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Reconstruction Identity of State Defense in the Movie "Salam Bela Negara"

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Abstract

Educations world faces various challenges in the future. Due to that matter, media is real globalizations instrument to build character especially for the young generation. The young generation or mostly called as millennial generation have high tendency to follow the western culture which is not necessarily aligned with east culture, especially with Indonesia culture. Refer to that matter, Fiber Production as one of creativity forum in the field of cinematography that initialize to made a movie with theme defense the nation. This movie story about five students affected by the impact of globalization that manifested in hedonics lifestyle and away from the love of their country. Eventually, they realized when they began with program Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) in an isolated area. They finally understood that they could love Indonesia with simple way. The purpose of this research refers to this movie is trying to shift the defense of the concept of the nation. The theory in this research is semiotics, defense of the nation through the movie. This research uses social constructivism approach through analysis of Semiotics who tried to interpret by way of describing a sign through the meanings of connotation and denotation or ideology that is represented in the movie Salam Bela Negara. The result of this research, defense the nation not always relate with the military, but it could be applied in daily life through positive contribution.

Keywords: Defense, Identity, Movie, Semiotics

INTRODUCTION

Educations world faces various challenges in the future. Due to that matter, media is real globalizations instrument to build character especially for the young generation. The young generation or mostly called as **millennial generation** have high tendency to follow the western culture which is not necessarily aligned with east culture, especially with Indonesia culture.

In a globalized world in which national and ethnic diversity has become more visible than ever before. The intensification of globalization processes has prompted the transformation of the classical nation-state by

breaking its monopoly over the economy, defense, the media, and culture, among many other aspects and functions. Rising global interdependence and the emergence of transnational political and economic forces are shifting the locus of real decision-making elsewhere. At the same time, small political and economic units have become functional in a globalized world, and this in part accounts for the unexpected salience which nations without states are currently acquiring.

The spirit of credential cache for the identity of state defense manifest in the creation of this movie, actually defense the nation not always relate with military or only build the infrastructure. But also empower indigenous people, through pride and appreciation on the perceived value of culture to grow a feeling of love to the country. Refer to that matter, Fiber Production as one of creativity forum in the field of cinematography that initialize to made a movie with theme defense the nation in order to apply the prompt transformation of the nation-state. This movie story about five students affected by the impact of globalization that manifested in hedonics lifestyle and away from the love of their country. Eventually, they realized when they began with program *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* (KKN) in an isolated area. They finally understood that they could love Indonesia with simple way.

The Purpose of This Research
The purpose of this research refers to this movie is trying to shift defense of the concept of the nation. The theory in this research is semiotics, defense of the nation and movie.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPT

Globalization and National Identity
At present, national identity is one of the most powerful forms of collective identity. National identity is based upon the sentiment of belonging to a specific nation, endowed with its own symbols, traditions, sacred places, ceremonies, heroes, history, culture, and territory. The emotional charge that individuals invest in their land, language, symbols, and beliefs while building up their identity, facilitates the spread of nationalism. There is a political dimension to national identity. It refers to the wish of those sharing a common national identity to have the right and the power to decide upon the political destiny of the nation they belong to.

The defining criteria of identity are continuity over time, and differentiation from others, both fundamental elements of national identity. Continuity springs from the conception of the nation as a historically rooted entity that projects into the future. Differentiation stems from the consciousness of forming a community with a distinctive shared culture attached to a concrete territory, both elements leading to the distinction between members and 'strangers,' 'the rest,' 'the outsiders.' Classical nation-states have invariably sought to homogenize their populations and still in them a sense of common national identity. Wherever the nation-state encountered resistance to its objective, it did not hesitate to apply tough measures ranging from forced assimilation to repression, discrimination, or even mass deportations of people and genocide. Its objective was the annihilation of internal cultural difference (Guibernau:2004).

Media and Education
Even more important, national education continues to play a fundamental part in defining the national community and supplying a sense of continuity and purpose to the very existence of the nation-state. National education as Gellner (1983) demonstrated, equips individuals with the language and culture which will allow them to live and work within a given society. The importance of controlling the national curricula becomes apparent when the nation-state decides on such vital issues as:
   a. The content of national history;
   b. Whether to include the languages and cultures of minority nations and ethnic groups as forming a part of the national culture;
   c. What religions, if any, should be taught to students, and;
   d. How other countries, peoples, and cultures are to be presented.

As a consequence of globalization, the state is gaining greater control over the education system and fighting to increase its control over some of the media. Simultaneously, however, globalization has made possible the creation of continuous flows of information which cut across state boundaries. There is some kind of inherent contradiction concerning the effects of globalization upon the state's capacity to impose a homogeneous image of the nation (Guibernau:2004).

Movie

The movie can describe as a story or event recorded by a camera as a set of moving images and shown in a theatre or on television; a motion picture (Stam & Miller, 2000). The term cinematography is from the Greek roots meaning "writing with motion." At the heart of it, filmmaking is shooting. It is the process of taking ideas, words, actions emotional subtext, tone and all other forms of non-verbal communication and rendering them in a visual term.

METHOD

For Sebeok, this system is grounded in the organism's body, which routinely converts the external world of experience into an internal one of representation in terms of the particular features of the modelling system with which a specific species is endowed.

Sebeok has transformed semiotics back into a 'life science,' having relocated it, in effect, to its roots in medical biology. In other words, he has uprooted semiotics from the philosophical, linguistic, and hermeneutic terrain in which it has been cultivated for centuries and replanted it in the larger biological domain whence it sprang originally (Sebeok, 2001:5-6).

Semiology is the idea of a general study of the sign systems which make up our societies. Taking its cue from Saussure's model of linguistics, semiology should ultimately encompass linguistics, since language is merely one of the systems of signs which semiology will study (Allen, 2003:40). In the element of the Barthes takes up the distinction and developed by linguist Louis Hjelmslev (Allen, 2003:50). Barthes described that a sign thought the meanings of connotation and denotation or ideology that is represented in the movie Salam Bela Negara.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

At present, national identity is one of the most powerful forms of collective identity. National identity is based upon the sentiment of belonging to a specific nation, endowed with its own symbols, traditions, sacred places, ceremonies, heroes, history, culture, and territory. Two major implications derive from this. First, a common national identity favours the creation of solidarity bonds among the members of a given community and allows them to imagine the community they belong to as separate and distinct from others. Second, individuals who enter a culture emotionally charge certain symbols, values, beliefs, and customs by internalizing them and conceiving them as part of themselves.

Educations world faces with various challenges in the future. Due to that matter, media is real globalizations instrument to build character especially for the young generation. The young generation or mostly called as millennial generation have high tendency to follow the western culture which is not necessarily aligned with east culture, especially with Indonesia culture. Refer to that matter, Fiber Production as one of creativity forum in the field of cinematography that initialize to made a movie with theme defense the nation. The movie with theme defense the nation. This movie story about five students affected by the impact of globalization that manifested in hedonics lifestyle and away from the love of their country. Eventually, they realized when they began with program Kuliah Kerja Nyata (KKN) in an isolated area. They finally understood that they could love Indonesia with simple way.

Figure 1: Scene 17

Figure 2 : Scene 23

Figure 3: Scene 25

Figure 4: Scene 26

Scene 11 shows that even though only release ceremony of KKN' activity but the atmosphere turned into anxiousness. The result of this research, defense the nation not always relate with the military, but it could be applied in daily life through positive contribution.

Scene 17 shows that a scene eager to learn about sharing to children around that place to spread about culture tolerance which was the predecessor to the establishment of Indonesia country.
A scene that does construction dialogue from the youth pledge's covenant that was born on October 28, 1928. The youth pledge 1928 was an interpretation as the clumping attitude from all the youth from numerous ethnic and cultural in Indonesia such as *Jong Java*, *Jong Selebes, Jong Ambon*, and *Jong Sumatera*. This scene shows that the existence of unity the ethnic and cultural in a container named as Indonesia.

Scene 23, show some actions in an effort to capture the impression that the audience enters into cultural rituals. Some bamboo musical instruments become the object of recording. Bamboo musical instruments have a "round" sound that can make listeners relaxed. The natural colour gradation of bamboo can give the impression of unification. Both the union between humans and humans, humans with nature, and other fellow living beings. Black clothes that are connoted as traditional respect for ancestors. *Pengadeganan* is done in order to capture the value of mutual cooperation ideology, gratitude, and give to each other human beings and nature.

Scene 25: show the local product about oyster mushroom cultivation with the purpose of introducing the natural beauty in the country to the public and eventually prefer the domestic product.

Scene 26: In the final scene of this movie, the generation of millennial are fascinated by the beauty of the earth,

after tracing the facts, cultural policies and the uniqueness of history about Indonesia in their KKN journey so to blow the inspiration to love the country in a simple way.

CONCLUSION

Globalization is dramatically transforming the context within which political action takes place and forces the nation-state to fundamentally recast its nature in order to react to unprecedented challenges concerning state power and world politics. Because of this globalization educations world faces with various challenges in the future. The young generation or mostly called as millennial generation have high tendency to follow the western culture which is not necessarily aligned with east culture, especially with Indonesia culture. In the century of 21, relatedness in the world to trying to create the credential cache for identity as under review with the point of futuristic view.

Recently, identity only can be found in tradition and religion, while in other sectors such as politics and economy has been biased. Refer to those problems, with togetherness in order to the change of era, therefore, Fiber Production have an idea to create a movie about the identity of state defense with the title of the movie : Salam Bela Negara. This movie tries to reconstruct about the concept of state defense which really identic and familiar with the military, actually identity of state defense with the concept "ourselves" in the society that is capable of shearing hope by using the current the change of era. No exception to the presence of the industrial revolution 4.0.

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Defining Poverty: A Summary of Competing Models

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Abstract

How we talk about poverty and low income is complicated by the competing methods for defining and measuring the phenomenon. In this article, I present a brief summary of the dominant methods currently in use by the governments of Canada and USA, and by the World Bank and large NGOs: absolute vs relative measures, low income cut-off (LICO), official poverty measure (OPM), global poverty line (GPL), human poverty index (HPI), and the multidimensional poverty index (MPI).

Keywords: Low Income, Poverty, Economic Deprivation, Millennium Development Goals

1. Background

Poverty and low income remain among the most hotly debated subjects in international development, and indeed in all discussions of economic development and governmental policy. In recent years, in the wake of the Millennium Development Goals, the world has had much to celebrate, with global poverty rates reported to have dropped to historic lows this year (Associated Press, 2018). And while the world continues to become less impoverished, the rte of change has slowed (World Bank, 2018). Despite global long-term improvements, local and short-term spikes in the number of people living lives of deprivation continue to cause concern, even in wealthy countries, like Canada and the USA.

A study (Angus Reid Institute, 2018), reported widely in Canadian news, showed that many Canadians are experiencing financial stress. A large proportion report needing to borrow money to buy groceries, eschewing dental care, and are experiencing hardship in ten other money-related scenarios presented to them. It is surprising, though, is that the study's estimate of the impoverished national fraction is considerably higher than the official governmental numbers. The study found that about 16% of the population is "struggling", while a further 11% is "on the edge" (i.e., at risk of struggling). This gives a total of 27% who are in some sort of financial jeopardy. Whereas, according to the official estimate, 4.9 million Canadians, or about 14% of the country, live beneath the line of indigence (Statistics Canada, 2018).

The difference between Angus Reid's and the government's estimates comes about because of the differences in philosophies and methodologies embraced by those doing the calculations. The Angus Reid Poverty Index (Angus Reid Institute, 2018b) is innovative and meaningful, but arises from a distinctly different set of

assumptions and definitions of poverty than does the Canadian government's official low-income cut-off line. The numbers are concerning and in need of policy attention, regardless of how they were manifested. But there is some educational utility in taking a moment to review the various philosophies underlying how poverty is conceptualized and measured.

Defining poverty and low income is important from a policy standpoint. Many governments use the designation to decide which communities receive special attention and resources. As a result, operationalizing any unspecific sense of deprivation can be a process fraught with unintentional bias.

About 21% of children in the USA live beneath the poverty line (National Center for Children in Poverty, 2018), while 10.2% of Danish children are thus beset (UNICEF, 2014). But do those statistics mean that Denmark is twice as wealthy as the USA? Is a poor person in Denmark as similarly deprived as a poor person in the USA? The confounding factor here is that different countries and organizations define the low-income cut-off line differently, making it difficult to compare across jurisdictions.

Some see poverty as strictly an economic state. Others see it as a condition of political vulnerability. Still others see it predominantly as a measure of social class. All of these interpretations are simultaneously correct and insufficient. The challenge is that we all have a sense in our minds of what a financially challenged existence looks like, but struggle to put that vision into a set of measurable indicators. Several competing measures have thus emerged, each telling only part of the story.

2. Relative vs Absolute Poverty

It is important to distinguish between "relative" and "absolute" poverty. A measure of relative poverty defines poverty as being below a threshold computed from within the population of interest. Someone who is "relatively impoverished" has significantly less wealth than other members of society. For example, a common practice is to define someone as poor if his or her income is less than 60% of the population's median income. This concept is sometimes called "economic distance." The advantage to this approach is that it ensures that poverty is understood in the context of its specific community.

The great disadvantage is that, regardless of actual levels of wealth, a relative measure necessitates that at least some members of the community are defined as impoverished. Imagine, for example, a nation of millionaires. It is a mathematical necessity that some of those millionaires will have an income less than 60% of the median. We would identify those people as impoverished -- even though they are millionaires.

"Absolute" poverty, on the other hand, is a level of poverty defined in terms of the minimal requirements necessary to afford a basic standard of living. The inability to achieve that minimal standard is considered to be experiencing deprivation and therefore poverty. To compute absolute poverty, we define a set of necessities that we place in our grocery basket. We can therefore call this a "market basket measure" (MBM). In Canada, the official MBM includes the costs of food, clothing, footwear, transportation, shelter and other expenses (Statistics Canada, 2015) for a reference family of two adults and two children, adjusted for geographical region. According to Canada's MBM, a Torontonian from a 4-person family earning less than $40,595 would be low-income in 2015 (Statistics Canada, 2017).

On the other hand, one of the "relative poverty" thresholds commonly used in this country is the Low-Income Measure (LIM), which is the median income of the population, adjusted for household size. Based on 2015 numbers, a Canadian in a four-person household is considered low-income (Statistics Canada, 2017b) if he or she makes less than $44,266 after taxes. Unfortunately, then, the LIM and MBM give different threshold estimates for the same person.

3. Low Income Cut-off

Statistics Canada also uses something called a Low-Income Cut-off (LICO), which is an income threshold below which a family will likely devote a larger share of its income to the necessities of food, shelter, and clothing than an average family would. For various family sizes and community sizes, data are collected about how much income families typically retain after paying taxes, and about how much of that income they spend on food, shelter, clothing, and the other necessities of life. The income value associated with 20 percentage points above the average expenditure is defined as the LICO for that particular family and community size. (Statistics Canada, 2015b). The LICO really hasn't been updated since 1992 except to adjust for inflation.

4. U.S. Official Poverty Measure

The United Staes Census Bureau determines poverty status by comparing pre-tax cash income against a threshold that is set at three times the cost of a minimum food diet. This is called the "Official Poverty Measure", or OPM, and was first devised in 1963, with the cost of food is updated each year to reflect inflation. The OPM varies by family size, with the definition of family rigidly prescribed. In 2017, the OPM poverty threshold for a family of four was $30,750, or about 13% of Americans (Wissman, 2017).

The Supplemental Poverty Measure (SPM) was introduced in 2010 in the USA to account for the criticisms of the OPM. Rather than focusing just on food expenditures, the SPM attempts to capture what Americans expend on all basic necessities: food, clothing, shelter, and utilities. It also accounts for taxes paid and government benefits received. According to the SPM, about 14% of Americans live beneath the poverty line (Center for Poverty Research, 2018). But the OPM is still the official measure.

5. Global Poverty Line

Perhaps the most commonly applied poverty threshold, used since 1990, is the so-called global poverty line (GPL), which is delineated by the World Bank. The line is based solely on the cost of living, and is assessed by computing the global prices of key commodities. Up until 2008, the GPL was conveniently defined as one U.S. dollar per day. Anyone making less than this amount was said to be unable to purchase the necessities of life and was thus impoverished. In 2015, due to global changes in commodity prices, that line was redefined as $1.90 per day (World Bank, 2015).

6. Human Poverty Index

From 1997 until fairly recently, the United Nations relied upon an indicator called the Human Poverty Index (HPI). It is a mathematical combination of scores that describe a population's longevity, literacy, and standard of living. And the formula is different for poor countries versus wealthy countries. For poor countries, less longevity is expected, while the standard of living is based on very basic conditions, such as whether treated water is available and whether children tend to be underweight. For wealthy countries, the formula includes a measure of social exclusion, typically estimated from the nation's unemployment rate.

7. Multidimensional Poverty Index

There are ongoing efforts to produce more comprehensive and thorough poverty estimators. Among the more impactful of recent innovations is the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), which was developed in 2010 by the Oxford Poverty & Human Development Initiative, and which has replaced the HPI in most serious international comparisons of poverty. The MPI is intended to measure acute poverty in terms of both the proportion of experiencing multiple deprivations *and* the intensity of such deprivations (Oxford Poverty & Human Development Initiative, 2011). It does so by measuring individuals' experiences with health, education, and standard of living (via traditional development indicators, like the availability of clean drinking water, and whether the home has a proper floor), and summing those experiences across the measured population.

The MPI is usually only computed for low income countries. In 2016, computations were completed for 102 countries, which accounts for about 75% of the total human population. From those data, 1.6 billion people were

found to be multidimensionally poor (compared with 1.3 billion who live beneath the Global Poverty Line). According to the MPI, the poorest country in the world is Niger, whose 2012 MPI estimate is 0.605. In second place is Ethiopia, whose 2011 data results in an estimate of 0.564.

The MPI method is a bit more inclusive than other methods, since it accounts for impoverishing factors beyond the cost of goods.

8. Conclusion

Clearly, there is a multitude of methods for measuring financial distress, each rife with its own strengths, biases and values. Do we only care about whether a poor person survives, or do we also care whether he thrives? Are food and shelter the only baseline requirements, or should we include access to services –health, legal, financial– or even access to information and electronic connectivity? The challenge when discussing low-income and deprivation is to select the most appropriate measure for the story being told, and to avoid comparing computations that were derived from dissimilar assumptions, values, and intents.

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Are Private Maritime Security Companies or Naval Assets the Preferred Means to Address Maritime Piracy?

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Abstract

The rapid rise of piracy in the first decade of the 21st century in certain areas of the world has led to the emergence of various private military stakeholders in the field of maritime security. Although Private Maritime Security companies' services have been found effective at repulsing piratical attacks, their often dangerous performance has significantly increased the concern of States about the legitimacy and legal accountability of such maritime actors. The State's Naval forces are considered safer and more legitimate means of controlling the endangered maritime areas, although the cost of their service and maintenance is another reason for the State's concern. The States are yet to determine which party is responsible for carrying the burden of Naval forces' services. This paper aims to determine the existing models of the contracted maritime security and discuss whether the State's naval forces or private maritime security companies are the preferred means to address modern maritime piracy.

Keywords: Piracy, Maritime Security, Naval Forces, Private Maritime Security Companies, International Law

1. Introduction

As the importance of the world's ocean and the coastal economy is steadily increasing, many countries have begun to pay more attention to the development of their ocean industries. Some littoral countries estimate and release accounts of the benefits of their ocean industries, which showed that the latter produce 1% to 5% of the country's GDP or more, making a huge contribution to the country's economy (Park & Kildow, 2014, p. 2).

While the sea-borne economy thrives, the overall world's economy undergoes significant fluctuation. The global economic crises painfully hit every region of the world, but the worst damage was inflicted on the developing, less economically stable areas, such as East Africa, South East Asia, South America. The decline in the economy causes the growth of versatile criminal activity in the affected areas – and in terms of the ocean economy, the rise of piracy. Lack of the governmental force, coastal monitoring, and proper prosecution stir up the criminal activity at sea, as pirates obtain much wealth and little punishment out of their illegal actions.

Not only piracy poses a significant economic and security menace – there is no firm agreement on how the world should address and prosecute it. Chang (2010) states "there is no single international definition of piracy that can successfully incorporate the many different regional variations in attacks that exist. . . . The lack of uniformity on an international level results in various punishments for piracy that range from three years to life in prison" (p. 286). In the present article we incorporate the definition from the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which states that the crime of piracy "consists of any illegal acts of violence, detention or depredation committed for private ends by the crew of a private ship and directed on the high seas against another ship or against persons or property on board such ship. . . ." (UNCLOS, Article 101, p. 57).

While vast maritime space poses many various threats for seafarers, piracy and violence at sea remain one of the most prominent ones, whichever definition is implied. Long ago pirates have been labelled as "hostes humani generis," signifying "enemies of all humanity" (Tamsin, 2013, p. 2), and this label remains just as actual nowadays, as raise of piracy inflicts devastating effects on the economy on the global level. Piracy causes major economic losses for the shipping industry as the increase in the insurance cost for voyages leads to a huge rise in shipping cost, which eventually results in a dramatic rise in price for consumers (Bensassi & Martinez-Zarzoso, 2012). Moreover, Carbone (2016) argues, that "piracy not only causes economic problems, but it has also been linked to damage to the marine environment as well as the prevention of humanitarian aid and assistance to reach its intended destination, as seen in the case of Somalia (p. 3).

The IMB 2017 Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships Report reveal, that despite the fact, that in 2017 incidents of piracy reached their lowest number since 1995 – 180 reported attacks in 2017 compared to 188 in 1995 (p. 30), the threat of violence at sea cannot be considered as defeated. According to the Report data, whereas there were only two piratical incidents in the area off the Somalian coast, the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea recorded in 2016, in 2017 the IMB PRC received nine incidents, including three vessels being hijacked (p. 20). Moreover, whereas the rate of piratical attacks declined in the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean, other risky areas – West Africa and Southeast Asia – did not show such a rapid positive trend, with the noticeable increase in attack in the Philippines – up from 10 in 2016 to 22 in 2017 (p. 30).
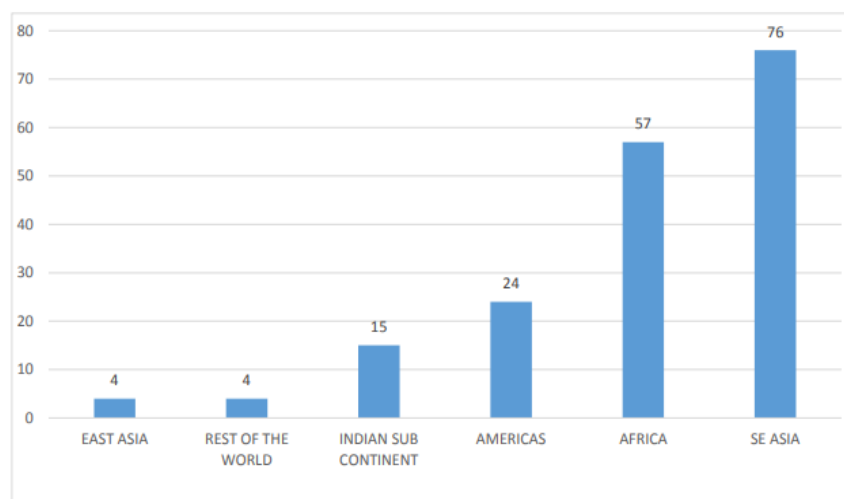
Figure 1. Source: ICC IMB Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships – 2017 Annual Report

Although the overall numbers of violence to crew is continually declining, the growing number of reported kidnapping and taking for ransom continues to raise serious concerns about maritime safety (p. 30).

ICC IMB Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships – 2017 Annual Report

TABLE 8: Types of violence to crew, January – December 2013 – 2017

Types of Violence	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Assaulted		1	14	5	6
Hostage	304	442	271	151	91
Injured	21	13	14	8	6
Kidnap/Ransom	36	9	19	62	75
Killed	1	4	1		3
Missing	1	1			
Threatened	10	9	14	10	10
Total	**373**	**479**	**333**	**236**	**191**

Figure 2. Source: ICC IMB Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships – 2017 Annual Report

Because of its international nature, this maritime security threat attracts universal jurisdiction. States and international organizations have continuously tried to make waters secure for commerce ships to operate in. The problem of piracy has led to different types of cooperation between states, on the regional and global level. In addition to multilateral global treaties, several international and regional organizations seeking to provide a legal basis for the secure shipping industry and mediate cooperation between the concerned states were established. They include the International Chamber of Commerce's International Maritime Bureau (IMB), the International Maritime Organization (IMO) with its Piracy Reporting Centre in Kuala Lumpur, the Southeast Asian initiative addressing piracy in the region - the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships in Asia (Re-CAAP), the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia, the Maritime Organization of West and Central Africa (MOWCA), which developed its regional coastal guard network.

Despite the international efforts to control and combat piracy, the world has been experiencing fluctuations in the number of the occurrence of violence at sea over the years in different regions. The Allianz Global Corporate & Specialty's Safety and Shipping Review 2014 - an annual review of trends and developments in shipping losses and safety – shows that while the Somali incidents plummeted from 160 attacks in 2011 to 7 attacks in 2013, the Southeast Asian region faced 700% increase in piracy attacks in 5 years - 106 actual and attempted attacks in 2013 compared to 15 in 2009 (p. 27).

Figure 3. Source: The Allianz Global Corporate & Specialty's Safety and Shipping Annual Review 2014

Consequently, while States were trying to overcome the obstacles of supervising of vast maritime space and prevent the hostility at sea through various international agreements, the ship owners were getting more and more concerned with the effectiveness of the undertaken measures. In response to continuing criminal activity at sea, ship owners started to seek the services of private maritime security companies to provide effective counter-piracy escort for their ships.

The shipping industry can count on several models of contracted maritime security for protection of ships and seafarers, as well as on state-affiliated escorts and assistance of navy force. According to Carbone (2016), although the increasing amount of contracted armed maritime personnel onboard can be credited with the reduced number of piratical attacks, the legitimacy of such practice, nevertheless, is highly disputable (p. 2). The trend of hiring PMSCs has resulted in an increased number of weapons at sea, and armed military groups present aboard private commercial vessels. The problem of such situation originates from the fact, that the activity of these armed groups mainly remains legally ungoverned, which at some cases leads to excessive use of military force and increases the degree of violence and chaos in already unstable maritime space, as it can be seen on a number of incidents, when fishermen were mistaken for pirates and shot dead by the private security personnel.

The States has been making efforts to regulate the use of armed force by PMSC employees by restricting the rules of innocent passage for the ships carrying weapons onboard and introducing various legal norms and restrictions for private military teams. Yet the services of PMSCs appear to be an effective measure to protect unarmed commerce vessels. Another solution used for preventing the emergence of piratical activity in risky maritime areas is dispatching the States' navies to patrol such areas or hiring state-owned warships to escort the merchant vessels along the route. Both approaches to reduce the criminal activity at sea - private military services and governmental, military control - have certain advantages and shortcomings, which are being constantly disputed about in the maritime sector at the international level.

2. The Role of Navies at Combatting Piracy

After the re-emergence of maritime piracy threat, the international community had to join efforts to suppress the common problem. While elaborating the new legal anti-piracy initiatives and legislation, States had to respond to the current attacks either alone or in collaboration with other states and international organizations. Tsiachris (2017) concludes that two different trends were followed and a third one which combined elements of the two formers. Firstly, some states chose to provide security to vessels flying their flag through the boarding of Vessel Protection Detachment (VPD) manned by law enforcement or military personnel, on them (public security services). Secondly, some states allowed private security guards are working for Private Maritime Security Companies (PMSC) to board, either armed or unarmed, on vessels flying their flag (private security services). Thirdly, some states gave the right to ship-owners to choose between or combine public and private security services. (p. 44)

Thus, the author classifies two types of security services – public, provided by the government of a respective country, and private, operated by PMSCs.

The authors of the Oceans Beyond Piracy's Issue Paper from December 16, 2016, titled "Defining Contracted Maritime Security" provides further classification and types of contracted maritime security. The paper subdivides contracted private and governmental services into 5 categories. According to this division, contracted private services include Private Maritime Security teams and Floating Armories. Contracted governmental services, on the other hand, include Vessel Protection Detachments (VPDs), State Affiliated Escort and Coastal State Embarked Personnel. Additional mentioned model is the escort of commercial ships in convoys, but since it is practiced only in high-risk areas, such as Internationally Recognized Transit Corridor in the Gulf of Aden, this model does not fall into any of the categories.

According to the data provided by the Issue Paper, over the last decade the services of private maritime security teams have been the most preferred model, but recently alternative models of contracted maritime security, which involve governmental contractors, have received better recognition in the shipping industry (para. 3).

The contracted escort of the private merchant ships by the State military, naval assets is identified in the Issue Paper as State Affiliated Escort. Such model includes the contracted convoy and protection of the merchant's vessels in designated areas by state-owned warships. According to the Oceans Beyond Piracy's Issue Paper on State Affiliated Escort (2017), this model has been used in such areas as Western Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden, the Gulf of Guinea and in the Malacca Strait.

Although naval military escort is a reliable measure for preventing piratical activity, in the shipping industry this model has received relatively small scope of usage due to several reasons, the most prominent of which is that alternative models turn out to be remarkably cheaper than hiring a State Affiliated Escort to support merchant's vessels and patrol the broad maritime space. As reported by Wilton Park's "Countering piracy: what are the rights and obligations of states and private security providers?" Conference Report (2012), "for 2011, it is estimated by Oceans Against Piracy, based on incremental cost analysis only, that some $1.3 billion was spent by states patrolling the seas off the coast of Somalia" (p. 6).

Not only the high cost has limited the use of contracted escort services. Mumo (2017) states, that "some countries have also argued that the presence of foreign military forces on ships goes against the internationally-agreed upon standards of innocent passage — a concept in maritime law that allows a vessel to move through territorial waters" (para. 20). The legal regulations on the presence of foreign military forces and armed personnel onboard differ from country to country. Some countries, such as Nigeria, do not allow other States'

Navies to enter their waters, preferring to rely on PMSCs services and own naval forces. The Ocean Beyond Piracy' Issue Paper on State Affiliated Escorts (2017) explains it as such:

In Nigerian territorial waters, one of the only officially permitted Contracted Maritime Security services is a State Affiliated Escort; although, as documented in an earlier OBP report in this series, embarkation of government forces is still occurring. Unlike in East Africa, where the navies of sovereign states provide and conduct the escorts, in Nigeria, the Nigerian Navy provides escort services by embarking Nigerian naval personnel aboard private patrol vessels chartered-in to service for military use or chartered to the companies seeking protection. Generally, a private company owns and operates the vessels, while the Nigerian Navy provides the crew and security personnel—who are responsible for handling weapons and providing security services. (p. 2).

According to Pitney & Levin (2013), although engaged in a regional counter-piracy cooperative work, West African countries' governments mainly remain hostile to the foreign military presence in their territorial waters, forcing entering armed units to dispose of their armaments at least 12 miles off the coast. Thus, the reality proves that not only State Affiliated Escort is an increasingly costly solution for protecting cargo ships – it also does not always meet the legal requirements of certain States, which limits its protection capabilities.

Patrolling the maritime space in order to prevent the emergence of piratical activity in the area has also proved to be a limited option. According to Kraska & Wilson's data (2011), the deployment of British, German, Russian, Turkish, American, Indian and some other countries' naval forces at the Gulf of Aden to conduct joint patrols had limited success. Although in the recent years the international Navies' efforts have proven to be largely effective with only 2 piracy incidents occurring in the area in 2016, because of the vast operational space off the coast of Somalia at about 2.5 million square miles, naval forces cannot guarantee the prevention of the new criminal activity. Sometimes not only the breadth of maritime space but also the coastal state's unwillingness to allow foreign Navies to operate in the area affects the situation. As AGCS' Donney explains in the Annual Shipping Review (2014), "naval warships patrolling the waters and ships carrying armed security contractors have done a lot to mitigate piracy in the Gulf of Aden. But in the Gulf of Guinea, only the Nigerian navy can provide security services, which is proving to be ineffective" (p. 28).

The abovementioned reasons have become limiting factors for the use of government-provided maritime security services. As States found it increasingly difficult and expensive for its Navies to monitor vast maritime space and protect thousands of merchant ships traversing the ocean every day, the shift towards private maritime security contractors was made in the shipping industry. However, being significantly more mobile and effective at repulsing piratical attacks, private security companies cause controversies on the implementation of their services, the most serious of which is the legal aspect of their activity.

3. Private Maritime Security Companies at Combatting Piracy

While States are carefully elaborating and adjusting the legislative cooperation and counter-piracy measures, the major role in preventing piratical attacks on individual cargo ships has been fulfilled by the contracted private military sector, as the situation demanded a more swift and immediate way to address piracy and armed robbery. As stated in the Oceans Beyond Piracy' Issue Paper "Privately Contracted Armed Maritime Security (2017), "starting in 2011, armed security emerged as an effective, though costly, mitigation measure and to date, no commercial vessel employing professional armed guards has been seized by pirates" (p. 2).

The state control over the maritime situation, consequently, loosened due to practical inability to observe and supervise the increasing number of private military contractors and their operations at sea. Simultaneously, the

role of the private sector at managing criminal activity at sea has increased due to the commercialization of maritime security – the scope of utilization of one goes beyond any precedent (Marin et al., 2017, p. 193).

At the same time, this growing tendency poses a crucial question, whether services of the PMSCs are a step closer to or a step further away from the general security of people and ships at sea and questions the maritime legal frameworks and ocean governance. As presented in the OBP's Issue Paper on PCAMS (2017), "uniform requirements for PMSC licensing, oversight, equipment management, and operational certification as well as training and proficiency in security tasks including marksmanship, vessel hardening, and other professional responsibilities for armed guards differ substantially across the industry, and from country to country. There has been an effort to regulate the industry through a variety of policies and oversight mechanisms, but there is a lack of global harmonization of law standardizing the operations, structure, and management of security companies" (p. 2).

According to Pitney Jr. & Levin (2013), there can be two types of private military security company service: an armed security team embarked on-board a merchant ship and an escort vessel, following the cargo ship and protecting it along the route. The international law requires the State's military forces to repress piracy acts and provides them with the right to use force against suspected pirates, seize the pirate vessels and confiscate their belongings. However, this is not the case with the personnel of PMSCs, which does not operate on behalf of the State and is only supposed to deter the possible attack. This point causes such questions as for whether it is legal for the privately contracted security teams to carry weapons on board merchant vessels and whether they should be allowed to use deadly force in self-defence or the defence of the ship's crew (Carbone, 2016, p. 10). The guarding teams of PMSCs are common citizens, which have no special rights in the face of the law. Therefore, the usage of deadly force resulting in death or bodily harm of a person makes them liable for criminal prosecution. However, such personnel rarely receive actual legal prosecution, as it is found extremely complicated to track down who in fact should be accountable for the committed crime. As Carbone (2016) argues, "in such cases, matters could become very complicated as this could lead to a number of States having jurisdiction over such personnel, such as the flag State, the State of victims, and the coastal State if such incident occurred in territorial waters or the EEZ of a particular State. What is particularly worrying for such personnel is that the lawful use of force varies from one State to another" (p. 11).

The lack of accountability of the armed contracted divisions arguably raises the overall degree of violence at sea, which goes against the principal goal of the international cooperative efforts to stabilize and pacify the maritime situation. Violent incidents with murder at sea have been reported to be on an increasing rate. Marin et al. (2017) concluded that "growing number of reports indicate possible excessive behaviour of individually armed security guards" (p. 195). This tendency throws a shadow on the general credibility of private maritime security contractors. The recent incident of the legal prosecution of two Italian marines, who shot and killed two Indian fishermen, suspecting the latter to be pirates, which occurred on board of the Italian-flagged commercial oil tanker "Enrica Lexie" in 2012 is one of the notorious cases of the matter, which mainly remains underreported and under-investigated. The case sparked a major discussion in the media on the international level, as the marines were contracted by the Italian government and their detention by the Indian authorities caused a long-lasting diplomatic dispute between Italy and India. However, if the marines had been the PMSC employees, according to International Association of Maritime Security Professionals Rules, the ship owner or the shipping agency would have been considered responsible for the committed violence (Clause 93). The IAMSP Rules provide a detailed explanation on the events on board related to the use of lethal force, including the statement, that "the responsibility arising out of the use of lethal force resides on the person who, in accordance with the ship's log, authorized the use of lethal force" (Appendix B IAMSP Rules).

This fact raises fair concern about the PMSCs services among ship owners, as they barely want to be exposed to the legal liability and harm the reputation of their business in case the private military personnel on their ship

uses the lethal force with deadly consequences. Therefore, the numerous incidents of unregulated use of weapons make the legitimacy of PMS companies significantly more disputable.

The excessive use of force causes increasing concern of the States as well. The international community has started to develop the standards of conduct for the privately contracted military actors. According to Marin et al. (2017), several guidelines and recommendations were created particularly for the maritime domain, i.e., the IMO Guidance, the Baltic and International Maritime Council (BIMCO) Guidance, the 100 Series Rules, the IAMSP Rules on Use of Force, the ISO/PAS 28007:2012 and the ASIS/ANSI PSC (p. 191). Although internationally recognized, none of these documents is mandatory or legally binding, thus they require to be accompanied with the State's domestic criminal and civil laws and regulations, especially those regarding the issue of self-defence. States have taken different stances at facing the PMSCs challenge. Some countries, such as Nigeria, banned the private security contractors; some other states, such as Greece, Cyprus, Malta, and China, incorporate the PMS companies and encourage their activities, as stated in the OBP's Issue Paper "Privately Contracted Armed Maritime Security (2017). The mediate ground between these two approaches is one, where while the PMSCs activity is not outlawed, the responsibility for their exercise lies on the ship owner (Kraska, 2013, p. 51). Thus, as the authors of the OBP's Issue Paper "Privately Contracted Armed Maritime Security" (2017) conclude, that the wide range of corporate nationalities and overlapping concurrent jurisdiction creates difficulty in standardized monitoring and uniform application of legal compliance, as each company's home country may have different laws governing the practices of security companies operating overseas, especially in the maritime sector, and these laws may differ substantially from the countries where the company actually operates (p. 3).

Some countries, such as the United Kingdom, in their codes of conduct, require the PMSC personnel to use the minimum force needed to deter pirates and generally exercise reasonable and responsible amount of force to repulse the attack. However, it can be difficult to determine what amount a force can be considered proportionate for each situation, and the authorities did not provide clear instructions to what to consider "a gradual, responsible and proportionate response to a piratical attack" (Carbone, 2016, p. 11). The commentary published by the UK Government states that "lethal force can generally only be used in the context of self-defence or defence of others. The decision to use lethal force must lie with the person using force where they believe there to be a risk to human life. Neither the Master nor the security team leader can command a member of the security team against that person's own judgement to use lethal force or not to use lethal force" (UK Department for Transport, Interim Guidance to UK Flagged Shipping on the Use of Armed Guards to Defend Against the Threat of Piracy in Exceptional Circumstances, 2011, para. 5, 6).

Another important issue that States have yet to agree upon is whether to consider ships with weapons on board traversing other State's territorial waters as innocent passage and whether to allow such ships into national territory, namely ports. UNCLOS, which in its Article 17 states the right of innocent passage through territorial waters, does not clarify to which extent the carriage of weapons on board can constrain this right. Kraska (2013) argues, that if PMSC team members are carrying weapons intended to be used only for self-defence in case of a piratical attack on board of commercial vessels, they are implementing their right of innocent passage, do not breach the security of a coastal State and adhere to article 19 of UNCLOS, which explains the elements needed for innocent passage (p. 128). However, the author admits, that the majority of States do not share this standpoint. In order to track down the preferred approaches of States towards the ships, carrying armed security teams aboard, the Facilitation Committee of the IMO in 2011 published "Questionnaire on Information on Port and Coastal State Requirements Related to Privately Contracted Armed Security Personnel on Board Ships." The statistics of the document show, that all States require notification prior to the vessel enters the port or the territorial waters (circ. 2), although various national jurisdictions set different standards of the proper exercise of the right of innocent passage. Restrictions also vary on the issue of the carriage and disembarkation of weapons in ports. For example, Brazil, Denmark, and Egypt require the weapon-carrying ship to obtain the license of authorization from the respective Ministry upon arrival to national territory (Kraska, 2013, p. 131). Jordan considers the voyage of an armed ship as an innocent passage, if the period of transit is no more than 24 hours,

whereas Liberia simply outlawed the carriage of firearms into its territorial waters (IMO Doc. MSC-FAI, circ. 2, para. 1.6, 8).

The 90th Session of the IMO Maritime Safety Committee stated, that "ships entering the territorial sea or ports of a State are subject to that State's legislation" (IMO Doc. MSC. 90, Report of the Maritime Safety Committee on its Ninetieth Session May 31, 2012, para. 20.11). The IMO guidance of 2012 provides that PMSCs have to be aware of the legal responsibilities they might have under the flag State, the State was the PMSC is registered and the countries in which the PMSC will transit. Obliged by the international community to meet the specific requirements of different States, PMSCs started employing logistical support of another type of contracted private services - floating armouries, which essentially are offshore, floating platforms, where private security teams can temporarily store the weapons while preparing to enter territorial waters or leaving those. Another teams prefer to drop their firearms at sea before entering territorial waters simply. A more liberal approach is demonstrated by the British and French regulations, which allow ships with armed teams aboard to transit the territorial waters of the respective countries provided that all firearms are safely stored and locked up inside the ship and the coastal authorities are notified upon arrival (IMO Doc. MSC-FAL/Circ. 2 (France), IMO Doc. MSC-FAL/Circ. 2 (United Kingdom)).

4. Conclusion

In the present paper, we have tried to discuss the two possible models of diminishing the threat of maritime piracy – contracted Private Maritime Security service and State Affiliated Escort. Both models have practical advantages and shortcomings, which pose certain legal difficulties for the international community. Not only Navies are costly to deploy and maintain in the vast maritime areas, exposed to piracy – it is highly debatable if naval patrols are an effective measure to suppress the emergence of piracy in the regions. Apart from being expensive and difficult to maintain, naval forces are politically complicated – the minority of countries enjoys the presence of foreign warships in their territorial waters. Marin et al. (2017) highlight, that "following the plight of individual coastal states (most notably, the United States) and certain parts of the shipping industry, more and more nongovernmental actors became reliant on the private maritime security services within a short period of time. . ." (p. 191). Although the rapid rise of private maritime security contractors has provided the shipping industry with agile and effective methods of thwarting the piratical threat, also posed several complicated legal challenges. Human rights issues arise from the fact that private military security personnel is swift at using force against suspected criminals, which often leads to lethal consequences and proliferation of violence at sea instead of intended maintaining of safety and security. Moreover, contradictions between States may arise about the method of carrying firearms and their very presence on commercial vessels traversing territorial waters. Carbone (2016) emphasizes, that "the uncertain regulatory environment leads to lack of accountability and responsibility on the part of the PMSCs. Hence, the international community needs to find a rapid [legal] solution for the use of PMSCs as the latter are definitely here to stay" (p. 2).

The debate on whether the private contracted security model or State Affiliated Escort is not adequate without taking into account the complex character of piracy. Piracy can manifest itself in various forms, the most common of which, according to ICC IMB Piracy and Armed Robbery Against Ships Annual Report 2017, are kidnapping for ransom and hijacking (p. 10). Different models of piracy are prevalent in the piracy-vulnerable regions of the world. As AGCS' Donney states in the Annual Shipping Review (2014),

for example, in Indonesia and the Strait of Malacca, the modus operandi is not to kidnap; these pirates just want the cash aboard the vessel or to rob the crew of any valuables. It is a different situation to Somalia and Nigeria. In Somalia, the model is to capture the ship and hold the crew for ransom. While in the Gulf of Guinea, the model seems to be kidnapping crew members off the ship and holding them for ransom and, in some cases, rebel

groups simply attack and try to destroy a ship, particularly oil tankers, who are seen as "stealing" the nation's wealth (p. 28).

Consequently, various regions of the world require different models of maritime security to repress the specific local form of piracy and armed robbery. Measures that are found effective for suppressing criminal activity in the Western Indian Ocean are likely to be not very suitable for South East Asian realities. Therefore, States should customize their approach to the repressing piratical activity in individual areas.

The international community has been elaborating a number of potential legal frameworks to regulate the contracted military services. The growing usage of PMSCs services made the International Maritime Organization readjust its position on the use of force by private actors, so the latter would not provoke the escalation of violence at sea. In 2009 the IMO issued the Maritime Safety Committee Circular, where provided recommendations on the use of PMSCs, and published a guidance to ship-owners, where drew the latter's attention to the fact, that their ship will be subject to the Coastal State's legislation once this has entered the territorial waters, and therefore the PMSC personnel becomes the subject to local legislation. The issued documents sparked the development of international standards and certification process for PMSCs, that were established in ISO/PAS 28007, which set the rules for the proper certification of PMSCs. These criteria include "licensing of firearms, vetting of security personnel, rules on the use of force and command and control of security personnel" (Carbone, 2016, p. 17). In addition, the companies were obliged to undergo the audition and inspection by respective authorities of the different States to become certified. The increasing number of States have been developing local legal frameworks and guidelines to regulate the use of force by the private maritime security contractors, although the majority of such documents are non-binding in nature and have only been introduced as recommendations for the professional industry (Marin et al., 2017, p. 196).

The blurry situation with the control of private maritime security contractors and the shortcomings of the use of States' Navies at combatting piracy have led to the development of another model in the field of maritime security. The Oceans Beyond Piracy's Issue Paper "Defining Contracted Maritime Security" identifies five basic models of contracted maritime security service provision and stresses, that over the last decade, private maritime security contractors have been the most prevalent model. However, in recent years, several alternative models of CMS have become increasingly commonplace. These new models, which often involve government forces, are operating with very little transparency outside the shipping industry end-users (p. 1).

Thus, the authors highlight, that the two newly elaborated maritime security models are becoming increasingly popular in the shipping industry – the model of Vessel Protection Detachments, where explicitly endorsed by the Flag State military personnel provides the services aboard commercial vessels, and the Coastal State Embarked Personnel model, where the embarked armed personnel originates from the Coastal States according to agreements between the ship owners and the providing national authorities. Although the core challenges and complications, such the lack of legal regulations and the high cost of services still partly remain in these new paradigms and the additional challenges, specific for these new models of maritime security may arise, the new models can bring positive changes, diversity, and competitiveness in the maritime security industry and provide the spark for the further development of efficiency, transparency and legal accountability in the professional field. There are plenty of regulatory and governance frameworks and procedures, that industry leader and the policy-makers are yet to standardize and enhance in the existing maritime security paradigms, and the further introduction of the new models, which will be able to mediate the conflict between the States' legal requirements, the shipping industry demands, and human security provision, can bring the new prospectives and improve the operational realities of the various maritime security providers.

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Imitation and Innovation Anchor: The Key Driver Role of Government

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Abstract

The role of government is crucial in building an effective science and innovation System. The economic growth of China is a knowledge-based economy, but more investment is needed to help boost human creativity and economic output. The current global technological leadership has touted China from been copying to fixed for a purpose, which makes China the extraordinary economic development from imitation to innovation as well as enormous investment in innovation, in which the government plays a critical fundamental role in the technological innovation of the country. The key drivers that were identified are science technology innovation policy, science driven by globalization and entrepreneurship. In furtherance, there were key challenges China still battling with, which include the strategic innovation ecosystem and human resource capital.

Keywords: Innovation, Imitation, Technology, Government role

Introduction

Raging within the discourse of technology and innovation has for long been an emerging conceptual line that marks an attempt to integrate the efficacious role and/or involvement of government as an important factor in driving innovation and imitation state or private sector-led/backed initiatives. The deployment of concepts and the attendants sharing of perspectives to analyze the situation has largely moved away from the traditional-modern dichotomies of the past. The teleological view, central to science and technology initiatives and processes previously captured the endervour as a transformation from its emblematic traditional socioeconomic formations where profit motives of individuals spurred and drove imitation and innovation initiatives to destinations that are modern integrative in character, involving both government and private actors, with the former, by virtue of being a regulator, sits in the saddle as a chief driver and regulator influencing the initiative by way of issuing directives, laying the foundation to ensuring the thriving of same initiatives whiles laying the framework and a strong supporting foundation through policies.

The transfusion of neoliberal order onto state scenes via a myriad of economic programs have engendered a lid lift and clarified the once blurred lines on the role of governments in innovation and imitation activities. The role of governments in the process of driving technological developments, specifically in terms of innovation and imitation mechanism is generally a crucial one (Iyer et al., 2006; Siu et al., 2006). Governments around the world are broadening and deepening their support for innovation in the private sector and the economy more generally. When it comes to fostering technological innovation, elements such as important tax, legal, and fiscal considerations for a government becomes important. Governments have an important role to play in fostering innovation as; Innovation leads to technology; Technology is the prime driver of economic growth; In the absence of government intervention, firms will underinvest in technology, especially in basic research.

As indispensable and sine qua non as some people perceive of it, there appears to however be some vagaries and variations across countries and over time. The debate on the roles of government in innovation and imitation initiatives has mostly, and in an all-too-familiar discourse, fashion revolved around the roles of the government in the market for economic growth and development. As pristine and discrete as governance or the art of statecraft appears to be, it is not as distinct and discrete as it involves more than just state administration in the strictest sense of the word. In a more elaborate term, governance entails more and goes beyond just driving growth and propelling human growth and development.

There is no exact straight jacket model fit for measuring government roles in the multi-diversified state arena. Implicit within the tenets of governance resides its market roles which are indispensable for economic development. A system deficient of this growth to an appreciable extent is equally sapped of sustainable development prospects since economic growth is tied to the apron strings economic development which encompasses indices such as living standards; levels of literacy and education, health quality, availability of housing, etc. Given the sufficiently interlaced variables of growth led by the market, and of development superintended by the government, it is not far-fetched to assert that both are needed to sufficiently provide us with a more sustainable society. Governments intervention and roles in innovation and imitation are necessary to propel basic economic development. In so far as the roles of governments are concerned with regards to innovation and imitation, a distinction between economic growth and economic development must be drawn and clarified to enhance an understanding of the role of government. The complementarity between the government and the market to partner with one another could be a good fit for driving innovation and imitation initiatives. This could be amplified in government introduction of novel regulatory policies.

In the face of the vested interest of the government in state development, it is obvious government owes it as a responsibility to ensure sufficient investment as a way of preventing market failure. In realizing this, the government may choose to provide some forms of incentives to support research and development (R&D) in different sectors of the economy. This will go a long way to propel and enhance economic growth. This sequential line of reasoning to justify and validate the role of government in innovation has been taken a dominant center stage position in so far as the history of public-sector involvement, as well as a private-public sector partnership, as a novel means of driving development, more particularly in the innovation process is concerned. This notwithstanding, the economic underpinnings of the government's role in the innovation process could be more of a complex latticework than might first appear on a surface evaluation. According to Link and Scott (1998), as cited in M.P. Feldman et al. (2002). The case for a centrally entrenched position and probably, a validation and rationalization, with due regards to the role of government in innovation, from an economic point of view resides in the quite complex comparison of the potency of market resources with and without government intervention.

This requires a more tacitly tactical effort from government initiating a blend of regulative, financial and administrative intervention instruments. Threading this path, the government needs to tap from the synergy within the institutional environment, R&D and industrialization strengths, coupled with the technology features of the innovation in scouting for the innovation tasks and their associated challenges, as a basis for determining and devising an efficacious intervention strategy. As part of governments greater effort to pursue home-grown innovation within a complex web of technology, stringent multipronged government interventions are necessary.

The government, capitalizing on its stronghold of the economy should take advantage of its control, as a sound basis to explore the potential of intervention through a litany of instruments central to administration. More precisely, the state taking a lead role in driving them to specific, measurable, attainable, realistic and/or results focused and time-bound innovation should be prioritized. This paper seeks to critically interrogate the drivers of technological innovation and influence that government can play in spurring innovation.

Literature Review

The implications of market success as evidenced in the foregoing disquisition on the role of government are enough a substantial basis to undergird an understanding of the underlying roles of the government, and the influence governments could play and exert in imitation and innovation drives which constitutes the core focal issue that this paper seeks to interrogate. With due regards to technology innovation and imitation, literature is replete with governments involvement and influence. Precisely in Korea, through government support, national innovation system policies have streamlined and managed playing field of firms from developed nations. The turn of the recent couple of decades has witnessed a robust and unbridle albeit an increasing level of accumulation in technological capabilities (Choung et al., 2011) which has, in turn, informed an expeditious changing landscape in terms of technological imitation and innovation. Not ending there, the Korean government has gone an extra mile, even beyond their jurisdiction to team up with other developed western countries by way of partnering the development of technology through networking and R&D alliance of domestic firms' innovation (Fagerberg and Godinho, 2004; Mathews, 2004; Kwak et al., 2011).

In the case of China, the replication of the role of government in innovation and imitation becomes more poignantly evident. In the mid-90s for instance, through a national policy of home-grown innovation targeted at specifically focusing on the role of administrative instruments, supporting Chinese firms to have a firmer stand in key technologies (Jefferson, 2009; Yu, 2011), a third-generation (3G) of the mobile standard was introduced. The third-generation mobile standard, which was preceded by a second generation (2G) national policy in the same year promoted the development and adoption of Digital Video technology. Since the introductions into the market, the global mobile telecommunications industry has undergone immense changes.

Wang and Kim (2007) emphasizes that, for China as a developing country characterized by a bourgeoning and fledgling technology innovation, and a long history of technology import, the government had to take the lead in the standardization of such a complex system. This was possible because of the central control the Chinese government has over its economy. In advancement of the innovation system, China has made strides and exerted concerted efforts through the state-controlled telecommunications industry to invest in TD-SCDMA development and diffusion. The standardization results thereof offer a reasonable basis for us to understand the theoretical mechanism and practical reality of government interventions in countries advancing towards technology innovation. Hikino and Amsden (1994) also posit that an economy far from the technological threshold can grow quickly by imitating. By the existence of imitation, it presupposes that a technology template exists for which reason it makes the flow of ideas relatively easier and non-problematic. This enhances the management of ideas and resources as well as the flow of innovation which could be directed at enhancing innovation. This involvement of government stimulates and incentivizes firms to devote resources to innovation activities whiles encouraging the disclosure of inventions so that others can use and build upon research results, stimulating economic growth (Denicolò and Franzoni, 2003).

This deadweight shows up in different ways, in different forms and has been fashionably tailored in very different setups. Sohn (2008) undertakes a comparative case study analysis of the benefits of innovation, inter alia, of imitation activities and posits that, although imitation weakens the incentive to innovate, it can be of immense benefit to the larger society by leading to a larger number of the concatenation of innovations. Conversely, imitation may be of immense benefits when firms demonstrate a varying R&D capability. This would help provide not only higher consumers' surplus but also, higher values for firms (Fershtman and Markovich, 2010). Whereas imitation also disadvantages the current profit of firms engaged in the innovation, it appreciates the probability of further innovation. Because this has been the situation, it increases the prospect

and propensity of firms making profitable discoveries (Bessen and Maskin, 2009). Imitations become a spur to innovation (Koléda, 2005; Furukawa, 2007; Aghion et al., 2005). Moreover, the lack of innovation can in turn deleteriously affect imitators who would obviously be left with nothing to imitate. As such, it logically follows that innovators and imitators must coexist in the technology space. This endogenous partnership has been described in the literature through the well-known Lotka-Volterra model, whose application in economics was first examined by Andersen (1994) and which has been applied with a specific focus on innovation in (Bharagava,1989; Morris and Pratt,2003;Watanabe et al.,2003;Castiaux ,2007;Lee et al.,2005;Kim et al.,2006;Michalakelis et al.,2012;Balaz and Williams,2012;Chang et al.,2014;Guidolin and Guseo, 2015) to cite only a few.

Governments have played significant roles in not only technology innovation but also in the transition of states from imitation to innovation (Pavitt, 1976). The roles, influence, and interventions of government, especially of "newly industrializing and developing nations bent on creating governmental interventions to accelerate IT innovation within their borders" (King et al., 1994, p. 139) contributes to shaping the technological progress (Abernathy and Chakravarthy, 1979), There has been, and still continue to be varying approaches and perspectives on discourses revolving around the topic of government roles in innovation. Whereas people regard technology more of an innovation that calls for a joint effort between government and other kinds of organizations (Funk and Methe, 2001), others perceive government as a unique actor imbued with the ability to motivate a cluster of technology players with wide-ranging interests and capacities to take part in the innovation process whiles ensuring effectiveness and efficiency in teamwork. (Beerepoot and Beerepoot, 2007). Central to this discourse is the stakeholder theory which assumes innovation as a socio-technical process by different stakeholders including the government. The prime focus, preoccupation, and powers of these different stakeholders determine the process of technology adoption (Shin, 2008).

In Korea, during successful deployment of the 3G, the government streamlined the collaborative relationship among industrial stakeholders by capitalizing on their interest and capability. The government is a focal actor that admits other able and efficient partner actors into the actor-network of an innovation initiative. Innovation is regarded an endeavor that requires the formation and subsequent consolidation of a network of diverse actor networks by the government, in concert with the non-government actors (Gao, 2007; Lee and Oh, 2006). In accentuating the essence of the formation of networks, Lyytinen and King (2002) present research of evidential value through the formation of actor networks and frameworks conceptualizing mobile industry changes precipitated by an ever-changing interaction between and amongst actors from the diverse domains of the innovation space, the marketplace, and the regulatory regime. In analyzing changes within the mobile telecommunications market in some countries through the actor-network perspective, specifically on building and maintenance, , this framework has been referenced largely (Gao and Rafiq, 2009).

Also, of utmost relevance to institutions, thus both government and non-government, the entirety of the corporate establishment is the environment that shapes innovation activities. These set of structures are relevant and cardinal entities in terms of setting up rules of practice to impact on technology innovation (Nelson and Nelson, 2002). King et al. (1994) made a milestone in treatising on the institutional factors that underlie information technology innovation. Their treatise has been the framework within which key analysis of government actions in the diffusion of a broad range of information technologies, like broadband (Choudrie et al., 2003) and the Internet (Montealegre, 1999) are situated. Deep-seated and central to the disquisition is the introduction of the cliché of national innovation system which is conceptualized as the web of public and private institutions whose endeavours set the tone for the initiation, importation, modification, and diffusion of novel technologies (Freeman, 1995). Lundvall (2007) also asserts the role of the government relative to the still-evolving national innovation system. In his view, the government is a key component of a national innovation system that can act as an umpire to compensate for the shortcomings of firms. Hence, people have come to understand the role of the government in streamlining and rationalizing the establishment structure and the roles of a national system of innovation tailored to complement national innovation initiatives. From the myriad applications of this theory, Freeman (1988) observed, and indicated how Japan had established a unique national

system of innovation which facilitated the collaboration between the different industries and research institutes to effectively and actively invest in technology innovation.

Other kinds of theories are also used. For example, drawing upon the game theory, Chiang (1995) interrogated a challenged collaborative R&D project due to conflict of interest and other factors of technological uncertainties. Amongst other things, it proposed that government pursues and spurs collective goals, provide the protocols of collaboration by different actors, referee the negotiation process, and offer managerial support to ensure a joint actor network. People have observed the significant role of the government in innovation. For example, the government can aid domestic firms to acquire innovation capability by instituting state-led standard-setting consortia, establishing science parks, intervening in royalty negotiations with foreign firms, and driving technology standardization (Funk and Methe, 2001; Kwak et al., 2011; Mathews, 2004). The government can also promote innovation by procuring products (Georghiou et al., 2014), investing in R&D, seeding development of services, mediating private sector competition, and convening diverse interests and facilitating cooperation (Wang and Kim, 2007). It is on this premise that a holistic investigation of the view of government, its influence and overall intervention in innovation and imitation is thematically discussed below.

Research and Development (R&D)

In a 2017 report of innovative countries and their respective rankings by the Global Innovation Index, China ranked 22nd in the year 2016. The impressive performance of China to become a middle-income country in the list of 25 innovative countries is a phenomenal and enviable achievement. (Index 2017). China has gained a level ground in terms of ranking when it comes to research by well-known science index citation such as Elsevier and Springer. In this respect, China garnered the second-most worldwide citations of academic research papers, just behind the United States. The number of articles and papers published by Chinese academicians has been phenomenal in the various research areas. It has been ranked for the seventh consecutive time in a roll which is an indication that China has made significant improvement and appreciable inroads in science technology and innovation.

Considering R&D, expenditure, China has always been on the increase for some time now. For example, in the year 2016 during the financial crises when most of the countries had reduced their budgetary allocations to R&D, China as a country rather increased their funding in R&D. In a Report from Ministry of Science and Technology, China's R&D spending had reached 1.56 trillion in 2016, with a larger chunk of these funds coming from small, medium enterprises. This means that China is making an innovation improvement in the sector of science and technology development which has made it economy to grow up to 56.2% in the year 2016. This also demonstrates that China is becoming a research-intensive and innovation-driven economy- and not a labor-intensive economy anymore. The below figures show the expenditure on R&D in China from 2000 to 2016.
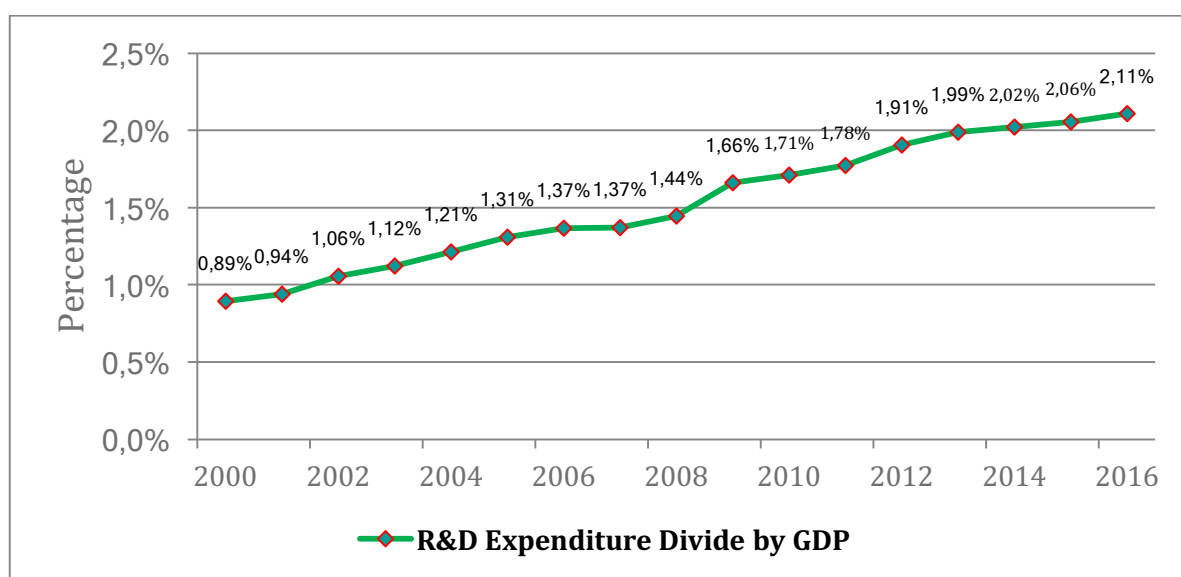
Figure 1 Growth Domestic Expenditure on R&D in China (2000-2016), Source: China National Bureau of Statistics

Patent Application

It is always good to find measures to implement intellectual property rights management- in earnest protection of the rights and interests of intellectual property owners. This, however, said stringent measures should be adopted to make sure engineers and scientists do not over enjoy monopoly power relative to inventions that are very sensitive and critical to the life of people. This right would encourage institutions such as technology and science parks, universities and science-related research institutions to come out with new theories and inventions. China has made penetrating inroads to accelerate to develop their own standardized technical system and put them into practice in some key manufacturing realms where core technologies have been advanced or where domestic companies are in a strong market position.

China is also doing well when it comes to patent application filings which is yet another strong indicator showing how China is leading in science and technological innovation. As posited by the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) on the aspect of activities for patent and trademark applications for 2016, China in the year 2016 received more patent and trademark applications than the USA and other developed nations Worldwide. Filing for patents, trademarks, and industrial designs reached a record high in 2016 amidst an increasing demand in China. China received about 236,600 of the nearly 240,600 additional patent filings, that precipitated a 98% growth. Trademark applications jumped by 16.4% to about 7 million, and worldwide industrial design applications grew by 10.4% to almost 1 million – all being growth driven. Below is graphical representation showing data application granted from 2000 to 2016. This is a clear indication that China economic growth is built on a strong economic foundation based on an intellectual property right
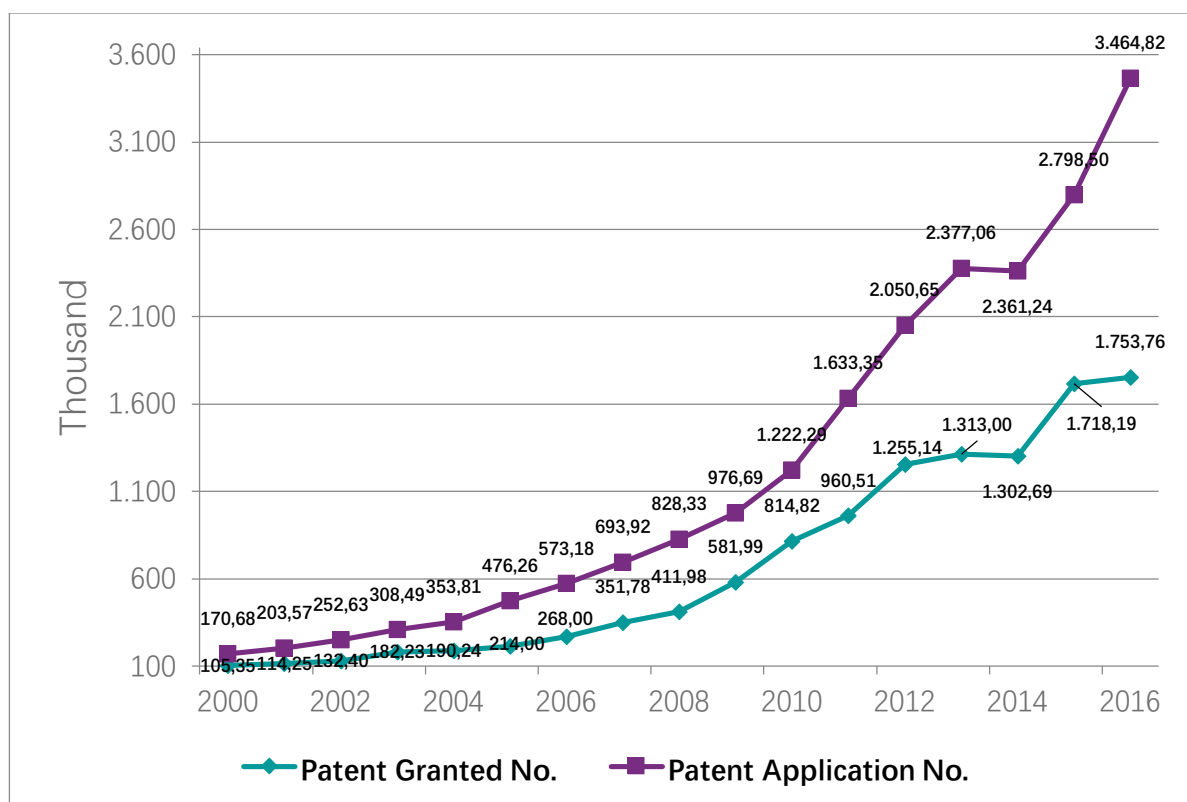
Figure 2 Patent Application Number and Patent Granted Number in China (2000-2016) Unit: thousand, Source: China National Bureau of Statistics.

USA and China have taken dominance in the patent application filings in the world. The growing speed of patent application in China cannot be overlooked. This likely to influence inventors who aren't even considering selling

their product in China to the patent in China because of the positive signs relative to an increase in Chinese patents.

Drivers for China's Growth in Technological Innovation

China's innovation model has for a long time been a major pre-occupation of the international community (Li-Hua, China's Embracing Innovation Leads to its Peaceful Rise 2017). Looking at the trajectory in performance and achievements in science, technology, and innovation, it will be prudent to pose this mind-boggling question: How is China able to become one of the destinations for doing business in the world? How does China become the second largest economy in the world? How does China transit from labor-intensive economy to a knowledge-based economy?

China, becoming the second largest market in the world is driven by three key factors. China National Science Technology and Innovation (STI) policy. Globalization drives China's into a new era that both government and firm can take advantage of global innovation resources to catch up with developed economies. And lastly, China's entrepreneurship.

National Science Technology and Innovation Policy

Government plays a vital role in the economic development of both USA and UK. This has contributed to making these countries a model for other developing countries. This confirms the indispensable role government in influencing innovation drives. By this, it could be said that failure or inability of the government to take the risk in their developmental policies then exposes the state to retrogression and stagnation. Because this has been the case, developed polities which are of the conviction that the economy should be driven by science and innovation (Ernst 2011) assign significant prominence to the role of government. As it is in the case of the United States of America, for a long time, in line with political and ideological reasons, the state has been the main driver of innovation. The situation is not quite different in China where the state equally propels the economic fortune based upon policy put in place by the state to indigenous industries to compete with the rest of the world (Ernst 2011) (Someren, T. C. R. van, & Someren-Wang, S. van. 2014). In recent times, stringent measures have been put in place by the Chinese government on STI policy via a Global Leadership action plan put in place in 2016. These three stages of action plan comprised an action plan of the National Strategy of Innovation-Driven Development. This action plan placed science and innovation at its forefront and identified three main strategies of innovation-propelled development, which is to make China the best destination for industrialization. The steps among other things seek to achieve the following:

Step 1, China should become an innovative country by 2020
Step 2, China should move to the forefront of innovative countries by 2030 and the best place to do business;
Step 3, China should become an innovation power by 2050 and to become an economic giant

The Action Plan (AP) is purposed to match western companies within a few years. This is a homegrown policy to make Chinese scientist make a major breakthrough by 2025 (Knight 2017). China significantly increased its number of publications on science and technology innovations for about 7% of the world in the year 2006. This is evidenced in its citation in science research where it ranked 13th in the world. However, in sharp contrast in the year 1998, China's contribution to S&T receded to a low ebb, owing to how its economic growth was substantially an investment-propelled one.

Driven by Globalization

In as much as Chinese industries have the potential to producing in larger quantities, it is urgent and dawns on the collectivity of the industry to develop an outward and advanced technology on their own to suit the globalized world. In achieving this, the effort could be made to collaborate with other countries with the

technological might to assist in developing novel technology. Also, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) can benefit innovation activity via spillover channels such as reverse engineering, skilled labor turnovers, demonstration effects, and supplier-customer relationship. Under a "market for technology" policy, China has been the largest recipient of FDI among the developing countries in the 1990s. What's more, China has already become the global center for many different stages of production. In Recent years, through administrative action, institutional innovation, and IP protection as well as encouragement on firm R&D investment, China has been actively developing a new technology policy based on the promotion of its own technical standards. Through actively participating in the globalization, China will not only benefit from the global value chain collaboration but also will contribute to the innovation around the world.

Supported by Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship is a multilevel phenomenon that begins with the combination of human creativity, financial resources, and technological capital; fostering the discovery and establishment of new ways to organize production processes and new institutional forms; and leading to such outcomes as venture growth and new ventures. New venture growth is a defining characteristic of developing economies (Phan, Zhou, & Abrahamson, 2010). As the largest transition economy in the world on the way towards a market-based economic system, entrepreneurship as economic activity has been an important engine of the Chinese economy. Domestic entrepreneurial organizations, including private start-ups, township and collective enterprises and transformed state-owned enterprises (SOEs), have emerged as one of the most important driving forces behind China's rapid economic development (Yang, J. Y., & Li, J. 2008) (Yang & Li, 2008).

With regards to funding enterprises, the Chinese government has indeed initiated Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) to make the national economy grow and by so doing the government makes readily available funds for them. China as a country had the opportunity to join the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. China has also rolled out various initiatives and policies to assist SMEs. 90% of these SME have contributed greatly to the economic fortunes of the country. The government of China has implemented financial regulations and the establishment of a national policy agenda to assist in the development of innovation science and technology.

China as a sovereign country has steadily transitioned from imitation to innovation on the basis of having enough human resources capacity which constitutes a key hold to national competitiveness. To raise S&T innovation capacity, a nation or an entity must develop and assemble a contingent army of experts in S&T innovation. Among the 2.8 million S&T workers in China in 2005, 1.36 million were full-time R&D professionals, and 1.11 million were scientists and engineers. Given the general top brass quality research professionals in China, it becomes incumbent that S&T expertise is motivated to commit themselves to their own initiatives and enthusiasm wholly. While research units are staffed due to the abundance of qualified personnel, vast of talent exists in the R&D community.

Challenges in Building Science Technology Innovation in China

Technological innovation in every developed nation come at a cost and hence most nations are unable to absorb this cost. China has a lot of hindrances when it comes to innovation in terms of their ecosystem, human resource capital, and open innovation.

Competence-based innovation ecosystem

The world is competitive when it comes to technological innovation hence, a firm can survive competitive merit without a portfolio of core technology that can build a core competence (Chen, J., Yin, X., & Mei, L. 2017). Such efforts made by government need to incorporate their internal processes whiles taking into account factors bordering on the external environment. The need to configure firm to enable successful absorption of knowledge from external sources needs to be considered as well (Cohen, W. M., & Levinthal, D. A. 1990). According to (Chen, J., Yin, X., & Mei, L 2018) the best way to build innovation ecosystem is to have an informed strategic

innovation. To build a competence-based innovation ecosystem, we need to have the best players inside and outside and to protect the right of the firms (Euchner 2014). The problem China is facing got to do with how to apply the right approach to STI policy to build up the national and provincial ecosystem. (See Figure 3).
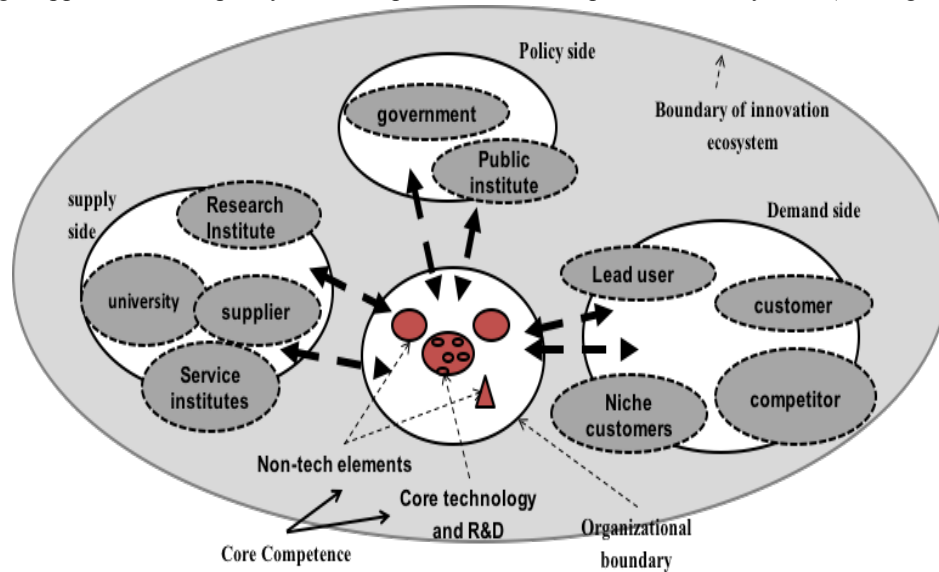
Figure 3 Core Competence Based Innovation Ecosystem Framework; Sources: Chen Jin. Enterprise Innovation Ecosystem, Science Press, 2017

Attracting the best talents and resources from all over the world

The Chinese government has played and continues to play a significant role in science and technology which has led to significant development in China's economy. This monumental achievement occurs as a result of collaboration between research institutions and industry in China (Lu, L., & Etzkowitz, H. 2008), China is still contending with inadequate human resources, more especially with small and middle enterprises (SMEs) (Sabir, R. I., & Sabir, R. M. 2010). Couple with this, China faces a lot of brain drain as more of its citizen seek for greener pasture in most of the advanced countries such as USA (Dodani, S., & LaPorte, R. E. 2005). The cultivation of talented people will be made according to the characteristics of different types of research work. It is an undeniable fact that China has a large number of low cost of labor in the field of science and engineering. Annually, the turnout of doctorate degree holders in Science and Engineering fields in China exceeds that of the US. (Barlow, 2011). However, many home-grown Chinese doctorate certificate holders are regarded as fall shorts of the global standards. This has created a disproportion in salary earnings- and job-related value and personnel disparities between the outside and home-grown trainees/personnel.   A good number of these scientists and engineers are trained by high notch academic institutions in the western countries. China is also considered to be using foreign technology transfer for its rapid economic development (Fu, X., Woo, W. T., & Hou, J. 2016).

