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Nationalist and a Populist Leader

Highlights

The Voting for Political Leaders

Ombudsman for Good Governances

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Trump, A Nationalist and a Populist Leader

By Jose Pinto
Lusophone University

Abstract- In November 2016, against most expectations, even among some Republican Party's members, and despite his lack of political experience, as he had never held any public office, Donald Trump won the presidential election in the USA through a campaign conducted against the political elite. During the campaign he presented himself as an outsider, as someone who would upend the corrupt political elite installed in Washington and that had no real touch with the citizens. An elite that was fuelled by money and often forgot the national interests. Trump was right when he believed that voters were expected to show their dissatisfaction at the polls. This essay reflects on the reasons underlying his victory and aims at proving that nationalism and populism were among them. It also tries to demonstrate that nationalism and populism are still present in Trump's policies. An unorthodox President who, till the moment, is merely following through on his campaign promises and rules over the Un-united States of America.

Keywords: *USA, Trump, nationalism and populism.*

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Trump, A Nationalist and a Populist Leader

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I. Introduction

Before becoming the 45th President of the USA Donald Trump had no political experience, but he was already well-known, mainly thanks to his business activity and regular presence in the media. As Michael Kranish and Marc Fisher (2016, p. 15) reported[1], more than three decades before participating in the presidential race, he was already included in Gallup list as one of the ten most admired personalities by Americans.

Michael Wolff (2018) wrote that "Donald Trump didn't want to be President". He only wanted to become "the most famous man in the world" and he was sure that he "would come out of this campaign [...] with a far more powerful brand and untold opportunities"[2]. It is a controversial statement despite several examples presented by Wolff and not accepted as true by Trump. A process that seems it is going to last.

Some months ago, Trump collaborated with an enormous team chosen by *The Washington Post*, appointed to investigate his life and for the writing of his biography, but he refused to read Kranish and Fisher's book. Nevertheless he read *Let Trump be Trump,* the book written by his former campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, and deputy campaign manager, David Bossie, and he praised the authors despite having replaced Lewandowski for Paul Manafort.

These two books are important to explain who Trump really is and how he conquered power. The list must also include a book written by Trump himself: *Crippled America: how to make America great again* (2015) and his 100-day action plan to make America great again, that is to say, his contract with the American voters.

Besides, some others of Trump's books could deserve mention as they unequivocally prove his way of thinking and acting without any shame of an undisguised narcissism[3].

Throughout the books that have been mentioned we discover not only the proud entrepreneur but also someone who is able to take advantage of the media power to convince the voters. Someone who used – and keeps using - nationalism and populism as his weapons.

Donald Trump, a member of the American economic elite, began to show not a patriotic but a national face. In fact, rivalry was always present in his discourse when he claimed that it was necessary to make America great again. At this point, even if he could be seen as someone who placed national interest first, nobody could say that his words revealed affection. He was just an American refusing external superiority and a citizen worried with the presence of immigrants considering the fact that they were not only stealing jobs from American unemployed people but also destroying American identity.

Adriano Moreira (2005, p. 367) affirms that "if nation, when it changes into a political value, becomes linked to a certain attitude of exclusion towards different groups, it does not impose necessarily an aggressive nationalism". Trump has a different perspective. For him, nationalism needs to be aggressive to be respected. He makes an intentional confusion between

Author: Lusophone University of Humanities and Technologies Portugal. e-mail: p3083@ulusofona.pt

[1] In the book titled *Trump revealed. An American Journey of Ambition, Ego, Money, and Power.*

[2] *New York,* 3rd of January 2018.

[3] Trump's *bibliography is extensive: The art of the deal* (1987)*, Surviving at the top* (1990)*, The art of the comeback (1997), The America we deserve* (2000), *How to get rich* (2004), *The way to the top: the best business advice I ever received* (2004), *Think like a billionaire: everything you need to know about success, real Estate, and life* (2004), *The best golf advice I ever received* (2005), *Why we want you to be rich: two men, one message* (2006), *How to build a fortune: your plan for success from the world's most famous businessman* (2006), *The best real estate advice I ever received: 100 top experts share their strategies* (2006)*, Trump 101: the way to success* (2006), *Think big and kick ass* (2007), *Never give up: how I turned my biggest challenges into success(2008), Think like a champion: an informal education in business and life* (2009), *Time to get tough: making America #1 Again* (2011)*, Midas touch: why some entrepreneurs get rich — and why most don't* (2011)*, Trump tower* (2011)*, Crippled America: how to make America great again* (2015).

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respect and fear or between patriotism and nationalism because probably he has never heard De Gaulle's words: "Patriotism is when love for our own people comes first; nationalism is when hate for other people comes first". It is an aggressive nationalism because, as Gellner (1994, p. 126) affirms, only our group matters.

In this point, MacWilliams (2016) argues that Trump represents "the most recent expression of a long-standing theme in American political life". A model based "on ascribing to any relatively disempowered group (whether defined by race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religious belief, or other identifying category) a certain set of qualities that justify discriminatory treatment", those whom Trump considers «bad guys» or a threat for American way of living.

Carlos de la Torre (2017) affirms that Trump used "ethnic criteria to differentiate the people from three out groups – Mexicans, Muslims, and African-American militant organisations". In fact, Trump's statements against these groups are abundant. For instance, Mexicans were accused of being "rapists" or "criminals" and Trump retweeted three anti-Muslim videos from the deputy leader of Britain First, Jayda Fransen, not to mention that he recovered George W. Bush's axis of evil. That is why he banned entrance, initially for 120 days, from seven majority-Muslim countries – Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen – or suspended both the entire US refugee admissions system for 120 days and the Syrian refugee program indefinitely.[4]

In this crusade he blamed the political elite. He accused Washington politicians to drive the country into the abyss. A clear populist behaviour.

Trump intentionally mixed the concepts of nationalism and populism since the announcement of his candidacy when he presented his "us-versus-them narrative", a narrative in which he denounced that "«the other» is attacking us from without and weakening us from within as our leaders stand by clueless and ineffectual" (Mac Williams, 2016, p. 1).

Trump believed that "insecurity encourages an authoritarian xenophobic reaction in which people close ranks behind strong leaders, with strong in-group solidarity, rejection of outsiders" (Inglehart & Norris, 2017, p. 443).

This essay reflects on his strategy to achieve power and to conduct policy and it proves that, in both circumstances, we find ourselves faced with a fusion of nationalism and populism. Two concepts that need clarification.

a) Nationalism and Populism: Two Conceptual Realities

Nationalism and populism represent different concepts even considering the fact that they seem elusive and allow many interpretations, a commonplace in Human and Social Sciences. Indeed, it is not an easy task to clarify the meaning of both the concepts because the words that are in their origin – Nation and People – are far from a consensual definition.

In fact, nation is more than the Renan's metaphor – a everyday plebiscite – or Malraux's idea – a community of dreams – and Pinto (2017, p. 330) remembers that Adriano Moreira defends that the expression «people» is used "at times to convey compassion and at other times to endow political dignity to the communities of citizens or voters".

According to Anthony Smith (2003, p. 1), nationalism is a red line that "traverses the history of the modern world from the fall of the Bastille to the fall of the Berlin Wall". A long life because social scientists consider that "nationalism is a modern movement and ideology, which emerged in the latter half of the eighteenth century in Western Europe and America". It is a movement that started to be inclusive, then became exaggerated and reached its apogee "in two world wars" and, with globalisation, started "to decline and give way to global forces which transcend the boundaries of nation-states".

In this sense we can say that globalisation was responsible for the decline of nationalism because the world became a village, a place where almost everybody is constantly on line, and the culture changes to a new global model. However, this transformation is not well-accepted by those who are proud of their culture and refuse any modification. That is the reason for the emergence of nationalist parties and movements. It is a phenomenon easier to be explained in the countries that import the model than in the country – USA – that exports its way of living.

In what concerns populism, it appeared in the 19th century and, according to Frank Venturi, Herzen was its originator. Populism is a controversial concept. Mudde & Kaltwasser (2012, p. 2) affirmed that it was necessary "to separate populism from features that might regularly occur together with it, but are not part of it", such as nativism and authoritarianism.

Populism can be seen as "an ideology (Laclau 1977; Mudde 2004)[5], style of politics (Knight 1998), specific discourse (Hawkins 2009) or the political strategy (Weyland 2001)" (Pappas, 2014, pp. 2-3). A list that can be augmented because, as Noam Gidron and Bart Bonikovski (2004. p.1) affirm in a literature review, populism "has been defined based on political, economic, social, and discursive features (Weyland 2001, p.1) and analyzed from myriad theoretical

[4] Some months later Trump changed his initial measures and so Iraq was removed from the list and Syrian refugees were no automatically forbidden to enter into the country.

[5] Indeed, Mudde (2004) affirmed that "Populism constitutes an ideology, even a 'thin' one".

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perspectives[6] [...] and a variety of methodological approaches, such as archival research, discourse analysis, and formal modeling (Acemoglu et al. 2011, Ionescu and Gellner 1969, Canovan 2002, Hawkins 2009, Goodliffe 2012, Postel 2007)".

In this essay I define populism not as an ideology or a thin-ideology. In fact, when we analyse the populist parties' programs we can find a mix of elements from the left and the right.

Populism is a way of articulation of the discourse aiming at fighting for hegemony. A fight between two entities – people and elite – considered as homogenous. A conflict that can never be solved through negotiations. An antagonism that does not accept intermediaries, because "the populist leader considers only himself in conditions to decipher the will of the people" (Pinto, 2017, p. 53). It is a fight based on the change from the differential logic to the equivalentional one[7]. The internal elite is always made responsible for the social problems.

These concepts became two of the most striking features of the 20th and 21st centuries. Indeed, The First World War cannot be explained without nationalism and the causes of the Second World War must be found both in a nationalistic perspective and in populist regimes, such as Nazism, Fascism and Sovietism. Orwell said that nationalism was the worst enemy of peace. Populism can be placed in the same camp.

Despite their differences, nationalism and populism share some common elements as they are often associated with conflicts conducted under national pride. However, the red line is drawn differently. In nationalism, the line separates «we» and «they» but the line coincides with the border of the country. «We» stay inside the frontier: Nation is conceived as the own world, a community. Outside this frontier there is another world where «they» must stay. The others usually seen as a threat for our nation.

On the other hand, populism draws the line inside the country and it separates the citizens in two opposite fields: people and elite. This division shows that the place of birth does not automatically mean the right of belonging to the people. That is the reason why some populist parties consider themselves as the true people. In 2002 elections, after being defeated, Víktor Orbán, FIDESZ's leader, said that "we, here in this square, cannot and will not be in opposition, because the nation cannot be in opposition" (Bozóki, 2015, p. 19).

The next point will prove that Trump used nationalism and populism during his campaign to the presidency.

b) Running for the Spotlight: Assessing Trump´s Campaign

As Michael Kranish and Marc Fisher (2016) show, Donald Trump is a "global brand" and he decided to use this successful characteristic, but not his money[8], to become President of the USA. A decision that came up public on June 16, 2015, and made laugh many American politicians and political and social analysts who thought to be in presence of Trump´s attempt to get visibility once again. That was the position, for example, of Jeffrey Toobin or Clarence Page. Not to mention that *Politico* "called Trump's announcement «one of the more bizarre spectacles of the 2016 political season thus far»" (Mac Williams, 2016, p. 2).

He was sure that the campaign would be long – in the USA law does not stipulate the number of days to promote the candidature - and the presidential election "the most controversial and polarizing election in modern American history". He was prepared for it as his promises proved. The continuous presence on television and the knowledge of the business affairs as a school of life of a self-made man who knew that he would count on "a responsive chord" (Schwartz, 1973). A large number of American citizens and not only those who were said to be the usual suspects "working class, white, dispossessed males" (MacWilliams, 2016, p. 3).

It is worthwhile to record that his support came from several sources. For example, six years ago, when interviewed by Fox News, Trump said: "I think the people of the Tea Party like me because I represent a lot of the ingredients of the Tea Party". A proof of nationalism which attracted financial support. In an article published by *New York,* Wolff (2018) mentions that "the right-wing billionaire Robert Mercer, a Ted Cruz backer whom Trump barely knew, offered him an infusion of $5 million" and Robert and his daughter Rebekah convinced Trump about the plan "to take over the campaign and install their lieutenants, Steve Bannon and Conway".

Trump was lucky since Hilary Clinton won Democratic Party nomination. Indeed, as Hawkin, Dudley & Wen (2016, p. 93) affirm, Bernie Saunders would be a "similar contender" because "commentators have noted the strong ideological and stylistic similarities between these candidates and the radical populists of the left [in Sander´s case] and right [in Trump's case] in Latin America and Europe".

[6] Including structuralism, post-structuralism, modernization theory, social movement theory, party politics, political psychology, political economy, and democratic theory.

[7] This change of logic was first presented by Ernesto Laclau. According to Pinto (2017, p. 54), this modification occurs when "the Government does not respond to the demands of its citizens, and one of those demands succeeds in mobilizing and initiating change from a differentialist logic - one that recognizes Government authority - to the equivalential logic".

[8] According to Wolff, Trump only loaned the campaign "$10 million, provided he got it back as soon as they could raise other money".

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As Hillary became the nominee of Democrats, Trump could successfully follow his populist fight against Washington swamp.

His controversial feature was well-known. He refused to behave like a politician even when he copied the politicians' techniques like the use of the teleprompter. He did not care about his hard words and opted intentionally for an incendiary discourse. That is the reason for many of his statements becoming headlines. Sentences that the mass media broadcasted improving Trump's impact on the audience. Mass media that Trump considered as enemies even when he defended that he appreciated many journalists, mainly belonging to the financial area[9], his favourite subject. A populist because populism looks at media and parties as responsible for the bad functioning of representative democracy.

Another populist characteristic is polarisation. That was the reason for presenting Hillary Clinton as representing the political elite, an elite that forgot the people, while Trump promised that the weaker regions and citizens would not be left lagging behind.

Trump presented himself as the voice of the forgotten people and accused Hillary of being the voice of the established interests.

The reading of his manifesto allows identifying many populist and nationalist evidences, implying a plan of "restoring honesty, accountability and change to Washington". So, he proposed "a lifetime ban on White House officials lobbying on behalf of a foreign government" and "a complete ban on foreign lobbyists raising money for American elections". Besides, with the collaboration of Congress, he would enact "new ethics reforms to Drain the Swamp and reduce the corrupting influence of special interests in our politics".

All these proposals were populist because they were against those who influenced the political decisions. However, the word «foreign» points to nationalism as well. Nationalism was also visible when Trump promised to "begin removing the more than 2 million criminal illegal immigrants from the country and cancel visas to foreign countries that won't take them back". Besides, these measures would be accompanied by suspending "immigration from terror-prone regions where vetting cannot safely occur". It was a clear intention to «clean» the USA from those whom Trump considered a threat for the national security.

It is a decision that could be seen as xenophobic in opposition to the previous administrations which viewed legal immigration as desirable economically and acceptable culturally. A charge rejected by Trump because he defended that he was not persecuting legal immigrants but illegal ones. Or, as many of these «bad guys» came from Mexico, Trump promised to work "with Congress", aiming at introducing legislative measures to construct "a wall on our southern border with the full understanding that the country Mexico will be reimbursing the United States for the full cost of such wall". In what concerns the reimbursing model, Trump did not present a real proposal.

Trump promised to establish "a 2-year mandatory minimum federal prison sentence for [those] illegally re-entering the U.S. after a previous deportation". For discouraging the repeaters, he suggested a higher punishment: "a 5-year mandatory minimum" for those illegally re-entering "with felony convictions, multiple misdemeanour convictions or two or more prior deportations".

Trump's immigration policy was not only against illegals. He promised to reform "visa rules to enhance penalties for overstaying and to ensure open jobs are offered to American workers first". A convincing promise mainly in the areas where many Americans had been left behind when the factories were relocated despite American economy recovering since June 2009.

When we analyse the data collected by Jon Huang, Samuel Jacoby, Michael Strickland and K. Rebecca[10], we understand the effect of Trump's nationalism and populism on the voters. So, according to race, only 8% of Black, 29% of Hispanic/Latino and 29% of Asian voted for Trump.

Besides, 84% of Trump's voters considered that most illegal immigrants working in the U.S.A should be deported and 86% supported Trump's idea of building a wall along the entire U.S. border with Mexico.

Trump's voters really appreciate their candidate: 94% considered him honest and trustworthy and that he had the temperament to serve effectively as president. The populist discourse had been successful. It was a confirmation that Trump really dominated the American reality.

Some politicians complain about the people they govern. Trump believed that «his» people really loved him. An unquestionable truth or a dogma for all populist leaders. Charisma as a blessing allowing them to understand people's will without needing any intermediary bodies.

II. A Populist in the White House

The role of individuals is an endless discussion. Indeed, while structural realism defends that individual policymakers are less important than the system structural features, classical and neoclassical realism and constructivism hold that individuals exert a strong influence. In this case, the question could be placed in this way: would Trump keep his discourse and change

[9] In *Great Again: How to Fix Our Crippled America*. The cover of the book shows a worried and angry Trump. He explained the option for that photo as a way of showing the awful situation of his country.

[10] Available in https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/11/08/us/politics/election-exit-polls.html

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the system or, on the contrary, would the system oblige him to change his discourse?

Many analysts believed that Trump's discourse would change when he entered into the Oval Room as many examples could be found both in Latin America and in the European Union. Indeed, everybody knows the difference between Syriza's promises and the measures that it was forced to adopt once in power.

However, an important element must be taken into account. Syriza is a left populist party ruling a poor country. Trump belongs to the right wing and he heads a rich country, even if he considers its present situation as ruinous. Syriza's populism comes from the bottom. Trump's populism is an elite populism. It comes from the top.

