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The Participation of Players

Potentials of Bangladesh Pharmaceutical

Highlights

Impact of Road Crashes on Poverty

Urban Land Issues and Policy Challenges

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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The Participation of Players in the Composition of the Locative Structure in Niantic Games

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Abstract- This study presents and discusses how the participation of players happens in the structure and validation of the geographical area of interest in Niantic locative games. To better understand this process, how the cities are represented and simulated inside the structure of the locative games is enlighten. This structure and the Ingress Mechanics evoke in the players two types of motivation, intrinsic and extrinsic, and it makes them participate in the validation process of areas of interest for the games around the world, which are used in Pokémon Go as well. The result of this process corresponds to the way Niantic maps physical spatiality for its locative games.

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The Participation of Players in the Composition of the Locative Structure in Niantic Games

Bruno Assad Admus Paixão[α] & Joao Victor Boechat Gomide [σ]

Abstract- This study presents and discusses how the participation of players happens in the structure and validation of the geographical area of interest in Niantic locative games. To better understand this process, how the cities are represented and simulated inside the structure of the locative games is enlighten. This structure and the Ingress Mechanics evoke in the players two types of motivation, intrinsic and extrinsic, and it makes them participate in the validation process of areas of interest for the games around the world, which are used in Pokémon Go as well. The result of this process corresponds to the way Niantic maps physical spatiality for its locative games.

I. Introduction

The appropriation of areas of the city to create the locative games' world is a defining feature for its success. These areas must be some way validated through some process, and this is a challenge for games that players may play in different parts of the world.

This study analyses how Niantic, which produced Ingress and Pokémon Go, was able to develop a strategy to appropriate of several regions of cities around the globe for the Mechanics, narratives, and spatiality of its locative games using the involvement of its players. For this study, besides intensely playing the games, the authors interviewed players of several levels and performed a bibliographic review of the available literature.

On the next section "Evolution of Niantic locative games" a brief historical context of the company's locative games is presented involving Field Trip, Ingress and Pokémon Go, with the construction of the database of common interest areas to the games. The section "Methodology" encompasses the bibliographic review, and exploratory research carried out in this study, aiming at comprehending how the validation of areas of interest to the games through the involvement of players, who act for free to the company happens.

In the following section "The spatiality and involvement of players" the concepts found in the bibliographic review are articulated to comprehend how the players use the elements of cities and the virtual setting are. In "Current locative structure", the city is analyzed through its immediacy and heterotrophic and isotropic representation. In "Players interaction with Ingress" the players are divided inside the Bartle profiles, which are used as guides to be able to relate research data on the involvement of players. In this section are also presented the research result, comparing Ingress and Pokémon Go interfaces and statements of its respective players. The comparison made possible to identify how the involvement and motivation of players collaborate with the spatiality of these locative games.

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II. Evolution of Niantic Locative Games

Niantic Inc. was a Google startup created in 2010 under the name Niantic Labs, and it became independent in 2015. Niantic developed Field trip application and the games Ingress and Pokémon Go, sequentially, all of them involving the urban furniture and cultural objects of real cities. Each new launching was possible through the improvement of the cities and its cultural objects database - developed by the company, in partnership with Google- comparing to the previous application, and the embraced technologies as well (Niantic 2018).

The first application developed by Niantic, Field Trip, launched in 2012, used a data repository of the company with information and images of a reduced number of geo-referenced monuments. Initially, it worked only in the United States but nowadays it works in many cities around the world, which have maps on Google Maps and information on areas of interest that are geo-located. Field Trip is like a tourist guide providing messages in text, images, and voice for smartphone or tablet of areas of interest regarding architecture, lifestyle, historical or cultural importance, as well as restaurants, bars, theaters, movie theaters, museums, galleries or outdoor art. These areas appear on the device screen with images next to the name that identifies the place. By opening the files, detailed information about these places is presented, based on publication from websites that are specialized and are also partners of Niantic. Specific icons mark the areas of interest that may be visualized on Google Maps, inside the application interface and clicking on it the same information about the place appears. The application detects when the user is moving, and it automatically provides information on locations and experiences of interest in the neighborhood. In one of its operation mode Field Trip sends text or voice notifications to the

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user's device when s/he approaches one of her/his areas of interest.

The locative game *Ingress* was launched in November of 2012, at first only for invited users and using the Android operating system. Different from Field Trip, it has a narrative and mechanics. As a part of the game, the users are invited to take photographs of monuments and important places in their cities and send it to the developer company, and they may become a part of the game as portals. These references are added to the Niantic database to generate new information about areas of interest around the world. The player navigates in his neighborhood catching areas of interest that are portals and developing tasks related to his geographical location.

The game script happens on the basis of the idea of a new type of matter called Exotic Matter (XM) that was discovered along with the Higgs boson at CERN. The XM is being used to enslave the human race or to evolve a higher level of awareness, depending on the player's choice. By entering the game for the first time, using his Google email to access, the player must choose one of the groups that compete in the game: Resistance that seeks to destroy the exotic matter to make mankind free of the XM control; Enlighten that pursues to control the XM power in order to expand mankind's awareness. Once the players choose a side there is no way of changing it, unless a new Google account is started (Ingress 2018).