Conclusion

China's overall grand aim is to use the USA and the EU as their benchmark when it comes to innovation. China is successful because it's able to turn its weakness into a strength. Innovative China represents big opportunities. Same time it is a face of a looming threat as well, more particularly to the economic powerhouses and giants in the much-advanced polities. Within three decades, China has made giant strides. In its effort, it has been able to transition from a hermitage resident sleeping giant and leapfrogged to the status of a dynamic cat to pounce on the strongest and agile economic mouse. China has devoted much of their time, resources and energy from copycat to economic giant. China has a great potential to become the hub of innovation in the world. Gradually, China's market is gaining grounds in the world. China seems to have lived up to the dictates and expectation of the maxim: "it is an honor to produce the master's work." This is more pronounced in how the Chinese are adept at copying and improving the original work. To validate or possibly rationalize copying, Chinese have their

saying Green comes from Blue, but it is better than Blue, is often-times bandied around. Chinese industries had to innovate in China in order to develop cheap products for the markets. China has different strata's of copying to fit for purpose, through to moving from being followers to engineering world standard products and undertaking global expansion, including acquisitions.

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The Impact and Harm of the Issue of Exiled Tibetans: Focusing on Sino-Indian Relations

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Abstract

As a historical issue, the issue of exiled Tibetans not only worsened Sino-Indian relations in the late 1950s, which resulted in a large-scale war in 1962, but also is to blame for the serious consequence that the successive governments of the two countries have been bearing a grudge against each other ever since, thus unable to reach a genuine reconciliation. At present, with both China and India at a critical stage in their socio-economic development, the radicalization of exiled Tibetans is becoming more and more obvious. The issue of exiled Tibetans has posed a substantial threat to the national security and social stability of the two countries. If this issue cannot be effectively resolved, it is likely to exacerbate Sino-Indian strategic mutual suspicion and even trigger new confrontations and conflicts. In light of this, both countries have to set great store by this issue and come up with a mutually acceptable solution so that the stumbling block between these two countries can be removed once and for all.

Keywords: Sino-Indian Relations, Exiled Tibetans, Tibetan Secession, Security Dilemma

I. Introduction

Recent military confrontations and conflicts in the border areas between China and India worsen the antagonism between the two peoples to such an extent that the Sino-Indian border dispute is often held accountable for the discord between them (Maxwell 1970; Wang 1998; Zhao 2000; Zhang 2004; Zhou 2006; Shang 2009; Kaul 1967; Dalvi 2003; Sandhu 1988; Conley 2001; Amravati 2004). As a matter of fact, the border dispute is merely a superficial phenomenon for the lack of Sino-Indian strategic mutual trust. Both history and reality demonstrate that the culprit for the long-term enmity between China and India is none other than the harboring of exiled Tibetans seeking Tibetan Secession by the Indian government, which sticks obstinately to the security policy of regarding China as its imaginary enemy and taking Tibet as a "buffer state." The issue of exiled Tibetans not only led to an almost complete loss of strategic mutual trust generated in the honeymoon stage in Sino-Indian relations between 1954 and 1958 but also trapped their successive governments into a vicious circle of mutual suspicion and vigilance. Nevertheless, mostly confined to anthropological, ethnological and historiographical explorations, previous studies on this issue have not fully dealt with its impacts on international relations, especially on the Sino-Indian relations (Aziz 1978; Goldstein 1971; Levine 1988; Saklani 1984; Corlin 1991; Logan & Murdie 2016; Ma 2000; Tang 2003; You 2005; Yang 2006; Wang & Zhou 2009; Wu 2012; Li 2014).

At present, with both countries at a critical stage in their socio-economic development, failure to work out an effective resolution to this issue is likely to exacerbate their mutual suspicion and even trigger new confrontations and conflicts. With these two BRICS countries, each having a population larger than one billion and playing a leading role in global economic development, political cooperation benefits both countries while confrontation can only hurt. If they were trapped in an enduring strife of "security dilemma," not only would their socio-economic development be arrested, but global peace and development would also be negatively impacted. In view of this, it is necessary to comb through its origin and development and analyze the impacts that this issue has made and will probably make on the Sino-Indian relations. By proposing a workable solution to the issue, this study is of reference for academia as well as for both countries' policy formulation.

II. Indian factors in the issue of Exiled Tibetans

The issue of exiled Tibetans can be traced back to the British colonial invasion of Tibet in the late 19th century and the early 20th century, which drove a large number of Tibetans living overseas in exile and thus planted the seeds for long-term discord between China and India. Based on Indian geographic features and the games of hegemony between Britain and Russia in Asia, Britain developed an Indian safety strategy of "one inner lake, two concentric circles and three buffer zones"[1] after its conquest of India in the mid-19th century. Among them, China's Tibet is part of the outer circle as well as of the buffer zones (The compilation group 1993, 9; Conley 2001, 87). In order to materialize this strategic vision, Britain launched the war of aggression against Tibet twice, in 1888 and 1904 respectively, forcing the Qing government to sign a series of unequal treaties and grabbing many privileges. Besides, Britain also unscrupulously provoked clashes between the Han and the Tibetan peoples, masterminded the Simla Conference, concocted the McMahon Line, incited the Tibetan Secession, attempted to split Tibet from China, and turned Tibet into a buffer state under its wings. Due to the resolute resistance from the then Chinese government and people of all nationalities, Britain's attempt did not succeed.

However, after Britain was forced to evacuate from South Asia in 1947, India inherited the colonial legacy of its metropolitan state and continued to adhere to the security strategy of treating China as its potential rival and Tibet as a buffer state (Zhou 2006, 151), and attempted to unilaterally take over Britain's privileges and maintain its illegal border demarcation in Tibet. Upholding the "Indian centralism" left over by Britain, Jawaharlal Nehru, the founding Prime Minister of India, and his government dreamt of developing India not only as an economic and political center both of Southeast Asia and of Central Asia but also as an important participant in the affairs of the Pacific region (Nehru 1946, 547-548). China was never India's neighbor in Nehru's geopolitical blueprint. Tibet would play a role as a buffer state between China and India (Agrawal 2003, 1-2). Therefore, the Indian government, shortly after its independence from Britain, flatly refused the demand from the Kuomintang regime to resume the sovereignty over the land south of the McMahon Line (Maxwell 1970, 69). In order to stress its continuity with Britain in the Tibet-related policy, the Nehru government directly retained Hugh Edward Richardson, the former British-Indian consul to Lhasa, turning him into an Indian consul. Meanwhile, taking advantage of the Chinese Civil War between 1945 and 1949, India instigated the Local Government of Tibet to stage an eviction of the Han people from Tibet and to seek Tibetan Secession. After the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, in spite of its overall friendliness towards China based on much deliberation, India was still reluctant to waive the British colonial heritage in Tibet-related privileges and its vested interests on the issue of border, and even went further than Britain (Sandhu 1988, 186). As early as in the Tibetan Peaceful reunification by the People's Liberation Army (PLA) in 1950, India did everything possible to obstruct the Chinese government's resumption of sovereignty over Tibet. In its diplomatic notes dated October 21, 28 and November 1, 1950, it denied China's sovereignty over Tibet by such wordings as "China-Tibetan relations" and "Chinese suzerainty", referred to the PLA's military action as "Chinese invasion on Tibet" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China (MOFA of PRC 1960, 31-42), and threatened not to support PRC's membership at the United Nations (UN) and "not to persuade the Tibetan delegation to go to Beijing" (MOFA of PRC 1957, 180). Afterwards, India wantonly encroached on the territory over which China claimed sovereignty while Tibet was not totally secured by the PLA. India's "appetite" surpassed the British-Indian government's territorial claim on Tibet in that it once put under its occupation Langjiu, an area which had never

been reached by the British colonialists before (Lamb 1966, 580-581). In addition, the Nehru government acquiesced in the military assistance that the United States provided to the Tibetan separatists by utilizing Indian facilities (Wang 2004), thus becoming indirectly supportive of the Tibetan Secession activities. In 1956, after the Kangba rebellion, India once again interfered in China's internal affairs by stealthily harboring the exiled insurgents. After the Tibetan Rebellion in 1959, India began to offer public support and large-scale harboring to insurgents (Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund 2013, 438-440), thus perpetuating and internationalizing the issue of exiled Tibetans[2].

Under the long-term incitation and support of Britain and India, the Local Government of Tibet became increasingly estranged from the Central Government of China. In March 1947, the Local Government of Tibet attended the Pan-Asian Conference sponsored by India in the name of an independent country with the support of the Provisional Government of India. In order to gain further recognition from the international community, it even sent a business delegation to lobby the governments of India, the United States, and Britain in the same year. In July 1949, when the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was about to win the nation-wide victory in the Chinese Civil War, the Local Government of Tibet, instigated by India, on the one hand, staged another eviction of the Han people under the pretence of warding off communists so that the Kuomintang representatives in Tibet were forced to retreat to the hinterland; on the other hand, expedited the procurement of weapons and equipment from India, in preparation for a military confrontation with the reunification led by the Chinese Communist Party. In 1950, faced with the irresistible liberation of Tibet, it was still reluctant to abandon its secession fantasy. It first turned to Britain, India, the United States, and Nepal for help and then, in an attempt to prevent the reunification of China with the help of external forces (Goldstein 1989, 719-720), wrote to the UN on November 7, denouncing the Chinese aggression. Even if forced to accept the peaceful liberation of Tibet after frustration in this attempt, part of Tibetan upper classes did not completely quit their separatist activities. In November 1951, the separatists headed by Lukhangwa and Lobsang Tashi, by organizing the "People's Congress," flouted the Seventeen Points Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet and prepared to wage an armed rebellion in an attempt to evict the PLA from Tibet. After this conspiracy failed, some insurgents fled to India and continued to engage in the Tibetan Secession activities in Kalimpong along the China-Indian border. In February 1956, a large-scale armed rebellion, plotted by overseas Tibetan Secessionists, broke out in Kangba under the pretext of Han chauvinism characteristic of some officials (Mao 2001, 99) and drastic actions in democratic reforms in some Tibetan areas. In November of the same year, the 14th Dalai Lama stayed in India for a long time after attending the celebrations for the 2,500th anniversary of the Sakyamuni Nirvana and intended to collude with the overseas Tibetan Secession forces to separate Tibet from China. Only after Premier Zhou Enlai's repeated remonstrations did he eventually return to Tibet. In June 1958, the Tibetan Secession armed forces headed by Encuh Kampot Tashi set up Chushi Gangdrung (four-water six-hillock volunteer army) in Lhoka Prefecture, Tibet, and gathered rebel forces for an all-round rebellion.

After the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the Chinese government made various endeavors to maintain national unity as well as ethnic solidarity, such as granting the 10th Panchen Lama and the 14th Dalai Lama exceedingly high political statuses[3], pushing forward the modernization drive in Tibet, a timely correction of blunders in practical work, and a postponement of reform for six years starting in 1956. Despite these, it still could not curb the separatist activities masterminded by Tibetan secession forces. In March 1959, the Tibetan upper classes launched a full-scale armed rebellion, attempting Tibetan secession. When the rebellion failed, a large number of rebels, monks and ordinary folks followed in Dalai Lama's footsteps and fled to India and other countries, turning into the so-called exiled Tibetans.

III. The negative impact of the issue of Exiled Tibetans on Sino-Indian Relations

India's overt sympathy for the Tibetan insurgents and its sheltering of large numbers of exiled Tibetans had a profound and long-term impact on China-India relations. The honeymoon period lasting more than four years in the wake of the signing of the *Tibet Agreement* ended abruptly, and the two countries' various contradictions, which were covered up under the slogan of "the Indian people and the Chinese people are brothers", became gradually apparent, even to the point of open hostilities. Failure to bring the issue of exiled Tibetans to a timely

and effective resolution also trapped the successive governments of these two countries into a vicious circle of mutual suspicion and vigilance.

(i) Interrupting the development of Sino-Indian friendship, the issue of exiled Tibetans made their relations take a sharp downward turn. In the early 1950s, faced with diplomatic isolation, economic blockade, and military encirclement by US-led Western bloc, China was in a disadvantaged position in the international community. In contrast, India, exercising capitalism, enjoyed a relatively harmonious relation with the Western countries and was even regarded as a shop window of democracy in Asia. At the same time, the Nehru government, by pursuing the non-alignment neutral policy, carried quite a widespread clout in the Third World. During this period, India gave China a lot of help through its influence in international affairs. From 1950 to 1958, the Indian leadership appealed at least thirty times for the resumption of China's membership of the UN (Shang 2009, 16). On the issue of the Korean War, India, adhering to a relatively impartial and neutral position, withstood the pressure of Western countries and objectively protected Chinese legitimate rights and interests. On the Taiwan issue, India not only refused to attend the San Francisco Peace Conference with Japan in September 1951, which effactually intercepted the US's attempt to create "two Chinas" but also reiterated its adherence to the "one China" policy when the situation across the Taiwan Straits was tense, announcing its support for China's recovery of Taiwan islands (Zhang 2002, 129, 130, 140).

Of course, China also provided considerable assistance and support to India when India underwent domestic and international difficulties. India experienced famine and food shortages from 1950 to1951. Stuck in its own food shortage, China still signed with India six agreements over five years, starting with the first barter agreement on January 1, 1951, and its rice export to India totaling 710 thousand tons (Zhang 2004, 179-180). In April 1954, Premier Zhou Enlai expressed his dissatisfaction with Nehru's exclusion from the Geneva Conference publicly when Nehru was aiming to play a leading role in the Third World and called for the role of India in the maintenance of peace in Asia (Zhao 2000, 42). In August 1955, the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace, the China-India Friendship Association and other organizations held assemblies in Beijing, Shanghai, among other cities, voicing support for India's struggle to recover Goa from Portuguese colonists.

On the whole, characterized with more cooperation than contradiction, Sino-Indian relations took on considerable momentum from 1949 to 1959. Especially mention-worthy is that Sino-Indian relations enjoyed a relatively long honeymoon period after the signing of the *Tibet Agreement* in 1954 and the exchanged visits of the two prime ministers. However, Sino-Indian relations had changed sharply for the worse due to India's overt sympathy for the insurgents and its continuous sheltering of exiled Tibetans after the 1959 Tibetan rebellion[4]. Starting from March 1959, there emerged in India quite a lot of speeches and actions slandering China and interfering in its internal affairs; many political parties went even so far as to establish organizations in support of Tibetan insurgents. Gangs of thugs were allowed to run riots in front of Chinese Embassy and Consulates in India, among which were serious incidents insulting Chinese heads of state (MOFA of PRC 1960, 61). Afterwards, both countries censured each other on the issue of defected Tibetans, putting an end to their four-year honeymoon. In September 1960, India connived at the Dalai Lama's establishing the "Tibetan government-in-exile" in Dharamsala, aggravating Sino-Indian relations.

(ii) The issue of exiled Tibetans undermined their strategic mutual trust and intensified their border disputes. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet, India had to temporarily forego the security strategy of treating Tibet as a buffer country and to reconsider its relationship with China. At that time, India, like China, was mired in a precarious situation both domestically and internationally. Although India was founded earlier than the PRC, the Nehru government was confronted with enormous challenges, having a hard time clearing up the mess left by the British-Indian government. Domestically, not only was India caught in social upheaval, economic stagnation, and meager livelihood, but it also experienced pressure from the alignment of the US and Pakistan and that of Britain and Pakistan through the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and the Baghdad Pact. Furthermore, the support of the United States for Portugal's occupation of Goa made India unable to realize its national unity fully.

Similarly, China not only had to restore and develop its economy but also had to deal with the blockade and suppression from the Western bloc headed by the US. The same experience of fighting against imperialism and colonialism as well as similar difficulties they encountered in internal and external affairs made these two neighboring countries share the need for friendly coexistence and common development. Therefore, in the context of the Cold War, China and India, respectively as the most populous socialist country and the most populous capitalist country, rather than become enemies, cooperated and supported each other in maintaining peace in Indochina, promoting cooperation between Asian and African countries, developing economy and many other international and domestic issues. These contributed to the gradual establishment of strategic mutual trust. In December 1953, with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, first proposed by Premier Zhou Enlai, getting well received in India, Sino-Indian friendship became the main theme of their relations. In spite of their border disputes, both countries still maintained a high strategic mutual trust and agreed to settle these disputes through diplomatic channels.

From September 14, 1956, to February 26, 1960, Prime Minister Nehru and Premier Zhou Enlai successively discussed the border issue of the two countries through 13 letters. The content of these letters indicated that after the Tibetan rebellion, India's antagonist attitude towards China on the issue of exiled Tibetans sparked off a gradual collapse of their former mutual trust and both countries hurled accusations at each other in their dispute on the border issue. China noticed that immediately after the fleeing of large numbers of insurgents to India, the Indian army began to press on towards the eastern part of their border, unilaterally changing the status quo of their border in that they crossed not only the McMahon line, which was marked on the affiliated map in the confidential documents exchanged between Britain and the local government of Tibet, but also the boundary line indicated on the then map of India (MOFA of PRC 1960, 188-189). Thus, the Chinese leadership took a radical turn in its diplomacy with India and its treatment of Nehru (Dai 2016, 248). They reexamined Sino-Indian relations and took strict precautions against military threats from India along the border under dispute.

In August and October 1959, armed conflicts broke out in Langjiu and Kongka Pass, which are located on the eastern and the western sector of their boundary. These two bloodsheds further aggravated their trust crisis. Because the US and the USSR (FRUS 1992, 513-514; Khrushchev 1988, 466) unanimously back India, the animosity between China and India became hard (David Floyd 1964, 72-76; Zhou 258). India became more aggressive on the border issues. In the summer of 1961, it implemented its "Forward Policy" (Sandhu 1988, 131-132), which eventually led to the outbreak of a large-scale border war between the two countries, in the wake of which they entered a long "frozen period" (Sikri 2011).

(iii) The issue of exiled Tibetans sowed seeds of confrontation, resulting in long-term discord between the two countries. After the Tibetan rebellion in1959, the Nehru government blatantly sheltered the insurgents and overtly accused the Chinese government, causing profound influence for the Sino-Indian relations. From March 17 to April 27, 1959, Nehru discussed Tibetan situation seven times on public occasions successively, expressing his sympathy for Tibetan insurgents and his opposition to the military interference by the Chinese government[5]. In the meantime, India's Ministry of External Affairs violating international practice, distributed through its official channels "Dalai Lama Statement," advocating the Tibetan secession and criticizing the Chinese government. At the same time, some propaganda in India reported the Chinese government's counterinsurgency campaign in Tibet as "the implementation of gangsterism and imperialism" (MOFA of PRC 1960, 61). Large amounts of negative information so quickly intensified the civil society's anti-China sentiment in India that it set off two large-scale anti-China waves from April to September in the same year.

The Chinese government has responded intensely to the words and deeds of the Indian government. March 21, 1959, the Chinese government warned India: "Tibet's counterinsurgency campaign is entirely China's internal affairs, and any external interference will not be allowed; Tibet is part of China, and any attempt to split Tibet from China is doomed to failure." (ibid. 54). Since then, the Chinese government repeatedly protested against India's interference in China's internal affairs through diplomatic channels. *People's Daily*, *Guangming Daily*, and other major media carried quite a few articles and editorials such as *India's Expansionists are not Allowed to Interfere in our Internal Affairs, No Violation of China's Sovereignty will be Allowed, Warning Against India's*

Expansionists: Don't Engage in Schemes and Intrigues to express China's position and sentiment. Nevertheless, China's protests failed to stop India from continuing to host exiled Tibetans. The antagonism against each other gradually evolved into a substantive military confrontation. After India's defeat, exiled Tibetans became its trump card in balancing China. In November 1962, India, in cooperation with CIA of the U.S., recruited young exiled Tibetans and set up a special 10,000 strong border force at a military base close to the Sino-India border. In March 1963, India connived with exiled Tibetans to hold activities in New Delhi to commemorate the 4th anniversary of the Tibetan rebellion, supported the "Tibetan government-in-exile secretly" to announce the "Constitution of the Tibet" and open offices in New York and Geneva. In December 1965, India voted in support of a UN resolution condemning the Chinese government for violating human rights in Tibet. In a word, India repeatedly used the issue of exiled Tibetans as an excuse to force the Chinese government to make concessions on the border dispute (Qiu, 2016). As a result, China is more skeptical about India.

Although their relations gradually thawed and developed in a positive direction after Prime Minister Indira Gandhi took the initiative to express her willingness for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian dispute on January 1, 1969, these two countries were hard pressed to achieve genuine reconciliation since the successive governments of India were reluctant to waive the "trump card" of exiled Tibetans. Even to this day, the issue of exiled Tibetans is still a huge obstacle between China and India, not only affecting a complete settlement of their border disputes but also triggering waves of new disputes and conflicts.

IV. The harm of the issue of Exiled Tibetans to China and India in reality

Since its emergence in 1959, the issue of exiled Tibetans has been making trouble for both countries for nearly sixty years. However, this does not mean that its resolution can be postponed indefinitely. Taking into account their international and domestic situations as well as the reality of exiled Tibetans, both countries deem it not only necessary but also urgent to come up with an early resolution.

(i) For China, this issue is a non-negligible obstacle inhibiting its peaceful development both domestically and internationally. At present, China is vigorously pushing forward its Silk and Belt Initiative, and a stable and peaceful environment is even more important. However, the troubles that the Tibetan secessionists headed by Dalai Lama have frequently made both at home and abroad constitute quite a few obstacles for China's peaceful development. On the one hand, the Dalai clique has constantly created negative public opinion in the world, which has seriously damaged China's national image. Over the years, the Dalai Lama often steals into different countries, slandering the Chinese government and canvassing support for his secessionist schemes in the disguise of religion. The Dalai clique's offices in the United States, Switzerland, Britain, Japan, and other countries carry out all year round anti-China propaganda and organize various anti-China activities. On the other hand, the Tibetan secessionists have colluded with other separatist forces, thus jeopardizing China's national unity and ethnic solidarity. Under the incitation and pairing of the Western anti-China forces, The Dalai clique successively collaborated with other separatist forces under the banners of Taiwan Secession, Xinjiang Secession, Hong Kong Secession, and even the Falun Gong Cult, to wreak havoc on China's national security.

The Tibetan secessionist forces continuously engage in infiltration and destruction in the disguise of religious and cultural exchanges, exerting a direct impact on the stability and development of the Tibet Autonomous Region. China and India are connected by mountains and rivers, thus even in the "frozen period" of Sino-Indian relations, people-to-people exchanges were not forbidden. The Tibetan secessionists spared no effort to spread rumors, instigate riots, and create violent incidents by making use of their inextricable links with Tibetans in China, which had made great damage to Tibet's stability and prosperity. In 2008, the Tibetan secessionists once again staged an appalling March 14 incident of beating, smashing, looting and burning, killing 18 innocent civilians and causing a direct property loss of RMB 250 million. After that, Tibetan independence fanatics successively plotted and implemented a number of self-immolation incidents in public at home and abroad, and spread them around through the Internet, audio and video products and other media to create an atmosphere of terror. In order to induce more Tibetans to immolate themselves, the Dalai clique explicitly listed the self-immolators as the so-called "national heroes" at the second "Special Conference of Global Exiled Tibetans" held

in 2012. In addition, Lhamo Kyab, who used to serve as a member of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, also wrote a guidebook to self-immolation, systematically instigating the Tibetans to burn themselves. The Dalai clique flagrantly used extreme violence such as killing innocents and self-immolation as a means to achieve its political objectives. It was no different from a terrorist organization and constituted a real threat to the social stability of China.

The reason why the Tibetan separatist forces can be so rampant is inseparable from India's support and connivance. Since the Tibetan Rebellion in 1959, India has long regarded the exiled Tibetans as an important pawn impeding China. It has been secretly supporting and conniving at the exiled Tibetans' staging incidents inside and outside China in order to achieve different political purposes. Although China has taken precautions against India, it has not seen it as the most important strategic rival. After the Cold War was over, the strategic pressure on China mainly came from the US. Geopolitically, China put its strategic emphasis on its east and south and prioritized the resolution of the Taiwan issue, territorial disputes, and safety in the East China Sea and the South China Sea, as well as the Korean Peninsula.   In order to maintain the relative stability in the southwest of China, The Chinese government actively improved its relations with India. The two countries successively signed a series of bilateral agreements such as *the Agreement on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquility Along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas, the Agreement on Confidence-Building Measures in the Military Field Along the   of Actual   in the China-India Border Areas,* and *the Agreement on the Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for the Settlement of the Boundary Question*. However, because the Indian government stuck to an anti-China position on the issue of exiled Tibetans, China and India have been unable to disregard the previous enmity and rebuild strategic mutual trust. After Modi came to power in 2014, the Indian government was once more radical in its China policy. His government not only deliberately keeps creating tensions on border areas such as Doklam and Bangong Lake with an aim to blackmail China, but also openly provocative to China by inviting the Dalai Lama to visit the pseudo "Arunachal Pradesh"and instigating Lobsang Sangay, the leader of the "Tibetan Government-in-exile", to claim sovereignty over the Bangong Lake by planting flags there. For the Chinese government, it can be seen that postponing the resolution of this issue not only seriously affects China's international image and domestic stability, but also directly threatens China's national security and territorial integrity, leading to .endless scourge.

(ii) For India, the issue of exiled Tibetans, producing increasingly negative effects, has become a drag on its development and stability. India, according to its own needs, has used this issue to hector China from time to time and has indeed achieved some "gains" which caused a lot of trouble in China. However, there are two sides to everything, and this issue is not always beneficial to India. As China grows stronger, its negative impact on India's international status and social stability is becoming more and more obvious.

First of all, China's countermeasures tortured India. Needless to say, in the face of all kinds of troubles caused by India's use of the issue of exiled Tibetans, it is impossible for the Chinese government to be inactive and passive for a long time. The strategic competition is not temporary, and the Chinese government is good at adopting the tactic of "you fight yours, and I fight mine" promoted by Chairman Mao during the Liberation War to cope with a variety of international challenges. A famous strategic analyst in India, C. Raja Mohan warned that China would let the Indian government pay for its double-dealing on the issue of exiled Tibetan and border disputes. In recent years, India has recently kept complaining that it is unable to materialize its ambition of becoming a major world power since China set obstacles on its bid for permanent membership of the UN Security Council and membership of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). If it continues to provoke China on the issue of exiled Tibetans in the future, India will surely encounter more severe countermeasures from China.

Secondly, the lack of strategic mutual trust resulting from this issue gradually traps India into a security dilemma. Despite frequent high-level visits and improvement in bilateral relations since Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China in 1988, the protracted issue of exiled Tibetans has made it impossible for the two countries to put down their historical burdens completely and achieve a high level of mutual trust. In order to hedge against China, on the one hand, India crazily engages in military expansion and war preparation, building the largest mountain combat force in the world and so-called Asia's first, world's second aircraft carrier formation and imagining that

in the possible future wars, the Chinese army will be attacked from both the Himalayas and the Indian Ocean. On the other hand, while maintaining its traditional relations with Russia, India is also actively wooing the US and trying to join the "democratic security diamond" advocated by Shinzo Abe and formed by the United States, Japan, Australia and India, with an attempt to implement a strategic encirclement of China with the help of the US-led external forces. Such "efforts," instead of enhancing its security, spur China's national defense construction in its southwest. Trapped in chancery, India has to increase its military input further. However, with the territory being a third of that of China and its GDP only one-fifth of China's in 2017, continuing to expand defense spending will only plunge it into a state of exhaustion, even of disaster.

Finally, the increasingly prominent radicalization of exiled Tibetans presents India with a Frankensteinian monster. Although the Dalai clique has always claimed to strive for Tibetan Secession through peaceful means, it has never abandoned the use of violence to achieve its political goals. Since the armed rebellion in the 1950s, there have been numerous incidents of self-immolation, riots, and looting and burning created by the Tibetan secessionist forces. With the Tibetan Youth Congress, the Tibetan Women's Association and other radicalized Tibetan secessionist organizations growing stronger and insubordinate, terrorists' trend of thought advocating violence spread like wildfire among exiled Tibetans. Ironically, ever since its independence seventy years ago, India has never completely resolved its own domestic troubles such as ethnic and religious conflicts and several local secessions. Riots and armed conflicts thus arising are common occurrences. If the Indian government gives free rein to the radicalized Tibetan secessionist organizations, the terrorism that they advocate is very likely to affect the local separatist forces in India, triggering even graver social upheavals and threatening its national unity.

(iii) In light of the reality of exiled Tibetans, economic poverty, political despair, and religious alienation are making them more extreme. First, the poor living conditions have made ordinary exiled Tibetans more dependent on the Tibetan secessionist forces. Since the 1960s, India has set up dozens of settlements in the Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, and other places to accommodate exiled Tibetans. Although the settlements have established farms, handicraft workshops, and educational, medical and other facilities, they have limited resources and poor conditions. The exiled Tibetans living here can only maintain basic survival, and many of them still live below the poverty line now. In order to get out of trouble, more and more exiled Tibetans are trying to migrate to other countries. In recent years, the issue of population loss in the settlements has aroused great concern of the Dalai clique, and the "Tibetan Government-in-exile" has begun to restrict the relocation of Tibetans by means of personal control, religious intimidation and cultural segregation, leading to increasing poverty of exiled Tibetans and growing dependence of poor exiled Tibetans on the Tibetan secessionist forces.

Second, the disillusionment of the political fantasy has enabled the radicals to take the lead. After the rebellion in Tibet, the Dalai clique has been deceiving and controlling ordinary exiled Tibetans by distorting history, denying China's sovereignty over Tibet, inciting ethnic hatred and advocating violent Tibetan Secession. In the 1970s, with the improvement of Sino-US relations, the United States not only interrupted all kinds of aid to exiled Tibetans but also acquiesced Nepal government army to annihilate Chushi Gangdrung which has been entrenched in the Mustang for many years. Affected by this, the Dalai clique adjusted its tactics accordingly, put forward the so-called Middle Way and declared that it would establish a Tibet with high-degree autonomy and genuine autonomy through peaceful means. Since 2002, the Dalai Lama has sent his private representatives to negotiate with the central government ten times, creating a false impression of compromise. However, his fantasy of establishing a state within a state is nothing less than an idiotic dream, which has been severely criticized by the central government. After the disillusionment of the political fantasy, the Dalai clique began to enable the radicals who advocated violent Tibetan Secession on a large scale, resulting in the Tibetan secessionist extremist forces' gradual control of the overall trend of exiled Tibetans.

Third, the variations in religious beliefs have accelerated the radicalization of exiled Tibetans. Tibetan Buddhism is both the main religious belief of the Tibetans and an important part of the traditional Tibetan culture. Like Buddhism spread all over the world, Tibetan Buddhism not only stresses mercy but also takes Nonkilling as its basic discipline. However, the Dalai clique has advocated violent Tibetan Secession, incited riots and abetted

self-immolation to achieve its political objectives. In addition, the Dalai clique continues to wrest the Tibetan Buddhist doctrines and fabricate the heretical ideas in order to exercise spiritual control over exiled Tibetans. In fact, the "Tibetan Buddhism" advocated by the Dalai clique has run counter to the doctrines of Buddhism and become a tool for Tibetan secessionist forces to do demagoguery. Especially after the representative of Tibetan secessionist radicals and the leader of Tibetan Youth Congress Lobsang Sangay took charge of the religio-political "Tibetan Government-in-exile," Tibetan secessionist forces paid more attention to making use of religion to spread extremist ideas among exiled Tibetans. As a result of this, the radicalization process of exiled Tibetans has accelerated markedly. If this trend is not contained in time, the issue of exiled Tibetans will pose a greater threat to the national security and social stability of China and India.

V. The way to resolve the issue of exiled Tibetans

The issue of exiled Tibetans, as a historical legacy, has been troubling both the Chinese and the India governments for several decades. However, it is by no means a deadlock. In the summer of 2017, the Donglang confrontation once again intensified tensions between two countries, putting their relations at a historical crossroads once again. A smooth resolution of this issue has significant bearings on both sides. Of course, its resolution is a fairly complicated task, which cannot be accomplished just by unilateral willingness and efforts. In removing this stumbling block, both sides must reach a consensus and actively cooperate with each other.

For China, the resolution of this issue can be conducted through the following steps. Firstly, China should make some concessions to India in order to secure its termination of support to Tibetan secessionists. As the headquarters of the exiled Tibetans and a forward position for its anti-China separatist activities, India is an unsurpassable key link in the resolution of this issue. Exploiting its own international status and national influence, China can reach an exchange of interests (Li & Ma 2008) with India on India's major concerns, such as its bid for a permanent membership of the UN Security Council, its accession to the NSG and the resolution of Kashmir conflict, so as to procure India's cooperation and support on the resolution of the issue of exiled Tibetans.

Secondly, it should bring into full play nongovernmental forces to win the support of the majority and split exiled Tibetans from within. As a special community originating from the Tibet Autonomous Region, these people lack a national identity with the Chinese people; they live abroad but are still in close touch with inland Tibetans. Therefore, besides deploying governmental forces, the Chinese government should closely cooperate with non-governmental organizations (NGO) to establish a larger friends' circle in opposition to Tibetan secession forces. In this way, the Chinese government can exert its influence on exiled Tibetans via different channels so that the stubborn can be isolated; the blind followers can be checked, and the onlookers can be won over.

Thirdly, China should seek understanding and support from the international community. The Dalai Lama has long been confusing the international community by accusing the Chinese government of "violating Tibetans' human rights," "plundering Tibet's resources and destroying its ecology," "destroying religions," "committing genocide," and so on (Tang 2003, 409-443). This generates prejudices against the Chinese government in the international community. In order to eliminate these prejudices, the Chinese government needs to strengthen its communication with the international community and gradually obtain its support, so that it can reverse the passive situation and stem the support of relevant countries to Tibetan Secession forces.

Lastly, China should take precautions for the resettlement of exiled Tibetans. In the late 1980s, due to their misjudgment of the situation, the Dalai Clique missed the opportunity to return home. Since then, many people do not cherish the hope that one day the Dalai Lama and exiled Tibetans will return home. That is why the government of the Tibet Autonomous Region has made no preparation for the resettlement of large numbers of returned exiled Tibetans. However, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the Dalai Clique get a clear understanding of the situation and strike out on a new course. Once the Dalai Lama changes his mind and returns home, a large number of exiled Tibetans are sure to follow in his footsteps. At that time, poor resettlement is

likely to cause such serious contradictions and conflicts that some of the returnees will go abroad once again. In that case, what has been done will be in vain, and this issue will be even more difficult to rein in.

As for India, its primary task in resolving this issue is to change its inappropriate security strategy. It has been proved that such a security strategy, though harming China, has brought no benefit for itself. It not only impedes the normalization of Sino-Indian relations but also jeopardizes its national security and social stability. Since the end of the Cold War, peace and development have become the main themes of the world. As the world's second most populous country and the country with the largest number of poor people in the world, India should undoubtedly prioritize its economic development. However, since Modi came to power, India's anti-China forces started to gain its ground and successively create tensions along the Sino-Indian border like Donglang, the Bangong Lake and other places. At the same time, they use exiled Tibetans as a pawn to provoke China. Jaitley, India's Defense Minister, even arrogantly claimed that "India of 2017 is different from India of 1962."[6] Of course, China is also different from what it was in 1962 and the gap in comprehensive national strength between China and India today is even larger than that in 1962. If India sticks to its outdated security strategy of taking China as its strategic rival, fiercer conflicts and confrontations will sure be triggered. Therefore, to get rid of exiled Tibetans by adjusting its relevant strategies will be the best choice for India to make in following the historical trend and improving its relations with China.

On this basis, India can resolve this issue in two aspects. First, it should adjust its Tibet-related policies, decisively quit its support for Tibetan Secession forces and help exiled Tibetans return to the motherland. No country in the world recognizes the "Tibetan Government-in-exile." Besides, the international community is becoming more vigilant about the radicalization tendency of the Tibetan Secession forces. India's retaining and supporting the Tibetan Secession forces are obviously against the international mainstream. Quite a lot of political figures and ordinary people inside India keep protesting against the government's long-term maintaining a "foreign government." From a humanitarian standpoint, the Indian government has the duty to help those exiled Tibetans who are willing to return to their homeland to pursue a better life because most of exiled Tibetans have been living in poverty in the past nearly 60 years since the Tibetan Rebellion in 1959. Once the Indian government ceases supporting and retaining the Tibetan Secession forces, the "Tibetan government-in-exile" is bound to rot from within, and a smooth resolution of the issue of exiled Tibetans can be expected.

India's secondary task in resolving this issue is to amend its relevant laws and make proper arrangements for some exiled Tibetans to settle down in India. The Indian government has been treating exiled Tibetans like refugees. However, India neither signed the UN's Convention on the Status of Refugees of 1951 and Protocol on the *Status of Refugees* of 1967 nor has specific laws dealing with refugees. In dealing with exiled Tibetans, India is still using the *Foreigners Act* left by British colonists. This act mainly regulates the residence and movement of foreigners in India and lacks articles protecting the rights of refugees and their descendants. In the past nearly 60 years, exiled Tibetans have multiplied for three or four generations. Although these Tibetan descendants were born and raised in India, their parents are still illegal immigrants, who cannot obtain the nationality of India according to India's *Citizenship Act*. After the future disintegration of the "Tibetan Government-in-exile," some exiled Tibetans will continue to stay in India because they have no experience of living in China's Tibetan Autonomous Region. In this regard, India needs to think ahead and to provide them with legal protection so that they can strike root in India, thus avoiding triggering further social problems.

Conclusion

As a historical legacy, the issue of exiled Tibetans has been troubling both China and India for nearly six decades. It is not only a heavy burden on both sides but also a serious impediment to the normal development of Sino-Indian relations. In the final analysis, Britain's colonial invasion of China's Tibet is the root of this issue and the crux of the matter is that India, indiscriminately inheriting legacies from British colonists, stubbornly sticks to the security strategy of treating China as its potential enemy, which was formulated by the British-Indian government, and keeps retaining exiled Tibetans and supporting their Tibetan separatist activities. In recent years, India, by taking this issue as a pawn, repeatedly challenged China's bottom line on border disputes

and other related international issues, putting Sino-Indian relations at a crossroads once again. If India continues to adhere to its erroneous security strategy stubbornly and fails to make an informed decision on the issue of exiled Tibetans, then mutual suspicion between China and India will be intensified, and new confrontations and conflicts are likely to be triggered.

Undoubtedly, there will be no victor in their hostility. This is a point about which both sides must be sober. Now and in the foreseeable future, both countries are at a critical stage of striding across the middle-income trap in their socio-economic development, both countries are in urgent demand for a peaceful international environment and a stable domestic situation to realize their economic ambitions, be it China's Silk and Belt Initiative or India's Look-East Strategy, Monsoon Plan, or Spices Road. If they were trapped in enduring strife of security dilemma on account of this issue, not only would their development be arrested, but global peace and development would also be negatively impacted. Therefore, whether domestically or internationally, both China and India have to set great store by the issue of exiled Tibetans, reach a consensus at an early date, and come up with a mutually acceptable solution so that the stumbling block between these two countries can be removed once and for all.

Notes

1. The "one inner lake" refers to the Indian Ocean. The "two concentric circles" refer to the inner circle of tribal areas in the northwestern border of India, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, the Assam State and tribal areas in the northeastern border of India, and the outer circle of Emirates in the Persian Gulf, Persia, Afghanistan, China's Tibet, and Thailand. The "three buffer zones" refer to China's Tibet becoming subject to British management, which would guarantee India was "free from the China threat"; the Indian Ocean Rim, with the aim of bringing "countries along the coasts of the Indian Ocean under British control"; and Afghanistan, which was expected to keep Czarist Russia away from the British holdings.

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Sustaining Human Security at Sea: The Role of Private Military Security Companies and Naval Assets

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Abstract

International shipping is one of the main industries in sustaining economies worldwide. There are more than 50.000 merchant ships with over 200 hundred million containers go through seas. This creates uncertainties at sea such as piracy, crime, and terrorism which demand proper management and regulations at the governmental and national level. Along the increasing number of threats at sea, there are new ways of regulating piracy as private maritime security companies, the importance of which is targeted to reduce the expansion of pirates' zones and reduction of existed threats. This paper, thus, provides clear analytical definitions of human security, maritime security, private security companies, and naval assets. Therefore, it focuses on how private maritime security companies and naval assets counter-piracy issues by striking a balanced act on human security (pirates, crews and civil citizens or fishermen who live at coastal or sea area) and protection of maritime resources or commercial commodities? And how to measure risks and the advantages of using naval assets or private maritime security companies while abiding governing laws?

Keywords: Piracy, Human Security, Maritime Security, Private Security Companies, Naval Assets

1. Introduction

The international shipping industry is responsible for the carriage of around 90-95% of world trade (ICS, 2017; del Pozo et al., 2010, p. 20). Furthermore, shipping is the major support of the global economy by means of intercontinental trade, the bulk transport of raw materials, and import/export of affordable food and manufactured goods (ICS, 2017). These facts show that international shipping from the view of cost, charges, reliability, capacity, and speed is still the preferred method over air freight in transporting goods.

Due to a globalization process and a huge demand for international shipping, there are many challenges to its operation such as piracy, crime, terrorism, etc. Currently, piracy is one of the most common threats to international shipping because over 50.000 merchant ships ply through the seven seas. Furthermore, there are more than 200 million container movements involve the USA and world sea trade which is expected to increase significantly over the next few years (IET, 2017, p. 1).

The situation at sea is challenging because the number of recorded piracy attacks was 107 in 2018 with the biggest number of attacks in Nigeria (Africa) and Indonesia (Southeast Asia) (ICC International Maritime

Bureau, 2018). In comparison to previous years starting from 2014 till 2017, the number of piracy activities has reduced from 245 to 179 (ICC International Maritime Bureau, 2018). However, there is not a decline in sea terrorism worldwide. Contrary, sea trade routes have never been more vulnerable to economies through disruption of maritime lines as nowadays. Therefore, piracy can only be addressed by means of a comprehensive multi-layered approach that involves political, technological and societal measures to strengthen security capabilities, improve intelligence gathering and sharing to support the effectiveness of law enforcement (IET, 2017). Furthermore, it requires multinational cooperation on land and at sea (IET, 2017). Thus, it is important to seek to improve governance and create good alternatives to already inevitably existing maritime crime by enhancing human security on land and at sea respectively. It means that human security must be investigated further to enable basic human needs of security. Grimm (2004, p. 1) has supported the statement of Stettinius, U.S. Secretary of State, who stated that the peace could be achieved only by means of two fronts. Firstly, it is the "security front where victory spells freedom from fear." Secondly, it is the "economic and social front where victory means freedom from want" because "only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace" (Grimm, 2004, p. 1).

In order to strengthen security capabilities, countries have been starting to increase their naval strength at sea to respond to territorial disputes as well as to enforce maritime borders and protect their national interests. The latter-mentioned undeniably corresponds to human security, maritime security, sovereignty, and national marine resources protection. The naval assets or naval strength is basically a full-fledged force which consists of technology, military-trained crews, vessels, strategy and so on (GFP, 2018). Furthermore, as naval assets address their focus on the national security, shipping industry or commercial shipping companies, so their emerging economic paradigm indicates that the use of maritime-armed guards has increased since 2008 (Isenberg, 2012). Therefore, many new private companies such as private military security companies (PMSCs) or private security companies (PSCs) have been formed to counter piracy issues.

The illustration of situation at sea points out such critical elements as human security, maritime security, private maritime security or naval assets which needed to be analyzed. This paper, thus, provides clear analytical definitions of *human security*, *maritime security*, *private security companies,* and *naval assets.* And, therefore, it focuses on how private maritime security companies or naval assets counter-piracy issues by striking a balanced act on human security (pirates, crews and civil citizens or fishermen who live at coastal or sea area) and protection of maritime resources or commercial commodities? And how to measure risks and the advantages of using naval assets and private maritime security companies while abiding governing laws?

2. Discourse of Definitions: Human Security, Maritime Security, Private Military Security Companies, and Naval Assets

1.1 Human Security

After 9/11 terrorist attacks, human security has become a big concern worldwide, including maritime industry where existing threat has been sustainably growing. It means that governmental and organizational management and regulations are not affective. Furthermore, the *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea* or UNCLOS (1982) is needed to be improved or at least supported by organizations, including PMSCs, in countering piracy issues. Similarly, the United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, has elaborated that:

> …demands we face also reflect a growing consensus that collective security can no longer be narrowly defined as the absence of armed conflict, be it between or within States. Gross abuses of human rights, the large-scale displacement of civilian populations, international terrorism, the AIDS pandemic, drug, and arms trafficking and environmental disasters present a direct threat to human security, forcing us to adopt a much more coordinated approach to a range of issues (United Nations, 2000).

Therefore, *human security*, in its broadest sense, is "far more than the absence of violent conflict" because "it also encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill his or her potential" (United Nations, 2000). It is believed that

all steps towards human security should be followed by reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict, etc." (United Nations, 2000).

Furthermore, *human security* may be examined through two main aspects (UNDP, 1994): firstly, it is a safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease, and repression; and secondly, it means a protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, jobs or communities. Such threats can exist at all levels of national income and development. Moreover, despite the long threats to human security, those two main aspects have been classified into several categories: Economic, Food, Health, Environmental, Personal, Community, and Political securities (UNDP, 1994).

Therefore, *human security* is defined as: 1) freedom of fear and the freedom of want which paints a compelling view of victory of security, economic and social aspects which can endure peace; 2) collective security which encompasses basic human rights and good governance that leads to national security; 3) safety and protection which covers economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political securities.

1.2 Maritime Security

Human security is not limited to on land safety only. Furthermore, people involved in sea jobs like fisherman or seafarer must be ensured in their safety in maritime domain as well. Thus, Bueger (2015) has identified and viewed the relation of sea power, marine safety, blue economy and human security of coastal population as components of maritime security. These four concepts were established to point out different challenges of maritime governance which may or may not be integrated into maritime security. Sea power concerns the role of military force and the maritime dimension of inter-state war and threats to national survival. Furthermore, marine safety concerns about regulating shipping, port security, safety of seafarers, searching and rescuing provisions, and protecting marine environment. Blue economy concerns economic opportunities that are offered by maritime ranging from resource extraction to tourism. Finally, human security considers living conditions of coastal communities dependent on sea, in particular, their food security and the risk of their marginalization of in land governments.

Furthermore, del Pozo, F.V.A., Dymock, A., Feldt, L., Hebrard, P.M., & Ferdinando, S. (2010, p. 45-46) have distinguished *maritime security* from *maritime safety*. Thus, *maritime security* is the "combination of preventive and responsive measures to protect the maritime domain against threats and intentional unlawful acts" while *maritime safety* is the "combination of preventive and responsive measures intended to protect the maritime domain against, and limit the effect of, accidental or natural danger, harm, and damage to environment, risks or loss." Furthermore, according to Feldt, Roell, & Thiele (2013), *maritime security* is a responsibility which does not have clear definitions when it comes to maritime security operations because it involves many policy sectors. It is a governmental responsibility, but the authority to act on behalf of a state is a sovereign decision with different options which has a strong influence on maritime collaboration. Thus, authors (Feldt et al., 2013) have identified main elements of maritime security such as international and national peace and security; sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence; security of sea lines of communications; security protection from crimes at sea; resource security, access to resources at sea and to the seabed; environmental protection; security of all seafarers and fishermen.

Maritime security has been an increasing challenge due to the enactment of piracy and terrorist actions around the world. It has been under UN's, and International Maritime Organizations (IMO) focus since 1959. Unlawful acts which have threaten the safety of ships and the security of their passengers and crews have grown during the 1980s with reports of crews being kidnapped, ships being hi-jacked, etc. Pirates and terrorists, who are usually equipped with weapons and explosives,often threatened passengers and sometimes killed them. For example, there is a list of issues related to piracy and sea terrorism acts since 1961 (IMO, 2018): hijacked SS Santa Maria (cruise ship) in La Guaira (Venezuela) on 23 January 1961; hijacked Anzoategui (cargo ship) in the Venezuelan coast on12 February 1963; hijacked SS Columbia Eagle (cargo ship) on 14 March 1970; hijacked MV Avrasya (ferry) in the port of Trabzon in Turkey on 16 January 1996; attacked the USS Cole (Navy ship) in the port of Aden in Yemen on 10 June 2000; attacked the SS Limburg (oil tanker) in the Gulf of Aden, off the coast of

Yemen on 6 October 2002; attacked on the Super Ferry 14 (ferry) in the Philippines on 27 February 2004; attacked the M/V M. Star (VLCC oil tanker) in the Persian Gulf on 27 July 2010.

After Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro was hijacked in 1985, IMO (2018) has adopted a resolution A 584(14) on measures to prevent unlawful acts which have threatened the safety of ships and the security of their passengers and crews. Subsequently, in 1986, IMO issued MSC/Circ.443 on measures to prevent unlawful acts against passengers and crews on board ships (IMO, 2018). IMO continues to adopt conventions and security regulations which ensure legal actions applied to people committing unlawful acts against ships, including the seizure of ships by force; acts of violence against persons on board ships; and placing devices on ship boards (IMO, 2018). Furthermore, the *Suppression of Unlawful Acts Convention* (SUA Convention) implemented in 1988 provides punishment or extradition of persons who commit or have allegedly committed offences specified in the treaty. There have been 196 states ratified which cover 94% of the world merchant shipping tonnage and 154 states have ratified the *1988 Protocol*.

1.3 Private Military Maritime Security

Private Military Security Companies (PMSCs) known as Private Military and Security Services (PMSS) or Private Security Companies (PSCs) exist in expectation to counterpiracy operations due to lucrative and private ends of piracy practices. Moreover, their existence is supported with the inability of coalition with naval forces (Coito, 2013). Companies and commercial shipping industry employ PMSCs to secure their vessels from pirate syndicates and terrorism at sea. IMO as a unit of UN, which is responsible for global maritime safety and security, has been vigorously contesting the employment of PMSCs by other companies. It is provoked by the evasive escalation of PMSCs unfavorable performances and conflicts with civilians, for instance, Iraq and Afghanistan established a purpose of deviating rather than countering piracy and, therefore, provide measures (Coito, 2013).

To date, it is difficult to explain why PMSCs alongside with solving piracy issues continues to have 'dark sides' and what laws may help to reduce the problem. In 2012, IMO through its Maritime Safety Committee (MSC) agreed upon an Interim Guidance to PMSCs. It encompasses adequately comprehensive conditions as to deployment of privately contracted armed security personnel (PCASP) on board ships and the carriage of arms on board by PMSCs respectively (IMO, 2012): 1) PMSC Professional Certification: to seek certification with relevant national and international private maritime security service standards when these are established; 2) PMSC Company requirements: to establish procedures to provide maritime security services to ship owners and ship operators and comply with all relevant legal requirements; 3) Management: to include recommendations on vetting and training of personnel for a PCASP team; 4) Deployment considerations: to maintain communications with the ship owner or operator on management of firearms and ammunition from embarkation to disembarkation and use of force (PMSCs should recognize that laws governing the use of force may differ over time and according to location. The applicability of national law, including any criminal laws, for an incident on a ship from which PCASP is operating, will be principally that of the flag State. It may also include the laws and regulations of coastal, port and other States) (IMO, 2012).

Therefore, the wide spectrum of PMSCs services currently offer to carry out security audits to identify and rectify specific vulnerabilities and gaps in a vessel's security organization and preparedness; to run training courses for crew on how to respond when they come under attack; to provide aid with recovery of hijacked ships and/or the negotiation of ransoms; to employ guards – armed and unarmed – and occasionally escort boats to accompany freighters when transiting high-risk areas.

The number of PMSCs offering such services has grown significantly in recent years, and the market continues to be flooded with new entrants. However, although the terms of the contract may be acceptable, this does not necessarily mean that armed guards or the security company itself will perform to expectations. Members who are unsatisfied with the performance of PMSCs have to report their concerns to the Loss Prevention Department. Thus, those concerns may include: failure to follow the agreed Rules for the Use of Force (RUF); questionable leadership; inappropriate firing, handling or storage of weapons; improper watchkeeping; guards who appear to

be inadequately trained; reckless or unsatisfactory behavior; inadequate language skills; refusal to sign Visitors' Passes; late arrival at the pre-arranged boarding point; hidden costs, etc.

1.4 Naval Assets

The sea has become the second battlefield for conflicts and terrorist attacks in the world. Therefore, it demands new and additional support from military powers. Naval Assets (NA) is one of the supportive military solutions that helps government to counter piracy and crime at sea. Thus, NA is country's military power and capacity such as expansive reach of vessels, helicopters, battle force ships made up of aircraft carriers, frigates, destroyers, corvettes, torpedo boats, patrol boats, amphibious support craft and landing craft (regardless of onboard technology employed, crew training, fleet quality, etc...) to strengthen a standing naval force (GFP, 2018). For example, China and EU joint exercise in the Gulf of Aden aimed to demonstrate the growing cooperation between EU and China on issues of international security and defense (European Union for Somalia, 2014).

The United States of America (the USA) is a country which declares to possess the strongest naval force. Once the USA was involved in a battle war against Greek's piracy. When the Greek War for Independence erupted in 1821, American sympathies were naturally with the Greeks. The frigate Hellas – flagship of the Greek Navy fleet – was designed and built in America. In the wake of 1823, Greek naval defeated at Bodrum, however, the Greek Navy turned to privateering to support the revolt and attacked merchantmen, including American merchantmen. The USA would not countenance this and, therefore, the American Secretary of the Navy dispatched a powerful reinforcing squadron which arrived in the Mediterranean in 1825. This squadron was built around the ship-of-the-line North Carolina—America's first battleship—and the famous frigate Constitution (still on display today in Charlestown, Massachusetts – near Boston). The squadron commander's tasks were to protect American commerce and to negotiate a trade treaty that would increase American access to the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, he escorted American merchantmen to Turkey, visited Greek ports and made contact with Ottoman officials. His initial operations in the Aegean in 1825 appeared to accomplish the first task to deter piracy. America's war for independence spawned many small American naval forces—national, state, and private. Some had acquitted themselves quite well against the Royal Navy, but all had disappeared once American independence had been declared. The 'new' USA, however, has quickly become a major international shipping power during the last decades of the 19th century, capitalizing on American knowledge and resources as well as European involvement in the several wars of the French revolution and of the Napoleonic Era. A particularly profitable trade had grown up between American ports and Smyrna. America's huge new merchant fleet, however, periodically became prey to French or British warships and privateers as well as the corsairs of the Barbary States of North Africa. Therefore, in 1798 the United States commissioned a new navy to protect its burgeoning commerce (Swartz, 2003).

Proven strengths of naval forces in protecting interests of countries have been eminent. The USA is possibly the strongest naval force in the world which has been equipped with the most wide-ranging naval assets. Furthermore, EU, China, Korea, United Kingdom (UK), Russia are amongst the strongest naval forces in the world.

Table 1. Definitions of Human Security, Maritime Security, Private Military Security Company and Naval Assets

Summary of human security definition	Summary of maritime security definition

Grimm (2004): Freedom of fear and the freedom of want, which paints a compelling view of victory of security, economic and social aspects, which can endure peace.	**Buerger (2015):** 1) Sea power: the role of military force and the maritime dimension of inter-state war and threats to national survival. 2) Marine safety the regulation of shipping, port security, the safety of seafarers, search, rescue provision and the protection of the marine environment. 3) Blue economy the economic opportunities that are offered by the maritime, ranging from resource extraction to tourism.
UN (2000): Collective security, which encompasses basic human rights and good governance that leads to national security.	4) Human security considers the living conditions of coastal communities dependent on the sea, in particular, their food security and the risk of their marginalization in land focused governments.
UNDP (1994): Safety and protection, which covers Economic, Food, Health, Environmental, Personal, Community and Political securities.	**Del Pozo et al. (2010):** Combination of preventive and responsive measures to protect the maritime domain against threats and intentional unlawful acts. **Feldt, Roell, & Thiele (2013)**: 1) International and national peace and security. 2) Sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence. 3) Security of Sea Lines of Communications. 4) Security protection from crimes at sea. 5) Resource security, access to resources at sea and to the seabed. 6) Environmental protection. 7) Security of all seafarers and fishermen.
Summary of PMSCs definition	**Summary of Naval Assets definition**
PMSCs is a private organization which consists of former veterans of army which commercially acts upon	**Naval Assets (NA)** is a possession of a country of an expansive reach of vessels, helicopters, battle force

commercial industries needed security guarantee. **PMSCs services currently offer:** 1) Carrying out security audits to identify and rectify specific vulnerabilities and gaps in a vessel's security organization and preparedness. 2) Running training courses for crew on how to respond when they come under attack 3) Aiding with recovery of hijacked ships and/or the negotiation of ransoms 4) Deploying guards – armed and unarmed – and occasionally escort boats to accompany freighters when transiting high-risk areas.	ships made up of aircraft carriers, frigates, destroyers, corvettes, torpedo boats, patrol boats, amphibious support craft and landing craft (regardless of onboard technology employed, crew training, fleet quality, etc...) to strengthen a standing naval force.

Source: Summaries of definitions are evaluated by the author based on the literature review analysis.

3. Piracy and Its Expanding Zones

Piracy is a complex and vast maritime problem which demands better regulations as on land as at sea (Murphy, 2007). It is driven by governmental, economic, political, geographical and socio-cultural drivers, including the role of wars which weaken states' stability, which, therefore, create more benefits rather than restrictions to do crime (Kyrychenko, 2018). To date, there exist a lot of definitions and explanations of *piracy* that creates piracy multilayered and sophisticated issue to deal with. The official definition of *piracy* is clearly described in UNCLOS (Article 101) and supported by the *Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery* (ReCAAP) as:

> (a) any illegal acts of violence or detention, or any act of depredation, committed for private ends by the crew or the passengers of a private ship or a private aircraft, and directed: (i) on the high seas, against another ship or aircraft, or against persons or property on board such ship or aircraft; (ii) against a ship, aircraft, persons or property in a place outside the jurisdiction of any State;

> (b) any act of voluntary participation in the operation of a ship or of an aircraft with knowledge of facts making it a pirate ship or aircraft;

> (c) any act of inciting or of intentionally facilitating an act described in subparagraph (a) or (b).

Globally, the number of piracy and armed robbery acts against ships reported in 2011 was 544 with the increased number of 55 (11.3%) comparing to 489 reported in 2010 (IMO, 2018). The most affected areas were East Africa and the Far East, particularly in the South China Sea, followed by the Indian Ocean, West Africa, South America, and the Caribbean in 2010 and 2011. The majority of incidents was occurred in East Africa with the increased number of 223 in 2011 instead of 172 in 2010. The deployment of motherships by Somali pirates and the increased range of their operation contributed to the growing number of incidents occurred in the Arabian Sea with the increased number of 28 in 2011 instead of 16 in 2010. However, the number of incidents in the Indian Ocean decreased from 77 to 63 in 2011. Despite the high number of Somalia-based piracy attacks, the pirates' success rate has been significantly reduced. In 2011, there were 33 attacks out of 286 resulted with hijacking ships (11.5%) while in 2010 Somali pirates attacked 172 ships and hijacked 50 of them (29%). Worldwide, seven crew members were killed in 2011, that is up from two in 2010 while 569 crew members were

reportedly kidnapped, in 2011, that is down from 1.027 in 2010 (IMO, 2018). Therefore, statistical data points out the synergy of IMO's continuous legal binding enforcement, NA and PMSCs acts against piracy which must have been the key drivers to changes.

Based on Bueger's matrix (fig. 1), there is a projection of relations of human security, maritime security, PMSCs, NA to prevent maritime piracy and its rapidly expanding zones. In other words, NA definitely works on the interest of national security which is strategically considered as key aspects of marine environment, economic development, maritime security, human security, and counter-piracy. Furthermore, obviously, PMSCs act upon commercial relationship. They do combat piracy, but they do not consider other parts as their responsibilities to deal with. Therefore, both NA and PMSCs are perceived as preferred means to counter piracy as a maritime issue.

Figure 1. Conceptual Relations of Human Security, Maritime Security, Private Maritime Security or Naval Assets to Prevent Maritime Piracy and Its Rapidly Expanding Zone.

Fig. 1. Maritime security Matrix (Source: Bueger [2]:161).
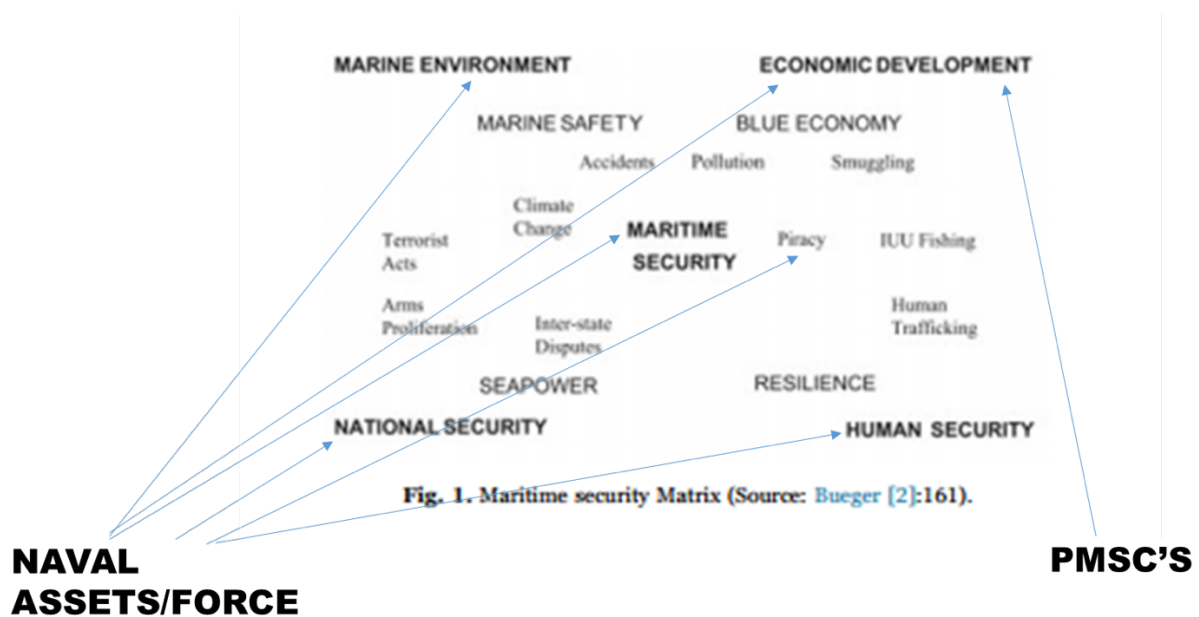
Source: Bueger (2015).

4. Discussion and Conclusions

The situation at sea determined by existing issues such as terrorism, crime, robbery, piracy is provoked by weak effectiveness of international laws like UNCLOS or ReCAAP. Furthermore, a government has to be supportive and helpful in following law's regulation and, more so, to resolve existing problems which create profitable conditions for piracy activities, for example, poor governmental management, intra-state conflicts, weak guarding system, corruption. It means that maritime related issues are directly connected to on land problems which urgently needed to be resolved.

The role of all governmental, non-governmental organizations and private companies matter in countering piracy issues. For example, the flag of convenience is known as two-ships provision when any ship is under the jurisdiction of its state leads to piracy activities and, more so, creates impediments to collaboration among states (Murphy, 2006). It is not clear for government to which jurisdiction a ship belongs to while countering piracy. Furthermore, seafarers hide and avoid reports about piracy attacks due to extra insurance charges and costs. All these factors impact work evaluation to do improvements for future measures. Moreover, it costs extra money to

send guard boats or provide guarding staff to protect a crew, or it is just not enough to send a small guard team. Therefore, PMSCs is a good and effective way to reduce expenses and at the same time to provide effective counter-piracy measures. For example, ships can easily contact the nearest PMSCs and/or NA to ask for urgent help.

The main question is still opened whether ships and crew are ready to call for PMSCs in order to extra charges and what a degree should have an issue in order to report it as a piracy crime. Thus, case shows that costs are over safety and security. Furthermore, coupled with literary evidences, this study portrays a compelling view of putting human securities (at least as the basis of maritime security) as fundamental issues needed to be addressed when it comes to maritime security matrix anyway.

Maritime security views that human rights and the good governance are pivotal elements to the success of maritime security. When safety and protection which cover economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political securities are fulfilled, a danger of harming innocent civilians and piracy at sea will be exponentially reduced or disappeared.

Even though piracy as a problem has been partially reduced and IMO as governing body of the world continuously seeks to legally bind their acts towards problem resolution at sea, there is still a huge demand of improvement of management and regulation at all levels. Moreover, bureaus and other bodies have to be checked on conducting corruption. Furthermore, a government has to establish better research centers to have credible and easy-accessible information because the free and fast transmission of all data is one of the prerequisites to problem resolution in maritime domain. This is actually inter-ministerial approach to maritime security problems and a symbiotic relationship to human security.

The fact that PMSCs and NA are of a high demand for counter-piracy that corresponds to how IMO and other related governing bodies of UN to Maritime and Human Securities can accelerate the enactment of legal framework. The legal framework will be the fundamental path for the continuous harmony of marine environment and economic development.

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A Comparative Study of Filial Piety and Life Satisfaction among Ningbo, Zhuhai, and Macau[*]

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Abstract

Filial piety (FP) and life satisfaction were being studied among Ningbo, Zhuhai (the Mainland China) and Macau region of China. A total of 1252 undergraduate students were recruited from these three cities. FP is significantly different between eastern (Ningbo) and southern (Zhuhai) China, while FP is not significantly different between the Mainland China and Macau. FP is significantly associated with life satisfaction among these regions. Life satisfaction is significantly different between the Mainland and Macau, as well as eastern (Ningbo) and southern (Zhuhai) China. The results have a practical implication that educators can teach filial piety to students and ask them to respect, obey, and take care of their parents. As students show FP to their parents, their life satisfaction will increase.

Keywords: Filial Piety, Life Satisfaction, Comparative Study

Filial piety (FP) is a combination of social attitudes and social behaviors for children with parents, including cognition, emotion, will and behavior (Yang et al.,1989; Yeh and Bedford, 2003). The main practical connotations of Chinese filial piety in the traditional Chinese classics are mainly composed of the following fifteen aspects: Devotion to parents, obedience to parents, admonishment, care parents with courtesy, inheritance, prominently known, affection, entertainment, making parents worry-free, care on the side, foster parents, the love of themselves, fertility of next generation, the ritual of the funeral, doing things with courtesy (Yang et al., 1989).

Whether filial piety will be diminished or weakened with modernization, at present some research conclusions are not consistent. Some studies believe that contemporary filial piety declines (Cheung & Kwan, 2009; Li et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2010); others do not support this conclusion (Huang & Chu, 2012; Yeh et al., 2013). The reasons for the inconsistency may be: (1) the existing researches are carried out in the Chinese mainland and the Hong Kong and Taiwan regions of China, the modernization processes of politics and economy of Hong Kong,

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Taiwan, and the Mainland are differences, which may cause people to have conceptual differences in the degree of the filial piety (Yeh et al., 2013). (2) there are regional differences in Mainland China, which may lead to inconsistencies in research findings. (3) various research methods may lead to different conclusions, for instance, a case study (Liu, 2013), quantitative research (Cheung & Kwan, 2009; Yeh et al., 2013). Based on the evidence of these previous studies, we proposed the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Filial piety will be significantly different between the Mainland China and Macau region of China.
Hypothesis 2: Filial piety will be significantly different between eastern (Ningbo) and southern (Zhuhai) China.

Filial Piety and Life Satisfaction

Life satisfaction can be defined as an individual's cognitive evaluation of his or her whole quality of life (Pavot & Diener, 2008). Filial piety is closely related to the formation of life satisfaction. The research found that when children voluntarily respect and support their parents, their happiness will increase; but if children are expected to respect and support their parents, they will greatly reduce their happiness (Lu et al., 2006). In other words, when children inwardly agree with the concept of filial piety, they will have a positive impact on personal life, and hence increase their life satisfaction. This result also reflects the characteristics of filial piety change: from the external social standardization of filial piety to the internalization into individual's filial attitude. Based on the previous findings, we proposed the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3: Filial piety will be significantly associated with life satisfaction among these regions.
Hypothesis 4a: Life satisfaction will be significantly different between the Mainland and Macau region of China.
Hypothesis 4b: Life satisfaction will be significantly different between eastern (Ningbo) and southern (Zhuhai) China.

Current Study

Although some researchers have studied the comparative study on FP between the Mainland, Taiwan, and Hong Kong (Yeh et al., 2013), few researchers have probed the study on FP between the Mainland and Macau. And to the best of our knowledge, we are the first one to study the relationship between FP and life satisfaction between the Mainland and Macau. Moreover, we are using two cities' data (one in Ningbo, and one in Zhuhai) in the Mainland, to conduct the comparative study with Macau. We would like to probe whether there are any regional differences between the Eastern and Southern China on FP and life satisfaction.

Method

Participants and procedure
Data were collected in several universities; one in Ningbo, one in Zhuhai, two in Macau. Data collected in Ningbo and Zhuhai were using www.wjx.cn, an online data collection site, while data collected in Macau were using paper and pencil format. All the participants are university students. In Ningbo and Zhuhai, teachers distributed the link to their students and asked them to fill it out online, in Macau, teachers distributed 320 questionnaires. From the forms distributed, 300 questionnaires were returned, yielding a 93.8% response rate. Their ages ranged from 18 to 23 (M=20, SD=1.48). In Ningbo and Zhuhai, there were 354 and 598 college students answered the online survey respectively, their ages ranged from 18 to 23 (M=20, SD=1.35 for Ningbo and M=20，SD=1.09 for Zhuhai)

Measures
Filial Piety. We used a 14-items self-developed Filial Piety Scale, based on Yang's practical connotations (1998). Participants rated items on a 5-point scale ranging from 1= Never to 5= Always (e.g., Have you taken care of your parents?) Cronbach's alphas for Filial Piety Scale were .80 for both Mainland and Macau.

Life Satisfaction Scale. We used a 20-items Life Satisfaction Scale, developed by Kern et al. (2015). Participants rated items on a 5-point scale ranging from 1= Never to 5= Always (e.g., I feel happy) Cronbach's alphas for Life Satisfaction Scale were .94 for the Mainland and .90 for Macau.

Results

Descriptive Statistics
Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlation for the two variables are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, Intercorrelations between Study Variables

	Ningbo (*N*=354)	Zhuhai (*N*=598)	Macau (*N*=300)
1. Filial Piety	40.63 (SD=7.59)	47.08 (SD=6.84)	41.52 (SD=7.46)
2. Life Satisfaction	69.44(SD=13.99)	74.29 (SD=12.26)	69.37 (SD=11.01)
Correlations (0.52*)	0.64**	0.44**	0.40**

*three places in total N=1252, p<.01; **p<.01

Hypotheses Testing
We used independent T-test to test whether filial piety would be significantly different between the Mainland China and Macau, or would be different between Ningbo and Zhuhai. The data analysis has indicated that filial piety is not significantly different between the Mainland and Macau (F=1.26, p>.05). However, filial piety is significantly different between Ningbo and Zhuhai (F=6.88, p<.01). Hence, hypothesis 1 was objected, while hypothesis 2 was supported.

We used linear regression to test whether filial piety would be significantly associated with life satisfaction among these regions. Filial piety is significantly associated with life satisfaction among these regions (F=474.27, p<.001). FP explains 27.5% variance on life satisfaction (corrected R^2 =0.274). Hypothesis 3 was supported.

Again, we used independent T-test to test whether life satisfaction would be significantly different between the Mainland China and Macau, or would be different between Ningbo and Zhuhai. The data analysis has indicated that life satisfaction is significantly different between the Mainland China and Macau (F=19.33, p<.001). Hypothesis 4a was supported. Moreover, life satisfaction is significantly different between eastern (Ningbo) and southern (Zhuhai) China (F=9.57, p<.01). Hypothesis 4b was supported.

Discussion

Our findings indicated that the result was inconsistent with the previous findings (Yeh et al., 2013). Filial piety doesn't have any significant differences between the Mainland and Macau region of China. Mostly likely undergraduate students in Macau have a similar perception on filial piety as their counterparts in the Mainland. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first research paper to study filial piety and life satisfaction in eastern and southern China. One thesis studied the filial piety between city's and village's high school students in Henan province (Qi, 2018). Undergraduate students in Zhuhai (southern) gained higher scores in filial piety and life satisfaction than their counterparts in Ningbo (eastern). And there are significant differences between these two regions of China. China is a big country and consists of 56 ethical groups. They have different cultures, dialects, living and education habits. It is not surprising that their perceptions of filial piety or life satisfaction are different between eastern and southern undergraduate students in China, even though most of them are Han ethical group.

Besides filial piety or life satisfaction alone, FP is significantly associated with life satisfaction. It has a practical usage in daily life nowadays. As educators, we can teach filial piety to students, explain to them why we need to respect, obey, and take care of our parents. As they respect, obey, and take care of their parents, their level of life satisfaction will be enhanced. Undergraduate students have formed their self and become young adults, and their filial piety has started to form or already formed. If we can start to teach filial piety from kindergarten to college

years, students will have a positive perception on filial piety and feel that this is their responsibilities to respect, obey, and take care of their parents. Hence, their level of life satisfaction will increase. Moreover, undergraduate students have higher filial piety will have higher life satisfaction. Among these three groups, undergraduate students in Zhuhai have highest FP and hence have highest life satisfaction than their counterparts in Ningbo and those in Macau.