These specificities explain the composition of Trump´s cabinet. An affluent cabinet in the image of the leader. As Stephen Mihm (2016) wrote, Trump assembled "an administration made up of the sorts of people whom sociologist C. Wright Mills famously called the power elite"[11].

A long time ago, Mills (1956, p. 75) defended that "within American society, major national power" resided "in the economic, the political, and the military domains". However, still according to Mills (1958, p.32), "as each has assumed its modern shape, its effects upon the other two have become greater, and the traffic between the three has increased".

As it was already said, Trump belongs to the economic elite and he pretends to fight against the political elite. However, the composition of his cabinet proves that there is a gap between the words and reality.

American political system is presidential and the system of checks and balances ensures that executive, legislative and judicial powers are independent and control mutually.

Trump understood that he could blame the political elite but he could not lead against it. He needed its support to implement his promises.

Andy Smarick and Kelsey Hamilton (2017)[12] compared "the combined government experience of President Donald Trump's initial domestic policy cabinet appointees to that of the first confirmed officials of the previous three administrations" and they concluded that they had "fewer years of experience in government service than the previous administrations analyzed". They noticed that six of Trump's appointees had "no government experience".

This element could support Trump's idea on the political elite. However, Smarick and Hamilton also related that Trump's choices were "conventional regarding experience in congressional positions, state-level elected office, and senior federal appointed positions".

Hence, we can admit that Trump had "little faith in those who have served in governmental institutions" and might "rely less on those with public-sector experience". A criterion also obeying personal confidence.

Kirk Hawkins, Rebecca Dudley and Wen Jie (Fred) Tan (2016, p. 103) think that "even as Trump carries out his promises to rescind or modify key policies – and some of the changes may be serious – he is unlikely to target core institutions of US democracy or eliminate liberal capitalism". This statement takes into account that Trump is the President of a country with a well-functioning system.

Therefore, despite all the marks of nationalism and populism, the 2016 US presidential campaign was "similar to previous populist moments, reflecting a temporary disconnect between traditional parties and their constituents, rather than widespread outrage at a political system that has routinely failed to satisfy basic standards of governance".

That disconnect was the reason for the emergence of populist waves both in Europe and in Latin America as a temporary answer, not a sustainable solution. Populism rises as an illusion before it falls as a disappointment.

In the USA, the predominance of the Democratic and Republican parties does not grant space to the appearance of a strong alternative party. The electoral competition will go on being only between two forces. Two different forms of conceiving the country without compromising the Founders' heritage.

In what concerns foreign policy, Trump believes that his personality and business acumen will be enough to renegotiate better agreements and he never worries if his personality and business experience will be enough to convince the other countries and organizations. It is the populist rule. A situation susceptible of provoking a difficult relationship between the President and the Congress even with Republicans in control of Congress and the White House. An internal fight into the Republican Party due to the gap between President's will and the reality. Jon Johnson (2017) grasped this potential conflict when writing *The art of breaking the deal: what President Trump can and can't do about NAFTA.*

The same happens in domestic life. Trump wanted to replace Obamacare which he considered a disaster but, after several fruitless attempts, the process has not yet finished. And the same is happening concerning Mexico wall. After announcing the end of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), Trump presented 70 principles for a new immigration policy but he did not give up the idea of building the wall. In fact, according to Democrats' point of view, he wanted a

[11] Available in http://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/news/article.cfm?c_id=3&objectid=11767303.

[12] Available in http://www.aei.org/publication/government-experience-and-president-trumps-domestic-policy-cabinet/

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deal, that is to say, offering legal protection to under 16 immigrants who had illegally arrived in USA and who were not older than 31 in June 2012,obtaining in exchange financial support to build the wall. Trump's obsession never ends. So he threatened to paralyze the Government if the Congress does not approve financing the building of the wall.

However, it is fair to recognize that the other half of the USA that does not agree with Trump's nationalism and populism is almost always against his decisions and looks forward to his impeachment. It is a continuous attempt as we read the headlines of some important newspapers or watch several television channels. Therefore, Trump considers that some internal institutions are interested in his impeachment. A further reason for his political discourse getting worse. For instance, in what concerns FBI investigation on Russian role in USA presidential election, Trump tweeted that FBI used "crooked Hillary pile of garbage". Besides, his legal team – Harder Mirell & Abrams – demanded that Steve Rubin, the publisher of Michael Wolff's new book, *Fire and Fury: Inside the Trump White House*, which is critical of Trump's administration, "immediately cease and desist from any further publication, release or dissemination of the Book". It was a fruitless attempt despite being based on several claims: defamation by libel, defamation by libel *per se*, false light invasion of privacy, tortuous interference and contractual relations, and inducement of breach of contract.

Out of USA borders, Trump cannot impose his decisions all over the world even disposing of Congress support. When he recognized Jerusalem as capital of Israel, 128 countries of the United Nations voted against that decision.

However, in this case, Trump cannot be accused of disrespecting the Congress or of giving in to Jewish lobby, an influent element of the American policy. Indeed Hillary Clinton won 71% of Jewish votes while Trump only received 24%. So, rather than trying to please American Jews it is probable that this Trump's decision represents a challenge to American worldwide competitors. A way of occupying its own space. A further mark of nationalism.

In what concerns Iran nuclear sanctions, Trump said that "he was waiving the nuclear sanctions for the last time in order to give Congress and European allies 120 days to improve the agreement or face U.S. abandonment of the pact"[13]. However, the European allies made clear that they wanted to support the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action.

Is it time to remind that, two centuries ago, Lord Palmerston said that his country had neither eternal allies nor perpetual enemies?

Nationalism at its best. Populism will follow.

[13]Available in https://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/iran/2018/iran-180112-voa01.htm?_m=3n%2e002a%2e2201%2eal0ao0clup %2e20y4

III. Conclusion

Populism and nationalism were present in Trump´s campaign as this essay proved. On the inauguration day Trump's discourse was a little softer than during the electoral race. Indeed, after having threatened to jail Hillary Clinton, he thanked her. However, it was short-lived, as his continuous tweets prove.

Trump is a populist and a nationalist. His discourse is similar to that of Marine Le Pen, not just because they have become regular features on prime time television and front pages. Trump intends to build a wall. Marine wants to take control of France's frontiers. Both of them wish that their citizens have precedence over immigrants with respect to jobs. None of them has a positive view of an intercultural relationship. Both consider that enemies are inside and outside their borders. In what concerns education, Trump was mainly supported in his campaign by white people without a college degree – 67%. In French presidential election only 8% and 9% of Marine's supporters had a college degree.

The education level is important because those who have a college degree are less prone to accept without questioning. They do not agree that "economic gains have gone almost entirely to those at the top" (Inglehart & Norris, 2017, p. 443) and they usually identify and distrust populism.

Trump's way of acting has already provoked a difficult relationship with the other organs of power and even inside his team, as the endless list of resignations has proved, despite Mike Pence's commendations. Indeed, at a Cabinet meeting, Pence decided to praise Trump for the entire team during over nearly three minutes before he offered fourteen separate commendations for Trump.

Besides, his foreign policy is worrying traditional allies and challenging USA enemies and competitors even if Pence considers that Trump has "restored American credibility on the world stage"[14].

A substantial part of American citizens, mainly those who vote for Democrats, does not approve his decisions, but Trump knows that the other part agrees with him, because he says and does what they really want.

Trump is not the first American populist leader and he will not be the last one. In the past, the establishment worked. It accepted occasional political changes but not an outright of the system. Trump intends to go beyond. Check and balances system will not let him. Representative democracy can heave a sigh of relief.

[14] Available in https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/12/20/in-cabinet-meeting-pence-praises-trump-once-every-12-seconds-for-3-minutes-straight/?utm_term=.5be0c04e7e21.

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Some decades ago, Mills (1956, p. 74) told us that "behind such men and behind the events of history, linking the two, are the major institutions of modern society". After all, in the USA the presidential term is short and, despite several amendments, the Constitution is still the one elaborated by the Founding Fathers and a country is not a business.

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The Voting for Political Leaders in Southeast Asia: A Case of Thailand

By Paithoon Bhothisawang

Burapha University

Abstract- Thailand is located in Southeast Asia. Thailand's democracy was still struggling that is a military coup by the loop 13 times. The last time was on May 22, 2014.Every time a new constitution to allow more democratic and promised to re-election soon. Elections in Thailand are interesting. The purpose of this research is to determine the factors that influence the election of political leaders in Thailand then create a mathematical equation to know what the votes are derived from and how important are each of them? A total of 1522 samples from the four constituencies were randomly sampled. In the North, 423 are sampled of member of parliaments(MPs) election, In the Central are 373 sampled of Mayor election, In the Northeastern region, are 322 sampled of village headman election and in the Southern part of the constituency is the Head of the Sub-district Administrative Organization(SAO) are 404 sample. By using "Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis" The research found that the most influential factors in getting the most votes and winning the election are political campaigns and tactics. Second, political affiliations or political parties, grouppolicy (Party, Group).Third, Relief Aid and Patronage (Patronage) and finally, the distribution of wealth and money (Money). Statistically significant at the .05 level. It is considered that these factors are differently down the hierarchy.

Keywords: political leader, the voting, democracy, stepwise multiple regression analysis.

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The Voting for Political Leaders in Southeast Asia: A Case of Thailand

Paithoon Bhothisawang

Abstract- Thailand is located in Southeast Asia. Thailand's democracy was still struggling that is a military coup by the loop 13 times. The last time was on May 22, 2014.Every time a new constitution to allow more democratic and promised to re-election soon. Elections in Thailand are interesting. The purpose of this research is to determine the factors that influence the election of political leaders in Thailand then create a mathematical equation to know what the votes are derived from and how important are each of them? A total of 1522 samples from the four constituencies were randomly sampled. In the North, 423 are sampled of member of parliaments(MPs) election, In the Central are 373 sampled of Mayor election, In the Northeastern region, are 322 sampled of village headman election and in the Southern part of the constituency is the Head of the Sub-district Administrative Organization(SAO) are 404 sample. By using "Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis" The research found that the most influential factors in getting the most votes and winning the election are political campaigns and tactics. Second, political affiliations or political parties, grouppolicy (Party, Group).Third, Relief Aid and Patronage (Patronage) and finally, the distribution of wealth and money (Money). Statistically significant at the .05 level. It is considered that these factors are differently down the hierarchy. This can be written as an equation as Obtaining the vote 1 = 33.54 + .37 Campaign +.23 Party, Group - .12 Patronage + .09Money. Factors that did not affect the voting result were statistically significant at the .05 level and not according to hypothesis that was set are Personal Qualification of Candidates (Personal), Donation to the community and the public (Donation) And gambling fraud and bribery (Fraud). The suggestion for this research is the agency responsible for the election should find ways to prevent the distribution of political capital to political people to gain more votes. Politicians and political parties should consider using the campaign strategy. Determine your party's or group's policies and factors. In the equation, what factors will have the effect of making itself and its representative party victorious in elections. Researchers should extend this research to broader scope of research so that they can be used as a new political theory.

Keywords: political leader, the voting, democracy, stepwise multiple regression analysis.

I. Introduction

Thailand is located in Southeast Asia, The center of the 10 ASEAN countries. Thailand is the only country to avoid a colony of Europe has been achieved several years ago .Once the US military bases in the war against Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos to fight communism loop until 1975. Thailand is a democratic revolutionary change of government in 1932. So far, ore than 80 years ago. Thailand's democracy was still struggling that is a military coup by the loop 13 times. Every time a new constitution to allow more democratic, the last time was on May 22, 2014 the military coup begin again. The reason that to maintain order and also claimed the elected government is corrupt and political leaders and politicians to buy the votes. During this time the constitution was drafted at 20 to build a new democracy.

Democracy is a regime that values the rights of the individual compared to other forms of government. Democracy is based on three principles: Popular Sovereignty, Freedom and Liberty, Equality. It is therefore generally accepted that democracy is the least evil rule because the rule in the democratic system give opportunity for the majority of people to influence the mechanism of the state with equal and free political competition. In order to obtain a delegation of people to represent the people in the administration of the country, they must obtain the consent of the people and administer the country according to the willing of the people. To look at the power of the people through agents or the party is going through a political process called "Elections" cannot be separated from democracy.

Election is the process of seeking the common will of the people or a tool to make the majority of people appear by citizens have to choose their politicians to represent themselves in political duty. Theoretically, the representative is authorized to perform the duties of the people. The election is the confirmation of the supremacy of the people in practice. So the election is a way of life in democracy. The election is based on the basic principles that allow people to express their true intentions by providing a secret ballot and free from threats. There are no restrictions on the skin, gender, and status, and everyone has equal voting rights, i.e., each one has the same voice.

Elections are at the heart of democracy. In particular, fair elections are a political righteous process of using the sovereignty of politicians. The election of members of the House of Representatives constitutes the beginning of the process of entering the political power of democratic rule in a parliamentary system of great importance. According to the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand 2007, the general election of the members of the House of Representatives, 500 members, Member of the House of Representatives of

Author: Assoc. Prof. Paithoon Bho this a wang, Ph.D. Faculty of Political Science and Law, Burapha University. e-mail: drpitoonpo@hotmail.com

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the 375 electoral districts and 125 from the party lists, the announcement of the general election mandate in 2011 led to the general election on Day 3 July 2011.

To filter a democratic regime to respects the rights of individual freedom as possible by compared to other forms of government but the regime is required to select the person or group of persons to act as representatives of the people by the political movement called "Elections". The election does not seem to be a problem and is not very complicated but by the fact of the election, there are many problems that one of them is buying votes especially in recent general elections, and likely to intensify, with the spread to local elections. It becomes a political culture of the Thai society (Ratanachoti, 1998, p. 4), which is usually done secretly and it is consent between the payer and the payee, which is difficult to legalize.

Currently, the buying of votes in Thail and. There is a tendency for violence to intensify, which is opposite with efforts to develop democracy and political participation. Even the current constitutional law has been enacted, which is considered to be the most democratic ever. And the election is a duty of the people of Thailand and the law that causes an independent organization to oversee the electoral process. In order to make the election fair, however, the legal approach is still not able to solve the problem of buying vote from Thai society. Because the relationship between buyers and sellers evolved into a political culture and another is form of representation through the electoral process, usually done secretly with the consent of both parties between payer and the payee. Especially, the area where the people are living indoors and there is a local community that adheres to a conservative cultural tradition. Like Northeast and North. Until the scope of such trading behavior was extended throughout Thailand (Bhothisawang et al., 2003, p. 1)

It is well known that in each election candidates have to spend a lot of money to use to pay for both open and non-disclosure campaign until a political liability. Many politicians, when they get elected they will try to use their power to call for economic benefits in the interests of each other. The corruption of the capital to restore the capital and the law cannot do anything on them. Rattanadilok Na Phuket (1994, p. 34). Sunan (2002) studied factors affecting the decision to elect members of the People's Council of Chonburi. the results show that canvassers affect the decision to vote. Sakda (1999) studied factors influencing the selection of members of the House of Representatives of the people of Chonburi. Avika (2006) A study of local elections on the buying of vote rights of local political parties. It creates a system of economic patronage with employees, with monetary and economic returns in the local budget system. Suwat (2005) studied the Decision on the election of members of the House of Representatives during the campaign. Natasha (1997) studied the structure of power in the community and local politics. This research is a research study of the main patronage system in Chonburi. Peng (2005) Studied on the power structure of the community and the election of the Head of the sub-district administrative organization relied on relatives, disadvantaged candidates who spent money on elections and led to the system. Nattakorn (2002) studied the factors affecting the election of senators. Other researchers studied this include: Sathaporn (2014), Sittisak (2013), Panya (2014),Arrom (2012), Somwang (2012), Chaipot (2014),Onratya(2013), Pairat (2003)studied the behavior of people's election in Pattani Municipality.

The Concepts, Theories and Research related to Voting and Political Leader include: 1.Concept of Electoral behavior: Base on the analysis of electoral behavior or the factor behind the voter, behavior of voters can be divided into 3 groups.1) Social and Demographic Factors or Socio-Economic Status. (Deterministic Factors) 2) Psychological Factors 3) Economic Model or Consciously Rational Theories. 2. Concept of Patronage System: In the past, relationships in patronage systems were relationships where client were adverse to patrons because when the patron are sponsor client. Client will be in a position to repay the sponsor immediately. If later, the sponsor wants the client to do something the client cannot refuse. (Scott, 1977, p. 100). 3. Concept of buying vote rights: The candidate uses another support type may be fraudulent buying vote because of the limit supports. 4. Concept of political party or Thai political group: Thai Political party organization is not a Western or universal political organization. There is a common fund for the activities of the party, but it is also a grouping of "small nets" in the "big nets" that rely on their help and solicitations the money in political party or the capitalist party. The political base case can be said another important factor that will guide you to know that which political parties are more likely and less likely to buy vote rights. 5. Concept of Strategy and Method of Campaign: Is a concept that considers technical and how the campaign at the moment will be able to attract and changing the decision of the voters in that election.

Candidates try to implement strategies and how to get elected voters by using both correct and incorrect methods, such as attracting interest in the candidate. Impressed in the versatility, ability or compassion, the use of party policy, party leaders, past party work and dreaming of what the future will do for the people. Using relative kinship powerful influence teachers or elders are canvassing. Walking, knocking on the door, making a score by creating a ghost card, parachute cards, fire cards, transfer of house registration to vote and other ways, including buying the election votes as mentioned above. Nowadays, in the metropolitan area, there are billboards, posters, forums, direct and indirect advertisements on radio and television. Using the

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internet, new mobile phones (smart phones) has teamed up to take care of this specific. In the outskirts of the city, funds were also set up, and the team took care of the people in charity, ordination, traditions, temples, and social events through donations. Or host responsible for community and social expenses

These factors affect people's voting decisions but it is not clear exactly. Which factors affect the vote or is it another, Are there any factors that have a significant influence on the voters, Are there any factors that affect the polling of political leaders and how does it influence the election of candidates are different or not.

a) Research Objectives

1. To understand the factors that affect to the vote of election of candidates or political leaders.
2. To understand the level of factors affecting to the votes.
3. To create formula or equation for predicting the vote from various factors.

b) Research Framework

From the literature review, theoretical concepts can be defined as a conceptual framework for research as follows.