The game's navigation uses a map of the player's neighborhood in its interface with the location of portals nearby, which were mapped beforehand. Portals are areas of interest in the real city, such as a theater, a movie theater, a monument, a statue, graffiti, museums, and buildings, which are not limited to conventional history. These portals started to be mapped before the game was first released to the great public by players who received an invitation to install it in their smartphones and play it and by information of Google as well. The mapping of portals continues nowadays with suggestions sent by the players. All portals have geo-referenced images and information sent by players.

The map extracted from Google Maps is stylized with a change in the colors and information to create one of the interface options of the game in a different representation of the city. In the map's visualization, the player is identified by an arrow with a circle around it, and it considers the accuracy of the GPS. By approaching physically of the portal and clicking on its location in the map of the game's interface, information and images of the portal appear on the mobile device screen with the possibility of either catching areas and guns or it entirely.

Many of the acquisition missions are performed in a group, covering referenced areas of the city because of its cultural, historical or political importance of that community as stated by Hatfield (2018) when he followed a Resistance group in London. He mentions cases of groups that rented an airplane to go to a remote location in Alaska and catch portals in to expand their control zone. The game promotes events called Anomalies when the groups reunite to fulfill missions that involve great distances and dislocation around the globe.

In some situation, the game allows players to indicate areas of the city to become portals. However, there are criteria for acceptance, such as historical, educational, architectural, artistic value or traditional spaces. Besides these criteria, Ingress requests the submission of a recent photograph in high quality to collaborate in the acceptance process. The Help tool of the game (Ingress 2018) states that it does not accept as portals places with no safe access to pedestrians, living beings, natural landscapes, seasonal buildings, pictures of others, private residential property, fireman quarters, police station, hospitals, and high/elementary school. The quality check of the portals is not exclusive of Ingress; the players may report portals through the game's interface stating it does not exist or it is a non-safe place, it is not accessible for people, a copy of another portal or to describe other reason. Moreover about this interaction Ingress enables the players to add photographs and additional information to the implemented portals that will be evaluated. At the end of 2018, the Ingress interface changed and the game started to call Ingress Prime. The modification was only in the visual interface. The sounds, areas of interest and score are still the same.

Pokémon Go was developed in a partnership with Google and Nintendo, using the database and the experience acquired with Ingress, and it was launched in some countries at first. The player catches characters throughout the city and heads to the Poke Stops to obtain items respectively and participate in fights. The Pokémons appear in the device screen as if they were in the real setting through a camera and the device's gyro sensor. It is an improvement compared to Ingress, which used maps and photographs of portals to be captured instead of the camera image in real time. The Poke Stops and the Pokémon Gyms are at the same portals of Ingress.

In these two games, Ingress and Pokémon Go, the players must move around the city to score and catch tools of the game, walking through the cultural objects of the city. With these areas mapped and available in a database, in thousands of cities worldwide, new applications are possible. The next launching by Niantic might be a locative game based on the Harry Potter series.

III. Methodology

To describe the locative structure of Niantic games and to understand how the players' participation

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happens for the spatiality expansion, bibliographic research was carried out and interviews with players from several levels of skills, from both Ingress, and Pokémon Go.

Aiming at seeking researches that related to these themes, the DECIDE framework structure was used (PREECE et al., 2013). The consulted database was Ebsco Host, CAPES Portal, Cite Seerx and SSRN that is a digital library with a collection of over 700 thousand articles. The strings of words used were: Locative Experiences, Locative games, location-based games (LBGs), locative case, game culture, game studies, ingress, augmented reality, site-specific, urban games, hybrid games, spatiality.

The searched terms were divided into three groups: cities and electronic games (locative games, location-based games, lbgs, hybrid games, and urban games), cities (site-specific), and technology and culture (locative case, game culture, game studies, ingress, augmented reality, locative experiences and, spatiality).

Although 60 types of researches were obtained, only 27 were in line with this study objectives, due to the fact they discuss concepts of space, representation, and simulation from the player's involvement point of view. The other 33 researches were not used because of the thematic aimed at the computational codes implementation and the teaching-learning process.

Regarding the exploratory research with Ingress and Pokémon Go players, two participant observations were performed as well as distance interview and surveys. The first participant observation was carried out with a Pokémon Go player. In this participant observation, the researcher was with Ingress on his cell phone while the player had Pokémon Go. This technic was applied to identify the existence of a strategic relationship between these two Niantic locative games. Subsequently another participant observation was performed at an event of Ingress with other 30 players.

An interview with one of the Ingress players and 15 interviews with a group of Ingress players on the Telegram application were performed after. Some players were interviewed through instant messaging apps and surveys applied to check this strategical approach. An online survey about the relation of Niantic games and spatiality was applied and got 28 answers. Besides, the comments about the games on Google Play were consulted, and three of them that related to this study aim were selected.

The results of the bibliographic research and the interaction with the players are presented in the next section.