Limitations and Future Research Direction

Although the results have new insights addition to previous research, there are some limitations to our research. Firstly, we used Chinese students only in our research, the generalizability of our results to other populations and cultures are limited. In future research, researchers may contact the same study to other populations and cultures. Secondly, we used a to survey, which may lead to social desirability bias. Future research may use multiple research methods to reduce social desirability bias.

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Labour Response to Outsourcing Policy, Research in Industrial Intensive Area-Indonesia

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Abstract

This paper describes the responses of manufacturing industry labours toward outsourcing policy in Indonesia. Written based on a research done in Karawang which is the most-dense industrial region in Indonesia. The research has successfully identified a number of violations conducted by businessman against outsourcing policy, and this research has also explored the responses of sustainable workers. An effort has been made by the government under the leadership of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono system in the form of Ministerial Regulation of the Ministry of Labour Number 19 of 2012 which aims to eliminate ill practices of outsourcing employment. The regulation limits the types of jobs in which the outsourcing system can be administered. This regulation has somehow decreased the anxiety among labours. However, labour organizations still demand the ban of outsourcing system. They keep doing protests and demands to both regional and national government to eliminate the outsourcing system in various moments such as May Day. The major trigger of this problem is the different comprehension of the outsourcing system which leads to labour discrimination. Businessmen perceive outsourcing system as an applicable system to apply in all types of job, leading to discrimination toward outsourcing labours in terms of wage difference, fear to make the association, and work termination threat. The weak supervisory of government apparatus and the needs for local politicians to obtain fund from businessmen has caused the protection over labours less optimum. Moreover, the fragmentation inside labour organizations also made them unable to fight for this issue, and this condition has been utilized by businessmen to spay labour movements.

Keywords: Outsourcing Policy, Discrimination, Fear to Associate, Employment Encertainty, Karawang

1. Introduction

A keyword of global trade in the twenty-first century is the rapid growth of outsourcing. The strategy chosen by the company is to focus on the core business. In hiring workers, companies choose the outsourcing system. Academics immediately examine the effectiveness and impact of the system as it is done Kakabadse & Kakabadse, 2005; Harland, Knight, Lamming and Walker, 2005; Knights and Jones, 2007 and Kang, Wu and Hong, 2009. In Indonesia, the idea of implementing an outsourcing system emerged after the economic crisis in the late 1990s. Since its enactment in 2003, the Labor Law has continued to receive objections. One item that workers continue to question is about outsourcing. Outsourcing was a new system that entered the labor policy in Indonesia in early 2000 when the economic crisis was still ongoing. Although the practice of outsourcing has been going on since the colonial era, it does not become the top choice of entrepreneurs. The idea to liberalize the labor market in early 2000, originally came from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to overcome the

economic crisis of the late 1990s. The IMF's recovery strategy is outlining a restructuring of the financial sector. Outsourcing can reduce labor costs significantly. Because the greatest crisis was contributed by the debt of private companies, the rationalization and efficiency were carried out by layoffs. Between 1997 and 2000, the number of unemployed workers being laid off reached up to 1.2 million people. The efforts for an economic recovery were made by rehiring the outsourced workers.

The outsourcing system was then adopted as a strategy for private companies to increase the number of workers. The main argument is that in unstable economic conditions, hiring employees remains not the primary choice. This reason is the same as that of companies in Malaysia (Hakim, Ahmad, C.F. Ho, & Ramayah, 2017). When the Labor Law plan was being drafted, the concept of outsourcing was included. No social forces including the labor unions involved in the drafting of the law criticized the proposed draft. Once the contracting and outsourcing system become the primary choice of employers, the labor unions oppose it. The biggest wave of rejection occurred in 2006 in which more than 2 million workers surrounded the House of Representatives and the main streets of Jakarta and industrial cities, rejecting the government's plan to revise the Labor Law. The refusal was made because the labor union leaders had information that the revision would precisely reinforce the position of the outsourcing system in the new law being prepared by the government.

Although the outsourcing system is commonly known in industrial relations in the world, its application in Indonesia has faced serious challenges from the workers. Every year, especially on the celebration of May Day, the workers call for the abolition of this system. The Decree of the Minister of Manpower and Transmigration No. KEP. 101/MEN/VI/2004 concerning Procedures of Licensing of Workers / Employers Companies and Decree of the Minister of Manpower and Transmigration Number KEP. 220/MEN/X/2004 in terms of submission of Parts of the Implementation of Work to Other Companies does not reduce the disappointment of the workers. Even the decree of the Minister of Manpower number 19 of 2012 in terms of submission of some implementation of work to other companies that accommodate the full demands of labors, the demands of elimination of outsourcing system does not stop. This shows that the main demands of the workers are not in the areas of employment that can be accommodated and the rights of contract workers. When being more carefully scrutinized, the core demand of workers is that workers aspire to become permanent workers of a company with mechanisms before the economic crisis of 1997/1998 (Rochadi, 2014). According to the old mechanism (Regulation of the Minister of Manpower No. 5 of 1995 and Regulation of the Minister of Manpower No. 2 of 1993), a worker was appointed permanent worker after one-year probation. During this probation, the worker earns 80% of the wages of permanent workers.

The status of being permanent workers remains the hope of all workers in the manufacturing industry. With this status, workers have a clearer and safer status, peace of mind in working, access to financial resources and careers. Other statuses such as honorary workers, contract workers, and outsourced workers are the second and third levels of the company's workforce structure. In addition, rejection is also intended to remove various discrimination as a result of the outsourcing system.

2. Literature Review

Studies of outsourcing have been carried out by researchers. Lahiri (2016) who examined 57 articles in journals published between 1996 -2015 concluded that outsourcing had been practiced in different industry sectors. If the goal is for efficiency, outsourcing is a good choice. The study of 100 small and medium-sized industries in Malaysia also revealed the same conclusions. Not the dynamics of the environment and the strategic orientation of the company that provides benefits, but the characteristics of business owners (Hakim et. all, 2017). While the implementation of outsourcing in the field of information systems is able to change the control structure of the company and create new challenges for management. In addition to changing the control system by utilizing technology, companies also change employee work patterns (Christ, Mintchick, Chen, Bierstaker, 2015).

Empirical research is carried out in a number of companies in Australia when outsourcing is still a new system. The researchers concluded that outsourcing supports cost efficiency, companies get a superior workforce

(experienced), specialists and save about 10 percent in net costs (Clegg, Bourdon, & Nikolova, 2005), (Young, 2000). These findings have a broad impact on the use of outsourcing systems in Australian companies including those abroad. Most companies in Developing Countries utilize advance comparatives such as natural resources and the amount of labor. The use of outsourcing systems in India shifts the conventional strategy to competitive advance because companies get superior and experienced workforce, thus focusing more on developing and improving product quality (Sreedevi & Tanwar, 2018).

Because the goal is for efficiency, innovation and product quality improvement, the outsourcing system can be applied in all types of work. As stated by Garaventa & Tellefsen, 2001), outsourcing as "the contracting out of functions, tasks, or services by an organization for the purpose of reducing its process burden, acquiring specialized technical expertise or achieving expense reduction." In other words, outsourcing is a company's step to reduce process load, gain technical expertise and save costs. In that sense, the type of work transferred to the other party is unlimited. As stated by Yasar (2012) the transfer of work may include parts of the production, along with its workforce, facilities, equipment, technology, and other assets as well as decision making in the activities of the company.

However, the management consultant who is a member of CIO Indonesia (2017) stated that the type of work transferred is the non-core work that was originally done internally to other companies with expertise and specialization. This concept is then adopted by the Minister of Manpower Regulation no. 19 in 2012. The outsourcing that is defined as the transfer of non- core work in line with the thinking to realize efficiency, quality of work, focus on core business and improve innovations to win the competition. Such a goal has been made by John Naisbitt (1995) in the early 1990s about "the small, lean and flexible will win the competition.

Outsourcing is a real practice of flexible employment markets globally. The flexible employment market is an institution in which users, workers and job seekers meet at a certain level of wage in which the parties have the discretion to work together without social and political barriers (Tjandraningsih and Nugroho, 2008). This flexibility is based on the consideration of both companies and workers need each other and need a free agreement. The company prepares itself to compete in the global arena and therefore not only network, product quality, and efficiency but also a conducive business climate created jointly among government, employers, and workers (tripartite). Thus, the rapid changes in the business environment require rapid response and together as a business adaptation strategy.

Accordingly, the idea of a flexible labor market that overshadows the operationalization of outsourcing systems is actually rooted in the classical economy. According to the classical school, free job seekers find work according to their tastes and abilities. Similarly, users are free to choose workers with rational considerations. By applying the principle, it will create efficiency for both parties so that economic growth will continue to be guaranteed. Moreover, since the worker is free to determine the type of work under the current conditions of economic growth, the flexibility of the labor market can create greater employment opportunities as well as equal distribution of income in society. Such views are embraced and advocated by the World Bank to countries that seek to restore the economy from a crisis (World Bank, 2006).

The decree of the Minister of Manpower and Transmigration Number KEP. 101/ MEN/VI/2004 concerning Procedures of Licensing of Workers/Employers Companies and Decree of the Minister of Manpower and Transmigration Number KEP. 220/MEN/X/2004 in terms of submission of part of the implementation of work to other companies as the implementer of Labor Law (13/2003), clearly facilitates the working of a flexible labor market in the form of outsourcing system. The policy was born in response to a rigid labor system that benefits formal workers. The deindustrialization phenomenon marked by the declining contribution of the industrial sector in the formation of national income and the decline in economic growth is caused by a rigid labor market that frightens investors. Deregulation of the labor market through Labor Law 13/2003 and its derivatives are intended to attract more foreign investment.

Article 59 of Labor Law 13/2003 concerning the work system of the contract referred to as the employment agreement for a certain period, it is mentioned that, "The temporary employment, work estimated to be completed within three years, seasonal work, or work relating to new products and activities, or additional products still in trial or exploration". This chapter implies that contract workers are temporary, at most 3 years. After that time, a worker has the right to be appointed as a permanent worker. However, there is no article that instructs employers to assign workers to permanent workers after 3 years. Regarding the time limit of 3 years is reaffirmed in Article 59 paragraph 4 that states: "A certain time employment contract based on a certain period of time may be held for a maximum period of 2 (two) years and may only be extended 1 (one) time for a maximum period of 1 (one) year".

The absence of a provision that mandates appointment as a permanent worker weakens the status of the workers is used by employers to seek productive young workers. With such situations, the mobility of workers to find new jobs is very high, especially workers in the productive age. The provisions of outsourcing under the Labor Law 13/2003 are stated as follows: "The Company may deliver part of the work to other companies through employment contracts or the provision of written/written labor services" (Article 64). Jobs that may be submitted to other companies shall meet the following conditions: performed separately from the main activities, carried out by direct or indirect orders from the employer, constitutes the overall supporting activities of the enterprise, and does not impede the production process directly (Art. 65 paragraphs 2). These limits are still vague resulting in various interpretations. The decree of the Minister of Manpower No. 19 of 2012, in terms of submission of some implementation of work to other companies, mentions in detail that 5 types of work that can be transferred or encouraged, i.e. the cleaning service, food supply business for workers/laborers (catering), business of security personnel (security/security units), supporting services business in mining and oil, and freight business for workers/laborers.

3. Method

This research was conducted in Karawang regency-Indonesia. This district was chosen because it is the largest industrial area in Indonesia. In 2016 the number of large and medium companies in Karawang was 2,952 units, employing 214,464 workers (BPS Karawang, 2018). The data used in writing of this article is a combination of primary data obtained through interviews with the chairman of the Indonesian Labor Union Confederation, the labor inspector of Karawang Regency and a staff member at the regency employment service that receives reports on the use of outsourced labor in companies. The rest, this research used secondary data, both findings that have been produced by previous researchers, the data generated by the Central Bureau of Statistics and the statements of relevant officials published in the mass media. Books, journals, and magazines have provided very useful information, both concepts, theories and conditions of employment. The data analysis is done by analytical descriptive, that is describing a symptom in detail and systematic, the meaning of the phenomenon and position it in concepts or social theories. Karawang Regency was chosen as the focus of study because it is the largest industrial area. In addition, this regency has the highest minimum wage in Indonesia.

4. Result and Discussion

Developing countries face the problem of implementation of policies and development programs as Israel (1991) points out in the World Bank's aid in developing countries. The main problem is the lack of program continuity and clear responsibility. However, it examines the outsourcing policy, the barriers to program implementation is not only by the continuity of the program and the clarity of the responsible person but also the clarity of the policy, the commitment of the program implementers, the political will and the responses of the labor unions. Viewed from a political perspective, only programs that provide political backing to the government are seriously supported by the government. Policies that are implemented in earnest are only those that allow political officials to be re-elected in the district, provincial and central government.

Taking note of the timing of policymaking, the main challenges faced by the governments in the early 2000s and development strategies, it is difficult to expect the government's favor to the workers. Employment strategic

policy was prepared in the early 2000s where the economic crisis still overshadowed Indonesia. Massive labor demonstrations of the 1990s are seen as one of the causes of the economic crisis. The labor demonstrations depleted millions of working hours and reduced production. In addition, demonstrations that are often accompanied by physical violence by both the security forces and the workers cause a disturbance of security and instability. Some factories are closed to restore security, and for employers, that action is a loss. Indonesia is considered unattractive for investment and investors move their companies to Vietnam, Thailand, and Cambodia. Furthermore, the main challenge faced by the government is an economic recovery. This challenge can only be answered by attracting as many investors as possible. Incentives such as ease of investment, tax breaks, friendly industrial relations, investment-friendly land policies, and a large market are proposed to attract investors. In this strategy, it is impossible to involve laborers. The strengthening of workers is considered a threat to investors. In dealing with the workers, Soeharto's and post-Soeharto's development strategies are not much different. Labor remains positioned as a leftist force that threatens the position of a new oligarchy formed fromentrepreneursandofficialsraisedbytheNewOrder(Robinson&Hadiz, 2004)(Winters, 2011). This means that labor is not seen as part of a strategy to solve the problem of post- Suharto political economy. Therefore, it is not difficult to explain the workers "sacrificed" in the strategy of economic development through outsourcing system. Some gaps between concepts and implementation in the field are described as follows.

a. Differences Understanding of Outsourcing

Although the contract system has been implemented in Indonesia since the 1900s, this system has not been internalized among workers. The workers recognize only two types of worker status: permanent workers and honorary workers. With respect to the period of employment (usually 1 year), the honorary workers are designated as permanent workers. So all workers after being declared accepted in a company expect a maximum of one year later changed status as a permanent worker. Therefore, when employers apply the outsourcing system, almost no workers are prepared to accept it. This unpreparedness is added up with the employer's treatment of workers with outsourced status.

The next debate leads to a job that can be outsourced. Human resource management experts such as Sparrow (2003), Yasar (2012) and John K. Halvey and Barbara M Melby (2012), stated more positive aspects of outsourcing than conventional systems. The main argument is that in any hyper-competitive market and relying on the network, and the labor outsourcing system is the most profitable option. Another advantage is, first, the company can improve its business focus. As stated by Vaxevanou and Konstantopoulos (2015) the philosophy of employers to implement outsourcing to focus on core business and build competitive advantage. It deals with work efficiency, and the company is able to create quality products. Second, outsourcing makes the operational risk of the company can be divided into other parties so that the company's losses can be reduced. Third, the decreasing cost of expenditure (capital expenditure) because the funds previously used for investment, can function as operational costs. Fourth, the company can employ competent human resources (HR) because the workforce provided by the outsourcing company is trained and competent in their field.

System outsourcing is also an option for new industrial nations. South Korea's success in the electronics, automotive and telecommunications industries since the crisis of 1997/1998 preferred the outsourcing system. The choice was made to increase the number of formal workers. In 2013, the number of temporary workers in South Korea was around 38% and had continued to rise in the following years (Kim & Jaffe, 2013).

In accordance with the argument above and paying attention to the rapid flow of labor globalization, then outsourcing is an easy option. Its application in Indonesia faces serious challenges from labor unions due to the lack of protection of workers. The practice of outsourcing in various companies tends to be exploitative, violating the rules of employment and employers are not concerned with the fate of workers. A common practice found in all firms is that outsourced workers do all kinds of work (Romdoni, 2018). This practice continues despite contradictory to the Decree of the Minister of Manpower number 19 of 2012 in Terms of Submission of Some Implementation of Work to Other Companies and the continuous pressure of the labor unions. The

entrepreneur's argument is that such practices are in line with the business climate, not violating the existing regulations and more favorably for both employers and workers.

b. The discrimination to the outsourced workers

The practice of permanent and contractual employment relations has created fragmentation or grouping of workers based on the status of work relations at the factory level. In this practice in one factory, there are three groups of workers, i.e. permanent workers, contract labors and labors. In contrast to the findings of Tjandraningsih, observations of researchers in the industrial area of Karawang West Java, the grouping of workers on the basis of work "soft skills" and "hard skills" and "permanent workers" and "outsources." Factories engaged in the metal field, banking and automotive, the classification of workers is more based on administrative work and unskilled labors. Those who work in the field of operators by managers are called workers (labors). This is the lowest level in the workforce structure of the factory. While those who work in the field of administration are called staff by the manager and they call themselves "employees." This latter classification does not perceive itself as labor, although some of them are outsourced. These findings suggest that the consciousness of the labor as genuine labor (genuine labor) has not grown among the labors.

Meanwhile, workers in labor-intensive industries such as the textile, garment, footwear, food and beverage and printing industries, the more dominant classifications are "permanent workers" and outsourced workers. Compared to capital-intensive industries, in the labor-intensive industry, the division is more apparent and has an impact on the manager's treatment to workers. The treatment can be briefly described as follows:

1) Wage difference
Although Article 29 of Ministry of Manpower regulation No. 19 of 2012 states that the right of outsourced workers is the same as permanent workers, but in practice, discrimination occurs. Outsourced workers in the industrial area of Karawang Regency receive lower wages than the regular workers do. According to West Java Governor Decree No. 561/Kep.1065- Yangbangsos/2017, the minimum wage in Karawang Regency in 2017 is 3.9 million Rupiahs (equivalent to 278.5 USD). In practice, some entrepreneurs especially in labor-intensive industries, pay the wage laborers below the regulation. For outsourced workers, almost no one receives wages according to the minimum wage of the city let alone on it.

Article 29 of Ministry of Manpower regulation No. 19 of 2012 clearly states:
"In the case of employment relationship is based on a certain time work agreement whose work object still exists as referred to in paragraph (1) must contain at least: guarantee of continuity of work, guarantee of the fulfillment of workers' rights in accordance with laws and regulations promised and guarantee of working period in the event of a change in the enterprise of the provider of workers/labors to determine wages. Workers/laborers' rights as referred to in paragraphs include: the rights of to leave when they meet the terms of employment, social security, a holiday allowance, a rest within a period of 1 (one) receives compensation in the event that the employment relationship is terminated by the company of the worker/labor provider before a certain period of time of employment and ends not in the employer's fault, the right to a wage adjustment calculated from the accumulated employment period"

It can be stated that employers are prohibited from discriminating in any case to workers. All workers have equal rights including wages, freedom of association and career development. In fact, the three cases discrimination is openly made to outsourced workers. Wage discrimination constitutes a serious violation of the decision of West Java Governor No 561/Kep.1065- Yangbangsos/2017. Labor inspector of the Department of Social Affairs and Labor Karawang regency, Sisca Yuliska (2018) stated that such practice is done in many companies, especially labor-intensive industries. In this type of industry, profit margins are small, so employers affect the ability of employers to pay wages. Prohibiting employers has an impact on the low absorption of labor because entrepreneurs can replace with machines. There is no data about the financial condition of labor-intensive enterprises in Karawang to know the small profit. Although, in the last 5 years there are no labor-intensive companies that go bankrupt.

The condition is better than the situation in South Korea. According to Kim and Jaffe's observations, non-permanent workers generally only earn half the wages of permanent workers and do not receive welfare benefits. Most of them could not join labor unions because of status as casual workers (Kim & Jaffe, 2013). Nevertheless, since 2004 the working conditions in South Korea have improved, especially with the policy of 5 working days per week and a minimum wage of 1.35 million won or the range of Rp14 million in 2017.

2) "Prohibition" to Join Organization

Entrepreneurs build mechanisms in such a way that outsourced workers do not dare to associate. Freedom of association is guaranteed by Labor Law of 13/2003, ILO Convention No. 87/1948 on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize and Law no. 21/2000 on Labor Unions. The mechanism is that since the outsourced worker contract is only valid for one year and after it has to be renewed, the outsourced workers who enter the union, the contract of work will not be renewed. Thus, the workers lose their legitimacy to be active in the union. According to the 2016 Economic Census, there are 592.031 workers in Karawang. Of that number, only around 100 thousand or 15-17 percent of workers are members of the union. In 2018 the union estimated that the number of workers who joined the union was less than 100 thousand (interview with Agus Zaenal leader of SPSI Karawang and Abda Khairi leader of Singaperbangsa Workers Union July 2018). The same phenomenon occurs at the national level. In 2007 the number of unionized workers was 6.1 million people, then in 2018, there were only 2.7 million. This is what the workers fear. Getting a job is the hope of every human being especially in conditions of unemployment. In 2016, the open unemployed in Indonesia reached 7.02 million people and in 2017 rose to 7.04 million. Taking into account a large number of unemployed, the workers are more defensive than claiming rights including normative rights such as wages.

Against such situation, the State's protection is required to enforce the law. However precisely, there is the weakness of law enforcement. In addition to the less assertive apparatus, lacking the courage to align with the law, most of the apparatus in the region is too close to the employers. In the era of decentralization and direct regional head elections in which candidates for regional heads need enormous funds to campaign, cooperation with employers is one of the sources of funding. There was so many negative cooperation in the period of 2004-2017, there were 392 regional heads who were involved in the law from 542 regional heads. Mostly because of corruption involving employers. The implication of such cooperation is the non- unequivocal state apparatus to entrepreneurs.

Another factor is the owner of a company or foundation that recruits and employs an average former bureaucratic and military official. They have a strong network, especially in the security field. The employment apparatus is not the least raised by them and therefore has no courage to enforce the law either to the employers or to the outsourced worker supplier's foundation.

3) Dull Future of Outsourced Workers

One of the factors driving the continued demands of workers to eliminate the outsourcing system is the dull future of workers under this system. By working in a company that is not based on working relationships (work agreements are made with companies that buy jobs), there is no career path for outsourced workers. Perhaps within 1-3 years when the main need is to get a job, this condition has not been a problem. However, after more than 5 years of work where workers need recognition of the status of senior workers, social esteem, and self-actualization according to Maslow's needs, are psychological pressures that can lead to disharmony, workplace conflicts and decreased work productivity. Under these conditions, it is clear that the worker is harmed. Therefore, the outsourcing system only selects single and productive workers.

5. Conclusion

Based on the analysis and field findings, the conclusion that can be put forward is that, first, the ongoing and sometimes violent response of workers with the outsourcing system is done not only to fight for labor rights as perceived by permanent workers but also to fight for their self-esteem the presence of other workers and

employers. It is because it relates to self-esteem, existence, and survival, labors collectively dare to struggle for rights on an ongoing basis.

Second, the struggle of the workers even though it has been carried out from 2005 to 2018, has not produced satisfying results because the labor force is divided. In addition to being split by status as administrative staff, clerks, hired labors and outsourced workers, the equally serious split is a divide between trade unions. By 2018, there are 6 confederations, 100 federations and 6,808 enterprise-level unions with 2.7 million workers. In addition, the lack of government's partisanship in the struggle of the workers helped weaken the struggle. The government in its development strategy does not require labor participation.

Third, the labor response to the outsourcing policy with the aim of revoking the policy is difficult to realize. In addition to the global business climate that tends to choose the outsourcing system to create efficiency in winning the competition, the policies of successful industrial countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and European countries also apply outsourcing system. What is more necessary is the humane treatment of labor, whether outsourced or not, as long as the workers are adequately entitled to their rights, will establish mutual beneficial industrial relations.

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Credit Scoring Application at Banks: Mapping to Basel II

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Abstract

Credit scoring is a process to find out the numerical assessment that mainly relied on an analysis borrower' profile. A credit score is primarily based on a credit report information commonly sourced from customer files and independent sources. Lenders, such as banks use credit scores to evaluate the potential risk posed by lending money to consumers and to mitigate losses due to bad debt. Hence, credit scoring is a powerful tool. By examining knowledge in Credit scoring as well as Basel II fundamentals, the author proposed a mapping process to match Credit score application at banks in accordance with Basel II.

Keywords: Outsourcing Policy, Discrimination, Fear to Associate, Employment Encertainty, Karawang

1. Introduction

Credit risk is one of the oldest and most widespread types of risk in the financial market (FSI, 2010), which frequently occurs and causes severe consequences for the banking business. Credit risk assessment is the first step, which is the prerequisite before the bank decides to lend to customers, and one of the most widely used credit risk assessment techniques of commercial banks is using credit scoring analysis tools to rank customers, therefore, credit scoring is a powerful tool, not only in credit risk management, but also in business development such as identifying target customers, enhancing customer experience, minimizing processing time… However, there are many methodological and technical challenges in building, using and applying such a tool effectively to business practice. Thus, the author aims to map credit scoring to Basel II at banks.

2. Credit scoring foundation

The idea of a credit scoring tool, begun in the 1970s, as banks realize that there is a rapidly growing market for smaller loans to small and medium businesses, this requires a radical shift in the way customer reviews are analyzed, instead of relying solely on the subjective judgment of the lender. The idea is that a statistically based tool could do a better assessing a customer: it's cheaper, faster and more reliable. With a slow start, the pace at which these techniques are being applied has increased significantly, as the advantages of credit scoring compared to traditional credit rating techniques become apparent. In developed markets, traditional risk assessment techniques have been completely replaced in the retail banking segment and in many SME portfolios. Today, many financial institutions, especially large ones, rely on a number of credit scoring systems

to help manage every aspect of their customers and customer relationship. There are several definitions of the credit scoring system: Credit scoring, according to Naeem Siddiqi (2017): "Credit risk scoring, as with other predictive models, is a tool used to evaluate the level of credit risk associated with applicants or customers". Credit scoring is a statistical technology that quantifies the credit risk posed by a prospective or current borrower and seeks to rank them so that those with poorer scores are expected to perform worse on their credit obligations than those with better scores (Aveny, Brevoort & Canner, 2009). According to Standards & Poor's (S&P's), credit scoring is the current assessment of credit risk, credit quality, ability and willingness of borrowers to meet their full and timely financial obligations. According to Moody's, credit scoring is an assessment of the credit quality and debt repayment capacity of borrowers based on fundamental credit analysis and expression through the Aaa to C ranking system (which now becomes the standard all over the world). Thus, it is possible to define credit scoring as a process that evaluates the ability of a customer to perform one's financial obligations to a bank such as interest payments and debt repayments when due, or other credit obligations to assess and identify risks in the bank's credit operations. Credit risk varies from customer to customer and is determined through a point-of-sale process, based on the customer's financial and non-financial information.

The scorecard format: The credit scoring model has many possible formats, but the scorecard is the most well-known and commonly used in the world. According to Siddiqi, N. (2017), the reasons this format is preferred because it has several advantages:

Example Scorecard Criteria	Range		Points
Business Stability	0-1	Year	0
	0-2	Years	10
	0-3	Years	20
	3+	Years	25
Bureau Score	0		0
	600-650		0
	700-750		30
	750+		50
Bank Account Stability	0-1	Year	0
	0-2	Years	10
	0-3	Years	20
	3+	Years	25
Total Score	XXX		

Table 1.1. The credit scorecard format sample

Source: eflglobal.com

This format is simple to interpreted, to understand, deployed and used. The increase or decrease in scores for each attribute is intuitive, consistent with business experience, and therefore applicable for risk managers and decision makers with little statistical knowledge.

Reasons for refusal of credit application, low scores, or high scores may be explained to customers, auditors and all stakeholders in simple business terms.

The development process for these scorecards is transparent, and is broadly understood. It can easily meet any validation or audit requirement.

The scorecard is easy to diagnose, maintain and monitor. The scorecard structure makes that analysts without comprehensive statistical or programming skill can implement these actions. This helps the scorecard to be an effective tool.

The type of model: after select the format, banks will decide the type of the scorecard model based on data available. Three types of scorecard models included: *i) Expert method:* also known as a judgmental method, the models built based on developer's judgment and industry experience: this is the traditional method of assessing a customer in a bank. This method is applied when the bank has little data available in the targeted portfolio; *ii)*

Statistical: statistical method is applicable when the bank has a large set of historical data, maybe thousands of customers' record in the targeted portfolio or sector. The base idea of this methodology is the "discriminant analysis" which is using a statistical method to identify and separate between the "good" and the "bad" accounts. The techniques vary, but some of them commonly used are: Logistic Regression, Decision trees, Artificial Neural networks; ***iii) Hybrid:*** as in the name of the method already mentioned, this methodology is the combination between the Expert and the Statistical method. This method is usually used to build the scorecard models for relatively large companies because it needs both the good understanding of current business practices from banks and also use the statistical tool to do the discriminant analysis. This is a critical step because it determines the method of model building, and the structure, result and application of the models in the business. In general, the steps to be analyzed and the questions to be answered for decision making are presented as in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1. Credit scorecard format sample
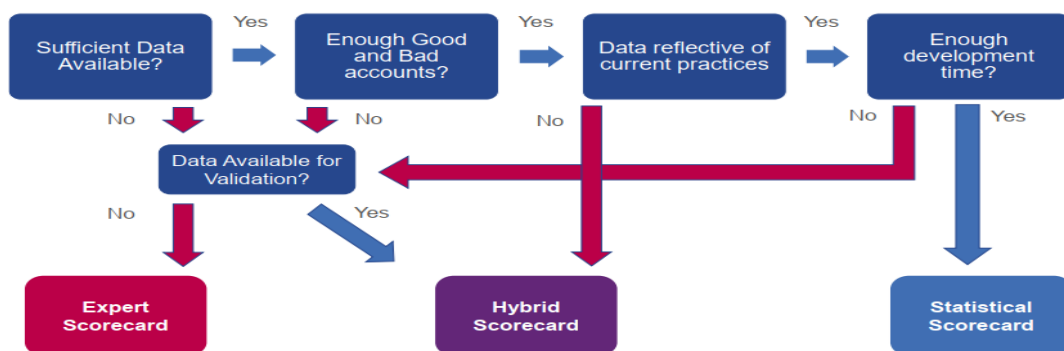
Source: Compiled by the author

The structure of hybrid scorecards in banks

Based on the analysis, it is understandable that hybrid models are adopted by many banks and chosen as the methodology for credit score modeling, because of the advantages of this model out weighted the disadvantages. At the same time, financial factors and other quantifiable factors, the indicators such as: management ability, the strategy of enterprises, the impact of macro factors… are factors that have a great impact on business operations, but they are difficult to quantify, as is heterogeneity between cases and requires an understanding of the lender in making assessments.

The model building methodology is the combination between the statistical and expert method, and the structure of the model is as below:

Figure 1.3. Structure of hybrid credit scorecard
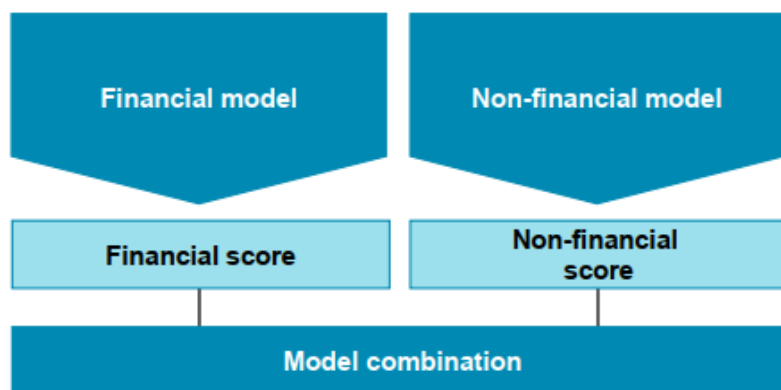
Source: Compiled by the author

Modeling steps can be as simple as: Creating two distinct models: a model based on financial factors (quantitative statistical methods) and a model based on Non-financial factors (by expert method), then combine them on the basis of careful weighing to get the final model. Building the financial model using quantitative statistical analysis: These are quantitative indicators, taken directly or calculated based on financial statements of enterprises. Usually they come from 4 groups: Group of solvency indices: Liquidity ratio (current ratio, quick ratio, acid test…). Group of performance criteria: Working capital turnover; Inventory turnover; Turnover of total assets; Round of payables; Turnover of receivables…. Group of indicators on financial structure: Debt gearing ratio; Self-financing coefficient; Self-financing rate of fixed assets (long-term assets); Equity debt ratio; Coefficient of asset structure; Coefficient of capital structure. Group of profitability indices: Gross profit margin; Return on assets (ROA); Return on Equity (ROE).

The approach of this step is performed "discriminant analysis" which is using a statistical method to identify and separate between the previously defined "good" and the "bad" accounts. The common methods used are: Logistic Regression, Decision trees, Artificial Neural networks.

Building the non-financial model using expert judgment: These are mostly qualitative indicators. The experts of the bank will decide which factor to include in this model. To identify these criteria accurately, requires the modelers must have the level, knowledgeable about the business and sector of the business that the enterprise is operating. Non-financial indicators include: indicators on the management level and internal environment of enterprises, prestige indicators in relation to credit institutions, indicators on business activities, Factors affecting the operation of enterprises. Based on the expertise of the bank's specialists and risk appetites, each indicator will be given acceptable thresholds and assigned points depending on their value.

The challenge of this phase is mostly from assigning points and weight for each factor, how to decide how much this component should weight to contribute to the whole model? There're several ways to achieve this: like equal weighting (which is assigning equal points and weight for every factor), committee consensus (forming a committee to debate and finally reach consensus in assigning points and weight) … but whichever the method, the outcome still depends on the perception and risk appetite of each bank.

The final is combining those two models: typically, scores of the financial models account for 60% the total scores of rating, and scores of non-financial part account for 40% of the total scores of rating. Or in some banks, they choose to perform combining work by doing the regression between the "bad" ratio and the result of the financial and non-financial model to statistically best reflect each model' contribution to the final one.

3.   Mapping Credit Scores to Basel II

Basel Committee on Banking Supervision - BCBS is a committee consisting of banking supervision experts, established in 1974 by a group of central banks and supervisory authorities often developing countries (G10) in the city of Basel, Switzerland. The Commission was born after a series of international currency and banking crises.

Basel II was issued in June 2004 and came into effect in January 2007. Basel II classifies the risk and calculates the amount of capital that needs to be maintained to ensure that the bank has sufficient capital to cover the financial and operational risks faced by the bank in its lending activities and investment, ensuring liquidity and stability of the economy in general. The main objectives of Basel II include: Ensure that the allocation of funds is made on the basis of consideration of risk factors; Promoting information disclosure that allows market participants to measure an institution's capital adequacy; Credit Risk, Operational Risk and Market Risk are measured against standard data and techniques. The above objectives are reflected in Basel II through the concept of "Three Pillars", demonstrated in figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2. Three pillars of Basel II
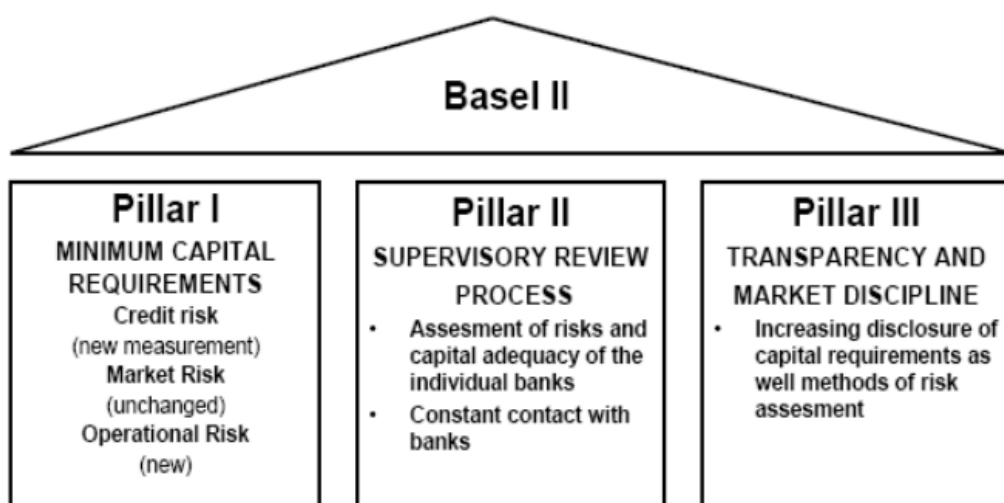
Credit risk: Calculated in three ways: (1) Standardized Approach (SA): Use rating results of independent external credit rating agencies to determine risk coefficients for different asset classes; (2) Foundation Internal Rating Based (FIRB): use internal data to model the probability of default (PD model), loss given default (LGD model) and exposure at default (EAD model) provided by the State Bank to calculate the capital; (3) Advanced Internal rating based (AIRB) method: banks develop internal PD, LGD, EAD models to calculate credit risk.

Figure 1.3. The expected loss formula
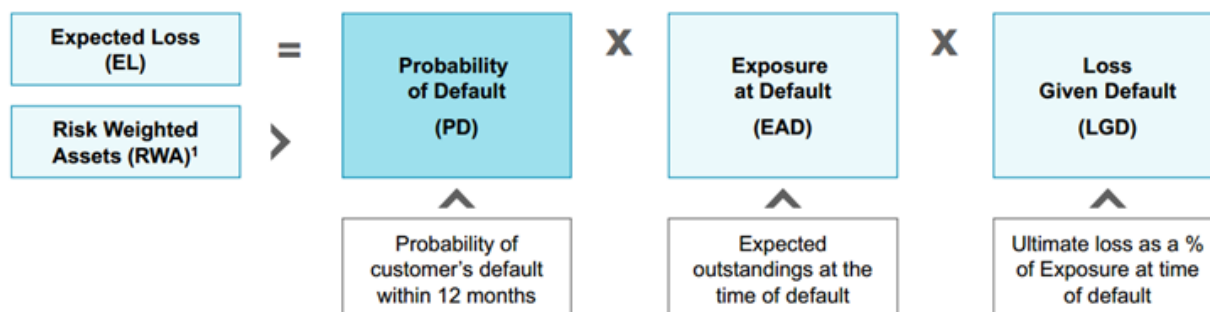
As can be seen from preceding discussion, the scorecard was developed under the definition of "good" and "bad" accounts which may have a different definition with the "default" as required by Basel II standard.

Under the Internal Rating Based (FIRB & AIRB) approach, banks must develop internal Probability of default (PD) models together with Loss Given Default (LGD) and Exposure At Default (EAD) to calculate credit risk and make provision.

According to Javier Márquez (2008) "there is a direct relationship between scores (as obtained from a scorecard) and default probabilities. Thus, it is possible to determine the range of scores that correspond to a particular interval of default probabilities and the ratings they are associated with". Therefore, there's must be an additional step to align the scoring result to the PD. Figure 1.4 below that demonstrate the result of this step.

Figure 1.4. Mapping between Credit score to PD
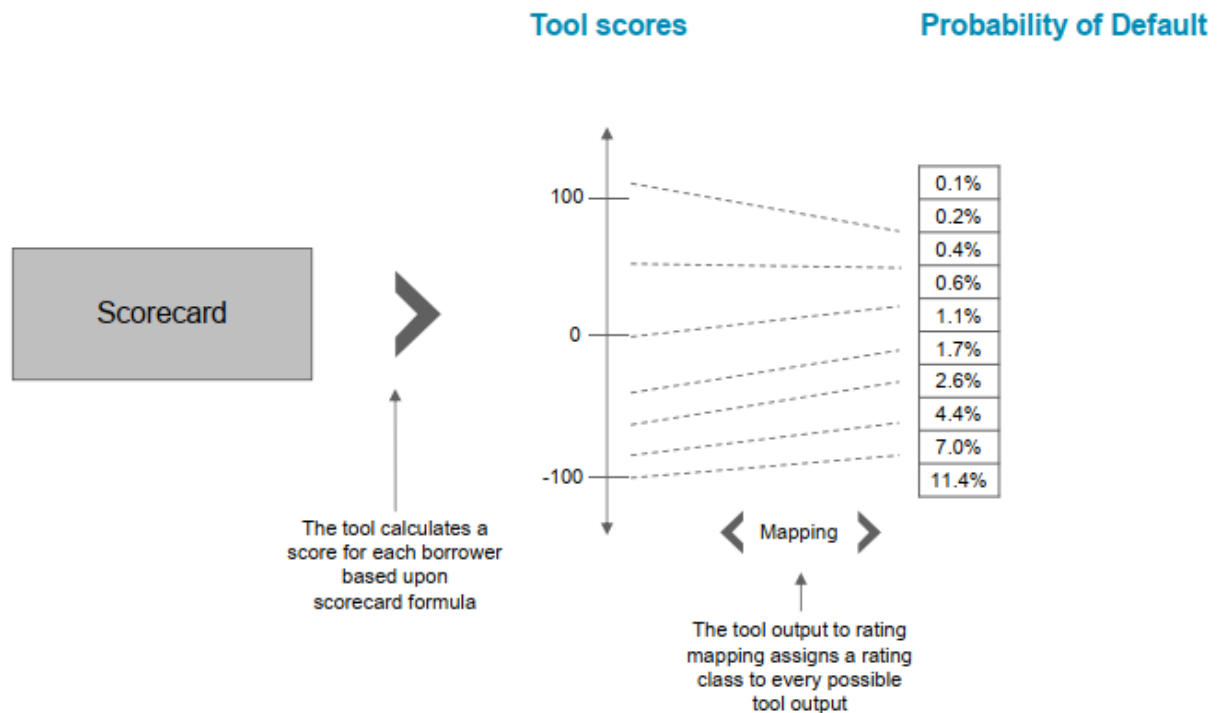
The final result will be a scorecard model for clients, along with the client's default rate corresponding to each point range. With this outcome, there're lots of possibilities in implementing this model.

4. Credit Scoring applications at Banks

According to Jamal E. Rahal and Grace Mungai (2015): "Credit scoring systems are used in a number of different ways and at different points in the customer life cycle. They have brought tremendous tangible and intangible benefits to most institutions that have embraced them". With such a powerful tool in hands, Banks could make lots of risk-based decision that can improve the performance of the bank. Some of them are listed below:

- To improve the selection of loan clients: Choosing a lender is always an important decision in the bank's credit operations. Making the wrong choice can lead to huge risks because customers can't pay their debts. Based on what basis to decide whether to lend or refuse the loan. When considering the decision to lend to a bank, it is usually based on collateral, business plan, financial situation, debt repayment capacity ... However, when there is a credit scoring system, banks can be based on the results of the rating to select customers with appropriate credit conditions.

- To limit credit risk: Banks seek to maximize profits by seeking the highest possible returns on loans and at the same time try to minimize the risks associated with lending activities to ensure safety for the whole system. In that trend credit scoring is an increasingly widespread technique to limit risks in credit activities of banks. The results show that the risk level of the borrowers, the lower the score, the higher the loan risk, which will help the bank to assess the quality of the loans, track the movement of risk items in the credit portfolio.

- To support loan classification and risk provisioning: The credit rating will be used as a basis for commercial banks to classify debts, calculate and make provisions for risks. Accordingly, the bank will classify the loans into appropriate groups of debt, assessing the necessary reserve level.

- Develop customer policies: Based on the results of the rating, the bank has a policy for each client group. Customer policy includes:

+ Credit granting policy: Depending on the ranking of the bank, the bank can provide customers with different credit products. Customers with a high credit rating will be offered a wide range of credit products such as short-term loans on a short-term basis, long-term loans, guarantees, trade finance…

+ Pricing policy: Based on the customer rating, banks will apply different rates and fees. Clients with high rankings will be offered lower interest rates and preferential rates than those with low ratings.

+ Loan security policies: Banks will issue different loan security policies such as fully / partial no collateral for low-risk customers, or the loan need to be securitized by real estate for high-risk customers.

Conclusion

Finalization of credit scoring in general and credit scoring are being paid more attention by commercial banks. This will help to reduce risks in the business and improve the credit quality of the banks. This is also advantageous for this subject to continue to develop research in the future.

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Social and Political Theory of Liberalism, Socialism, and the Social State

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Abstract

The idea behind the creation of the social state has its roots in the concept of welfare (pronia in Greek) . However, the creation of integral, institutionalized and based on legislation state intervention in Europe can be traced to the need to address social problems during the 19th century. Furthermore, the intervention manner was based on the theoretical approaches and the political/ideological principles of governance of economic activity models, the correlation of power between social groups and interest groups, but also on the need for social balance and development. Social movements and the intellectual political theories of liberalism and socialism played a primary role in state intervention. Over time and as national and global conditions changed, the prevalent ideological political systems would also change; specific approaches linking society with the market and production prevailed, thus influencing the design of the applied social state policies. Under those conditions the so-called pluralistic forms of the social state emerged bearing a different structure and content depending on the social, political and ideological orientation of each country.

Keywords: Liberalism, Political Theory, Socialism, Social Theory, Social State

1. Social and Political Influences on the Emergence of the Social State and the Particularity of Greece

The concept of the social state [1] is related to the significance attached to state intervention, i.e. the implementation of its institutional framework of application during the provision of services to citizens in order to cover their needs. To begin with, the social state recognizes its political and moral obligation to assist the citizens. At the same time though it represents the everyday aspect, which is oriented to human values, to the person himself as value (Preller, 1962), the practical dimension, that is the way in which the policies applied are implemented based on the specific political ideology in regard to the manner, extent and duration of the intervention. "The institutional operation of the social state developed as a result of claims made by social groups and in the context of political struggle of various movements with the authorities. The establishment of

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[1] Article 25 of the Constitution of the Hellenic Republic states that "the rights of human being as an individual and as a member of society and the principle of the rule of law welfare state are guaranteed by the State". Tsatsos D. presents the opinion that the social state constitutes the historical response to the rule of law state by intervening in existing ownership relationships of individuals in order to redistribute goods and thus ensure social justice (Tsatsos, 2004, p. 259).

social intervention measures in the social sector as a citizen right was done consciously in the state's effort to adapt to citizens' demands to cover specific needs and through the synergy of the social and economic sectors. As such, it was the result of political planning and the subsequent self-evident connection and harmonious continuity of the political relationship of the state and the citizen, and was thus established in citizens' minds" (Koffas, 2011, p.202).

The main characteristic of the social state is the political ideology followed as a shaping factor in the institutional establishment of the social state's right to redistribution. The manner in which the forces of the economy and the market are linked with the families, the informal networks and the activities of the subjects are directly connected and interwoven with the provision of services of social care, insurance and protection with different textures in different ideologies, and with most likely similar formal legal institutionalization, but not always actual. The distinguishing difference lies in the sociopolitical culture and more specifically the extent to which the institutional framework is applied (in its entirety or selectively), the resources used (state or own), who applies it (institutionalized agents or the free market) and how (by right or in reciprocity) (Koffas, 2011, p.203 ; Sdrolias et.al. 2016, p.42-44).

Hence, the theoretical approaches[2] of the social state even though they are linked with the expected perception for, usually, official state support, differ according to the prevalent socioeconomic ideological view. Therefore, in the conservative/corporatist view[3] it is understood as a redistributive policy for those in need and for financially dependent workers, in the liberal view[4] it signifies state intervention that aims towards regulations that will ameliorate financial poverty in general, while in the socialist approach its significance is understood as a policy of equal opportunities for all and especially disadvantaged and socially powerless vulnerable groups which require greater social attention (Sanmann, 1975, p.189). In the socialist-democratic approach[5] it is even more evident that the social state should orient its actions as a form of general policy having society at its centre and more specifically to consciously aim to realize liberty and justice for the entire society (Lampert & Althammer, 2001, p.3).

In the case of Greece the creation of the social state was devoid of ideological structure and political motivation as the result of social movement claims, and was not the product of any long-term planning. Institutional state intervention was shaped belatedly in a piecemeal manner as a consequence rather than a major factor in the gradual development process of the social state. It was created on the logic of short-term electoral/political considerations and the corporatist modus operandi of guild interests, as well as the particularities of formal and informal care networks in Greek society (Venieris & Papatheodorou, 2003, p.44 ; Koffas, 2009, p.37). Claims for social measures by labour movements in Greece promoted guild and union related interests instead of measures for the broader community. These claims followed a subjective/individual form of incentives "which is related to the emotional satisfaction of needs and its positive impact on the work and personal life of the worker" (Sdrolias & Skouri & Sirakoulis & Leventi, 2006, p.125), by endeavouring to cover personal needs and insecurities of specific groups. This is the residual form of the social state, which is based on the principles of solidarity and mutual help as practices of mutual support among people rather than an institutional principle of

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[2] Various classifications of countries have been developed based on specific characteristics of the social state. The following works by Esping-Andersen (1990), Titmuss (1974) and Ferrera (1996) analyze both older and newer classification efforts and explain social state models, as well as the concepts they are based on such as corporatism, pluralism, decommodification and the residual state.

[3] Controlled state intervention with the provision of support through the exercise of the redistributive function on a reciprocal basis is the philosophy of corporatism. The welfare state, through its political-economic operation, protects workers from impoverishment and disparagement and at the same time contributes to the maintenance of specialized backup labour forces for the uninterrupted reproduction of capital. By its socio-political function it contributes to the creation of conditions of social cohesion, stability and legitimization of the system; conditions which were constantly threatened by the anarchic and spontaneous action of market and competition forces (Offe, 1984 ; O'Connor, 1973 ; Cough, 1979).

[4] The liberal model favours the market at the expense of central regulations and redistribution. In this case the state subsidizes benefits through the market on a means-tested basis. Transfer payments are limited and so are national insurance programmes. Social intervention contributes to the reproduction of wealth polarization and social inequality as the equality it provides points downwards to poverty (Sakellaropoulos, 1999).

[5] The principle of total decommodification of social benefits prevails in the socialist-democratic model. The central redistribution mechanism of state resources is decisive. All needs are covered while full-time work and equality are the invariable goals of social policy. The principle of the universality of benefits is related to the attribute of citizen and not a work position or need (Sakellaropoulos, 1999).

state organized intervention.

2. The Political View of Liberalism

Since the end of the 18th century political liberalism had a favourable effect on the industrialization of production and brought significant changes to many sectors of social activity. From a social point of view it spurred individual rights, which up until that time were quite limited and under the control of the aristocratic elites, and also contributed to the creation of isonomy among citizens. People, as free citizens of the state now, acquired civil rights, the capacity to determine their lives themselves and to pursue their own financial, political and cultural interests. Viewed from an economic/production angle and in the context of a new, more intense liberal competitive economic activity among people, correlations among productive forces changed resulting in the emergence of winners and losers, rich and poor. Significant differences between social groups made their appearance, in regard to social status, prosperity and quality of life which reflected the new interrelationships of the socioeconomic process (Informationen zur politischen Bildung, 1992, p.3ff). The changes brought on by the early capitalism of liberalization resulted in the emergence of a massive number of unskilled labourers, known as the proletariat, who led a life of suffering and destitution in poverty and misery; this situation became known as social issues. Addressing those pressing needs of financial and social nature, and logistics prompted, among others, the development of the first state care interventions, which were also the outcome of dealing with the organized social movements and the dynamic form of the demands of destitute population groups (Lampert & Althammer 2001, p.14 ; Holtmann, 2000, p.650 ; Schmidt, 1981).

From a political aspect, liberalism developed as a general spiritual and at the same time political movement against the totalitarian and arbitrary dominance of the authoritarian state. It was the response/reaction of ordinary citizens against the absolute dominance of the ruling elite, who despite being the minority enjoyed everything and had numerous benefits unlike the majority of workers who lived in conditions of hand-to-mouth misery. The ideology of liberalism stood up to the authoritarian rule of power by advocating that people are by nature free and equal. The intellectual roots of liberalism can be traced to the philosophical movement of the Enlightenment[6]. As an ideology, the Enlightenment recognized man as a rational and gifted being, who is constantly evolving and rising spiritually thus leading himself, as well as the world around him, to greater fulfillment on condition of the free development of his abilities and personality. Insight in regard to the rational evolution of the human spirit and his achievements are part of the perception that basic human rights exist naturally and as such take precedence over any law of the state (Röd, 1996, p. 167; Antonopoulou, 1991, p. 27). The implementation of the Enlightenment philosophy of liberty and equality of men imposes a universal demand on the state to not only support citizens with the discretionary use of the necessary resources and means, but to go further by guaranteeing the right of each and every person the potential to freely develop his personality. In the classical form of liberalism of the 18th and 19th centuries this mandate takes a specific shape, which along with state intervention includes in practice (not just theoretically) the concepts/values of personal freedom and self-determination, equality before the law and personal property. Through these fundamental values one may discern a particular view of the state's role in its relationship with the citizens. The state ought to guarantee the free development of its citizens by providing them: first, as many (identical) rights as possible to all, especially the right to the unfettered development and use of one's personal property, and second, the protection of those rights from both external and internal factors, and especially from state intervention (Neumann & Schaper, 1998, p.19ff).

Within this type of structured legal framework any person may freely develop his potential and pursue without hindrance his own personal political, financial, social and cultural interests and aspirations. Competition in the aforementioned process constitutes the regulatory force which ensures that individuals do not act uncontrollably

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[6] The philosophy of the Enlightenment had as a goal the liberation of man from fear and prejudice. Inspired by natural sciences it advocates the view that the dominance of man can be found in knowledge and his ability to recognize the truth. The true state of man based on knowledge liberates him from obscurantism and submission to totalitarian authority and allows him to build a new social order based on the truth, and freedom of thought and knowledge (Antonopoulou, 1991, p.27-28)

in the pursuit of their goals but serve the common good at the same time. The reason is that during competition for social accomplishment and status, income and property, hierarchical rank and prestige, production and consumption there will be a choice either more or less intense. The choice is made for the benefit of all, in the sense that through competition the fittest will survive in regard to effectiveness, the best ideas and products, the political view of the majority and its representatives. Since a competitive process has by default not only winners but also losers, by the end of the selection there will be significant differences in the social position and particularly the social circumstances of the participants. This is how freedom and equal opportunities may be accompanied by social inequality. For the liberal ideology this inequality is basically the consequence of varying effectiveness and that is why it is considered acceptable. Competition is considered to be operating properly only when opportunities for profit co-exist with risk and loss, thus providing increased incentives for the best possible results (Zerche & Grüdger, 1982; Siegel, 2002, p. 38ff). The liberal ideology as an element of social and economic development evolves by taking into account the opportunities available in the free market while facing minimal state intervention, and was established as a model of activity in most western societies. Especially after the 19th century it became the decisive force which propelled the gradual elimination of the totalitarian practices of the regime and the economic administration, and promoted the greatest possible equal distribution of political and social power. The primary political agent of the liberal approach was the ambitious urban class. Through social movements it managed to gradually oblige the systems of constitutional monarchy and limited political activity to grant specific rights of individual freedom and to link the exercise of state power with the implementation of laws (Koffas, 2019). Hence, the central political element, in regard to the exercise of legislative power, gradually expanded beyond the purview of nobility to actually include the elected representatives of the people, despite the fact that the latter could not introduce in parliament any beneficial legislation changes on their own.

The urban class, which now possessed political presence and education, stood up for social issues to a great extent and forcefully participated to bring about significant changes. It was need which led to the birth of the liberal thought and especially equal participation of all social strata in politics, with participation in decision making being the greatest achievement of those struggles. The establishment of the right to vote for the majority of the citizens prompted legislative regulations for the protection of workers by introducing specific rights and at the same time it constituted the basis for the creation of the official social state (Brück, 1981).

As time passed and state intervention permeated almost all sectors of human activity to cover needs that citizens could not on their own, and by linking interventions in the social sector with all other sectors, especially in the neo-liberal view of economy and administration, gave rise to the pluralistic mix of the social state as is currently known. The impetus for the original liberal market economy, besides social movement claims, was complemented by views of social collectivity and solidarity, co-perception of personal responsibility and selective redistribution (Koffas, et. al. 2016).

3. The Political View of Socialism

The political view of socialism[7] tried to contribute to the solution of social problems and address the poverty and destitution of the population within the context of the Marxist view, by pointing out the power of the labour asset when they rally and claim their rights from the manufacturers–their exploiters. Class struggle as a concept would dominate and be used as an interpretative key in regard to the succession of historical political systems; each socialist analysis had as its foundation the said redress of the imbalance in the relations of production. As a prerequisite for reinstating balance in social life, socialism advocated the actual implementation of the principles of political liberalism and the ideas of the French Revolution in regard to the principles of equality, solidarity and liberty of people. Equal rights for citizens could only be realized by state intervention. Hence the state, as

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[7] Politically, socialism has been linked to decision making systems based on both direct democracy, as well as combinations of direct and representative democracy. The basic characteristic of socialism is the commencement of a long and difficult process to transcend the capitalist form of production. The process begins the moment urban class authority/dominance is overthrown and power taken over by the working classes and the people. Incidental to this characteristic is the participatory administration of the economy either by wider groupings or by the state with central planning (Holtmann, 2000, p.633ff).

supreme authority, should exercise control over the means of production to prevent exploitation and at the same time develop a central plan for the redistribution of goods and services, thus ensuring social justice (Kreft/Mielenz, 1996, p.539ff). The pressing needs of the citizens of the early industrial era, known as social issues, which political liberalism treated rather with detachment and with a view to maintain the status quo and power, marked the beginning of the political ideology of socialism in regard to state intervention.

Ideologically and historically the roots of socialism, like neo-liberalism, are based on the view that men are by nature free and equal. Further, it attaches special importance and rational ranking to the three ideals of the French Revolution, i.e. liberty, equality and solidarity/fraternity. By comparison though, the political ideology of socialism stresses more intensely and radically the view of equality. More specifically, the view of equality in socialism is not only understood as equality before the law, but more as actual equal opportunities in people's lives. According to this view, the concept and attainment of equality becomes the fundamental principle of political socialism. The mandate for the exercise of actual equality is reflected in socialism as the eradication of differences in education, professional opportunities, income, living conditions as well as other characteristics of people's social position. By achieving social equality, the wider sociopolitical goal of social justice and a just system of social intervention are set in motion (Röd, 1996, p.299ff).

However, attainment of social equality presupposes the existence of the second ideal of socialism: solidarity[8] among people. "In everyday practice this suggests the mutual cohesion among people or social groups (families, unions, communities) in the sense of a mutual moral responsibility and when coping with life events" (Koffas, 2017, p.629). For the social state and state interventions the principle of solidarity practically expresses the need to provide support/assistance which should be reflected at the planning, decision-making and operational levels, and in the effectiveness of those systems. That is, common interests which exist as a manifestation of common sentiment of belonging to the same society, but also as a product of compliance to the same needs, should be regulated on the basis of reciprocity in order to cover the needs of the entire society (Engelhardt, 1981, p.62).

As for the third ideal of socialism, liberty, it does not result from regulatory forms of freedom rights in relation to the state, but primarily from the actual opportunities in people's lives and actions. In this sense liberty presupposes the actual equality of opportunities in life. Therefore, the doctrine of liberty stems from the mandate of equivalent opportunities in the life of all. In the socialist ideology, striving for greater social equality has been addressed from the beginning to the state, primarily, as a political claim. That is why the state should not only guarantee the free operation of all forces; rather, it is obliged to embody the idea of protecting and monitoring the exercise of everyone's right to free and unimpeded development of their activities and safeguard the operational mechanisms of those rights. In the socialist view the state has to have an active and material role by intervening in social relationships in order to attain greater social equality and social justice (Informationen zur politischen Bildung, 1992, p.5f). This intervention mandate spreads across all sectors of human activity such as the common state education system, the state planned economic production which averts unequal amassment of private property, centrally regulated social policy operation for uniform social, insurance, welfare and health services for the entire population.

The political socialist view for the participatory administration of the means of production by the state and the citizens and the centrally planned interventions in the social sector created the state models[9] of universal benefits. This means that resources and benefits are jointly owned by the entire population and everyone has free access to goods and services, which in their turn are designed to cover immediately and uniformly the human needs. The statement "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" (Marx & Engel, 1973) describes the rationale of state intervention in socialism.

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[8] "The most widespread simple definition of the principle of solidarity is the one that describes its implementation process as one for all and all for one" (Raiffeisens in: Schoenig/L Hoest, 1996, p.101). Solidarity is a concept which has been significantly influenced by the social didache of Christian teaching and is used to describe mutual support among people as the principle of social harmony (Fuchs et.al., 1994, p.205).
[9] In the state or centralized model the dominant administrator is the state; on the one hand as supplier of necessary resources and on the other as a control mechanism. In the case of goods considered to be public goods their supply depends on the economic robustness of the state, the resources allocated and their manner of utilization (Souliotis, 2010, p. 192-193).

A particularly crucial point in the socialist ideology for the social state is the relationship between social equality and individual incentive. Usually each person makes an effort individually because he considers it to be worth it and has a positive result for him. A state policy for society as a whole, identical for all, may lead however to lower motivation to perform. People are by nature dissimilar and those who possess the capabilities and skills may not use them to their full extent and limit themselves not to the maximum, but to the state determined lower performance level. As such, the system's total performance and production decreases and leads to a lower aggregate of supply of goods and consequently to a diminished degree of redistributive capability. Socialism tries to avert or limit the potential conflict between social equality for all people and welfare for everyone through the education of citizens and the cultivation of behaviours characterized by solidarity. The better each individual person performs for the social good, under state guidance, the more society can offer to everyone (Marx & Engels, 1997; Röd, 1996, p.231ff; Fuchs-Heinritz, Lautmann, Rammstedt, Wienold, 1994, p. 618f).

In the case of the Western industrial countries with capitalist systems of economy and production already in place, socialism tried to address the problem through a transformative approach. It endeavoured to provide solutions to social issues and needs by using peaceful solidary self-help as a tool to further reinforce the potential and choices of people beyond state provided services. Solidary self-help means two things: first, the creation of production co-operatives by workers both to avert exploitation by employers/manufacturers and to create common property which will offer the capability and means to intervene when necessary, in addition to those already in place; second, the joint presence of workers' unions for the universal and identical with the employers' right in decision making. In this manner, workers who are anyway in greater need and face more problems find themselves in the favourable position, through the designated processes of direct democracy, to be equal interlocutors with the state and to promote their views of social justice and manner of intervention. The idea of social transformation through solidary self-help and direct democracy is known as the concept of democratic socialism (Hartwich, 1978).

4. Conclusion

The study of the political and social ideology of liberalism and socialism for the creation of the social state reveals that it is a conquest of social movements and a concession of political importance by the power centres in an effort to both maintain their power and to address pressing needs of their citizens. The founding and operation of the social state contributed, from both the liberal and socialist point of views, to the establishment of people as citizens with rights, as well as the incorporation of all productive forces (formal and informal) in the economic process. In essence, the creation of the social state is a product of the institutionalization of competition at the political, economic and social levels. In both ideologies the social state is created in a dual manner stemming, first, from the economic correlation in the relationship between capital and labour, and second from the political correlation of participation in the distribution of authority. As such, the social state is constructed based on the political need to manage the production process either as an exploitative process in the case of liberalism or as a co-production one in the case of socialism. Furthermore, the liberal ideology in the capitalist economic system applies the individualistic perspective by using human resources in terms of performance and efficiency in the process of capital creation. Alternatively, the socialist ideology uses the collectivity in terms of social solidarity and a system co-managed with the state, in order to achieve a more just and as much as possible equitable redistribution of resources.

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Heavy Metals in Poultry Products in Bangladesh: A Possible Death Threat to Future Generations

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Abstract

The study evaluated the possible presence of heavy metals in poultry product and consequently the effects of heavy metals from poultry product to the people of Bangladesh. The findings indicate that the level chromium contamination along with other heavy metals were above the standard limits recommended by the World Health Organization and were the major cause for food-borne illness. Tannery and textile industries were the main sources of environmental pollution of heavy metals in Bangladesh. Further exploration through systematic research is warranted to determine the extent of contamination of heavy metal pollutants discharged from textile and tannery wastes that are found in poultry feed. As regards to environmental protection and food safety, animal feed additives in Dhaka City and elsewhere should be controlled based on appropriate legal limits approved by the regulatory agencies of Bangladesh.

Keywords: Food Safety Education, Heavy Metals, Poultry Product, Ecosystem, Tannery Industry, Textile Industry

INTRODUCTION

Heavy metals are defined as metallic elements present in human body (Fergusson, 1990). Heavy metals are vital for proper functioning of biological systems and constitute essential nutrients for humans, and their deficiency or excess could lead to a number of disorders (Ward, 1995; Anderson, 1997). For example, iron is an important component of hemoglobin and cytochrome c; zinc is essential for certain DNA-binding proteins; and copper, manganese, selenium and zinc in trace amount are vital for proper performance of enzymes. In addition, boosting of the immune system and escalating its functionality depends on zinc and selenium (Henry and Miles, 2001). Arsenic is essential to promote growth and acts as a coccidiostats (AAFCO, 1999).

However, excess amounts of these essential metals can be detrimental to human wellbeing as well as to the environment. A study conducted in India revealed that industrial effluents discharged from textile and tannery factories exceed the permissible limits for cadmium, chromium and copper (Deepali, 2010). These effluents

released onto the land and discharged into the environmental water ultimately leach into ground water. Strong evidence suggested contamination due to accumulation of these undegradable toxic metallic components results in a series of hazards to the ecosystems (Malarkodi *et al*, 2007).

Leather industry is one of the main income earning segments in Bangladesh- the highest priority sectors for its growth prospective, employment generation and contribution towards export diversification (Paul, 2012; Technical Report, 2013). Statistics from the Export Promotion Bureau of Bangladesh for the financial year 2011-12 reported the leather industry sector expanded by 17.5% and earned US$765 million in revenue, approximately 57% of the total revenue (Technical Report, 2013). It is evident that the industry is one of the major sources to the nation's economy, however, this has also brought major public health hazards and serious threat to the environment. Most of the tanneries follow chrome tanning process where chromium sulfate is used (Hossain *et al*, 2007; Mazumder *et al*, 2013). Therefore, industrial effluents that cause a wide range of environmental harm and health risks are of major concerns not only in developing countries such as Bangladesh but also in developed countries.

The main objective of this study was to review studies that evaluated the presence of heavy metals in effluents of textile and tannery industries and also the additives used in animal feed in Bangladesh. The review also looked into the health of people in Bangladesh affected by ingestion of products from poultry fed with heavy metal contaminated feeds and examined the current recommend strategies to control heavy metals effluents to levels safe to humans.

METHODOLOGY

The reviewed data was retrieved from documents available mainly in scientific electronic databases (PubMed, Scopus and Web of Science). Google and Google Scholar were used to search key words, e.g. "heavy metal", "poultry industry in Bangladesh", and "industrial pollutions'. Ongoing and unpublished research works, including reports from three leading Bangladesh daily newspapers (The Daily Star, New Age and Dhaka Tribune) were analyzed. Thirty nine documents were retrieved from the databases of national and international peer reviewed journals from 1995-2018. Online sources of environmental hazards and safety related journals were searched for relevant publications. Quantitative and qualitative studies reporting on heavy metal pollutions from textile and tannery industries were included in this review.

Policy analysis was carried out in terms of the existing poultry situation in Bangladesh in regulating the presence of heavy metals in poultry feeds, and the policies of other countries were also examined. Relevant conference presentations related to heavy metals and poultry in Bangladesh together with findings of historical observations and a cross-sectional prevalence study of heavy metal and poultry in Bangladesh were included. The review attempted to contribute to the existing literature in the form of new findings and also critically evaluated existing findings**.**

CONTAMINATION OF FOOD CHAIN

Food chain contamination is a common route of human exposure to heavy metals (Nwude *et* al, 2010). The heavy metals have several toxic effects on the body, viz. association of elevated blood pressure and hypertension with lead exposure; kidney malfunction due to long-term contact with cadmium in air, food, and/or water and damage of lungs and fragile from excess exposure (Martin *et al*, 2006); allergic reactions in skin, damage to lungs and triggering of asthma attacks (ATSDR, 2005), and cellular damage, mutation of cells and even cancer (Mazumder *et al*, 2013) from chromium exposure; and irritation of eyes, mouth and nose from long-term exposure to copper dust (Gerberding, 2004). Heavy metals can enter dairy manufacture through the burning of fossil fuels (atmospheric deposition), agrochemicals (pesticides), biosolids, land application of inorganic fertilizers, and animal manure (Nicholson *et al*, 2003). Hence, there is an urgent need to strengthen and securing the entire food chain from heavy metals contamination (Okoye *et al*, 2011).

FINDINGS IN ASIA (WITH THE EXCEPTION OF BANGLADESH)

In China, a wide range of heavy metals in animal manure are associated with the presence of heavy metals in feed additives in animal production industry (Zhang *et al*, 2012). These feed additives are used in both small and large farms, and, thus, animal feed additives should be controlled so that they do not contain heavy metals exceeding China legal limits.

In India, high levels of heavy metals contamination are present in soil and ground water samples that receive effluents from tannery and textile industries (Deepali, 2010). The effluents were found to surpass the legal (prescribed) limits for discharge into the environment. Prior treatments of the effluent should have been performed before disposal as the levels of a number of the heavy metal components present were higher than the legal limits and thus not safe to be discharged (Deepali, 2010). Experts from the World Health Organization estimated that the heavy metals levels in water and soil exceed the safe limits in the study site (Deepali, 2010).

In Pakistan, heavy metals were detected in all examined samples of poultry feed and tanneries, which are the main sources of environmental pollution (Imran *et al*, 2014). Effluents from tanneries are discharged into drains without any prior treatment. Another study in Pakistan it was established that in all the three districts the daily intake values of heavy metals through egg were found above the permissible values (Zafar Khan, et, al., 2016).

SITUATION IN BANGLADESH

The main problem in Bangladesh is caused mostly by the poultry feed producers, who neither use scientific approach to maintain proper standards nor follow health and hygiene standards (SOS, 2003). A study showed tannery solid wastes converted to protein concentrates for use in fish and poultry feed and in production of organic fertilizers without proper treatment (Hossain et al., 2007), and this alarming practice has become a common scenario in small and large tanneries. About 90% of tannery industries are located in 25 hectares of land in Hazaribagh, south-west of Dhaka city (Fig 1) (Hossain *et al*, 2009). Each large tannery produces 200-250 tons of protein concentrate per day and 600 to 1000 kg of tanned processed cut skin and/or rawhide (Zahid *et al*, 2004; Hossain *et al*, 2007; *ibid*, 2009; Mazumder *et al*, 2013). In most (80%) tannery industries the stages of processing involve chrome tanning, which uses chromium salts in large amounts (Mazumder *et al*, 2013).
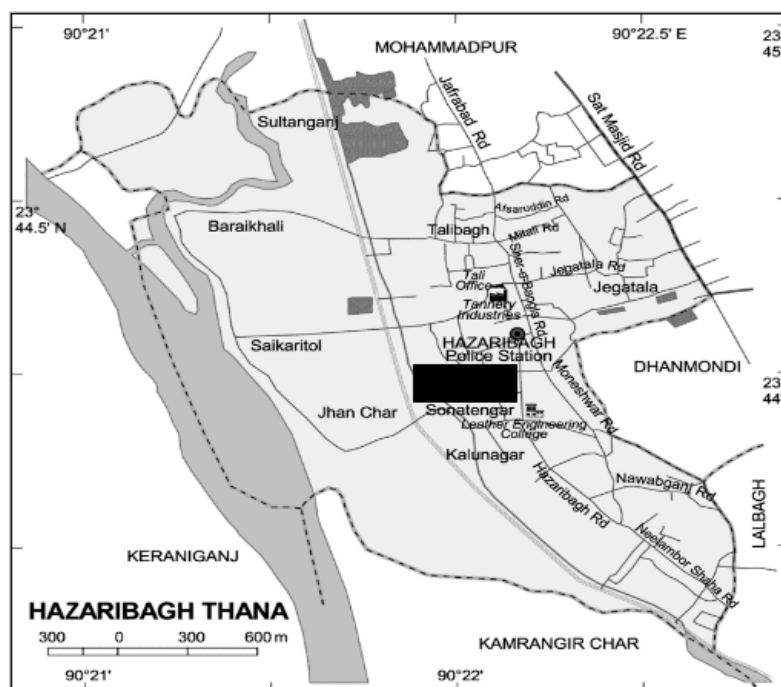
Fig 1 : Map of Hazaribagh Thana (administrative unit), Dhaka
Source: Hossain et al., 2007 (Hazaribagh Thana)

Poultry feed contamination by tannery toxic waste

In 2007 the Bangladesh Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (BCSIR) reported the presence of chromium in eggs and poultry meat above permissible limits (Hossain *et al*, 2007). There is no significant change in chromium level after boiling and drying. Poultry feed based on tannery solid waste is mostly produced in Dhaka, but is distributed throughout the country (Hossain *et al*, 2007).The presence of chromium in samples from two different areas of the country is 1.94 and 2.49% respectively (Hossain *et al*, 2007). Bangladesh Livestock Research Institute found that there was a higher chance of developing antibiotic resistance from long term consumption of chicken and eggs that contained antibiotics (Daily Star, 2015). According to Dr. Abul Hossain, University of Dhaka, the normal level of chromium in chickens 0.5-2 mg/.0005-.002g but those that consumed toxic feed laid eggs containing chromium 100-1,000 times higher than normal level (Dhaka Tribune, 2014). One study revealed, based on dry weight, the mean chromium concentration is 1.9016 ppm (range = 0-19.8051 ppm) from 96 eggs collected from Dhaka and seven other districts of the country (Hossain et al., 2009). A chromium content of 23.3809 μg was found in a single poultry egg, which exceeded the recommended daily dietary intake of children (1-8 years of age) (Hossain *et al*, 2009). From chickens collected from different parts of the country, all liver and gizzard samples contain chromium (range = 0.24-15.0 and 0.15-4.7 ppm respectively), with detectable amounts in the meat but none in the brain (Parvin and Rahman, 2014).

It is worth noting that all samples examined by Hossain *et al* (2007), in addition to chromium, contain arsenic, cadmium, lead, and mercury, with concentration at one site of 2.212, 3.888, 30.114, and 13.916 ppm, and at another site of 0.099, 0.991, 7.577, and 0.166 ppm, respectively.

In addition, tests conducted by the Nutrition Cell of Agriculture Research Council, Bangladesh revealed fish feed contains 4,971 ppm chromium and poultry feed con 4,205.70 ppm, although the permissible level is 30 ppm, the nutrient requirement level for both types of feed set by the Nutrition Cell (Daily Star, 2014a).