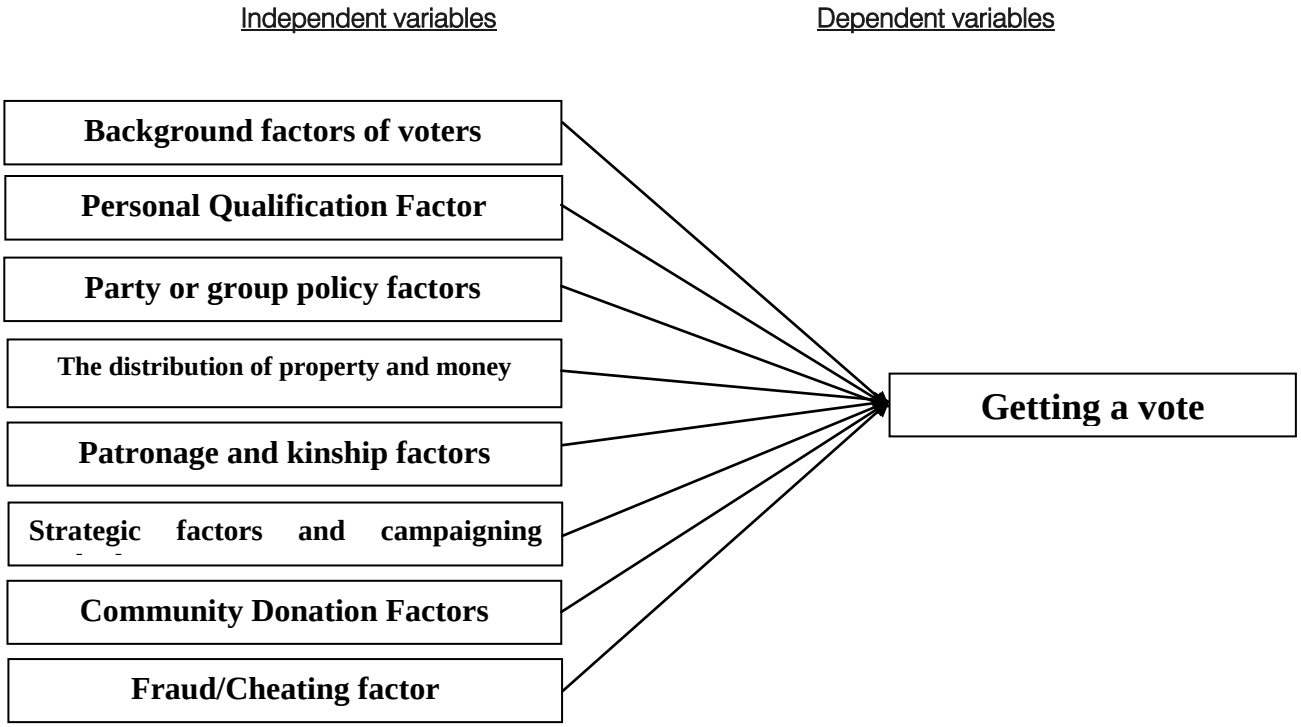

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

c) Hypothesis of Research

This research has been hypothesized in the research as follows:

Hypothesis 1: The background factors of voters affect the vote.

Hypothesis 2: Qualifications, personal qualities, candidates, or political leaders affect the vote. (Personal)

Hypothesis 3: Party Policy Factors and the role of the party affect the vote. (Party, Group)

Hypothesis 4: The distribution of property and money affects the vote.(Money)

Hypothesis 5: Patron system factors and relatives that affect the vote.(Patronage)

Hypothesis 6: The candidate's tactics and campaigning methods affect the votes received.(Campaign)

Hypothesis 7: The contribution factor to the community affects the vote.(Donation)

Hypothesis 8: The cheat factor affects the vote.(Fraud)

II. Definition of Terminology used in Research

Elections mean the general election of members of the House of Representatives at Lamphun on July 3, 2011, The Mayor's election in Prachinburi on January 13, 2013, The election of the Head of district Administrative Organization in Phatthalung Province on May 5, 2013 and the election of the village headman Sisaket Province on 12 June 2013.

Political leaders mean members of the House of Representatives. Which are provincial and national political leaders. The mayor, who is a political leader of district municipality.The Head of district Administrative Organization,who is leader of the sub-district administrative organization(SAO),The village headman who is a village-level political leader.

Factors that affect the election vote are the background factors of the voter, qualifications, personal qualifications, candidates, or political leaders. Including,

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the party policy factor and the role of the party, the distribution of property and money, patron and kinship Factors, Strategic Factors, and campaigning techniques for candidates, Fraud and cheating factor.

Voter background factors refer to the characteristics of people, voters, gender, age, educational level, major occupations, and average monthly income.

Qualifications factors, personal qualities, candidates, or political leaders mean personal qualities and past performance and preference in the candidate.

Party policy factor and the role of the party factors are the qualification, policy, party, performance, and popularity in the political party or political group affiliated.

The distribution of property and money factors means the acquisition of property, the money from the candidate's representative to voters at a satisfactory level.

Patronage and kinship factors refer to respected adult relatives, friends recommend friends to solicit or ask.

The candidate's strategy factors means is a sense of satisfaction with the tactics and methods of campaigning for the candidate and team.

The donation to the community factors means donations, charity donations, festive temples, and public donations to the community.

Fraud/Cheating factors refer to gambling fraud, bribery, authorities.

Getting a vote factors means weighting the votes the candidate receives from the voter.

III. The Concepts, Theories and Research Related to Voting and Political Leader

a) Concept of Electoral behavior

Current, base on the analysis of electoral behavior or the factor behind the voter, behavior of voters can be divided into 3 groups.

1. Social and Demographic Factors or Socio-Economic Status. (Deterministic Factors)
2. Psychological Factors
3. Economic Model or Consciously Rational Theories.

The group looked at the socio-economic variables. Focus on social factors. This concept is influenced by the Behavioral Study, which was very popular during the years 1950 - 1960. Scholars in the office think that the social determinants of a person's background determine the importance of behavior. Voting of Voters is based on the sociological concept. Socio-economic status is considered in different social positions affect different people's behavior, including electoral behavior. That is, ascribed status or financial status, education or social class and achieved status that influences the voting behavior of different voters.

Concept determinants are the concept of voting behavior is determined by social factors is the background of the person influences the voting behavior, i.e., the economic and social status are affect in the different ballots.

Psychological group, this concept focuses on the psychological model by looking at the political factors or feelings that influence the voting behavior. Voting behavior occurs from political affiliation (Party Identification) study about voter loyalty to the political party. And this loyalty can be conveyed in the form of social processes (Socialization), which is done through various institutions in society. In addition, this line of studyis about Perceptions of the Candidates and the Policy Preferences or Policy Voting by thinking that these are affect election behavior.

Concept of logical realization, this concept is believed of voting rights is based on the consideration of the results is consider the party candidate and party policy considered as a rational framework. Scholars believe that the election can be comparable to consumer economics, believe that human is an economic man to study political decisions. This study suggests that, this model is also known as "The Rational Choice Mode". This concept flourished during the period when the concept of behavioral science expanded. This concept attempts to explain the early voting behavior of early voting voters in the United States between the 1940s and 1950s. Election behavior derives from the interests of the beneficiaries that have been disproved cost of the behavior (Cost-benefit). This concept believes that party popularity and the socio-economic status of voters are factors that influence voting behavior rather than factors political party and the candidate factors. Later, this concept began to focus on the influence of the party and the candidate more widely. By studying the behavior of party leaders that affects the voting rights. And study the role of the campaign manager (Voting Campaign Manager) as well as study the political parties (Political Platforms).

This concept holds that the voting of the right holder is an instrument that will come to the benefit or goal the candidate desires. The voter is a Rational Voter, so before deciding on a candidate, the voter considers his or her place of interests, the idea of which is to focus on his or her political goals. Their political attainment objective and this concept believe that the electoral behavior or the voting decision of the voter is due to careful consideration carefully, using sufficient information to make a decision.

In practice, voters will set their own criteria for choosing the candidate they are most satisfied with, get political information about the candidate or about the political party that the candidate is affiliated with. After that, it will evaluate the information and consider whether it complies with the criteria they have set before

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then vote. By the way, some voters may favor the qualifications of the candidates and some people focus on the policy of political parties.

Concept of logical success it is a concept that emphasizes and deliberate to thinking of the voters on the political party, the party policy, and the state of the candidate. Which affects their belief and attitude of voters to who they want to choose? Which political party that they want to choose? Why?

System theory ideas it is a systematic idea that the environment that occurs during the election should be voted on by whoever or the group may be interested in or party policy or image in general at that moment before making a decision to who they want to vote for.

b) Concept of Strategy and Method of Campaigning

Is a concept that considers technical and how the campaign at the moment will be able to attract and changing the decision of the voters in that election. May use legal or diverge from the law. There are billboards, posters, forums, direct and indirect advertisements on radio and television. Using public media online, the internet, face book, twitter, modern technology ,mobile phones, etc., has teamed up to take care of this specific.

c) Concept of Patronage System

This concept is used to describe Thai society to a certain extent with the fact that Thai society is a society that determines the status of persons from upper to lower by making a person's relationship in Thai society an unequal. It is a relationship between a “Patron” who has a higher position and the “Client” with lower position then it is become a vertical relationship throughout the society.

Generally, patrons are associated with lower position people or a patron who needs help and protection. Patrons provide benefits and have the hope of benefiting back to them in the form of things, loyalty, political support and services in various forms from client.

The patronage system in Thailand is rooted in the need to organize the manpower that appears in Thai history. It can be seen that Thais in ancient times were very aware to the importance of manpower. Until, have a system of numbers by tattoo the numbers on their people to prevent the pirates and other enemies. (Rabibhadana, 1975, p. 140)

Even in the early Rattan a kos in period. There is also a lack of manpower in the realm. It raises issues of mobilization and control of manpower to work for the rest of the community, and sometimes to join the war. In order to control manpower, it was ordered every citizen must register under one of the "masters". By the master, he had duty to protect the people in the war. It is the relationship between the common ownership and the boss that has become the foundation of economic, social and political organization within the feudal system. This patronage system is rooted in Thai society to the present day. In modern-day society, it is decreasing but in many communities far from central authority it also found that the patronage system remained.

This relationship system is developed and the system is holding valuable social assets in the hands of the few who have the power and wealth including some monopoly power. For example, education and communication tools in communities and outside the community or centralized power cannot come to take over. The equal communities will develop less patronage relationships in Thai society. Inequalities throughout society are tools that promote the development of patronage.

In the past, relationships in patronage systems were relationships where client were adverse to patrons because when the patron are sponsor client. Client will be in a position to repay the sponsor immediately. If later, the sponsor wants the client to do something the client cannot refuse.

However, in democratic political systems, the relationship between patrons and client has changed that is the pattern of patronage relationships has been transformed into at least four forms (Scott, 1977, p. 100).

1) Help increase the patronage power of the patronby helping to be part of their resources. Especially, giving voice (vote) or not giving voice(no vote) to who will come to be representative in their community.
2) In the national election the patronage system helps to coordinate with people between local authority and national authority.
3) Promoting the expansion of patronage systems in the national election, that who will get the most votes depends on the patron and client in society. Patron trying to expand the scope of the client by the structure of the patronage system is closely especially, in the pre-election period.
4) Help maintain the patronage system to remain in society because of the national election system. Need help from the patronage system, cultural characteristics and social structure that support the system of canvassing..

The political behavior of Thai society is tightly linked to the basic cultural characteristics of society. Culture is like a pattern in practice it is a framework for the common life of people in society, thus making culture is a key of element in the creation of a political culture. To be a power relations relation in society this is due to the fact that the person or the class has taken power or tried to maintain his or her power status. This has happened for a long time until the recognition and development to create patterns and traditions of politics.

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As part about the way of life and living of the people in society, society has created a way of thinking and values of a framework for conduct that is accustomed to authority and power relationships. Not equal in society these have become the common way of life of people in a society that links formal and informal power relations. In particular, the consent and acceptance of their power status is under the control of superior authority, either by the authority of the person, by the organization, or by the authority that governs the relationship of patronage. That can be said as this follow

1) Thai social structure is relational types that build deep feelings in the sense of close ties without reason.
2) Thai social structure is characterized by the patronage of individuals who share some common interests.
3) Thai society has a strong cultural foundation with the same basic concept. Based on, religious principles especially Buddhism, which influences beliefs and political behavior as well as the social hierarchy of Thailand until the political values and political culture that belief the leader.

d) Concept of buying vote rights

There is one political proverb that if you want to apply "Without money, there must to have mass" So, the economic status to the base level for political play is called "Can carrying other people" would have a greater chance of becoming a politician than being a local politician.

So, the candidates that rich and can carrying other people they will have the opportunity to step up in high positions and or have high expectations for the candidacy because of political position it will become a place and a ladder to step up. So this type of candidate is often want to win the election, if there are competitors that come up and the result of this is ultimate fight by buying the vote of the candidate. Especially, for candidates with a mass base not broad and stable basis, the chances of buying a vote would be high.

However, the rich candidates there are usually few in comparison to all candidates. In financial terms, economic support among the candidates is quite high in some parts of the Northeastern area, of the east and some of southern part those who support these are the "godfathers" who are big capitalists or is it influential in the area.

The difference between being a self-employed person and being a person who is supporting others, it is different in apart from the freedom of political behavior and also different in the opportunity to use the campaign money. Because to dependence others people is inconvenient and made this category missed out on a lot of chances because there are short haul lines or limited ammunition, so if fraud will buy the vote at the end of the campaign season especially when it is necessary to exaggerate with competitors. The candidate uses another support type may be fraudulent buying votebecause of the limit supports.

e) Concept of political party or Thai political group

Thai Political party organization is not a Western or universal political organization. There is a common fund for the activities of the party, but it is also a grouping of "small nets" in the "big nets" that rely on their help and solicitations the money in political party or the capitalist party. The support of the majority of party organizations is weak and hardly at all in some parties.

Therefore, the presence or lack of financial power of Thai political parties is not in the party, but in the number and size of capitalists that belong to the party. The financial support from the mass it's a rare thing to happen again. Because Thai political party is not a mass party lack of support from the masses. Even, members of the party often do not help the party most members are often named as members of the party registration process and do not pay the membership fee and properly renew their membership. So the financial help from all the members is not happening in the case of the current political party in Thailand.

Have or had political positions experiences before. This experience and political position are reflecting political skills, it is also a partial indication that candidates will be more likely to win or lose because it can be viewed from the original vote base from the experience and extensive political party within the party. For example, candidates who have been elected not less than 3 times are considered to politically advantageous politicians. Any candidate for election is usually elected every time or maybe some continuity does not continue. When this is the case, the chances of a competitive race are high, the chances of winning are at a similar level to many, or there are many close matches. And who misses even means defeat under this conditions makes the buy of this type of vote is quite high. The local political party was once elected often, are relatively few acts. Elected as corporate executive to rely on other members within the party themselves and most often, there is no political party in the local political party like this is likely to be a political party that not pass the test. So it must be considered together with the economic base because of the strong economic base, but based on the political background of the candidates within the party with each other, there will be a tendency to buy vote rights.

And in the case of candidates who have never played politics before but want to get into the political touch, this kind of people usually come from a very unimportant position such as community committees, village health volunteers, village headman, etc. and these people will have a voting base. Good and already beneficial to the voting base of the party together with the economic base of the political party, the support is

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already. New types of politicians are more likely to use their vote buying habits.

The political base case can be said another important factor that will guide you to know that which political parties are more likely and less likely to buy vote rights.

The population base and the background of the candidate consider how the birthplace and growth of a residence is related to the area being applied for. It also includes the social relationships of the candidates with the professional or the media. How extensive and profound the extent of candidates can be classified as follows (Ratanadilok Na Phuket, 1991, pp. 25-29).

The first category is a local or enrolled candidate who enrolled and grew up in the constituency or province of residence. This candidate has 78.6 percent of all candidates and this type of candidate can be classified as

1. Be a local influential candidate, who collects money from illegal activities. The base of this type of candidate is likely to be firmly established because of violent power combined with economic influence it is a condition to build reputation and accumulate prestige and influence. Not only in the community but also in the community when the candidates for this category are elected, they will use the mechanism of the canvass down to the village level and a mechanism to guarantee the score. To betray of the canvassers occurred very little because betrayal can be fatal. In some provinces, central election officials in the province have to move themselves because of the duty to affect the behavior of the candidate corruption cause the candidate attack to them.
2. It is a characteristic that the candidate is a beloved villager with some unique qualities such as a keen talker or used to be a local radio show host. That is to say the talk and reach the locals by talking fun.
3. A candidate who wants to test his / her own voting base or a local person who is hired to apply is so little importance and political discontent.

The second type is a candidate who has a domicile in the candidate district or province but to live in another place for a long time and rarely returned to their own domicile. Usually, are a specialized practitioner or academic and university professors are famous enough. The more famous this type of candidate is, the more likely they are to win the election. The score is often a crazy vote. Therefore, in the first election they are often elected by the villagers' temptations but for the second time the hardship will increase and the chances of winning will be less because it is only a reputation, it cannot maintain its original reputation but there are many other elements to support. Therefore, the prospect of buying the right to vote in their next election may be higher than for the first election.

