has to have a Government Relations (GR) professional. I say big because it has more representation. So, the question of the GR professional itself is who makes the approximation. I can joke here in the interview; I heard a person saying something that I found super interesting. GR is the entrepreneur’s Tinder® with the government.” (I#3)

(c) *Monitoring and Engagement* is a relevant factor affecting the Business Lobby activity in Brazil. Evidence suggests that Monitoring is a crucial aspect of business, with the use of technology, data, advanced searches, and robots significantly changing the daily Monitoring of matters of interest. It involves monitoring and following up on proposals for clients and engaging with Social Exchanges such as parliamentarians, public service executives, and those with influence on public policies and bills. Monitoring and engagement involve mapping opportunities and risks, establishing strategies to minimize risks, and capitalizing on opportunities for business improvement.

(d) *Soft skills* are a relevant factor affecting the Business Lobby activity in Brazil. Evidence supports the idea of the importance of pursuing soft skills in government relations, as it often involves working under pressure and dealing with last-minute client pressure. They also highlighted the need to develop relational skills, such as communication, rhetoric, and negotiation, to perform well in business lobbying. They also highlighted the need to understand legislative processes, the judiciary, and the Chamber of Deputies’ rites. The interviewees also highlighted the significance of investing in soft skills in government relations, as they generate factors that influence communication, negotiation, persuasion, and influence. The Social Exchange Theory supports the importance of mastering soft skills for public servants and government relations professionals in Brazil’s business lobbying activity. For instance, I#4 revealed that “I think it has to have a persuasion bias, it has to have well-defined negotiation characteristics because what we do is negotiate all day.” (I#4)

(e) *Customer needs* are a relevant factor affecting Business Lobby activity in Brazil. Evidence highlights customer requests’ complex and demanding nature, including organizing requests for essential issues in their National Congress and assisting in elaborating direct action strategies with parliamentarians. The back-office activity involves Monitoring, following up on proposals, and engaging with Social Exchanges like parliamentarians and public service executives. Customer satisfaction is based on a solid understanding of the business, not necessarily the person who is the interlocutor, and having the necessary support for arguments or defenses. In order to support this idea, evidence was disclosed by I#7: “The person mainly needs to know how to listen; he needs to have good listening. You need to be very cold-blooded to take the demands, work under pressure and know how to talk to

the decision-makers.” (#7) The Agency Theory suggests that public officials and government relations professionals should prioritize addressing Customer needs to enhance their effectiveness in corporate lobbying in Brazil.

(f) *Corporate governance* is a relevant factor affecting the Business Lobby activity in Brazil. Corporate Governance includes two subthemes: transparency and integrity, two out of ten pillars of business lobbying according to the OECD principles, which recommends ten principles, including enhancing transparency, fostering integrity, and implementing effective mechanisms for compliance and review, to ensure fair and equitable access to information (OECD, 2023). Corporate governance is a central theme for higher managerial positions. However, it is often overlooked due to the bias of Parliament in defending collective interests. Consolidated consultancies often have relationships with parliamentary fronts and civil society associations, making it easier to act on behalf of society. For instance, I#9 revealed that: “We have a governance linked to the top management of the company, and we always have definitions and guidelines that come out of this, this governance, this governance process.” (I#9)

In addition, two emerging subthemes were considered vital by the interviewees: (f’) business lobbying transparency and (f’’) integrity. Transparency is fundamental in corporate governance, prioritizing a company’s principles and goals over personal interests. It highlights the impact of the lack of corporate governance principles on government relations, particularly in business lobbying. Integrity is crucial in business lobbying, requiring executives and management to prioritize the firm’s values and purpose over personal interests. Maintaining honesty is vital for confidence in business lobbying and understanding corporate governance in Brazil. The Social Exchange Theory supports Corporate Governance, defined by rules and factors controlling a company’s operations.