Human contamination of heavy metals through consumption of contaminated poultry

Ingestion of heavy metals through food chain by humans has been broadly testified all over globally (Muchuweti M, et al., 2006; Duruibe, JO, et al,. 2006: Khan S, et al., 2008). There is a growing concern that ingestion of chromium in water, poultry and eggs is associated with an increase in the incidence of cancer. In a statement, the Head of the Cancer Epidemiology Department, National Institute of Cancer Research and Hospital (NICRH) in Dhaka pointed out the number of cancer patients is rising daily, which might be due to ingestion of meat from poultries fed with feeds contaminated with heavy metals (Daily Star 2010). According to NICRH (2005), the recorded number of cancer patients treated is 5,411, rising to 6,492 in 2006, 6,926 in 2007 and 7,518 in 2008. The Principal Scientific Officer of Bangladesh Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (BCSIR) stated the poultry meat in local markets of Bangladesh contains 2.5% (w/w) chromium compared to 0.4% (w/w) in imported chicken meat. Moreover, in addition to chromium, there are some 30 types of harmful chemicals, such as acids and sodium chloride, which are used for tanning (Daily Star 2010). Thus, there is a possible human health risk through consumption of contaminated poultry meat as it exceeded the daily adequate intakes level (Ahmed, S, et. al., 2017; Bari et al., 2015).

The health effects of heavy metals poisoning include reduced IQ, anemia, neurological damage, nerve disorders, and other health problems. The effects of heavy metals in children are most severe and at high concentrations of heavy metals exposure can lead to death (Bari et al., 2015).
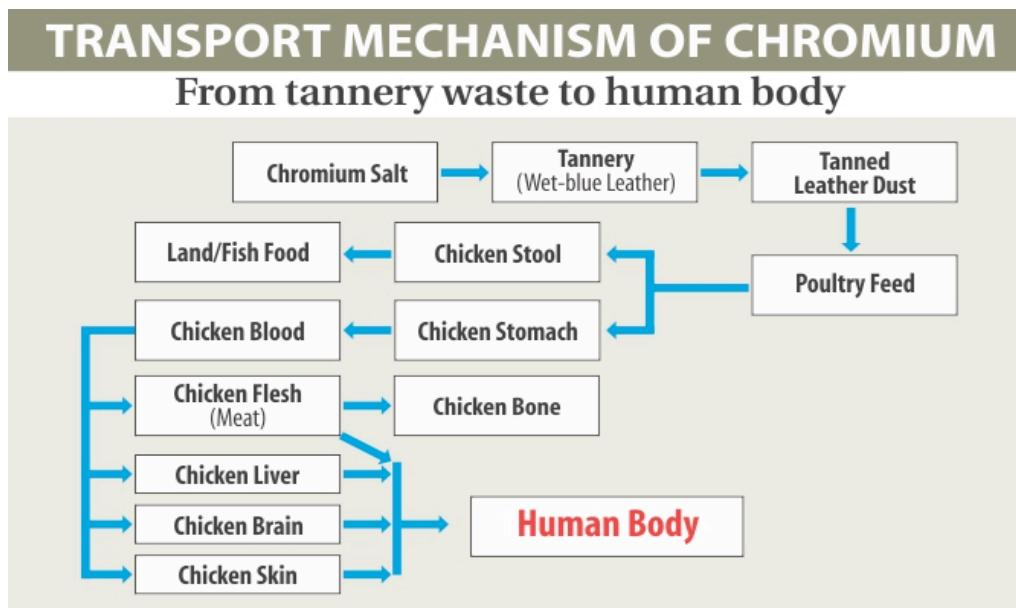
Fig 2: Transport Mechanism of Chromium
(Source: Hossain, 2014; Daily Star, 2014)

Government role and actions

In 2014, a mobile court of the Rapid Action Battalion seized 3,000 bags of poultry feed made from toxic tanner wastes produced at Hazaribagh and sealed its factory (New Age, 2014). An employee and colleague of a fish and poultry feed factory in Hazaribagh were each fined BDT 200,000 (US$ 2366.71) for using toxic tannery waste and were jailed for two years. An enquiry by the Daily Star in July 2010 found around 100 small traders around Hazaribagh who used raw tannery waste as ingredients and supplied them to some 20 feed factories across the country. Since 2010, the practice of using tannery wastes for fish and poultry feed is still ongoing due to the annual increase in price of imported protein for feed (Daily Star, 2014a). Furthermore, it is important to note that the ground water of Hazaribagh is already highly polluted with carcinogenic heavy metals (SOS, 2003). The Director of the Department of Environment (Monitoring and Enforcement) in Dhaka was assigned to take action against perpetrators who used tannery wastes in poultry and fish feeds (Daily Star, 2010). Recently, Bangladesh has started producing Antibiotic Growth Promoter free poultry food. The poultry industry urged the government to allow local companies to produce poultry vaccines, take the backyard poultry under vaccination coverage and arrange training for the farmers as well as the concerned officials on safe food (Dhaka Tribune, 2018). Strong political will is essential to implement and enforce existing policies and laws, which have to be revised to be more effective.

CONCLUSION

The textile and tannery industries in Bangladesh are undoubtedly the major sources of heavy metals pollution of the environment. The production of poultry feed from tannery wastes should be closely monitored by the relevant government agencies to ensure that poultry feeds are prepared from heavy metals-free raw materials. In order to understand the extent of pollution of the environment and contamination of the livestock and poultry in the country, a systematic survey should be conducted. "Till date, studies on human were conducted for arsenic intoxication only in Bangladesh. Other heavy metal related illness incidence should be documented by large scale studies" (Hezbullah, et. al, 2016). The "Poultry Feed Reference Standards, February 2002", formulated by the Ministry of Fisheries and Livestock, Government of Bangladesh encompasses no criteria for the heavy metals as pollutants into poultry feeds, which stresses immediate attention (Islam, at. Al. 2007). In order to save the environment and means, biological remediation procedures for heavy metals need to be adopted (Bari et al., 2015).

Poultry is a rising industry and has become an essential source of protein for the people of Bangladesh and awareness on the health consequences of using tannery wastes for the production of poultry feeds is essential through initiation of educational programs on food safety in the large and small scale poultry industries. In addition, proper waste treatment and reducing heavy metals effluents to safe levels should be considered to address this issue. Moreover, the disposal problem of tannery wastes must be addressed through recycling the waste products into other useful by-products, such as glue and sodium dichromate. Prohibiting the production of poultry feed from solid tannery wastes may not be economically attractive, therefore, the manufacturing process of poultry/fish feed should be engineered in such a way that heavy metals remain at acceptable minimum level. 'To minimize the heavy metals contamination, tannery and other industries that produce wastes containing heavy metal should have treatment facilities to ensure toxic wastes are not released into the environment and should be planned in such a way that minimum adaptation of heavy metals takes place' (Parvin and Rahman, 2014).

The chamber of commerce, the consumer rights protection council, activists and donor agencies should come forward to assist the government to deal with this issue. The government needs to be more proactive and vigilant so that the future generations of Bangladesh will be free from life-threating diseases associated with unsafe food supply and food-borne illnesses. In the light of environmental protection and to maintain the safety of food chain- public health departments, professional bodies and law enforcement agencies should monitor and ensure rigorous quality control of cattle and poultry feeds generated from tannery and textile wastes.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS
SM designed and conducted the literature review and contributed to the manuscript structure as well as drafting and overall editing of the manuscript. SM and AA contributed in designing the Methodology. AA, JD contributed to the reviewing and editing of the manuscript. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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Why the Japanese Did Not Complain about Crimes Against Humanity Perpetuated by the US in World War II: Evidence from Japanese Anime and Manga

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Abstract

One might ask why the Japanese avoided objections to American crimes against humanity, as revealed in the strategic and nuclear bombings of Japan. Perhaps some anime works (animated comics based on manga, or crazy comics, with 1930s American Betty Boop and Disney comic book inspirations) can provide supporting evidence, since manga, widely popular throughout Japan, give great insight into the Japanese psyche towards the atomic bomb, the air raids, and potential war crimes during World War II. Japan suffered from so-called Nuclear Suffering Denial Syndrome, similar to Robert Lifton's idea of psychic numbing, by repeatedly excluding traumatic events. The mushroom cloud image continues to proliferate. We can explore how political culture elements were influenced by Osamu Tezuka's works and his successors and reinforce these concepts through case studies and historical analysis. Because of the US occupation, certain Japanese political culture elements can be traced through underlying messages in anime. The post-Occupation Cold war containment strategy reveals specific anime works reinforcing Japanese feelings towards the bombings and occupation, while Japanese authoritarian political culture and its deference to authority revealed that Japan voiced few public objections to US defense policy, instead leaving subtle references within artistic works. Anime can reveal great insight into Japanese wartime feelings towards this nuclear suffering denial syndrome experienced by many. Families even had concerns about destructive technology and war crimes; existing censorship laws prevented such Occupation period dialogue. Though unknown as to how far this denial syndrome extended, anime is imperfect and reveals only some artists' public concerns due to cultural barriers. Current US-Japan security arrangements obligate Japan towards neutrality. A telling indication of Japan's endured wartime destruction is revealed within anime pop culture references, sending global messages that Japan had suffered and still questions whether war crimes by American military actions were justified.

Introduction

For our particular study here, we might ask, why did the Japanese not voice objections to the US Crimes against humanity perpetrated in the two atomic bombs and the strategic bombing of Japan? To examine this question, this paper will analyze two of Japan's most popular cultural products, anime and manga. Anime, an apocopation of animeshon, transliterated from English, referring to animation or Japanese animation in both English and Japanese (Leonard, 2005: 284), are a uniquely Japanese form of animated comics based on manga, or crazy comics (Research Institute for Publications, 1996: 9), with drawing styles inspired by 1930s American comic books, as well as Betty Boop cartoons and Mickey Mouse characters. Anime provides our supporting evidence

to assist us here. Because of their popularity, manga and anime are widely read and enjoyed by every age group in Japan and gives great value as insight into the Japanese psyche and the nation's feelings on the atomic bomb, the air raids, and crimes against humanity perpetuated within such actions during World War II.

This paper also relates to studying specific political culture themes appearing directly out of Japanese manga and anime in relation to the atomic bomb, especially with regard to Japan facing what might be called a nuclear suffering denial syndrome. Authors such as Susan Napier, Jean-Marie Bouissou, and David Leheny have written on Japan's near-obsession with atomic bomb imagery, as well as tension surrounding the Occupation authorities and the War's effects on the Japanese people. A general consensus exists among many authors that the American attacks had a lasting impact on Japan, to the point that Japan has not fully admitted to the war's impact on its economy, as well as the health and well-being of its people. Because of censorship, Cold War politics, and a deference to authority in general, Japan has held its own over the years, yet the lingering effects of the war are seen in many anime and manga works. Some larger questions posed are what significance do these media (anime and manga) have in relation to US policy or foreign policy with Japan, and why does it remain important to study these media in general?

My aim is not to quantify this material, but rather to qualitatively assess what can be gained from this type of study and to find evidence of themes inspired by Tezuka most often appearing across genres, using a historical perspective. Through particular themes revealed in various works, especially as inspired by Osamu Tezuka, often called the father of modern anime and manga, we will answer and explore these questions. The two primary themes (dependent variables) surround hope rising from endless devastation and how man's obsession with using technology to conquer nature, if not tamed, can lead to negative consequences. Restrictions such as the Comics Code and propaganda used by Disney films paralleled politics of the Cold War, as well as the nationalism that the Japanese felt towards wanting to have their own military or a larger voice in security and defense decisions. Such themes are expressed in particular metaphors (independent variables supporting major themes), such as the way alien invaders signify Americans invading and occupying Japan and how the atomic bomb image represents death and rebirth, just as the phoenix analogy shows, and Japan's rise into an industrial superpower from the bomb's devastation.

This study also remains valuable for learning how political cartoons, for example, are priceless forms of media to study, just as in America, showing satire towards political issues or how Japanese portray events metaphorically to represent specific feelings of certain elements of the Japanese populace. The idea of Japan having a say in its own affairs is repeated over and over again when one sees the authors point out the obvious, that Japan finds a way to say this indirectly in these works when they talk about a foreign threat invading them or in portraying the US as buffoons who need the Japanese to help them get out of sticky situations. The nostalgia often connecting the two primary themes by audiences in the postwar and mid-1980s-1990s time periods is a coping mechanism, a way for Japan to dealt with the tragedies and horrors of the war, the type of scarring that does not go away overnight, and a way of reassuring themselves that they can overcome terrible tragedy. Overall, the primary issues here are that we can learn about US and Japan policy from this paper and/or Japan's feelings on establishing their own stance on policy issues through the study of anime and manga within particular genres of fantasy, science fiction, and post-apocalyptic works, where unless man can conquer his shortcomings as a race, his future may hold little hope for continuing his existence, and politically, the world could remain in chaos without some respect for the natural world and more brotherhood amongst his fellow compatriots.

One might call Japan's suffering regarding the atomic bomb nuclear suffering denial syndrome, possibly related to a phenomenon coined by American psychiatrist Robert Lifton called psychic numbing (Lifton, 1982). This particular psychological condition manifests whereby a culture or society withdraws traumatic events from memory to suppress them and move on. Lifton studied the Hiroshima bombing to conceptualize how bomb victims might have dealt with a nuclear threat and how that reality might materialize later because of the catastrophe damage caused by such a weapon. He felt that mankind had to do more to prevent such a disaster, and Japan obviously had experienced such an event, which one might call nuclear fundamentalism with respect

to nuclear attacks. Furthermore, besides being similar to what persons with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) experience, we can also observe that a specialized form of psychic numbing was also identified by Thomas Wear called nuclear denial disorder, whereby denial is overused defensively to the point that a society carries on casually, without showing much concern to a real nuclear threat (Wear, 1987: 215-218). The bomb victims often fit this picture, and Freudian denial also factors in here as a defense mechanism whereby, for example, the victims might block out external events. Just as well, if the stress of situation becomes too overwhelming, the person simply rejects it and decides not to face it directly (McLeod, 2009) (Freud, 1937). One can observe, then, that a number of anime and manga works have shown such evidence of this nuclear denial disorder across the board.

Manga Origins, Tezuka, and Astro-Boy

To begin, we will explore political culture thematic elements related to the nuclear bomb surrounding various works inspired by Osamu Tezuka with our approach. The atomic bomb itself had a powerful effect on the underlying themes in the worlds of Japanese "anime" (the standard English, Westernized term used for Japanese cinematic animation) and "manga" (Japanese comic books and graphic novels). The evolution of manga has brought a certain perspective and idealism with it in response to the atomic bombs in World War II. This means that the Japanese imagined these catastrophic events in particular ways that affected their psyche, as portrayed by various artists through their works. In fact, a number of "anime," or manga that are animated and brought to life through moving images on film, in the preceding decades after World War II, are based on the after-effects of the atomic bomb and the changes in mindsets and attitudes of the Japanese that directly result from the War, especially as inspired by the artist Osamu Tezuka's works and the anime and manga artists that were later influenced by his own projects. Many of these artists saw in Tezuka a way of helping the nation cope with the tragedy of these catastrophic events.

The grotesque and beautiful mesh together well in anime, with directors such as Hayao Miyazaki, Mamoru Oshii, and Katsuhiro Otomo, not to mention Tezuka, preceding them, producing quality works with not only more than just fantastic visuals, but also powerful narratives, apocalyptic visions, and dramatic storylines as well (Napier, 2003). The Neon Genesis Evangelion and Ghost in the Shell series provide worldviews that, historically and psychologically, are more complex than many Western animated works brought forth, according to Napier (Napier, 2003). Comics also account for "the largest portion of the Japanese publishing industry, and animated features account for more than half of domestic box-office revenue," with anime being "ubiquitous on Japanese TV, where as many as 15 shows, from soap operas to kiddie programming and adult dramas are broadcast every week" (Napier, 2003).

One interesting aspect of how manga appears today is that its modern appearance originates from designs modeled after 1930s American comic books. If one actually looks very carefully at the way Betty Boop was drawn, with the big eyes and the large, round face, one can discover some similarities, especially the large facial expressions, which had a lasting impression on the Japanese. According to Christine Wallgren, "The graphic style of…Japanese illustrators is easily recognizable. Characters are simple…with large eyes (the larger the eyes, the more innocent…), angular faces, and spiked-up hair…illustrators were strongly influenced by…cartoon characters as Betty Boop and…Mickey Mouse" (Wallgren, 2006: 1).. Earlier periods featuring woodblock prints from monks and 18th century kibyoshi ("yellow covers") also carried a tradition into the modern day to mesh Japanese humor with early 20th century American-style comic book artwork to develop the modern idea of manga, as Adam Kern discusses (Kern, 2006). The American culture also influenced the Japanese in many ways, including through images of the atomic bomb, which had powerful effects culturally on Japan and was depicted in a number of allegorical ways in particular comics in the science fiction, futuristic and fantasy genres.

The occupation, in particular, had an enormous impact upon how the Japanese viewed the Americans, which played a heavy influence on the look and feel of anime up to the present day (Newitz, 1995: 10). Frederik Schodt has also revealed in his book Manga! Manga! The World of Japanese Comics, that Japanese animation types draw great inspiration from "Western political cartoons and Disney animation," with anime director Hayao

Miyazaki also admitting to being fond of Disney's style of animation (Newitz, 1995: 10). Overall, anime has proven to be part of the American influence on Japanese post-World War II life. With the post-War shadow of America looming overhead as a form of cultural imperialism, many Japanese drew artistic inspiration directly from their occupiers. Akio Igarashi reveals evidence of direct influence from post-World War II Hollywood movies, including from Disney:

> Hollywood films were the most successful anti-communist propaganda tools and received powerful backing from the American government. These films exceeded the American government's expectations by depicting the various circumstances of American society. The crowds that filled the movie theaters to capacity feasted on the freedom and affluence of American society in these films. The children who watched Dumbo, Bambi, and Mickey Mouse were captivated by the colorful and expressive Disney animations (Igarashi, 2004).

From these early influences of anti-communist propaganda and scenes of contemporary American life, one begins to see how the roots and style of early manga developed. Furthermore, the beginning stages of manga were converted into anime through a simple process. The Japanese artists essentially adopted the word balloons and the panels in the comics and evolved them into the modern style of anime (Igarashi, 2004). The animated works were lifted from the manga designs into something more lively and full of movement, which became anime. There was always a close relationship between cartoons and animation in Japan, since two of three original animators in Japan were "from the cartoon tradition." Tezuka's Astroboy was the first anime series bridging manga and moving pictures, particularly on television (Steinberg, 2006: 198-199). With Astroboy, in a sense, manga became "not only the source of thematic elements or characters (as comics had…as far back as 1917), but a source of a new visual logic, and a new relation between motion and stillness. As an aesthetic response to economic constraints, Astroboy's Mushi Productions made manga move" (Steinberg, 2006: 198-199). With this in mind, one could explain that the reason one should focus on both anime and manga is because they are inevitably linked together in their history, driving the market for each other as well (Reid, 2004: 32). More importantly, the themes in manga and anime date from as far back as the ancient times of the wooden block prints and the old Japanese picture scrolls, showing that they are similar and reflect centuries of progression, with modern moving pictures serving as an extension of the ancient forms of art. Anime has its roots in traditional Japanese art, which Taihei Imamura cites S.M. Eisenstein as also acknowledging (Imamura, 1953: 217-218). The Japanese picture scroll, for example, can also be seen as the forerunner to anime, with the only difference between the two being that the picture scroll does not move. Animation is simply pictures moving in time, as "the essential movement is the progress of an idea…a representation…motion is not art unless it advances an idea…Both the motion picture and the Japanese picture scroll are plastic expressions of ideas, and…have fundamental techniques in common" (Imamura, 1953: 217-218).

Manga and anime also serve as a window into the Japanese psyche, and from that perspective we will now examine particular concepts involving thematic elements in anime regarding the air raids, the atomic bombs, and crime against humanity that reveal minimized Japanese public objections to these events through case studies and a historical analysis approach. Our research limitations include this being a fairly recent field of study, lack of sufficient data to explore deeper insight into the bomb and the air raids' direct impact because of occupation censorship laws, as well as Japanese cultural barriers to revealing major public sentiment. Political culture elements, particularly with respect to Tezuka's work and influence, relate primarily to the postwar-1965 and 1985-1995 time periods. Specific themes will be reinforced by supplying evidence through case studies and a historical analysis approach. The various manga groups, inspired by Tezuka's ideas from 1945-1965 or the period 1985-1995, relating to the atomic bomb, will be qualitatively examined through case studies and historical analysis by themes introduced earlier focusing on particular anime productions referencing the atomic bomb and two central themes that serve as dependent variables, additionally strengthened by evidence from the subthemes (independent variables) found throughout specific works. The story lines and the character tendencies to display particular themes of loss and devastation, rebirth, and technology versus nature leading to destruction will help pinpoint evidence of the influence of Tezuka's works primarily in the science fiction, fantasy and future post-apocalyptic genres of manga and which audiences the manga is intended for (Research Institute for Publications, 1996: 9). It is assumed that particular themes previously mentioned will dominate

within certain groups, with a hidden message which must be meticulously analyzed. The devastating consequences of manga centered on atomic bomb themes and related tragedies paint an everlasting picture of sadness and despair. Within the field of political science, anime and manga opens up new possibilities in terms of scholarly inquiry.

Overall, beyond a traditional political science perspective, anime can teach us a great deal about the cultural intricacies of the Japanese in such a way that symbolism and use of media portray some contemporary goals of Japanese society. Anime is a form of expression of the pathway and everyday lives of a number of Japanese people that traditional theories involved within the study of politics may not reveal on the surface. Because Japan was traditionally a highly ordered society, with fairly rigid social structures (at least when compared to the Western Hemisphere) that also indicate that what is on the outer surface may not always appear to be what people reveal directly, one must go deeper and gain an understanding of the Japanese culture from the perspective of writers, artists, and other persons who have been heavily immersed in understanding the Japanese psyche. The Japanese have often thought of themselves as unique, in a way that is hard for many foreigners to understand. A similar parallel might be the "island complex" or a form of isolationism that has also been displayed by the British as seeing themselves as somehow unique from others (Sorman, 2012). Traditional political science norms may also be heavily Westernized, while Japan's cultural influences are often more Eastern, with Buddhist and Confucian philosophies explaining more clearly how Japan sees itself, compared with Western stereotypes. The subtle hints in anime about Japanese culture may be more easily deciphered from someone with a good command of Japanese who understands the social structure and traditions who is close to the society itself.

Because Japan was so isolated for so many years, even Westerners may not truly understand the meaning of some anime works without consulting persons raised in Japan or who have lived there for long time periods. The Japanese may share fewer internal thoughts with foreigners compared to one another, for the gaijin/foreigner is less often seen as one of them. Understandably so, one would assume that the American military presence might gain little societal acceptance as well; the American security arrangement was mostly forced on the Japanese by a joint security arrangement due to Cold War politics and the occupation. By studying anime and manga, we can further understand how many Japanese coped with such loss and devastation following the war, a foreign military occupation by American authorities and the promotion and denial of nuclear events so that Japan could simply go back to normal and move forward without fully addressing what happened or how Japanese themselves felt about these events.

Despite relief at the war ending and the Allied victory bringing some form of closure, Japanese citizens, including many artists, faced many challenges ahead considering true self-expression. Further complicating the situation, and despite the recent bomb tragedies, Occupation authorities continued a form of censorship that the earlier military regime established in Japan. In addition, the Comics Code, developed in late 1940s America, later established by the 1950s, set strict guidelines for what material was allowed in comic books and for character portrayals; disregarding the Code meant fewer sales and releases. Japanese authors inevitably encountered this censorship, reaping fewer American profits until the 1990s. Noboru Ishiguro, Space Battleship Yamato director, elaborates on this: "There are strict rules against American [animated violence]…Japanese television, which does not have (and, in fact, has never had) these sorts of restrictions, has traditionally provided much more room to develop various sorts of expression" (Leonard, 2005: 285). After the Occupation, the postwar Japanese media regulations were less restrictive, though there were limitations on how the Japanese could express their own ideas, which were formulated heavily during the Occupation period:

> There are cultural reasons for the freedom enjoyed by the manga, since the traditional culture blurs the distinction between Good and Bad, and does not attach moral connotation to sexual matters, Japanese society displays a high level of tolerance. Also, due to historical reasons, the Japanese media has always been very sensitive to any official attempt at censorship, which reminds of the [wartime] militarist regime (Bouissou, 1998: 19).

The US Occupation and Japanese Political Culture in Anime

Because of the US occupation, certain elements of Japanese political culture can be traced through underlying anime messages, which are also related to how the Japanese responded to the atomic bomb. The U.S. occupation enormously impacted how the Japanese viewed the Americans and heavily influenced the look and feel of anime up to the present:

> the American occupation of Japan is a topic which has also been treated in "serious" manga…Barefoot Gen and dramatic anime films such as Grave of the Fireflies…The occupation is…very much alive in Japanese popular culture, as both a manifest and a repressed theme….American influence on Japanese culture during the occupation is…responsible for both the look and generic narrative qualities of anime in Japan (Newitz, 1995: 10).

Anti-occupation themes revolving around Japan's blaming of the Americans for their continuing problems after the war, along with the idea that nuclear technology can be dangerous, continually foment throughout the manga world in endless ways and can be seen in Tezuka's work. One particularly noteworthy encounter by Osamu Tezuka in his younger days might have certainly influenced his outlook on his American occupiers. Through Mighty Atom or Astro-Boy, Tezuka expressed frustration with the American occupation and felt humiliated and embarrassed by it, as if it also destroyed that part of the Japanese psyche that longed to make its own decisions but was helpless after its great empire fell apart: "He was…beaten by…American GIs because he could not communicate…Tezuka cannot have been the only Japanese…humiliated by occupation troops...subjugated to…foreign powers. A… nationalist...would have experienced… humiliation…he felt deceived…ambivalent…" (Benzon, 2008).

The literature reveals that in terms of the occupation, such reactions pushed the Japanese to the psychological brink, towards a nuclear suffering denial syndrome; the occupational authorities restricted criticism of the American authorities and encouraged a kind of Westernization of Japan to forgive and forget. This business as usual attitude was promoted by actually forbidding the mushroom cloud image in many cases from being shown on film during the occupation. One great tool for moving on and showing the greatness of America was the exposure to Disney cartoons, which encouraged the Japanese to see the best of the occupying culture and to perhaps draw inspiration from it, towards the future, and away from the occupiers. Frederik Schodt is one writer who feels that this is the case, since both Hollywood and Disney films encouraged the Japanese to see the American system of government, as well as capitalism, as a useful tool to essentially pacify or Americanize the Japanese, who were in a state of denial (Newitz, 1995: 10). Annalee Newitz also clarifies this statement, that the American occupation period is primarily responsible for the way Japan has somewhat denied or indirectly expressed its feelings towards the bombings and the nuclear devastation within works of manga and anime (Newitz, 1995: 10). David Leheny, in the anime Blood+, states that Japanese writers, in some works, expressed bitterness, buried their feelings, and showed in their work the tension between the Occupation authorities and American military figures; these figures seem untrustworthy, unreliable, and somewhat of a foreign threat to Japanese culture. Japan experienced mass trauma during the war, which gained little attention from American authorities, who preferred to suppress and redirect sympathies elsewhere rather than deal directly with tensions between the Japanese people, war victims and the American occupiers (Condry, 2007). As a result, the Japanese were forced to suppress their feelings and employ the use of this particular nuclear defense mechanism rather than facing the bombings' impact directly and move on.

One can see that the difficult experiences of Japanese citizens by U.S. troops during the Occupation, such as those of Tezuka, contributed to some early, negative portrayals within later anime works. Particularly, the failure of authority figures is another constantly recurring theme throughout manga and anime, which is rooted in the distrust of Americans in World War II (a fear of foreigners was quite common for an extended period of time, since Japan was isolated for so many years). Oftentimes, Japanese artists poke fun at Japanese police and other authority figures. For instance, there was even a 1970s manga called "Gaki Deka (Kid Cop)," in which the protagonist routinely had a penchant for displaying his genitals to others (Bouissou, 1998: 14). Since the comic's 1974 release, the Japanese artists have not been afraid of displaying other ways of mocking law

enforcement, which may foreshadow some of the feelings they had towards Occupation authorities or American military persons as well. However, in the US, this was still risky ground, for the Comics Code had strict guidelines (and still lingers) on persons with authority:

> (Part A Standards): 1. Crimes shall never be presented in such a way as to create sympathy for the criminal, to promote distrust of the forces of law and justice, or to inspire others with a desire to imitate criminals…(Daniels et al., 1971: 1).

Disrespecting authority in the United States, even American servicemen, was considered inappropriate; hence these examples led to an American ban on Japanese comics. The failure of adult figures in the gekiga (fun and entertainment) manga "Akira" is another alliteration to a lasting effect from the atomic nuclear holocaust event. The children are left orphaned in Akira, and the remaining adults accomplish little (even towards promoting world peace), as the teenagers dominate the story. This reflects the growth of obsessed fans, the otaku, and the slow breakdown of social structures of succeeding generations, as many became individualistic and disenchanted with authority after the war (to cope with their loss), perhaps stemming from anti-American resentment and the realization that Japan's governmental policies were dictated by another, effectively leaving no one in charge, as if this consequence resulted from Japan losing the war. The adults lost the respect of later generations after it was felt that they sold their souls to the devil by allowing such an undesirable situation of a foreigner ruling the country, which should never have occurred in the first place (if only Japan had won the war!) (Kinsella, 1998: 314). This feeling of alienation by the younger generation is reflected in certain works detailing apocalyptic aftermaths, such as in Akira, where the adults seem disconnected to the youth, even unaware of their surroundings. The adults cannot communicate well with the youth in "Akira", too engulfed in their own greed and obsession with the power of acquiring Akira, the ultimate weapon (Bouissou, 1998: 19-20).

The research established, in direct relation to the atomic bomb attack, that the Japanese absorbed enormous trauma, not only with the atomic bomb's aftermath, but of being invaded by a foreign country and having their entire authority system turned upside down into a completely new government. Hence, Japan has referred to some experiences through various metaphors for Occupation authorities, the American military presence, and a cataclysmic event much like the atomic bomb. The nation may have grown exponentially after World War II until the present day, but it still needed catching up with regard to its rigid social structure and emphasis on social conformity. Did the relatively short American occupation irritate the Japanese (especially right-wing nationalists) for a long time? That is difficult to answer, but the Japanese know that they can rely on American protection in difficult times because of the post-war security arrangement. Unsurprisingly, Japan should have felt uncomfortable under a 1950s-1960s watchful American eye. The United States patronized Japan for many years and dictated defense policies Japan was expected to follow (until the economy was self-sustaining); the arrangement could be described as "'subordinate independence,'' as Japan relied on the US to defend the nation and to rule on important policy matters. This freed Japan to focus on "economic development and the expansion of overseas trade," as well as other important policy matters (Tsutsui, 2011). Interestingly, Tezuka's work remains significant for explaining important messages within the US-Japan security arrangement and for revealing relevant questions of technology's societal role in various Astro-Boy episodes, including such subjects as: "…autonomous robots…overcoming rigid rules and a central control…ethical responsibility [and] the…non-proliferation of militarily useful robot technology," with the "mangas…intended to buttress the techno-euphoria of the years of recuperation from the lost Second World War, thus contributing to the country's recovery" (Krebs, 2006: 66-67).

Continuing along this path, in several other anime works, the ongoing presence of American soldiers in postwar Japan is portrayed in such a negative way so as to reveal criticism of the occupiers, which generally expresses uniquely Japanese concerns. This is true of the anime Blood+, as David Leheny discusses some of the tensions surrounding the American military and the Japanese public in Hiroyuki Kitakubo's anime. The anime Blood+ involves "a young schoolgirl," "conspiracies with the American military while battling bloodthirsty monsters," and the young schoolgirl's situation with an adopted family, all whilst battling monsters in the midst of "loyalties and the violence of war" (Condry, 2007: 1).

The "Blood" shonen series discusses the Japanese feelings on the American presence in Japan, often interweaving the themes of orphaned schoolgirls with special powers and expressing an underlying sense of the fear of a foreign element controlling Japan's fate, giving rise to nationalist sentiment to some degree. There is a threat that exists, and with alien-like monsters that want to wreak havoc, the schoolgirl protagonist must once again save the day and rid the world of these foreign invaders:

> …The content…portrays…transnational intimacy that rejects simplistic notions of "family" that define…relations in…"blood."…the nation and…family, the world-setting…of Blood+ contradicts…affection and action that characterize Ishihara's …national sacrifice…The monsters are related…by "blood," yet…goals, and moral standing, vary…As the…national "family" weakens, many…youth are questioning their location in the…social world. Blood+ represents…as… dangerous, full of corporate and military malfeasance…with…potential to be repaired if close friends and …siblings…work together…(Condry, 2007: 1).

There is some consensus that "schoolgirls and transnational monsters as core characters can…be…related to a…book…David Leheny…Think Global, Fear Local…analyzes …popular media representations…to justify enhanced powers for the state…" (Condry, 2007: 4-5). Leheny also connects "media sensationalism surrounding Japanese schoolgirls who go on paid dates…with middle-aged men" and shows how foreign threats and these adventurous schoolgirls portray a nation apparently under attack (Condry, 2007: 4-5). In recent decades, this has caused politicians to overreact by getting international collaboration to stop terrorism and sex trafficking (Condry, 2007: 4-5), in addition to other strong actions from Japanese public figures towards perceived foreign invaders. This seems to justify the expansion of state and police power because of a perceived foreign threat by the media that will presumably destroy the nation from within (Condry, 2007: 4-5). Similarly, in Blood+ "In one of the…plot developments…a young girl in Vietnam…having lost a leg to a landmine, supports her family by searching fields for explosives…" (Condry, 2007: 4-5). Fansub" groups also help by making "available online...translation notes…a few characters mention the Status of Forces Agreement…the United States government's shield for military personnel...from…foreign…laws," while Blood+ itself "aims to capitalize on… unease with military interventions and multinational pharmaceutical companies…bad guys...(Condry, 2007: 4-5). One can learn from the above that the American military presence indeed had a great impact on the Japanese psyche and generated a lingering feeling that Japan is its own nation that does not need foreign intervention (an important independent variable that explains how the Japanese feel unique as a people by themselves, tied into nationalism) and can fend for itself.

In fact, during World War II, nationalists made a point of comparing foreign troops to ancient demon-like creatures popular in Japanese mythology: "It is common knowledge among Japanese that during World War II…oni was used to describe the Japanese enemy—the leaders of the Allied forces, the Americans and British. The monthly Manga…editor…Kondo Hideo…depicted as evil demons Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin" (Reider, 2003: 147). The aggression displayed by the American military by carpet-bombing Japan, along with using the atomic bomb that orphaned many children, forever imbedded a near-obsession with doomsday themes in manga and anime. Pointon agrees with Newitz that "it is undeniable that atom bomb imagery recurs obsessively in almost every anime text"…whether originated by a firebreathing dragon, an uncontrolled technology, or a sinister, generic world government" (Pointon, 1997: 54). The atomic bomb is revisited continually through various metaphors that constantly resurface in many genres of these media.

Some works bury feelings of resentment towards the occupiers by substituting alien invaders from space, with the Japanese as heroes saving humanity from this otherworldly threat, as seen in Leiji Matsumoto's Macross series. Likewise, Shoji Kawamori, the other Macross creator, was inspired greatly by Matsumoto's work (of Yamato fame) in his designs, along with influences from Kazuki Miyatake (LongZhu, 2011). He sometimes uses the Studio Nue name for works that suit that particular company he started, but the film Uchu Senkan Yamato also inspired him significantly (LongZhu, 2011). Kawamori started out drafting mecha designs for that film's production company after contacting them his freshman year, landing employment with them his sophomore year (LongZhu, 2011) and later creating "Macross", which encompasses themes of alien invaders coming to Earth, engaging in prolonged wars with humans, romance, and humans battling aliens with

mechanized robots and other unconventional weapons, even music (Divers, 2002). Macross encompasses many themes that leave several questions to be desired as to the war's impact on the Japanese that reflect their own experiences with the occupation and the atomic bomb. The bomb foreshadowed total devastation similar to the climactic series ending; the aliens similarly referenced the American occupiers. There is irony in the massive spaceship's name designed to fight the aliens, called the Super Dimensional Fortress Macross (SDF are the initials for Japan's Self-Defense Force, its pseudo-military). The original name "Super Dimension Fortress" ("Choo Jikuu Yoosai") is a play on a working title, "The Super Dreadnought Fortress Macross" ("Choo Dokyuu Yoosai Makurosu"), which is explained in the Macross production notes by the ship's designer, Shoji Kawamori (AnimEigo, 2011). One noteworthy bit of information is that Kawamori is known for various mecha designs for several other series, including "Escaflowne," "Genesis of Aquarion," and especially for the Takara line of Diaclone toys that became to "Transformers" in the United States. Alien invasion themes (i.e. the Americans) and a destructive, powerful technology (i.e. nuclear technology) that, misused, will threaten the planet's existence, and other themes abound in this story (Wikimedia, 2011). These issues support the central precept about technology in the wrong hands leading to Earth's destruction. The wartime themes resurface constantly throughout these examples listed.

The Cold War, US Containment Policy

Wartime themes resurface repeatedly, and because of the Cold War containment strategy after the occupation ended, specific anime works will reinforce Japanese feelings towards crimes against humanity, the bombings, and the occupation. Though the nation had suffered greatly from the bomb and the Allied bombings, the Americans had a strategic plan in asking Japan to develop a joint security arrangement. Though opposed on some grounds, later on, the nation had little choice but to follow along to continue receiving aid and investment from the U.S. if it wanted to become a great power again someday. Essentially, Japan was pushed into a joint security arrangement with the U.S. and served as a useful counterpoint to the rise of Communist states in the region. Japan became a junior military partner of the U.S. and followed American foreign policy, becoming a key Cold War buffer in East Asia against further North Korean and Chinese expansion. The strategic arrangement and nationalistic tensions surrounding the effects of the atomic bomb, the occupation, Japan's rise, and waves of nationalism are themes that often find themselves in the works of Tezuka-inspired artists. As a counterpoint, one can say that anime did not fit into this mold of ideal American values projected by Disney and threatened the status quo, as determined by the Comics Code and Cold War politics of the time. In fact, in terms of Disney and the attitude of the time period, Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart's How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comics describes the propaganda released into mainstream American society by Disney during the Cold War to portray Communists negatively, or anyone who dared engage the US in open conflict. Disney built his vision of America, his "Disneyland palaces," with a specific slant favoring US interests... "already colonized, with phantom inhabitants…to conform to Disney's notions of it. Each foreign country is…a…model within the process of invasion by Disney-nature" (Dorfman et al., 1975: 103). Foreign states (particularly Communist ones) at opposing ends of the American political spectrum (such as Cold-War Era Vietnam and Cuba) were portrayed in a way that made "the revolutionary struggle appear banal," with Disney showing "underdeveloped peoples…like children, to be treated as such, and if they don't accept…they should have their pants taken down and…given a good spanking…" (Dorfman et al., 1975: 103). Third World enemies were shown as children or savages who needed to surrender to a foreign authority to modernize them, which appears to be a "replica of the…empire and colony...Under the suggestive title 'Better Guile Than Force,' Donald departs for a Pacific atoll…to survive for a month, and returns loaded with dollars, like a modern business tycoon. The entrepreneur can do better than the missionary or... army" (Dorfman et al., 1975: 103).

One realizes that the literature shows an affinity for the nuclear suffering denial syndrome as an outgrowth of American Cold War containment policy. American occupation authorities pushed the Japanese to minimize their own feelings, essentially encouraging an Americanization of Japan to acclimate Japanese citizens towards positive Western values. Akio Igarashi reveals that Hollywood and Disney films, psychologically speaking, were good substitutes for the stress of the bomb and encouraged American societal norms on Japan, with the US government instilling these to the extent that it served as a useful deterrent and anti-Communist propaganda tool

against the spread of Soviet-style governmental policies in Japan (Igarashi, 2004).

Ian Condry notes the contrast between Japanese manga and anime artists showing war as non-discriminatory towards morality for good and evil characters (which made them non-kosher for American audiences due to Comics Code restrictions). The outgrowth of Cold War containment policies further exacerbated the issue of nuclear suffering as a defense mechanism (as in the anime Blood, as Leheny cites), which was constantly revisited, with many Japanese works focusing on the suffering and civilian casualties (especially with the overemphasis on suffering to cope with the bombings as part of this denial syndrome) versus the Allied vs. Axis or good vs. evil plots in many American Cold War-era films (Condry, 2007: 1). Also, because of the Occupation legacy of censoring Japanese films and bodies of work in general and the rise of the Cold War containment policy, writers could only indirectly reveal some of the consequences of technology getting out of control (i.e. nuclear bomb technology or mass destruction from the air raids) and so focused on this theme in several works, as Jean-Marie Bouissou states with the mushroom cloud motif at the end of Akira as a result of the obsession for the major characters to acquire a powerful, devastating weapon. Meanwhile, American animated works preferred to be anti-Communist in nature to preserve the status quo of good vs. evil plotlines in many Disney animations, while suppressing the Japanese ideals counter to these until many years later (Bouissou, 1998: 22). Many of these Comics Code restrictions were not lifted until the post-Cold War period. Dorfman and Mattelart clarify that Disney films served as useful propaganda tools to pacify many societies under the American security umbrella towards pro-Western, anti-Communist ideals (Dorfman et al., 1975: 103). The concern many Japanese faced was that any foreign threat concerns were a way of dealing with the enormous, devastating experiences faced through the containment policy that put Japan even more on edge as it was forced into a Cold War security arrangement with the United States. All of these experiences only further contributed to this nuclear suffering denial syndrome.

The Devastation of War and Nuclear Warfare

The WWII air raids were revealed to be a tragic consequence of war, as in Grave of the Fireflies, which also reveal the extent of Japanese suffering. This is particularly noteworthy because of creator Isao Takahata's survival of an air raid as a young child, plus the original story author witnessing a family member die of malnutrition during the air raids. Akiyuki Nosaka's novel (adapted by Isao Takahata into an anime film) Grave of the Fireflies bring back images of the horrors World War II, and the fact that war itself is unpleasant, as we gain from the main character, Seita, in Fireflies. The film itself initially looks to be somewhat anti-American, but the work merely shows children enwrapped in the hardships of war, with no Americans actually shown in the film. In fact, "on one level, this movie [Fireflies] could be seen as a metaphor for the entire country of Japan during the war… fighting a losing battle, and too stubbornly proud to admit defeat and reach out" (Marshall, 2010). The story shows a character's wounded pride and is a semi-autobiographical account of a war survivor whose younger sister perished from starvation. The film showed the difficulties of "Seita's unwillingness to seek help or his resort to theft to obtain food, and the grief he endured which consumed him—something that never happened to the real person [author]—for that decision" (Marshall, 2010). The antagonists, often typified by foes (which seem absent in the form of living beings in this story), materialize in the form of human vulnerabilities that may lead to war, which are pride, the "suspicion that falls upon two children trying to live on their own, and the prejudice leveled against a healthy young man who doesn't want to fight" (Marshall, 2010). This story, about a boy and his younger sister during the air raids in Japan in World War II, can represent any Japanese family's war experiences. The B-29 air raids, in relation to the atomic bombs, "leveled most Japanese cities before that. In Tokyo alone, 100,000 people were killed in one night of fire-bombing…nearly as many as died in Hiroshima" (Gleason, 1988: 2). The characters are orphans struggling to survive, with their situation getting worse as the war wears on amidst their roaming of the countryside, leading to a depressing conclusion. The lesson learned is that wartime atrocities take a toll on all participants, leaving no persons unscathed.

Wartime Loss and Tragedy in Film

How the bomb is perceived by some scholars to have affected the Japanese people, with certain messages in mind, is apparent in particular manga and anime works surrounding post-apocalyptic, science fiction, and fantasy genres. The ultimate lesson learned is that war has no winners, as Fireflies teaches us:

> Above all, the enemy of this story is war—although you never see a battle or an army, you can see the tragic effects of war on even the idyllic countryside far removed from the front. Grave of the Fireflies puts a human face on the civilian population of Japan during the war--something not many movies have done, and none have done as well. Moreover, it manages to do so in a painful and realistic, yet still understated, manner. In fact, it is almost too painful to watch, but equally difficult to take your eyes off. All this, and it is animated--anyone who thinks animation can't tell a realistic story with any impact has never seen this movie, and should be required to do so (Gleason, 1988: 2).

The wartime and atomic bomb imagery of endless devastation abound in Japanese animation repeatedly, as Brian Fuller elaborates. The mushroom cloud motif endlessly resurfaces somehow in many science fiction manga and anime. The future outlook is still bleak for the Japanese and makes them relive many unforeseen fears of another nuclear event: "A collection of…amateur drawings by survivors…was published by…The Japanese Broadcasting Corporation…in 1977. Of the artwork submitted…the deadly cloud outnumbered…other subjects by almost 2 to 1" (Fuller, 1991). The psychological effect still lingers in many ways in the nation's psyche, causing lasting grief that has not completely gone away, with many artists referring to "family loss and societal devastation as character motivation" (Fuller, 1991). Manga and anime are also useful media through which to express Japanese civilian sentiments from the war, since non-Japanese can also relate, perhaps as universal ideas to help other cultures understand what the Japanese experienced from the bomb at the hands of their foes.

The tragic tale of Grave of the Fireflies, where one gained insight into the Japanese perspective of the World War II devastation on the civilian populace, showed the nation's view of itself as both a victim of aggressive Allied bombing and on the verge of losing its status as a great Empire once-lost. Takahata's Grave of the Fireflies (1988) reveals the possibility that war is not about "'who fought whom,' but how the suffering was extraordinary, and meted out on civilians and soldiers. Susan Napier says that two works expressing accurate examples of Japan's wartime experiences are "Barefoot Gen" and "Grave of the Fireflies," both of which reveal personal tragedies and relate the themes of children affected by war:

> The two most famous…are the…faithful recreations or rememorations of cataclysmic events such as the…bombing of Hiroshima…in Barefoot Gen (…1983) and the final days of the war as seen by two children in Kobe…in Grave of Fireflies (…1988). In these two films, personal memory on the part of the writers of the original texts (…Nakazawa Keiji on whose autobiographical manga Barefoot Gen is based and Nosaka Akiyuki who wrote the semi-autobiographical short story Grave of Fireflies), became part of…Japanese memory, as the films were seen by millions of Japanese schoolchildren. But the war, the defeat and the atomic bomb… manifest themselves… in more displaced forms, most obviously in the…fetishization of apocalypse, which has been a staple of Japanese animation since the 1970's to the present (Napier, 2005: 1).

Grave of the Fireflies remains particularly disconcerting because the "desolation stretches out on all sides" (Ebert, 1999: 43). The film "has been called Japan's 'Schindler's List,'" showing "the brother doing anything he can think of to protect his sister, who grows weaker every day" (Ebert, 1999: 43). The film ultimately ends in tragedy, showing the hardships of the war orphan experience. Famed movie critic Roger Ebert says that "This is the only animated film that has ever made me cry" (Ebert, 1999: 43).

The Threat and Promise of Technology

As war ends in tragedy for all parties involved, so too, can mankind's unhealthy obsession with technology lead to his ultimate destruction, another emerging theme expressed by well-known Tezuka contemporary Hayao

Miyazaki. His works sometimes revolve around a dystopian future, resulting when man cannot learn from his mistakes, similar to Japan's feelings towards the bombings and the danger of unrestrained, unrestricted warfare. Both Tezuka in Astro Boy and Miyazaki in Nausicaa and Princess Mononoke show a particular affinity for expressing how reckless mankind's use of technology can lead to disaster and tragedy, since both writers personally witnessed the air raids and infused these experiences into their works as a result. Astro-Boy reveals how the Japanese demonstrated their fear of the destructive power of nuclear technology to conquer nature and mankind's abuse of technology in general for ill-intended purposes   Astro Boy is a character who remains the best hope for his people and is an orphan with special powers; he was also representative of the prosperity ahead for Japan's rising markets, the symbol of promise after the war. Japan's experiences, in order to speed up the post-war industrialization process, forced it to embrace a "robophilia" that has been "part of a larger philosophy in regard to technology that developed along with postwar Japan to make it the power it is today" (Gilson, 1998: 367).

The atomic bomb brought the idea of Astro-Boy to the forefront of what Japan felt was needed after the war, a symbol of national unity and prosperity that replaced what Japan lost, since "Atom was Japan's son. It's not unthinkable that many Japanese who lost sons to the war… could relate…personally…Atom and robots became linked with a…future… science and technology could provide" (Gilson, 1998: 367). As a symbol of the nation, Astro-Boy fought constantly against a mad scientist's evil robots and also could shoot projectiles, and the character's inspiration is discussed, with an in-depth reflection of how the effects of the atomic bomb and World War II influenced the character in general (Tezuka, 1963) (Right Stuf International, 1993). The special abilities of many characters (an independent variable supporting the two central themes of the paper) in anime allude to the bomb's effects, as "many anime heroes are mutants or have psychic powers, an obvious metaphor relating to Japan's concern with the Bomb and the effects of nuclear radiation" (Beale, 1997: 24).

Considered by many artists to be one of the greatest of his generation, Hayao Miyazaki is also one of the most innovative and original mangaka in the anime industry today. Astroboy was perceived as the start of one of two types of anime, with the other, "in the words of animation critic Tsugata Nobuyuki…the Disney-influenced, full-animation, feature-length animated film stream…out of Toei Studios' animation division, Toei Animation (formerly Toei Douga)…" (Steinberg, 2006: 198). Miyazaki was considered one of the forefathers of this second area who started with Toei (established in 1956), a company which sprung out of an association called "Nihon Douga, which drew together many animators active in the prewar and wartime periods…"(Steinberg, 2006: 198). Toei produced the first Japanese animation and "its…founders, Yamamoto Sanae and Yabushita Taiji, were trained by one of three founding figures of animation in Japan, Kitayama Seitarou. This leads Yamaguchi Yasuo to claim the Japanese animation boom can be traced…to Kitayama…1917 to… 1923" (Steinberg, 2006: 198). It is essential to remember these lineages when examining Japanese animation's history, since "in the prewar period, animation in Japan was…but an assortment of small production groups…based around a principal animator, who passed knowledge and know-how about animation to his disciples in esoteric fashion" (Steinberg, 2006: 198).

This is all important background for laying the groundwork and understanding the present world of anime and its trendsetters. Clements and McCarthy say that "The world of Japanese animated features is less confused" and "still dominated by Hayao Miyazaki, as it has been for the last twenty years" (Clements et al., 2006: xx). His depictions of life in otherworldly existential means or in the most generic of places bring to us the fullest potential of the human imagination. The setting is usually another world with a strong female character, odd-looking life forms, and a wild series of events that occur (Kraemer, 2004: 3). At times, his fantasies center on idealistic settings that almost resemble classic stories in a European-esque environment: "the Paris of memories," (from a Japanese phrase): "This imagined Europe—a world of quiet hedgerows and walled gardens unspoiled by war" (Ritters, 1999: 2-3). Roger Ebert even explains that the types of themes in Miyazaki's and others' works are no ordinary themes, opening up a world unparalleled in its limitless possibilities, since "To watch these titles is to understand that animation is not an art form limited to cute little animals and dancing teacups. It releases the imagination so fully that it can enhance any story, and it can show sights that cannot possibly exist in the real world" (Ebert, 1999: 43). Grave of the Fireflies is one of the works mentioned that

seems to have this kind of effect on its viewers, striking their hearts with its imaginative, yet realistic, scenarios.

Miyazaki's own Studio Ghibli made the Grave of the Fireflies film, even though Miyazaki did not draw the characters or participate in the production. The horrors of World War II become a reality in this story, but these wartime unpleasantries show the unfortunate consequences of mankind's destruction. Perhaps Mr. Miyazaki speaks for his generation on the war itself and the atomic bomb, though he does not see violence as something which he holds in high regard. His experiences of the war as a child and what became thereafter left an indelible mark on his mind, as it did in the minds of many Japanese manga artists, including Tezuka, and is subsequently depicted in their stories. Traumatic defeat and the dropping of the atomic bomb had a powerful effect on the postwar Japanese mangaka, who witnessed burning cities, large planes and firepower from invading soldiers (Bouissou, 1998: 22). Hence, certain themes developed into the popular images seen in manga countless times, including the common thread of "the world…destroyed because technical progress ran out of hands" while American comics remained anti-Communist while emphasizing "existing social order…and its preservation" (especially with Disney films) (Bouissou, 1998: 22).

Authoritarianism, Deference to US Defense Policy

One also observes that because of the Japanese authoritarian political culture and its concomitant deference to authority, Japan did little to voice public objections to US defense policy, leaving subtle references to its feelings within certain anime works. In addition, Japanese desires to become independent and powerful are revealed in many works involving a Japan with a robust military, defiant but steadfast, as in Yamato or Silent Service, since some creators, such as Leiji Matsumoto (Macross, Yamato) and Yoshinobu Nishizaki (Yamato), bring a general consensus that might have developed a few characters based on the anger that they faced towards their American occupiers, as Brian Fuller states. According to Hiroki Azuma, the recurring themes in such works as Spaceship Yamato, for example, are a "spiritual and self-sacrificing philosophy…the imitation of…Japanese pre-war military… 'Yamato'…means 'Japan' in poetic language and the spaceship…is…from a salvaged Japanese navy warship sunk in the famous battle of…World War 2. The implication is clear" (Azuma, 2001). This is referencing a great, powerful warship called the Yamato once sunk by the Allies in World War II; the ship was used as a national symbol to portray the great empire once lost. The idea portrayed here and in the earlier quote(s) is that the Japanese faced human suffering just as much as others during the war, which means that war affects everyone involved, unfortunately, no matter which side is portrayed as good or bad. Though the Japanese were on the side of the Axis powers, they, too, faced suffering and devastation and were traumatized by the war's events.

The important element concerning this independent variable (which reinforces the two central themes of the paper) for the Japanese regarding the atomic bomb is that these works focused on the suffering of many civilian and casualties; these works perceive war as a process devoid of morals, which helps the Japanese deal with the idea of how Japan was decimated during the war and the bomb attacks, bringing a dramatically different perspective than the "good" and "evil" Allied versus Axis plot often portrayed by formulaic films in the US to mimic the Cold War- era dichotomies of the Soviet Union and the United States (Condry, 2007: 1). We can often relate the universal suffering of war by all involved to common humanitarian themes, which show that war does not discriminate in terms of tragedy, a concept often envisioned within Tezuka's works. Much like the series Yamato, Kwame Appiah's idea of cosmopolitanism (similar to universal ideals expressed by Tezuka) concerns the notion that man can settle his differences and find themes common to all humanity, as Tezuka tried to do in his works years before the Yamato series premiered. In the Yamato series, man has found a way to combine diverse backgrounds into a cohesive unit to work together and travel into the deep realms of space to save humanity. In the end, looking beyond these differences to the things that bind all humans (through Appiah's vision of cosmopolitanism), this work makes viewers realize that humanity has more in common with itself than its physical differences suggest. Cosmopolitanism across cultures is seen in Henry Jenkins' idea of pop cosmopolitanism, whereby younger people broaden the gap between nations by "distinguishing themselves from their parents' culture through their consumption of Japanese anime and manga, Bollywood films, bhangra, and Hong Kong action movies," suggesting that young people are coming full circle today to observe their own

humanity reflected amongst products of foreign cultures (Jenkins, 2004: 118).

What we can also see from the literature in terms of how the authoritarian political culture contributed to the nuclear suffering denial syndrome is that Japan, because of censorship laws under the Occupation period against nuclear images or negative portrayals of American military personnel, used symbols to express its sentiments as a substitute for the suffering of its people within many works. The nation did indeed feel suppressed in terms of directly expressing itself because of its recent history of the militarization of Japan, as well as the deference to authority familiar to many Japanese through the influence of Confucian thought on the society. This was especially magnified because of the absolute control encouraged by the Emperor and extreme, nationalistic loyalty emphasized by the military. The god-emperor figure of pre-war and wartime Japan had publicly given the perception of forcing Japanese society to submit completely. Occupation authorities saw that suppressing dissent, carrying over this perceived submission to authority as one tactic to both show respect to the authorities in charge and to suppress criticism of American troops in power until the Occupation period ended. Repeatedly, we see that the defense mechanism was overused to the point that life simply had to continue, despite the stress of enduring years of continued denial within this horrible version of psychic numbing (Wear, 1987: 216). Such writers as Hiroki Azuma reveal a particular idealized notion that self-sacrifice is admirable for the Japanese to observe that perhaps suffering for the nation can be rewarded by a greater good that will reveal itself in the end, to avoid others facing the same fate (Azuma, 2001).

The Yamato anime was reminiscent of a national symbol for the Japanese as a spaceship resurrected from a great battleship's remains; the self-sacrificing philosophy seemed to assist many victims here coping with human suffering--a sign of continued psychological scars that never healed. This type of endurance training is an indicator that a number of Japanese were in denial as to the nuclear events, as revealed in Yamato. The great empire was lost to a number of Japanese after the war, but perhaps delayed gratification, making sacrifices now can lead to hope for the future, which is also considered a symptom of Wear's nuclear denial d

The deference to authority also revealed in many works that the Japanese, coming from a society and a value system that discouraged direct confrontation, could also do well to reveal its true feelings within uniquely Japanese mediums, such as anime, and the failed authority figures, such as in the foolish and greedy military figures trying to seize the ultimate weapon of Akira in that anime (which, coincidentally at the end, caused an enormous mushroom cloud to envelope Neo-Tokyo) would often be foreign personnel or American military persons, as Jean-Marie Bouissou and Michael Fisch explain in some of their writings (Fisch, 2000). What we also learn is that a number of Japanese felt helpless, being victims that suffered greatly, whose societal harmony appeared to be disrupted by an evil, foreign technology that wreaked havoc on the country, with a resolution often being restoring order as a common theme, perhaps having a national symbol as the sunken ship Yamato, the remains of which is resurrected into a spaceship in one work, that reveals itself as a hope for the future, to save Japan from a senseless, violent, foreign technological force bent on destruction.

Such sentiments, which the occupation suppressed, often manifest indirectly through anime without revealing how many Japanese coped with such significant tragedy during the War, as Susan Napier reveals (Napier, 2005). The works Barefoot Gen and Grave of the Fireflies by Nakazawa Keiji and Nosaka Akiyuki, respectively, show that the apocalypse became practically a Japanese obsession for multiple generations. There is ample imagery on victimhood and the psychological toll of nuclear suffering denial syndrome in Neon Genesis Evangelion (Broderick, 2002: 27-28), which focuses on a post-apocalyptic future that shows major symbolism reminiscent of a nuclear technology and what persons must do to survive amidst constant violence, death, and destruction, as well as showing hidden symbolism behind the meaning of self-sacrifice and what nuclear denial can do to mankind's psychological state if not confronted directly, as well as the implications of what could happen if nuclear technology is not addressed properly (Danielson, 2011). The deference to authority by the occupation government is still a constant reminder of what Japan was forced to endure, and this overemphasis of the defense mechanism used to help the Japanese cope with major nuclear events, as well as the use of the victim motif constantly as a reminder of what the Japanese went through, was only part of the equation but likely continually resulted in this nuclear suffering denial syndrome as detailed by Lifton (Lifton, 1982) and Wear (Wear, 1987:

216). This denial of wartime events was aided by the occupation authorities, according to Susan Napier, leaving an enormous psychological toll on the Japanese populace that never fully resolved itself (Fernandes, 2009: 20).

Both sides of the war engaged in tragedy overall. Anime suggests that war, as war often does, devastates all parties involved. Matsumoto explores similar hope and loss themes in his popular anime series "Space Cruiser Yamato" about Earth in 2199 which is "under attack from the mysterious planet Gamilon," whose "bombs cover…Earth with radioactivity and…Earth has…one year for survival…On the planet Iscandar, there is a machine which can remove the radioactivity. Queen Starsha offers it to the people of Earth. A team of star blazers undertake the…journey" to "travel 148,000 light years and back in just one Earth year" (Anime.com, 2011), Susan Napier explains how themes of loss, love, and hope surround the image of the atomic bomb itself in the story. The Yamato was Japan's identity, lost after the war, while "If the atomic bomb was…powerlessness and victimhood, as a result of an…outside force the sinking of the Yamato is…defeat and despair…The films project...universal love…Furthermore, the Yamato [is]…reactive… defending the earth rather than seeking out adventures (Napier, 2005). Matsumoto was deeply affected by his wartime experiences with his references to the horrors of war, the destruction evident in the abuse of technology, the despair felt by many Japanese and the family structure in the conflict, and the sense that some semblance of hope can be ascertained from the entire experience, all independent variables which support the two dependent variables or central themes.

Another anime work with complex themes centered around wartime loss and a hope to come involves "Silent Service." This seinen comic concerns a nuclear submarine under joint US-Japanese command that is suddenly hijacked by the crew and, therefore, under no one's control:

> This series, set in the contemporary era, features a nuclear submarine, originally under…U.S.-Japanese command and… called the Seabat. In a…twist…the Japanese crew takes over…and turns it into a rogue vessel, no longer under…any nation. Most of the series consists of…travels of the submarine and…attempts by the international community to find…it, constantly defeated by the…captain who masterminded the takeover…Although unexpected, the takeover is…presaged by a significant action…by the Japanese commander early on… Alone…he takes out his knife and carves a…word into the hull…"Yamato."… Although the overall diegesis of Silent Service is less…evocative of history than… Yamato…history is still an important emotional catalyst behind the plot…(Napier, 2005: 12).

This series covers the independent variables of defeat and loss in a tense world of the future--Americans appear buffoonish, and many Japanese ride a wave of nationalistic feelings (Napier, 2005: 12). Loss and defeat are either "therapeutic or problematic," remaining ambiguous for the viewer (Napier, 2005: 12). Yoshida Mitsuru, a Yamato survivor from the actual sunken ship, said that "Fortunately the space cruiser Yamato is decisively different from the battleship Yamato," with the Seabat, on the other hand, signaling a "desire for Japanese autonomy from America" (Napier, 2005: 12). The complex morals arising from this story express a particularly Japanese desire for independence, not wanting outsiders to control their fate so that can assert themselves in foreign policy. The name "Yamato" by the captain invokes images (Solomon, 2006) of the series by that name, along with a greater increase in Japanese nationalism since the war and the American occupation, unfortunately stressed by the bomb and the air raids on Japan (Napier, 2005: 12). In some anime works, the Americans appear to be unwanted foreign invaders (one independent variable), and perhaps this attitude reflects the mood of some Japanese looking for reassurance by making themselves the victims and the occupier (i.e. the Americans), the aggressor (another independent variable). This victimhood idea is not surprising, as Japan's government "has avoided acknowledging events that took place during World War Two" and "substituted a vague notion of 'unfortunate events' and Japan as…perpetual victim of intercultural [misunderstandings]'…Japan's isolationism leads to a desire not to discuss…the nuclear attacks with 'outsiders'…as if they would not understand Japan's unique situation." This reflects the isolationist nature of some factions of Japan's politics, where Japan sees itself differently from other nations (another independent variable). Not surprisingly, the series "Silent Service" also references the United Nations and geopolitics.

Both "Silent Service" and "Yamato" expressed anime trends (since the 1990s) of revived nationalism themes, which serves as an important independent variable towards the paper's primary themes. In previous decades and in the postwar period, tragic loss and despair prevailed in many series considered inappropriate by US occupiers or when the US continued to exert heavy influence on Japan's foreign policy. Vague references to wartime experiences had always existed through subject imagery in manga and anime. Lately, popular science fiction themes have demonstrated more boldness to further emphasize alternate outcomes, or if Japan could have determined its own wartime fate; the animated stories show both some Japanese sense of self-guilt and the attitude that many Japanese can fend for themselves:

> Live action war films declined in the 1970s, as did stories…in actual wars. But fantasy war films…traced back to such films as Atragon (1963)…a Toho special effects movie in which remnants of the Imperial Navy save…Earth from invading aliens, took up the   slack…in…anime. For instance, the successful "Space Battleship Yamato"…offered… that resurrecting the sunken battleship Yamato was the only way to save the human race, and "Silent Service"…showed a rogue Self-Defense Force warship…forcing peace on the superpowers. Such works marked…that anime fandom, and related audiences…for manga, would…reveal right-wing tendencies in the 1990s. These would…be represented by…right-leaning subculture commentators as Sato Kenji and Kiridoshi Risaku, or neo-nationalist manga artists like Kobayashi Yoshinori (Gerow, 2006).

Revived nationalism is one idea that has resurfaced lately, with more people being bold and showing their frustration at being pushed around by the American collective defense arrangement with Japan, the AMPO treaty. The fates of America and Japan are intertwined because American forces are obligated to protect Japan if attacked; Japan then has the right to self-defense. Both nations carry out joint training exercises and reduce Japan's own defense budget by using American forces. However, the Japanese appear upset that the US has a special arrangement to convict military personnel in its own courts, without Japanese consent. Tensions run high when serious crimes are committed, and many troops seem to be accountable only to themselves under American law, with the Japanese feeling that this is simply one more indication than the US exerts control over Japan (a solid independent variable). This is not to say that a number of Japanese social movements and a strong civil society did not exist in the Occupation period and beyond, but some of these voices were suppressed or did not significantly alter the state of events in terms of America's determination, despite a number of protests, to push Japan into a forced joint security arrangement, such as George Packard's account of the 1960 protest in Tokyo of the "Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security," or AMPO treaty in the abbreviated Japanese terminology (Packard, 1966).

Even the creator of "Yamato" expressed anger towards this tragedy and frustration at the "alien invaders" that the United States appeared to be based on when they came into the country, directing this anger of painful childhood experiences towards the enemy through one of the characters in his manga, such as "Derek Wildstar, an impulsive fighter pilot on the Space Cruiser Yamato," who "flies into a rage as a captured member of an enemy alien race is interrogated. As he charges furiously toward the alien, he indulges in a lengthy reverie which recounts his parents' death at the hands of bombs…by members of the alien's race" (Fuller, 1991). This tragic personal, emotional turmoil felt by the characters in many genres of manga and anime is recreated over and over throughout the industry in many science fiction/fantasy/post-apocalyptic future works, particularly by those artists influenced by Tezuka. Images of devastation, coupled with the hope of a better future and the optimism associated with science and technology, are two such themes (that serve as our dependent variables), as in the "Yamato" series (originally developed by Leiji Matsumoto, an artist directly inspired by Tezuka's works):

> In Be Forever Yamato (…1980)…the ship is forced…into the center of the…Black Nebula…by…asteroids and enemy forces in a…symphony of destruction. At the last moment…the crew discovers an exit space from the Nebula that places them above…an exact twin of…Earth, 200 years in the future…All these… sequences…provide… pleasure for the…audience of children and adolescents, as the Yamato comes again… within a hair's breadth of being annihilated. But the craft's constant plunges into danger followed by miraculous recovery can…be looked at psychoanalytically…into…the postwar Japanese citizenry…"working through"…defeat. By offering the audience…to… approach…Yamato's

> (Japan's) annihilation and then… escape…destruction, the films can be seen as…cultural therapy in which loss is revisited in a…reassuring manner (Napier, 2005: 8).

The destruction (the Nebula), with new blossoming of a society on the horizon, is experienced directly through the Yamato's (Japan's) trials itself, showing that the nation could prevail in its shortcomings after the bomb and win the long hard road to recovery, learning to heal from its wounds. What we do know is that Japan's experience parallels the trials of the Yamato itself and partly reflects how a number of Japanese (especially right-wing Japanese, including nationalists) viewed the cataclysmic events towards the end of the war through anime and those with related themes of destruction; the Japanese saw hope in the future (i.e. the phoenix analogy) and believed that science and technology brought promise, or progress, towards a better world which learns from its past mistakes and grows to respect Mother Nature. Historical perspectives, particularly through manga and anime case studies which this research covered, utilize analyses by scholars from American, European, Japanese, and other noteworthy academics, and contain universal, consistent themes about what Japan has obtained from the atomic bomb experience. Manga can often exhibit complex storylines such as Yamato and three-dimensional characters, with common fallacies and imperfections, similar to our own Earthly existence.

Such feelings of buffoonery and incompetence by Americans is contrasted with the abilities of the Japanese characters in some of these works, who come through and show their loyalty, and superiority, in such works as Patlabor, as shown by Masami Yuki in his works. Alluding to this disillusionment with an occupying power who often stumbles over itself, along with greedy politicians looking out for their own interests, the failure of authority figures theme is revisited, as American buffoonery prevails in many manga and anime features found in the mecha series "Patlabor," by Masami Yuki. The story revolves around a group of policemen in the near future who use "Labors," which are robots, for heavy construction. The Tokyo Metropolitan Police have their own Patlabors to fight crime and manage accidents that Labors are involved in. A specific police division, Special Vehicle Section 2, Division 2, is focused on for the story, with Noa Izumi being the main character, with the rest of the division included. The series is full of references to feelings about American influences, Japanese self-determination, and technological dangers, as exemplified in the "Patlabor II" movie. The monologue asks what the Japanese are protecting, which is typical of a war film and also shows a bombed bridge, giving the idea that maintaining peace is essential to Japan (Fisch, 2000). However, peace under American influence is perhaps questioned negatively, especially since there is some hint that other motives may be at play by the US (Fisch, 2000). The solemn images also suggest that prosperity and modernization in Japan has come at a price of losing "natural beauty" (Fisch, 2000). In addition, images of a prosperous country coincide with guilt for preserving Japanese peace, with the Japanese having grown acclimated to the suffering of others (Fisch, 2000). Arakawa suggests that just war is possible, such as in World War II (Fisch, 2000). Just as well, "the…solemn buoy conveys…isolation and loneliness," since "Japan is without allies…and must protect itself. Aside from the scene…in Southeast Asia, the…military-political conflict occurs…around Tokyo. Severe damage is upon the city," with government officials seen as helpless (Fisch, 2000). The destruction itself is reminiscent of Godzilla, and Susan Napier draws on Tudor's Monsters and Mad Scientists: A Cultural History of the Horror Movie and explains that Godzilla is…"'secure horror…collectivity is threatened from…outside, reestablished through scientists and…government'" (Fisch, 2000). In addition, enjoyment in…"secure horror"…"is…chaos and destruction, which audiences find… attractive…less likely to induce anxiety and enjoyable… order…restored with …resolution of…conflict. These films were…anti-technology in prewar… science fiction and fantasy, they…conveyed a…nationalistic message" (Fisch, 2000).

The nationalistic message often revealed is that "American technology as evil awakens…monster, in contrast to…good Japanese technology that…kills it. Napier points to negative…American nuclear technology…Hiroshima and Nagasaki…" (Fisch, 2000). Japanese audiences could be satisfied with the fact that "the happy conclusion…served as…ideological device that 'offered its postwar…audience an experience…cathartic and compensatory, allowing them to re-imagine…tragic wartime…'" (Fisch, 2000). The Patlabor II movie shows evidence of the important dynamics between the Japanese people and the American military in Japan (Fisch, 2000). The devastating images of Tokyo under occupation also remind the Japanese of the early days of occupation after the war, rousing up some nationalistic feelings among the populace, captured

by the following scenery of sad "images…a…city under siege. The scene fades with snow…soldiers standing guard during night a…reminder of defeat… loss of national pride…With American occupation the mobilization of the military signals collapse of peace…postwar Japan" (Fisch, 2000). In addition, Japan's "decision to … abstain from … conflict has been … central … separating … from … prewar … attitudes, when … military prowess was … national pride. A shift … marks … temporal … ideological regression … towards … rehabilitated militant nationalism" (Fisch, 2000). There are several nationalistic elements in the above quotes, along with the idea that the Americans have somewhat overstayed their welcome. Not surprisingly, then, nationalistic images abound in such a work, with the Japanese serving as the good presence that kills the evil American technology. Japan is then comes to terms with its guilt-ridden self by portraying such ideas as giving the nation a newfound hope and a life that can indeed spring forth anew. According to Yomota, the dual themes of death and rebirth can be seen in Oshii's works, such as in the Patlabor and Ghost in the Shell series, with "constructions of the high capitalist era [but] are at the same time spaces brimming with the nostalgia particular to ruins" (Yomota, 2002: 78).

Conclusion

The strengths of this historical analysis and case studies approach is that the study of anime can reveal greater insight into the concerns of the Japanese people during the war itself. The sentiments expressed by families, as well as major concerns about destructive technology, as well as the crimes against humanity portrayed against the Japanese, can be further elaborated on, since existing censorship laws prevented such dialogue from being discussed during the Occupation. The weaknesses of this approach may show that anime is imperfect and only reveals what some of the artists want to discuss but may not express completely because of cultural barriers and the current American military arrangement in Japan, which obligates Japan to maintain a neutral approach to this issue without disrupting the current security arrangement. A more powerful indication of how Japan has coped and endured through the bombings and nuclear devastation, which wrought destruction on the nation, is revealed in such indirect references as pop culture avenues in anime and send a greater message to the world that Japan was concerned, did suffer, and has still not answered the question of whether crimes against humanity were justified by American military actions during the war.

Through current research on anime and manga, with an additional focus on how Osamu Tezuka's works influenced other artists, a conclusion can be made that the devastation of a nuclear suffering denial syndrome has afflicted the Japanese people in a particular way, as brought forth by the effects of the atomic bomb. These bombings and other war-related happenings, including postwar tensions by the Occupation authorities, changed Japan in such a significant way as to launch powerful themes (and subthemes) which reference past historical events in the works of many postwar anime films and manga (especially in science fiction/fantasy/futuristic apocalyptic manga between 1945-65 and 1985-95).

The research also represents several important subthemes (which serve as independent variables) which relate not only to Japan's history, but which also contain important political components ranging from perspectives on the ethics of science and technology policy, questions of relations between nations, and subtle hints on how to conduct foreign policy towards various international entities. However, these forms of media also address universal themes with cross-cultural appeal. Images of devastation, coupled with the hope of a better future and the optimism associated with science and technology, are two such themes (that serve as our dependent variables), as in the "Yamato" series (Napier, 2005: 8). As a relevant example, one can consider the "good guy" character in "Porco Rosso" (another work developed by a Tezuka protégé, Hayao Miyazaki) who drinks too much: how do we know how perfect the common hero figure really is when he goes home after defeating the evil characters? (Ritter, 1999: 3). Perhaps the hero character in many works becomes tired like the rest of us, and it is even possible that he may feel anxiety as a result of all of the pressure from society, reflecting the issue of social conformity in everyday life in Japan. It is quite plausible that the hero's anxiety (in anime or manga works) will give him a human side, but many American comics (restricted by the Comics Code and anything not in conformity with traditional American values of the time period commonly held by Orientalist stereotypes of

the past) did not often portray such scenarios for decades after World War II.