The third category is a candidate born or domiciled outside of the province or province of which they has applied, but has entered residence, has business friends and association groups in the constituency. The campaign style usually comes in the form of donations, building utilities, granting scholarships the students under the name of the party, etc. This kind of operation can be made popular among the people and gave love and commitment to this locality, and a lot of local prosperity. Trends in buying vote rights are quite high, because they are generally well-off and have high expectations of winning.

The fourth type is a candidate born or domiciled outside of the province or province in which theyare applying and do not ever live or have any business in the electorate. By the time of the election season, the application fee is usually applied to candidate "Home to the mass" that is based on the social base of the population combined with the money that they have thrown into the electoral field. These types of candidates often spend a lot of money and it generates a vote buying. And it's a non-permanent candidate for a voting base because it is a matter of time. Also annoyed with the "ask" from the villagers as well. So, the only way to have a lot of vote is to buy one.

Involve in social activities in the area where you apply. This is part of creating a voting base. By the way, persuade people in the constituency to turn their party's popularity. Normally candidates for political party they were doing this before they are ready for the election. By thinking that may be part of the familiarity and friendly with local people but any party will reach the hearts of the people in the area more. It depends on a number of factors, such as the economic, political and social. The conditions that the party in the party is always used to join the merit, traditions and use as a platform to open politically, it may be discussed in a subgroup in matters of problems with the villagers or maybe talk privately, meet people greetings without being in a friendly manner.These methods will make the villagers feel intimate, which is the first step of popularity and eventually became the base of votes for themselves.

In addition, if candidate has a good financial position and giving or donate the objects to the villagers or scholarships to school for children, Donation of sports equipment, school supplies including social work to impress the villagers quite. The result is that the party that carried out the activity will popular and elected almost every time. For the party that has been elected or position it is often make opportunity to visit the public to ask about the well being of the people. At least for the public to see you and not forgotten your face or very well named as people care for the suffering of the people forever.

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However, due to the fact that social work in the area is quite busy, it is time consuming. It is a tiring work both physically and mentally, money and brain power in every time that visit people in area and when it likes that, some of the candidates do not want to go into the area and assume that it's easy to use the money to buy the vote is the best way to get elected. So, this type of candidate ignores the basics and social roles.

This kind of social role-building does not happen. The popularity base in the individual is a distant affair for them but they are often chosen as the corporate executives as well because the financial base and the canvassing mechanism that works for them.

IV. Related Research

Sunan (2002) studied factors affecting the decision to elect members of the People's Council of Chonburi By studying people in Sansuk district municipality. Chonburi province it was found that in the 2001 general election, people saw that justice was better, faster, and more complicated than traditional elections. The people have an understanding of the electoral system that includes both members of the parliamentary constituency and the Member of the House of Representatives. In the roster Party opinion influences decision making and in the electoral system, the results show that canvassers affect the decision to vote. People choose members of the House of Representatives by paying particular attention to the qualifications of most candidates. For the unique qualities of the candidates, the people attach importance to bringing prosperity to the local area and being a good human relation that famous.

Sakda (1999) studied factors influencing the selection of members of the House of Representatives of the people of Chonburi. By studying the voting behavior of people in four districts of Chonburi, namely Muang District, Phan Thong District, Phanat Nikhom District Bo Thong. This is a constitutional election study in the 1991 edition of the demarcation sort by number. The most important factor to consider is the political affiliation, followed by the qualification of the candidate. The issue of canvassing is of minimal importance.

Avika(2006) A study of local elections on the buying of vote rights of local political parties: a case study of one district municipality in eastern Thailand. The researcher used in-depth interviews found that the behavior of buying vote rights is divided into 5 forms, the buying of canvassing, buys opposing members, cut opponents candidates, creating artificial candidates and style in the party Patterns in buying positions within the party. The researcher found that the patronage system of political relatives decreased because of the city and the economy of the currency into the community. It creates a system of economic patronage with employees, with monetary and economic returns in the local budget system.

Suwat (2005) studied the Decision on the election of members of the House of Representatives during the campaign: Rayong Province by studying the general election behavior in 2005 of Rayong voter samples. The sample group had electoral behavior in the roster by choosing the Thai Rak Thai party first due to the satisfaction of the Thai Rak Thai Party's policies, especially the policy on narcotics suppression. The second is health insurance and subdue influencers. The most common form of election fraud is the distribution of votes and distributions, and half of the sample is not confident in the impartiality of the provincial election commissions. More than half of the sample believes that the provincial election commission sided with candidates from the government including uncertainty in the process of red card -yellow card.

Natasha (1997) studied the structure of power in the community and local politics: a case study of Pattaya City. This research is a research study of the main patronage system in Chonburi. Which affects the election in Pattaya the researcher in-depth interviewed those involved in the Big House Network analyze the operation of large home network clearly. The conclusion from the research is that Pattaya has a strong concentration of political power. The first Pattaya City Council members are all members of the Big House Network with a loving relationship. The power structure is in the form of an organization whose purpose is to structure the division of functions compensation is clear and concrete. There are rules within a group that are under the leadership of the leader of the Big House. Political return is in the form of a local government budget systems and the obvious is the construction of a variety of roads, sewage treatment ponds. Natasha's analysis it can be applied in the analysis of elections at the Members of the House of Representatives level as well.

Peng (2005)Study on the power structure of the community and the election of the Head of the sub-district administrative organization: A case study of Sattahip sub-district administrative organization, Sattahip district, Chonburi province. Economic relations it was found that the original power structure of the community, relative relations, has changed into an economic relationship. Power structure changes according to economic structural changes that are industrialized societies when decentralization to the Sub-district Administration Organization. And the Head of the sub-district administration directly elected. Candidates who relied on relatives, disadvantaged candidates who spent money on elections and led to the system "Two years to repair the capital and Two-year capital formation".

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Nattakorn (2002) studied the factors affecting the election of senators. There are three important factors that influence the voting process:

1) Direct relationship factor in blood cell as relative and the indirect relationship as a patron. Is a factor in the support of politicians in the area through the network of canvassing that affects voting decisions 2) Supporting factors of the institution 3) Factors about the reputation of the candidate. These three factors are rooted in the Thai political culture that is associated with the patronage system, kinship the same institution and relationships with local Candidates are used as tools. Find a network of base votes and all three factors influence rural society rather than urban society.

Pairat (2003) studied the behavior of people's election in Pattani Municipality, Muang District, Pattani Province. The study indicated that people decide themselves by choosing the group of candidates rather than individuals. Factors related to local political behavior in the election include age, education, occupations, knowledge in politics, local government, and kinship.

V. Research Methodology

a) Research Area

The four constituencies in Thailand, Village Headman election at the village level, Head of SAO election at the sub-district level, Mayor election at the Municipality and district level, MPs election at the Provincial and national level.

b) Population and Sample

i. *Randomly selected constituency*

Randomly select the electorate by selecting one province in each region, namely Lamphun (Northern), Sisaket Province (Northeast), Prachin Buri (central) and Phatthalung (southern). The constituency was elected from 4 constituencies from 375 constituencies nation-wide. The constituency in Lamphun Province 1 *

1. In the remaining constituency of the Northeast. Central and South Randomly selected municipal as the second step. One municipal borough in Prachinburi *
2. In the remaining 2 constituencies of the Northeast and South constituencies. Randomly selected constituencies Sub District Administration Organization(SAO) Step by step as a Municipality level.That is a Sub District Administration Organization in Phatthalung *
3. In the remaining constituency 1, the last constituency of the Northeast. Randomly selected village level constituencies one village level in Sisaket *

(*Note: For ethics of research all of the sample data cannot be shared.)

4. The constituency of the research community includes 4 constituencies, namely 4 constituencies, MPs, mayors the constituency, the Head of SAO and the village headman's constituency from 4 regions.

ii. *Find the sample size from the population in each constituency*

Calculate the sample size from the research population, which represents the voter. Using Yamane's formula (1967, pp.886-887; 1973 p.726)

When N = the total population of the research
e= Sample error ± 0.05 ,under 95% reliability
n = number of samples

Determine the confidence level of 95 percent or 95 percent reliability level or give a tolerance of up to 5 percent as follows:

1. MP's constituency in Lamphun Province There were 159,216 voters when calculated 398.99.
2. Mayor's Borough in Prachinburi province. There were 6,437 voters, when they were calculated, 376.59.
3. SAO constituency in Phatthalung Province There were 6,324 voters in the calculation, with 376.2.
4. The Village headman's constituency in the province of Sisaket,368 village headman voters in the village when the sample size was calculated. The sample size is 191.66.

Sampling using a landscape model with proportional (Proportional stratified sampling) to achieve the distribution of probability as much as possible and keep the actual data in the area as much as possible to reduce the error to a minimum (less than 5%) or increase the reliability or confidence to over 95%. The total number of samples collected is actually 1522 samples, the details are as follows:

1. MP's constituency in Lamphun Province The sample collection was 423 samples, with confidence greater than 95% or error less than 5%.
2. Mayor's Borough in Prachinburi 373 samples were collected, representing a confidence level of more than 95% or error less than 5%.
3. SAO's constituency in Phatthalung Province the actual sample collection was 404 samples, with a confidence greater than 95% or error less than 5%.
4. The headman's constituency in Sisaket Province Collect voters from all groups and distributed them throughout the village 322 samples, representing approximately 98% confidence or 2% error (less than the set threshold of 5%).

c) Measuring Tools

In this research, sample voters are willing to sacrifice their time and willingly answer the question. So I tried to create a not to long questionnaire, but the full range of variables to meet the hypothesis set. In each of the questions, there may be several messages

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containing several sub-variables included in the same question, I created a questionnaire. The Nominal Scale, the Ordinal Scale, and the Ratio Scale are used to measure the background of the voter and chose the Interval Scale. For measuring information about Party policy factor and the role of the party, Candidate Qualification Factor, Strategic factors and campaigning methods of candidates, Patronage and kinship factors, the distribution of property and money, Factors of Fraud, cheating gambling and bribery officials and getting a voter vote is a variant based on.

The tool used in this study was a questionnaire on political election in Thailand. It is divided into 2 parts:

Part 1 is a questionnaire about the factors that influence the decision to vote for the candidate and to get the candidate's votes. There are 9 items, with the number from 0-100, the use Interval Scale

Part 2 is a questionnaire about the background factors of voters. This includes questions about gender, age, education level, primary occupation, and average monthly income. There are 7 items for the respondents to fill in the blanks or fill in the numbers according to the facts of the respondents. This is the use of the Nominal Scale, Ordinal Scale, Interval Scale and Ratio Scale. By using the questionnaire, 30 samples were tested for reliability using Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient. The reliability of the program was 0.76 and the reliability of the second test, questionnaire was 60. The sample was analyzed with the software program. The reliability was 0.84 of the second test.

VI. Data Analysis

In this research, the program was analyzed using statistical data for forecasting and predictive equation or formula with Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis .05 statistical significance or 95% confidence. To get an answer, what are the factors influencing the vote of the political leader and what factors influence is difference? And what link to Causal Relationship?

VII. Research Result

Analyzing the factors affecting voter turn-ups will bring the factors into the equation, one step by step, sorted according to the importance and influence of that factor. This will start from steps 1, 2, 3 and 4, but in this article, we will focus on presenting the results by analyzing the results of the final step. To show for those who get the highest number of votes (those who win the election are political leaders), as it is the stage where the results of the research come out and to test the hypothesis of the research. The results are shown in the following table:

Table 1: Shows Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis of Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis 1 or the winner of the election (Variables Entered)

Variables Entered/Removed[a]			
Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	campaign	.	Stepwise (Criteria: Probability-of-F-to-enter <= .050, Probability-of-F-to-remove >= .100).
2	party,group	.	Stepwise (Criteria: Probability-of-F-to-enter <= .050, Probability-of-F-to-remove >= .100).
3	patronage	.	Stepwise (Criteria: Probability-of-F-to-enter <= .050, Probability-of-F-to-remove >= .100).
4	money	.	Stepwise (Criteria: Probability-of-F-to-enter <= .050, Probability-of-F-to-remove >= .100).

a) *Dependent Variable: get top score (get the highest number of votes,the winner of the election)*

Table 2: Shows Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis of Steps 1 to 4 of the Top Scorers or Winners of Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis Coefficients (a)

Coefficients[a]						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	43.714	1.947		22.451	.000
	campaign	.426	.033	.311	12.757	.000
2	(Constant)	32.945	2.669		12.343	.000
	campaign	.347	.036	.253	9.711	.000
	party,group	.235	.040	.152	5.829	.000
3	(Constant)	35.688	2.868		12.445	.000
	campaign	.375	.037	.274	10.059	.000
	party,group	.227	.040	.147	5.630	.000
	patronage	-.083	.032	-.065	-2.585	.010
4	Constant)	33.545	2.940		11.410	.000

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	campaign	.376	.037	.275	10.120	.000
	party,group	.238	.040	.154	5.887	.000
	patronage	-.129	.035	-.101	-3.661	.000
	money	.097	.031	.084	3.136	.002

b) *Dependent Variable: get top score(get the highest number of votes, the winner of the election)*

Table 3: Shows Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis results of step 4 of Coefficients (a) of Top Scorers or Winners of Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
4	(Constant)	33.545	2.940		11.410	.000
	campaign	.376	.037	.275	10.120	.000
	party, group	.238	.040	.154	5.887	.000
	patronage	-.129	.035	-.101	-3.661	.000
	money	.097	.031	.084	3.136	.002

a) Dependent Variable: get top score (get ranking points 1 or who wins the election)
b) Predictors in the Model: (Constant), campaign (step 1)
c) Predictors in the Model: (Constant), campaign, party, group (step 2)
d) Predictors in the Model: (Constant), campaign, party, group, patronage(step3)
e) Predictors in the Model: (Constant), campaign, party, group, patronage, money(step4)

Based on the results of the analysis, Table 3 can be written as an equation.

Obtaining the vote 1 = 33.54 + .37Campaign
+.23Party,Group
- .12 Patronage + .09Money

Obtaining the vote 1 = Getting a voter vote Most number of vote (winner of the election)
Campaign = campaign strategy
Party, group = political group or political party
Patronage = relatives help guide (patronage system)
Money = distribution of property and money

From the forecasting equation, Obtaining the vote 1 shows the results of the data analysis. There are four factors that influence the election of voters that is the factor that affects the vote. The most influential is Campaign strategy. Secondly, political party(group) affiliation, thirdly is Patronage. And lastly is Money (the distribution of wealth and money) was statistically significant of .05

The results of Hypothesis test in this research as follows:
Hypothesis 6: The candidate's tactics and campaigning methods affect the votes received.(Campaign)
Hypothesis 3: Party Policy Factors and the role of the party affect the vote.(Party, Group)
Hypothesis 5: Patron system factors and relatives that affect the vote.(Patronage)
Hypothesis 4: The distribution of property and money affects the vote.(Money)

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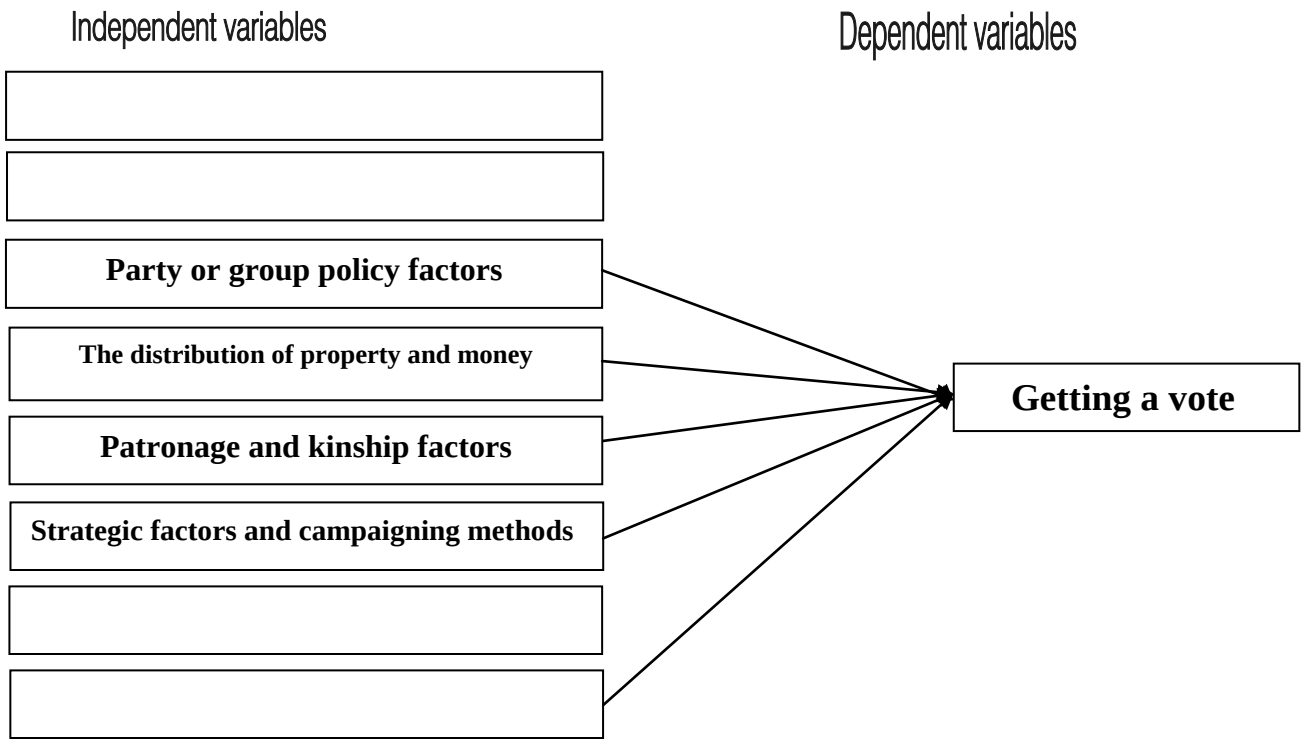

Figure 2: Shows the results of the data analysis

VIII. Summarize and Discuss the Results

Based on the results above it can be concluded that the winner of the election receives the number 1 vote. There are factors influencing the vote, namely the campaign strategy, followed by the political party or group introduction and patronage and the distribution of wealth and money. This is based on the hypothesis of the research set. At the .05 level of significance (other factors such as personal qualification, donation and fraud did not meet the hypothesis test of research at statistical significance level. 05)

The campaign factor is the factor that influences the vote. There is a statistically significant difference in .05 in research that is comparable and consistent in the same way as that of Kwanfa (2010). I have discussed the campaign strategy in the community. Use of public media including the use of personal media, community leaders, and local mass media and the mass media are important for political participation and voting.