6. Implications and Discussion

The first implication regards the term “Lobby” and “Business Lobbyist” in Brazilian Portuguese have a derogatory connotation associated to corruption, fraud, influence peddling, and favoritism, as stated by P#6: “interesting to mention how the term business lobbyist (*lobista* in Brazilian Portuguese, direct translation) is falling into disuse, whereas “government relations professional” is preferred,” (P#6), corroborated by I#1: “incredible how the term business lobby is misused in (Brazilian) Portuguese, always associated to corruption. The preference is for Government Relations Professional.” (I#1)

The significant implications and challenges for business lobbying law in Brazil regard legal certainty as a fundamental principle of the Rule of Law, once there is not a specific law regulating lobbying, representing interests before public authorities, while this article is written. However, some norms issued, such as the Code of Conduct for Senior Federal Administration, which establishes ethical principles and standards of conduct for public servants. This code prohibits general agents, including high-ranking authorities, from receiving benefits, advantages, or gifts in exchange for favors.

Furthermore, the Access to Information Law (Law No. 12,527/2011) allows citizens and organizations to request information from public bodies, which helps with transparency and social control. However, it is essential to highlight that the project is still under discussion and may undergo modifications before becoming law. Therefore, lobbying activity in Brazil still needs to be fully regulated.

7. Theoretical Contributions

We contributed to the Agency Theory and Social Exchange Theory by introducing a perspective on the relationship between the principal and the agent and the business lobbyist and the public servant. In sum, while the Agency Theory (Arrow, 1985) is focused on the economic and power relation between business lobbyists and their principals, the Social Exchange Theory helps understand the interaction between business lobbyists and government representatives (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959; Blau, 1964).

Regarding the theoretical contributions, improving the communications channels through *The Use of Technology* (Theme 1) provides new nuances and perspectives on the relationship, especially after the coronavirus pandemic, not foreseen by the Agency Theory, which was created before the advent of internet, and the improvements of Information and Communication Technology (ICT).

A second contribution lies in the improvement of the quality of the relationship through enhancing (b) Government relations and (c) Monitoring and Engagement, including (d) Soft skills, (e) Customer needs, (f) Corporate governance, (g) Hard skills, not anticipated by the Agency Theory.

The Social Exchange Theory is notable in examining and evaluating social interactions. If the pros are superior to the cons, one should keep the social interaction; otherwise, one should abandon the relationship. However, the Social Exchange Theory is not concerned with measuring the relationship. Therefore, Social Exchange Theory supports our findings. Nevertheless, assuming that a social transaction occurs only in one way is unrealistic.

Therefore, this research contributes theoretically to the Agency Theory by showing new nuances of the relationship between a business lobbyist (agent) and a given principal by presenting perspectives other than purely economics or power. In contrast, this research contributes theoretically to the Social Exchange Theory by showing new nuances of the relationship between a public servant (principal) and a business lobbyist (agent).

Finally, this research provides valuable insights for business lobbying improvement and regulatory changes. It is transferable to other sectors, such as the relationship between the government and (a) NGOs, (b) philanthropic organizations, (c) educational institutions, (d) armed forces, (e) charities, (f) international organizations, (g) political organizations, (h) cooperatives, (i) partnerships, to name a few types.

8. Future Research

It is recommended to conduct further research to strengthen the discussion on regulating Business Lobbying in Brazil. The Brazilian business lobbyists can be compared to business lobbyists from several nations, including entire regions like the Americas, Europe, and Asia. Statistical studies are being conducted to create an index that determines the rank of corporate lobbying. These studies are beneficial to researchers, decision-makers, politicians, Human Resource managers, corporate lobbyists, and other professionals.

In terms of propositions, we have adhered to the work of Johnson (2020), a frequent contributor to qualitative research articles who provides well-defined links that researchers might explore in future studies. Therefore, it is crucial to explore the following hypotheses in future studies: (a) The positive impact of mastering soft skills on business lobbying makes it intriguing to assess the potential connections between these aspects (variables) using statistical analysis.

Another topic for further investigation is "In what extent do soft skills influence the results of business lobbying?" It is recommended to conduct further research to better understand the influence of soft skills on the outcome of corporate lobbying in future studies.

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