As Kara Lenore Williams reasons, for years, fans have cited the "complexity of storylines (in contrast to American animation) and dark tone and content as some of the elements that attract them to anime" (Williams, 2006).   William Tsutsui also mentions the various ways that Japanese pop culture has found itself quite appealing to American audiences, one of which is anime (Tsutsui, 2010).   In manga and anime, where imagination is the only limitation, there exists the likelihood of every character type or storyline (Wallgren, 2006: 1).   How do we know the antagonist or "bad" guy in a story does not donate to charity or help poor children off of the street? Such complex issues are typical fodder in the unorthodox world of anime and manga, and it becomes more compelling as time goes by, as Japan has transitioned from a society decimated by war, only to prevail and recover from its losses, as "the commercial superiority and equitable foreign relations the country enjoys speak of the thorough healing of the wounds of war," demonstrating that a great promise of success, of a peaceful nation, hoped and dreamed for in the works of Tezuka and later artists, has become reality today for this global superpower (Fuller, 1991: 1).   However, Japan as a nation is constantly looking to reinvent itself in various ways and establish its own identity, one somewhat distinct from the shadow of American influence, which perhaps Japan is still struggling with, but which remains a goal that Japan is determined to accomplish. Japan now has the resources and the capability to make these kinds of decisions on its own, but this remains to be seen in the future.

As an avenue for further research in the areas of anime and manga within the perspective of Japanese domestic politics and its own foreign policy, Japan must look beyond the horizon towards a greater future, as it did after the World War II atomic bomb, evolving into a great economic superpower. The questions of how to balance man's place within Mother Nature, nuclear technology's role in society, and the hope that many carried through to help Japan rebuild are once again relevant amidst the post-2011 nuclear crisis: "Japanese history has entered a new phase…we must look at things through the eyes of…victims of nuclear power…who have proved their courage through suffering.   The lesson…from the current disaster will depend on whether those who survive…resolve not to repeat their mistakes" (Oe, 2011).   This ultimately depends on the fortitude and sheer determination of the Japanese to overcome the 2011 nuclear disaster. History shows that Japan rebuilt itself both after the devastating early 20th century earthquake and the atomic bomb. If Japan was able to survive mass destruction once before, as Tezuka and others inspired by him afterward showed in their works, certainly the country can do it again, which also may explain that a wave of nostalgia and nationalism on the right inspired many of the works and calls for independence in the later period examined in this study, when Japan rose to prominence in the mid-1980s in a prosperous economy.

To recap, the first time period studied, from 1945-1965, dealt with tensions leading to the 1960 AMPO treaty renewal and rapid industrialization in Japan. The second period, from 1985-95, witnessed not only continued Japanese economic prosperity, but also relaxed Comics Code restrictions, which opened the US market. Right-wing nationalistic tensions arose regarding the renewal of leases for US military bases (i.e. the American military presence was also   a contentious issue in the postwar decades) in the joint US-Japan security arrangement. Some lessons to be taken to heart are that the suffering of a people, a nation, is reflected by many others globally, as Appiah's idea of cosmopolitanism shows that despite our differences, universally, certain things do bring us together as a human race: we all witness the effects of mass destruction at some point in time. With the overwhelming outpouring of aid so far in the 2011 nuclear crisis and through the efforts of many NGOs and governments around the world, the response has proven that indeed we can be certain that man understands that suffering is universal, felt at one time or another by most nations, be it through famine, flood, storms, or other natural disasters. Just as manga and anime unite fans worldwide, as a human race, we help one another a great deal when crisis comes and settle our differences a great deal, while also sharing universal principles that transcend nation and culture.

Ultimately, Tezuka's message of bettering ourselves as a human race is critical to avoid a bleak future of epic proportions, worse than any nuclear crisis. Our future depends on our ability to bridge these gaps and settle our cultural differences and temper and respect nature for the simple beauty that it brings to our lives. Themes of

death and rebirth can be a positive development, symbolically, if we restructure this selfish world where one nation's hegemonic ambitions constrains all others, and we can work together towards a bright, positive future that will bring mankind respect, prosperity, progress, and hope that everlasting peace will inspire others in the cosmos to do likewise. This is the vision Tezuka would have wanted, the vision that many after him felt would suitably fit what his work was trying to accomplish. Man and nature can co-exist peacefully when man appreciates life's simple beauty, as we are ultimately part of nature itself.

Overall, Japan has faced major hurdles from this nuclear suffering denial syndrome. According to Freud, Lifton, and Wear, psychiatry has identified a psychic numbing strain that has potentially traumatic implications for the Japanese from being subjugated to variable policies over time concerning the occupation, Cold War containment, and authoritarian political culture. The result of this burden is that Japan has continually been in denial as to these tragic events which occurred over the years, with anime and manga artists searching for answers through symbolism in their works and to try coping with all that happened. Tezuka himself was humiliated and embarrassed by American GIs in his youth, not to mention he was witness to the air raids, with numerous other writers having similar experiences (Benzon, 2008).

What we can observe is that Japan was humiliated and has attached itself to both a victimhood mentality, and an obsession over apocalyptic events. Looking for a future hope is also a sign of this nuclear denial disorder, as Wear calls it, but simply taken a step further as nuclear suffering denial syndrome (Wear, 1987: 216). The constant stream of events forced on Japan, from the occupation's censorship laws, to the Cold War containment policy and suppressing or redirecting any references to the air raids and bombings, for instance, to the subjugation to authority that the Japanese were forced to endure under Occupation, Japan simply lacked time to suffer. This remains a difficult situation, leaving Japan with a long-lingering complex of symptoms related to a societal-level version of PTSD, and making writers obsessed with the mushroom cloud image, as Napier has stated.

We can certainly be appreciative and informed about Japanese culture by reading manga and watching anime, but the writers themselves are essentially putting such symbolism and particular bomb-related themes in their works as a coping mechanism, one of several defense mechanisms as identified by Freud. The study of Hiroshima victims by Lifton to examine how these persons coped with such nuclear events opened a very interesting area of inquiry (Lifton, 1982). However, until Japan is able to discuss these issues more openly and address the war, as well as the aftermath of such events, which resulted in a complicated security arrangement in the present day, as well as a whitewashing of that time period due to Occupation-era policies, we must continue to think of how the Japanese will look into the future to heal these terrible, unforeseen circumstances which resulted in so many victims that were afflicted with this nuclear suffering denial syndrome, as one might call it. As a remedy, I would argue that studying those artists inspired by such events and affected directly by the war and the bombings can be more fully appreciated for having courage to write about their experiences, of which the fruits of their labor can be enjoyed by global fans of these forms of media through their wonderful talents. Finally, the questions of healing and reconciliation can perhaps be discussed in another chapter as to how to help Japan cope with this nuclear suffering syndrome that affects them even to this very day.

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A 'Paradox' of Governance Performance: the Case of Barangay 872, Manila, Philippines

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Abstract

This descriptive single-case study is a glimpse of barangay governance performance vis-à-vis the recurrent governance challenges confronting a local community mired in chronic poverty, in Manila, Philippines. The case of Barangay 872 shows an incongruous claim of 'good' governance performance juxtaposed alongside the constituents 'limited access to services, resources, and opportunities. With the implementation of the Barangay Governance Performance Management System (BGPMS) and the Enhanced Barangay Governance Performance Management System (E-BGPMS) as a management approach, the narratives and self-conducted performance assessments of the Barangay Council from the Year 2013-2017, extract a 'paradox' of governance performance. Over time, the apparent 'strength' of the Barangay Council in the governance and administrative performance sector co-exists with a stagnant economic development and lags behind the relatively slight improvements in the social services and environmental management sectors. In this light, this paper poses the question: "What accounts for the Council's inconsistent governance performance?" Employing Blumer's symbolic interactionism as a theoretical lens, in the eyes of the Council, the 'paradox' emanates from the prevalence of the 'weak-performing' sectors over the 'strong-performing' sectors, which they attribute to three persistent factors: 1]. the barangay's limited economic resources and stagnant agriculture; 2]. implementation of poverty targeting policy as a 'structural strain'; and 3]. limited institutional support from the local government units.

Keywords: Barangay Governance Performance; Chronic Poverty; Economic Development

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The barangay, as the basic political unit in the Philippines, serves as "the primary planning and implementing body of government policies, plans, programs, projects, and activities for local constituents" (The Local Government Code of 1991, Sec. 384). Central in the realization of this noble agenda behind the crucial role of the barangay in strengthening governance is how the barangay, through the functions of the Barangay Council, performs in the different sectors of governance vis-à-vis the delivery of basic services to the local constituents.

Going through pertinent local literatures, I have not, unfortunately, encountered any grounded, community-context studies in the Philippines that highlights the importance of looking into the relevance of governance performance at the barangay level. Studies on local governance are inclined to elevate research efforts and

agenda on the 'higher' local government units (LGUs) of the Philippine bureaucracy. Interestingly, the study of Adriano & Estimada (2014) corroborated the effectiveness of the Local Governance Performance Management System (LGPMS), as a management tool in improving governance on the municipal level.

However, my paper takes on a different research focus on the study of governance performance. It 'keeps an eye' on how the officials of the Barangay Council 'interpret on their own' governance performance in the context of the 'reality of the barangay,' vis-a-vis the performance assessment results and outcomes of the Barangay Governance Performance Management System (BGPMS) and the Enhanced Barangay Governance Performance Management (E-BGPMS), from Year 2013-2017 (Department of the Interior and Local Government [DILG], 2017). With these contexts as my 'take-off point,' this study is a 'glimpse' of the case of an urban community in a state of chronic poverty - - Barangay 872 of Pandacan, Manila, Philippines.

Proceeding from my group discussions, interviews, and documentary data research, it appears that with the relative strength of the Council in governance lies a 'paradox of performance.' What goes with the apparent administrative competency of the Council are a state of stagnant economic development; constraints in the delivery of social services; and challenges in environmental management confronting the barangay. It sparks curiosity on the question: "Over time, what explains the prevalence of these relatively 'weak-performing' areas in governance performance over the 'stronger' ones?" The succeeding portions of this paper uncover the contributing factors behind the 'paradox' as articulated by the Council in their narratives, with symbolic interactionism of Blumer (1969) as my theoretical lens.

This paper, however, is not an exhaustive discourse on the performance of each governance sector in a five-year timeline. It is not an attempt to critically appraise the effectiveness of the BGPMS/E-BGPMS and does not impose any normative evaluation of the competency of the Council, nor question the reliability of the 'self-conducted' performance assessments. Subsequent or future studies, however, may take on these research angles to explore any interests on the 'paradox' of governance performance. My goal, as I proceed with my sociological inquiry, is to describe and theorize as it emerges from the grounds succinctly; draw a few implications of the 'paradox'; and generate some insights on barangay governance performance in the Philippines.

2.0. RESEARCH METHODS

2.1. The Research Site and Contexts
Barangay 872 of Pandacan, Manila Philippines, was designated as a small area during the initial year of the Martial Law Era in 1973 by the virtue of Proclamation No. 1081. The official designation of the community as "Barangay 872, Zone 95, District VI" came into existence in 1978, with a 'depressed' economic status.   The barangay is a residential urban community without any major commercial establishments with a total land area of about two hectares with seven sub-areas. Only small-scale businesses flourish which include sari-sari stores, street food stalls, and a few computer shops.

Common types of dwellings are made of low-cost, non-resilient semi-concrete materials. Its population is an even mix of children, males and females, youth and adults, and a few senior citizens. Marginalized groups of the community include the urban poor, either unemployed or self-employed; the elderly or senior citizens; the women and the children; and the out-of-school youth. The majority have resided in the barangay for several years now, with household size ranging from 4-7 members. To date, it has a population of 2,386 residents with 244 households (The 2017 State of Barangay Governance Report).

2.2. The Barangay Council
The Council of Barangay 872 is composed of elective positions which include the Chair, who has served the barangay for three consecutive terms since the Year 2010, and seven Councilors, the Council Secretary and the Council Treasurer in appointive positions, sixteen volunteers as security enforcers, a volunteer health worker, a day care teacher, and two street sweepers. The Council basically disposes of resources and direct efforts to

implement programs and/or projects on garbage disposal, waste segregation, and collection, peace, and security, education and health services, etc.

In cooperation with the City Government of Manila and the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD), the Council implements family planning, responsible parenthood, maternal care and breastfeeding program for women, and health and nutrition program for children. The barangay also houses a daycare center and offers a sports development program for the youth. With the intervention of the DILG, seminars, and training on disaster preparedness are also held in the barangay at least twice a year.

Under the dynamic leadership of the Chair, the Council and the Barangay 872 have been awarded by the DILG for four consecutive years now. In the Year 2018, the Council once again received some recognition from the DILG for effectively enacting the rules and implementing guidelines of the Duterte administration's Antidrug Operations (DILG, 2017). The DILG also recognized the Council's efforts in implementing a Rehabilitation Program for the 'drug surrenderees' of the barangay, which merited the barangay the status of a "drug-free community." The Council is also awarded for their competence in the administration of Barangay Justice, particularly in resolving cases of conflicts and disputes, through the Council Committee on Barangay Justice, locally known as the "Lupon ng Katarungang Pang-Barangay."

2.3. The BGPMS/E-BGPMS

All barangays create their respective committees to implement the Barangay Governance Performance Management System (BGPMS) as a management and accountability tool in governance (Executive Order No. 001, Series of 2014).   In the Year 2016, it was revised to "Enhanced Barangay Governance Performance System (E-BGPMS)," with a modified assessment tool, but maintains the same rationale behind this 'top-bottom' checking/control mechanism of the DILG on the barangay units. The Barangay Council assesses 'on their own' their performance in governance and administration, social services, economic development and environmental management sectors of barangay governance using the assessment tool provided by the DILG.

This self-assessment is facilitated by working on a 'checklist' of required documents as performance evidences. Scores/ratings are software-generated on the basis of the number of evidences 'checked' and submitted for each performance area. It employs the 5-point Likert scale (with 5 as the highest score; and 1 as the lowest score), and the percentage grading scale in measuring performance. From the assessment results, the Council identifies their 'strengths' and 'weaknesses' per performance area, and focuses attention on the weak-performing sectors, extracts contributing factors, and deliberates on the courses of action for implementation in the succeeding performance cycle. A State of Barangay Governance Report (SBGR), due for submission to the DILG, is then prepared by the Council after consolidating all the required documents, project reports, the accomplished checklist, assessment results, and the Council's recommendations (The Local Government Code of 1991, Sec. 16 & 17).

2.4. Research Strategies

I conducted this single-case study from September of 2017 to December of 2018 that generated field and documentary data on the Barangay Council's governance performance as I engaged the Council members in focus group discussions on the research agenda, alongside their project implementation; governance challenges they face; and their prospects for development. I also asked the Council to suggest remedies or solutions to the issues and challenges they themselves articulated. As requested by the Council officials, the discussions were conducted in Filipino to allow them to reveal spontaneously and comfortably their views and sentiments, as they share their 'stories' (Krueger, R.A., Casey, M., Donner, J., Kirsch, S., & Maack, J.N., 2001).

With the informed consent from the Council, I accessed and critically examined the Council's SBGRs from the Year 2013-2017, the focal point of which is the Council's self-assessment of each performance sector and sub-sector in the BGPMS/E-BGPMS. I was able to access five SBGRs from the Council for the Year 2013-2017. The 2018 SBGR is still being processed by the Council, and thus, unavailable at the conduct of my research. I also did subsequent interviews with the Council Chair and the Council Secretary on matters arising from the

SBGRs. I then integrated the results of the focus group discussions, interviews, and documentary data research to generate the emergent themes and to show how the narratives of the Council officials and the assessment results 'meet halfway' in seeking answers to the research questions.

2.5. Symbolic Interactionism as a Mode of Analysis

In examining the Barangay Council's narratives and self-assessed governance performance, the employment of Herbert Blumer's theory of symbolic interactionism (1969)**,** provides a potent mode of analysis with the following fundamental assumptions:

> "1. Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the
>   things have for them;
>   2. The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social
>   interaction that one has with one's fellows; and
>   3. These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive
>   process used by the person in dealing with the things he/she encounters."

With my social constructionist epistemology, I shall focus attention on how local governance performance is viewed and evaluated by the Council officials themselves as active and creative actors, and espouse a reflexive investigation on how these 'actors' present, view, and contextualize situations of co-presence with others in a social setting. Crucial in my core analysis is how the officials interpret their 'negotiations' with their constituents and the local government units, among other institutions lending support (or not) to the community, and how these nuances translate to governance performance and self-assessment.

In this light, how the Council officials attach or attribute meanings, define and deal with the emergent challenges in governance, likewise influences their behavior, decisions, practices in governance performance. How the Council evaluates performance 'on their own,' with their interpretations of their functions as public servants and community leaders, shapes their extent and quality of performance in the delivery of basic services to their constituents, particularly for the welfare of the poor and the marginalized sectors of the barangay.

3.0. DISCUSSION

From the narratives of the Barangay Council, and with reference to the BGPMS/EBGPMS performance assessment results and outcomes, let me now briefly present the 'paradox of governance performance,' via a cluster of emergent themes in the curious case of Barangay 872.

3.1. The Council's 'Strengths' in Governance

The strength of the Council of Barangay 872 lies in the governance and administration performance sector. In fact, the Council's performance in all service areas, using the BGPMS, are marked "excellent" in three consecutive years from 2013-2015, except for citizen's participation and revenue generation, as shown in Table 1.0 which the Council deems 'problematic' in a poverty-stricken community. From the viewpoint of the Chair, the weak participation of the constituents is attributed to the implementation of the DILG's poverty targeting policy that limits the number of project recipients, and the reluctance of some constituents to participate in the barangay assemblies. The Council also argues on the feasibility of revenue generation as the barangay lacks the resources and opportunities to do so.

Table 1.0. Scores for Governance & Administration in the Year 2013-2015

Performance & Service Areas	2013	2014	2015	Description
Governance	4.57	4.83	4.77	Excellent
Local legislation	4.83	5.00	5.00	Excellent
Transparency	5.00	5.00	5.00	Excellent
Citizens' participation	3.67	4.55	4.33	Very Good
Administration	4.50	4.83	4.82	Excellent

Development planning	5.00	5.00	5.00	Excellent
Revenue generation	2.60	4.20	4.20	Very Good
Revenue allocation/ Utilization	5.00	5.00	5.00	Excellent
Fiscal accountability	5.00	5.00	5.00	Excellent
Facilities & customer Service	4.83	4.83	4.86	Excellent
HR management & Development	5.00	4.87	4.87	Excellent

However, with the E-BGPMS, as shown in Table 1.1, the Council maintains its 'good' performance status except for organizational development, citizen's participation, and development legislation. Paradoxically, as stated in the SBGRs, the Council's overall performance rating was 'excellent' for three consecutive years (2013-2015), and yet 'low compliant' to date (2016-2017), with the revised performance tool. The Council laments that they cannot do much in organizational development and development legislation sectors since they lack the resources and support in honing their skills and competencies in these two performance areas.

Table 1.1. Ratings for Governance & Administration in the Year 2016-2017

Performance & Service Areas	2016	2017	Description
Administrative systems and procedures	82%	82%	Moderately compliant
Organizational development	74%	74%	Low compliant
Barangay administration	89%	89%	Moderately compliant
Citizen's participation	78%	78%	Low compliant
Transparency	100%	100%	High compliant
Legislative services	86%	86%	Moderately compliant
Secretariat services	100%	100%	High compliant
Development legislation	78%	78%	Low compliant

Moreover, the Council asserts that the implementation of BGPMS/E-BGPMS has helped the Council improve governance performance and raise their awareness of accountability. But with the limited resources, opportunities, and support, the Council's capacity is sometimes constrained in their performance as a political unit, and in the delivery of basic services. From their end, the problem is that, over time, some of the recommendations forwarded by the Council to the DILG, have not translated to concrete action and policy reform 'from the top.' This is, however, subject to further scrutiny in a subsequent, future study.

3.2. Constraints in the Delivery of Basic Social Services

It appears that the Council is 'good' and 'compliant' in rendering health services for the vulnerable groups, particularly the women and the children. However, the absence of an information and reading center and recreational facilities in the community explains the Council's 'weaker' performance in the education service area, as shown in Tables 2.0 and 2.1. Apparently, the Council has competency in maintaining public safety and is 'compliant' in the area of disaster-preparedness. However, the Council laments on the need for more tangible resources and adequate support from the local government units and agencies.

In the eyes of the Council, the allotted barangay budget is oftentimes inadequate, and sometimes unavailable, for them to scout for other external sources of finances and resources. Projects for the community are implemented in the delivery of basic services, but budgetary constraints would sometimes delay, paralyze, if not halt the implementation. The Council also complains about the limited supply of resources, particularly in the area of disaster preparedness, for the relatively big population of Barangay 872.

Moreover, as asserted by the Council, the distribution of basic goods and services is, again, in line with the poverty targeting approach, which is primarily based on the constituents' poverty or economic status. The Chair insisted that the unemployed, deemed as the 'poorest of the poor,' are the Council's top priority. Only about forty to fifty constituents are selected as program or project recipients, which is contingent on the adequacy of the available resources and opportunities. The selection is strictly observed upon the directive of the City Government of Manila, the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD), for the Council to limit the number of participants in the conduct or delivery of program/project activities and services. The Council admits that this 'selective' practice constitutes a 'structural strain' that defeats the goal of program inclusiveness, and that, the only option for them is to 'follow the rules from the top.'

Table 2.0. Scores for Social Services in the Year 2013-2015

Performance & Service Areas	2013	2014	2015	Description
Social Services	4.16	4.23	4.23	Excellent
Health & nutrition	3.25	3.50	3.50	Good
Education & culture	3.50	3.50	3.50	Good
Women & children	5.00	5.00	5.00	Excellent
Public safety & disaster risk reduction	4.92	4.92	4.92	Excellent

Table 2.1. Ratings for Social Services in the Year 2016 -2017

Performance & Service Areas	2016	2017	Description
Social Services	86%	86%	Moderately compliant
Health & nutrition	94%	94%	Moderately compliant
Education/culture/sports	70%	70%	Low compliant
Peace, security & disaster preparedness	88%	88%	Moderately compliant

3.3. Stagnant Economic Development and Agriculture

Agriculture development is the 'most problematic' performance sector, on the Council's belief that, since the barangay is situated in the metropolis, the industry of farming and agriculture cannot flourish due to space issues, the community's limited geographic conditions, and the overcrowding of physical structures. Moreover, viewing it as the community's weakness, the absence of agricultural development also goes without any agricultural skills training and allocation of funds.

In this light, it appears that the barangay's agriculture is a 'non-performing' sector without any given assessment scores in five consecutive years, as shown in Tables 3.0 and 3.1.

It is lamentable to note that entrepreneurship, business, and local industry promotion are likewise stagnant over time. In the absence of a micro-business enterprise for the community due to limited budget allocation, the Council has initiated efforts to implement livelihood programs, encouraged people's participation in job fairs, and conducted fund-raising activities to build up as well the Council's financial capacity. However, the Council admits that despite their efforts, unemployment remains a recurrent development and governance challenge for the barangay.

Table 3.0. Scores for Economic Development in the Year 2013-2015

Performance & Service Areas	2013	2014	2015	Description
Economic development	4.00	3.00	3.00	Fair
Agriculture & fisheries Development				
Entrepreneurship, business & local Industry promotion	4.00	3.00	3.00	Fair

Table 3.1. Ratings for Economic Development in the Year 2016- 2017

Performance & Service Areas	2016	2017	Description
Economic development	43%	43%	Low compliant
Entrepreneurship & local industry promotion	75%	75%	Low compliant
Urban agriculture development			

The Council also claims that Barangay 872 is a community of the 'middle lower-class' urban poor and other vulnerable groups for several decades now, and attributes the 'depressed' status of the barangay to the presence of informal settlers, and the lack of community resources in the past several years. However, with the implementation of Housing Relocation Program of the National Government for Informal Settlers (Executive Order No. 83, series of 2009), and the Council's project accomplishments over time, the Council asserts that the status needs to be re-assessed by the DILG.

3.4. Challenges in Environmental Management

The Ecological Solid Waste Management Act of 2000 (Republic Act No. 9003, 2000) provides that local government units are responsible in implementing the provision of the law, and that, it is their responsibility to collect and segregate waste of the barangays. Waste management is carried out by the Council's Ecological Solid Waste Management Committee responsible for the preparation of the Solid Waste Management Plan. City ordinances on solid waste management are enacted and directed at a regular garbage collection and segregation at source, maintenance of sewerage and drainage canals, and a bi-monthly estero clean-up.

With the enactment of the "City Ordinance on Waste Management" (Ordinance No. 8323, 2014), the Council implements a Waste Reduction Program in the barangay. The Council, however, complains that waste management is problematic as some constituents do not segregate wastes despite labelling the garbage bins as "*nabubulok*" (biodegradable) and "*hindi nabubulok*" (non-biodegradable), inasmuch as they see the garbage collectors segregating them. The constituents may be aware of their responsibility, but they seem not to have the discipline to follow the rules in waste segregation.

This scenario manifests problematic values that could inhibit or paralyze any noble undertakings to protect, preserve, and enhance the environment. This could also undermine their capacity and social responsibility to act as environmental stewards. However, with this recurrent, irresponsible practice of the constituents, the Council admits that program monitoring was not strictly observed that resulted in a weak, and sometimes, aborted implementation of the program. Improved efforts in re-implementing and reinforcing the program several times, while asserting the need for a well-defined waste management are then claimed by the Council.

In adherence to the principles of natural resources management, the Council has conducted advocacy activities on Republic Act No. 9729, otherwise known as "The Climate Change Act of 2009," and adopted a barangay climate change mitigation action plan via the implementation of a Clean and Green Program, and a Green Brigade. There is, however, an absence of a tree/mangrove preservation program due to the narrow geographic space in the community.

With the limited geo-ecological space of the barangay, only a mini-ecological park is set up in a small space near the barangay hall. The Council asserts that they cannot do much, and do no have any concrete plans on how to manage the community's limited natural resources and spaces. These scenarios somewhat explain the Council's inconsistent performance for this sector as reflected in Tables 4.0 & 4.1 with 'excellent' scores from 2013-2015, and yet, 'low compliant' ratings in the last two recent years (2016-2017).

Table 4.0. Scores for Environmental Management in Year 2013- 2015

Performance & Service Areas	2013	2014	2015	Description
Environmental Management	4.71	4.71	4.71	Excellent
Natural Resource Management	5.00	5.00	5.00	Excellent
Waste Management & Pollution Control	4.43	4.43	4.43	Excellent

Table 4.1. Environmental Management Ratings in Year 2016-2017

Performance & Service Areas	2016	2017	Description
Environmental Management	65%	65%	Low compliant
Natural Resources Management	86%	86%	Moderately compliant
Waste Management	54%	56%	Low compliant

With these 'self-articulated' constraints and challenges underlying the Council's governance performance underlying the seemingly stagnant and inconsistent performance from 2013-2017, the Council *still* hopes to obtain greater budget allocation, support, and access to resources and opportunities, and strengthen their coordination with the City Government of Manila, the DSWD, the DILG, and some NGOs in addressing the barangay's agenda on health services, agriculture development, and employment generation, among others.

4.0. CONCLUSIONS

In spite of the Barangay Council's 'strengths' in governance and administration as reflected in the self-assessed performance reports and 'claims' of the Council, the economic development, social services, and environmental management sectors have, *unfortunately*, relatively lagged behind. Economic development is the 'weakest-performing' governance performance sector due to the organization's limited resources, the barangay's stagnant agriculture, and the weak support of government units, among other constraining factors.

Setting the Council's performance against the 'reality of the barangay,' many have, in fact, remained unemployed, if not are self-employed, deprived of the basic essentials and 'comforts' of life. As chronic poverty in the community persists, the poor had to survive on meager incomes and resources, with limited access to quality health, education, housing, and other basic social services. I argue that the benefits of 'good' governance performance of the Council of Barangay 872 are offset by the stagnant economic development sector of the barangay while undermining poverty reduction efforts.

However, the Council still claims performance improvements and accomplishments over time particularly in the sector of social services, but efforts are constrained as they lack institutional support and economic/financial resources. With the limited capacity and resources of the Council comes the limited number of program/project recipients. This is, in some sense, due to the Council's strict observance of a selective poverty targeting strategy that apparently yields social exclusion. Ideally, this strategy must operate within a universal anti-poverty

framework, contained in a pro-poor development policy, and sustained in a socially inclusive environment (Africa, Raquiza, Ursua, & Jimenez, 2017).

The environmental management sector, on the other hand, is relatively performing 'okay' but security, risk reduction, and disaster preparedness stay as pressing concerns in this community mired in poverty, much as the Council cannot simply ignore the poor's vulnerability and adaptive capacity to climate change (Mercado, 2016; Atienza, Eadie & Tan-Mullins, May 2018). The Council is likewise driven to ensure the protection of the barangay's health environment with the adoption of best practices in ecological waste management. However, local officials, city mayors, and other government units held responsible for making decisions and reforms for this concern must help the barangay foster environmental security and sustainability (NAPC, 2016).

In the end, with the constraints and challenges behind the 'paradox 'of governance performance, the Council of Barangay 872 is driven to work conscientiously on the 'weak-performing' sectors to enhance governance performance, not just in the assessments to come, but in the actual delivery of basic services, and provision of resources and opportunities to the poor constituents. The Council *still* 'hopes against hope' to obtain greater budget allocation, coordination, and support, particularly from the City Government of Manila, the DILG, the DSWD, and other units or agencies of government, without which, they cannot do much. Only then can anyone expect the 'paradox of performance' to diminish over time, perhaps, at some future time.

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Coexisting with Wildlife: Its Effects on Pupils and Children in a Maasai Community, Tanzania

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Abstract

It is well known that human-wildlife conflicts can be most challenging for local people living inside or nearby protected areas. While many studies focus on the impacts of human-wildlife conflicts on community bordering PAs, few studies, however, have focused on these impacts on children. We conducted interviews with 46 primary school pupils and children from a pastoral community, 5 teachers and 21 parents, three focus group discussions, and direct observation to investigate how living with wildlife impact pupils and children. The findings revealed that distance to school was directly related to more disturbances by wild animals. Both girls and boys were disturbed by wildlife, but boys were affected more because they exposed themselves to wildlife attacks due to their role of grazing livestock and guarding crops at night during farming seasons. Crop loss and livestock depredation impaired families' capability to provide food for the children. Hunger combined with long walking distances to school made pupils tired and hungry, leading to poor concentration and understanding thus poor performance academically. Generally, pupils' dislike dangerous wildlife due to costs they incur, however, their attitude differs with perceived benefits, i.e. those who have received benefits had a positive attitude than those who had not. In order to reduce disturbance to school children and pupils, this study recommends building boarding schools, improving school infrastructure, and constructing schools nearby areas highly settled by local people.

Keywords: Conflicts, Conservation, Impacts, Pupils, Wildlife

1. Introduction

Many studies show the importance of children relationship with nature as it is important to their healthy development, acquisition of knowledge, and halt the loss of the natural environment in the future (e.g., White, 2004; Knight, 2009; Richardson, 2015; Geng, Xu, Zhou & Zhou, 2015). These studies also show that children who are close to the natural environment tend to relate to it as a source of wonder, joy, and awe. The studies further stress that children spirits are nurtured by nature and they learn through its "sources of human sensibility" (Wilson, 1992, p. 348). Nature-related involvements tend to nurture a child's emerging sense of wonder – denoted by Plato as the

foundation of knowledge and by Cobb (1977) as the basis of imagination. Failure to expose the children to nature exposes them to the "risk of never developing positive attitudes and feelings toward the natural environment or achieving a healthy degree of competency on the environmental literacy continuum" (Disinger & Roth, 1992). Moreover, studies show that after-school activities enhance children to develop social skills, improve their academic performance, and establish strong relationships with others (Junge, Manglallan, &Raskauskas, 2003).

While these studies applaud nature due to its direct and indirect benefits (economic importance, nutritional value, ecological role, socio-cultural significance, and its aesthetic value) to children and humankind (Chardonnet et al., 2002), in some parts of the globe, these benefits are of little value due to negative impact of nature, in particular wildlife pose on people living in or near protected areas (Hemson, Maclennan, Mills, Johnson, & Macdonald, 2009; Dickman, 2010). These negative impacts include depredation of livestock by carnivores, wildlife injury or killing of humans, crops raiding, competition for water and pasture, transmission of diseases between wildlife and livestock, psychological effects (fear), and water infrastructure damage. These impacts affect different community groups in different geographic areas differently. The frequency of the negative incidences can be, for instance, year-round incidents, stochastic or seasonal (Thirgood, Woodroffe & Rabinowitz, 2005; Madden, 2008).

The negative impacts of wildlife can pose serious problems for local communities such as economic hardship, decreased physical and psychological wellbeing, increased workload, decreased food security, and sometimes lead to retaliation (Ogra, 2008). Human-wildlife conflict (HWC) is defined as "any interaction between humans and wildlife that results in negative impacts on human social, economic or cultural life, on the conservation of wildlife populations, or on the environment" (WWF, 2005). Some factors leading to increase in HWC include expansion of wildlife populations (Zedrosser, Dahle, Swenson & Gerstl, 2001), exponential increase in human populations and consequential expansion of anthropogenic activities (Woodroffe, Thirgood & Rabinowitz, 2005), as well as an inability of wildlife-related institutions to respond effectively on time in mediation of such conflicts (Mariki, Svarstad, Benjaminsen, 2015).

A large number of protected areas in Tanzania were established over the last 50 years (few cases dates back to colonial-era). Some of the PAs in Tanzania are created in marginal land largely not suitable for agriculture. Prior to their gazettement, these areas were formerly used and occupied largely by pastoralists. During PAs establishment, local people were evicted, and customary rights were denied (Nelson, 2012). Creation of protected areas with restrictions of 'no entry' philosophy interfered with the community traditional practice and increased land competition (Mariki, 2016). Apart from already established protected areas (national parks, game reserves, game controlled areas, open areas), in the 1990s, the government of Tanzania approved another category of PAs known as wildlife management areas (WMAs). These are community-based conservation areas where several villages would come together and set aside land for conservation in return, and these villages would receive a certain percentage of the tourism revenues from these areas (URT, 1998). Creation of WMAs partly aimed to conserve migratory wildlife routes, dispersal areas, and buffer zones.

Demarcation of the landscape for wildlife conservation in some parts of the country has led to a high level of interaction between local people and wildlife (du Toit, 2011). Studies have revealed that in some areas, human settlements are similar to an island surrounded by wildlife (e.g., Mariki et al., 2015). The situation becomes critical especially during dry seasons as many wildlife species such as elephants, buffalo, wildebeest, and zebra, and eland disperse outside protected areas on private and communal lands searching for water, forage, and nutrients (Nelson, 2012). The consequences of wildlife spill over from PAs to adjacent communities include crop damage, livestock depredation, and fear (e.g., Trench, Kiruswa, Nelson & Homewood, 2009).

To lessen the effects, different strategies have been used in various areas to control/eradicate wildlife populations e.g. managing population size, regulating harvesting, fertility control, use of physical barriers, fear-provoking stimuli, guarding crops and livestock, application of chemical repellent, use of diversions, land use modification, voluntary human population resettlement, adoption of human-wildlife coexistence (direct or indirect benefits), and compensation schemes (Ogada, Woodroffe, Oguge & Frank, 2003; Stander, 1997).

Several scholars have studied direct and indirect impacts of wildlife conservation on local communities (e.g. Infield & Namara 2001; Anthony 2007; Kaswamila, Russell & McGibbon, 2007; Warren, Buba & Ross, 2007; Dublin & Hoare, 2004; Madden, 2004; Hazzah, Borgerhoff Mulder, & Frank, 2009), on women (e.g. Khumalo & Yung, 2015), and gender (e.g. Ogra, 2008; Mariki, 2016); very few, if any have attempted to document the impact of wildlife conservation on children and pupils. It is not clear to what extent wildlife interference affects pupils and children. This study, therefore, was conducted in Tingatinga Primary School and neighbouring villages to explore how pupils and children in the pastoral community are affected by free-roaming wildlife in the area. It attempts to answer the following questions: 1) what are the conservation costs incurred by pupils and children (wildlife encounters, place and time of the encounter, reactions to encounters)? 2) What mitigation measures in place to prevent the impacts? and 3) what are the attitudes of pupils towards wildlife?

The study falls under political ecology scholarship which demonstrates that whilst benefit of environmental conservation accrue to the national, regional and global level much costs of conservation are borne by local communities. Interestingly, stories of successful win-win environmental conservation initiatives continue to be told by many powerful actors because they have much to gain by keeping it that way. Win-win discourse may constitute a tool for protected areas establishment and generally facilitated conditions to increase wildlife and for the extraction of revenues, while local people lose through visible and invisible costs. There is a mismatch between the rhetoric and practice of win-win claims advocated by actors of participatory approaches, and there is unequal sharing of the costs and benefits of conservation.

This study proceeds by describing the study site, followed by data collection methods before presenting results and discussion.

2. Methodology

2.1 Study area

Tingatinga Primary school is located in Enduimet Division in Longido District. Pupils enrolled in this school come from Tingatinga and nearby villages such as Kalimaji and Miti Mirefu.   The Enduimet Division has a total area of 1281.79 km^2 where 742km^2 is set aside as a community-based Wildlife Management Area (WMA). The WMA was established following a wildlife survey report in 1997 that revealed a decline in the wildlife population due to bushmeat poaching (Madulu, Yanda, Maganga, Mung'ong'o & Mwakaje, 2007; Nelson, 2007). The Enduimet WMA acts as the dispersal zone for several wildlife populations, including elephants and migratory route to various PAs such as the Kilimanjaro, Arusha, and Amboseli national parks (Honey, 2008; Kikoti, 2009; Trench et al., 2009) as well as Longido Game Controlled Area.

Movement of wildlife in the region has led to an increasing in human-wildlife conflicts in the form of crop raiding, livestock depredation and threats to human life in villages located in close proximity to these PAs. The study area is mainly occupied by the Ilkisongo Maasai who is mainly agro-pastoralists and few minority ethnic groups.
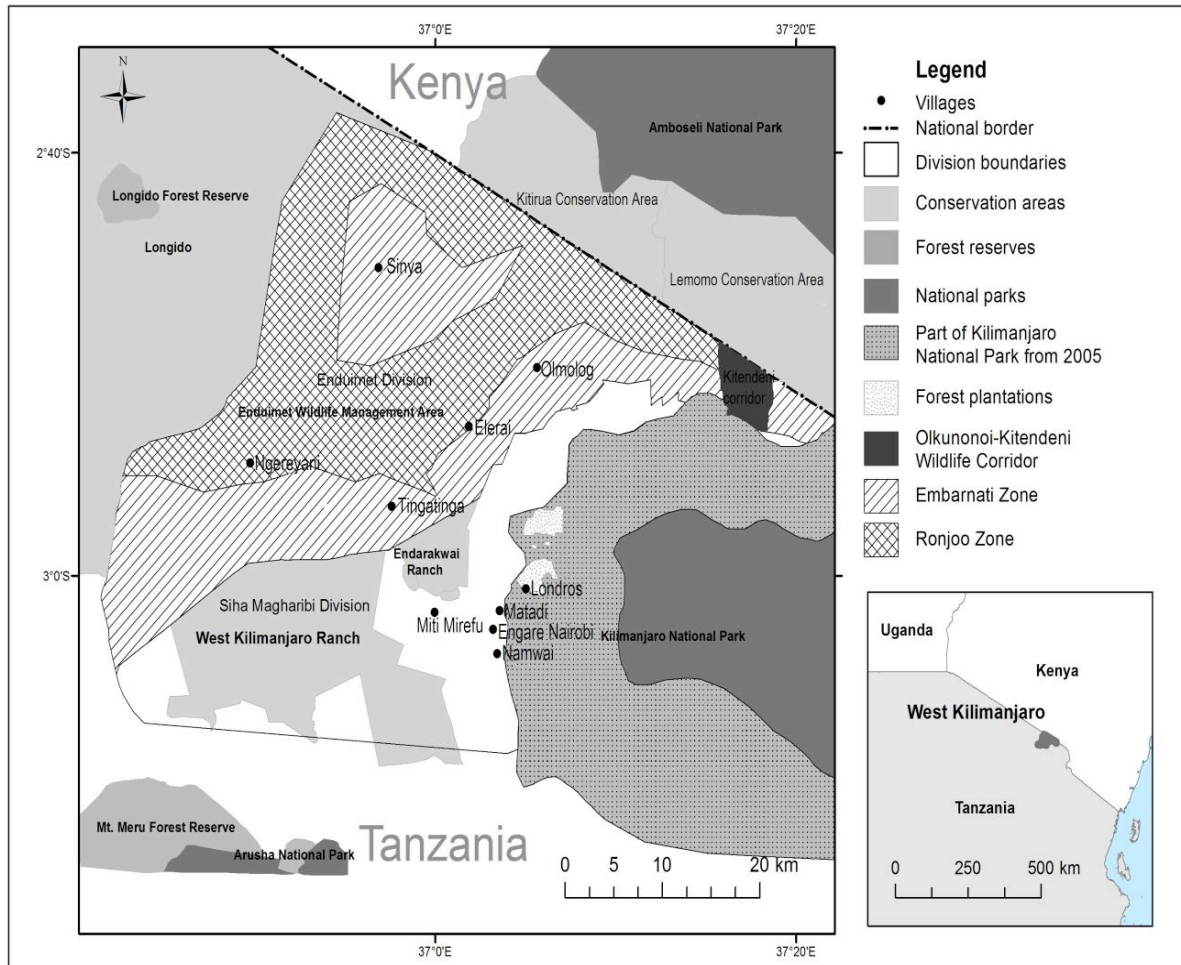
Figure 1: Map showing the study area in West Kilimanjaro, Tanzania (source: Mariki, 2016)

The Maasai are "well known for their strong socio-cultural practices and norm that govern all dimensions of their community" (Ngoitiko, 2008, p. 3). In 2009, the Enduimet Division had a total population of 45,763 people (according to the village registers).

The division of labour in the Maasai community is gender-based. Men are mainly responsible for livestock grazing and protection. Young boys (below 12 years) take care of calves and lambs. Women and girls are responsible for all domestic tasks, milking cows, collecting water and firewood for domestic use, cooking, looking after children, growing crops in small fields for basic food supply, partly taking care of small livestock (Kipuri and Ridgewell 2008). Some women also make bead jewellery which they sell to tourists, markets or wholesalers. Very few women engage in small-scale business, politics, or public employment.

2.2 Methods

The fieldwork was conducted in different periods between 2009 and 2016. Interviewees were chosen purposively. Data were collected using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The data collection techniques involved semi-structured questionnaires, formal and informal interviews, focus group discussion, participant observation, and desk review. The information collected included distance to school, costs of conservation, and attitudes towards wildlife.

Interviews were conducted in Kiswahili, a language in which most people understood. The total of 46 pupils studying in Tingatinga Primary School–23 girls and 23 boys residing from three villages, i.e. Mitimirefu (15), Tingatinga (29), and Kalimaji (2) were interviewed. Also, 5 teachers and 21 parents were interviewed. The interview sessions lasted between 30 minutes to one hour. Participants were encouraged to express themselves freely, and they were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality. We conducted three focus group discussions with 7 to 12 people and further engaged in participant observation and informal interviews. Finally, we reviewed relevant documents and several other studies that have been conducted in the area. We used a field notebook to record information, and where permission was granted, we used a tape recorder.

After data collection, the quantitative data were analysed using the excel program. The qualitative data were transcribed, later organised into categories, and grouped into themes. The identified core themes were linked to the aims of the study, and these served as the basis for our findings and discussion presented below. Statements supported by appropriate quotations from the interviews are provided where necessary to elucidate the particular theme.

3.   Results and Discussion

3.1 Pupils' age and grade

The findings show that the interviewed pupils' age ranged between 11-15 years. Many (57%) were of 12 and 14 years old (Table 1). For standard 7 pupils, the average age was 14.2, which was higher than the expected age (13 years). This finding can be linked to the fact that many parents in Enduimet community won't be comfortable to send their children to school until they are old enough to walk long distances to school and are able to evade dangerous wild animals. Also, this can be linked with a Maasai culture where many of Maasai children start school at late ages.

Table 1: Pupils age

Age	Number	%
11	3	6.5
12	13	28.3
13	10	21.7
14	13	28.3
15	7	15.2
Total	**46**	**100.0**

3.2 Family head and occupation

Most pupils (82.6%) belonged to male-headed households. This is because Maasai are patriarch; thus a man is ahead of the family. Maasai engage in livelihood diversification which has provided more opportunities to increase their income outside the pastoralism sphere. Agriculture and livestock keeping were the major socio-economic activities (Table 2). About 54% of pupils reported that their families kept less than 10 heads of livestock because the herds have dwindled due to drought (Table 3). Apart from farming and pastoralism, other livelihood activities included employment, trade, handcrafts, tourism, and investment in other enterprises.

Table 2: Family head and occupation

Family Head	Number	%
Female	5	10.9
Male	41	89.1
Total	**46**	100.0

Occupation	Number of respondents	%
Livestock keeping	44 (cows, goats, sheep, chicken, pigs)	45.4
Farming/agriculture	43 (beans, maize, potatoes, vegetables, tomatoes, green gram, garlic, and sweet paper)	46.4
Business, hand crafts, & tourism	3	5.2
Employed (public and private sector)	4 (2-public and 2-private)	2.1
Bricklayer	1	1.0
Total	**95***	**100.0**

*Some students reported more than one social, economic activity

Table 3: Number of livestock and number of respondents

No of livestock	Number of respondents				Total	%
	cows	goats	Sheep	pigs and chicken		
200-500	2	4	4		10	10.4
100-200	3	3	3		9	9.4
50-100	1	3	3		7	7.3
40-50	4	6	4	2	16	16.6
Less than 10	18	15	13	6	52	54.16
Not keeping (0)					2	2.14
Total	**28**	**31**	**28**	**9**	**96**	**100.0**

3.3 Distance to school

About 54% of pupils spent 1-2 hours on walking to school. Of those who walked for 1-2 hours, many (35%) were from MitiMirefu Village followed by Tingatinga Village (Table 4). The distance from the MitiMirefu Village centre to school was estimated to be about 15 km. Due to long distances pupils slumbered in the class because of tiredness, and hunger (Interview no. 8, 2016). Of the interviewed pupils, many (79%) stated that they did not take breakfast before going to school. The results further revealed that pupils delay to school or fail to attend classes because of elephants as one Teacher explained:

> "When pupils encounter elephants, some go back home, some wait for the elephants to pass by or use another road or look for someone to assist. Sometimes they fail to attend classes or arrive very late, sometimes at 10 am instead of 7:30 am, so they miss some subjects/periods. The villages are very distant, and the houses are distant too" (Interview no. 9, 2016).

Another Teacher explained that:

> "The effect of walking long distances to school disorganizes pupils' concentration in class as some of them arrive at school sweaty, stressed and exhausted both physically and psychologically, making them to

slumber in class. This challenge combined with lack of lunch leads to pupils' exhaustion due to lack of energy to sit and listen to teachers a situation which affect overall pupils' performance" (Interview no 15, 2016).

Table 4: Walking distance to school

Walking time to school	Number				%
	Mitimirefu	**Tingatinga**	**Kalimaji**	**Total**	
1-2 hours	16	9		25	54.3
half to one hour		6	1	7	15.2
15 to half an hour		7	1	8	17.4
less than 15 minutes		6		6	13.0
Total	**16**	**28**	**2**	**46**	100.0

3.4 Activities after class

More boys (35%) graze livestock after school time than girls (6%). Girls are involved in household chores (35%) and sometimes graze small stocks like goats and sheep nearby home (Table 5). The interviews with teachers showed that activities pupils are engaged in after-school have more effect on boys than girls in relation to their attendance to school and performance. Also, these activities increase the chances of boys to encounter with wild animals. This is because the labour demands for grazing and guarding crops require boys to participate (in the wild) whereas girls are responsible for household chores (at home, safer) which do not have any economic value attached to it. At the age of six years onwards, Maasai consider children (preferably boys) old enough to graze livestock usually with older family members. From eight years onwards, children are old enough to go alone grazing or can supervise younger ones.

Table 5: Activities after class based on gender

Activities after school	Girls	Boys	Total	%
Grazing livestock	4 (goats and sheep)	23	27	41
Household chores	23		23	35.4
Guarding crops (during the farming season)		13	13	20.0
Total			**63**	**100.0**

Various after-school activities (e.g., house chores, livestock grazing), lack of lunch and breakfast, and threats on the way to school (e.g., encounter with dangerous wild animals) prevent children from having a meaningful and conducive learning environment (Interview no. 14, 2016). Similar findings are reported by Vuri, (2017).

3.5 Conservation costs

  i) *Wildlife encounters, place and time*

All pupils have encountered wildlife especially elephant several times on their way to school and/or grazing livestock. Other animals encountered include buffaloes, leopards, lions, snakes, and hyenas. Pupils encountered elephants mostly when animals are drinking water at water troughs, and/or searching for green pastures (Table 5).

Table 6: Type of wildlife encounters and the number of encounters by pupils

	Type of wildlife	Number of encounters by pupils
1	Elephant	46
2	Buffalo	3
3	Leopard	4
4	Lion	3
5	Hyena	3
6	Snake	3

Most wild animals have been encountered on the way to/from school, at school (33.7%), at home premises, e.g. snake, while grazing livestock, guarding crops and collecting firewood. The time of wildlife encounters was mostly in the morning and evening (Table 6).

Table7: Place of wildlife encounter and number of encounters

	Number of encounters			
	Girls	Boys	Total	%
On the way to school	14	14	28	33.7
Home area	8	9	17	20.5
In the wilderness grazing livestock	4	12	16	19.3
Guarding crops at night	0	13	13	15.7
In the bush collecting firewood	9	0	9	10.8
Total			**70***	100.0

*Multiple encounters

Table8: Time of encounter wild animals

Time	Encounters	%
Morning and evening	19	41.3
Afternoon/day	12	26.1
Morning, evening, afternoon	10	21.7
Afternoon and evening	2	4.3
Morning, evening and night	1	2.2
Mostly evening	1	2.2
Mostly morning	1	2.2
Total	**46**	100.0

ii) *Pupils reaction to encounters*

All interviewed pupils stated that they know almost all dangerous wild animals. In cases of encounters, most pupils (83%, N=38) stated that they evade wildlife or run away. Some pupils stated that when they encounter elephants, they run downwind in a zigzag fashion. Another pupil added that "*the wind is in our favour—with their poor eyesight elephants are highly dependent on their sense of smell for detecting enemies*" (Girl 13 years old, MitiMirefu Village, 2016*)*. Some pupils (4.3%, N=2) reported that if they are grazing livestock, they leave them in the wild and run for their lives, later come back. Few stated that they keep quiet and leave the wild animals to pass (4.3%, N=2) and some said they use another route (6.5%, N=3). For snakes, they ask assistance from neighbours to

kill them if they cannot kill them by themselves (2.1%, N=1). In cases of predation attempt, one boy stated that "*if I am with people, I fight predators with an arrow, but if I am alone I run away* (Pupil, 13-year-old boy, Tingatinga Village). However, not all pupils are stopped by wildlife on the way to school as one pupil stated: "*Wildlife don't stop me from going to school, if I see them I run away*" (Pupil, 14-year-old boy, Tingatinga Village). The traditional skills and techniques for avoiding dangerous wild animals are acquired by the children as they grow up. Conversely, it was reported by some parents that some pupils intensify wildlife attacks on the way to school and in the wilderness as one reported: '*Some children are naughty they throw stones and make noises to dangerous animals, sometimes they use dogs to chase elephants. Elephants don't like noises*' (Interview No. 47, TingaTinga Village).

iii) *Family attacks by wildlife*

About 22% (N=10) of pupils reported of a family/relative attacked by wild animals while 78% said no one had been attacked by wildlife in their families. Twenty-six pupils reported 2 to 3 incidences of wildlife attack (Table 8). All attacks reported were from elephants. The attacks reported occurred in 2013–2015, and all the victims were men. Two victims were severely injured as they were trampled by elephants (one broke his legs while the other had his spleen removed because the elephant stepped on him) and the rest died. These cases occur because of various reasons such as the presence of wildlife in the area most times. As pointed above, Enduimet acts as dispersal and a corridor to nearby protected areas such as Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Amboseli national parks and Longido Game Controlled Area. Another reason is sharing of the landscape for livestock and wildlife grazing; accidentally encountering animals during the day or late in the evening; population increase leading to expansion of settlements nearby wildlife-rich areas; and livelihood diversification. Livelihood diversification has made Maasai engage in agriculture thus leading to human encroachment to wildlife corridors leading to shrinkage of wildlife habitat and disrupting the traditional elephant migration routes. The shrinkage of wildlife habitat leads to violent clashes between people and elephants. The climate change effect also has led to longer periods of droughts making elephants move from protected areas to people homesteads searching for fresh pasture and water. Similar cases of attack have been reported in India, Bangladesh (Desai & Riddle, 2015).

Table 9: People killed by wildlife

No. of family members	Students who reported
1	6
2-3	26
>3	4
Total	**36**

iv) *Crop raiding*

About 87% of pupils (N=40) reported crop raiding by wildlife while six 13% (N=6) reported of no crop raiding. Mostly raided crops were maize and beans (87%). Other crops raided though cultivated by few people were tomatoes, pigeon peas, and sorghum. However, the recorded data from the Enduimet WMA office shows that more than 457 acres of crops have been raided by wildlife from 2014 to 2017 (Table 10). In order to prevent crop damage by wildlife and livestock and encourage pupils' school attendance, in 2016, Tingatinga Primary School invited a popular politician in the area to raise funds (*Harambee*) so as to build a fence around the school to enable the school to cultivate food crops. Due to crop raiding, the school doesn't farm thus the pupils lack lunch, a situation leading to poor attendance. It was reported that the attendance sometimes drops up to 39% (of 400 registered pupils) partly due to lack of lunch (Interview No. 17, 2016). Some years back World Food Program (WFP) had a program to support schools so that pupils could have lunch, but the program ended.

Table 10: Crop raided from 2014 to 2017

S/N	Year	Crop raiding (acres)
1	2014	156
2	2015	122
3	2016	102
4	2017	77
Total		**457**

The problem animals reported by pupils responsible for crop raiding were mostly elephants (75.6%) and zebras (11.5). The overall data from EWMA office show that elephants were responsible for 95% of crop damage. Most affected crops were maize (85%) followed by beans, tomatoes, and potatoes.

Table 11: Responsible wildlife for crop raiding

	Responsible wildlife	Number of pupils reported	%
1	Elephants	39	73.6
2	Zebra	6	11.3
3	Elands	4	7.5
4	Wildebeest	2	3.8
5	Impala	2	3.8
	Total		**100.0**

The findings show that people who own farms of 1-5 acres were mostly affected by crop raiding wildlife (47.8%) followed by those with ½ to one acre (17.4%) (Table 12). This variation is related to the location of farms either close proximity to the PAs or within the PAs boundaries (see, e.g. Warren et al. 2007). The situation becomes worse particularly during drought seasons because wildlife roams over the area in search of food and water.

Table 12: Area raided by wildlife and the number of pupils who reported

	Area raided	Number of pupils reported	%
1	More than 10 acres	2	4.3
2	5-10 acres	5	10.9
3	1-5 acres	22	47.8
4	½ to 1 acre	8	17.4
5	Less than ½	9	19.6
	Total	**46**	**100.0**

Pupils reported that crops were raided almost every night during the farming season. But sometimes wildlife raided every day when there was not sufficient pasture and water in the wild. Further, pupils stated that they chased wildlife from the farms if they were capable of if they couldn't see they left wildlife to raid. All pupils stated that their parents have never received any compensation are for their losses (cf. Linkie et al., 2007). Communities' inability to mitigate crop-raiding and the absence of compensation schemes sometimes lead to the retaliatory killing of wildlife species (Jackson &Wangchuk 2001, Mariki et al., 2015).

v) *Livestock predation*

About 74% of pupils reported livestock depredation while 26% did not report any case of depredation. A total of 61 livestock were killed by predators of which 46 were goats (Table 13).

Table 13: **Livestock depredation**

Livestock type	Number of pupils reported	%	Number of livestock killed	%
Goats	20	58.8	46	75.4
Cows	9	26.5	10	16.4
Sheep	5	14.7	5	8.2
Total	**34**	**100.0**	**61**	**100.0**

However, the data from EWMA show that sheep are the most killed followed by goats (Table 14). This might be due to the fact that sheep, as a rule, timid and defenseless animal, and at the same time is neither swift nor cunning. It becomes easy prey for predators. Also in many cases, sheep and goats are more often herded by children who may be less capable of deterring predators.

Table 14: Livestock depredation

Year	Cows	Goats	Sheep	Donkeys
2014	29	24	56	0
2015	25	12	93	0
2016	30	60	88	0
2017	6	8	47	0
Total	**90**	**104**	**284**	**0**

Source: Enduimet WMA office

The most responsible predators were leopards (39%), hyenas (33%) and lions (28%). Other animals reported were wild dogs and baboons. Leopard attacked mostly goats and sheep; hyena preferred goats, sheep and occasionally cows, while lions killed cows and sometimes goats and sheep. Similar findings on goat and sheep depredation by leopards are reported by Rao et al. (2002).

The incidences of predation led to the retaliatory killing of predators particularly lions. Lions are killed more than other predators (leopards, hyena) because lions often attacked cattle which have more value than the sheep and goats and during the daytime when pastoralists are armed to protect their livestock. Contrariwise, leopard and hyena attack small stock (goats, sheep) during the night. Another reason that makes lions to be killed is their tendency to defend the livestock carcass against humans thus exposing itself to more dangers than hyenas (are shy of people) and leopards (hide themselves). Moreover, the Maasai traditions of killing lions by Maasai Warriors as a symbol of bravery contribute to the killing of lions, a situation which becomes easier if the lion has killed cattle (cf. Kissui, 2008). Furthermore, the assumption that EWMA management values wildlife more than people, and acts quickly when wildlife is killed than when a person is killed by wildlife, stirs anger and increases the chances of retaliatory killings of wildlife.

The community-based conservation approach has created mixed-use of a landscape containing both wildlife and livestock thus exacerbating predation incidences. Although the AWF supported the community to establish predator-

proof bomas (stockades), few people, however, have managed to construct these types of bomas after the project phased out. Moreover, some incidences of predation occur during the daytime when the livestock are outside the predator-proof bomas.

Table 15: Wildlife killed through retaliations

Year	Animal type	Number(s)	Reasons for retaliation
2016	Lions	2	Killed 1 calf and 8 goats in a stockade
2015	Lion	1	Attacked livestock in the wild
2015	Lion	1	Attacked livestock in the wild
2017	Lion	1	Killed 2 goats in the wild

It was reported that livestock depredation affects the family income as livestock keeping is the main economic activity in a Maasai community.

Other means in which wildlife affect pupils is as indicated under Table 16 below.

Table 16: Other ways wildlife affects pupils

Costs	Effect on pupils	Number of pupils reported	Narrative
Destruction of water infrastructures	Lack of water and/or get dirty water Walk long distances searching for water	41	"Wildlife breaks the water pipes, and water becomes dirty sometimes we lack water. When water is very dirty some of us cannot drink it. Some use their shirts to sieve water to remove dirt particles before drinking. Some students request water from the teachers. At home when we do not have water, we assist our mothers to search for water. The availability of water depends on where the pipe has been broken by wildlife." (Grade 6 pupil).
Delay to school	Miss some subjects as they arrive at school late	27	There are times I delay to school because of wildlife, so I arrive late in the class and find the teachers have started teaching, I missed some subjects. I become tired because I have to use a longer way, and sometimes we wait for wildlife to pass before we can continue our way to school or home. There are times I missed to attend school completely because of wildlife (Grade 5 pupil)
Crop raiding	Lack of food at home and school	19	"We lacked food when our crops were eaten by wildlife, and I did not understand when our teacher was teaching" (Grade 7 pupil)
Stop us from going to school	Absence from classes	7	There is a day I failed to go to school because elephants did not give away. They wanted to kill us, we ran back home and did not attend the school that day (Grade 5 pupil)
Fear	Lack of freedom	34	"I become afraid to go to school or going to the wilderness. Sometimes in the evening, I cannot go out of the house. One day I met an elephant I became so afraid and ran away" (Grade 6 pupil).
Livestock depredation	Lack of money	34	Our cows were eaten by lions; we lacked money to buy food as we had only three cows (Grade 7 pupil)

3.6 Mitigation measures

Many pupils reported guarding their crops at night. They use variety of relatively inexpensive, low-tech, non-fatal deterrent mitigation methods such as torch with strong light, noise (dynamite, flute, bells, banging drums and tins, motorcycles), fire, use of scents (e.g. used car oil, pepper, plant onions and pepper at the farm boundaries), chasing them with dogs, torch, spear, stones, arrow, slingshot, use scarecrows, plastic flags. Some pupils claimed that they hire a person to guard their farm the days which they are not able to guard. Some have formulated groups to assist in guarding crops.

The findings show that the number of individuals guarding the crops ranges from 1- 5, but many families have 2-3 people for guarding crops. Almost all crops guarding are done mainly by men (uncle, father, and brothers) and women in rare cases. Women guard crops in the night when they do not have a husband or a male child to assist.

3.7 Pupils Attitudes towards the selected wildlife

Many pupils dislike strongly the four (4) selected wildlife species (elephant, hyena, lion, and leopard). However, most (41) of them were in favour of survival of wildlife in general and wanted wildlife to be protected though they desired the protection of non-destructive species like ostrich, giraffe, impala, hare, dig dig, zebra, eland, hare, warthog, buffalo, and wildebeest. Similar findings have been reported by de Pinho et al. (2014).
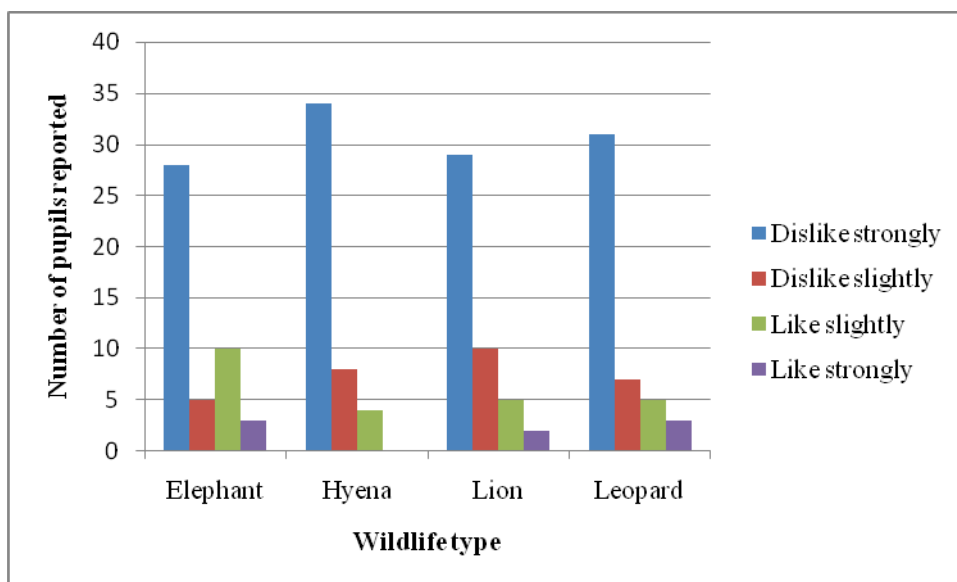
Figure 2: Pupils attitudes towards selected species of wildlife

Most pupils (N=41) were willing to support protected area management whereas 5 were not willing. Some reasons for supporting PAs were: wildlife are tourists' attraction, and it brings money to the country, has the right to exist, they are beautiful, helps to pay school fees for orphans (Table 17). Pupils from Mitimirefu had a more positive attitude towards wildlife. This can be associated with the fact that they do not have much wildlife in their village thus, not mostly affected by wildlife apart from encounters on the way to school.

Table 17: Reasons for supporting PAs

S/N	Reasons for support in conservation	Number	%
1	Wildlife in PAs are tourists attraction, and they bring in foreign currency to the country	19	39.6
2	Wildlife has the right to exist	1	2.1
3	So we can continue seeing them	3	6.3
4	They are beautiful	3	6.3
5	Protect them from poachers	4	8.3
6	There are some animals we like – not-destructive	6	12.5
7	So that wildlife won't disturb us – crop raiding, killing people and livestock	10	20.8
8	Protected areas help to pay school fees for orphans	2	4.2
Total		**48**	**100**

Those who did not want to support PAs stated that they were afraid of dangerous wildlife. Also, they dislike the costs associated with wildlife such as crops damage, destruction of water taps, livestock depredation, and killing people (cf. Lagendijk & Gusset, 2008). Several studies show that loss experienced from wildlife damage leads to negative attitudes towards wildlife (Kideghesho, Røskaft &Kaltenborn,2007). Negative emotions seem to play a greater role than positive emotions in the support or opposition of wildlife conservation. Negative impacts of wildlife can spread quickly, increases fear and decrease tolerance towards dangerous wildlife (DeStefano & Deblinger, 2005). However, the experience and history of human-wildlife coexistence and the cultural value of wildlife mediates tolerance of wildlife and may particularly overshadow the negative impact of fear on attitudes.

The question on whether PAs were beneficial resulted into 42 pupils responding 'Yes' and four (4) saying 'No.' Benefits realized by pupils from PAs were foreign currency (19); employment (2); bush-meat and skin (2); support orphans school fees (7); provision of the torch for crop guarding in the night (6), construction of modern bomas against predators (2). The findings from EWMA office show that since 2007, the WMA has received 1,998,085,347 TZS (974,676US$) where 50% of revenues were shared among member villages. About 10% of revenue received usually support school fees to less privileged children (Table 18).

Table 18:WMA Income since 2007

Year	Photographic Tourism	Hunting tourism	Concession fee	Other sources
2007				
2008	22,700,500	13,328,074		
2009	39,808,097			
2010	78,030,517	8,358,285		
2011	147,459,747	17,053,938		160,000
2012	119,454,798	9,121,471		20,566,275
2013	88,129,917	22,122,165	85,057,500	11,609,380
2014	92,785,269	137,225,000	11,777,850	3,182,000
2015	242,724,442	94,275,000	29,302,500	12,441,320
2016	116,731,227	117,705,105	79,959,000	14,866,000
2017	188,705,790	153,330,980	20,113,200	
Total	**1,136,530,304**	**572,520,018**	**226,210,050**	**62,824,975**

Those who stated 'no' claimed that they have never realized any benefit from wildlife (cf. AWF, 1996). This observation indicates that economic gain and personal advantages from wildlife can affect peoples' attitudes. Thus, income from ecotourism gives direct benefit to local people bringing tolerance to coexist with wildlife and thus offering hope for the survival of wildlife populations.

Most pupils (26) wanted problem animals to be killed because they are destructive whereas 20 stated no. The reasons for not killing problem animals were: they can be translocated to other PAs (6); If we kill them we won't be able to see them again (5); They bring us foreign currency through tourism (6). Some had empathy and affection for wildlife, and they considered wildlife with the right to exist so should be left alone (3). Studies show that people with more positive attitudes towards wildlife are more likely to support wildlife conservation and animal rights organizations (Manfredo, Teel & Henry, 2009). Moreover, familiarity with wildlife species can thus be an important factor of affection for these species.

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

The central research questions for this study was what are the conservation costs incurred by pupils and children and how they are affected? 2 What mitigation measures in place to prevent the impacts? and 3) what are the attitudes of pupils towards wildlife? This study identified costs pupils incur due to coexistence with wildlife. These include physical and psychological impacts such as fear, delay to school thus missing some subjects/periods, tiredness as they have to use longer roads to avoid wild animals, absent from school because of elephants, and fear due to death of family members. Crop raiding and livestock depredation indirectly affected pupils and children because it affected families' well-being. Boys were affected more by wildlife than girls as they had tasks after school that exposed them to wildlife encounters such as livestock grazing and crop raiding. Also, pupils who had long walking distances to schools had more encounters with wildlife than those walked short distances. Many pupils reported crop guarding at night and using inexpensive mitigation methods. Almost all guarding was done by men and many families have 2-3 people guarding crops. Other ways wildlife affected pupils was through breaking water pipes, making the water dirty or cut off completely. Due to economic loss and other physical and psychological negative impacts, many pupils generally dislike dangerous wildlife; however, they were in favour of their survival and protection. Benefits received affected the pupils' attitude towards wildlife conservation. This means that the involvement of the public and giving a feeling of control are necessary ingredients for successful coexistence with wildlife.

Recommendations

- Plant crops that are not preferred by common wildlife in the area.

  This can be done in collaboration between local people and agriculture experts. The assumption is possible there can be other types of crops that may be not mostly preferred by wildlife and still benefits local people in terms of direct consumption as food and for selling (extra income). For example, peppers may be planted around the small farms' fields near homes. Traditionally, peppers are repellant crops for elephants.

- In the future, construct schools nearby areas highly settled by local people

  The practical way for avoiding long distances and animal encounters for pupils is to invest and construct more schools nearby homestays. Local village governments may prioritize this. Source of funds could be from development NGOs/donors working in the area, and another source could be saving from tourism revenues sharing's from the WMA.

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Sino-Russian Cooperation in the Framework of the Project One Belt and One Road

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Abstract

At present, the Sino-Russian relations are the best in the history of relations between the two countries, the interaction of these two countries in the international arena is one of the most important factors for ensuring stability in international affairs. Entering the Twenty-first century, despite the fact that the international situation is still difficult and the situation in the regions, as before unstable, the Sino-Russian relations continue to move forward, reaching a higher level. Russia, as China's largest neighbor and partner in comprehensive strategic cooperation, is an active supporter and an important participant in the construction of the "One Belt and One Road," as well as a key partner in cooperation. Currently, the trend of the positive development of Sino-Russian relations continues, but despite the most positive development of political and economic relations, both sides are in no hurry to raise them to the rank of allies.

Keywords: Sino-Russian relations, "One Belt, One Road" Initiative, Cooperation, Strategic Partnership, Alliance

1. INTRODUCTION

The World is currently experiencing a serious and deep changes, there is a profound impact of the international crisis, the global economy is recovering at a slow pace, the development is diversifying seriously governed by international investment patterns of trade and multilateral rules for trade and investment, hegemony and the policy forces continue to threaten humanity, to every state is facing serious problems of development. In such a situation, the country, relying on its own capabilities, will not be able to achieve prosperity, only through the integration of countries can contribute to the joint development and solution of human problems. The creation of a "One Belt, One Road" is a Chinese initiative and a Chinese version of the development of the world, which will be put forward to solve the world problems of mankind.

The initiative "One Belt and One Road" is the union of two projects "economic belt of the Silk Road" and "Maritime Silk Road of the XXI century", which borrows the history of the ancient Silk Road (abbreviated as "One Belt — One Road", Belt and Road or One Belt, One Road) the Idea of the formation of the "economic belt of the Silk Road" was put forward by Chinese President XI Jinping and was first heard during his speech in

Astana during his state visit to Kazakhstan in September 2013. The overall strategic goal is the stable development of the economy, prosperity, and power of states. The Chinese leader stressed the need to "comprehensively strengthen practical cooperation" and convert the advantages of political dialogue, geographical proximity, and economic complementarity into the advantages of cooperation, sustainable growth, the creation of common interests on the basis of mutual benefit and common gain."

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF SINO-RUSSIAN COOPERATION IS FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLES OF THE TWO COUNTRIES.

As China's largest neighbouring country and an indispensable link in the process of promoting the Belt and Road Initiative, Russia responded to the initiative and expressed its intention to take an active part in its implementation. China and Russia have an ancient history of communication, according to historical records, in the middle of the XVII century, China and Russia have already established diplomatic relations, for more than three centuries, the relationship between China and Russia were stable.

Sino-Russian relations are an old topic, but talk about them is often new. In history, the conflicts between China and Russia have been numerous; especially the borders of the conflict have always been the main state problem. For a long time, the two countries were in hostile relations, which was not in favour of economic development, trade, culture, etc. of the two countries. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was the first socialist state in the world to announce the establishment of new diplomatic relations with China. At the same time, China was in the period of socialist revolution, advanced Chinese intellectuals did not find the right revolutionary way, and the October Socialist Revolution just gave a good experience. The USSR strongly supported China, which not only provided material assistance to China but also helped China to pass to independence and liberation (赵文文, 2015). The peoples of the two countries have established friendly contacts. The popularization of studying the Russian language became widespread in China, which contributed to the strengthening of friendly relations among Nations close in spirit. These are important historical lessons for China and Russia: friendly relations contribute to the development of the two countries, hostile ones undermine the forces of Nations.

Today, on the basis of friendly relations, stable Sino-Russian relations have become a classic example of interstate relations of a new type of modern era, as well as a stimulant of stability in the region and in the world. Sino-Russian relations are an important component of the modern system of international relations. The entire course of political processes, at least within Eurasia, will largely depend on how relations between China and Russia develop.

China and Russia are friendly neighbours, reliable friends, and important partners. The friendship between the peoples of the two countries has a long history. Russia is a world power, stretching across continent Eurasia, the largest neighbouring state of China. As the largest neighbour, Russia supports the One Belt, One Road project and is actively involved in its implementation together with Chinese partners. After the signing of the agreement between Chinese President XI Jinping and Russian President Vladimir Putin on cooperation in the construction of the Silk Road Economic Belt and the Eurasian Economic Union, the countries managed to achieve new results in all areas of cooperation: energy, trade, investment, high technology, finance, infrastructure construction and agriculture, as a result of which the levels of modernization and technical initiative are continuously increasing. As a result, the basis of strategic trust between China and Russia is becoming stronger. The "One Belt, One Road" initiative contributed to the development of strategic cooperation between China and Russia in the following areas:

First, the "One Belt, One Road" initiative has directed the relations between China and Russia to a new height. From cooperation and partnership to constructive partnership, and then from strategic interaction and partnership to comprehensive strategic interaction and partnership. Sino-Russian relations, having passed through various stages of development, gradually moved towards maturity and stability, becoming a classic example of relations between countries. The "One Belt, One Road" initiative was put forward in the process of continuous in-depth

development of relations between China and Russia, improved the existing structure of these relations, led them to the fact that at the same time, taking into account all areas of development, they focused on political contacts, infrastructure connectivity, free trade, financial integration and relations between peoples. This has greatly enriched the content of bilateral relations and expanded opportunities for cooperation.

Secondly, the "One Belt, One Road" initiative has provided new opportunities for the development of relations between China and Russia. In May 2015, the heads of state of China and the Russia signed a joint statement on cooperation to link the construction of "One Belt, One Road" and the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), from a strategic height and in the long term presented new plans for bilateral practical cooperation between China and Russia within the "One Belt, One Road". In May 2017, during his visit to China, Russian President Vladimir Putin took part in a high — level forum on international cooperation within the framework of "One Belt, One Road." Following the continuous deepening of cooperation on the interface, the high level of development of relations of comprehensive strategic cooperation and partnership between China and Russia gradually acquired a new look. The fact that Sino-Russian relations are going through the best period in history has already become apparent to the international community.

Third, the Belt and Road initiative has helped to improve the quality and practical cooperation between China and Russia. More than three years have passed since the signing of the joint statement on cooperation on the conjugation of the construction of "One Belt, One Road" with the EAEU. The parties have achieved positive results in cooperation in such areas as economy, trade, energy, infrastructure, finance, aviation, space and humanitarian spheres, laid a solid foundation for deepening bilateral practical cooperation, promoting healthy and stable development of relations between the two countries (General Directorate of Customs of China, 2018).