Affiliation with a political party or political group (Party, Group) had a significant statistically at the .05 level. There was comparable research, such as the research by Sakda (1999), which states that the most important factor is a political party, under the supervision of Suwat (2005)that said, the decision was made because the political party was satisfied with the policy.Pairat 's Research (2003) said the decision of the voters to choose the group rather than the individual.

There is support, guidance and Patronage had a statistically significant effect at the .05 level. There was comparable research, such as the research by Nattakorn (2002). Voting decisions are based on direct relatives and indirect relationships through the network of canvassing, which is in line with the research of Natasha (1997).But from the equation with a negative sign, that is the winner of the election loses or loses points because the patronage system is that the voter does not vote because of his or her own needs but vote because it is the needs of adults, relatives, and friends suggesting solicitation or direct and indirect.

The distribution of wealth and money is a significant factor influencing voter's vote .05 this is a very common theme. That there is money spent buying vote distribute items for voting. For this research, it is clear that the voter turnout was influenced by the distribution of wealth and money significantly .05, which could lead to other comparable research such as the research of Ratanachoti (1998), Bhothisawang and others (2003), Rattanadilok Na Phuket (1994). Avika (2006). Chitra (1998) and Suwat (2005)

The analysis of the results of this research is rare because most of the factors that affect the decision to vote are used to determine the percentage of respondents. It may be possible to compare the mean difference by the individual factors of the respondents only. However, the researcher tried to compare the results of such research, such as the research of Suvit (1998), funded by the Secretariat of the House of Representatives, to research the decision making factors of voters to voting Member of the House of Representatives by collecting data from 4 regions across 5 provinces is Bangkok, Chonburi, Chiang Mai,

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Khon Kaen and Songkhla. 75.31% of respondents know that the buying of a vote is different from this research method. This research indicates that the distribution of assets and money. It really affects the votes and it has had a real win in the election. Traditional research even knows that there are money distributions but when you go into the election to drop the ballot voters may not vote on their own receipts. This research responded to both sides, that is : the receive Money side to vote and the voting scores side to paid candidate.

The results of this research can be written as mathematical equations: Obtaining the vote **1 = 33.54 + .37** Campaign +. **23** Party,Group **- .12** Patronage + .**09**Money

This shows the way to create political theory candidates for political leadership. What factors to consider? The factor that comes into the equation first is the most influential factor affecting the most votes. Decline down to the very least of the influences, which is enough to the statistical significance of .05 or 95% confidence, which is in line with the hypothesis set.

The researcher is has the opinion that this research is also a pioneering initiative in academia. To make a theory or equation is acceptable to use it need to expand the area and sample. The more data that can be collected, the more likely it is to be a modern political theory.

IX. Suggestion

The research suggestions are as follows:

1. The organization that is responsible for the election and responsible for politics, such as the Election Commission at all levels, King Prajadhipok's Institute. Parliamentary Secretariat and Department of Local Administration Should find ways to prevent the distribution of money through agents. The canvassers or distribute them directly to the electorate in various forms to ensure that the election is pure and fair, and that the results of the research should be applied to improve democracy and the Thai electorate.
2. Political leaders, politicians of all levels, political parties, and political groups. All levels should consider the factors in the equation as to what factors such as strategy and method of campaigning policy, political party or political group that will have the effect of making themselves and their representative or party gain more votes and win the election.
3. For researchers, this research method should be extended to broader scope of research, such as widening the scope of MPs to cover the entire country. Research in the Borough electorate extends the scope of mayoral elections nationwide. Extend the scope of the village headman election to cover the whole country and expand the scope of the election to other positions until more information is available. More information is available so that the results can be incorporated into modern political theory. In addition, qualitative methods can be integrated to make the research more in-depth.

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The Contributions of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to the Creditability and Transparency of the 2016 General Elections in Ghana

By Clement Kwang, Ishmael Adjei & Edward Matthew Osei Jnr
Anadolu University

Abstract- An election is one of the most important human institutions as its outcomes may have diverse effects on the people and the nation as a whole. Election offers people the opportunity to select a leader or set of leaders who would oversee the affairs of the people, their communities and the nation at large for a period. Peaceful elections have contributed to the democratic and stable atmospheres in most countries. Election involves a lot of processes such the casting of votes, counting of the vote cast, displaying of results in figures and numbers and declaring of the winner for the poll. Each of these processes is crucial to the creditability and transparency of the election, but displaying, and the representation of election result are more crucial since figures and numbers can be manipulated easily by the electoral commission. One may argue that this problem of electoral data representation can be solved statistically by using graphs and bar chart or pie chart, but the locations of the electoral colleges would be statistically very hard to fix. An alternative approach to electoral data representation is through the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS). Geographic Information Systems can display election results visually and represent the locations where these election results were being obtained.

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The Contributions of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to the Creditability and Transparency of the 2016 General Elections in Ghana

Clement Kwang [α], Ishmael Adjei [σ] & Edward Matthew Osei Jnr [ρ]

Abstract- An election is one of the most important human institutions as its outcomes may have diverse effects on the people and the nation as a whole. Election offers people the opportunity to select a leader or set of leaders who would oversee the affairs of the people, their communities and the nation at large for a period. Peaceful elections have contributed to the democratic and stable atmospheres in most countries. Election involves a lot of processes such the casting of votes, counting of the vote cast, displaying of results in figures and numbers and declaring of the winner for the poll. Each of these processes is crucial to the creditability and transparency of the election, but displaying, and the representation of election result are more crucial since figures and numbers can be manipulated easily by the electoral commission. One may argue that this problem of electoral data representation can be solved statistically by using graphs and bar chart or pie chart, but the locations of the electoral colleges would be statistically very hard to fix. An alternative approach to electoral data representation is through the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS). Geographic Information Systems can display election results visually and represent the locations where these election results were being obtained.The 2016 Ghana general election became one of the most successful polls conducted in Ghana because of the roles that Geographic Information Systems played in displaying, delivering and analyzing of the election results. All political parties involved were satisfied with the outcome of election results, and it was the first time, no post-election complains and conflicts occurred.

I. Introduction

An election is one of the most important human institutions as its outcomes may have diverse effects on the people and the nation as a whole. Election offers people the opportunity to select a leader or set of leaders who would oversee the affairs of the people, their communities and the nation at large for a period. Peaceful elections have contributed to the democratic and stable atmospheres in most countries. For instance, countries like Mozambique (1994), Sierra Leone (2002), Liberia (2005) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (2006) ended the era of civil wars through the election (Maendeleo Policy Forum Report, 2016).

On the other hand, elections have been used as a means for autocratic regimes, violence and all forms of manipulation in some African and Asian countries. Elections in Côte d'Ivoire in 2010, Kenya in 2007, and 2017, Zimbabwe in 2008, Guinea Bissau and Mali in 2012 ended in political instability and loss of property and lives (Maendeleo Policy Forum Report, 2016).

The basic purpose of elections isfor people to express their choice on particular leadership style but in most cases, this tends to be a different thing as most elections are being characterized by violence, fear, and uncertainty of the stability of the nation even before and after the election. For a fair, free and transparent election, a lot of measures should be taken before, during and after the election. Electoral management should be a continual process and must not be only during a particular election period.

Maendeleo Policy Forum Report, (2016) states that the reluctance or unwillingness of political parties or participating candidates to accept the outcome of election results in good faith is one of the challenges facing most elections. The participating candidates in most cases feared the results of the election may be manipulated thereby denying the reflections of the people's decision in the election.

Geographic Information Systems, particularly Web GIS, can offer the solutions to electoral mistrust regarding the outcome of the results. Geographic Information Systems serves as a platform for data manipulation, spatial analysis, and visualization of relationships, patterns, and trends of spatial data. Location data is vital to the operations of electoral commission ("Elections and Redistricting, nd") as these locations data are in the form of polling stations, constituencies, and electoral colleges. The results from the polling stations and electoral constituencies can then be mapped in real times as maps and graphs for easy and visual analysis of election results' patterns and trends. The visualization, the analytic and the mapping

Author α: Space & Earth Institute, Remote Sensing & GIS Department, Anadolu University, Eskisehir, Turkey.
Author σ: Social Sciences Institute, Department of International Relations, Eskisehir Osmangazi University, Turkey.
Author ρ: Faculty of Civil and Geo-Engineering, Geomatics Department, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana. e-mail: kwangclement@hotmail.com

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capabilities of Geographic Information System could play a role in the acceptance of the outcome of the election by all the participating parties.

Despite the contributions of Geographic Information Systems to the traceability and transparency of election results, much has not been documented in the literature for easy reference and publicity. Most developed countries like USA and United Kingdom have been using the application of Geographic Information Systems during elections, but for the undeveloped countries, the case is different. This paper intends to illustrate the contributions of applying Geographic Information Systemsin the 2016 Ghana general elections.

a) The History of Ghana's Electionsin the Fourth Republic (1992-2016)

Governance in Ghana's first to third republics was been characterized by the alternation of both democratically elected governments and military rulers. The end to the different means by which ruling governments get power occurred in 1992. In April 1992 a referendum was conducted through the leadership of the then military government, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) to approve a constitution which will guide all electoral conducts in Ghana. This referendum was as a result of the PNDC government's agreement with the opposition parties at the time to return Ghana to multiparty and constitutional governance (Frempong, 2015).

Ghana's return to constitutional rulings in the fourth republic aimed at allowing the citizens to choose the leaders they like and also to be able to comment on ruling governments activities. As Frempong (2008) indicates, ''elections are a major institutional pillar of liberal democracy. They provide the platform for exercising the core rights associated with democracy – freedom of speech, association, choice, and movement''. Ghana's fourth republic which has been an election based on choosing governments and other leaders started in 1992. The first Presidential and Parliamentary elections in this republic were conducted in November and December 1992 respectively after a referendum in April 1992 for the country to embark on multiparty constitutional rulings. However the 1992 presidential election was been disputed by the opposition parties, and as a result, they boycotted the parliamentary election which was held in December that same year. Although the presidential election was successful, the opposition parties argued that the incumbent government rigged the election. The opposition party at the time wrote a book entitled, "The Stolen Verdict" to highlight the cases of election malpractices and demanded explanations from the electoral commission (Frempong, 2015). Despite the alleged electoral malpractices and disagreement by the opposition parties the then incumbent government led by Jerry John Rawlings was sworn in on 7th January 1993 as the first president of the Fourth Republic.

After the first election in the fourth republic, Ghana has successfully conducted six successive presidential and parliamentary elections. They are 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012 and 2016 elections. Three of these elections are characterized by incumbent governments been re-elected (1996, 2004 and 2012), and the other three (2000, 2008 &2016) have been an alternation of powers from the incumbent party to the main opposition party. The 2000 and 2008 alternation of powers happened after run-offs (Frempong, 2015). The 2012 presidential election is being considered as a historical election in Ghana's fourth republic by the people of Ghana because it was the first time an opposition party failed to concede a defeat. The electoral commission declared the incumbent party National Democratic Congress (NDC) led by John Dramani Mahama as the winner but the NPP led by Nana Akufo-Addo refused to concede defeat but rather petition the Supreme Court in line with the Article 64 of the 1992 constitution. This Article allows a citizen of Ghana to challenge the validity of presidential election within twenty-one days after the declaration of results. Nana Akufo-Addo, his running mate Mahamudu Bawumia and their chairman at the time Jake O. Lampty filed a petition with John DramaniMahama and the Electoral Commission. The court sat on this petition for eight months, but at the end, the Court upheld John DramaniMahama's victory. (Frempong, 2015).

One important thing to note about Ghana's election in the fourth republic is that elections are being contested by several parties, but only two parties have been winning the presidential seat and majority of the parliamentary seats. It is either the NDC retaining power or the NPP winning and vice-versa. The other parties just join to add up to the numbers or to demonstrate the beauty of Ghana's democracy. Also, there is always uncertainty about which of the two main parties win a particular election before a final result comes out.

II. Materials and Methods

Creating maps and geo database for election results is one of the simplest tasks of Geographic Information Systems. The materials required for this task are the election results (tabular data) and geographic data (electoral constituency or college map and the regional or state map).The election results were first compiled in Microsoft Excel spreadsheet with the name of the electoral colleges or constituencies and common ID number that would be used as a link between the tabular data and geographic data for the election results to be mapped. This common ID number must be added to the attribute table of the geographic data since without that it would be difficult to link the tabular data. A field was also created in the tabular data for the margin

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difference of one of the candidates of the election. The margin difference was obtained by subtracting the selected candidate's vote from the other candidate's vote for each of the constituencies. Negative values indicate lost and positive figures show constituencies where the candidate won the poll.

The tabular data and geographic data were imported into GIS environment such as QGIS or Arc GIS for the creating of the electoral maps, but after the importation, the immediate task is the linking of the tabular data (election results) and geographic data (electoral constituency map) by using the Join option. The tabular data was joined or linked to the attribute data of the geographic data and not vice visa because of the location information (coordinates) of the geographic data. During the Join, the common ID number was selected from both the tabular and geographic data, and after completing the join process, all the attribute fields of the tabular data must appear within the attribute data of the geographic data.

The use of map symbology is a communication tool in Geographic Information Systems for the interpretation and understanding of information because of its ability to reveal patterns in the analyzed information or data. There are three types of symbolizing data in Geographic Information System, and the choice of the method depends on the data type. The election results were symbolized by right-clicking on the linked geographic tabular data and selecting the quantities option of symbology. The quantities option was chosen to map the election results because the quantities permit data to be represented based on the numeric attributes of data and election result is about comparing the number of votes of candidates.

The margin difference field would be selected as an input variable to symbolize the election results. The values of the margin difference were classified into three classes; the first class contains the negative value from the margin different values, the seconded would be zero value, and the third class would be the positive value. The range of negative values to zero means lost to the selected candidate, and a win to other candidate, and therefore his party's color would be assigned. On the other hand, a value ranging from zero to positive mean win for the selected candidate, and his party's color was assigned. After the selection of party colors, the whole map was change to the colors of the parties. The electoral maps produced and used by the media houses during the 2016 Ghana general elections were created by using this method.

III. Results and Discussions

Election involves a lot of processes such asthe casting of votes, counting of the vote cast, displaying of results as figures and numbers and declaring of the winner for the poll. Each of these processes is crucial to the credibility and transparency of the election. Displaying election results as figures and numbers can often be manipulated and are most at times difficult to visually conceptualize their meanings. One may argue that this problem of electoral data representation can be solved statistically by using graphs and bar chart or pie chart, but the locations of the electoral colleges would be statistically very hard to fix.

An alternative approach to electoral data representation is through the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS).Geographic Information Systems can display election results visually and represent the locations where these election results were obtained from. Electoral maps offer an immediate and concise understanding of election results rather than the usage of numbers or charts in displaying the election results. The electoral maps permit visual exploration of the election results and help in showing the spatial correlation between results for better interpretation and analysis. Electoral maps play a vital role in evaluating and accessing the spatial voting patterns in any election.

Ghana is one of the countries where the democratic form of governance is being practiced since the adoption of the 1992 Ghana constitution. Democratic governance is mainly about converting citizens' choices into policy action through decision-making processes and through elections citizens can exercise their preferences and hold government accountable. Elections have a role in the sustainability of democratic governance and it is in line with this, that Ghana keeps improving its elections through the use of modern technologies such as the Geographic Information systems (GIS), Remote Sensing and Global Position Systems (GPS).

The 2016 Ghana's general election made use of the application of Geographic Information Systems in displaying the election results on the administrative map of Ghana. Some electoral maps were prepared and used by media houses in Ghana to depict the trends of the 2016 Ghana general elections for easy analysis and discussion by program panels as shown in figure 1, 2, and 3. These electoral maps gave viewers a better understanding of the landscape of the 2016 elections. Some of the maps prepared and used by some media houses are being discussed in detail regarding their contributions to the success of the 2016 Ghana general elections.