2.1. Economic Sphere

Economic relations are on the rise, currently, the latest results of the Sino-Russian trade and economic cooperation are mainly manifested in the following three areas.

First, trade volumes are increasing, the structure is improving, and actively developing cross-border e-Commerce is becoming an important form of trade. China – Russia bilateral trade is growing rapidly. According to the data published by the General Customs Administration of China, in 2017, the bilateral trade turnover reached 84.07 billion dollars, which is 20.8% more than in 2016. China for the eighth consecutive year retains the status of Russia's largest trading partner. In the five months of 2018, bilateral trade amounted to $ 40.67 billion – 26.9% more than in the same period last year. In terms of growth rates, this figure is the highest among other major partners of China.

The structure of China – Russia bilateral trade is constantly improving. In addition to stable trade in hydrocarbons, trade in Electromechanical and high-tech goods is supported by rapid double-digit growth. At the same time, trade in agricultural products is constantly increasing, and in particular, food products have become a new point of growth in the Sino-Russian bilateral trade. For the entire 2017 year, the volume of Chinese imports of Russian food products has already exceeded 3 billion dollars, which amounted to 11% of the total exports of Russian food products. China has become the largest importer of this type of Russian goods.

Cross-border e-Commerce is developing, which is becoming a new driver of rapid growth in China – Russia bilateral trade. In 2016, the volume of e-Commerce between China and Russia amounted to 2.3 billion dollars – 54% of the total volume of cross-border online trade in Russia. At the same time, the number of orders for Chinese goods by Russian Internet users has increased by 5 times. From 2013 to 2016, the share of Russians' purchases in Chinese online stores increased from 60 to more than 90% of the total volume of parcels imported to Russia. According to Yandex, in 2016 the number of goods ordered in China by Russian Internet users increased by 78% compared to 2015, the volume of consumption increased by 1.8 times. In addition, the number of Russian visitors to Chinese online stores increased by 38% (Li Hui, 2017).

Secondly, the volume of Chinese investments in Russia is increasing, and financial cooperation is constantly deepening. China's investment in Russia is growing significantly. Last year, Chinese direct investment in Russia reached 2.2 billion dollars, which is 72% more than in 2016. The amount of new construction contracts signed in Russia increased by 191.4%. Russia occupies a leading place in this indicator among the countries along the "One Belt and One Road." According to research, in 2017, foreign investors invested in 238 projects in Russia. The number of projects in which the Chinese invest is growing rapidly: from nine in 2016 to 32 in 2017, China for the first time was in the lead in the number of direct investment projects. In particular, there is a large number of Chinese investment enterprises in the Far East of Russia, only in Primorsky Krai, there are more than 600 companies with Chinese capital. China has already become the first source of investment for the Russian Far East.

At the same time, the Sino-Russian cooperation in financing, insurance, securities, payment, and banking cards is being promoted. Banking cooperation is strengthening. To date, six Chinese banks — Industrial and Commercial Bank (ICBC), Agricultural Bank of China, Bank of China, China Construction Bank, China Development Bank, The Export-Import Bank of China — have established their branches in Russia. The five largest state-owned banks of China together with Russian banks established correspondent relations. Enhanced cooperation in the financial sector has effectively stimulated bilateral trade and investment.

Third, strategic projects are steadily moving forward, and the level of cooperation in the trade and economic sphere is constantly increasing. Major strategic projects are constantly deepening the level of cooperation between China and Russia in various spheres of trade and economy. In July 2017, the heads of the two countries reached important agreements to accelerate cooperation on major strategic projects in energy, nuclear energy, high-speed railways, aviation and space, infrastructure, and outlined the directions for the development of bilateral practical cooperation. The Sino-Russian wide-body long-haul aircraft has already officially received the certificate and the name CR929, the development of the project entered the practical stage. According to the plan, the construction of a railway bridge between the Chinese city of Tongjiang in Heilongjiang province and the Russian Khabarovsk, as well as a road bridge between the cities of Heihe and Blagoveshchensk, is being promoted. International transport corridors of the Russian Federation are being built, in which China is involved: Primorye-1 and Primorye-2. Cooperation within the framework of the Sino-Russian "Ice Silk Road" on the basis of the "Northern Fairway" is developing; the trade route passing in the basin of the Arctic ocean is gradually being built (The office of the Adviser On Trade and Economic Issues of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Russian Federation, 2017).

2.2. Energy Sphere

The main Chinese — Russian cooperation in the framework of the "One Belt, One Road" initiative is cooperation in the energy sector, which is an absolute condition to allow China and other countries along the "One Belt, One Road" to keep pace with domestic energy demand. As everyone knows, the market is a powerful engine of cooperation between the countries. Along the "One Belt, One Road" there are such countries-producers of energy resources as Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Iran, etc., and countries-consumers of energy resources, including China and India. Therefore, the production and export of energy resources for energy-producing countries, as well as the production and import of energy resources for energy-consuming countries are vital aspects of the national economy and the basis for economic development. With the changing global energy structure, East Asian areas are becoming the center of world energy consumption, so East Asian countries would like to take advantage of energy resources, and China would like to strengthen energy cooperation with continental peripheral countries to improve energy security and stimulate the development of all participating countries. West Asian countries, North American countries, and East Asian countries want to promote economic development through energy production and exports. Countries in West Asia, North Africa, and East Africa also need to promote economic development through the production and export of energy resources. There is a strong economic complementarity between the East Asian countries, which shows that the market is the main force for the implementation of cooperation in the field of energy resources of the countries. The construction of "One Belt, One Road" is of particular importance for China's

energy strategy. According to statistics from the Ministry of Commerce of China, in 2016 China imported 52.48 million tons of oil from Russia compared to the same period last year and increased by 23.7%. Russia has become the largest oil supplier to China (Timofeyev O. A., 2014). This testifies to the broad prospects of cooperation between China and Russia in the energy sector. At the same time, the two leaders attach great importance to the construction of the Eastern route of the Sino-Russian gas pipeline from Russia to China along the Eastern route, which began in June 2015. The route consists of the Northern segment (Heihe – Changlin), the Middle segment (Changlin – Yunqing Prov. Hebei) and the Southern segment (Yongqing – Shanghai). In particular, the Northern segment is expected to be put into operation in October 2019, and the entire line will be laid before the end of 2020. In addition, China and Russia have another common project in the field of energy for the production of liquefied natural gas "Yamal LNG," which has been successfully put into operation; on the agenda put forward the question of the construction of power units No. 7 and 8 of the Taiwan NPP. Then, it should be noted the gradual implementation of such major projects in the field of transport infrastructure as cross-border railway and road bridges between China and Russia, international transport corridors "Primorye-1" and "Primorye-2", the economic corridor China – Mongolia – Russia and the railway routes "China – Europe" (Newspaper "Trud", 2018). In addition, direct flights were opened between many cities of China and Russia, which greatly simplified the opportunities for maintaining friendly contacts between the peoples of the countries and effectively stimulated Sino-Russian cooperation in the field of tourism. Three major Chinese Telecom Operators – China Telecom, China Unicom and China Mobile – have entered the Russian market and are constantly expanding their operations in Russia. Of course, the partnership between China and Russia in the energy sector is the result of mutually beneficial cooperation, which gives a strong impetus to the further strategic development of the two countries. First of all, it concerns energy.

2.3. Humanitarian Sphere

China and Russia are improving day by day the mechanisms of exchanges and cooperation in the humanitarian sphere. The Sino-Russian cultural forum, which is held jointly by the ministries of culture of China and Russia, as well as the large-scale Sino-Russian fair of culture and art, has become an important channel for deepening the "One Belt, One Road" initiative, comprehensive relations of strategic partnership and cooperation between China and Russia. The joint film festival and the project of bilateral translation and publication of classical and contemporary works of China and Russia strengthen the understanding and interest of the population of China and Russia to the culture of each side. The Chinese Cultural Center in Moscow and the Russian Cultural Center in Beijing have become important bridges of cultural exchanges between China and Russia and platforms for promoting the culture of countries. Specialized associations, museums, theatres and creative circles of China and Russia are constantly interacting. This has greatly enriched the forms and content of bilateral cultural exchanges. In recent years, humanitarian exchanges between China and Russia have been developing rapidly. The parties successfully held Sino-Russian National years, years of languages, years of tourism and years of youth exchanges, which greatly strengthened mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of the two countries, as well as increased the degree of mutual interest of both sides. In the sphere of scientific, educational and cultural exchanges, not only the level of economic development but also the socio-political level of the people of the two countries is increasing. As relations between the two great countries develop more closely, humanitarian exchange and the people-to-people relationship between the two countries flourish.

In addition, the popularization of the Russian language in China is becoming more and more popular, so that the number of students of the Russian language is increasing every year. According to the statistics of 2017 in China, the number of universities that have opened a specialty of Russian language, under the bachelor's program amounted to 153, under the master's program — 81, under the doctoral program — 17. At the same time, the interest of Russians in the study of Chinese language and culture is growing. Currently, there are 123 primary schools and about 200 universities in Russia, where the Chinese language is taught, the number of students has reached 40 thousand people (Newspaper "Trud," 2018). For example, at Kazan Federal University, which is one of the oldest universities in Russia, more than a thousand students study Chinese. Confucius Institute at the University serves as a bridge for cooperation and expansion of contacts, which contributes to the exchange of knowledge and experience between countries. The number of people traveling abroad for a short or

long period of study was more than 70 thousand. Both countries set themselves the task of increasing the volume of bilateral exchanges to 100 thousand people. Education is an important stimulus for the progress and development of the country, as well as a link between the peoples of the two countries. To facilitate the exchange and joint development of education between the two countries, China and Russia jointly opened the University of Moscow State University – FDI in Shenzhen — a joint decision reached by the leaders of the two countries. This university is also a good example of the development of humanitarian cooperation between the two countries. The active development of mutually beneficial cooperation between China and Russia has spread to all spheres. The strengthening of Sino-Russian cooperation in the humanitarian sphere contributes to the deepening of mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of the two countries, contributes to the continuous development of the strategic partnership, as well as the development of trade and economic relations. The existing proximity between the peoples of China and Russia in various spheres is the basis for strengthening relations between the countries.

3. OUTSIDE OF A PROJECT: THE OTHER SIDE

The two countries have already felt the enormous benefits of building "One Belt, One Road." Russian society is increasingly positive about the "One Belt and One Road" initiative and believes that cooperation on pairing is bound to become a mutually beneficial way for the Sino-Russian partnership. However, both sides, despite the most positive development of political and economic relations, are in no hurry to raise them to the rank of allies. Russia does not want to burden itself with allied obligations, because it has its own strong political reasons:

To this day, China continues its "specific" relations with its neighbours: India, Vietnam, and Indonesia, with which Russia maintains close economic and political ties.

China, in turn, does not intend to revise economic and political relations with countries with which Russia has significant contradictions. China is developing intensive contacts with the United Kingdom, despite the very complex British – Russian relations.

China's interest in the Arctic region. In January 2018, a document, the so-called White Paper "China's Arctic Policy," was published in China. In it, China makes a claim that the problems of the Arctic go beyond the region and the interests of exclusively Arctic countries and is vital for the entire international community and that the freedom of navigation on the North Sea Region (NSR) should be ensured for all countries. This contradicts the position of Russia and other countries whose territories are washed by the Arctic Ocean. It is known that the most irreconcilable position on the NSR is taken by the United States, which does not recognize the priority rights of Russia and Canada to regulate navigation in their Arctic waters. And here it is obvious that there is a certain convergence of positions of the US and China regarding the NSR (Kuznecov S., 2018).

It is difficult for Russia and China to count on truly allied relations, as both countries face not only political and economic problems but also cultural and cognitive barriers caused by national differences. Russian and Chinese cultures differ significantly. This is the point of view of the Chinese side. According to it, they are distinguished by ways of cultural thinking, principles of behaviour and peculiarities of national characters. Different moral values: Russians strive for spirituality, and the Chinese are practical and focus on life itself.

Despite all this, in the current geopolitical realities, both China and Russia are very interested in the development of political and even greater economic relations. The economic and political war waged by the United States against China and Russia was a powerful stimulus for the development of bilateral relations between the two countries. Sooner or later, the US confrontation with China was to begin, as the world began a serious redistribution of spheres of influence caused by a significant weakening of the United States position in the economy, political sphere and in the military field.

Whatever it was, but it is the US pushing for an unprecedented rapprochement in all areas of Russia and China. Today, the nature of relations between the two countries is defined as "partnership," "strategic partnership," but

not "allied." The two states are developing independently, having their own political and economic priorities, which do not always coincide, but due to objective reasons and external hostile influence from Western countries, strategic cooperation between China and Russia becomes vital for the successful development of these countries.

At present, Russian – Chinese relations are at the best stage in its history. In the first half of this year, China and Russia successfully implemented important provisions of the domestic policy agenda. The two countries have reached a new historical starting point within the framework of comprehensive relations of strategic cooperation and partnership. China and Russia should continue to adhere to the concept of friendship and the spirit of strategic cooperation that has been passed down from generation to generation, expand and deepen cooperation in all areas, and achieve even greater development of Sino-Russian relations in the new era.

4. CONCLUSION

At present, the strategic partnership between China and Russia is a major achievement and the basis for economic growth. Based on mutual trust, China and Russia are gradually achieving concrete results in the development of a market-oriented economy. Having a positive experience of cooperation, states should continue to promote cooperation at the enterprise level for the common mutual benefit and the benefit of other countries in the Euro-Asian region. As a result of the joint efforts of the governments of China and Russia, Sino-Russian relations will successfully develop, thereby contributing to the development of the Eurasian region. And of course, joining efforts in the framework of "One Belt, One Road" contributes to the establishment of a new type of global partnership characterized by mutual benefit and common benefit, equality and balance. The spirit of "One Belt, One Road" is peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, learning from experience, mutual benefit and common gain. This spirit is being recognized by an increasing number of states.

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Soviet Posters from Sergo Gregorian Posters Collection (1918-1921): Political Ideology and Historical Analysis

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the visual practices in which recruited, assigned and interpreted the ideological narration for the construction of socialism.The researching material consists of (4) four post-revolutionary Soviet posters (1918-1921) from the Sergo Gregorian posters collection. The semiotic approach is used in order to analyse the posters as political signs. Each poster is a product of the ideology on a denotative and connotative level of the sign. The methodology used is the «grammar» of visual design suggested by Kress and Van Leeuwen. The theoretical model supporting this analysis is Burke's taxinomy, who approaches the images as forms of historical evidence. Furthermore, we analyze poster captions following Halliday's verbal actions. The sample analysis based on the visual approach of the titles, the modality, the metonyms, and the narrative patterns. We attempt to show up the ideological public speech of Soviet posters in the early "existing socialism" when the initiators were making a breakthrough in economic, political and social infrastructure. The purpose of this research is to study the visual practices and to explore the ways in which past and present are engaged and interpreted in the formation of the ideological narrative for the construction of the new Homo Sovieticus, as it is recorded in the specific post-revolutionary Soviet posters (1918-1921).

Keywords: Soviet Poster, Soviet Union, Ideology, Semiotics, Propaganda

Introduction

The poster as a means of political propaganda was used by every political organization in the passage of history. Until the end of the 19th century, its political presence is fragmentary and limited, and radical change comes with the October Socialist Revolution, which establishes the poster as a basic propaganda instrument (White, S. 1998). Born from the historical need for massive popular upheaval and defense of the Bolshevik revolution, the propaganda poster came to defeat the call of the Revolution, to activate the people, inspire and guide the struggle for the Bolsheviks. The poster with the "strong images and the short and easy-to-understand slogans" shapes an unprecedented "sign language" that emotionally affects the overwhelming majority of the people because of illiteracy, this "tragic heritage" of the Tsar's past. (Aulich, J., Hewitt, J., Hewitt, J.P. 2007)

Methodology

The methodological framework for the analysis and interpretation of posters as visual texts includes differentiated approaches. We observe that posters as visual texts underline the process of (re)producing the

hegemonic discourse. Simultaneously, posters as a work of mass culture seem to (re)produce the society's "icon," as they come from it, they reflect it while, at the same time, they generate, promote and develop social and political myths, maintaining the established ideology (Berkman, 2016).

Such kinds of social representations are part of what we could call a "popular" way of government mode. A sample of this kind is reflected in the Soviet posters that are analyzed. These social and artistic representations "narrate" the relationship between creators and depicted people, a relationship that may be equivalent, whereas in the past it might have been hierarchical (Burke, 2003). In this context, visual structures are never just formal, but they are also ideological because they involve semantic dimensions. Therefore, images do not only reproduce the structures of «reality,» but they produce images of reality, inextricably linked to the interests of the social institutions in which they are produced (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2010).

Thus, message makers seek to find decodable posters, repetitive motifs and stereotypical shapes that cannot be misinterpreted, directing the viewer straight to the intended message (Guiraud, 2004). Selected messages are never arbitrary because their creators attempt to show signs of internal interconnection in a world that is in harmony with their environment (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2010). Therefore, the "universal" dimension of the message is a social construction, a product of theory and socio-cultural history and as such is influenced and shaped by the social and cultural conditions that (re)produce the visual language (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2010).
 The purpose of this research is to study the visual practices and to explore the ways in which past and present are engaged and interpreted in the formation of the ideological narrative for the creation of the new Homo Sovieticus, as it is recorded in post-revolutionary Soviet posters (1918-1921).

 In this paper, the sample of the survey consisted of 4 posters, from Sergio Gregorian's "Soviet Posters" album (Lafon, 2007). We chose to analyze posters of the period 1918-1921, which cover the first years after the Revolution as an early example of aesthetics, content, and contribution to the "new Soviet art."

Methodological tools

The analysis applied to the needs of this work concerns in the visual design "grammar" by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2010). In this way, the visual language is not transparent or universally understood, but is culturally defined.

Categories of analysis

Category 1: Optical approach
1.1. Scenario Construction
1.2. Caption
1.3. Poster shape
Category 2: Visual point material
2.1.Colors
2.2. Background
2.3 Modality
3rd Category: Narrative Standards
3.1. Participants
3.1.1. Number of participants
3.1.2. Body, face
3.1.3. Expression
3.1.4. Movement
3.1.5. Representation elements
3.3. Synthetic structure

Category 4: Interactive meanings
4.1. Style imaging
4.2. Symbolic metonyms
4.3. Image functionality

According to the above, in the present paper, we investigate the individual elements that constitute the following categories:

Category 1: Optical approach

1.1. Scenario Construction**:** The "implied" designer of the poster, "guides us silently, through the design of the whole" (Chatman, 1978), to draft outlined sentences through the visual editing and the help of the accompanying text (caption), focusing on the potential meaning of narrative processes, operations and relationships, as evidenced by every virtual representation, we are studying (Kress, G. & Van Leeuwen, 2010).

1.2. Caption: For the analysis of the caption, we rely on the description of Halliday's four basic verbal operations or "verbal functions." Each of the verbal operations is part of an inter-active dual, which has the "anticipated" and "selective" social response. Thus, verbal acts can: (a) "provide information"; (b) "provide goods and services"; (c) "request information," i.e., questions; and (d) goods and services, that is to say, they constitute a sort of order (Halliday, 1985). Also, the choice of the font (uppercase, lowercase), as well as symbolic forms of color, is categorized into constitutional and exemplary axes, converting language into visual, while encoding the sound value of words. The violation of standard alignment and typing options by switching between different sizes and font types enhances readability and visualizes the information provided in a pretty easy way even for the novice viewer (Chalevelaki, 2010). At the same time, the fonts and their layout, depending on their design, convey the weight, size, color and generally the way they are used, additional meanings in the transmission of messages (Bierut et al. (1994). In many cases, in addition to the intense colors, contours and shades are used in the characters, combined with hard angled frames, or the illusion of perspective for «embellishment» of the typographic message is created (Kalman & Jacobs, 1990).

In any case, the visual dialect, irrespective of its structure, content, and style, communicates effectively, providing information not only on the obvious but also on secondary elements that subconsciously operate at different levels in the mind, depending on aesthetics, the needs and the social requirements of the viewer. Therefore, morphological characteristics letter's form and word's design structure are used as a mean of effective persuasion, as they function effectively in the subconscious.

1.3. Poster shape: The direction of the image (poster) shape, as well as the direction of the pixel, is recorded, while the information value of each horizontal and vertical axis of the visual representation is studied. Regarding the informative value of the vertical axis, we note that there is less continuous movement between the two parts of composition than the horizontally oriented. If in visual composition, some of the synthetic elements are placed at the top, and other, otherwise at the bottom, then what is placed in the upper part is presented as the ideal and the one placed at the bottom is shown as real. That something is ideal means it is presented as the idealization or the generalized essence of information. The real is in contrast to it as it presents more specific information or more practical information (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2010).

In the informative value of the horizontal axis, where there appears to be a sense of complementarity or continuous movement from left to right, a vector is formed that drives the viewer's gaze towards the message. Usually, on the right side, there is the basic information, which the reader, the "message" side, must pay particular attention to (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2010).

Category 2: Visual point material

2.1. Colors: Colors have a symbolic function that is heavily linked to the cultural data of the era and region created. They are symbolically charged at a constitutional level, and their sympathy only creates meaning (Scarpelos, 2000). Color as a mean of transmitting information or stimulating emotions is a basic communication tool, and it is an element of understanding as an integral part of the aesthetic code of points that reflects a system of values common to designers and recipients of a poster (Thwaites, Lioyd & Warwick, 1994).

2.2. Background: We try to distinguish the image background as a visual perception skill in order to identify visual information, record it as separate, and differentiate it from the environment in which we see it. In other words, focusing on the important element and filtering the insignificant, to identify similarities/differences (visual distinction) and to understand the position of objects in space (perception of spatial relationships).

2.3. Modality: The term refers to the reliability of statements and/or information for the viewer. As color indexes (color, black and white), color variation (colorful, monochrome), frame (with the background, without background), representation (abstract, detailed), depth (flat, perspective) and lighting (existence, absence of shadows) (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2010).

3rd Category: Narrative Standards

3.1. Participants: Participants are called «tumors» or «masses,» and each has a «weight» or "gravitational pull" in the composition. Forms are perceived as distinct entities that are protruding to a different extent due to their different size, shape, color. The prominent forms are not only perceptually more distinct but also play the most important roles in the grammatical structure that makes up the meaning of the image. The relationship that is visualized between the forms is perceived and transmitted by the vector relations between the tumors (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2010).

Category 4: Interactive meanings

Symbolic meanings: Named terms are the words and/or verbal shapes that allow the production of meaning, with the help of connotation: containing instead of content. According to G. Peninou (1965), "we return with the name to one of the great families of the prehistoric representation, which is grammatically constructed in the syntactic narrative regime and psychologically to that of associative transfer." A prerequisite for the use of metonyms is the knowledge of a given constitution and certain cultural codes by the viewer, which will add to the existing piece of the constitution the remaining part. As Eco points out, "given a prefabricated constitution, established morals allow the substitution of one of its components for another, it characterizes, in fact, the term «supernatural» (Eco, 1989).

Analysis

Caption	Cossack*, who are you with? With us or with them?*
Artist	*Dmitry Moor*
Date	*1918*
Dimensions	*78X58 cm*
Publisher	*Department of literary editions of the RVSR's Political Management*
Release	*Unknown*
Place of publication	*Moscow*
Style / Type / Method	*New (Symbolic - allegory poster)*
Technique	*Lithography monochrome*
Period	*1917-1921*
Contents	*Patriotic poster, Need for recruitment, Civil war*
Propaganda Technique	*Personalized question (sense of responsibility)*

Historical context

The above 1918 poster is about recruiting the Cossacks on the Red Army side during their participation in the Russian Civil War. The Czarist rule in the 17th and 18th centuries constantly exerted pressure on the Cossacks, seeking in every way to limit their self-determination. A fact that naturally caused their reaction. Despite these difficult relationships, their Tsarist power was actively used to expand the territory of the state. After the Bolshevik revolution, during the Russian civil war, the Cossacks fought mainly for the White Army, therefore, after the Red Army's victory, was under persecution.

Category 1: Optical approach

1.1. Scenario Construction

The image shows the waiting of both sides (Red Army, White Army) for the beginning of the battle. There is a strong element of war and controversy (they are ready-made, they hold arms), as Cossack's response is expected.

Cossack, positioned at the center of the poster, facing the viewer, is in a dilemma about what side to choose (White-Bolsheviks) to be recruited, but essentially the question is addressed to viewers / receivers.
 In this way, the criticalness of the decision on the part of the viewer / receiver is emphasized, as well as the necessity to receive it directly as it affects the outcome of the war. It causes the viewer / receiver to think critically, with a high sense of responsibility for taking a dynamic and serious decision, proportionate to the criticality of the situation in the country.

1.2. Caption: Cossack, who are you with? With us or with them?

This is a questionable sentence, which includes an incitement. The question mark proposes two alternatives (disunity). The choice of straightforward speech using a Single person indicates intimacy or even individuality. In essence, it urges viewers / receivers to make an immediate decision on the side they will choose to stand for, as it is expected, to be recruited by the Red Army. In this context, the use of capital letters, which varying in size and color according to the meaning, as well as the choice of a single font with an accented line without decorative elements, in order to give a classic or even traditional style in the writing (Moriarty, 2002), while enhancing the gravity of those who write the message. According to Eco, the choices of letters are involved in the production of meaning, as print contracts acquire different content depending on their environment.

1.3. Poster shape

Image area: Rectangular shape (standard poster) in vertical direction. According to the dimensions of the visual space, concerning the informative value of the vertical axis (up and down), we note that there is less continuous movement between the two poster parts relative to the horizontally orientated posters. In a visual composition (poster), the components placed in the upper part are presented as ideals, while those placed in the lower part are considered as real. A synthetic element is characterized as ideal when presented as the idealization or generalized essence of information (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2010). In this way, in this particular poster, at the same time, the ideal and the real are the Bolshevik forms, which cover the entire right side of the poster, where according to Kress & Van Leeuwen (2010) this is the side of the basic information.

Text area: A rectangular shape with a horizontal direction, which creates a contrast between the horizontal and the vertical axis. The visual text is fully harmonized with the western visual communication, as indicated by the direction of writing, giving specific values and meanings to the dimensions of the visual space.

1.3. Modality

Reality is in the eye of the viewer / receiver of this era, as what is considered real depends on how reality is defined by the specific socio-cultural group (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2010). In this context, the poster we are studying has a high modality in the right-side (ideal), as an intense red (Bolshevik) is selected at the focal point, a gray tone at center for the dilemmatic condition (Cossack) and white (White) in the right side, where the tendency is deliberately lowered. Also, the represented participants are depressed, virtually depicted in a vacuum, resulting in a «representative sample» without being associated with a certain place and time, a condition that would have reduced the modality, but color choices balance the situation. Although the modality is made by a complex interaction of visual indications, in the case we are studying, the high positivity of the poster results from the intensity of the red color and the value of the caption, which we regard as a social need and belief or a value for the power structures from which they have been produced and the social group to which they are addressed.

Discussion

This research deals with the way in which the ideological visual discourse is represented in post-revolutionary Soviet posters. The creators focus on the ideological field as a generic reference frame for the design of visual material, drawing their argumentation from the historical, political and social context, in order to manipulate the viewer / receiver in an attempt to shape patterns of behavior as a necessity for its creation new Soviet identity The creation of the new Homo Sovieticus and the awareness of the normative patterns of behavior shape moral

and political or social behaviors necessary both for acceptance and support and for the stabilization of the hegemonic group.

By looking at an outline of the basic parameters of the visual material we are looking for, we seek recruitment of geographic, social or cultural information, as the poster is used as an alternative form to the written discourse. It is a language with "special" vocabulary and syntax, and the resulting visual meaning creates a variable chain of signifiers, which remain open to a variety of meanings. Each visual material is understood by the particular society you refer to and relates to the public sphere and its context of use and evaluation. In our research, the Bolshevik era (1917-1921) is a struggle for life and death for the Bolsheviks and their ideology.

The Soviet propaganda poster is dominant in an effort by the Reds to win the civil war against the White women and to claim control of Ukraine by the Poles as well as parts of modern Belarus. The early Soviet poster is characterized by revolutionary warmth and intelligent design as well as by symbolic, rather than diachronic, representations: red star and hammerhead.

The posters of this period fall into the category of ideological propaganda. In the toughest moments of the Civil War, the revolutionary government, in its attempt to strengthen the Red Army, prefers the recruitment of men (Cossack, who are you with us or with them [1918]). During the next years the political situation has not stabilized (We have to work with the rifle next to us, 1920). When Bolsheviks were stabilized in power (Never again will be like this, 1919), they demanded to proceed with the implementation of the plan and the spread of socialism. However, in a country with a high illiteracy rate, its main concern is to eradicate it (The illiterate man is like the blind - BOOKS, 1920).

It is worth mentioning that in most posters, at the bottom, there was a warning: "Anyone who rips or covers the poster is committing a counter-revolutionary act." The poster was a powerful "weapon" for the fight, and like any weapon, it had to be carefully guarded.

In the text of the caption or in the picture of every poster, the direction of the writing is horizontal from left to right. This means that it follows Western visual communication, is deeply influenced by the convention of Western civilization, giving similar values and meanings to the dimensions of the visual space.

The concept of modality is essential to visual communication, because it is social, depending on what is considered real / true to the social group that the representation aims to. In the Soviet posters we study, the verbal and fictional texts work together to tell a certain story in an attempt to highlight / accept the true value or credibility of the viewer / receiver statements. The posters are multifaceted, resulting from the multimodality of the visual text as a modern means of communication. The visual modality lies in culturally and historically defined criteria, so culture gives the framework of visual perception for a fuller understanding of representation. The modality of these images produces a social affinity, aligning the viewer / receiver with specific representations. The boundaries between reality and construction are confused, but new values and new ways of perceiving can be established, as the Soviet people as a society draws on "We."

The human symbolism - the repetition of the human figure in the frontal posture, offer and sideways stance - is defined in the "grammar of the image" as a requirement for recognition by the viewer / receiver. In the composition of the posters, we observe the correlation of representational and interreligious meanings between the interconnected systems. The placement of visual representation elements gives the in the elements specific information values associated with the various "zones" of the image. (Altini T. 2017)

In the informative value of the horizontal axis, the left side visualizes the basic information, which the viewer / receiver should pay particular attention to. It is the side of the message, whether it is an invitation to identify the viewer / receiver with a role model, highly appreciated in Soviet culture or it is an intimate and agreed starting point for the message. On the right side of the poster, what is shown is not the data, it is not agreed by the viewer / receiver, but the viewer has to pay special attention. The meaning of "New" is "problematic," "questionable" or

information to be discussed. Regarding the informative value of the vertical axis, the top performs the promise to viewers / receivers.

Usually, there is less movement between the two parts of the composition than the horizontally oriented compositions, where the bottom visualizes the "message" as such, providing fewer or more information. The composition as a fundamental function of the integration codes is textual. It serves the production of text and the placement of the information in the whole with the aim of coherence and order among them. The compositions / posters we are studying are described in multifaceted representations, and the forms in the majority are ground-based and dynamic. Human symbolism, the repetition of the human figure in another attitude, is defined in the "grammar of the image" as a requirement for recognition or even offering, if it is in a frontal or lateral position, respectively.

However, the composition of a poster also contains different degrees of display of its elements. Regardless of where they are placed, viewing can create a hierarchy of importance among the elements, selecting some of them as most important, worthy of attention (poster 1 [Red Army, Cossack, Bourgeoisie]). When the composition is the way of incorporation, the view is judged based on the visual indications. Viewers / receivers are able to judge the "weight" of the various elements of a composition and the larger the weight of an element, the greater the visibility of it. This view is a complex interplay between many factors, such as size, focus, tonal contrast, and perspective.

Thus the visual material produces a hierarchy of importance between the elements of the poster as an ideological composition. All in all, we can see that the exaggerated vitality and detail distracts from the analytical purpose. However, the essential characteristics of the possessive properties of the participants, the representation of depth, the detailed representation of light and the fine tonic distinctions are conventionally used to distinguish the socio-economic groups. This means that it enables the viewer / receiver of the message to identify the player directly and to examine in detail his possessive properties.

As for the symbols, the predominant ones are the worker-hero, the soldier of the Red Army and the red star. Also, in Soviet propaganda posters, the Soviet enemy is depicted with the black color representing the bourgeois. The metonym as an extension of constitutional relations summarizes the description of the object or symbol in shape. What permits such a linguistic "disorder" is the close relationship between the linguistic and the visual object, which is based on the experiential experience of man.

Each poster is subject to multiple readings since some reading paths are not strictly coded, while others have specific hierarchies of potential viewer / reader movement. Our posters give us the choice to see them from a distance without any effect on the meaning. This "recording" means representative. However, as a pictorial, they encode reading paths to varying degrees. Some "take hand" the viewer / receiver and steer it. Others offer the viewer / receiver some suggestions and suggestions and then leave it to his / her own mechanisms while in others we do not see any reading path. However, the very pattern of the reading path expresses a specific cultural message.

In conclusion, it's clear that both the Bolsheviks' vision and their commitment to freedom, security, political stability and the improvement of living standards produce an important area for strengthening the ideological mechanism and creating the new Homo Sovieticus. Soviet propaganda relied on socially acceptable ways of expression, appropriated "familiar" symbols and created a code of conduct for the masses as a new invented tradition. In this context, the symbols provide a core of dialogue, which concerns an "interactive» lists focusing on the concept of "national interest."

Thus, they form the field of forging a collective identity and, in combination with the political and cultural parameters; they also form the mechanisms of production of the imaginary community of each nation. These mechanisms sometimes act as internal regulatory authorities and sometimes give the impression that they are compiling "homogenization" codes.

In this context we propose posters' analysis in order to visualize the citizenship as a political/social responsibility to university's students as had already been used in primary education: *Potentially it is the most controversial. In the minds of some, it is an opportunity for teachers to preach on behalf of themselves or the Government. But it is arguably the most important, informing both "political literacy" and "community activity", the other two strands* (available in https://sites.google.com/a/guilderlandschools.net/athena-varghese/7th-grade/social-arts/citizenship-in-the-community-propaganda).(Vamvakidou, I., 2009)We had also implemented such didactic proposals in our post program lessons using the multimodal representations, the symbols and the cinema in order to teach citizenship in the 21th century (Aypay, A., Goncalves, S., Keramyda, M., Kyridis, A., Spinthourakis, J., Troullou, M. Vamvakidou, I., Zagos, C. , 2009, Goncalves, S., Keramyda, M., Kyridis, A., Spinthourakis, J., Troulou, M., Vamvakidou, I., 2010).

We also propose to the students in Fine Arts Faculty to produce their "propaganda poster" including the pillars of citizenship such as agility, social participation, justice, responsibility, and equality. We have to put all the knowledge we know about the pillars of citizenship and propaganda in order to make the best propaganda poster. Our researching and didactic concern refers to the concept of the citizen *which seems bound up with that of the nation-state-society, so that if societies are no longer powerful entities, then it would seem that citizens require societies and states and the mutual antagonisms that they generate. Without them, in quite the same form it may be that we are witnessing the slow death of the national citizen, just as the claim for citizenship seems to have become so extraordinarily widespread* (Urry, 1998). This paper supports Alistair Ross thesis about "concepts of multiple and nested identities and how these relate to citizenship and rights, and the implications of identities and rights for active citizenship education" (Ross, 2007).

The posters as researching and didactic material

Caption: Cossack, who are you with?
With us or with them?
Artist: Dmitry Moor
Date: 1918
Dimensions: 78X58 cm
Publisher: Department of literary editions of the RVSR's Political Management
Release: Unknown
Place of publication: Moscow
Style / Type / Method: New
(Symbolic - allegory poster)
Technique: Lithography monochrome
Period:1917-1921
Contents: Patriotic poster, Need for recruit-ment, Civil war
Propaganda Technique: Personalized question ,sense of responsibility

Caption: Everything is past
Artist: Viktor Nikolaevich Denisov
Date: 1920
Dimensions: 31X46 cm
Publisher: Gashizdad, Government Edition
Release: 2000
Place of publication: Petrograd (Leningrad)
Style / Type / Method: Lubok
Technique: Lithography ,multicolor
Period: 1917-1921
Key words: Patriotic Poster ,Revolution ,Civil War ,Capitalist
Propaganda technique: Absolute crisis (creating a sense of trust)
Optical narration as a praise to Bolshevism
Historical narration with bottom-up participation

Caption: The illiterate man is like the blind - BOOKS
Artist: Aleksei Radakov
Date: 1920
Dimensions: 69X49 cm
Publisher: Gashizdad, Petrograd
Release: Unknown
Place of publication: Petrograd (Leningrad)
Style/Type / Method: Lubok
Technique: Lithography tricolor
Period:1917-1921
Key words: Revolutionary feeling ,Patriotic poster ,Disdain of the past,
Fight against illiteracy
Propaganda technique: Artistic dipiction of the revolution,
conscious effort to approach people, order for immediate decision

Caption: We have to work with the rifle next to us
Artist: Vladimir Lebedev
Date:1920
Dimensions: 56 x77cm
Publisher: Rosta
Release: Unknown
Place of publication: Gashizdadt, Government Edition, Petrograd(Leningrad)
Style/Type/Method: Avant - garde
Technique: Lithography, multicolor
Period: 1917-1921
Key words: Patriotic poster,Work,Fighting the past
Propaganda technique: Visual depiction of the revolution
direct incitement for work, order to support the revolution

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The Study of Political Culture in View of Public Architecture

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Abstract

Public architecture is the container of public life and idea, which expresses the political culture. Political symbolism can be used to analyze the political meanings of the public architecture, and this meaning can be vividly expressed in political rituals. The political landscape which combines the political symbolism and rituals is the first approach of public architecture-political culture. The fate of public architecture mirrors the change of political idea. So the historical study is the second approach. The third approach is based on the environmental, psychological 'space ballet' and 'place attachment.' They decode that political culture is cultivated in the background of public architecture, where persons get their political cognitions and accumulate their political sentiments. The three approaches correlate with each other.

Keywords: Public Architecture, Political Culture, Political Symbolism, Place Attachment

The grand and majestic monument on the square, the wooden stick which is used to hang the national flag in shabby rural elementary school; the magnificent and dignified national congress, the rural weather-stained council cottage in the small village; the modern technology-equipped museum, the simple public toilet in downtown. All these are the public architectures. They are numerous and diversified. They are the containers of public activities and the anchors of political sentiments. It is a challenging work to study public architecture because it needs a multi-discipline theoretical approach, prudent method and foresight. This article aims to take public architecture as the object and frame it in political culture.

In the studies of public architecture the author can access to, the most famous one in the field of architects is *Architecture and Democracy* (Deyan Sudic, 2001), which tells about the congress buildings in the European countries and explores the national cognition in the building. His other book *The Edifice Complex* (Deyan Sudic, 2005) analyzes the public architectures in totalitarian countries. The most excellent description is that Czechoslovakia Prime Minister Chaha was paralyzed in the office of Hitler after walking through the long, terrifying corridor. In Chinese academia *Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space*(Wu Hong, 2005) is the milestone in analyzing the Tiananmen Square and modern Chinese political culture. Later *Chang'an Avenue and the Modernization of Chinese Architecture* (Shanshui Yu, 2012) in views of Chinese architecture modernization and state identifications, sorted the construction of Chang'an Avenue and discovered the political operations in the designs and bids of National Opera. All these three authors are in a group of architects. In the field of political science Charles Goodsell in his *The Social Meaning of Civic Space: Studying Political Authority through Architecture,* classified the states congress' inner space into three

categories: traditional, middle and contemporary. Furthermore, he explained to them as follows: imposed authority, confronted authority and joined authority. (Charles Goodsell 1988)[1] *The Teahouse: Small Business, Everyday Culture and Public Politics in Chengdu, 1900-1950* (Di Wang, 2008) is a typical historical work, which described the public life in a teahouse and depicted the political culture of the ordinary persons. By using the sociological method *Scenescapes: How Qualities of Place Shape Social Life*(Daniel Aaron Silver 2016) explained that amenities could construct the atmosphere which could affect the votes, stimulate the social movement and create new political values. Daniel designed 15 indexes which are grouped into the theatricality, the authenticity, and the legitimacy to calculate the culture.

Part One Concepts: Public Architecture, Public Space and Political Culture

It is not easy to define the 'public architecture.' Philip Jodidio said if the architectures are classified into 2 kinds, the private and the public, the public architecture is referred to the architecture which is outside of the family. For example, the court and the university are the public architectures because they are the common good of the people as a whole. Stadium and museum will charge the audience. This seems contradicted with the 'common good of the people as a whole.' But they are regarded as the public architectures. (Philip Jodidio, 2010, *Public Architecture Now*!) To define public architecture by illustration is not wise. It is not necessary and impossible to define public architecture in a strictly academic sense.

In this article public architecture is referred to the artificial architecture which excludes the private and commercial ones. The shopping malls are open to the public, but they are not public architectures because the activities there are individual and private. Public architecture usually has features as follow. It is constructed by public finance. If the schools and libraries which are built by private funds are used in public purposes, they are still the public architectures. It is open to the public and for the common good. So public architectures can be the symbols of political power, the buildings of political power which provide the public services. In physical structure, public architecture can be divided into 2 kinds. First, a single one. It can be symbols of the political power such as monument and triumphal arch, also can be the functional buildings such as congress building, stadium, and library. Second, the compound one. It can be the buildings surrounding the square or the congress building connected with the museum. In function, public architecture can be the typical political organs, such as congress house, court, and prison also can be the education and sports facilities such as stadium and library.

There is a kind of architecture which is in the middle of private and public. They are for a certain group of people such as a yacht club. Only the qualified people can access to it. It can be called semi-public architecture. In traditional China society, the ancestral hall is the semi-architecture. For the persons in the clan, the ancestral hall is the public architecture. But the ancestral hall is not open to the other persons in the village. The author believes that this semi-public architecture is important in cultivating the political culture so it can be regarded as public architecture.

The design, decoration, and function of public architecture are closely connected with the public activity and express some political meaning. Public space and public architecture are twines. Public space is formed by the surrounding public architectures or inside the public architecture. Actually, public space can refer more than that. For example, the street as a public space is not related to public architecture. [2] Habermas talked about the birth of right in 'public sphere,' which refers to the café, club, and salon. They are commercial areas, but they embraced public activities and brewed the political idea. So against the semi-public architecture, they are semi-public spaces. This space is valuable in the study of political culture because it is in this relatively closed space that people strengthen their political idea. So this semi-public space also can be regarded as public space.

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[1] This book is classic in the study of congress building. Charles set up the framework to analyze the public architecture and authority by introducing the symbolism, rituals, historical and psychological approaches. I borrowed the framework and enriched them with my own ideas.
[2] Lu Yuan Yi Xin, a Japanese architecture, who by analyzing the transitional area between the family house and street describes the difference between Japanese and Italian idea about public life. Lu Yuan Yi Xin, *The Aesthetic Townscape*, Jiangsu Phoenix Literature, and Art Publishing. LTD. Chinese version, 2017.

In this article, I follow Almond's classic definition about 'political culture,' believe that political cognition, political emotion, and political evaluation are the main branches. Political ideas are referred to as ordinary persons' idea mainly. In brief, public architecture is the physical layer of the political culture, and public space is the cradle of the political culture.

To analyze the cultural meaning of public architecture is the main mask of post-modern architecture theory. It supposes that architectural critics and comments should be in the context of history and society. This article tries to embed the public architecture-political culture in historical change. As a bridge linking the public architecture and political culture, public space shapes the persons' minds. How does this shaping occur? Environmental psychology provides a road to explore.

Part Two Landscape: Political Symbolism and Political Ritual

In symbolic theory, the subject and meaning are the interrelated two parts. Public architecture as the subject expresses certain political meaning, which is the saying from the power's mouth and can be called the self-cognition of the power. As Sudic said, the shape of the congress building reflects the country's tradition and democratic ambition. This reflection reveals how the country treats itself. To be accurate, by way of space designing the country showed how it should be treated (Deyan Sudic, 2001).

To explain its political meaning is a way to study public architecture. Who will make the explanations? What is his or her stance? What method do they take? All these questions need further considering. 'Subjects and certain meanings are not fixed well. They have alternatives.' [3] So for a public architecture different explanations will come out. Similar public architectures in structure will encounter different explanations in different cultures. For example, Tulou in Fujian Province was a great closure building which protected the clan from invasion. It is a symbol of family union. Roman colosseum is the similar closure style, but it represents the cruelty. How to explain this difference? This difference just reveals that public activities are the source of meanings. So does the public space. Space itself is natural and primary, but the meaning of the space is the fruit of social change and experience (Soja, 1989).

G·Broadbent in his *Signs, Symbols, and Architectures* analyzed the symbolic meaning of architecture by way of semiology and tried to find a set of code to organize the explaining. He did not mean to disregard the cultural feature of the building but to find a new way out. He believed that it was possible to take the adventure to make a historical definition. Its core was hard, and its edge was soft and open in order to include some new code. He thought architecture was supposed to use methods(structural, economic, technological and mechanical) to make the physical things express its meaning(way of living, value, and function). (Broadbent 1991 Chinese version) Broadbent was respectable because his effort makes the trans-culture explanation possible.

The organized or scheduled activities in public space are the rituals. Political rituals are the most vivid way for the citizen to learn political knowledge and cultivate political sentiments. In view of political rituals, the study of public architecture and political space can follow the roads below. First, the rituals are organized in certain backgrounds which include the decorations of the space. The purpose of this decoration lies that it constructs a special space which is different from the ordinary. So the sacred air of the rituals is built. Then the sanctity of the rituals is strengthened. Second, the location itself is the legitimacy of the ritual's sanctity. For example, the American president has his inauguration in front of the Capitol. This location means that his power is from people's granting. Besides the custom the basic principles in jurisprudence and politics are decisive. The scheduled and repeated actions will strengthen the legitimacy of the location. The location will correspondingly strengthen the legitimacy of the ritual. That is why the 'sacred place' came into being. Third, the ones who watch and the ones who be watched, the ones who in the upper and the ones who in the lower, the ones who are inside and the ones who are outside their positions in physical space are connected with their social relations.

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[3] Ma Min, *Political Symbolism*, The Central Compilation and Translation Press, 2012, p.51.

The political analysis in view of political symbolism and rituals is normative, which mainly depends on the researcher's insights and ability in the analysis. The social meaning of space has got wide agreements from semiology, sociology, architecture, cultural geography, and urban planning. Based on these achievements this article tries to expand the study in the political culture.

Part Three Changes: the Knots in the 'History Net'

Public architecture is the result of public policy. Its design and construction depend on public finance. So from the very beginning, public architecture is political. When it is established the regulations, and daily administrations of it reflect the political principle of the country. After many years of using the fate of architecture will have several alternatives: maintenance, demolish and rebuild, demolish and transform, demolish and leave blank. [4] All these possibilities will evoke public discussion to be a topic in public life.

The historical study of a certain public architecture is a liner. The public architecture is born to be political, so the study of it is a branch of political history. In this study, there are 4 aspects which can be paid more attention. They are the knots in the history net which helps to grasp the change of political minds.

Firstly at the beginning of initiation the shape, decoration, and functions are designed by the architect who is inspired and granted by the political organs. His or her idea is decisive in constructing the meaning of architecture, which tends to be the official explanation of the architecture. So it is first to step to study the architects' idea. He or she is a political man with professional skills. His or her political idea will be materialized into the architecture. Meanwhile, the position of the architect is a limitation and confines them to do what they should do. Anyway, the designer's idea is the first material we can use to understand the architecture. [5]

Secondly, the revolution period is a critical point in political development. So does the history of public architecture. The new regime's attitude toward the previous public architecture mirrors itself.[6]

Thirdly the persons, especially the ordinary persons in the public architecture are the spirit of the building. If their activities and emotions are recorded that will be a valuable source in the study. From the records, we can comb their attitude toward the building and find the details in a comparative way. We can compare the different persons' idea toward the same building and deduce their political mind. We can also compare the same person's idea toward the building in different ages and fide the reasons why it changes.

Fourthly the administration especially the regulations of the public architecture is a perspective to study. This public administration expresses the governor's idea, which is fostered by the basic values of political power.

The four perspectives above are from the grand view of era change and also from the daily life of ordinary persons. They are all about the stories of public architecture. The first, second and fourth mainly depend on the literature. The third depends on the interview. I believe that this interview is significant because public architecture is meaningful when it is used by ordinary persons. Their experiences are the criteria of the 'common good.'

Part Four Accumulation: 'Space Ballet' and 'Place Attachment' in Environmental Psychology

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[4] I ever studied the construction of Casa del Prado in Bolboa Park in San Diego in the US in the 1970s and analyzed the liberal civic education there. See
http://www.sciencepublishinggroup.com/journal/paperinfo?journalid=202&doi=10.11648/j.ss.20170601.14
[5] See Pamela Scott, *Temple of Liberty: Building the Capitol for a New Nation*, Oxford University Press, 1995.
[6] Amy Russell analyzed the privation of the form in the Roman transitional period-from public the empire. See *The Politics of Public Space in Republican Rome*, Durham University, 2016.

As discussed, individuals, whether the designers, political leaders or ordinary persons need to be paid more attention to the study and their attitudes, can be calculated. This is the classic way of political culture. The study of political culture is based on psychology, so when the individuals in public architecture are observed, their actions in the environment can be studied.

There are 2 kinds of environments one can encounter, himself or herself alone and his or her sharing with the other. In the first environment, he or she learns the history of the architecture and may evoke the meditation. This is the process which he or she acquires the political cognition and political evaluations. In some cases, he or she does not have too much thinking. They are just users of public facilities. If someday the environment is changed such as the facilities are moved away their emotion will be evoked. In the second environment, a group of persons is in the environment. They may be visitors or users of certain facilities. In environmental psychology David Sermon use 'space ballet' to describe that a group of persons who share the same values and have similar views of world and life often visit a place regularly and finish the certain tasks. Their actions are in regularity and repetition, just like ballerinas' performance with rhythm on the stage. The persons can have a sense of security in the place where they had their 'place ballet.' This sense of security comes from their familiarity, which can grow into an unselfconscious regularity. [7]So the 'place attachment' comes into being. These two terms can be used in the public architecture-political culture.

Actually, the framework of the political culture can be established by the two terms. 'Space ballet' is the process in which persons acquire their political cognition and accumulate their political emotion. 'Place attachment' is the result of space ballet and works as the core of the political unselfconsciousness. This unselfconsciousness is the mature political value. In this part, the sampling and questionnaire can be used to collect the data. The interview also can be used. So both the quantitative and qualitative methods are available.

In a word the three approaches are interrelated. In a micro-genetic way 'space ballet' and 'place attachment' explains why a public architecture has its symbols which are the common idea shared by the people. The symbolic meanings as the source of political legitimacy affect the political changes. The changes are the symptoms of the psychological process.

Part Five The Study of Public Architecture-Political Culture in China

The study of political culture in view of public architecture is a trans-discipline exploration. It has significance as follows in contemporary China.

Firstly political patriotism in view of 'place attachment' focuses on the importance of space and individual experience. Previous verbal education and communist preach are improper. In school education field trip and on-spot study are necessary. The environment can be constructed purposefully to meet the patriot requirements. So the students can be moved both reasonably and affectionally to love the 'motherland' and evoke the political sense of belonging.

Secondly, in the urbanization, the peasants from the countryside can cultivate their agreement to the city by public activities in architecture facilities.

Thirdly in downtown, the regeneration of the old community especially in the area with relics should improve the public facilities and rebuild the cultural features to strengthen the residents' place attachments.
Urban governance lies in the active public activities which fine public architectures and friendly public space can construct. Meanwhile, in methodology, this article hopes to combine the empirical quantity study and normative quality study.

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[7] David Seamon: "Body-Subject, Time-Space Routines, and Place-Ballets," from Anne Buttimer, David Seamon: *The Human Experience of Space and Place*, London 1980, pp.162-163.

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Morphology of House Pattern in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, Karangasem Bali, Indonesia

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Abstract

Traditional Settlements Tenganan Dauh Tukad Traditional Village, Karangasem regency, has a uniqueness of traditional dwelling patterns that become the local character of the region. However, along with the development of tourism in this village, the traditional settlement is not only a pride but also the object of commodification. This is an interesting phenomenon where on the one hand, people try to maintain their traditional residential identity to attract tourists visiting, but, on the other hand, they change their dwelling as a tourism facility. The change is a challenge and pressure for maintaining the traditional configuration as an identity. This is a phenomenon of conflict in the development of a cultural tourism area. On the one hand, tourists expect natural and original nature and culture. On the other hand, society and culture change as the society interacts with the outside culture and the desire to accommodate the needs of the visiting tourists. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to investigate the paradoxical phenomenon of changes in the morphology of residential patterns in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village and explore the conflict between conservation of traditional housing character and tourism demand. By conducting field studies (measurements), of selected, stratified random sampling houses, and interviews, to examine the impact of changes on values and their meanings, this study will discuss changes in the physical configuration, meanings, and values of a traditional house. This research will explore the original roles and meanings of altered housing that can still be maintained and the new roles and values contained in the new configuration. In this study will also discuss the impact of new values on the meaning and value of the original configuration. With the identification of the morphologic character of the residential pattern, it is expected to be a model of change and provide an appropriate perspective for the community, the government and the tourism actors in transforming the traditional housing in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, Karangasem Regency.

Keywords: Morphology, Housing Pattern, Traditional, Local Identity, Tourism

INTRODUCTION

Background

The traditional settlement of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Traditional Village, Karangasem Regency, has a unique spatial configuration of traditional residential patterns that become the local identity of the region. However,

along with the development of tourism in this village, the traditional settlement is not only a pride but also the object of commodification. Increased tourist visits encourage the development of tourism facilities that resulted in changes in the configuration of traditional village space Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village. This is an interesting phenomenon where on the one hand, people are proud and try to maintain their traditional residential areas and patterns to attract tourists visiting, but, on the other hand, they change their occupancy patterns as tourism facilities. The focus of this phenomenon is that changes in occupancy patterns indicate a great challenge in the era of economic tourism in maintaining the authenticity of the spatial configuration of housing as an expression of cultural identity.

The pattern of settlements Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village closely related to the cultural philosophy, namely the cultural philosophy of Bali is the concept of *Rwa Bhineda, Tri Hita Karana*, and *Tri Mandala,* which is manifested into the concept of spatial, cultural preservation area Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village. But tradition is not static where a tradition undergoes a gradual process of change (Eisenstadt 1973; Gusfield 1967; Williams 1983; Clifford 1994). A tradition does not simply repeat the previous tradition but is a selective process of adopting new things. A new tradition will undergo a screening process, adjustments, and modifications tailored to the existing needs (Geriya 2007; Mantra 1993; Nordholt 1986; Vickers 1989; Agung 1991; Dharmayuda 1995; Picard 1996). The interaction of people with outside cultures influences the process of receiving new traditions in a society (Gusfield 1967). The focus of this discussion is the discussion of the dynamic cultural change in anticipating the impact of tourism. The change is a challenge and pressure for maintaining the traditional configuration as an identity. As a researcher in the field of architecture, social, culture, and tourism building, the research team was able to describe the existing problems and identify and assess the phenomenon of morphological changes in traditional shelter patterns as a response to maintain local identity and meet tourism challenges.

Research Question
From the above background can be raised the problems faced by Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, Karangasem are as follows:
1. What is the development of the morphology of residential patterns from the Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village?
2. How does the configuration change affect the values and meanings of the original configuration of the occupancy pattern as well as the factors behind the change?

Research Objectives
This change is a challenge for public and government efforts to maintain the natural conditions, culture, and traditions of the people who are the tourism development resources. On the other hand, society and culture change as the society interacts with the outside culture and the desire to accommodate the needs of the visiting tourists.

Therefore, the purpose of this study are:
1 Investigating the paradoxical phenomenon of changing the development of residential patterns in this village, what is the true pattern of the original dwelling? The extent to which changes in the morphology of the occupancy pattern and their development and what are the factors causing the morphology, to explore the new roles and values contained in the new configuration and also discuss the impact of new values on the meaning and value of the original configuration. So this research explores the conflict between the importance of conservation of traditional housing character and the demands of tourism.
2 This study is dedicated to providing guidance on how to make housing change as a response to meet the needs of tourism and conservation interests of traditional residential areas.

Outcome Targets and Research Benefits
The emphasis of the study to be examined is on the transformation of occupancy-based traditional morphology types that are occupied with the changes in demography, lifestyle changes and the development of tourism. The transformation of the typology of residential morphology is a process of change (as a distinguishing element), as

well as existence (as a fixed element) occurring at home, in accordance with applicable architectural principles. The targets and outcomes of residential transformation research of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Traditional Village, Karangasem Regency are:

1. The original morphological type of housing.
2. Changes in occupant characteristics associated with morphological type transformation.

Furthermore, this research is expected to provide great benefits and contribution for both government and society such as:

1. To contribute beneficial to the community and implement the policy of tourism development which is one of the national development priority programs.
2. To contribute theory about the transformation of traditional housing in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, Karangasem.
3. To be used as a foundation to determine the direction of development of conservation program of a traditional residential building of world cultural heritage area of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, especially in Bali, and Indonesia in general.

Literature Review

Tradition is classically defined in the 1950s and 1960s as static, with little innovation based on the elite tradition of tradition in a society. Nevertheless, today, tradition is not always a static phenomenon but a gradual transformation process (Eisenstadt 1973). The idea of a tradition is very accommodating that can be transformed into an intergenerational transmission process. This transmission process refers to ideas from human responses to old traditions with little or no change (Shils 1971, 1981).

There are several kinds of things that affect the transformation as Soekanto (1984:10) noted that is:

1. Technology caused by all aspects of life involves technology.
2. Lifestyle and demography, with the influence of time and changes in job classification, age, and status level influences.
3. Politics is closely related to the policy of the holder of power.
4. The economic view of the conditions and developments in the field of community business.

Using the theories of transmission of the tradition above, the notion of transformation is a housing production and the architecture and traditions within it are being explored to understand the ways in which communities construct their homes and housing as a physical form of culture, as a response to new conditions and to show their identity.

RESEARCH METHODS

The type of research conducted is explorative descriptive that is research that is digging and telling or describing a phenomenon in a non-experimental way, consisting of the following stages:

Data Collection Stages

a. Research design
   - Choose a problem and formulate the problem
   - Determine the variables and data sources: settlement patterns and housing and morphological type of house (shrine, pavilion, natah)
   - Conducting a literature study on the patterns and types of traditional housing in Bali and that developed in the village.
b. Implementation of Research Data Collection
   - Determining and organizing instruments
   - Selection of research objects with criteria: traditional houses that have not changed the configuration of the space and traditional homes that have undergone changes in space configuration

- Collecting building data in accordance with the above criteria with a tiered information system from informants previously interviewed and so next, so that obtained some objects in accordance with the above criteria.
- Collect data by conducting interviews to homeowners and related institutions related to the status of the temple and the year of development and restoration ever done.
- Measuring traditional houses using theodolite or meter is aided by a checklist and check list
- Data tabulation

Stage Analysis and Results

a. Data processing: perform data editing, data encoding, and data presentation
b. Implementation of data analysis: tabulation of each variable that has taken data from each building object, describes morphology type of existing traditional house, spatial changes that occur in housing, as well as the impact of transformation on changes in value and meaning.
c. Conclusion research and recommendations: formulate conclusions and suggestions.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Results

Basically, the yard pattern applied in Balinese society is based on the concept of *Sanga Mandala*. In Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village Karangasem, the concept of *Sanga Mandala* is not so a guide in the formation of yard pattern. The formation of yard pattern is based on the concept of *Tri Hita Karana*. Through the concept of *Tri Hita Karana*, the yard formed elongated perpendicular to the main road. The division of space according to the concept of *Tri Hita Karana*, that *parahyangan* area is near the mountain and the road, and further away from both the orientation of the mountain and the way the value of space decreases, i.e., *pawongan* and *palemahan* (Figure 1 and Figure 2).
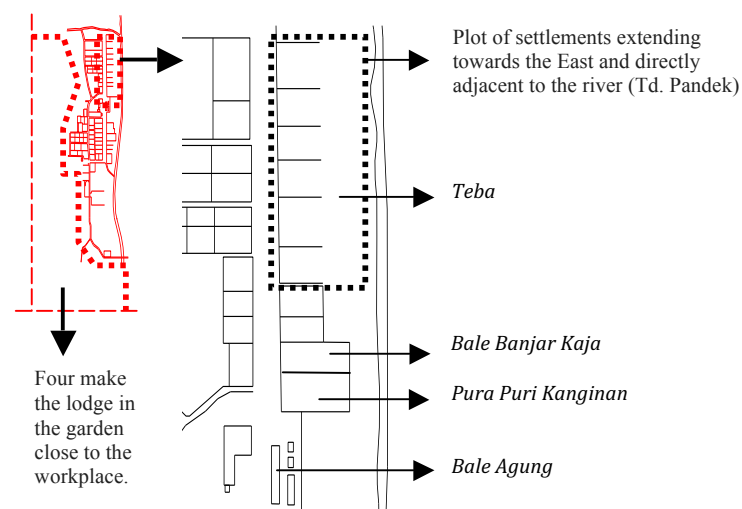
Figure 1. Patterns of Expanding Eastward Settlements in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, Karangasem Bali
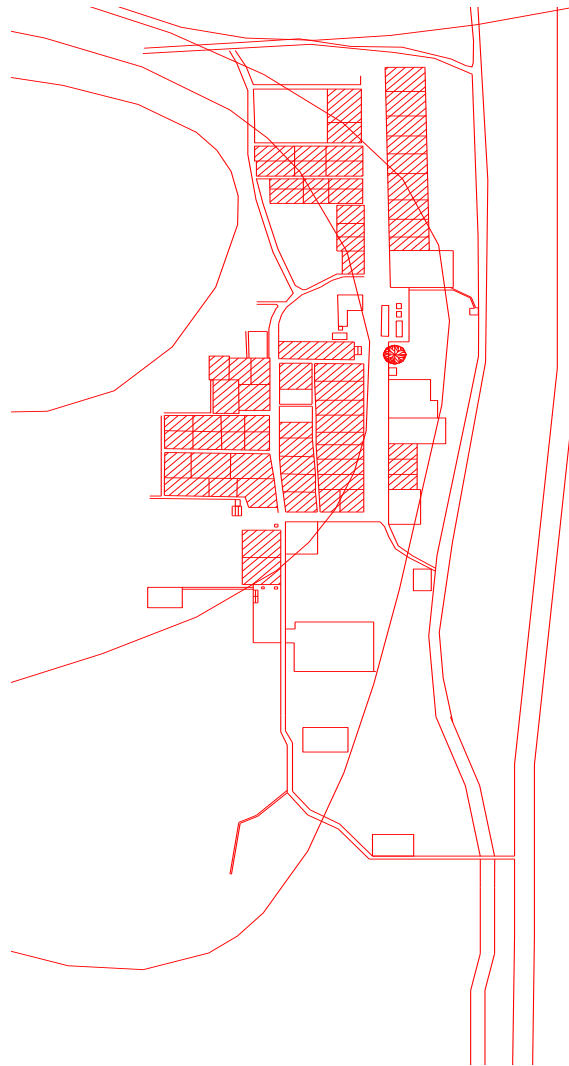
Figure 2. Morphological Pattern of Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, Karangasem Bali

The uniqueness of yard pattern in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, Karangasem as shown in Figure 3 are:

1. Residential pattern in Tenganan Dauh Tukad settlement has characteristic of traditional settlement of plot of *natah* pattern with *sanga mandala* concept which is formed from *sanggah, bale dangin, bale daja/meten, middle bale, bale dauh,* and *pawon*.

2. Sanggah is a place of family worship mainly to the ancestors and God *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi.*

3. *Bale Dangin,* is a place to hold a religious ceremony, as a bed of grandparents and can also be used to store ceremonial means/equipment. *Bale dangin* is typically six with a long rectangular plan, one or two sides (*kangin* and *kelod*) covered by a wall while the other side is open.

4. *Bale Daja /Meten*, serves as a place to sleep and store valuables/heirlooms. The shape of the rectangular metallic *bale* plan consists of eight columns, and there are also 12 poles. The four sides are covered with walls.

5. *Pawon*: because the mountain area is cold enough, the pawon that serves as a place to cook and work for women contains bale (bed) and preparations to make materials offerings / banten. Pawon is usually six-masted and surrounded by walls on all four sides.

6. *Bale Dauh*, serves as a workplace during the day, and bed at night. Bale dauh had a six-poster and was surrounded by a wall. Side facing the open (no walled) tab.

7.   *Bale Tengah*, is a place to hold a religious ceremony. Bale is a six-capped with a closed on one side of the north side.

8.   *Angkul-angkul* serves as the entrance. The settlements in the core area of the village have two types of *angkul-angkul* namely *angkul-angkul* as the entrance of the main shaft and angkul-angkul as the entrance from the shell to the yard of the house. While in the development area only has one *angkul-angkul.*
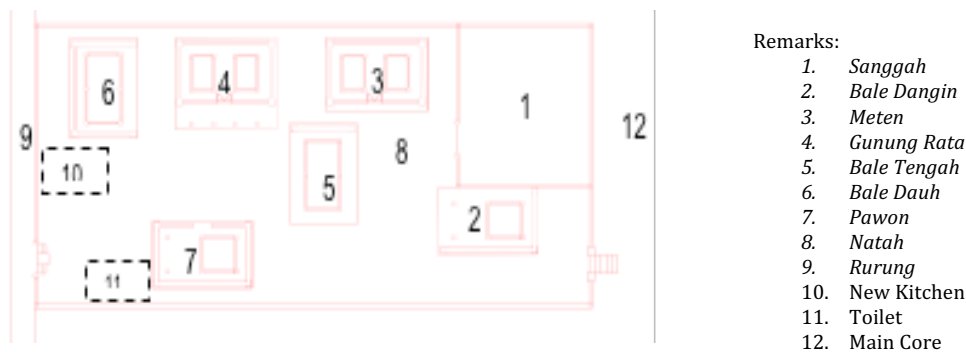

Remarks:
1.   *Sanggah*
2.   *Bale Dangin*
3.   *Meten*
4.   *Gunung Rata*
5.   *Bale Tengah*
6.   *Bale Dauh*
7.   *Pawon*
8.   *Natah*
9.   *Rurung*
10.   New Kitchen
11.   Toilet
12.   Main Core

Figure 3. House Pattern in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, Karangasem Bali

Discussion

Morphological Changes in House Patterns
The transformation of the traditional house in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, Karangasem was identified by comparing the object of research with traditional house which still shows its original shape. Categorization is done to indicate the rate of change of transformed residential units. Below is Table 1 which shows the relationship of categories of residential units with the intensity of transformation in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, Karangasem are:

a.   Category A: Intensity of Transformation of Small House Units. It can be reviewed based on aspects of material change and shape, functional changes, and the absence of new space in one plot.
b.   Category B: Intensity of Transformation of House Unit Simply, including the existence of material and shape changes, while the function of fixed space, and no new space in one lot.
c.   Category C: Intensity of Transformation of Multiple House Units. These include material and shape transformations, space/fixed function transformations, and there is a new space in one lot.
d.   Category D: The Intensity of Transformation of Huge House Units. Transformation involves the transformation of material and form, function transformation, existence of new space with a new function.

Based on the categorization of the transformation of the above house units, the transformation of house units is categorized into 4 types (Table 1) such as:
1. Category A - Original House - Little Change - 7 Houses
Category A occupancy is the least transformed occupancy, and even this dwelling has not undergone a transformation at all.
The pattern of fixed space, the form of the house (proportion and size) is fixed, and still use the original material that is the roof of the reeds, the roof structure and wooden pole, the walls of compacted soil, the floor in the form of compacted soil or hardened with a flat stone.

Table 1. Categorization Of House Transformation

More Transformed

Morphology Type \ Category	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D
Material	Constant	Change	Change	Change
Form	Constant	Change	Change	Change
Function	Constant	Constant	Change/Constant	Change & New
Spatial Pattern	Constant	Constant	Change	Change & New

Source : Manik (2007).

2. Category B - Enough Changes - 22 Houses
Category B occupancy undergoes a transformation of material and form, while function and layout tend to remain the same as the original state. Changes are mainly the use of materials for floors, walls, and roofs. Changes lead to the use of more practical materials, saving on costs, time and effort. Changes also occur with the addition of new buildings that occupy vacant land around the house so as not to change the existing mass patterns and forms of natah that is traditionally very useful at the time of religious ceremonies,
Fixed spatial pattern, fixed house shape while the material used in accordance with the development of zinc roof, asbestos or tile; masonry or brick walls, the floor is plastered.

3. Category C - Many Changes - 31 Houses
The visually visible transformation of Category C occupancy is in the material, building form, spatial function, and spatial pattern. The average occupancy category C adds new buildings as well as changing the shape of new buildings by adding new functions to the building. The shape of a new building that is influenced by the forms of modern buildings that are usually called office bale.
The pattern of fixed space, the shape of the house changed most of the changes occurred in bale daja and bale delod which is used as a sleeping room. In addition, there are also additional new functions such as bathrooms, additional kitchens, and stalls. But sanggah, bale dangin that is used for ceremony and pawon usually remain. The use of the material also changes the roof of zinc, asbestos or tile; masonry or brick walls, floor plastered or with ceramic finishing.

4. Category D- Very Many Changes - 13 Houses
Transformation of Category D occupancy includes the development of both the basic pattern of residential units, the shape and use of materials. But the fixed element in this type of D house is bale gede building because its function is very complex. Bale gede perfungsi sebangai place to receive guests, place of execution ceremony manusa yadnya and pitra yadnya especially at the time of death, bale gede has a big role as place pelasanaan yadnya.

The pattern of space, the shape of the house, and the material changes and more to the modern building which consists of a period that accommodates all the functions that exist. But what remains is sanggah and bale dangin.

Factors Cause Occurrence Morphological Change Occupational Patterns
The construction of infrastructure to facilitate the flow of transport of agricultural products and plantations outside the village affects the need for adequate means of transportation. Ownership of motor vehicles will certainly demand a space that is a garage, both temporary and permanent. In addition, tourism activities around the area led to the start of facilities and infrastructure supporting tourism such as shops and shops that affect the transformation of traditional homes.

The development of activities requires the transformation of residential units functions. The enclosed space traditionally only functioned as a bed, is now also used as a dining room and family room. The joint activity that

was initially carried out on the terrace and the yard have now entered into an enclosed space. This shows the occupants increasingly need private space as a means to express themselves respectively. Built-in office *bale* is one example. *Bale* office that has a family room and additional sleeping space indicates there has been a transformation function of residential units. The reason for the fulfillment of space needs is closely related to the increasingly complex activity patterns along with the development of the era. Transformation of activity patterns refers to the increasingly complex lifestyle of the inhabitants.

Some changes to the transformation and its causal factors can be described as follows:
1. Material Changes - Technological Factors, Economics, Lifestyle/Socio-Culture. Along with the development of the era, building technology found more sophisticated so mass produced, the use of traditional materials (wood, alang-alang and land popolan) began to be reduced even no longer exists.
2. Shape Changes - Technological Factors, Economics, Lifestyle/Social Culture. The shape of the shelter is more affected by the transformation of building materials, such as the change of the roof slope due to the use of tile and zinc, the use of stone material makes possible the manufacture of carved stone and the use of ceramics for the floor display bright colors.
3. Spatial and Spatial Changes - Demographic, Economic, Lifestyle/Socio-Cultural Factors. The enclosed space traditionally only functioned as a bed, is now also used as a dining room and family room. The joint activity that was initially carried out on the terrace and the yard have now entered into an enclosed space.

CONCLUSION

Based on the above results and discussion can be summarized as follows:
1. There has been a transformation of residential units in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, Karangasem where changes from only a few (Category A) to very large changes (Category D), from material changes (Category B) to spatial changes (Category D).
2. Factors that cause transformation is due to technological progress factors, demography, lifestyle, socio-cultural and economic.

Some suggestions that can be formulated are as follows:
1. Conservation needs to be done to maintain the existing potential, as well as to be able to support the development according to the potential possessed by this region. The proper form of preservation in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Village, Karangasem is in the form of conservation, preservation, and revitalization. Conservation is applied to the visual aspect of components such as protection forests and temples, paddy fields and terraces. Preservation is applied to aspects of the temple, village pattern, *bale banjar*, *bale desa*; Functional aspects such as land use and circulation: viasual aspects such as: structure and pattern of *natah*.
2. Need to be done arrangement of residential areas and units so that the transformation does not change the meaning and values contained in the spatial area. This needs to be formulated model design or home prototype as guide/reference/model for residents in transforming their home in Tenganan Dauh Tukad Traditional Village, Karangasem.

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Choice of Studies at University, Personality and Socio-Economic Status: Comparison Between French Students in a Public Social Sciences and Humanities Faculty and Brazilian Law Students in a Private Faculty

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Abstract

Several studies have examined the links between personality and choice of studies, particularly from a longitudinal point of view. This original research proposes to study these aspects a posteriori. The Rotter questionnaire (1966) was completed by two groups of students in psychology (N=65) and law (N= 91). The other particularity of the samples concerns the location and the differences in socio-economic backgrounds: privileged for law students in Brazil, modest for students in psychology in France. Most of the hypotheses put forward, particularly those related to the citizenship and political aspects, are verified on the basis of the binomial test.

Keywords: Education, Study Choice, Locus Of Control, Socio-Economic Background, Binomial Test

1.   Introduction

According to Almlund, Duckworth, Heckman and Kautz (2011) personality traits influence greatly educational outcomes. Goldberg , Sweeney, Merenda and Hughes (1998) showed that internal locus of control and high conscientiousness in the big five Inventory are linked to higher academic performance and a greater chance to go to university. In a longitudinal study, Humburg (2017) revealed that personality during adolescent years influences the choice of field of study. If several studies have concerned themselves with the links between

personality and success in studies or personality and choice of studies, fewer deal with the measure of a general personality variable within two different university curricula: public and private. This is what is proposed here with the measure of Locus of Control (LOC) (Rotter, 1966), which was elaborated in the field of the social learning theory (Rotter, 1954; Rotter, Chance & Phares, 1972). According to Rotter's theory, the LOC is a stable personality variable; the personality is not cut off from the environment. The LOC is related to individual perception of controlling the events in one's life or not: "This concept is linked to the notion of reinforcement: when individuals make a connection between themselves and what happens to them we talk of internal control; if they attribute what happens to them, to luck or fate for example, we speak of external control" (Gaymard & Tiplica, in press). Through the multidimensionality of the concept, studies have shown links between internality and health (e.g. Berglund, Lytsy & Westerling, 2014; Gaymard & Tiplica, 2016a, 2016b). Individuals take fewer risks and adopt more preventive behavior when they attribute what happens to them to themselves (internality). From a socio-economic point of view, individuals from a privileged background are identified as more internal (Claes, 1981; Rabinowitz, 1978). Baron and Cobb-Clark (2010) study the link between locus of control, university attendance and high school graduation in a cohort of Australian youths. From their research it can be seen that youths with internal locus of control invest more readily in their education but they find no significant relation between the young person's locus of control and his or her family welfare history. Starting from these different works, the following hypotheses are put forward:

-H1: The Brazilian students from the private law faculty will be more internal than those from the public French one.

-H2: In proposition 6, the Brazilian students will be more external because they are probably aware that their privileged position will give them opportunities.

-H3: General hypothesis: the Brazilian students will be more internal concerning the aspects of citizenship and politics.

   H3-1 In proposition 12, the Brazilian students will be more internal than the French students.

   H3-2 In proposition 17 the Brazilian students will be more internal than the French students.

   H3-3 In proposition 22 the Brazilian students will be more internal than the French students.

   H3-4 In proposition 29 the Brazilian students will be more internal than the French students.

H4 : In proposition 23, the French students from the public faculty will be more internal than the Brazilian students. This hypothesis is linked to their training in social psychology.

H5 : In proposition 28, the Brazilian students will be more internal than the French students.

2.   Method

2.1. Population

In this study, 65 students from an Arts and Humanities Faculty in France and 91 law students from a Brazilian Jesuit University were interviewed. The constitution of groups are quite similar. The French group is composed in majority of undergraduate students (only 9% are at the level of Master) between 19 and 24 years old and 35% men; the Brazilian group is composed of undergraduate students between 20 and 25 years old and 40% men. What is different is the socio-economic level. Students in the French Faculty in majority come from modest background. 11% in Arts and Humanities work their way through higher education compared with 4% in engineering for example (Observatoire National de la vie étudiante [National Observatory of student life], 2014).

In the French university the registration fees are 170€ + 90€ per year (Contribution vie étudiante et de campus (CVEC) (student life and campus contribution). In Brazil students are from a more privileged socio-economic background. Per month, each student pays, on average, something around US $ 550 (US dollars). In the French university, the greater part of the students interviewed (78%) are in the first or second year of psychology and their professional project are still considering. For the law students, the personal project is about 80% intending to practice the profession of lawyer; the remainder is divided between taking competitive exams to enter into public legal careers, such as judge, public defender, public prosecutor, police delegate.

2.2. The Rotter Scale (1966).

The Rotter Scale, a famous scale called 'Rotter I/E scale' is a measure of beliefs in control distinguishing internal people from external people. It is composed of 29 items of forced choice (including six filler items); each item proposes an internal and an external response (see examples box 1). The items in this scale concern general beliefs in various fields: politics, social affairs, power, academic success… This questionnaire of general orientation comes within a unidimensional conception of the LOC.

Box 1: example of items in Rotter's questionnaire (1966)

5.a.The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense (internal)
5.b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings (external)

15.a. In my case getting what I want has nothing to do with luck (internal)
15.b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin (external)

2.3. Analysis strategies

In order to validate the various hypotheses enounced in the introductory part of this paper, we used the binomial test (Clopper & Pearson, 1934; Howell, 2007) which is a useful test very often employed when one wants to compare two proportions in order to see if there are some significant differences between them. Binomial tests are available in most software used for statistical purposes. In our case, we used the R software in order to make the computations. The significance of the observed difference between the two proportions is reflected in the p-value of the test. Thus the p-value is a tool for deciding whether to reject the null hypothesis. For typical analysis, the null hypothesis is rejected when $p < .05$ and not rejected when $p > .05$. For more details on the p-value, the reader could consult Wetzels et al. (2011).

3.   Results

-H1: The Brazilian students from the private law faculty will be more internal than those from the public French one.

The score of Brazilians is 938 which represents a percentage of 45.53% of the maximum score that could be attained. Effectively, the maximum possible score of Brazilians could have been 2060 if they had chosen systematically all the answers of internal character. So we compared this percentage to 50% to see if it is significantly different and thus to decide about the internal character of the Brazilians students. The one-tailed binomial test gives a p-value of 2.736×10^{-5}, which confirms that Brazilian students are rather internal.

The score of the French students is 742. The maximum possible score of the French could have been 1495. Thus, the internal score of French students when expressed in percentage becomes 49.63%. The one-tailed binomial

test gives a p-value of 0.398, indicating that this proportion could not be considered significantly different from 50%. Thus, we cannot consider that the French students are more internal.

-H2: In proposition 6 (Box 2), the Brazilian students will be more external (answer a) because they are probably aware that their privileged position will give them necessarily opportunities.

Box 2: Item 6 of Rotter's questionnaire (1966)
6a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader
6b.Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

43.08% of French students and 65.93% of Brazilian students answered by "a" in sentence 6. The proportion of French students is significantly lower than the proportion of Brazilian students according to the one-tailed binomial test (p-value = 0.003741) $[\pi_{FR} < \pi_{BR}]$, thus this hypothesis is validated.

-H3: General hypothesis: the Brazilian students will be more internal concerning the aspects of citizenship and politics.

    H3-1 In proposition 12 (Box 3), the Brazilian students will be more internal (answer a) than the French students.

Box 3: Item 12 of Rotter's questionnaire (1966)
12a. The average citizen can have an influence on government decisions
12b.This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

30.77% of French students and 56.18% of Brazilian students answered by "a" in sentence 12. The proportion of French students is significantly lower than the proportion of Brazilian students according to the one-tailed binomial test (p-value = 0.001519) $[\pi_{FR} < \pi_{BR}]$, thus this hypothesis is validated.

    H3-2 In proposition 17 (Box 4) the Brazilian students will be more internal (answer b) than the French students.

Box 4: Item 17 of Rotter's questionnaire (1966)
17a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
17b.By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.

27.69% of French students and 51.14% of Brazilian students answered by "b" in sentence 17. The proportion of French students is significantly lower than the proportion of Brazilian students according to the one-tailed binomial test (p-value = 0.003012) $[\pi_{FR} < \pi_{BR}]$, thus this hypothesis is validated.

    H3-3 In proposition 22 (Box 5) the Brazilian students will be more internal (answer a) than the French students.

Box 5: Item 22 of Rotter's questionnaire (1966)
22a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption
22b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office

24.62% of French students and 48.86% of Brazilian students answered by "a" in sentence 22. The proportion of French students is significantly lower than the proportion of Brazilian students according to the one-tailed binomial test (p-value = 0.002001) $[\pi_{FR} < \pi_{BR}]$, thus this hypothesis is validated.

    H3-4 In proposition 29 (Box 6) the Brazilian students will be more internal (answer b) than the French students.

Box 6: Item 29 of Rotter's questionnaire (1966)
29a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do

29b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level

40% of French students and 69.66% of Brazilian students answered by "b" in sentence 29. The proportion of French students is significantly lower than the proportion of Brazilian students according to the one-tailed binomial test (p-value = 0.000225), $[\pi_{FR} < \pi_{BR}]$ thus this hypothesis is validated.

H4: In proposition 23 (Box 7), the French students from the public faculty will be more internal (answer b) than the Brazilian students. This hypothesis is linked to their training in social psychology.

Box 7: Item 23 of Rotter's questionnaire (1966)

23a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give
23b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get

58.46% of French students and 88.89% of Brazilian students answered by "b" in sentence 23. The proportion of French students is significantly lower than the proportion of Brazilian students according to the one-tailed binomial test (p-value = 0.0000137), thus this hypothesis is not validated

H5 : In proposition 28 (Box 8), the Brazilian students will be more internal (answer a) than the French students.

Box 8: Item 28 of Rotter's questionnaire (1966)

28a. What happens to me is my own doing
28b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking

64.62% of French students and 73.34% of Brazilian students answered by "a" in sentence 28. The proportion of French students isn't significantly lower than the proportion of Brazilian students according to the one-tailed binomial test (p-value = 0.1615), thus this hypothesis is not validated.

4.   Discussion

Through the "Locus of control" it is possible to express how much a person expects to be able to control the events involving him or her. Individuals with an internal Locus of Control make a link between the positive or negative reinforcements and themselves; those with an external locus of control attribute what happens to them to external factors such as fate, chance etc. Studies on the health locus of control (MHLC) demonstrate that individuals with external locus of control are much less committed to preventive health behavior (Norman, Bennett, Smith & Murphy, 1998). MHLC is considered to be a pertinent construct to study different health behavior among college students (Steptoe & Wardle, 2001). For example Chak and Leung (2004) showed that in a sample of young adults including college students the chance subscale was related to increased use of e-mail and the internal subscale to increased search for data on internet. Works in school contexts have found similar results regarding academic success or dropping out, identifying pupils with an external LOC as being at risk. Gaymard and Tiplica (2017) using Rotter's scale showed the links between personality and conditionality among young male and female drivers students; externality appears to be linked to more conditional behavior. Finally the socioeconomic factor effect identified in several studies leads to believe that groups with access to socioeconomic resources (more privileged backgrounds) would be more internal (Buriel & Riviera, 1980; Rabinowitz, 1978). This study is based on the unidimensional measure of the locus of control (Rotter, 1966); this scale dealing with general themes (politics, power, studies…) seems to be adapted to the publics in this study. The results show that students from privileged socio-economic background (private faculty) are effectively more internal than the French students from a more modest background.

Moreover, considering their law training, the hypothesis according to which Brazilians students would be more internal in the propositions concerning citizenship and politics is equally validated. Training in law prepares for political, social and economic citizenship. Legal education prepares the student to work in various legal careers, such as the activities of judge, prosecutor, public defender, diplomat, among others. The legal professional tends to have an internal conception because he (or she) becomes responsible in the way of structuring the solution to bring to a case that he studies. Therefore, the notion of responsibility is very important because of the impact on the professional activity, the necessary connection with ethical issues, of the issues to be solved with support of a normative framework national or international. The law professional must resolve with a professional responsibility individual problems and those problems that have repercussions in society as a whole, such as issues involving consumer law, environment, issues involving the practice of crimes, ethical issues (Engelmann, Gaymard, & Von Hohendorff, 2018) among many other possibilities in a contemporary society more and more complex. The French students are in psychology; at the bachelor level this teaches the theories and methodologies in the different sub-disciplines of psychology. Unlike the law students, these students are not trained in political or economic aspects. However, the French students in social psychology are trained in psychosocial mechanisms such as those of causal attribution (internal/external) (Heider, 1944) and the norm of internality (Jellison & Green, 1981). According to us this could have been contribute to orienting the responses in certain cases toward internality and in particular in the field linked to studies (for instance proposition 23); but on this proposal Brazilian students also appear more internal.

It is also possible that more targeted career plans and more internships among law students accentuates the internal orientation. The tuition fees and the drastic selection at the entrance in the Brazilian university is adapted to students whose plan is clear whereas the French students are still hesitant about their orientation (especially in the first and second years), as the selection comes only at the end of the third year in psychology (for the Master). In the undergraduate level, law students perform various simulated activities on abstract civil law issues - family law, contracts, inheritance - Criminal law and criminal procedure law - Labor law and procedure - Administrative law and procedure - Law Business. They also carry out so-called internship or real life activities, where they serve the population with low economic potential, are guided by teachers, perform all the steps that go from the part that targets the "Center of Legal Practice", evaluate the case and must take the following decision: can the concrete problem be solved by negotiation or mediation, or is it the filing of a complaint? The students perform all the steps, accompanying the case before the judiciary, participating in the hearing, providing proof of the right or defense of the party who requested this free legal aid service offered by the University. In the undergraduate level, psychology students have few hours of compulsory internships (or none at all in certain universities); it is at the Master level that internships are important. Moreover in the undergraduate level, it is only an observation internship.

Thus it appears that all these factors contribute to explain that the feeling of responsibility is more accentuated for the law students and that they are less external than the students in psychology and this, in spite of the formation of the latter.

As a result of this study it would be interesting to evaluate the health behaviors of Brazilian students and compare with French students (Gaymard & Tiplica, 2016a).

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Research on the Changes and Measures of the Central Government of China in the Governance of Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Regions since the Late 1990s[*]

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Abstract

On the basis of reviewing Hong Kong's sovereignty and Macao's sovereignty returning to China before and after their sovereignty return to China, the article analyzes the changes in the United Front Work in Hong Kong and Macao since the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, and reflected on the success or failure of the United Front Work in Hong Kong and Macao during the post-return period. It discussed the Hong Kong and Macao united front work in the era of comprehensive governance before the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China and before the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, and proposed from the three dimensions of Hong Kong and Macao, national and international. Do a good job in the new era of Hong Kong and Macao's united front work after the convening of the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 2017.

Keywords: New Era, Hong Kong, Macao, One Country and Two Systems, Comprehensive Governance, United Front Work

2019 is the 41st anniversary of China's reform and opening up, and it is also the year of "adult" and "weak crown" in which Hong Kong has returned to 22 years and Macau has returned to 20 years. To sort out and review the changes in the governance thinking of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (hereinafter referred to as "HKSAR") and the Macao Special Administrative Region (hereinafter referred to as the "MSAR) before and after the return of Hong Kong and Macao sovereignty to China, not only helps to deepen the understanding of the social and ecological changes in the HKSAR and the MSAR, but also helps to promote the integration of the HKSAR and the MSAR with the Chinese mainland in the new era.

I. Brief review of related literature
Scholars have been paying attention to Hong Kong and Macao society for a long time. In particular, before and after the sovereignty of Hong Kong and Macao returned to China, scholars' research on Hong Kong and Macao

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

society ushered in a new climax. Scholars from Hong Kong and Macao, scholars from mainland China, or scholars from other countries and regions have shown a strong interest in the social changes after the return of Hong Kong and Macao sovereignty to China.

Hong Kong Museum compiled "Hong Kong Historical Materials Collection", Liu Zesheng "Hong Kong Ancient and Modern", Kim Ying He's "Hong Kong History", Xiao Jianguo's "Hong Kong Ancient History", Zhou Yizhi's "Hong Kong Culture", Yang Qi's "An Introduction to Hong Kong", Liu Yongyong, Hong Kong "Talks" and "History of Hong Kong", Yu Shengwu and other editors "Hong Kong in the 19th Century" and "Hong Kong in the 20th Century", Deng Kaijun and other editors "History of Modern Relations between Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao", edited by Yao Xiwei, "Going to Hong Kong", Hou Shusen Edited "A Century of Vicissitudes - The Past, Present and Future of Hong Kong" and Li Wei's "Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao History" and so on. The Macao Cultural Affairs Department has edited and published a series of books including the "Macau Cultural Series", "Documents and Review Series" and published more than 100 books. Since its establishment in 1993, the Macao Foundation has also edited and published a series of large-scale books such as "Macau Series", "Macau Forum", "New Macao Forum" and "Macau Translation Series" and "Macau Overview" and "Macau". More than 200 kinds of large-scale books such as Encyclopedia. In summary, the main focus is on the following aspects:

1. Political system and political reform research. Chen Lijun (2013) used Marx historical materialism and western political theory, this paper makes an in-depth analysis of the relationship between Hong Kong political parties and the electoral system. Yan Xiaojun (2016) begins with the failure of the 2014 "Occupy Central Movement" and the 2015 Hong Kong Chief Executive's General Election System to analyze the political, social, psychological and historical aspects of Hong Kong's political dilemma. Lau Siu-kai (2016a) analyzes the attitude of the Hong Kong people to political leaders and explores the low trust of the people and the low level of political participation. Through the historical analysis of Hong Kong's politics, society and culture, he demonstrates its social characteristics and proposes more realistic demands and suggestions for Hong Kong's political reform (Lau Siu-kai, 2016b).

2. "One country, two systems" and constitutional studies. Oliveira & Cardinal (2009) discussed the relevant public law issues concerning the implementation of "one country, two systems" in Macao. Warren (2018) investigated the social and political conflicts that occurred after Hong Kong's return to China, and discussed the basic issues in the design of the "One Country, Two Systems" model. Cai Yongjun (2016) analyze on the practice of "one country, two systems" in Macao. Zhang Dinghuai(2018) has written 93 reviews on Hong Kong's political issues, including 23 legislative issues in Hong Kong, the central interpretation of the law, the central white-to-Hong Kong white paper, the "Occupy Central" incident, and the general election of the Chief Executive. Song Xiaozhuang (2017) discussed the relationship between BLHKSAR and "One Country, Two Systems". In addition, Qi Pengfei (2016) and Wang Shuo (2016) have also discussed the issue of "one country, two systems" and China's restoration of Hong Kong sovereignty and Macao sovereignty.

3. Social movement and social governance research. Li Daoxiang and other editors (2002) Through an examination of the social, political, economic, and cultural aspects of Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, as well as an analysis of the social status, social psychology, and ideological concepts of people from all walks of life, they reveal their "peaceful reunification, one country, two systems". The attitude that should be held theoretically explains the basic ideas and ideas for carrying out overseas united front work. Wang Yuzhe (2015) analyzed of factors affecting the stable development of Hong Kong such as housing, property prices, education, medical care, and society. Xia Xunxiang (2017) taking the case of a resident movement in the urban renewal process of Hong Kong as a case, systematically expounding the premise and principle of the power of the powerless, the opportunities and limitations of the power growth of the powerless, the social drama, organizational mechanism and network mechanism of power growth And the effective action mechanism and approach, as well as the political ecology of "opposing cooperation" with its state power without violence. Chen Yu and others (2017) has conducted in-depth research on the middle class in Macao and its participation in

social governance. In the form of interviews, Hong Jinxi and other editors (2017) expressed the attitude and views of Hong Kong youth on Hong Kong's return to the past 20 years.

4. High degree of autonomy and comprehensive governance research. Yan Anlin and other researches on the practice and innovation of the theory of "one country, two systems" (2018) basing on the "one country, two systems" theory in Hong Kong and Macao and the reference to the settlement of the Taiwan issue - based on the perspective of the modernization of the national governance system, the author makes an innovative study on the theory and practice of "one country, two systems" and considers "one country, two systems" in Hong Kong and Macao. The implementation should be gradually transformed from the theory of national unity to the theory of state governance. After the return of Hong Kong and Macao, the issue of national unity and sovereignty is basically solved, and more problems are faced with governance. "The Hong Kong and Macao Basic Law Implementation Review (Volume 2016)" edited by Zouping (2018) It is an anthology that specifically reviews the implementation of the Hong Kong and Macao Basic Law. It reflects the academic evaluation of the important theoretical and practical issues in the implementation of the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China (hereinafter referred to as the "BLHKSAR") and the Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China (hereinafter referred to as the "BLMSAR") in the Mainland, Hong Kong and Macao.

In general, scholars have made in-depth issues on Hong Kong's sovereignty and the return of China's political system and political reform, "one country, two systems" and its practice in Hong Kong and Macao, as well as social movements and social governance. The research has also achieved relatively fruitful results. However, these studies involve that the central government of China has little to do with the governance of Hong Kong and Macao, especially the comprehensive governance. In particular, the central government of the new era proposed by the 19th National Congress of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. There has been no discussion on the new ideas and new initiatives for the comprehensive governance of the HKSAR and the MSAR.

II. Review and Reflection on the Governance of the HKSAR and the MSAR by the Central Government of China in the Post-Return Period

Since the return of Hong Kong and Macao sovereignty to China in the late 1990s, "One Country, Two Systems" has taken the lead in practice in Hong Kong and Macao, and has achieved many remarkable achievements, but there are also some problems worthy of further consideration.

1. A brief review of the central government's governance work in HKSAR and M SAR before and after Hong Kong's sovereignty and Macao sovereignty return to China

After the transition period of the HKSAR and the MSAR, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central People's Government (the "State Council") have focused on the following aspects of "one country, two systems" for the smooth return and smooth transition of Hong Kong and Macao sovereignty:

(1) Actively carry out the public opinion spread of the "one country, two systems" strategic concept. According to China's national conditions and the reality of Hong Kong and Macao, the central leaders put forward the strategic concept of "one country, two systems" and actively carried out international propaganda and domestic propaganda, so that the concept of "one country, two systems" is deeply rooted in the hearts of the people. When meeting with foreign political figures, journalists, scientists and other foreign guests, Comrade Deng Xiaoping generally talked about the strategic concept of "one country, two systems" and let foreign guests understand "one country, two systems." At the same time, through the relevant reports of Xinhua News Agency, Hong Kong Ta Kung Pao and other media organizations, it has created a good public opinion atmosphere for the domestic people and Hong Kong and Macao citizens to understand "one country, two systems."

(2) The signing of the "Sino-British Joint Declaration" and the "Sino-Portuguese Joint Statement" laid the foundation for a smooth transition and smooth return of Hong Kong and Macao. On December 19, 1984, the "Declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on the Hong Kong Issue" (the "Sino-British Joint Declaration") was signed and the Chinese and British sides exchanged on May 27, 1985. The contract came into effect and Hong Kong officially entered the transition period. On April 13, 1987, the "Joint Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Portugal on the Macao Issue" (the "Sino-Portuguese Joint Statement") and the declaration of the exchange of letters of approval on January 15, 1988 came into effect. Macao Formally entered the transition period. The negotiation and signing of the "Sino-British Joint Declaration" and the "Sino-Portuguese Joint Statement" are external international political and diplomatic issues. Internally, they are also the issue of united front work for the people and the public. They have created a contradiction between countries for dealing with similar contradictions. An example that solves the legacy of a century of history. "Hong Kong and Macao have successfully returned to the motherland and provided the international community with a successful example of peacefully resolving historical issues and disputes between countries"(Hu Jintao, 2016:375).

(3) Formulating the BLHKSAR and the BLMSAR. Both BLHKSAR and BLMSAR are based on the "Chinese People's Congress". The adoption of the Constitution of the Republic is a constitutional document. "The Basic Law is a basic law enacted in accordance with the Constitution. It stipulates the systems and policies implemented in the Special Administrative Region. It is the legalization and institutionalization of the "one country, two systems" policy, and provides legal protection for the practice of "one country, two systems" in the special administrative region." (Publicity Department, CCCPC, 2018:279) The BLHKSAR, which was promulgated on April 4, 1990 and came into effect on July 1, 1997, includes the preamble, nineteen chapters and sixty-six and three annexes, as well as the regional flag and regional emblem of the HKSAR. The BLMSAR, which was promulgated on March 31, 1993 and came into effect on December 20, 1999, includes the preamble, nine chapters and 145 articles, and three annexes, as well as the regional flag and regional emblem of the MSAR and so on. The formulation and implementation of the BLHKSAR and the BLMSAR have made the great strategic concept of "one country, two systems" a practice in Hong Kong and Macao.

(4) Through the leaders of the Central Committee to attend the HKSAR and the MSAR to return to the Chinese celebrations, meet with Hong Kong and Macao chief executives and a series of measures conducive to the development of Hong Kong and Macao, care and help Hong Kong and Macao to flourish. At that time, Jiang Zemin, Hu Jintao, Xi Jinping, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Zhang Kejiang, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and Li Keqiang, Premier of the State Council, have all been to Hong Kong or Macao to participate in Hong Kong activities, or to meet with the HKSAR in Beijing. Chief Executive or Chief Executive of the MSAR. "The central government's measures, policies and measures for Hong Kong and Macao will always adhere to the principles of maintaining Hong Kong and Macao's long-term prosperity and stability, helping to enhance the well-being of all citizens in Hong Kong and Macao, and promoting the common development of Hong Kong, Macao and the country. The great motherland has always been a strong backing for the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao" (Hu Jintao, 2016:291). "In recent years, the mainland and Hong Kong and Macao have continuously expanded and upgraded economic and trade cooperation under the CEPA framework. The financial market interconnection mechanism of 'Shanghai-Hong Kong Stock Connect', 'Shenzhen-Hong Kong Stock' and 'Bond Pass' has been opened in an orderly manner. The RMB business has developed in an all-round way, the scope of Macao's sea area has been clarified, and the infrastructure projects such as the Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macao Bridge and the Guangzhou-Shenzhen High-speed Railway have been accelerated. The construction of the 'Belt and Road' and the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area have provided new major opportunities for Hong Kong and Macao development" (Publicity Department, CCCPC, 2018:281). Practice has proved that the CPC Central Committee and the State Council are very concerned and actively helping the prosperity, stability and development of the HKSAR and the MSAR.

Before and after Hong Kong's sovereignty returned to China, some Hong Kong citizens were worried or misunderstood about Hong Kong's sovereignty returning to China. "In the early days of Hong Kong's reunification, there was a wave of immigration in Hong Kong. I thought that under this circumstance, Hong Kong's economy would have a lot of turmoil, but it did not. Since Hong Kong's return to China, Hong Kong's economy can rely on the mountain of the motherland. Therefore, Hong Kong's economy has always been a good one.... I originally thought that after the reunification, the People's Liberation Army will be stationed in Hong Kong, and Hong Kong will lose a lot of freedom. But in the end, it was found that the central government is more restrained.... Hong Kong people themselves are horrified first (fear first), they scared themselves and then said that Hong Kong people were under pressure and thus caused misunderstanding. In the 20 years since the reunification, the central government has given Hong Kong a lot of freedom to make its own decisions" (Yang Jiexin, 2017:146). "The tide of immigration before the reunification is because they fear the unknown future, but today, 20 years after the reunification, the smog gradually dissipated, and more people choose to return to Hong Kong - their hometown, which just proves that Hong Kong is a prosperous, stable, A happy city" (Shi Junjie,2017:199-200). At the same time, Hong Kong and Macao have been actively participating in the country's reform, opening up, and modernization, making special contributions to the country's economic development and opening up.

2. Changes in the Governance of the HKSAR and the MSAR since the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of China

The fate of the HKSAR, the MSAR and the Chinese mainland is always closely linked. From the fifteenth congress of the Communist Party of China to the sixteenth congress, it is the three or five years since the HKSAR and the MSAR have just returned to China to ensure the stable development, prosperity and national territory and sovereignty of the HKSAR and the MSAR. Safety was the central task of governance at the time. The governance thoughts of this period are still dominated by the above-mentioned united front, and resolutely implement the principle of "one country, two systems", "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong", "Macao people governing Macao" and "a high degree of autonomy", and support the development of Hong Kong and Macao from the economic and other aspects. The HKSAR and the MSAR have weathered the Asian financial crisis.

From the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of China to the 17th Congress, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council have not changed their policy on the governance of the HKSAR and the MSAR. They continue to implement "one country, two systems" and the policy of "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" , " "Macau people governing Macau" and "a high degree of autonomy". In response to the impact of the atypical pneumonia epidemic, the central government introduced the Hong Kong and Macao Passport system for free travel in Hong Kong and Macao according to the social reality of the HKSAR and the MSAR. The Mainland and the HKSAR and the MSAR Government respectively signed the Mainland and Hong Kong and Macao. Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement (hereinafter referred to as "CEPA"), in 2004, 2005 and 2006, respectively signed "Supplemental Agreement", "Supplemental Agreement II" and "Supplemental Agreement III" for the HKSAR and the MSAR. The prosperity and stability laid the foundation for the economy. Therefore, Comrade Hu Jintao pointed out in the report of the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of China that "Hong Kong and Macao remain prosperous and stable, and their economic and trade relations with the mainland are closer." When Comrade Hu Jintao returned to China on the 10th anniversary, Comrade Hu Jintao published "four in Macao." "All support" speech, "without the intervention of Macao's sovereignty to China's fifth anniversary, "do not interfere with the affairs of the special administrative region, the social system remains unchanged, the economic system remains unchanged, the lifestyle remains unchanged, and the cultural traditions and characteristics remain unchanged." Compared with the speech of the four noes, it highlights the central government's concern and support for the development of the HKSAR and the MSAR.

From the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of China to the 18th Congress, the HKSAR and the MSAR have also been affected by the global financial crisis. However, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council have adopted but not changed the thinking and work guidelines for the HKSAR

and the MSAR. On December 20, 2012, Comrade Xi Jinping met with the Chief Executive of the HKSAR, Leung Chun-ying, and the Chief Executive of the MSAR, Chui SaiOn. He said: "The central government's policy of implementing "one country, two systems" and strictly following the Basic Law will not change; supporting the Chief Executive and the Special Administrative Region Government. The determination to govern and perform duties according to law will not change; the policies that support the development of the economy, improve people's livelihood, promote democracy, and promote harmony in the two special administrative regions of Hong Kong and Macao will not change. The policy put forward by the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China on Hong Kong and Macao's work is in line with the central government's long-term policy toward Hong Kong and Macao. The key is to comprehensively and accurately understand and implement the "one country, two systems" policy and earnestly respect and uphold the authority of the Basic Law" (Xi Jinping,2018:225-226).

Since the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of China, the new Central Leadership Group with Xi Jinping as General Secretary has been loyal to the compatriots of the HKSAR and the MSAR, and has organically integrated the practice of "one country, two systems" into the grand vision of realizing the great Chinese rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. And in the overall goal of comprehensively promoting the rule of law, the emphasis is on ensuring the practice of "one country, two systems" in accordance with the law.

3. Reflections on the Governance of the HKSAR and the MSAR by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council during Post-return period

(1) The political design of the "quick-frozen" return is insufficient to estimate the "return of the human heart" in Hong Kong and Macao.

"One country, two systems" was originally a strategic concept proposed by the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese state leaders to resolve the issue of Taiwan's reunification. On October 8, 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping met with Japanese literary critic Jiang Tengyu and said: "If we realize the reunification of the motherland, our policy in Taiwan will be handled according to the reality of Taiwan" (China Peaceful Reunification Promotion Association,2011:37-42). On November 14, 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping and Myanmar President Wu Naiwen said: "When solving the Taiwan issue, we will respect the reality of Taiwan. For example, some systems in Taiwan cannot move, and the lifestyle there can be not move, but be unified" (Zhang Qizhi and Yang Xiabcai ed.,2001: 268). At the end of September 1981, the then Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Ye Jianying said in a speech to the Xinhua News Agency: "After the reunification of the country, Taiwan can serve as a special administrative region, enjoy a high degree of autonomy, and retain the army... Taiwan The current social and economic systems are unchanged, the way of life is unchanged, and the economic and cultural relations with foreign countries remain unchanged. Private property, housing, land, business ownership, legal inheritance rights and foreign investment are not infringed"(Ye Jianying,1996:564). In January 1982, Comrade Deng Xiaoping further emphasized: "One country, two systems, two systems are allowed. They should not destroy the mainland system, and we should not destroy his system" (Zhang Xueren,2002:450).

On December 4, 1982, Article 31 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted at the Fifth Session of the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, specifically stated that "the State may establish special administrative regions when necessary. The system implemented in the Special Administrative Region shall be subject to specific circumstances. By the National People's Congress, by law." On June 26,1983, when Comrade Deng Xiaoping met with Yang Liyu, a professor of Chinese-American politics, he reiterated: "After the reunification of the motherland, the Taiwan Special Administrative Region can have its own independence and can implement a different system from the mainland. Judicial independence, the final adjudication power does not have to Beijing. Taiwan can also have its own army, but it cannot constitute a threat to the mainland. The mainland does not send people to Taiwan, not only the army does not go, the administrative staff can't go. Taiwan's party, government, military and other systems, are all managed by Taiwan itself. The

central government will also reserve a quota for Taiwan" (Deng Xiaoping, 1993:30). So far, China has formed a principled systematic expression of the basic strategy of resolving territorial issues and unifying historical issues with the concept of "one country, two systems."

On June 22, 1984, Comrade Deng Xiaoping explained the possibility of the "one country, two systems" concept first used in the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty: "We have said many times that after the Chinese government resumed its sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997, Hong Kong The current social and economic system remains unchanged, the law remains basically unchanged, the way of life remains unchanged, the status of Hong Kong's free port and the status of international trade and financial centers remain unchanged. Hong Kong can continue to maintain and develop economic relations with other countries and regions. I have also said many times that Beijing does not send cadres to the HKSAR government except for sending troops. This will not change. We send troops to safeguard the security of the country, not to interfere in the internal affairs of Hong Kong. We are against Hong Kong. The policy has remained unchanged for 50 years. We say that this is a count" (Deng Xiaoping, 1993:58). The signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration on December 19, 1984 and the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration on April 13, 1987 is a product of the reform and opening up of the Chinese leaders in the complicated situation of the United States and the Soviet Union in the context of the complicated situation. "In the beginning, the Chinese government's vision of the future political operation of Hong Kong under the framework of 'one country, two systems' is a 'quick-frozen' return, that is, the social, economic, legal and political systems existing in Hong Kong at the midnight of June 30, 1997 are basically not. Received from the ground, kept largely unchanged, and then thawed and changed in response to changes in the times" (Yan Xiaojun,2016:34). This kind of "quick-frozen" treatment will undoubtedly help the Chinese government at that time to maintain social stability and continuity before and after the return of Hong Kong and Macao. However, because the "quick-frozen" return "exceeds its original appearance as a more principled, rough, "cross-river" political design, it has been intentionally or unintentionally considered by many Hong Kong residents. The specific commitment of central power to oneself and the established model of Hong Kong's return" (Yan Xiaojun, 2016:34).

Before Hong Kong's sovereignty and Macao's sovereignty have yet to return to China, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Central Government are mainly doing a good job in the transitional period and the post-transition period for Hong Kong and Macao. Among them, the united front work is mainly to do the work of people, especially for the work of the people. It now appears that the return of the "quick-frozen" had a positive effect on maintaining the political stability and continuity of the HKSAR and the MSAR in the early days of the reunification. "It is conducive to ensuring the stability of the people during the reunification period, but it is not conducive to the long-term governance of Hong Kong" (Yan Xiaojun, 2016:37). Since the return of "quick-frozen" mainly focuses on the "unchanged" aspect, and the "change" aspect is not enough attention, it leaves some regrets in the work of united front. "This has also caused some Hong Kong citizens to have a long-term deviation from the understanding and expectation of 'one country, two systems', and the original intention of Beijing has gradually drifted away. The stakeholders in the return process of Hong Kong have gradually formed since the 1980s. The implementation of the "one country, two systems" concept gap has laid the groundwork for today's political difficulties in Hong Kong" (Yan Xiaojun,2016:35). In fact, some Hong Kong people's "return of the human heart" did not return with the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty. In the relatively loose political trust in the early days of the reunification, it fostered Hong Kong's "local consciousness" and even changed into the social context in "love to the British".

Based on the return of Hong Kong, the central government will naturally regress the collective psychology and political identity of the Chinese community, and adjust the working mechanism of the United Front before Hong Kong's sovereignty returns to China. "After the return of Hong Kong, the central government almost completely withdrew the hidden front forces stationed in Hong Kong during the British Hong Kong period to Beijing. The reason is that after the reunification, the Hong Kong people are all self-employed. The SAR regime is completely reassured by the people of Hong Kong and applies to the enemy-occupied areas. The hidden work has completely lost its original meaning, and there is no need for existence. The former Xinhua News Agency

Hong Kong Branch, which has been stationed in Hong Kong for a long time, also plans to carry out the reduction of personnel and establishment. The relevant departments of the central government have even seriously considered the possibility of completely withdrawing it. And different programs" (Yan Xiaojun,2016:37). However, in 2003, after the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China, the Hong Kong people's anti-SAR government highlighted the "National Security Clauses" legislation of Article 23 of the Basic Law, and later the anti-national education movement, the anti-high-speed rail movement, and the "occupation of Central" social movements. The issue of "returning people's heart" in Hong Kong, the deep-seated problems of Hong Kong's governance and the ability of Hong Kong people to administer Hong Kong have not been effectively resolved, causing doubts from the central government, and political issues such as comprehensive governance have been put on the HKSAR and the MSAR. The agenda of the SAR governance work.

(2) Before and after Hong Kong's sovereignty and Macao's sovereignty return to China, united front work of CPC Central Committee and the State Council focus on the upper political elites and business people, but not enough attention to other middle class and youth in Hong Kong and Macao.

Before and after the return of Hong Kong sovereignty and Macao sovereignty to China and the beginning of the reunification, the Central Government hopes that Hong Kong and Macao will maintain stability, development and prosperity under the political system of "one country, two systems." The SAR government management team that loves Hong Kong and loves Hong Kong and patriotism is the central government. Consider important issues. The Chief Executive of the HKSAR and the MSAR is an important political figure in the governance of Hong Kong and Macao under the political design of "one country, two systems". The candidates have an important influence on the effectiveness of the implementation of "one country, two systems" in Hong Kong and Macao.

From 1997 to 2017, four SAR Chief Executives have governed Hong Kong under the leadership and support of the Central Government. Among them, Hong Kong's first Chief Executive, Mr Tung Chee-hwa, came from the business sector, the second Hong Kong Chief Executive, Mr Donald Tsang, and the fourth Hong Kong Chief Executive. Lin Zhengyue is from the civil service system, and the third Hong Kong Chief Executive, Leung Chun-ying, is from the professional class.

Since 1999, the political ecology of the MSAR has been relatively stable, resulting in the re-election of four directors. Among them, the first Chief Executive of the MSAR, Mr. Edmund Ho, comes from the business and industry. His business covers accounting, finance, insurance, transportation, media, technology, land development and public utilities. On September 20, 2004, he succeeded the second in the MSAR. The Chief Executive; the third Chief Executive of the MSAR, Mr. Chui SaiOn, is from the civil service system born in the medical profession. On September 17, 2014, he succeeded the fourth Chief Executive of the MSAR.

It should be said that "Hong Kong's return to the motherland for 20 years, Hong Kong's governance talent system is gradually being established and improved. Hong Kong's current governance talents mainly come from the civil service system of the SAR government, as well as the recommendation of political parties, in addition to some scholars and think tanks. Members of the group. In the future, I hope that the Chief Executive and her government will invest more in promoting the construction of think tanks. ... I believe that the future administration of the entire government needs to have a greater impetus to play the positive role of think tanks" (Hong Jinxuan, 2017:3). Judging from the candidates for the Chief Executive of the HKSAR and the MSAR, the first chief executives came from the business and industry sectors, and then gradually transitioned to professionals and the civil service system. This reflects to some extent the central government's return to Hong Kong and Macao's sovereignty in the early days of China. The consideration of smooth transition, prosperity and stability also shows that the central government has higher expectations for the professional governance of the HKSAR and the MSAR and the good governance of the government.

For the middle class and young people in Hong Kong and Macao, although Hong Kong and Macao sovereignty have also received attention before and after their return to China, they are not as strong as the upper political elites and business people in the HKSAR and the MSAR. The middle class in the Hong Kong and Macao is more complex. This complexity is not only reflected in their differences in source and composition, but also in their social actions. Their commonality lies in the relative "rich", relatively "free", relatively "right" and high ideology and ideal ambition (Yang Liao, Li Meng and Qiang Zhong, 2018). The self-identification of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao, the economic income and the status of housing, are the main factors affecting the self-identity of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao, but the self-identity of the middle class in Hong Kong is also affected by factors such as education and occupation. And after controlling the income level, "Discovering the impact of education, occupation and other factors on the middle class identity of Macao residents is not significant. But the impact of housing ownership on the middle class identity of Macao residents is statistically significant. In general, the mainstream opinion believes that there is no Housing is hardly called the middle class" (Chen Xin and Xiao zhiwei, 2017:61).

Although the identity of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao is different, they have not received enough attention before and after the return of Hong Kong sovereignty and Macao sovereignty to China. As a result, the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao sometimes expressed their aspirations through demonstrations. "It is worth noting that in recent years, the participants in the social movement have not been confined to the grassroots and marginalized groups. Civil servants and teachers of the middle class have also expressed their appeal through demonstrations" (Cai Yongjun, 2016:082). "It is different from the dissatisfaction of grassroots workers in the disproportionate situation of the rich and the poor due to the rapid social changes brought about by economic development. Under the circumstances that the social awareness and civic quality of Macao citizens have improved, some are in the upper middle class. People also express their desire for reform through social collective behavior, reflecting the deformity and unfairness of the society in which they are present. Their appeals and interests are not only directed at their respective groups, but also represent cross-border Macao. Overall interest" (Cai Yongjun, 2016:266). Expressing appeals through demonstrations seems to have become part of the social life of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macau.

(3) Before and after the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty and Macao sovereignty to China and the beginning of the reunification, the central government's work on the united front of Hong Kong and Macao is relatively simple, and the effectiveness of diversified and comprehensive Hong Kong and Macao governance needs to be improved.

Before and after the reunification and the beginning of the reunification, the united front work style of the HKSAR and the MSAR is still "going the upper line", paying attention to the election and construction of the special district chief executive and its management team, as well as the leaders of Hong Kong and Macao business and industry, giving Hong Kong or Macao special The qualifications of deputies or CPPCC members at all levels in the administrative region are very beneficial and necessary for ensuring the smooth return of Hong Kong's sovereignty and sovereignty over Macao and maintaining the prosperity and development of Hong Kong and Macao's sovereignty after the return of sovereignty. Therefore, the politics and economy of Hong Kong and Macao are therefore necessary. More publicity in other areas. At the same time, we are more concerned about the livelihood issues of the lower class in Hong Kong and Macao.

However, before and after the reunification of Hong Kong and Macao, and in the early days of the reunification, the united front work on Hong Kong and Macao cultural and education, the middle class and young students was relatively weak. "After the return of Hong Kong, Hong Kong's education is not only lacking the Chinese elements, but it has not really included the world's diversified situation. If Hong Kong youths lose the roots of Chinese history and culture, their next generation is more likely to face cultural crisis, and they are emotionally unclear. Whether you are Chinese" (Kong Yongle, 2017:62). "The integration of the Mainland and Hong Kong is a gradual process. Because of the institutional differences between the Mainland and Hong Kong, there is friction in the inevitable, and naturally it takes time to get in. The people of the Mainland and the people of Hong

Kong need to understand each other and tolerate each other so that they can complement each other and reciprocate. Mutual benefit. The Mainland and Hong Kong signed the "Mainland and Hong Kong Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement" to promote economic integration between the Mainland and Hong Kong. Education and cultural exchanges between the Mainland and Hong Kong have also promoted social integration" (Lu Zhenyuan, 2017:65). "The reason for some conflicts in Hong Kong in recent years is that our generation has experienced the governance of the British Hong Kong Government, and the feelings of Chinese culture are not deep enough. I think it is necessary to strengthen the next generation of national education. The main purpose is to let them know that they are also Chinese. Hong Kong should also follow the direction of the Mainland and educate more about cultural development. In addition, I believe that the population of Hong Kong is increasing and the SAR Government must start to study the population policy" (Liang Haohong,2017:86-87).

Some young people in Hong Kong "have low recognition of the country. But when asked what they are 'democracy' and 'freedom' 'nationalism', many people are only half-baked. Now under the influence of social atmosphere, some young people in Hong Kong The 'local' consciousness is more important than the 'national' concept, and even gradually opposes the two. This is something I don't want to see.... I think the HKSAR government should strengthen national education, be stunned, and cultivate a new generation of national identity. Feelings and correct values" (Pan Junen, 2017:202). "There are many young people who are motivated in Hong Kong. Only young people who see the lack of society only make up a small part. Communication can help solve problems, but it does not apply a separate attitude. Hong Kong youth care about the country, care about Hong Kong, and work harder. The society should put forward constructive opinions, but it should not be overly idealized and put forward too many unrealistic opinions" (Jia Chao, 2017:175). "In today's Hong Kong, social contradictions are serious. After the reunification, especially in recent years, young people have become concerned about current affairs, but also because of this, they are easy to become political tools. ......Some young people's mentality and behavior are even too Extreme and exclusive. This has led to some disputes. I hope that the mainland and Hong Kong people can understand each other's ideas and appreciate each other's culture" (Yang Jiexin, 2017:146). The voices of these respondents reflect to some extent the current situation of Hong Kong and Macao youth and the turn of the United Front work.

It is generally believed that the middle class is the middle part of a spindle-shaped or olive-shaped society and an important force for social stability. However, the middle class is complex in composition, active in thinking, and diversified in thinking. It is also difficult to "crowd". The traditional "going up the upper line" of the united front work is often not very effective. "Before the reunification of Hong Kong, Hong Kong society was close to Western society and had freedom of speech and freedom of entry and exit. By 1997, when Hong Kong returned to the motherland, some Hong Kong people worried about the prospects of Hong Kong and worried about whether Hong Kong could remain unchanged for 50 years after the reunification. I think After the reunification, Hong Kong still has freedom and democracy, freedom of entry and exit, freedom of assembly and procession, etc. I hope that the new HKSAR Government will be able to get along with the political parties and listen to the views of the public so that the society can progress" (Shao Zhanchao, 2017:106). "Hong Kong's return to the motherland is an unchangeable fact. However, the integration of the mainland and Hong Kong cannot be achieved in a moment. The culture, politics and economy of the Mainland and Hong Kong are different. However, with the economic take-off of the Mainland, the Mainland and The difference between Hong Kong is gradually getting closer. It takes time to integrate the mainland with Hong Kong, and 50 years is a suitable time" (Shao Zhanchao, 2017:106-107).

"Hong Kong's return is an inevitable fact. It is not something that anyone can change. Hong Kong people must accept the return of this indisputable fact. I personally feel that the social atmosphere is not much different in the years before and after the reunification. Only in recent years, some social disputes have begun to emerge. A few Hong Kong people feel that the central government has been strengthening its control over Hong Kong in recent years, which makes them feel uncomfortable. Others believe that the mainland relied on Hong Kong to contact the international community in the 20th century. However, in recent years, other cities in the Mainland have developed rapidly and Hong Kong's status has declined. Uncomfortable, naturally leads to some contradictions"

(Chen Jianmin, 2017:109). In addition, because "Hong Kong's property prices are high, and inflation is far faster than wages, professionals or people who have family support can afford it, but the general public is difficult to get on the bus.... So I very much expect In the future, the HKSAR Government will launch a preferential policy on home ownership for Hong Kong people, which will make it easier for more people to 'go upstairs'."(Zhong Mingxin, 2017:187) During the Hong Kong-British period, there was a great problem of racial discrimination in Hong Kong. After the reunification of Hong Kong, the SAR Government introduced many policies to help and care for minorities. For example, in the medical field, public hospitals provide translation services to ethnic minorities in need. Let them get the best treatment" (Ali Furhad, 2017:113). Professionals are an important source of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao. They come from all walks of life. The differences in politics, economy, values and ideas are large. It is difficult for traditional single political preferences to "crowd" them.

The results of the survey found that "in the past, the dissatisfaction with the SAR government was mainly concentrated on low-income groups. They felt that their livelihood was hindered and their quality of life was poor. They believed that the SAR government did not provide sufficient assistance to them. But in today's society, dissatisfaction has extended to some middle class. Family. On the one hand, I think the problem is that social expectations have not been properly channeled. On the other hand, although Hong Kong has reached full employment, what young people want is a promising cause, not a mere A job opportunity" (Chen Zhimin, 2017:115). "In addition to the emphasis on the financial and financial industries, Hong Kong people are less likely to make a living in other industries" (Yang Jiexin,2017:145). This shows that the united front work of the middle class and youth of Hong Kong and Macao still has a long way to go.

In general, the united front work before and after the reunification of Hong Kong and Macao and the early days of the reunification is a "quick-frozen" political united front, but the "return of the human heart" in Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Regions is underestimated; political united front and economic united front in Hong Kong, Macao has achieved remarkable results before and after the reunification and early return of the country, but it has not paid enough attention to other middle class and youth in Hong Kong and Macao. In addition, before and after Hong Kong's sovereignty, Macao's sovereignty return to China and the early days of the return, Hong Kong and Macao's united front work style is relatively simple, "upper line" political preferences and economic support, but cultural united front, education united front, science and technology united front and other aspects of diversification, all The effectiveness of the Hong Kong and Macao united front work has not yet fully manifested. In other words, the pattern and system of the "great united front" in Hong Kong and Macao needs to be established and continuously improved.

III. Full Governance of the Central Government's Governance Thoughts on the HKSAR and the MSAR

Practice has shown that supporting the integration of the HKSAR and the MSAR into the overall situation of national development is an inevitable requirement for the "one country, two systems" advantage and the long-term prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao. Before the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of China and before the 19th Congress, the United Front Work of the HKSAR and the MSAR entered the era of comprehensive governance. Comprehensive governance is a strategic choice made by the central government based on the "one country, two systems" and the development of Hong Kong and Macao's sovereignty. It is the management of "supervision" from sovereignty, territorial and security in the early days of Hong Kong and Macao's return to sovereignty, power, and Changes in the overall supervision and guidance of the territorial, security, political, economic, and social sectors.

1. Why should the Central Committee conduct comprehensive governance of the HKSAR and the MSAR?

(1) Comprehensive governance is a constitutional manifestation and internal requirement that is consistent with sovereignty and power.

As early as during the negotiations between the Chinese and British leaders on the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China, Comrade Deng Xiaoping and others repeatedly emphasized the principle of the consistency of sovereignty and power, and resolutely opposed the British plan of "sovereignty" for "governance." According to the strategic framework of "one country, two systems", "one country" and "two systems" cannot be separated, but are internally consistent. "One country" emphasizes sovereignty and is the basis and precondition of the "two systems". The "two systems" can only be implemented under the premise of "one country"; the "two systems" are the heights given by the central government to the HKSAR and the MSAR. The "energy" of autonomy cannot leave "one country" to talk about "two systems", and it is impossible to talk about "one country" on the basis and premise of "two systems" in the end, the central government's governance empowerment cannot be taken for granted. Nor can the NPC and the central government regard the legal and political requirements for strengthening and consolidating the sovereignty, territory and national defense of Hong Kong and Macao as "interference" of the state's high degree of autonomy in Hong Kong and Macao. After all, the HKSAR and the MSAR only enjoy the "high degree of autonomy" given by the state, not full autonomy. In other words, the state not only enjoys sovereignty over the HKSAR and the MSAR, but also enjoys the power of governance. The National People's Congress and the Central Government represent the state in exercising sovereignty and power over the HKSAR and the MSAR. The BLHKSAR and the BLMSAR, which was formulated in accordance with the Constitution of China, embodies the principle that national sovereignty and local governance are consistent. The HKSAR and the MSAR must be unconditionally implemented.

In the early days of Hong Kong and Macao's sovereignty returning to China, the central government fully trusted Hong Kong's head and the MSAR government to give it a high degree of autonomy under the premise of ensuring sovereignty over territorial, sovereignty, national defense, and foreign affairs. The National People's Congress and the central government of the HKSAR, The "rule of power" in the administration of the MSAR government has not been excessively declared and emphasized, but through important national celebrations attended by the leaders of the HKSAR and the MSAR, as well as listening to the annual report of the Chief Executive of the HKSAR and the MSAR. The way of opinion or suggestion reflects the supervision of the "rule of power" in the HKSAR and the MSAR. This has played a positive role in the social stability and stable development of Hong Kong and Macao's sovereignty after returning to China, but at the same time it has also buried the hidden dangers of the central government's "governance" in the HKSAR and the MSAR. "In recent years, some people in Hong Kong have advocated that Hong Kong has the so-called 'intrinsic power' and 'autonomy power', denying or distorting the central government's control over Hong Kong" (Publicity Department, CCCPC, 2018:277). This is completely wrong and needs to be vigilant.

In order to promote the long-term prosperity and stability of the HKSAR and the MSAR, when the Hong Kong and Macao countries encounter the Asian financial crisis and the SARS and other development difficulties, the central government will issue the Mainland and the HKSAR and the MSAR on the establishment of closer economic and trade relations, Mainland residents' Hong Kong and Macao free travel policies, and the five judges of the HKSAR Court of Final Appeal in 1999 to consider the collective resignation to protest the first interpretation of the "Right of Home Rights" of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, 2001 HKSAR Court of Final Appeal The "Zhuang Fengyuan case" rule was inconsistent with the relevant interpretation of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. In 2003, the HKSAR opposed the "National Security Law" rushing legislation, the Hong Kong Civil Society Anti-High Speed Rail Project in 2010, the 2012 Harbor City Photograph, Anti-freedom and "Double-Africa" incident, moral education and national education shelving incident, Hong Kong-British government flag incident, 2014 "Occupy Central" incident, and in June 2015, some college student council representatives in Hong Kong burned the Basic Law in Victoria Park, etc. The public caused "the troubles caused concern", "the children who will cry have milk "Illusion, also reflects the HKSAR and the MSAR of the overall governance should have been put on the agenda.

(2) Comprehensive governance is the objective need of the economic, social and political reforms of the HKSAR and the MSAR.

The series of achievements made by the sovereignty of Hong Kong and Macao after returning to China on the one hand illustrates the success of the great strategic practice of "one country, two systems". On the other hand, the social movements around the HKSAR, the MSAR Chief Executive and the people's livelihood issues have emerged in recent years. The multiple appeals also show that the central government cannot only pay attention to the "sovereignty" declarations of the HKSAR and the MSAR. At the same time, the "ruling power" of the HKSAR and the MSAR should be put on the political agenda. Since the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty and Macao sovereignty to China, the central government's "professional policy and goodwill on the major political issues in Hong Kong have not been able to receive positive feedback and positive response from the Hong Kong society" (Yan Xiaojun, 2016:54). On June 10, 2014, the State Council Information Office issued the White Paper on the Practice of "One Country, Two Systems in Special Administration in Hong Kong" (hereinafter referred to as the "White Paper"), clearly stating: "The Constitution and the Special Administrative Region System as stipulated in the Basic Law of Hong Kong are the states for certain regions. The special management system adopted. Under this system, the central government has full jurisdiction over the H KSAR, including the right directly exercised by the central government, as well as authorizing the HKSAR to exercise a high degree of autonomy according to law. The central government has supervisory power over the high degree of autonomy of the HKSAR" (Yan Xiaojun,2016:45). The publication of this white paper marks that the HKSAR and the MSAR have entered the era of comprehensive governance of the central government.

On August 31, 2014, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress promulgated the "Decision on the General Election of the Chief Executive of the HKSAR and the Measures for the Formation of the Legislative Council in 2016", which provides for the general election of the Chief Executive of the HKSAR, but has been partially covered by Hong Kong. Middle school students' protests and pan-democratic opposition later evolved into a 79-day "Occupy Central" campaign. On June 18, 2015, the Legislative Council of the HKSAR vetoed the 2017 Chief Executive's general election plan proposed by the HKSAR Government, marking the failure of the HKSAR Chief Executive's general election plan, which not only delayed the reform of the democratic political system in the HKSAR, but also allowed the central government to I have doubts about the "one country, two systems", "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" and "a high degree of autonomy" of the management team of the HKSAR Government. "In the early days of the reunification, the central government's political low-key approach in Hong Kong is necessary. Practice has also proved that the new HKSAR will maintain political stability and avoid the panic that Hong Kong society may have due to the return. However, in the current new situation Under the "absence" of the central government's daily social and political life in Hong Kong, there are some hidden concerns about the implementation of 'one country, two systems'" (Yan Xiaojun, 2016:176). In other words, it is a realistic need to enhance the "visibility" of the central government's sovereignty in the HKSAR and to implement comprehensive governance.

On May 17-19, 2016, Zhang Dejiang, former member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, attended the "Belt and Road" summit forum hosted by the HKSAR Government and inspected Hong Kong. This is the national leader's visit to Hong Kong since 2012. The Hong Kong media has interpreted the term "inspection" rather than the previous "visit" or "visit", which is considered to be an important signal for the central government to strengthen comprehensive governance: Adhering to "one country, two systems" and focusing on regional development, the central government is a strong backing. "One time, Hong Kong has been retreating for 30 years." The best way out is to rely on and tap the resources and support of the hinterland of the mainland to develop together with the motherland (Pangbai News, 2016). This inspection fully demonstrates the central government's emphasis on the unique role of the HKSAR in the development of the country, and supports the HKSAR in grasping the major opportunities brought about by the construction of the "Belt and Road" and the "13th Five-Year Plan" and plays the role of "super contact". National development makes new contributions while improving its competitiveness.

(3) Comprehensive governance is the fundamental need to realize the Chinese Dream of Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation.

Due to special historical reasons, Hong Kong and Macao have implemented a different capitalist system in the motherland after the return of sovereignty to China. However, they are all important components of the People's Republic of China and the realization of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation should be the HKSAR and the MSAR. The responsibilities and obligations of Chinese citizens in the SAR. On July 1, 2017, President Xi Jinping delivered an important speech at the inaugural ceremony of the 20th anniversary of Hong Kong's return to the motherland and the fifth government inaugural ceremony of the HKSAR. He clearly pointed out: "The central government's implementation of the "one country, two systems" policy adheres to two points. Unswervingly, will not change or unshakable; second, comprehensive and accurate, to ensure that the practice of 'one country, two systems' in Hong Kong is not distorted, not deformed, and always proceed in the right direction" (Xi Jinping, 2017:434). Since the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of China, the CPC Central Committee has proposed a comprehensive building of a well-off society, comprehensively deepening reforms, comprehensively governing the country according to law, comprehensively and strictly managing the party's strategic layout, and coordinating the promotion of economic, political, cultural, social, and ecological aspects. The "one-in-one" construction, as well as the "five development concepts" of innovation, coordination, green, openness and sharing, and the new ideas, new ideas and new strategies for governing the country are guided by the modernization of the national governance system and governance capacity. In October 2017, the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China was successfully held. The report of the General Assembly put forward new requirements for the "one country, two systems" and the work of the HKSAR and the MSAR, and proposed a comprehensive decision to win a well-off society and 2020, 2035, 2050. The strategic goal of the near-middle-term development of the year.

Under this "comprehensive" strategic thinking, the central government's governance of the HKSAR and the MSAR has also shifted from political preferential treatment and economic support at the beginning of the reunification to comprehensive governance of politics, economy, society, culture and education. "In concrete practice, we must firmly establish the 'one country' consciousness, adhere to the principle of 'one country', and correctly handle the relationship between the special administrative region and the central government. Anything that jeopardizes national sovereignty, challenges central authority and the authority of the HKSAR, and uses Hong Kong. The activities of infiltration and destruction in the Mainland are all touches on the bottom line, and they are absolutely not allowed. At the same time, on the basis of 'one country', the relationship between 'two systems' should also be able to live in harmony. Mutual promotion. We must combine the principle of 'one country' and respect the difference between the two systems, maintain central power and safeguard the high autonomy of the HKSAR, give play to the strong backing role of the mainland, and enhance Hong Kong's own competitiveness. Can't be neglected" (Xi Jinping,2017:435). Practice has proved that after the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of China, the "one country, two systems" is the best institutional choice for maintaining long-term prosperity and stability after Hong Kong and Macao sovereignty return to China, and comprehensively governing the HKSAR and the MSAR within the framework of "one country, two systems" is the dream of the Chinese nation's great rejuvenation of the Chinese dream.

2. The tasks and problems faced by the governance of the HKSAR and the MSAR in the era of comprehensive governance

(1) The politics of the HKSAR and the MSAR are not party politics, but the corporate politics of the corps. The virtuous circle of political ecology has a long way to go.

The politics of modern countries are mostly party politics. Political parties and associations are different, political parties are relatively tight, and social organizations are relatively loose; political parties aim at governance, and the goals of associations are relatively diverse; political parties have a clear political program and ideology, and political platforms and ideologies of associations are not necessarily clear.

The various political forces representing different voices in Hong Kong's political society are often simply labeled as founding and pan-democratic. The founding factions mainly include the DAB, the Liberal Party, the New Democratic Party, the People's Liberation Federation, the FTU, the Labor Union, etc. The Pan-Democrats mainly include the Democratic Party, the ADPL, the Labor Party, the Street Workers, the Citizens' Party, the New Democracy Alliance, and the Social Democratic Company. Lines, public professional alliances, people's power, etc.From a political point of view, the establishments of Macao mainly include the establishment of grassroots organizations from social services and full-time members, the established business sector from small and medium-sized enterprises, and the three major factions from professionals. The non-establishmentists mainly include professionals and full-time members. The emerging democratic camp, the emerging business community from the mining companies, and the local Portuguese-speaking faction from the public administration and the professionals.

Since the HKSAR has no specific legislation governing the registration of political parties, the existing "parties" in Hong Kong are only registered under the Companies Ordinance or the Societies Ordinance. Their legal status is essentially "company" Or "social"."The standard between them is usually based on their respective attitudes towards the central government. Therefore, the faction is often considered to be a 'pro-Beijing faction,' and the pan-democrats often become the 'opposition' in the eyes of the central government and the founding party" (Yan Xiaojun, 2016:109). The "dual opposition" and confrontation between the founding and the pan-democrats have now developed into a structural factor in Hong Kong's politics and have become the main source of political dilemma in Hong Kong. The reason is that the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China has continued the disunity of the Hong Kong political elite during the Hong Kong and British periods.

"When the British ruled Hong Kong, they held the final political power and maintained their recognition by the 'administrative absorption of politics'. The business and professional elites were appointed as consultants to guide policies and strengthen the legitimacy of British governance. The business accepts this 'classical view of freedom' in politics and public affairs. They do not necessarily oppose democracy and universal suffrage, but inherit the doubts of the former European conservatives" (Wang Yuzhe, 2015:137). "Before the reunification, the unity of the political elite in Hong Kong was mainly due to the suppression of authoritarian rule.... After the reunification, the division of the elite has severely weakened the ability of the SAR government to govern; the disunity of the elite has evolved into a serious political problem. And in turn exacerbated the problems that have arisen since the October 1997 economic downturn" (Liu Zhaojia, 2016:339) This is something that needs attention and vigilance.

The situation in the MSAR is similar to that of the HKSAR, but the tradition of corporatism is more concentrated. "In the period of the administration of the Portuguese government, the relationship between the political elite and the public was in an alienated state as a whole" (Cai Yongjun,2016:056). The MSAR's political model dominated by elites has basically continued the source composition, sectoral background and path of the former political elite of Macao's sovereignty return to China. "After the establishment of the SAR Government, Macao's social and economic development has unexpectedly accelerated the development of Macao society characterized by progressive accumulation in the 20th century after entering the 21st century. The development stage of social transformation has begun to enter into interest differentiation and structural reshaping. The focus is on accelerating transformation, and this also poses a new challenge for the interaction between the political elite and the public in a certain length" (Cai Yongjun, 2016:082). After the return of Macao's sovereignty to China, the political situation of "strong chief executives" was generally retained. However, in recent years, Macao's economic and social changes have put forward higher requirements for the election and supervision of the Legislative Council. "In the leap-forward development model of Macao's social economy, the social interests have accelerated and differentiated, resulting in the weakening of the functions of the representative interests of the traditional associations by the political elites after the reunification, and the deficiencies between the government and the public in the unequal relationship of interest communication mechanisms. The expectations are not effectively realized, and to a greater extent, the pace of institutional change lags behind social changes. The interest expression needs brought about by social changes cannot be

fully reflected in the existing elite generation model, thus resulting in balanced interests. Absence and ultimately negative impact on social stability" (Cai Yongjun, 2016:255). The results of the elections from the first to the sixth Legislative Council of Macao show that there is still a long way to go before the virtuous cycle of Macao's political ecology based on corporatism.

Since the mid-to-late 1970s, many scholars have focused on the leading role of the political elite in the analysis of the developing transitional political system. Huntington (1991) once believed that the beliefs and behaviors of elites are the dominant factor in the third wave of democratization. Lipset (1994) also believes that the success or failure of democracy depends mainly on the choice, decision-making and behavior of political leaders and political groups. The political ecology of the HKSAR and the MSAR after the return of sovereignty shows that the political, economic, cultural and other aspects of the elite, fragmentation and fragmentation of the HKSAR and the MSAR under the "one country, two systems" are still relatively obvious. In the process. Therefore, the virtuous circle of the political ecology of the HKSAR and the MSAR still has a long way to go.

(2) The economic development of Hong Kong and Macao and the disparity between the rich and the poor, the "return of the human heart" of all social strata is still "on the road".

The economic model formed by Hong Kong and Macao due to the special historical geographical environment has a profound impact on its social development (Meng Li and Liao Yang, 2018). Despite the differences in population structure, economic structure, and cultural structure between Hong Kong and Macao, their economic and social developments are characterized by economic malformation, serious social differentiation, and disparity between the rich and the poor.

The malformed development of the Hong Kong economy is mainly reflected in the rapid expansion of the financial and real estate industries, while other traditional industries are gradually shrinking. The malformed development of the Macao economy is dominated by the gaming industry and its related service industries, while other industries are difficult to develop and moderately diverse. The Macao economy has not yet fully developed."The typical social problem in Hong Kong is that we like to look at the bad side, not the good one.... Hong Kong's industry is too singular. Most people focus on the financial industry. Other industries and industries have not received enough attention to make Hong Kong people It is generally believed that engaging in a certain industry is a successful person, but neglecting other aspects of the development of young people" (Shi Junjie, 2017:199). As a result, it is not only easy to widen the economic income gap between "preferred" industries or industry practitioners and other non-"preferred" industries or industry practitioners, resulting in a disparity between the rich and the poor, and to a certain extent, accelerating the solidification of the social class.

In this way, other sectors that have benefited less from the development of economic malformation can easily transfer economic and people's livelihood issues to the political arena, through street demonstrations such as demonstrations or "requesting letters or petitions" or "petitions" to the SAR government, or The meeting was discussed, media reports, public debates, etc., expressing dissatisfaction with the SAR government and even the central government. "The problem of disparity between the rich and the poor in Hong Kong is very serious. We should pay more attention to the disadvantaged groups in terms of resource allocation." The "resources" here are not just the distribution of money. In fact, they also include time, power and policy. Distribution and attention" (Yang Jiexin, 2017:147). Although "the system of the HKSAR government is well-designed, officials are well-trained and do not easily give in to the needs of the people. But in recent years, officials have begun to shake because of this pressure and turmoil, and some have been persuaded. When the lobbying of force began, it began to soften" (Wang Yuzhe, 2015:17). Before the reunification, there were two contradictory principles in Hong Kong's public policy: on the one hand, the commercial sector adhered to the principle of "positive non-intervention", and on the other hand, it insisted on non-commercial education, medical care and housing policies. British-style welfare society road. "For the inherent contradictions between the two policy spirits of the market and welfare, the public is very clear, but they have not thought of what to do." "Because of the expected rise and demographic changes, the public's demands have risen in recent years. Only by preventing the welfare society

from further expanding can we avoid The economy is stagnant or even declining; the government should weigh the political costs, start reforms in the areas with the greatest net gains, and reverse the relationship with the welfare society. The government will come up with a strategy that citizens will believe that the SAR leadership is good" (Wang Yuzhe,2015:30). It goes without saying that the result of the continuation of this contradictory public policy is that the mentality of the SAR people after the reunification is easily affected by changes in welfare caused by economic fluctuations.

Macao's political traditions are mainly negotiated by parliamentarians representing the interests of different societies. Some political issues concerning people's livelihood are usually presented in informal channels, or parliamentarians make relevant interest expressions as members of the community. Labor and employment, social security, public finance, political reform, public utilities/franchise services, land grants and urban planning, gaming revenues and annual dividend distribution, public housing construction and waiting list, etc. Political issues of concern. This also reflects the diverse appeals of people from all walks of life in Macao. Due to the malformation of Macao's economy and the disparity between the rich and the poor, it is clear that the interests of all walks of life will be bridged and the consensus will be reached.

(3) In the era of globalization, the anti-China anti-China forces and the "color revolution" are surging, and the contest of "peaceful evolution" and anti-"peaceful evolution" is not "completed".

As mentioned above, the issue of the return of sovereignty between Hong Kong and Macao was negotiated with the United Kingdom and Portugal in the early days of reform and opening up. At that time, the British strongly advocated the exchange of "sovereignty" for "governance" and was resolutely opposed by our leaders. However, Hong Kong's sovereignty has returned to China for more than 20 years. "The original senior civil servants of the Hong Kong Government have passed the long-term observations of Beijing and the test and elimination of the political practice of the SAR. However, the residual influence of the Hong Kong and British periods still exists. At the same time, it seems to Beijing. The 'dark pile' laid by the British Hong Kong Government in the civil service has not been thoroughly cleaned up" (Yan Xiaojun, 2016:118-119). "The hidden forces left in Hong Kong society from the Hong Kong and British countries and collaborating with foreign government intelligence systems have not been eradicated. The political 'time bomb' buried by the British rights plan has not been cleared. Hong Kong has in the 21st century. Became a potential for subversion of China and the 'color revolution bridgehead'" (Yan Xiaojun, 2016:57). In 1990, the Hong Kong Governor-General Wei Yixin announced that the British-Chinese rights plan was regarded as a "dark pile" placed in the future HKSAR before the end of Hong Kong-German rule. As the scheme provides 50,000 family places to become British citizens under the British Nationality (Hong Kong) Act 1990, it is available to those who have been engaged in sensitive positions and who are the most capable and motivated to apply for immigration from Hong Kong to the UK.

Some organizations and individuals in Hong Kong have long been in contact with foreign parliaments, administrative agencies, and intelligence agencies. They may also become agents or intermediaries for the anti-China anti-China forces to promote "peaceful evolution" and "color revolution." During the Hong Kong "Occupy Central" campaign in 2014, the Chief Executive of the HKSAR, Liang Zhenying, repeatedly pointed out that the occupation involves external forces and straightforwardly stated this important judgment. The "Hong Kong independence" trend of thought and its organization began in the 1950s. After the 1970s, the "Hong Kong independence" trend of thought and movement was replaced by the wave of "return of democracy." After Hong Kong's return to the motherland in the 1990s, the "Hong Kong independence" trend of thought and Hong Kong's "local consciousness" gradually merged, and with the help of flexible mobilization and rapid convergence of the Internet, as well as new media and self-distribution from the media, to a younger age. The penetration of student groups, the "democracy dispute" has evolved into a "competition of unity and independence"; political resistance has turned into a violent and radical mass destruction operation; young radical political organizations and forces have become "Hong Kong independence" and "local" trends. Main force.In 2015, Macao's native Portuguese member Gao Tianci's participation in the election of Portuguese nationals in Portugal also aroused public

concern. Although this is only a case, it does not necessarily have the color of "color revolution" and "peaceful evolution", but it is also worthy of vigilance in the complicated globalization scene.

In recent years, the "localist" trend of thought in Hong Kong or the "Hong Kong independence" trend of thought has caused a great concern of the central government and the Hong Kong community. In April 2015, an organization called the "Hong Kong Independence Party" was established in London, England, with the goal of "Hong Kong independence and return to the Commonwealth." At the same time, local protests are more organized, radicalized and violent. "Whether it is burning the Basic Law, displaying the flag of the British colony, attacking mainland tourists and creating explosive weapons, it all reflects that the radical opposition movement in Hong Kong is moving further and further on the road of extremes" (Yan Xiaojun,2016:194-195). Young people are just as bloody and easy to accept new ideas or new things, but they may also be confused or blinded. "Now some young people may be exposed to some plausible things because of the convenience of information. If they are not rationally discriminated, they will be easily shaken. I believe that the Mainland still hopes that Hong Kong will be better, and the HKSAR Government should Think about how to reduce disputes and make the society develop healthily" (Liang Yueshi,2017:84). To prevent micro-duration, we can consolidate the cornerstone of social stability.

3. The strategic shift and working ideas of the governance work of the HKSAR and the MSAR in the era of comprehensive governance.

(1) The United Front thoughts and requirements of Hong Kong and Macao's economic should integrate into Chinese National Overall Development Strategy.

Since the return of sovereignty of Hong Kong and Macao to China, with the support of Chinese Central Government and the mainland people and the joint efforts of Hong Kong and Macao compatriots, we have overcome the natural disasters and man-made disasters such as the financial crisis and SARS, and have overcome the difficulties and ensured the HKSAR and the MSAR prosperous and stable.

After the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of China, China opened a new journey of "four comprehensive" and "five in one" construction. The HKSAR and the MSAR should lay down political disputes, bridge the disputes, balance the interests of all parties in the jurisdiction, and actively integrate and integrate into the overall development strategy of the country.

First of all, we must focus on the construction of Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao Great Bay Area, Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao cooperation, and Pan-Pearl River Delta regional cooperation, and comprehensively promote mutually beneficial cooperation between the mainland and Hong Kong and Macao, and give full play to the favorable development conditions and uniqueness of Hong Kong and Macao against the motherland and facing the world. Competitive advantages continue to broaden the path and channels for the common development of Hong Kong, Macao and the Mainland (Publicity Department, CCCPC, 2018:281). "In the 20 years since the reunification, Hong Kong and the Mainland have been gradually integrating. The economic and social links are getting closer and closer. The people of Hong Kong are gradually becoming aware of the Mainland. The trend of integration between the Mainland and Hong Kong will continue to rise. There are also Guangzhou-Shenzhen-Hong Kong high-speed rail, Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macau, and the relationship between Hong Kong and the Mainland will become even better."(Yang Xiaohang,2017:173)"There are many advantages of Hong Kong. The SAR Government should set up a special committee based on the advantages of Hong Kong. It should discuss with the industry the need for assistance, give Hong Kong a unique condition, strengthen the interaction and cooperation between the industry and the SAR Government, and establish closer ties" (Yu Chengzhong,2017:123). "Hong Kong's economic system and financial market have very important reference and reference value for the urban development of the Mainland. The national planning of the Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao Great Bay Area will also make the mainland and Hong Kong more closely connected, develop more rapidly, and even become the East. 'Silicon Valley'" (Chen Zixiang,2017:180).

The MSAR should make good use of the first five-year development plan and the opportunity of the central government to authorize sea area management to realize the moderate and diversified development of the Macao economy and promote the virtuous circle of the political ecology of the SAR with healthy development in economy and education. Today, the Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macao Bridge has been successfully opened to traffic, facilitating the interconnection and interoperability required for the construction of Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao Great Bay Area and the cooperation between Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao.

Second, we should develop and strengthen the patriotism, love Hong Kong and love the Macao, and promote the healthy and sustainable development of the political ecology of the SAR. It is necessary to uphold the "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" and "Macao people ruling Macao" as the main body of the patriots, and strengthen the national consciousness and patriotism of the HKSAR and MSAR compatriots, especially the middle class and young people, and continue to strengthen the education and training of young people in the future. "Hong Kong's education is too focused on elite education. It only trains some professional elites in finance and real estate. But the society needs not only talents in such industries, but also other talents. Therefore, the SAR government should promote more diversified education. In addition, I believe that some young people do have identity issues and the HKSAR government needs to promote more traditional Chinese education" (Zhu Gangting, 2017:157). Only in this way can we further enhance the patriotism and love of Hong Kong and promote the organic unity of regional identity, social identity, national identity and national identity.