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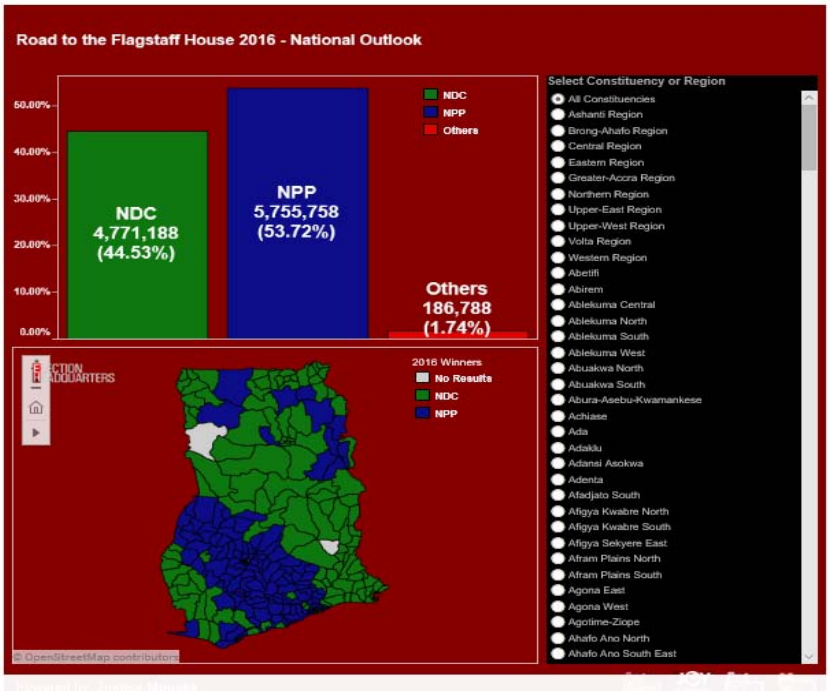
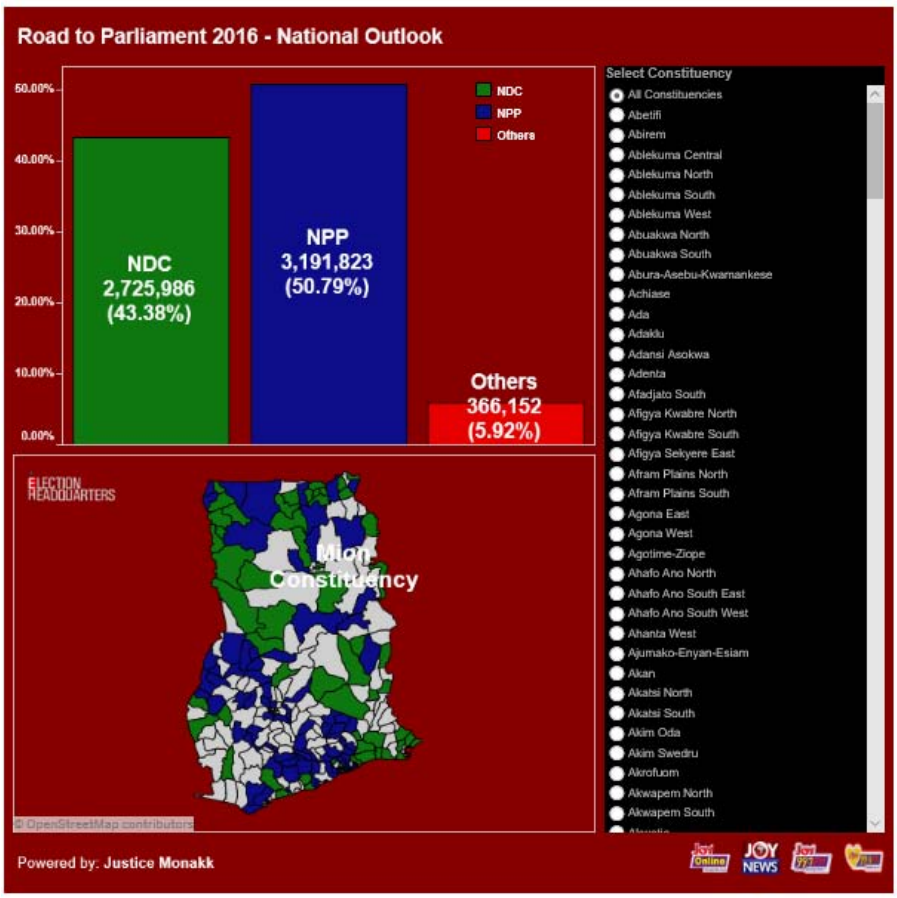


Source: http://www.myjoyonline.com/ghana-news/2016results.php

Figure 1: The presidential electoral map of Ghana 2016 general election.



Source: http://www.myjoyonline.com/ghana-news/2016results.php

Figure 2: The parliamentary electoral map of Ghana 2016 general election

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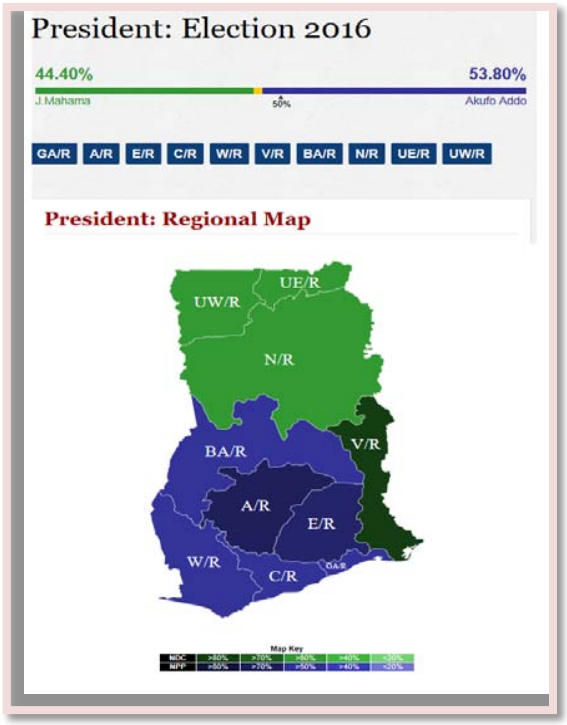
Figure 1 and figure 2 show the presidential and parliamentary electoral map of the 2016 Ghana general election results respectively. These electoral maps were taken from My joy online website. During the 2016 Ghana general election, these maps were broadcasted live on Adom TV, Joy news and Adom online to show the patterns and trends of the election result. This electoral map was made up of the 275 electoral constituencies of Ghana, and as the constituencies' results are released, the map was being colored according to the winner of the poll. The names of all constituencies were shown on the map, and with a click of the button, the election result and winner of the selected constituencies would be displayed by the user. Other spatial analysis such as the constituency with highest votes, selecting and displaying of constituencies won by a particular candidate, constituencies with unavailable election results can be easily performed by the user. Television viewers had the opportunity of viewing the trends and patterns of the 2016 general election at the comfort of their homes, offices, and shops. This, therefore, enhanced the transparency and the credibility of the 2016 election. Even before the declaration of the winner of the presidential election by the electoral commissioner, people of Ghana and world were already aware of the outcome of the election results,and there was no way the results could have been manipulated by the electoral commissioner.



Source: http://ghanaelections.peacefmonline.com/pages/2016/president/

Figure 3. The presidential electoral map of Ghana 2016 general election

Figure 3 displayed the result of the presidential of the 2016 Ghana election and it was obtained from Peacefm website. This map and other electoral maps were also broadcasted live on Utv during the 2016 Ghana general election. This map displays the colors of the two main political parties in Ghana because the other political parties won none of the regions in Ghana during the 2016 general election. The blue colored were areas where NPP won, and the green colored were wins for the NDC. The intensity of the colorindicates the magnitude of the votes obtained by the winning party. The dark blue colored were the stronghold regions of NPP whiles the darkgreen colored was the stronghold region of NDC. From the map, NPP won all the regions of southern Ghana whiles NDC won the northern part of Ghana.

These maps gave full meaning to the 2016 Ghana general election results with a just glance of an eye. The good part is that any person without Geographic Information Systems background could read and understands the meaning of the election results once they were displayed on the maps by the GIS expert.

IV. Conclusion

The roles that Geographic Information Systems plays on the credibility and transparency of election are numerous; it presents election results in a more meaningful form that are easy to deduce and analysis and this in a way would help reduce doubt and confusions in people's mind even before the official declaration is done by the electoral commissioner. The electoral maps can serve as reference materials to analyze and study the electoral spatial landscape of previous elections to project an outcome of future elections. The query capabilities of Geographic Information Systems offer users the opportunity to do a more detailed examination of the election results constituency by constituency or region by region in a rapid manner. The electoral maps for the 2016 Ghana general are available online through the Web GIS and can be accessed by anybody in any part of the globe.

The 2016 Ghana general election became one of the most successful polls conducted in Ghana because of the roles that Geographic Information Systems played in displaying, delivering and analyzing of the election results. All political parties involved were satisfied with the outcome of election results, and it was the first time, no post-election complains and conflicts occurred.

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Early View

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Ombudsman for Good Governances in Ethiopia: Assessing the Awareness and Perceptions of Civil Servants: Insight from South Wollo Zone Civil Servants

By Shimelis Hailu Dessie
Wollo University

Abstract- The existence of Ombudsman promotes good governance around the world by ensuring administrative accountability and transparency. The necessity for the office of Ombudsman has been felt in Ethiopia ever since 1991 and the 1995 FDRE Constitution makers incorporated provision for democratic institutions in Article 55 of the constitution. In 2000, the parliament in Ethiopia passed the Ombudsman Act in pursuance of Article 55 of the FDRE constitution. The objective of this paper is to provide an analytical overview of the awareness and perceptions of civil servants about Ethiopian Ombudsman institution as a mechanism of good governance by focusing on south wollo zone civil servants. To achieve this objective explanatory research approach was used. First quantitative data collected and followed by qualitative data. The quantitative data interpreted using SPSS version 20 and verified against qualitative data and existing literature. Using these researcher reach upon the following finding. Thus, the finding shows that although the importance of ombudsman as mechanism of promoting good governance is accepted as indispensable part of democratization process, the office, however, has not yet been reach grass root level and the provisions of the act have remained as dead letters.

Keywords: ombudsman; good governance; perception of civil servants; awareness of civil servants.

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Keywords: ombudsman; good governance; perception of civil servants; awareness of civil servants.

I. Introduction

Recently, the issue of good governance has received wide attention from the policy makers, researchers and the international donor agencies. Many scholars argue that democratic government by itself does not guarantee good governance, unless it ensures accountability and transparency for its actions and policies to the people at large. Hence, good governance becomes indispensable part of democratization and development process (Alam and Md. Masud, 2010).

Furthermore, scholars argue that for democratic government to be capable of attaining the objective of good governance, a normal control, both political and legal, previously imposed on the functionaries of the government alone do not bring expected servants satisfaction in the globalization age (Obaidullah, 2001). Thus, the traditional mechanisms of political and legal control now have been inadequate to assert their control over the government functionaries to make them accountable and transparent. Hence, to keep up with the pace of citizens' demands and to ensure fair play and good administration, an extra-ordinary institution, ombudsman, emerged first in the Sweden in 1809 and later spread to other world countries.

Ombudsman institution is seen as an independent and non-partisan officer and often provided for in the constitution which supervises the public administration. It is widely recognized as an instrument of accountability and transparency in public administration which further good governance. The Ombudsman Institutions play important role in protecting citizens by addressing grievances arising from maladministration such as unnecessary delay, failure to follow proper procedures, negligence and improper service by public officials. Also, the Institution of Ombudsman raises the awareness and grievance of citizens against public authority's mistakes and misdeeds with effective costs and times.

In Ethiopia although an attempt to establish ombudsman institution going back to feudal regime, it is the 1995 FDRE Constitution which realize this attempt. The FDRE constitution under Article 55 mandated the legislative body to establish national human rights institutions which oversee the protection of human rights and investigate maladministration. To realize this mandate, the Ethiopian House of Peoples Representatives established Ethiopian National Human Rights Commission and Ethiopian Institution of Ombudsman through proclamation No.210/2000 and 211/2000 respectively (Muhammad, 2011).

The objective of the Ethiopian Institution of Ombudsman (EIO) as stated in Article 5 of the proclamation is ensuring the realization of an effective system of public administration rooted in the principles of rule of law and respect for the rights of individuals in

Author: Department of Civic and Ethical Studies, Wollo University, Dessie, Ethiopia. e-mails: shimellishailu@yahoo.com, kumarraatura@gmail.com

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the administration process. It envisages seeing good governance that is high quality, efficient and transparent and is based on the rule of law. Furthermore, EIO has the vision to strengthen good governance and ensuring efficient public service delivery, by investigating and redressing complaints of maladministration, raising the awareness of the public and the executive and overseeing the rules and administrative procedures of the executive (Proclamation No.211/2000).

In the same manner, the objective of EIO for local governments is to deal with corruption and maladministration in local governments. Ombudsman can conduct investigation and enquiring in respect of any action involving corruption or maladministration or irregularities in the discharges of administrative functions by local self-government institution or by institutions transferred to such local self-government (*Ibid*). However, there is no research done to evaluate the realization of the abovementioned objectives and visions of EIO in South Wollo Zone civil service. Most of the researches findings the researchers come across are about general human rights institutions which mainly focus on Human Rights commission. Also, it is nationwide which do not focus on the research area as well as most of these researches are focusing on identifying the gap in law in relation to Paris Principles.

Thus, the aim of this research is to assess whether the objectives of EIO are achieved in South Wollo Zone civil service or if not to identify the challenges it faces. Hence, the specific objectives of this paper are listed as follow;

a. To explore the awareness of South Wollo Zone Civil servants about the roles and functions of Ombudsman institution in promoting good governance.
b. To assess the perceptions of South Wollo Zone civil servants toward Ethiopian institution of Ombudsman
c. To identify the contribution of Ethiopian Institution of Ombudsman in redressing maladministration in south wollo zone civil service.
d. To identify the challenges of Ethiopian Institution of Ombudsman while promoting good governance in South Wollo Zone civil service.

$$n= \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2} = n= \frac{38{,}778}{1+38{,}778(0.05)^2} n= \frac{38{,}778}{1+38{,}778(0.0025)} = \frac{38{,}778}{97.945} =395$$

Accordingly from a total of 38,778 south wollo zone civil servants, 395 sample respondents would be selected. Simple random sampling techniques would be used to identify Woredas and individuals in Woredas. South Wollo Zone contains 24 Woredas and six Woredas would be selected as target group randomly using lottery methods. Accordingly, Kalu, Dessie Zuria, Mekaneselam, Saint, Kelela and Lega Ambo are identified as target population. 64 individual civil servants would be selected from each woredas as respondents using lottery methods.

II. Materials and Methods

a) Research Approach

The approach adopted to undertake this research is mixed. Mixed approach is a research design which involves both the qualitative and quantitative approaches in a single study. As Creswell explain, all methods have limitations and felt that biases inherent in a single method could neutralize or cancel the biases of other methods (Creswell, 2006). Therefore, the researcher select this approach based on the assumption that collecting diverse types of data best provides an understanding of a research problem and well work for this research. This would enable the researcher to provide interpretive, exploratory and explanatory tools to explore the perceptions and awareness of South Wollo Zone civil service on the roles of Ethiopian Institutions of Ombudsman in promoting good governance. The mixed approach contains different strategic model; from these the researcher select explanatory strategy, strategy in which the researcher first collect quantitative data followed and supported by qualitative data.

b) Population, Sample and Sampling Techniques

The population in this study comprises all civil servants in South Wollo Zone civil services, 38,778 as per the 2015 civil service office report. For this study Sample size was determined using Cochra's (1977) sample determination formula.

$$n= \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$$

Where

N= designated total numbers of households or population
n= Designated the sample size for the research
e= designates maximum variability or margins of error-5% (0.05)

Hence, for this research since the numbers of total population is fixed, the sample size calculated as follow;

c) Sources and Method of Data Collection

i. *Sources of Data*

This study used both primary and secondary data useful to the study. Regarding literature written on the topic under study, the researcher collected information related to the topic from written documents such as books, newspapers, official reports, research

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findings, journal articles, documents of Ethiopian Institution of Ombudsman in head office and documents of Ethiopian Institution of Ombudsman in Bahir Dar sub-branch. Concerning primary sources first hand information was collected from target population using interviews, FGD and questionnaires.

ii. *Methods of Data Collections*

As far as techniques of Data collection is concerned the researcher used the following tools of collecting primacy sources; interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and Questionnaires.

iii. *Interviews*

An interview is one of the data collection techniques apparent in social science research. It is used to generate primary information from individuals who have experienced on events or who have some knowledge or information. The researchers conducted face to face, in-depth interviews with informants to collect qualitative information about the awareness and perceptions of civil servants on the roles of Ethiopian Institution of Ombudsman (EIO) in promoting good governance. Before conducting the interviews, the items included in interview questions would be tested through conducting pilot interviews in order to get feedback on questions relevance. Therefore, in-depth interviews would be used to collect qualitative data in this study.

iv. *Focus Group Discussions (FGD)*

According to Robson (2000) a focus group Discussion is effectively a type of semi-structured interviews carried out in a group setting. A list of about a dozen topics is selected and turned into question form. The benefit of FGD is the possibility of additional insight being gained through the interaction of ideas and suggestion from the group. Thus, the method of FGD would be employed by the researcher to obtain information useful to the study. FGD would be also used to collect qualitative data in this study. For this purpose 160 respondents participated under 20 groups.

v. *Questionnaires*

Questionnaire is a very convenient way of collecting useful and comparable data from a large numbers of individuals. It is a well established tool within social science research for acquiring information on participant social characteristics, present and past behaviors, standards of behaviors and their believes and reasons for actions with respect to the topic under investigation (Bird. D.K, 2009). The researcher conducted face to face questionnaires to collect information about the roles and challenges of Ethiopian Institution of Ombudsman (EIO) in handling maladministration in South Wollo Zone civil service. It would be used to collect quantitative data. Before conducting questionnaires, the items included in questionnaires would be tested through conducting pilot survey in order to get feedback on questions relevance. For this purpose 366 respondents participated.

d) Data presentation, Analysis and Interpretation

The quantitative data is analyzed using descriptive analysis. A descriptive method is mainly used to condense data into more informative and meaningful manner. SPSS version 20 and Simple statistical techniques like means, percentages and tables would be used for this purpose. While qualitative data is analyzed by arranging and portraying the data collected through interviews and FGD in a way that help to detect patterns or problems, explore associations that exist in the data. In this analysis reiteration and elaborations of key concepts and suggestions were made on the findings that fit with the existing literature under investigation. In doing so the researcher would identify dissimilarities while comparing the findings secured against literature reviews. Finally the quantitative and qualitative data integrated together.

III. Results and Discussions

a) Civil Servants Awareness and Perceptions about Ombudsman Institution

The realization of ombudsman's roles in promoting good governance in civil services depend up on the awareness and perceptions of civil servants toward the roles of ombudsman institution. In this sub-section of the paper an attempt was made to assess the level of awareness of south wollo zone civil servants about ombudsman on the one hand and their perception on the other hand. For this purpose eight both close and open ended questionnaires was prepared and first hand information was collected from 366 civil servants in south wollo zone. To substantiate and verify quantitative data collected using questionnaires in-depth interviews held with government officials and elders of the zone. To prove the debate focus group discussion was held with civil servants randomly selected in all six sample woreda. Finally both the quantitative and qualitative data presented and interpreted in order as follow;

Table 1: Civil Servants Awareness about Ombudsman Institution

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	98	26.8	31.0	31.0
	Yes	218	59.6	69.0	100.0
	Total	316	86.3	100.0	
Missing	System	50	13.7		
Total		366	100.0		

Source: own survey (2016)

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Societal awareness of public institution is helpful to provide appropriate services for stakeholders. In case of ombudsman institution the awareness of civil servants about ombudsman institution simplified the work of the institution and help civil servants to submit their grievances easily. To measure the awareness of south wollo zone civil servants about ombudsman institution respondents are asked, "Do you know about institution of ombudsman? Please if you know explain anything you know about ombudsman institution in Ethiopia". As the above table shows majority of the respondents (69%) responded as they are aware of ombudsman institution while around 98 respondents (31%) of the sampled population responded as they are not familiar with the institution of ombudsman. To further examine the level of the civil servants awareness about ombudsman institution the researcher continuously asked subjective question which request the participants to explain what they know about the ombudsman institutions. The subjective answers show that, although majority of the respondents (69%) responded as they are aware of ombudsman institution, but they do not differentiate ombudsman from human rights commission or other administrative institutions.

Majority of the respondents respond as ombudsman is institution of human rights while some others write as it is institution established to investigate maladministration. In support of this the respondents participating in focus group discussion explain as civil servants are not consider ombudsman institution as institution standing for investigating maladministration in government office by saying that 'we hear about ombudsman institution some times on media' but it do not reach local areas. Adding the participants told the researcher as they have no information whether it has branch office in Amhara regional state or not. The officials from FDRE ombudsman institution in head office and Bahir Dar branch admitted this idea by saying that the main challenge of ombudsman institution is its inability to reach grass root level citing media, human resources and budget as constraint factors.

The researcher observed as the south wollo Zone civil servants have no full awareness about ombudsman institution. Some individuals who have access to media are aware about the institution a little bit while majority of the civil servants have no awareness of the institution. Also there is problem of clearly understanding and differentiating ombudsman from other federal institutions like election board, human rights commission and anti-corruption commission.

The FDRE ombudsman institution Bahir Dar branch office investigation report prove this lack of clear understanding on the scope of application of ombudsman institution. The branch office public relation and communication affairs directorate director said that people bring all problems to the ombudsman institution and there is lack of differentiating the scope of ombudsman from other institutions. For example the ombudsman institution Bahir Dar branch office 2014 annual report showed that out of 273 cases submitted to the branch office, only 67 (24.4%) are legible under the jurisdiction of ombudsman institution while 206 (75.45%) of the applications were either out of the scope of application of the institution or had basic application error. Furthermore, the 2015 ombudsman institution Bahir Dar branch office report of four year showed that out of 967 cases submitted to the institution 761 (78.7%) are cases which are out of the spheres of application of ombudsman institution while only 206 cases are in the jurisdiction of the ombudsman institution.

In support of this the FDRE ombudsman institution public relations and communication affairs directorate director explains that the main challenge to the working of ombudsman institution is applicants' lack of ombudsman jurisdiction. People brings to the institution all their grievances said the director. In general the above data shows that the local people in general and south wollo zone civil servants in particular have no clear awareness about ombudsman institution.

Table 2: Roles of Ombudsman Institution in Promoting Accountability and Transparency

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	N0	117	32.0	54.2	54.2
	Yes	97	26.5	44.9	99.1
	2.00	1	.3	.5	99.5
	3.00	1	.3	.5	100.0
	Total	216	59.0	100.0	
Missing	System	150	41.0		
Total		366	100.0		

Source: own survey (2016)

As explained before one of the main pillar objective of ombudsman institution establishment is promoting good governance. Accountability and transparency are on the other way the two core elements of good governance. Hence, promoting good governance means promoting the prevalence of government accountability and transparency. Accountability is defined as the process by which actors

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provide reasons for their actions under the pain of sanctions. It may be administrative, financial, legal and political accountability. It can also divide as vertical and horizontal accountability. Vertical accountability is public officials answer to the general public and they are voted out of office for violating their duties. Horizontal accountability on the other hand refers to the capability of state institutions to check abuses by other public agencies and branches of government. In this case EIO is institution of horizontal accountability.

In similar vein transparency may be defined as public access to knowledge of the policies and strategies of government. It is the free flow of information which can be enhanced through the improvement of democratic process. In Ethiopia ombudsman institution is empowered to ensure horizontal accountability of executives by impartially investigating conducts of public administration and recommending remedies in cases of maladministration. As well as the ombudsman institution is entrusted with the power of realizing transparency through requesting administrative authorities to provide information and in helping individuals in their search for it. In this respect the respondents of this study are asked the question, "Do you think Ethiopian institution of ombudsman contribute for the improvement of government accountability and transparency?"

As the above Table depicted majority of the respondents (54.2%) believe that the Ethiopian Institution of ombudsman cannot contribute in promoting government accountability and transparency while 44.9% of the respondents express their believe that the institution can play great role in promoting government accountability and transparency in the country. Respondents who answer 'No' further asked to explain why they are reluctant to believe that the Ethiopian ombudsman institution has play role in promoting government accountability and transparency. The respondents are forwarded their own reasons and the main reasons outlined by many respondents are the institutional capacity, executives reluctant to accept the ombudsman recommendation, professional related issues and political alignment.

Many respondents explain as the ombudsman institution has no enough man power specially professionals who investigate the complex maladministration. The FDRE ombudsman institution Public relations and communication affairs directorate director admitted this view by saying that the institution is challenged by lack of manpower. Since the salary scale of the office is below other government sectors always experienced professionals leave the office in search of better salary. Furthermore, the FDRE ombudsman institution report shows that one challenge of the institution is executives reluctant to receive recommendation positively and give response on time.

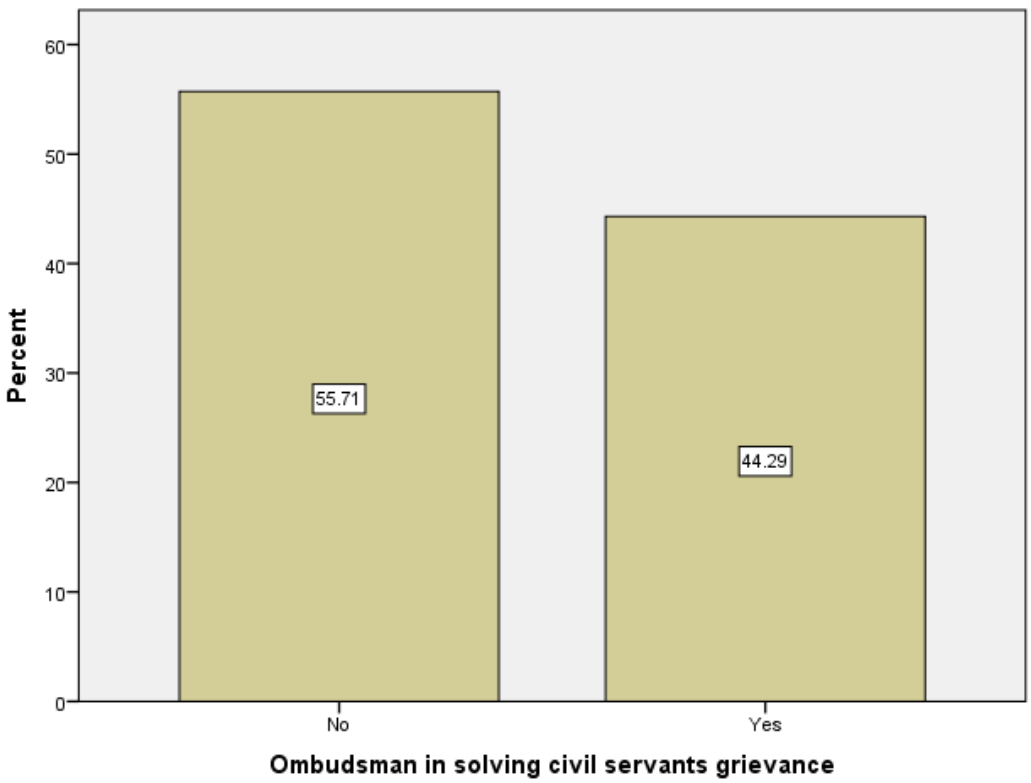

Figure 1: Ombudsman in Solving Civil Servants Grievance

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The purpose of this study is to investigate the awareness and perceptions of civil servants toward the ombudsman institution in solving civil servants grievances. In south wollo Zone as seen above most of the ordinary civil servants are not aware of the functions of ombudsman institutions (Table 1). In order to check the perception of civil servants who responded as they are aware about the institution respondents are asked question of 'Do you believe that Ethiopian Institution of ombudsman solve civil servants grievances?' and as seen above majority of the respondents (55.71%) believe that it does not solve civil servants grievance citing political alignment, organizational problem, lack of punishing power and lack of professional workers as major reasons why they believe that the ombudsman institution does not bring the solution for civil servants grievances.

Furthermore, the respondents participating in interviews and focus group discussion explain that ombudsman institution is a symbolic institution which is directly owned by political appointees. 'If you submitted grievances on any appointees it is not your issue which is seen rather the accused appointees who is the friends of chief ombudsman can win you', said the discussants. Adding the respondents' ombudsman is a toothless dog showing the reluctance of the executive to receive the recommendation of the ombudsman. In support of this the FDRE Ombudsman institution public relations and communication affairs directorate director ascertain that the other challenge of ombudsman institution is some executives are reluctant to response to the office recommendation. In general the finding of this research concerning the capacity of Ethiopian Institution of Ombudsman in solving civil servants grievance is still at low level. As seen above civil servants lack of clear understanding about jurisdiction of ombudsman institution accompanied with the office lack of enough man power, executives reluctant to accept the office recommendation and lack of enough budget limited the application of ombudsman institution.

Table 3: Perception on Ombudsman Capacity to Solve Civil Servants Grievance

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Has no punishing power	56	15.3	35.2	35.2
	Politically alleged	55	15.0	34.6	69.8
	Loosely organized	46	12.6	28.9	98.7
	Others	2	.5	1.3	100.0
	Total	159	43.4	100.0	
Missing	System	207	56.6		
Total		366	100.0		

Source: own survey (2016)

As the above table shows majority of the respondents (35.2%) believe that ombudsman institution cannot solve civil servants grievance because of it has no punishing power. One participants of the focus group discussion in support of this describe ombudsman institution as 'toothless dog'. The second reason the respondents outline is that their perception of the institution is politically alleged. Participants of interviews and focus group discussion express their fear that the Ethiopian institution obmudsman is indirectly under the control of the politics. Said one of the interviewees, the appointments of the chief ombudsman is based on political loyalty not based on meritocracy.

Concerning political alignment and punishing power the two officials (public relations and Communication affairs directorate Directors of ombudsman at federal level and Bahir Dar branch office) have different views from the respondents. The officials said that their office is independent of the influence of the political appointees by citing as the institution is established based on Art.55 of the FDRE constitution by the HPR and responsible to the HPR. Moreover, the officials said that the institution has the power to punish but it use first a win-win solution. However, if the executives are reluctant to accept the win-win solution, the institution has the power to submit the case to the HPR who has the highest government authority in Ethiopia and the HPR take corrective measures, said the officials. In the views of the officials the saying of ombudsman has no punishing power is traditional connotation and lack of well understanding the sphere of authority of the institution.

The other factor the participants cited is organizational problem. Participants of focus group discussion explain that the Ethiopian ombudsman institution is loosely organized institution which is incapable of investigating the huge grievances of Ethiopian civil servants. The FDRE ombudsman institution public relations and communication affairs directorate director admits this view by saying that the EIO do not strong enough to reach each corner of the country. In addition to this according to the federal ombudsman institution public relation and communication affair directorate director, workers turnout is cited as other challenging factor in the day to day activities of the institution. The official said that since the institution's salary scale is below almost all government institutions experienced workers always move to other office for the need of better salary.

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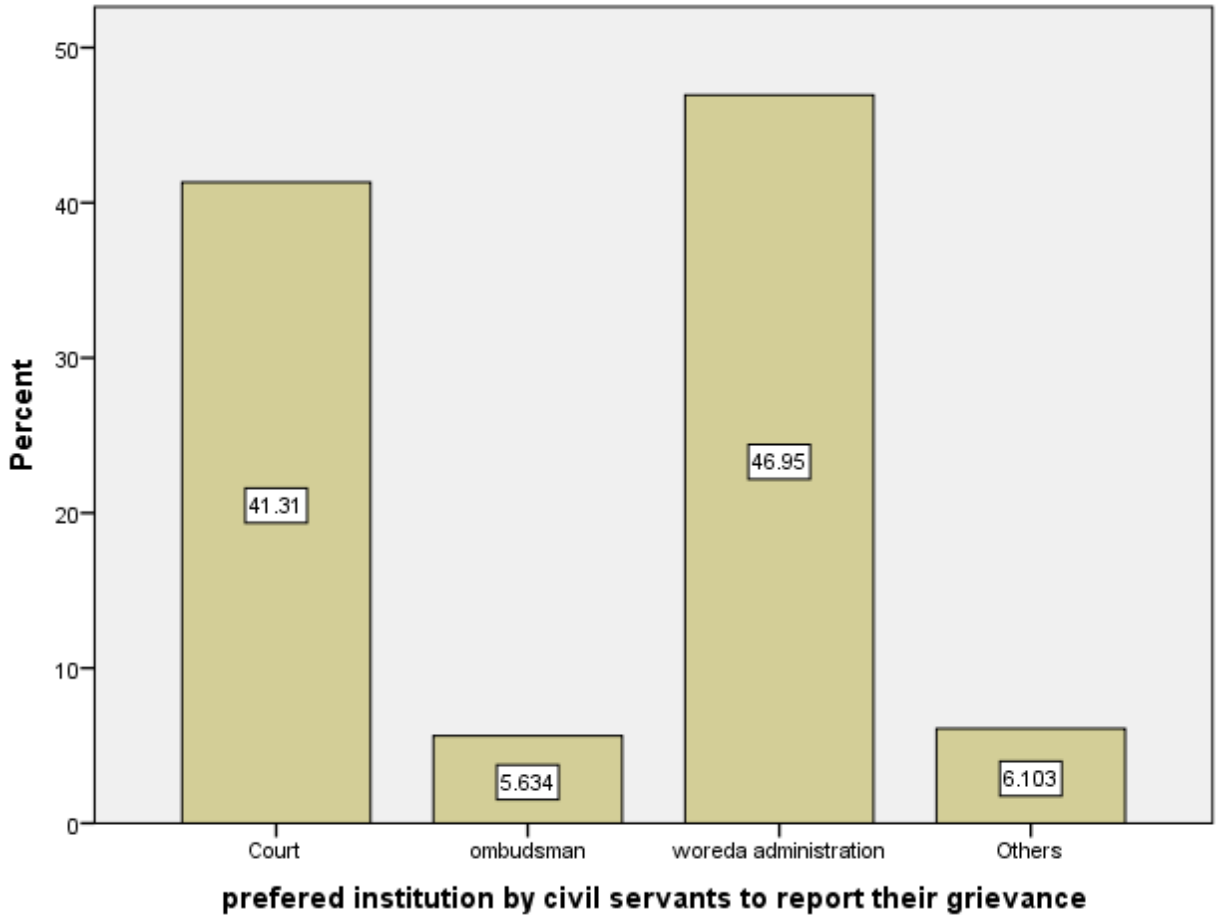

Figure 2: Preferred Institution by Civil Servants to Report their Grievances

Furthermore, to verify more the level of awareness of civil servants about ombudsman institutions respondents are asked question 'which institution do you prefer to submit your grievances if there is maladministration in your work place?' and as the above bar-chart shows majority of the respondents prefer to go woreda administration (46.95%) followed by those preferring to go to court (41.31%). Next to woreda administration and court civil servants preferred to go to civil service courts, grievance handling office and nearby head office like for teachers' director office. According to the respondents the least preferred institution is ombudsman institution.

Only 12 respondents (5.6%) out of 213 respondents show their preference to go to ombudsman office to report their grievances. The above data shows that civil servants still depend up on the usual formal zero sum game institutions let alone the current democratic and win-win solution based institutions like ombudsman. The above data shows that although currently ombudsman institution is introduced to reduce revenges by solving civil servants grievance through win-win solution still people prefer the old formal institutions like administration and courts. This in other way shows the civil servants lack of clear awareness of ombudsman institution.

Table 4: knowledge of Submitting Grievance to Ombudsman from far Area

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	125	34.2	59.8	59.8
	Yes	84	23.0	40.2	100.0
	Total	209	57.1	100.0	
Missing	System	157	42.9		
Total		366	100.0		

Source: own survey (2016)

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The Ethiopian Ombudsman Institution establishing proclamation ascertains that any individuals who face maladministration or see the prevalence of maladministration can submit his/her grievances to the ombudsman institution face to face orally or in writing. The proclamation also proclaim that individuals can submit maladministration to the ombudsman institution using any methods appropriate for them like E-mail, postal service, telephone and other appropriate methods. To check the awareness of south wollo zone civil servants on the methods of summiting grievance to ombudsman institution from far area, the researcher asked the question, "Do you know any methods of submitting maladministration to ombudsman institution from far area?"