In view of the fact that young people in Hong Kong and Macao know little about the history, culture and Chinese nation of the motherland, "it is necessary to put our country's history, culture and national conditions education in the prominent position of youth education, so that young people can more appreciate the profoundness and profoundness of Chinese civilization. In the modern times, the Chinese nation's salvation and anger have been glorious, more understanding of the extraordinary roads and achievements of the new China, more understanding of 'one country, two systems' and adhering to and developing socialism with Chinese characteristics and realizing the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. The internal connection of the Chinese dream will firmly grasp the destiny of Hong Kong and Macao closely linked to the motherland, enhance the sense of responsibility and mission of the cause of 'one country, two systems', and enhance the sense of responsibility and mission to contribute to the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation" (Publicity Department, CCCPC, 2018:282). "At present, young people in Hong Kong have increased their awareness of political participation, but some young people have insufficient understanding of national policies and Hong Kong policies, and young political talents are insufficient" (Yang Tiantian, 2017:80). "Young people should grasp the positioning of Hong Kong in the development of the country and actively and comprehensively grasp the opportunities brought about by the development of the country. For example, in terms of technological innovation, Hong Kong youth should take good care of the development opportunities in the Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao Great Bay Area and Hetao Area and develop themselves career" (Yang Tiantian, 2017:81). "It should focus on the economy and can no longer reincarnate the politics of Hong Kong affairs. Political disputes will only delay the future of young people. I suggest that the new Chief Executive should comprehensively train and develop the governance talents of patriotic love for Hong Kong. The development of governance talents should not be limited to regional affairs and Legislative Council affairs. The SAR Government should also cultivate the governance and economic talents of planning and implementation policies to meet the grand vision of the country's 'One Belt, One Road' and develop forward-thinking and professional work background. Policy research talents. I also recommend that the HKSAR Government strengthen public education and training on the BLHKSAR and promote it to all sectors of society. The SAR Government allocates resources to run schools to ensure that young people have a deep understanding of 'one country, two systems' and abide by the BLHKSAR " (Zhang saying, 2017:10). Young people in Hong Kong and Macao are the new force of the HKSAR patriotic love port and the MSAR patriotism and love for Macao. They are also an important force for the healthy and sustainable development of the political ecology of the HKSAR and the MSAR. It is necessary to strengthen the national conditions of education, regional education, social education, ethnic education and traditional cultural education for young people in Hong Kong and Macao.

(2) Pay attention to and effectively solve the people's livelihood issues in the HKSAR and the MSAR, understand the economic pressures and youth anxiety of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao, and promote the true return of the "people's heart" in the HKSAR and the MSAR.

During the Hong Kong-British period and Hong Kong's sovereignty returning to China, "the HKSAR government has let the real estate consortium monopolize, resulting in the world's rare real estate industry. It has formed a very deformed development structure of Hong Kong's economy, which not only severely restricts Hong Kong's ability to innovate, but also In the society, a hot 'fry' style has been formed; making quick money has become a social trend, and the physical industry, which is less popular, has finally formed a hollowing out and foaming of the industry" (Yan Xiaojun, 2016:182-183). "Hong Kong's high political standards, high cost and low income will make many professionals discouraged, affecting the level of parliamentary deliberation and negatively affecting the training of political talents. In the case of district board members, district board members manage the actual area. The impact is limited, subject to bureaucratic and many regulations and constraints. I think we should give district boards more power to deal with and improve more people's livelihood issues and attract more talent" (Huang Bingfen, 2017:5). "The biggest change in Hong Kong after the reunification, I think it is a lot of disputes, especially in recent years, the mainland has made rapid progress. In general, Hong Kong people may not be able to accept integration with the Mainland, as if they are self-styled, not as harmonious as before the reunification. In fact, this kind of uneasiness has also appeared in the world. Some grassroots, especially young people, have reduced their chances of moving upwards, and the mood has erupted. In short, some Hong Kong people before the reunification are more arrogant. The 'Great Hong Kong' mentality sees the world; after returning, they have more inferiority feelings. I think the main reason is that they cannot accept the change of the big environment and the psychological narrowness" (Liang Zexuan, 2017:73). "The integration of the Mainland and Hong Kong has always been understood as communication, exchange and understanding between mother and child. The Mainland and Hong Kong are a family. The biggest problem now is how this small family in Hong Kong can be integrated into the big family of China. Hong Kong people are actually ancestors. Both are Chinese, Hong Kong is also China's Hong Kong. After so many incidents in Hong Kong, Hong Kong people will also know that what they really want is stability and prosperity, and turmoil will not be a good thing for the entire society of Hong Kong" (Zhong Mingxin, 2017:186). Once the economic pressure of the middle class in Hong Kong and Macao is relieved, the anxiety of the upward mobility of young people will be dissolved, and huge social vitality will be released, which is conducive to the virtuous circle of economic return → human heart return → political return → economic return.

(3) It will consistently adhere to the political bottom line and eradicate the hotbed of hostile forces such as Hong Kong, Macao and all anti-China anti-China forces and "color revolution" and "peaceful evolution".

After the failure of the "Occupy Central" campaign in 2014, the Pan-Democratic members of the HKSAR threatened to launch a comprehensive non-cooperation movement of the Legislative Council (that is, the "labor" of lengthy debates), which led to politics between the Hong Kong formed faction and the pan-democratic faction. The confrontation has become more and more hot, providing opportunities for anti-China forces and "color revolution" and "peaceful evolution". In this regard, when Wang Guangya, the then director of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council, met with members of the Hong Kong Legislative Council in Shenzhen, he said: Some people with ulterior motives "respect Hong Kong as an independent political entity, arbitrarily misinterpreting the Basic Law, obstructing the administration of the SAR Government, stubbornly fighting against central governance, and even colluding. External forces, advocating and supporting the separatist forces such as 'Hong Kong independence', are trying to subvert the ruling status and socialist system of the Chinese Communist Party established by the Chinese Constitution. Their words and deeds have actually exceeded the boundaries of the so-called 'freedom of speech' and 'for democracy'. ... For this group of people, the central position is firm and clear, that is, resolute struggle, and it is absolutely unambiguous. The specific design of the Chief Executive's universal suffrage system is to exclude these people, not only to restrict them from 'blocking' and blocking them'. At the gate, even if you are lucky, the central government will resolve the

appointment" (Yan Xiaojun, 2016:108). This is a basic "red line" drawn by the Central Government of China in the overall administration of the HKSAR. It cannot be touched.

IV. Discussion on the new measures for the governance of the HKSAR and the MSAR in the New Era.

After the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 2017, "socialism with Chinese characteristics entered a new era, and the practice of "one country, two systems" in Hong Kong and Macao has entered a new era" Publicity Department, CCCPC, 2018:279). To do a good job in the governance of the HKSAR and the MSAR in the new era, we need to consider it at the regional, national and international levels.

1. Hong Kong and Macau regional level

(1) The HKSAR and the MSAR Government coordinate the coordinated development of the "five in one" of economic, political, social, cultural and ecological, and actively integrate the overall development strategy of the country. Taking advantage of the convenience of the opening of the Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macao Bridge, the construction of the Great Bay Area of Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao and the all-round integration of the Pan-Pearl River Delta and Hong Kong and Macao regions will be promoted. "After the reunification, the integration of the Mainland and Hong Kong has deepened the economic cooperation and brought many opportunities to Hong Kong. There are 1.3 billion people in the Mainland and the sales market is very large. Therefore, if Hong Kong's economy has to develop rapidly, it must face the Mainland" (Zhong Mingxin, 2017:186). At the same time, with the "One Belt, One Road" international cooperation and development strategy advocated by China, the advantages of Hong Kong and Macao will be brought into play, and the virtuous circle of politics, culture and ecology of Hong Kong and Macao will be promoted with economic prosperity and social stability.

(2) The political organizations of the HKSAR and the MSAR should focus on the long-term goals of the SAR's economic development, political civilization, social stability, cultural prosperity, and ecologically viableness. They should abandon political disputes and cannot harm the vast number of Hong Kong citizens and Macao citizens interest. "In the 20 years of the reunification, Hong Kong has changed a lot. Everyone should seek common ground while reserving differences, abandon ideology and solve social problems together. The Mainland and Hong Kong have temporary contradictions, but there are more opportunities for cooperation. If you can deepen each other's cooperation in cooperation. Understanding and understanding can resolve many unnecessary conflicts under mutual concessions and understanding" (Zhang Jiajian, 2017:52). The political factions or social groups in the HKSAR and the MSAR have multiple interests appeals, but they cannot oppose each other and even confront each other because of ideological differences, causing chaos in the HKSAR and the MSAR society, and at the expense of the peace and stability of the HKSAR and the MSAR. To prosper and develop the social environment, we should bridge political disputes and strengthen political trust among each other in order to solve the greatest common denominator of political, economic, social, cultural and ecological benefits.

(3) The political factions or social groups in the HKSAR and the MSAR have multiple interests appeals, but they cannot oppose each other and even confront each other because of ideological differences, causing chaos in the HKSAR and the MSAR society, and at the expense of the peace and stability of the HKSAR and the MSAR. To prosper and develop the social environment, we should bridge political disputes and strengthen political trust among each other in order to solve the greatest common denominator of political, economic, social, cultural and ecological benefits. In terms of economy, culture and history, the HKSAR, the MSAR and the mainland of China have become inseparable. Hong Kong and Macao are increasingly in need of help and support from the Mainland. "I think that the thinking of Hong Kong people needs to change from 'Hong Kong people' to 'Hong Kong people in China'. This is an inevitable trend" (Huang Peng,2017:121).Hong Kong and the Mainland are rooted in the same roots, honor and disgrace, and hope that Hong Kong will rely on the motherland and overcome all difficulties" (Yang Xiaohang, 2017:173). "Today's Hong Kong is the result of self-improvement

and hard work of generations of Hong Kong people. Young people should fully cherish this hard-won crystallization, build consensus and jointly safeguard social stability. ... Today's Hong Kong, backed by the Mainland, With a special economic and political position, it should give full play to the functions it needs in the process of opening up to the outside world, and become the main platform for the re-export of domestic and foreign capital and talents. At the same time, we must take the initiative to improve the 'one country, two systems'. The policy guides the first positive image of the implementation of the 'one country, two systems' policy area" (Chen Weiping, 2017:77). A few words, cut the public opinion. "Some Hong Kong people are dissatisfied because they feel that their interests are damaged. In fact, more Hong Kong people have embraced the attitude of mainlanders coming to Hong Kong. Because mainlanders come to Hong Kong, they also bring economic benefits and creation to Hong Kong job opportunity" (Huang Jinchao, 2017:49).

The middle class in the HKSAR and the MSAR should be a stable class in Hong Kong and Macao. They are active in thinking. They should say constructive opinions or suggestions in consultations and discussions involving public policy areas in Hong Kong and Macao, without mentioning or negating negativeness. Criticize opinions or objections to achieve the same frequency resonance of social development, reduce or avoid the tears of the SAR society, and solve the dilemma of the political development of the HKSAR and the MSAR, especially the HKSAR. For Hong Kong and Macao young people, it is necessary to distinguish between big and bad, focus on the long-term, learn more about the history, culture and national conditions of the motherland, and pay attention to the common development, prosperity and stability of the country and the MSAR society of the HKSAR. "Young people in Hong Kong should cherish and protect Hong Kong's blessed land. ... Allegiance and loyalty to the country is the responsibility of all citizens. Young people must follow basic political ethics and moral literacy, be loyal to patriotism and love Hong Kong, read history, and make ancient and modern Chinese history. The political wisdom is passed down" (Zhang Siying, 2017:11). "Hong Kong young people should go to the mainland more and participate in exchange groups, internship programs and volunteer services to gain a deeper understanding of the motherland" (Yuan Shangwen ,2017:71). "I believe that many Hong Kong people do not understand the development of the Mainland in recent years. They may also be too cherished in their past successes, or they may have encountered some mainlanders who they do not like. They should be partial. Hong Kong people should put their hearts on them. Open and look at the development of the mainland in recent years" (Liang Zexuan, 2017:73). Hong Kong's "young people must maintain a positive and open mind, and do not blame others. Any problem, in fact, can find reasons in themselves. We should do more review and introspection, improve ourselves, so that we can have the life we want" (Wu Xinbin, 2017:169). "I hope that there will be more new Hong Kong youths who can engage in communication and promote the integration of the Mainland and Hong Kong. ... In addition, we must actively explore the true, the good and the beautiful of Hong Kong and find the youth united front work of the Hong Kong SAR and Macao SAR that is suitable for our own development" (Wu Xinbin, 2017:170). This is not only about Hong Kong and Macau. The long-term stability and prosperity of the SAR is also related to the national territory, sovereign security and the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

2. National level

(1) Strengthen the united front work of think tanks. There are various types of think tanks, ranging from official think tanks to folk think tanks; both central think tanks and local think tanks; both domestic think tanks and international think tanks. The work of united front is essentially the ideological and political work of being a human being. The United Front Work Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is the highest leading body of the United Front Department of China. It has a policy theory research office and three bureaus (Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, and overseas liaison bureaus), which are specifically responsible for the united front work of the Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Regions, and the promotion of China's peaceful unity of the institutions affiliated to the Central United Front Work Department. Will also carry out related work. However, on the official website of the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee, the China United Front Theory Research Association has not been introduced as a loose mass social organization. The China United Front Theory Research Association Hong Kong and Macao and the overseas

united front theory Guangdong Research Base are naturally difficult. Trace. According to the official website of the Hong Kong and Macao office of the State Council, the Hong Kong and Macao office of the State Council not only has a government research department, but also a subordinate institution, the Hong Kong and Macao Research Institute, and a national non-governmental academic association headed by the Hong Kong and Macao office of the State Council, the National Hong Kong and Macao Research Association.

Relatively speaking, the United Front Work Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is relatively low-key in the United Front Work of the HKSAR and the MSAR. The Liaison Office of the Central People's Government in the HKSAR nd the Liaison Office of the Central People's Government in the MSAR (hereinafter referred to as the "China United Office") are second. The Hong Kong and Macao office of the State Council seems to be highly up-to-date, which may be related to the Hong Kong and Macao office of the State Council directly managing Hong Kong and Macao related matters. In addition, some universities and research institutes in mainland China, Hong Kong and Macao have also set up some relevant Hong Kong and Macao research institutions to carry out related research. However, in addition to the "learning" type of think tanks and the "think tanks" of university research institutes, these think tanks may not have too much interaction between the Hong Kong and Macao united front "think tank" of the United Front Work Department of the CPC and the "think tank" of the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council. It seems that the synergy has not yet formed well.

Generally speaking, the "think tank" at the policy operation level is preferred to the technical level. The "think tank" of research institutes, academic institutes and university research institutes focuses on the academic level, and the integration of the academic "think tank" and the technical "think tank" can maximize Use the effectiveness of think tanks. Hong Kong citizens and Macao citizens also have their own expectations for the SAR think tank.

They "hope that the HKSAR government can recruit more young people to enter the 'city think tank' and listen to the think tank. The think tank is very important to the HKSAR government. The think tank has core talents from all walks of life, and it is a country or region. An important part of the consulting structure. These talents can provide programs or recommendations with their own experience or expertise to the public and society during policy discussions" (Yang Xiaohang, 2017:172). In recent years, the MSAR government has paid more attention to the role of experts and scholars in public policy.

To promote the united front work of the HKSAR the MSAR the new era from the national level, it is necessary to build a national-level alliance of Hong Kong and Macao united front think tanks. This think tank alliance should be based on the technical "think tank" as the carrier (support) and the academic "think tank" as the mechanism of innovation system. Its core members include the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council, the Liaison Office of the State Council, and the CCP Central United Front The Ministry of Public Affairs and the relevant units, of course, the public policy research departments of the HKSAR the MSAR Government should also be included in the core members of the Hong Kong and Macao United Front Work Think Tank Alliance; the intermediate units should be the relevant institutions and academic groups under the supervision of these core member units, and the peripheral units It should be an academic institution or organization for Hong Kong and Macao research in universities and research institutes in mainland China and Hong Kong and Macao. Members of this think tank alliance regularly or irregularly discuss related issues, propose relevant solutions or countermeasures, promote cross-infiltration and deep integration of academic "think tank" and technology "think tank", and crack the political development of the HKSAR and the MSAR. The united front problem.

(2) Establish and improve the system and pattern of the major united front. From the national level, the national institutions responsible for handling the affairs of the HKSAR and the MSAR, in addition to the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council and the China United Office, the National People's Congress is responsible for enacting, amending and interpreting the Basic Law of the HKSAR and the MSAR. The United

Front Work Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is mainly responsible for the united front work. The sovereignty and defense affairs of the HKSAR and the MSAR are handled by the defense and foreign affairs departments. The ideal situation is that each component of the state agency has its own functions and forms a joint force. The national governance system and governance capacity should exert the greatest benefits. However, due to the particularity and comprehensive governance of the Hong Kong society and the Macao society, the HKSAR and the MSAR under the political design of "one country, two systems" have been fully respected, and the political disputes in the political reform of the HKSAR have been exhausted. Restraint, to a certain extent, has eliminated the central government's effectiveness in governing the HKAR and the MSAR, especially the HKSAR.

To build and improve the Hong Kong and Macao system of major warfare and the big pattern, it needs to start from the political, economic, social, cultural, educational, scientific, and ecological aspects, change the past to focus on politics and economy, and the society and culture of the HKAR and the MSAR. The one-way united front path of education, science and technology, and insufficient ecological attention, from the two-way integration of the central government and the HKAR and MSAR governments, considers the possible path of all-round and all-round united front work, removes institutional and institutional obstacles, and innovates the united front methods. To promote the true return of the people of the HKSAR and the MSAR.

3. International level

Peace and development are the main theme of world development, but differences in political systems, social systems, cultural systems and ideologies often have adverse effects on world peace and development. On the one hand, Western universal values based on the spirit of Christian religion have had a strong impact and influence on non-Western countries and society in the era of globalization; on the other hand, places that have been ruled by Western colonies have different historical memories and social experiences. They have more or less a certain gap with the matriarchal society.

After the end of colonial rule, Hong Kong's sovereignty and Macao's sovereignty have returned to China. There is no problem in academic analysis. However, on the practical level, it is difficult to face the diverse interests of members of the HKSAR and the MSAR and members of the individual. "Left", "Right to the right" or "compromise" should be the three basic social mentalities of the political life of the HKSAR and the MSAR. Directly docking or guiding any of these three mentalities may lead to opposition or resistance from the other two mentalities. This is mainly due to the economic factors behind the allocation of political resources. Political party struggle is a universal phenomenon of modern politics and a worldwide problem. The key to solving this problem is to "jump out" politics to see the political system, "jump out" the HKSAR and the MSAR to see politics, "jump out" politics to see the HKSAR and the MSAR, and put the HKSAR and the MSAR into a globalized Look and think in the scene.

China's peaceful rise has sparked world attention. In the 19th century, British Foreign Minister Bamai Zun had a famous saying: "In international relations, there are no eternal friends, no eternal enemies, only eternal interests." Some countries maximize their own interests and sometimes take each other's affairs. The "problem" of the domestic department comes to "say things" or "do things." As long as it does not endanger the country's territorial, sovereignty, national defense, diplomatic and other security issues, in the face of divergent views, conflicts or non-violent peaceful social movements of different political organizations in the HKSAR and the MSAR after the return of sovereignty, there is no need to worry too much about fear.(Liao Yang,2018). "I hope that Hong Kong people have confidence in society and not to look at things too pessimistically and negatively" (Jia Chao, 2017:176). "There is no absolute difference between the Mainland and Hong Kong. The key is how to balance, narrow the cultural differences between the Mainland and Hong Kong, and continue to play a stable role in the image of Hong Kong's highly civilized cities. It stands in the ranks of China's first-tier cities" (Pan Junen, 2017:203). "We should set targets in the process of integration between the mainland and Hong Kong, and set the right targets for drugs such as economic cooperation and cultural integration. In this process, we

naturally need the interaction and policy of the SAR government and the central government. Cooperate and make sure that the general public in Hong Kong can benefit from it" (Huang Bingfen, 2017:7).

Of course, on the basis of safeguarding the long-term stability and prosperity of the HKSAR and the MSAR, we must adhere to the political bottom line and eradicate all the anti-China anti-China forces and the hotbeds of hostile forces such as the "color revolution" and "peaceful evolution" from Hong Kong, Macao and overseas. Necessary, but this requires the joint efforts of the Chinese mainland and the HKSAR and the MSAR.

V. Conclusion

From the above discussion, we can draw the following preliminary conclusions:

1. The "return of the human heart" in the HKSAR and the MSAR is a long-term historical process, and it is much slower than the return of political sovereignty and economic integration.

2. In the early days of Hong Kong's sovereignty and Macao's sovereignty returning to China, the Chinese central government's united front work approach to Hong Kong and Macao was relatively simple, with political preferential treatment and economic support, but the cultural united front, the educational united front, and the scientific and technological united front were diversified and comprehensive. The effectiveness of the Hong Kong and Macao united front work has not yet fully manifested itself.

3. The central government of China implements comprehensive governance of the HKSAR and the MSAR. It is a constitutional manifestation and internal requirement of national sovereignty and governance. It is also the objective need of the economic, social and political reforms of the HKSAR and the MSAR and the realization of the Chinese nation. The fundamental need to rejuvenate the Chinese dream.

4. The construction of Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao Great Bay Area is an important embodiment of Hong Kong and Macao's economic and social integration into the country's overall development strategy. It is not only conducive to promoting economic and social integration between Hong Kong, Macao and Mainland China, but also helps the people of Hong Kong and Macao to return.

5. Although the Central Government of China has strengthened its comprehensive governance of the HKSAR and the MSAR, the established principles and policies of "one country, two systems", "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong", "Macao people administering Macao" and "a high degree of autonomy" will not change. This is the wisdom of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese government to solve the problems left over from history and the development of reality, and constitutes an important part of the development path of Chinese characteristics and the Chinese model.

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The Fight Against Terrorism in the Sahel from the Perspective of Realism

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Abstract

In recent years, terrorism has evolved as a real cancer in the Sahel. As a result of bad governance in the Sahelian countries, terrorism is one of the major concerns of these countries. Many initiatives have been undertaken by these countries, but the fight against terrorism remains handicapped by the lack of cooperation between the countries of the Sahel but also by foreign strategies that are often incoherent and inefficient. So the only solution to eradicate this phenomenon is the realistic prospect. In other words, the Sahelian countries must seek original, sovereign strategies. The Sahel states must seek a regional military power; strengthen their respective states while taking into account the energy stakes of the fight against terrorism.

Keywords: Terrorism, Sahel, Realistic Prospect, Sovereign Strategies, Regional Military Power

1. Introduction

The Sahel is one of the regions of the world that knows an exponential evolution of poverty but also of terrorism. This situation is the result of bad governance, weakness of the Sahel states, lack of regional cooperation, radical ideologies. It can also and above all be explained by the inadequacy of the control strategies in this region. Thus terrorist groups such as (AQIM, Mujao and Ançar Dine) have freely settled in this vast uncontrolled region. Nowadays the Sahel has become the new Eldorado of terrorist groups from all over the world. A veritable hotbed of tensions, the Sahel now lives under banditry, crime, and trafficking of all kinds. Terrorist threats are growing steadily: attacks, hostage-taking, religious extremism, recruitment of child soldiers. In view of the rapid development of terrorism, there is a need to challenge Western strategies and even African initiatives that fail to put an end to this phenomenon that keeps reducing the population of the Sahel day by day. That is why we believe that there is a reason to question why no strategy has succeeded to defeat the terrorism in the Sahel region?. How could the Sahel countries effectively combat it?

2. Definition of concepts

2.1. Realism

The word realism is, first of all, a philosophical concept that dates back to antiquity. It refers to what is real (material) as opposed to what is ideal (idea or spirit). Realism is, therefore, an ontological concept which opposed the nominalists to the idealists in the Middle Ages. According to Jack Donnelly, the term is used in

different ways and in several disciplines [Jack Donnelly, 2005]. So in literature, realism is a current that describes the real concrete. It opposes the romanticism which is rather the expression of feelings or approaches to escape. In international relations, realism is a theory mainly based on the confrontational character of inter-state relationships. At this level, the realistic qualifier refers to authors who claim to consider human and social relationships, including political relations as they are and not as we would like them to be. This is a traditional analysis that encourages political power to be sought and to defend national interests (political realism). As a theory of international relations, realism asserts that any State must defend its interests, its sovereignty, increase its power because each state seeks to survive. Having taken his sources from the philosopher Thucydides by way of Hobbes Machiavelli, and Hans Morgenthau, Henri Kissinger or Raymond Aron realism states that the States have no friends but interests to defend.

2.2. Terrorism

The definition of terrorism is a problem that continues to oppose states, researchers, and academics. Indeed terrorism is a very complex and varied phenomenon. That's what Richard says. D. Howard and Reid. L. Sawyer that "it is easier to describe terrorism than to define it" [Russel. Howard and Reid L.Sawyer, 2004]. Terrorism is, therefore, an ambiguous phenomenon that involves several issues because its definition implies politics, religion, law, international relations, etc. That's why Jessica Stern said that defining terrorism is more difficult than an academic exercise [Jessica Stern, 1999]. This difficulty of definition has prompted R. Baxter to say: "We have good reason to regret that the concept of terrorism has been inflicted on us." The term is vague, and it is ambiguous, and, above all, it serves no concrete legal objective' [Richard Baxter, 1974].

Even if there is no universal definition of terrorism, it will be noted that it is not a new phenomenon because in 1939 a study of the treatment of terrorism had shown that terrorism would come from a Latin word: terror. So originally it meant a physical tremor before being perceived as an emotional state of extreme fear. In this sense, some scholars believe that terrorism is a system of terror and it was invented to condemn the regime of terror during the French Revolution. However, in reality, terrorism is not a new fact because its history dates back to Antiquity [Challand, G, A (dir), 2006]. In general, we believe that terrorism is, above all, a terror of violence or a threat exerted by an individual or group on non-combatant (innocent) populations in order to achieve an objective. This violence or threat can be physical, moral, verbal, and psychological.

3. The different issues in the fight against terrorism in the Sahel

3.1. Ideological issues of terrorist groups

Ideological issues are the result of terrorist groups that evolve in several numbers in the Sahel. Especially in the Sahelian band of which the most active are: Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the Mujao and Ane sardine. In general, these groups claim to be motivated by a Muslim religious ideology and thus advance the pretext of the expansion of Islam and even of the Salafism. All these terrorist groups claim to be the Salafist ideology that wants a literalist application of the texts of Islam. This, therefore, precludes any form of interpretation based on human reason and commits the Muslim to live according to the principles of the Koran and the Sunnah of the Prophet [Dominique Thomas, 22 mars 2012]. In other words, the Salafism is like a return to the Muslim tradition as some leaders of the Mujao detract Hamma Ould Mohamed Kheyrou, aka Abou Mehrdad: The jihad will be brought wherever it will be necessary, and it adds that you have to be ready to Everything for God" [Julia Dufour et Claire Kupper, 6 Juillet 2012]. Another leader adds that the sharia is divine justice and we must apply it" [El-Hadj Ben Cissé, avec Boris Thiolay, Express 2012]. It is in this context that these groups want a political use of Islam just to protest against Western modernity [Catherine Gouëset, 25 janvier 2012].

Their aim is to establish an Islamic state, with Sharia as a source of law. The similarity of their motivations is confirmed in an interview given by the head of the MUJAO who said: "As for AQIM and Ançar Dine, it is our brothers with whom we have minute disputes that do not affect the merits" [Ould Khaïrou, 28 Avril 2012]. That

is why Ançar Dine, AQIM, and MUJAO were all three present in the three occupied regions of northern Mali (Gao, Kidal, and Timbuktu) in early April 2012 [L'express31 mars 2012, 31 mars 2012].

But in reality, these groups are all bandits groups in search of money. The religious ideology is just a pretext for achieving their hidden goals. Indeed these groups are all involved in drug trafficking, recruiting child soldiers and especially taking hostages. In our opinion, their actions do not reflect any religious motive. For example, if Mujao was created, it is because Iyad Ag Ghaly was denied its integration into MNLA [Boris Thiolay, 12 Avril 2012]. According to Jean-Claude Brisard, specialist of terrorist financing, ' the estimates of AQIM income from ransoms in the northern region Mali around the 65 million of dollars on 25 October 2011 [Jean-Claude Brisard, 01/02/2013] This amount would be more than 90% of Income of the organization. The valuation of a Western hostage by AQIM is 6.5 million in average ' AQIM is extremely gifted in this sense because it works both for a Salafism but also for the search for funds through drug trafficking, hostages and illicit trade. AQIM often goes so far as to impose taxes on the traffickers, in exchange for protection or a right of way on the controlled areas in the Sahel.

In addition, the question is that: how they can defend a religion while they are in immorality? We remembered that these terrorist groups are the ones who committed the most imaginable atrocities during their occupation of the northern regions in Mali: Forced marriages rape of women often in the presence of their husbands without counting the counting the banks stripping. At the same time, they claim to defend religious values at the same time they destroy the mausoleums of Timbuktu (UNESCO heritage), and they pocket the money of the churches, bars, and hotels they claim to fight.

3.2. Security issues

3.2.1. Crime and drug trafficking

The Sahel faces a strong and growing insecurity (banditry trafficking of all kinds) by talking about terrorist threats in the Sahel. we also have to talk about the banditry that reigns in this region and which is a major scourge in the development of Terrorism. In fact, the use of the Sahara desert as a transit route for narcotics, including cocaine and cannabis, increases insecurity in this region. Taking advantage of the weakness of the rule of law and of acute poverty in some countries, organized trafficking networks multiply illegal activities (arms and gems smuggling, drugs, etc.) in border areas poorly managed by the state apparatus [Michel Luntumbue, 9 Octobre 2012].

It should also be noted that the Tuareg conflicts in northern Mali and Niger have contributed immensely to the development of terrorism in the Sahel. Many rebellions have converted to terrorism in a formal way, even though we know that all the armed groups in the Sahel (rebellion and terrorist groups) do not differ in anything. However, drug trafficking is a threat to the sovereignty and security of States and undermines the economic, social and cultural structure of society [O.N.U.D.C, 2008, p: 209]. Therefore we can say that the Sahel is the place of global drug trafficking. The latter has grown considerably over the last ten years due to the intercontinental dimensions but also to the high level of corruption and to the extreme poverty of the local population [Djallil Lounnas, 2013-2 N° 216P. 111 -128]. This is why according to the U.N some regions of the continent are now explicitly designated as a hub of international narcotics traffic making the task of these countries more and more complex. According to a report of the CMAIS in 2009. The cocaine trafficking in West and Central Africa amounted to 900 millions of dollars [ONUDC, 2009]. The reality remains difficult to understand considering the number of armed gangs that are growing day by day. But cocaine trafficking is not the only financial resource. Some jihadist networks also benefit from the smuggling of heroin from Afghanistan that is difficult to assess from our jours [CMAIS 2013].

3.2.2. Hostage-taking the massive

Hostage-taking is presented as a popular action by the kidnappers (terrorists). It has a political character because it often mobilizes all state means for its treatment. From this point, we can even talk about a legitimization of

terrorist groups because the release of some hostages requires a whole diplomacy. First, it should be noted that this hostage-taking constitutes a media medium for kidnappers but also a means of pressure [CMAIS) 2013]. Hostage-taking is and remains a source of funding for terrorist organizations in the Sahel. In fact, the Sahel has now become a real "hostage-kidnapping" industry. Between 2004 and 2016 AQIM operated in Mali, Mauritania, Niger, and Algeria but between 2006 and 2012, AQIM received $60 million of ransoms paid by the hostages' countries' [Serigne Bamba Gaye 2017].

3.2.3. Recruitment of child soldiers

The recruitment of child soldiers is also a growing phenomenon in the Sahel. Many children are used as soldiers around the world but especially in the Sahel. Many of them are abducted and are victims of violence if they refuse to obey. Others voluntarily join groups or armed forces to escape poverty, defend their community, by a feeling of vengeance or for other reasons. Children are therefore used in fighting and other purposes. While children in many conflicts are directly involved in the fighting, this is not their only role, because girls and boys often carry out support functions that are also extremely dangerous and painful. They are frequently used as porters and carry very heavy loads, including ammunition and wounded. Nowadays these child soldiers are recruited in the north as well as in southern Mali as Remi Carayol said "Fulani, Songhaï, mossis or Bambara, they are more and more often recruited as fighters within AQIM and its subsidiaries Sahelian, whose Hierarchy remains dominated by Algerians [Rémi Carayol, 01 février 2016]. Some are used as lookouts, messengers or cooks or assigned to other daily tasks. Girls are particularly vulnerable and often used as sex slaves.

4. The international strategic issue of the Sahel

The commitment of foreign powers in the fight against terrorism in the Sahel is shown to be sufficient that terrorism has now become an international issue. For François Bayart Since September 11, 2001, French and American have gradually settled in the idea that Sahelian West Africa was on the way to becoming a new sanctuary for Al-Qaida [Jean François Bayard, 23 juillet 2010]. Indeed, almost all the powers are already present in the name of some reason. The United States refers to the pretext of the fight against international terrorism. On the other hand, France and the Union generally refer to the defense of human rights. But in reality, these are the simple excuses for accessing energy resources because despite its poverty, the growing insecurity the Sahel remains one of the world's richest regions of energy resources. Its sub-soil contains oil, gas, gold, phosphates, diamonds, copper, iron, coal, nickel, zinc, bauxite, uranium, plutonium, manganese, cobalt, silver, chromium, tin, mineral salts, freshwaters, fish, crustaceans, biological diversity, herds of Livestock, precious wood, etc. [Mohamed Saleck Ould Brahim, 19 Decembre 2010]. It is these resources that continue to attract foreign powers to the Sahel. For John Davis, The Sahel was never a concern of the United States only it is bitter on September 11, 2001, that they turned to the Sahel because they see in this region harsh potential energy after Afghanistan [John Davis, 2007]. The proof is that they do not have a military base in the Sahel yet even if they intervene in the name of counterterrorism through various programs. This is understandable because according to Seraghni the American doctrine is based on unlimited access to African markets, energies, and other strategic resources and securing supplies of raw materials. It is supported militarily in the form of the fight against terrorism. In this context, they weave a military web to occupy useful Africa. It is illustrated by this Obama statement "Africa is more important than ever for the security and prosperity of the international community and for the United States in particular" [Seraghni, 2/4/14].

In view of the facts, we realize that the struggle of Westerners is not sincere, because they have their agendas already predetermined. If the United States intervenes in the Sahel, it is because they see in this region their source of supply after Afghanistan. In fact, the USA has never considered West Africa especially the Sahel. As for France, she has always dreamed of staying in the Sahel. Thus with the war in Mali France has only made its comeback since independence but it has taken advantage to strengthen its position. In Mali, the fight against terrorism has enabled France to resettle comfortably through cooperation agreements and especially mining contracts. The Sahel is exposed to the strategic "calculations" of foreign actors desiring to broaden their

influence and maintain their interests on the African continent under cover of the eradication of Daech terrorist group [Fatiha Mez, 30 décembre, 2017].

5. Blocking the fight against terrorism in the Sahel

5.1. Algerian-Moroccan rivalry

We must recognize that the fight against terrorism is not progressing in the Sahel. Algeria and Morocco are all inescapable in the fight against terrorism in the Sahel today given their strategic positions on the continent. In particular, Algeria should be a source of inspiration for the Sahelian countries because of its experience in the fight against terrorism. Unfortunately, it was the opposite. On the question of the Sahel, Algeria and Morocco turned their backs and took parallel and even competing initiatives. Algeria has always sought to exert a great influence in the Sahel region. Using its diplomatic machine, it was the artisan of the peace agreements between the rebels of Niger, Mali and the respective Governments (1995 and 2005). Just as it was responsible for the establishment in 2010 of the group of so-called "field" countries (Algeria, Mauritania, Mali, and Niger), i.e. the main involved actors in the situation in the Sahel, which have taken initiatives such as the creation of Joint Operational Staff Committee (CEMOC) at Tamanrasset in 2010 as well as the Mergers and Liaison Unit (UFL), an Algiers-based information grouping cell. Since 2004, Algeria has also been home to the African Center for studies and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT), established at its initiative within the framework of the African Union. And in order to prevent unnecessary and counterproductive duplication with these cooperation mechanisms, Algeria wished that all initiatives in the direction of the Sahel should complement and not be substituted for this regional approach.

As for Morocco, it takes advantage of its good relations with the EU and its privileged relationship with some of its members such as France and Spain to reposition itself as a true regional power, a counterweight to Algeria. Rabat's main argument is that the EU and Morocco are facing the same terrorist threats from the south, and that, as a result, this country is the reliable and effective interlocutor in the region. In other words, the Moroccan leaders want to show Algeria that any initiative of interest to the Maghreb and the Sahel cannot marginalize Morocco. Morocco goes so far as to take advantage of the difficulties of relations between Algeria and the EU in general and between it and France in particular, to present itself as the credible actor in a fight against terrorism in the Sahel. The threats to security in the Sahel and the measures taken to stop it are transnational in nature, but their intensity differs from one country to another. Sometimes the three Sahel states (Algeria, Libya, and Morocco) have different perceptions of threats and their solutions, as well as the lack of a sub-regional organization. This bad coordinated action is compromising the credibility and the effectiveness of regional initiatives. At the level of the international community (including the EU), coherent and systematic action linking political, security and development aspects is also insufficient [http://eeas.europa.eu/index_fr.htm].

This situation constitutes a real handicap in the counterterrorism in the Sahel because these two countries all have influences on the countries of the Sahel. The example in Mali we all know that Algeria is a strategic partner, but on the other hand, Morocco has recently signed an agreement with Mali in the fight against terrorism.

5.2. The weakness of the Sahel states

One of the problems of the Sahel is the weakness of the States. By definition a weak state is a state incapable of ensuring its own security and of guaranteeing its sovereignty as the English peoples say "fall State" [.W. Zartman, 1995, p. 5]. For some years now, the media and politicians and a large number of "experts have described the Sahel as a grey zone", that is to say, a little space, under, poorly or uncontrolled, by "fragile", "failed" or "bankrupt" states, or even "rogue» [Julien Brachet, Juillet 2013]. Such a state is vulnerable and remains exposed to all violations, the more serious it is threatened with extinction. This is exactly the characteristic of the Sahelian countries. After fifty years of independence, the Sahel states are still unable to secure their own security. This situation is explained by the absence of a state in much of the Sahelo-Saharan space, the inability of the security structures to control the vast, very often desert, areas and to meet the basic

needs of People living there (education, health, food, socio-economic opportunities). This situation has generated a sense of fluctuation, abandonment and leads to those people wanting to assume their own destinies, hence the use of terrorist organizations and the development of devices of religious or clan solidarity. It must be recognized that this situation exposes the people not only to the terrorists but also to the criminal forces that take advantage of them to gain their minds. It should also be noted that the weakness of the Sahel states also leads to the uncontrolled movement of people and various property (licit or illicit) and thus promotes the expansion of radical Islamism and the establishment of links (ideological and operational) and increasingly narrow and dangerous synergies between different criminal or terrorist groups.

However, it should be noted that the weakness of States is linked to the bad governance of the Sahel states, nepotism, favoritism, clientelism, corruption erected in the system. Bad governance endangers the problem of insecurity, and the latter in turn, therefore, brings about increasing instability and compromises all the democratic achievements. That is why between twelve Sahelian countries only two had escaped a military coup in 45 years; and at the ECOWAS level, only four out of 25 member countries have not been affected for 30 years by a violent conflict at or within borders [Mohamed Saleck Ould Brahim, 19 Décembre 2010]. Official development assistance is sometimes taken hostage by the heads of State. In this context, John Davis said that poverty is not directly pushing men into terrorism and killings, but it weakens institutions through corruption that weakens the state by making it vulnerable to terrorist networks and drugs. This is why the Sahel is usually the place of conflicts (rebellions), social tensions of coups of States for example (Mauritania-August 2005 and August 2008), (Guinea Bissau-March 2009 and April 2010) and (Niger-February 2010) (Burkina Faso in 2015. and Mr. Déby Since February 1991) Mali 1990 and 2012. In the same logic, bad governance also leads to social unrest that can result from discontent and frustration in the population or part of it and can lead to coups (like the one that Mali experienced on 22 March 2012. In the same logic, William Ansovo adds that the level of widespread corruption in the Sahel has affected many sectors of these States, particularly the most sensitive, the defense system and that of security [William Assanvo, Juillet 2012].

This same bad governance is developing in another way in the Sahel in the form of national terrorism, more precisely in the center of Mali where peoples are victims of injustice, deprived of their fundamental rights engage in a radical Islam in the Delta Niger and the region of Mopti. These new groups of identity are the result of the absence of the Malian state and above all the inability to satisfy the basic needs of these populations for whom terrorist leaders such as Amadou Koufa are messiahs. It should be mentioned the inability of the Malian state to control the religious phenomenon especially in the context where the Sahel is experiencing a rapid expansion of Islam [John Davis, 2007]. The religious are left to themselves without any control, and few are the states of the G5 Sahel who know the exact number of their religious buildings because they are still growing and sometimes constitute refuges or training camps for terrorists. Moreover one of the consequences of the weakness of the States remains the interference of other powers as in the Sahel with French [Kamal Bayramzadeh, Septembre 2014].

5.3. The anarchic proliferation of strategies

In a certain way, it can be said that the Sahel is now the laboratory of Western strategies. Any country is allowed to finance and launch a counter-terrorism program. Among others the MCA we have the PSI (Pan Sahel Initiative). The Trans Saharan Counterterrorism Initiative (TSCTI) The Eucap Sahel, Operation Liza, and G5 Sahel. Especially the MCA was a conditioned aid from the United States towards African countries that want to support them in their counterterrorism policy. All of these programs were generally endowed with large sums of money, but they remained in total inadequacy with the main objective and above all the realities of the populations at the base. They were much more focused on development, democracy, the strengthening of human rights that cannot be guaranteed without good security. At the base of this, we must also note the contradictions between French and Americans in their approaches to combating terrorism. The French generally fight for the release of their hostages while the Americans declare that they do not negotiate with a terrorist. They are well aware that these strategies cannot prevent terrorist threats in the Sahel, but they nonetheless seek to execute their

neo-colonial agendas. Indeed none of these powers has adopted the same anti-terrorist strategies at home. Why have countries like the United States, France, Canada not replicated their national strategies in the Sahel or Mali?

The paradox is that terrorism develops as the strategies multiply. However, it was the collapse of Mali that really revealed all the inadequacy and limitations of American programs designed to improve the effectiveness of the countries of the Sahel. Despite nearly 100 million dollars a year in favor of the TSCTP since its launch to which is added bilateral aid [Henri Plagnol et François Loncle, 6 mars 2012]. All these programs seem to have failed in their objectives. Indeed not only has there been a coup d'etat in Bamako but also the north of the country was occupied and administered by armed groups and térroristes. What is important to underline is that even some of the units formed and equipped by Washington have defected including the leader of the military junta Amadou Haya Sanogo who had already benefited from the American program. However, the first consequence of Western interference is the occupation of the Sahelian states, the "weakness" of which crocodile tears are shed, evoking their sovereignty, their representativeness and their credibility in the presence of their citizens. For François Bayart for several years, Washington and Paris are waging war in West Africa that does not say its name yet. Considering the terrorist threats today we can say that: French and Americans are going to fail on the ground. Their firepower and intelligence must not deceive us. Indeed when we remember the cases of Somalia, of Afghanistan we know that they are weak in terms of asymmetric conflicts. On the contrary, their strategies have often favored the emergence of the enemy through media coverage because, by dint of screaming Wolf, it is likely to bring him to where he did not spawn. That is why for Jean François Bayard West Africa can play an important role in the field of security especially with his experience in Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast. In this perspective, the so-called Secret hunters ' societies, i.e., the Dozo {hunters}, are already available for this task, of which we dare not imagine the human cost [Jean François Bayard, Septembre 2014].

6. The realistic perspective of the fight against terrorism

6.1. Sovereign and original strategies

In general, the Sahel states must first rethink their security systems and in particular their counter-terrorism strategies because terrorism is a consequence of weakness. "Jihadists are only strong because the States are weak ' as Michel Goya said [Michel Goya, 21 juin 2013]. For that, we recommend a complete overhaul of the current strategies. In other words, the Sahel states must have their original strategies to combat terrorism because, beyond geopolitical and geo-strategic considerations, European and French methods do not take into account all the Realities in Africa. Their strategies are tainted with ideology and pitfalls for the Sahelian countries because they are the expression of their interests. They are also a trap because they hinder the fight against terrorism. Moreover, the countries of the Sahel must also know that the multiplication of methods kills strategies. That is why terrorism continues to grow in the Sahel because African initiatives are often eclipsed by American and European strategies. In this way, African countries also have to be financially responsible. They must be able to take care of themselves and not rely on Westerners as we see with the African Union and ECOWAS. The most recent case is the G5 Sahel which is slow to implement for lack of funding. The search for sovereignty is obligatory by taking into account the intellectual and financial self-management. The countries of the Sahel need to know that as long as the West finances it will always have to say.

In his study, the sociologist Roland Marchal (CNRS-CERI), arguably the best specialist in the horn, has shown how the Somalian Shebab have acquired their position: "She has succeeded in transforming a group organization into a force that controls now 80% of the central and southern territory of Somalia, and even more so in terms of population. Instead of weakening the Shebab, the counter-terrorist strategy strengthened them" [Roland Marchal,13 Juillet 2010].

6.2. Strengthening the Sahel states

There is no diabolical solution to defeat terrorism in the Sahelian countries. As terrorism is the result of state weakness, the Sahelian countries must strengthen their military power. They must seek to control the vast desert spaces that inhabit armed groups, terrorist groups, and traffickers. Otherwise, it is necessary for the States to be

more close to the populations. In the same logic, there is the need to fight against corruption poverty because it is necessary to know that terrorist groups often have a lot of money and good position to convince people. For financial reasons, some people become hosts, accomplices of terrorists with money. Others become their guides and others voluntarily lead their children to them to be recruited. The anchoring of terrorism and armed violence is now a reality in the Sahel. As people feel abandoned by the central authorities, they are willing to live with terrorists or remain indifferent to the state. According to the report of a judge who lived the horrors of Timbuktu in Mali, they promise up to six hundred thousand CFA franc (90 Euros) per month [El-Hadj Ben Cissé, et Boris Thiolay 2012]. This moral weakening of Central Powers is a powerful ingredient of instability. It creates feelings of abandonment and exclusion. Throughout the Sahelian band, large tribes (Peuhls, Kanouris, Toubou, etc.) feel marginalized in their geographical areas. Asa consequences of doubtful governance, the retribalisation, and cracking of countries, along ethnic, religious and geographical origin lines encourage terrorist vocations among the youngest. In Mali, this is generating ethnic conflicts, especially between Peuhls and Dogon. Most of these young people are out of work, and they are very limited in the socio-political system. That is why Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah, president of the S4 Centre, said: In the Sahel, two categories of violence are superimposed. First, we have States violence against a part of their citizens but also terrorist's violence, that threatens the States which often helped to create it [Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah, Octobre 2016]. This includes the good distribution of resources but also the creation of jobs for young people the fight against marginalization and even injustice. Considering this phenomenon, we believe that the Sahel states must be realistic and accountable, in other words, they must avoid the old strategies that were based on partner development programs. These programs have often caused the laziness and illicit enrichment of some as compared to others. In fact, many terrorist groups are benefiting from humanitarian organizations to finance terrorist activities. It is, therefore, necessary to develop but the one that's coming from the Sahelian states.

6.3. The search for regional military power

The realistic perspective of the fight against terrorism must lead the Sahel states towards the search for a military power within the framework of regional cooperation. We thus share the view of Mohamed Saleck Ould Brahim when he says that the fight against terrorism must be done with concerted actions, meticulously prepared with new terms of exchange in the field of communication, cooperation, Information and without impeding the military reinforcement of each country. The countries of the fields must, therefore, have a common perception of interests and threats [Mohamed Saleck Ould Brahim, 19 Decembre 2010]. They must be able to defend and protect their interests against the westerners. In other words, any strategy must be in line with the interests and realities of the Sahelian countries. The G5 Sahel would be a good initiative, but we believe that he is already dead because his whole life is the responsibility of the external partners in terms of funding. We are not against the intervention of the Western powers, such as Barkane Operation and Minusma, but they must be preceded by the armed forces of the Sahel. An answer must be given to the asymmetric strategy of terrorists. For the neorealist of international relations, within the international system, states play roulette, they are in the "Quest for Power," and the winner is the one who has more than the others, in absolute value. "International politics is a game whose ultimate price is security, and the States are the main players" For this it is necessary to multiply the number of state security agents in all the territories of the Sahel, to look for the latest generation of military devices, to stop banditry and to cross-border crime. The Sahel states must be in a position of defense against Western predators and offensive against terrorist groups.

The Sahelian countries must seek military power in accordance with the realistic thinking that all States seek to survive in the anarchy of the international system in which the first source of security comes from inter-conflict States and therefore the only method for States is to enlarge their power [Edward Smith]. Whether we say it or not all States are enemies, rivals between them as say Hobbes Homo homini lupus "Man is a wolf for man" so in the context of regional cooperation the state of the Sahel also have to take into account their interests As the European Union defends its own. However, in the face of the predatory powers that are pretending to enslave the Sahel, all the countries of the Sahel must unite, to form a bloc against their neo-colonial agendas [BACHAR Issoufou,2015]. "The Nigerian security system can do nothing against Al Qaeda for whom there are many opportunities. Trough this word the former diplomat, Bachar, was inviting the Sahel States to be aware of the

nuisance capacity of the African branch of Al Qaeda. Indeed, in mid-December 2008, two Canadian diplomats, Robert Fowler, UN special envoy to Niger and his colleague Louis Gay were abducted by AQIM in the Tilabéri region about 40 Km west from Niamey. On 22 January 2009, AQIM reoffended by removing four European tourists from the Mali-Niger border zone. By these two operations, AQIM highlighted the vulnerability of the Nigerian state already weakened by the armed conflict against the Tuareg "rebels."

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say that terrorism is developing in the Sahel because it is still poorly remedied until then. Indeed, the fight against terrorism in the Sahel is based on Western strategies that most often ignore the realities of African countries. That is why the new strategy against terrorism in the Sahel must be based on the realistic approach. This approach makes it possible to understand that this question of counterterrorism is partly based on the calculation of interest of foreign powers. So as long as the games of interest of the powers are not resolved, terrorism will not end in the Sahel.

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Abreviations

AQIM; Alquaida in the Islamic Maghreb

 Mujao: Mouvement pour l'unité et le jihad en Afrique de l'Ouest

 MNLA National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad

UNESCO: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO

CMAIS Mediterranean Company for Strategic Analysis and Intelligence

ONUDC Office des Nations-Unies Contre la Drogue et le Crime

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States

TSCTI: The Trans-Saharan Counterterrorism Initiative

MCA: Millennium Challenge Accourt),

 PSI: Pan Sahel Initiative

UFL: Unite de fusion et de liaison

 EU: European union

 G5: Group of five

Destabilising Men's Perceptions: Female Voice in Selected Asian Fictions

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Abstract

This paper aims at investigating some selected fictions of South and Southeast Asian writers to note the occasions where their female characters tend to invalidate various forms of male-oriented assumptions embedded in social practices. It also examines the way some Asian women perpetuate the patriarchy and thereby reinforce their subjugation. It is also seen that some of them, on the other hand, do not compromise their dignity in married life even after facing humiliation and uncertainty. Their attempts of discrediting patriarchal ideologies are focused in this paper so as to determine the respective author's attitude and contribution to relocating female voices in Asian patriarchal societies. The women characters selected for this article are found challenging the stereotyped role of women in a culture that is constructed by people in power in these societies. The discussion in this paper is pursued by feminist discourses with a particular focus on cultural issues related to patriarchy in Asian societies. However, it is argued that despite writing from Asian societies, that have a stronghold of patriarchal ideologies, the selected authors attempted to represent their female characters who are found capable of debunking the cultural norms that subjugate them.

Keywords: Patriarchy, Feminism, Asian Societies, Power, Culture, South and Southeast Asian Fictions

Introduction

Asian societies are mostly influenced by patriarchal ideology. Religion, social customs and on top of that colonial subjugation have made these societies comply with gendered ideologies that give ascendency to the males. However, while living in a society programmed by age-old patriarchal culture, many Asians, no matter whether male or female, do not understand the ways they perpetuate those discriminating ideologies. The people in power, of course, the males, tend to justify their dominance through education system, social, political and religious institutions as well. Societal views in South Asian countries, particularly of Bangla culture is largely fashioned by historically dominant ideologies that relegate women to the periphery of the public or private domain. Southeast Asian societies also share a similar social conviction. Literary works from the authors of both South and Southeast Asian countries document such subjugation and sufferings of women. However, while depicting the miseries of their female characters, these writers focus on their resentment against the patriarchal norms. Through the characterisation of their strong-willed female protagonists, they are found to debunk and challenge the male perceptions of the world. Therefore, the objective of this paper is to offer a critical analysis of female protagonists portrayed by some foremost South and Southeast Asian authors like Rabindranath Tagore,

Begum Rokeya, Shirley Lim, K S Maniam, and Che Hosne Azhari. As religion plays a dominant role in these societies, the gallery of female characters is chosen from the Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities.

It is to be noted that in most societies, especially in Asian countries, social inequality arises out of the patriarchal ideology— a belief system that promotes the assumption that males are superior. This belief justifies male domination on the basis of traditional gender roles which restrict women from getting access to educational and occupational means of acquiring social, political or economic power. In a patriarchal society, women also do not have any scope of constructing their subjectivity by themselves; rather they are programmed to internalize those ideologies which infer that women are inherently inferior and also subject to create their identity in relation to their male counterparts. Men are also defined by the absence of feminine qualities– frailty, cowardice, fragility, compromise, emotion, self-sacrifice, etc. as the male programming promotes. Feminists hold that our gender-based identity is socially constructed and there exist many false assumptions which hinder women emancipation. Moreover, they also criticise male experiences that are considered to be the standard of universality. Liberal feminism argues an equal position for women. The Marxist feminism stresses the economic disparity as the root cause of social injustice. While, on the other hand, the radical feminists point out gender subjectivity. However, all these theories try to dismantle the perceptions that deny the equal and dignified position of woman in the family and social life.

South Asian writers like Tagore and Rokeya gave importance to women education to free them from all kinds of suppression. They have created strong female characters that prove their worth in the struggle of life. Southeast Asian writers also show their concern about women subjugation in the male-dominated world. Writers from both the parts of Asia challenge the general perceptions about gender roles. Nonetheless, they also tend to debunk gender assumptions through the skilful weaving of their plots. Family violence, child marriage, dowry system, female sexuality, conjugal life— all are addressed in the selected works of above-mentioned authors. Most of the Asian societies are Patriarchal in nature. The Asian writers discussed in this paper deal with issues of women power and perception that to some extent challenge the existing ideology. They also criticised the ironical role of women who internalise male perceptions and transmit them from generation to generation. The notion of women inferiority in the fields of intellect and family life is skillfully illustrated in these writings.

Before going into the analysis of their works, a discussion based on sociological, anthropological and feminist theories related to culture, power, gender, and sexuality is attempted to deploy a framework for focusing the argument of this paper. Some notable and bold female characters are presented then, who dismantle gender-biased patriarchal perceptions. However, in this paper, it is argued that if women are not given equal and dignified position, equilibrium of family, as well as society, is broken.

Power and Cultural Construction

In the modern capitalist society, a person's value is measured by his or her productivity. Frederic Engels (1948) stated that with the emergence of private property, women's household work became insignificant in comparison to men's productive power. Therefore, women's economic dependence, hormonal cycles, emotional orientations as well as lack of articulate and formal or illusive style of language derived from socio-political activity make them 'cultural idiots' while the males occupy the position of 'culture ideal.' Culturally set gender role attaches women to household activities including childbearing, caregiving, or cooking. Conversely, males go out to do social and economic activities that enable them to hold and display control over constructing power relations. Together with economic sovereignty, the male power is capable of producing discourses that espouse gender discrimination affirming that "men are the locus of cultural value" (Rosaldo; 1974).

American cultural anthropologist Sherry Beth Ortner (1974) views that distinction between 'nature' and 'culture' determines the distribution of power among the gender relationships. She notes "[t]hus culture (i.e., Every culture) at some level of awareness asserts itself to be not only distinct from but superior to nature, and that sense of distinctiveness and superiority rests precisely on the ability to transform- to 'socialize' and 'culturalize'

nature" (p.73). She holds that women's second class status is postulated because of their symbolic association with nature while males are identified as a culture. Women's creative power- the procreation activity is considered as natural and therefore they remain outside the social mechanisms that value creative but not natural power. On the other hand, prestige, values, creativity, valour, rationality is always attached to male sex. They enjoy power as "cultural systems give authority and roles to the activities of male" (Rosaldo, p.19).

In this regard, we note that the biology of women body is not solely responsible for their subjugation. Rather it is the "politics of body" that determines their fate. Resting on the theory of evolution, Sociobiologists explore the ways our biological traits affect the creation of culture. They argue that we are born in a society which has already set some standard models; we are to follow and comply with the dichotomy of 'good' and 'bad.' Moreover, they also observe that we tend to accommodate in our environment and compromise with the dominant traits we encounter in our familial and social life. Moreover, we tend to accept the existing conceptions as true and try to fit in a dominant standard with regard to our relationship with others.

Unlike the genetic heritage that is transmitted to children by their parents, culture is learned by participating in the programs that pre-exist before birth and is assumed as natural. Ferrante (2007) asserts, "Thus people think and behave as they do simply because they know no other way. And, because these behaviours and thoughts seem natural, we lose sight of the fact that culture is learned"(68). Interestingly, such programming or laws are created by the authority or the people in power. Therefore it is obvious that these dominant traits, norms or values that largely control our behaviour and social position are in the hands of those who have power and can thereby mould culture according to their will and benefit.

Thereby in a patriarchal society, that maintains male superiority, women power is undermined, and in fact, they are subjugated in every sphere of life. This subjugation is confirmed through systematic social activities like religion, production of gender-biased literature, constructing taboos, norms, and customs. However, women subjugation is deeply rooted in patriarchy. It is a system of social structure that posit male in a privileged position empowering them with authority to control women. Tyson (2006) holds that patriarchy promotes the belief that women are innately inferior to men (85). She concludes that this inferior position long occupied by women in patriarchal society has been culturally, not biologically, produced (p.86). Womanhood is an ascribed status.

Referring to McDowel and Pringle's study (1992), Kamabarami (2006) mentions that women are not only constantly defined in relation to men, but are defined as dependent and subordinate to them as well. As a result, women are socialised to acquire those qualities which fit them into a relationship of dependence on men. She also holds that family is that social institution which initiates patriarchy by socialising the young to accept sexually differentiated roles. It is from the mother that the child experiences its social relationship and tends to internalize the ideology which later shapes its personality.

As a matter of fact, the mother, in a family, is the agent of transmitting gender roles to young children. As mentioned earlier, her confinement to 'private life' for childbirth and nurturing deprives her of socio-political or economic activities that may have empowered her to gain authority over culture. Consequently, she cannot come out of the cycle and hence becomes the trainer of existing norms while at the same time she maintains an emotional relationship with her children. On the other hand, the father, being the breadwinner holds economic and political power over his children. Determining a woman's role, the age-old culture moulds her to accept the dependent position. For, decision making and sharing of family property she depends on the husband and being programmed in this patriarchal system she transmits this culture through generation to generation.

However, we should remember that a woman exercises the culture and mother role that she has acquired from her own mother. She also identifies herself with her child in terms of her relationship with her own mother. In this regard, Deutsch's (1944) assertion is worth mentioning. She says, "in relation to her own child, woman repeats her own mother-child history." A child's early attachment to the mother helps it shape personality.

However, unlike the boy, the girl child spends more time at home with the mother. Thereby she is the one to whom the gender-based traditional culture is transmitted easily. Analysing Chodorow's theory, Anthropologist Mitchell Rosaldo (1974) concludes, "as a young girl has a mother to love and to follow, she also has the option of becoming a 'little mother,' and consequently of being absorbed into womanhood without effort" (p.25). Growing up within the surrounding of other senior female members she identifies herself as one of them and thereby is destined to fit in the dominant patriarchal culture. Conversely, the boy learns to be a male going out of the home through his ties with 'male peers,' only to find that it is the world where women are to be dominated.

The women enter into their husbands' house as a stranger. Because of arranged marriage culture, she has no scope of knowing the man before she gets him as a life partner. It is only through her children that she roots in the new environment. However the mother in law, in most cases appears to be antagonistic. The sister-in-law, if there is any, adds more suffering to the newcomer woman who happens to be their kin through marriage. The in-laws, in this case, despite being women of the same fate, try to victimise her only to feel them less victimised.

Social culture is constructed via a set of discourses operating from dominating sources. Patriarchy in Asian countries is deeply rooted. However, the situation gets worsened in postcolonial patriarchal societies as in those societies women are double colonised. Other than being treated as weaker sex in social relations they are also found to be the victims of family violence. Loomba (2007) comments, "Colonialism intensified patriarchal oppression, often because native man, increasingly disenfranchised and excluded from the public sphere, became more tyrannical at home" (142). However, this pattern of behaviour or views is also liable to be changed, adjusted or readjusted. As such patriarchal tenets that influence the lives of millions of Asian women can also be deconstructed.

Debunking Men's Perception of World

The winner of esteemed "Commonwealth Poetry Prize" (1980) Shirley Geok-Lin Lim's short story 'Mr. Tang's Girls' documents the male world represented by a Chinese patriarch Mr. Tang. It is a "story of four girls in the second family of Ah Kong, an affluent but insensitive and traditional father, who fails to cope with the growing sexuality of the eldest girl" (Quayum, 2007). Every Friday, he drives to his second family and exercises his patriarchal authority over his wife and four girls whose "suppressed giggles, lazy talk, muted movements and uncertain sighs constituted his sense of home"(158). Their voices are like the background music-a chorus element but not to be heard louder than that of their male counterpart, at least when he is 'in'; only to create a perfect male world where women are to play their docile role to reinforce the male power. The 'He' enjoys a sense of elation satisfying his "masculine vitality"(163) as his daughters' "silent form would fill him with pleasure that they should belong to him, depend on his homecoming, and fall asleep in his presence, innocent and pure" (91). Ah, Kong's wife is considered as an unproductive being in terms of material exchange value. His wife is a sex doll for him. He finds "his round soft wife in her faded nightgown was exactly what he wanted then; he was firm next to her slack hips, lean against her plump rolling breasts;" (163) . The wife's subordinate position is evident in the statement- "Ah Kong approved of her [the maid servant] as much as, perhaps even more than, he approved of his wife." She assures him of transmitting the patriarchal message to their elder daughter Li: "I told her a married woman has all kinds of responsibilities. She's lucky she'll have a husband who'll take care of her, but she has to learn to get along with him" (167).

But the Malaysian-turned-American author Shirley Lim destabilises Ah Kong's male world through the representation of his rebellious daughter Kim Li. She attacks Ah Kong's patriarchy by defying to marry a man chosen by her father. Unlike her sisters, she is not interested in taking make-up or feminine attires. She smokes, decorates her room with the posters of the Beatles singers and does not like 'pink satin pillows or red paper flowers.' She demands that she should meet the man, her father's chosen man for her, before her marriage. As the parents do not accept her idea, she makes fun of her woman being. Her rejection of the traditional culture of arranged marriage finds an alternative expression. She satirises Ah Kong's world by making a farce of it. She

starts applying make-up and consequently Ah Kong gets nervous before entering her room as the 'painted woman' is 'smiling provocatively from her room.' Through the stabbing of Ah Kong, Kim Li hurls her anger against the patriarch's heterosexual hostility.

This male supremacy and debunking of it are also reflected in another Southeast Asian story "Mala." When Mala, in Malaysia born Indian author K S Maniam's story, leaves school at her marriageable age, her parents' main concern is to find a suitable groom for her. The mother is careful about her daughter's manners and gestures lest they should mar the prospect of her good marriage. Mala is criticised if she reads magazines at the doorway or hum a tune in the bathroom. The neighbouring woman also keeps eyes on her and brands her as Mala- a *Malay* word for *lazy*. Despite being a woman, she spreads rumours about Mala's errant behaviour. Mala is in fact, under the surveillance and always being reminded of what to do and what not to do only to prepare her as the best commodity in the marriage market. Mala's failure in the exam adds more anxiety to the family. The mother has to do all the rituals to get rid of her. The mother's concern is obvious, and she goes to pre-curtain, redecorate or refurnish the house to attract a suitable match for the daughter.

Through the portrayal of Mala's character, the writer shows the carefree girl who does not abide by the rules and laws imposed on women. Mala marries on her own choice defying the age-old family tradition. Ironically her educated husband Sanker also takes it granted that wives are defined in relation to husbands. He changes his wife's dress up and looks, so as to make her fit in the business world. Sanker allows her to work for him as a secretary in his office and wants that she should serve a drink to the special customers. Here the husband is seen controlling her sexuality only to make more profit. He also takes her to a doctor who "put[s] some metal inside her" (78) to control childbearing lest it should spoil her beauty. Nonetheless, Mala overtly tells Sanker that she is not going to wait on any man who comes to office. Feeling humiliated, she challenges his authority by denying to go down to his office the next morning. Her self-motivated decision to become a mother and overt defiance to her husband is a gesture of debunking the stereotyped image of Asian women.

Interestingly, the Chinese woman, Lucy, with whom they are sharing the tiny apartment, insists on her avoiding unhappiness and advises her to do whatever the husband wants. Therefore we see that her mother and the Chinese woman reinforce the gender roles approved by Asian patriarchy. They are the stereotyped women who perpetuate women subjugation unknowingly. They comply with the existing social norms accepting them as natural and predispose to accommodate with dominant discourses.

The stereotyped compromising attitude of women is also reflected in Southeast Asian Muslim community presented by another Malaysian female author Che Husne Azhari. Unlike Mala, the Muslim leader's wife Cik Yam, of Che Husne Azhari's story "Mariah," is a very obedient and loving wife. Her conjugal life with Imam is a role model for all the married couples in the village of Molo. Along with her culinary skills and hospitable nature, she is very modest. But, unfortunately, all her good qualities that fit her in the male-dominated world do not ensure her a position of being a single wife in a heterosexual polygamous society. The Imam inclines to a widow Mariah, the *nasi* (rice) seller, for whom the whole village males await at the market entrance every morning. The narrator records the ongoing rumour: "her nasi wasn't much to crow about, but it was a combination of Mariah's swaying as well as her easy smile that made all the men flock to the village square. Many a nasi belauk breakfast remained cold and uneaten in the houses as men ignored their wives' cooking and paid tribute to Mariah's instead "(19). He wants to take Mariah as his second wife. He admits that he crushes on Mariah because of his unrequited love for Sheikh's daughter in Thailand. The Imam validates his argument by pointing out that Cik Yam cannot give birth to a child for him. Cik Yam is actually a victim of the patriarchal notion: "Fertility had nothing to do with men" (23).

When the village women led by Cik Gu Nab, report Cik Yam about Imam's inclination to Mariah, she does not show her anger or anxiety. She does not want to tarnish the name of her husband publicly; but complies with the traditional culture of family reputation. Cik Yam consents the marriage only when the Imam reverses his male role by shedding tears- a presumed stereotyped gesture of weaker sex. Cik Yam consoles the husband: "Tell me

what grieves you my husband, and I will make it better for you" (23). To get consent for a second marriage, the Imam looks for an occasion, and it is of course after prayers. "He begged Cik Yam's forgiveness, kissed the hem of Cik Yam's sarong and asked for her permission to take Mariah as his second wife." He sheds his tears displaying "feminine fragility" and persuades her kissing on her "forehead, hands and finally, in the act of submission, on Cik Yam's feet" (29). The story debunks the idea of woman's frailties. On the contrary, it is the male who develops frailty in his character even though he is happily married to a docile wife.

Azhari's story focuses on Mariah's longing for freedom. After her husband's death, she chose her business for living independently. Despite having a long list of prospective suitors, Mariah decides to marry the religious leader of the village discarding false assumption about women that they are greedy and wish to marry rich persons only. Faridah (2000) notes, "Mariah has refused all other proposals, but the Imam's because she has hopes that the religious leader will provide and guide her in spiritual matters. In short, she thinks of her own salvation for the hereafter" (234).

On the other hand, Indian feminist writer Begum Rokeya creates a land of ladies and shows women's potency in their public life. Through a dream sequence, the author projects a land of empowered women. In her *Sultana's Dream,* women are educated, self-reliant, meticulous and adept in handling administrative and state issues. Reversing the patriarchal assumptions, men are presented as timid and shy. They are kept in *Mardana*, a secluded place "that stands as the representation of the embodied male seclusion from power—from the center" (Rahman and Sarker 2018:38) and are solely responsible to look after household work and domestic chores while women go out for outdoor activities. Therefore, in the lady land males are "cultural idiots" while the women are the "cultural ideals" going out for economic and social activities Rejecting the assumed inferiority of women, Sister Sara excels in a number of branches of knowledge ranging from history, politics, military affairs, education to science. Unlike the males who are busy with masculine vanity, greed, and war-monging, the women in this Utopia are harmless. Entrusted with authority, they do not fight for one another's land nor do they run after hoarding jewellery. Women protect their land through knowledge and creative politics. Thus Rokeya has successfully pictured the role reversal to establish women's claim in politics and public affairs. If given equal opportunity, they could also prove their worth. Hossain (1992) notes, "[i]n *Sultana's Dream,* a farcical fantasy of role reversal, Rokeya exposed the depressed condition of women and pictured an ideal world where they were able, after suitable education to take responsibility of their own world."

The narrative sheds light on the false assumptions that a patriarchal culture constructs. It is highlighted here that if given proper space and encouragement, women folk is capable of accomplishing all those things that they are thought of incapable. Begum Rokeya promotes women abilities in the arena of science, education or politics. The scientific education and success of women's endeavour, shown in a dream though, makes the assumption about women's disqualification in scientific education invalid. In her *Sultana's Dream*, she shows two women universities where the female scientists invent the machine to control weather while another to store solar energy. Rokeya actually urges recognition of women abilities as equitable as males. In this dream sequence, the South Asian author attempts to debunk patriarchal culture in an ironic and humorous way.

Rokeya's contemporary and the first Bengali Nobel laureate Tagore's writings also plead for women liberty and restoration of a respectable position for them in the family as well as in social life. He contended that male and female together could create a happy world. Commenting on Tagore's position in this regard, Prof. Quayum (2014) concludes, "therefore, giving equal status to women, instead of forcing them to submission, was the only way to create a balanced and meaningful civilisation in which man and woman could complement each other's attributes and 'talents' and create a paradise on earth"(144). With this view, Tagore created some female characters who challenge the sufferings done to them.

Patriarchy promulgates the idea that males are inherently dominating and superior to their opposite sex— the females. This perception takes various forms of psychological and physical violence in many families of South Asian countries. Dowry system, for instance, is a curse for women in Indian society. There are many instances

that women, especially mothers- in- law, are the agents of family violence. The mother-in-law, who was once a new bride to the family, has now gained some power at her old age in the domestic world. Anthropologist Louise Lamphere (1974) holds that women gain some power through family politics and strategies namely by persuading the husband and the son. In Indian societies, some mothers-in-law establish their position in the family by taking up the role of a patronizing patriarch. Assuming a key role for enhancing family property she, ironically, reinforces the oppression to her daughter-in-law, the new bride.

Tagore's Nirupama in the story "Assets and Debts" is the victim of such a tormenting mother-in-law. The mother-in-law takes charge of ensuring the growth of family property by inflicting humiliation on Nirupama for extracting dowry money. Notwithstanding, the fact that she herself a woman, the mother assumes the patriarchal role. She values her daughter-in-law Nirupama in terms of exchange value. To the mother-in-law, Nirupama is eligible to get nutritious food only if her father pays the dowry. Tagore states that her "malice crossed all limits" when she comes to know that Nirupama is not submissive and has persuaded her father not to pay the 'debts.' Ironically, her educated husband does not have any strong voice against such domination.

On the other hand, the dignity and courageous nature of Nirupama debunks the image of submissive women. However, the boldness in her character gives her power of endurance. She establishes her self-identity by refusing the commodification of women in the dowry system. She considers it her dishonour to give dowry. She asks her father, "Does your daughter have no dignity? Am I only a bag of money; so long as there is money I have value?"(63). Tagore points at the darker side of women subjugation in the male world through the death and ironically spectacular cremation of Nirupama.

Like Nirupama, Chandara in the story "Punishment," proves her value through her self- sacrifice by accepting the false allegation of murdering her sister-in-law. Nevertheless, she seems to be bold and conscious about her dignity in terms of her relationship with her husband, Chhidam. As with the case of other Indian women, she is also married at her early age. She is always engaged in a quarrel with her sister-in-law. Hurling of abuses, hue, and cry stemmed from jealousy or desire of grasping authority over one another is a common experience in that family. The elder sister-in-law, since she came first to that family, is more active in everyday uproar and assumes the role of stereotyped mother-in-law. The males, their husbands, are accustomed to their quarrel. They do not interfere as long as their authority is challenged. Chandara likes her husband and is, in fact, happy with him until the occurrence of a tragic incident in their house. Her brother-in-law Dukhiram kills her sister-in-law in anger. Chandara's complete disillusionment of married life occurs when Chhidam proposes her to take charge of murder on her shoulder to save his brother as he holds that " if I lose my wife I'll get another but, if my brother is hanged I'll never get another" (116). This very confession of Chidam illustrates her subordinate position in the house.

The beauty of Chandara's character lies in her silent protest against Chhidam's world. She gets a stunned hearing to Chidam's proposal regarding shouldering the guilt on herself. She does not utter any word; rather "her two dark eyes continued to bore into him in silence lie black fire" (119). Having dismayed completely, Chandara takes on the crime herself that ultimately leads her to gallows. But she does not compromise to her feminine gestures against the dignity and inner strength. On another occasion before this, she had left the house, and the husband had to accept his defeat. Chandara, though an uneducated poor village girl at her teens, dares to challenge the male world that does not allow her a respectable life.

Nevertheless, in the courtroom, she does not look at her husband; nor does she allow Chiddam to visit her on the day of her execution. The weaker sex Chandara does not want to see the face of her husband even before going to gallows. While being asked by the civil Surgeon, she expresses her desire to see her mother— another woman; and not the man whom she trusted. She embodies the primordial cosmic power "Shakti," mentioned in Hindu mythology, which has the ability to destroy as well as creating. Chandara's utterance of "Hell!"(122) is a voice against women subjugation is an attempt of deconstructing men's perception of the world where women

are being underestimated on both biological and cultural basis. However, she represents the Asian women who are capable of altering men's perceptions that hold women to be weak and voiceless.

However, South Asian writers like Tagore and Rokeya were writing in a time when Indian Independence movement was at its peak. Both of them recognised the vitality of Asian women despite the predicaments they face in social relations. The Malaysian stories also demonstrate the importance of giving respect to women's values. The writers believe that women's respectful position and individuality should be ensured with a view to building a prospective society shared by both men and women. In their writings, they emphasise restructuring the culture and social practices that degrade and ignore women's vitality.

Conclusion

The women characters discussed in the texts are drawn from the poor, middle and lower middle-class families, who are mainly the victims of gender discrimination in Asian societies. Though the South and Southeast Asian fictions chosen here can never be a true representation of all Asian societies, they have their relevance to Asian culture in terms of their patriarchal and cultural representation. The authors focused on the double colonized status of the "third world women" and created the image of 'new women' who would establish a society free from misogynistic injustice. However, from the above discussion, we can contend that men and aged women with certain level of veneration should come forward together to establish gender harmony in a society that would be devoid of any false assumptions leading to the oppressions only to limit the basic capabilities of mankind. From the analysis of the chosen texts, in this paper, we note that most of the female protagonists have the potentiality to express and establish their own individual identity. In some cases, the authors have intentionally reversed the gender role so as to invalidate the dominant discourses of patriarchy. Moreover, by giving voice to their female protagonists, the Asian writers, addressed here, destabilise the perception of existing gendered norms.

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