As seen in the table above majority of the respondents (59.9%) does not know as the modern way of communication like postal service, E-mail and telephone are considered as formal means of exposing maladministration before ombudsman institutions. Whereas some other respondents (40.2%) of the respondents are aware of the possibility of submitting maladministration to ombudsman institution from far area using modern communication tools like E-mail, postal service and Telephone.

IV. Conclusions and Recommendations

This paper has examined the awareness and perceptions of civil servants about the roles of ombudsman in promoting good governance by focusing on the south wollo zone civil servants. The finding shows that south wollo zone civil servants have no clear awareness about FDRE ombudsman institution which in turn constraint their trust toward ombudsman institution. As the finding of the data shows many civil servants specially those in rural woreda have no awareness of ombudsman institution while civil servants exposed to media and different government workshops and conferences are aware of the existence of ombudsman institution.

But these groups of respondents by itself do not clearly identify the jurisdiction of ombudsman institution. Specially, civil servants have problem in clearly differentiating the jurisdictional differences among federal institutions like ombudsman, human rights commission and anti-corruption commission. From this concerning awareness it is possible to conclude that the south wollo zone civil servants have no clear awareness about ombudsman institution.

Due to lack of clear understanding about the EIO the perception or trust of civil servants toward ombudsman institution is low. Majority of the respondents explain their fear that FDRE ombudsman institution cannot realize government accountability and transparency in Ethiopia. The data also shown as civil servants are reluctant to trust ombudsman institution as agent of solving civil servants grievances. Among others lack of punishing powers, political alignment, organizational weakness and lack of professional investigators are cited as factors hindering the institution to solve civil servants grievances.

In general, the finding of this paper show that the South wollo zone civil servants have no clear awareness about jurisdiction of ombudsman institution, way of submitting complaints and methods of submitting complaints from far area to ombudsman institution. This lack of awareness in turn constrains the civil servants trust on ombudsman institution as agent of good governance. Thus, the well functioning of institution begins from creating awareness and having trust from the target groups. Hence, the finding of this paper implies that much works expected from government in general and ombudsman institution in particular in terms of creating awareness and building institutional trusts among civil servants.

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Globalization and States Political Sovereignty in Outlook of Neo-Realists Paradigm (Case Study: Authoritarian Countries and United States of America)

By Hamid Sarmadi, Morteza Badri & Jafar Ghanei
Islamic Azad University

Abstract- Globalization effected and will be wondrous in all human life aspects. Purpose of this article is bring up and analyses of globalization effects on states political sovereignty. Technology extent and human genius in late decades cause that informatics revolution and extend of satellite and internet networks, international economic rising, international organization and codification of international rights world relation become increased and easily. This research inverse of prevalent theories that believes with beginning of globalization process, political sovereignty of national states become instable and ultimate fade, with emphasis of neo-realists theories and too case study of authoritarian countries and united states of America in political arena believe that now states are important actors in international arena and in near future cannot imagine globalization without states sovereignty and management. In this research sovereignty is consider as management and compilation method is documentary and library.

Keywords: globalization-sovereignty-neorealism-authoritarian countries-united states.

GJHSS-F Classification: FOR Code: 160699



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Globalization and States Political Sovereignty in Outlook of Neo-Realists Paradigm (Case Study: Authoritarian Countries and United States of America)

Hamid Sarmadi [α], Morteza Badri [σ] & Jafar Ghanei [ρ]

Abstract- Globalization effected and will be wondrous in all human life aspects. Purpose of this article is bring up and analyses of globalization effects on states political sovereignty. Technology extent and human genius in late decades cause that informatics revolution and extend of satellite and internet networks, international economic rising, international organization and codification of international rights world relation become increased and easily. This research inverse of prevalent theories that believes with beginning of globalization process, political sovereignty of national states become instable and ultimate fade, with emphasis of neo-realists theories and too case study of authoritarian countries and united states of America in political arena believe that now states are important actors in international arena and in near future cannot imagine globalization without states sovereignty and management. In this research sovereignty is consider as management and compilation method is documentary and library.

Keywords: globalization- sovereignty- neorealism- authoritarian countries- united states.

I. Prelude

Globalization is phenomenon that effected and will be wondrous in all human life aspects, because that longtime study of globalization effects on political, social and economic life considered by political science thinkers, international relation and international economy. Those considered globalization as main themselves study part. The wide and dimension of this phenomenon is very widely that some thinkers reckon as greatest and important of human contemporary occurrence (salami, 2005: p of 7). Hussein Bashiriah believe that globalization is comprehensive context that include vital and important global transformation in ground of technology, economy, politics, communications and culture (Bashirieh, 2008: p of 165). Indeed globalization will be wondrous effect in political arena of human life and transformation of it. In this research globalization effects on states sovereignty will be analyses and critic as one of the important context of political arena.

In initial category theories related of this effects divide in two total class. First whose believe globalization cause destroy of states sovereignty so we see fade of states sovereignty in international arena long of globalization process. Second class reverse of first theory believes in spite universality of globalization phenomenon in international arena, states sovereignty will remain and will not occurrence fade of states sovereignty. Writers in this research agreed with second class theories. Then with study of authoritarian countries and united states try prove that in universality condition of globalization phenomenon, states are main actors in international arena. So in answer of this main question that "what globalization effects will be on states sovereignty in international arena"? hypothesis is " although globalization wondrous effected on variety of human life aspects but in globalization era states are reckon as main actors in international arena and not seem this phenomenon cause that eliminate of states sovereignty". In prove of research hypothesis used mainly from neorealist school like that kendt waltz, Stephen Krasner and Robert guilpin.

II. Theory bases

About history of globalization should that said in a long of human conflicts cooperate and interdependence have been partiality motto and considered in context of celestial religion and thinkers like that xenon and politicians like that willy brandt and javaher lal nehro. In twenty century Marxism become contender of global thinking (geselesfely, 1995: p of 142). Globalization context entry in decade of 1960 in political science and economy literary (waters, 1995: p of 10) and after this decade extend in around world. Globalization is "compaction of time and locate in variety arenas of culture, economy, politics, communications and environment that effected of science and technology in around world with states centric".

Some critics presented about theories that believes fade states sovereignty that indicate its:

Author α σ: Ph.D of Political Science, Department of Politics and Law, Science and Research Branch Islamic Azad University, Tehran, Iran.
e-mail: hamedsarmadi2000@gmail.com
Author ρ: M.A in international realations, in Bonab Azad university.

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III. Politics and Governmental Affairs

In context of political affairs presented some critics against fade of states sovereignty that in continue mention its.

Robert guilipin: Guilpin express some thinking believe that with increasing and growth of globalization, role, control and affection rate of national economies and states acutely decline in international arena. But he believe this is misunderstand and fallacies in perceive of international issues. States and political and economic requirements in national arena have main role in shape of international process and attempt of most countries is very significant for achievement to development and increasing of economic potential in expand of world economic exchanges. They perceived with collaboration of this process can attain to capital, Technology and facilities for development (salami, 2005: p of 151).

Stephen Krasner: He is one of the famous theorists in international relations in twenty one century beginning. Krasner mainly believes are:

State centric and dualistic sovereignty: Krasner as realist say that states special nation-states are main actors in international relations and whose alleged about constructive role of non-governmental actors have exaggerate express. In outlook of Krasner even in interrelated world in final decade of twenty century what be determinant states, interests, power and preferences. Whatever cause interrelated in world arena and world trade result of states interests and will (salami, quoting of Krasner, 1992: p of 126). So states-nations and interstate power structures determinant and important in international relations arena.

Globalization context: Krasner claim that in human life in beginning of twenty one century world interrelated wholly is certain and undeniable. This matter leastwise be certainly between people and dweller of industrial countries. Whilst he agreed most fundamental evolutions but challenged with this believe that globalization transformed nature of human society and human socio-political order. He believe that we don't exaggerate about globalization effects(salami, quoting of Krasner,1992: p of 126). Krasner not deny role of governmental weighty groups and multinational companies, but in rate and modality of affections, reckon significant and substantial internal political structures of countries. Too treat exist of non-governmental actors because of states decisions. Creation of international organizations, multinational companies and NGOs is through national states decisions special superpowers (salami,2005: p of 166). In more cases functions and activities circle in world regulate with legal mechanism of themselves respective government and even the united states of America in this ground approved rules (bilis and smith, 2004: p of 1456). Regimes create rules and values that order and conduct international actors manners and providing exchange possibility, dealing and interaction between them. This regimes create by body of states and in interactions, interests and securities and don't any central authority that creation them and dictate another. Principally in international arena there are no advent possible of this authority and rules dictate. albeit in some history terms appear a hegemonic power that could play main role in creation of this regimes but this is no meaning exist of central authority and if hegemon no along with satisfaction and profit not will exist possible and continuity. So in outlook of Krasner some harmonies and collaborative in global arena result of exist and extend of international regimes that no inconsistent of survival and vital role of states and power relations in international arena.

Kendt Waltz: In this part like that Waltz reasons that is founder of neorealist, critics some extremist universalists claims. Whose that have allege universal of liberal democracy, laissez-faire and fade of states and themselves national sovereignty:

First Waltz say globalization restrict to little part of world. In he believes public know that not imbedded most world countries in circle of globalization. Most of African countries, Latin America, middle east except Israel and main part of Asian. Moreover in most of countries participation level of varying regions in global economy is different. For example north of Italy is in global economy and south of Italy out of global economy. Globalization isn't universal because that district to north regions (salami quoting of Waltz, 1999: p of 3).

Second, today interrelated in compare of past periods not increased statistically. Statistic of economy interrelated not outgrowing from 1910.

Third, world isn't unique and exist huge and deep different between north and south and dominant rules on economies in this region is very different. Today can perceive more assimilate of economic politics. Assimilate of German economic politics after war against united states and wholly evidenced exemplar French from German but any country don't copying entirely and creation of similar other countries institutions. Moreover if economic politics be similar, this matter not meaning globalization of economy, because mainly part of economic exchange of countries performed inward of political boarders. Waltz believe in the United states 90 percent of goods produce for American consumptions and Americans produce 88 percent of themselves consumption goods.

Forth, states are main actors in international arena. Even internal issues and international issues, even economy and politics mainly formed by state-nations. Waltz believe in twenty century has been also and will be in twenty one century (salami quoting of Waltz, 1999: p of 6).

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IV. Authoritarian States Situation in Globalization Process

With scientific and hair-splittig analysis theories that believes to fade of Authoritarian states role in globalization era, we understand that all of this theorists exaggerate. If we over of neorealist school theories that is significant and scientific school among of political schools in analyses of global incidents that after September 11 reinforced scientific grounds of this school, now perform mainly role in states international politics. Kendt Waltz, Guilpin, Stephen Krasner and even in liberal-democratic societies primary preference in international politics doing by states and less than role of NGOs. although accept some developments has been incidence afoot of globalization but don't so deeply that cause fade of states sovereignty and functions (salami, 2005: p of 187).

Although some countries treat themselves democratic and maybe in nature have worst political systems and countries don't express themselves disagree of democracy. Hitler devolution by legal mechanism and muted to century despotic statesman (harisinejad,2006: p of 74) and should have enough regard to form and nature of states. European monarchies special Britain and third world republics have noticeably different together naturally and functionally. About of Huntington narrate that say in late of twenty century involved democratic wave in world countries special Asian Latin America, southeast Asian and communist countries block, he mention this "third wave of democracy" and know its disseminate. It is accurate that liberalism and democracy idea has been most model of countries special after cold war and increased number of democratic countries after second world war to double-fold (salami,2005: p of 17) but coincide of globalization pressers some of this countries have been democratic formalistically and express this slogan grandiosity but don't democratic naturally and rise up everyday scope of authority. Authoritarian states show dualistic manner encountered of globalization that in some case immune them from effects of world negative observes. Historic experience indicate that important principal for this regimes is power and retention it. So any time feel loose powers retreat to end and show dualistic conduct and for retain nature of power that principals believe inbound, give up them in international level and reverse (qavam,2005: p of 323-342). Seem authoritarian culture infiltrate in this societies and institutionalize because in some countries dictators haven't acute problem for furthering intents and in other side politicians perceived Machiavellianism that adoration of coercion and justify politics without ethics. We are not cynic in presser to authoritarian states by globalization and in most cases bringing slogans like that feminism, human rights, individual and governmental counterterrorism, freedom of speech and press, environmental problems and … to world people special authoritarian states intellectuals but this effects not enough fade of sovereignty from rulers.

V. United States of America, Globalization and Political Sovereignty Action

Some of thinkers treat deliberately the United states of America activities about globalization and explain those as project of "world building" or even "Americanism" (nahavandian, 2006: p of 92) those believes that because of globalization context is western word (barzegar,2005: p of 3) and this countries have effective means in world building and furthering certain intent. Globalization cannot lead-in to restriction of states sovereignty and in some case available opportunities underhand of decisions in this countries. Undoubtable today United states of America having dominant power of this stage of globalization. Samuel Huntington in one article entitled "clash of civilizations" imagine future that stabilized American culture in around world. first he presented subject of conflict between civilizations in future that will be greatest international challenge, in this stage liberal democracy ideology is absolute victorious (quoting of takaffoli,2005: p of 41). With observe of general effects in process of global transformations, claim of Americanism is not vain because of united states as country with high technology and most part of international balance of powers. So having maximum impactful and minimum impressibility. American culture issuance sorely in across of world and cause that some countries preventing impression of it and retain of themselves cultural identity. For example lately French government approved act that American programs that broadcasting in TV networks should less than 50 percent of total programs (takaffoli,2005: p of 41).

United states of America at long half second of twenty century carry out 22 attack against world countries and once attack a country at any 2.5 years average. After collapse of soviet union, united states interventions have been unilateral and without any authorization of council security of nations organization. Too deployment of missile buffer in east European that have been time part of east block and soviet satellites prove military dominant on world special to Russia as old rival and potentially. In effect of this transformations henry Kissinger say "globalization is equivalent of hegemon of the united states of America". Main mechanism that performance strategy of the united states militarily and politically is NATO and hegemonic and unilaterally of united states is inverse of liberal optimistically theories. They emphasis under globalization will be rule democratization, progress and social evolution. It is obvious that united states under two former factors as economy and military power

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reinforce national sovereignty, because have trump card in most world transformation. If seem claim of twenty one century will be American century be light exaggerate but it is absolutely accurate that this country will be mainly role regarding to present prospects. According to analyses of Elmar Alet fatter Germany economist only rational justification for Iraq war be Iraq threaten under sovereignty of Saddam Hussein against world peace, western values and united states security. But secondary reason indicate to united states interests for predomination to oil resource. Now enough reason in hand that Saddam threaten have been little and what significant furthering united states intents under slogan of world security and liberal democracy sovereignty. Country that without permission of council security action to unilateral war and most of European countries accompanied in spite of propensity. Expand of capital system under neoliberalism that name of globalization is important appliance for united states access to wills. United states is greatest motive of process and nevertheless having higher interests. Vulnerability of this country in this situation is nonscientific (hite, wagner and phluger, 2004: p of 58-62).

Writers believes although word of globalization to world building special Americanism certainly exaggerate, its clear that globalization in most time bringing good opportunity for furthering of world politics for developments countries like that western Europe, japan and in head of them united states. in this countries not real fade of state sovereignty and in most cases circle of sovereignty action has been world scope moreover geographical boarders. If be restriction is wholly voluntary and side sue of themselves national interests and not danger for sovereignty action.

VI. Conclusion

In current of this research we perceived about exaggerate accompanies of fade of states sovereignty in globalization era and prove in globalization era states have main role in international relations in dimension of political, economic and security. So in near future we will not see era of stateless. In affirmation of hypothesis narrate indicate to neorealist school theories too two example united states and authoritarian countries. Cited to Krasner realist reasons in undeniable states role about globalization and most of world problems indissoluble without states role like that terrorism, human rights, Global security, environmental, Political and economic crises and … . them speech fade of states sovereignty hereof require to states. Krasner correctly explain that sovereignty in meaning pf traditional and Westphalia that absolutely regarded to states territorial role, have been only in doctrine and theories and there is not historic documentary. So Krasner, guilpin and waltz sets states as main global actors and mention to international organizations that don't power upper than constituent members. In economic dimension thinkers as paul herst and graham tompson impugn extremism globalist suppositions, like treat states as global actors. These argued global economic relations internationalized and nor globalized. so multinational companies origins in respective government and states are main actors in economic arena. In security dimension states by realists theories and states global current conditions and interests having main function and disagreeable fade of sovereignty. So economic interdependent and democratization not universal and international system is anarchic and so military power have vital role. Also authoritarian countries in spite infiltration of liberal contexts, liberalistic thoughts, human rights, pluralism, responsible government, factionalism and… under communication revolution and globalization waves that in some cases uncontrollable. But don't allow to fade of authoritarian states and sovereignty. This governments strictly response to littlest actions of citizens and not at all accept restrict of sovereignty.

United states of America have main role in global relations and having mainly interests from globalization process. Even G8 powerful countries risk of current reality in global arena and cynic them. If context of globalization to world building or Americanism be exaggerate, hegemonic role of this country is undeniable. In near future impossible supersede other countries such as japan, china, Russia and European union.

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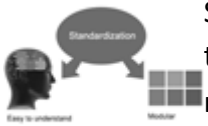

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b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.



Format Structure

It is necessary that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Keywords

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, “What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?” Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.



6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

.

Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



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Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



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Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."

Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

Please read the following rules and regulations carefully before submitting your research paper to Global Journals Inc. to avoid rejection.

Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

Written material: You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.

Criterion for Grading a Research Paper (Compilation) by Global Journals

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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