IV. Spatiality and Involvement of Players

Regarding the concepts that involve the cities and the locative games, it is necessary to define the difference between representation and simulation. Representation corresponds to a chain of meanings that provide material for esthetical, narrative, mechanical and technological attributes of locative games.

Walther (2005) presents two auxiliary concepts, which are the heterotrophic space and isotopic space. For the author, the heterotrophic space encompasses all daily complexities. The heterotrophic space, in both Ingress and Pokémon Go corresponds to the public spaces in the cities, the traffic, and weather for instance.

According to Walther (2005), the isotropic space is composed by coordinates dispersed by the ambiance. Applying this concept to this study's objective, it would be like a system that stores the position of every element of the game, considering movable positions - the player and the characters to be captured on Pokémon Go - and strategical positions - PokeStops and Pokémon Gyms on Pokémon Go and Portals on Ingress.

These characteristics according to Murray (2003) may be applied the digital settings because virtuality enables the representation of navigable spaces. Considering that, it is possible to identify physical geographical representations and their associations in virtual ambiances.

Physical representations and their corresponding areas in virtuality are systemized in a platform to create an experience for the players. In this systematization, the simulative character of the games is inserted because the elements are presented to the players in to establish a dynamic activity regarding interaction. According to Dovey and Kennedy (2006), representation is the way to access simulation of the world controlled by rules, that means representation is a component of simulation. Also Kiefer and Scheider (2017) state that simulation is a trigger of events defined by the computer to impose a change in the player status.

Simulation extrapolates the amusement field when it is used on military training (Dovey and Kennedy; Hill and Hodson 2014). The US Department of Defense works with three modalities of simulation - live, virtual and created -, which consist of the status variation of physical reality and simulation between humans and systems (Hill and Hodson 2014).On "live" the operation of the systems and the targets are real, that means inside a simulative ambiance in the real world a pilot trains with real equipment in a real target. On "virtual simulation" a virtual ambiance is created to simulate an attack activity, in which the human pilot has to reach the proposed goal correctly. Finally, on "Created simulation" all aspects involved, such as the pilot, the target, the environmental conditions are simulated.

Another way of thinking about simulation in locative games consists of the adaptation of the digital ambiances characteristics of Murray (2003) because the narrative may be classified as a type of representation.

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From now on, the digital ambiance has four characteristics that are procedural, participative, spatial and encyclopedic (Murray 2003).

For Murray (2003), the procedural characteristic corresponds to the interpretation provided by the electronic device to identify patterns of complex behavior. This characteristic is related to the electronic device activity to classify the representative insertions of users, to create a simulation consistent to interaction through its pre-established rules. From the same point of view, Dovey and Kennedy (2006) state that simulation is based on a dynamic electronic system that models the complex ambiance with many interconnected coincidences.

About the participative characteristic, for Murray (2003) it is an expansion of the procedural character because they not only provide automatic behaviors to responses but actively interfere in the context and remake behaviors. The feedback system is the answer to the player's decision making, influencing the score, levels, scoreboard or the progress bars (McGonigal 2012).On Ingress, the feedback is not only visual but audible. The game informs by an audible signal to the player not only the approximation of a portal but the possibility to perform connections between portals of the same group, the possibility of either collecting items or to attack the player's enemy portals according to the participative proposal presented.

Regarding the spatial characteristic, Murray (2003) states that its principal aspect is not related to chart, tridimensional images exhibition but to the interactive process of the navigation. Schell (2008) complements this idea by stating the game happens in some place. To the locative games, spatiality simulation is simultaneously divided into virtual, real and mixed. While in Ingress it is possible to identify an attack on a portal as well as to move around the city to perform a strategy.

Voluntary participation corresponds to the level of the players' aware acceptance of the goals, the rules and the feedback to begin or leave the game (McGonigal 2012).This characteristic is noticed on Ingress because time is not accounted for and while a diversity of portals through the city exist, the player may continue his game.

The locative game spatiality composition is not restricted to the relation between the physical elements of the city and virtual components but a fictional relationship between both. This spatiality is only accessed by representations and languages that are classified in three spatial instances (Fragoso 2015):

- Imaginary space: corresponds to the immaterial ambiance that supports fictional events.
- Enunciation space: corresponds exclusively to the representations that form the aesthetical composition of the image. This spatial instance does not approach the aesthetic related to the electronic device, for instance, the screen.
- Material space: is the real world composed of all the possible elements, such as the players, the electronic devices and the close objects.

It may be deduced by applying spatial instances to Ingress that the imaginary space and the enunciation space lean on the material space. The material space composes the city spatiality formed by streets, buildings, historical monuments, people and weather. The imaginary space of Ingress is a translation of the cities material space of an immaterial and fictional character. In brief, on Ingress, a competition between Resistance in blue and Enlightened in green was established to control areas of the city. The control of the areas of the city consists of occupying an empty portal or destroying portals that are under the domain of the enemy and dominate them. That way, the geography of the imaginary space is not set, and it changes after each successful action of the players.

In the enunciation space, the elements of the material space are adapted to the locative games. The areas of the city of material space are configured as portals in the Ingress interface that means in the enunciation space. In Pokémon Go these areas of the city become gyms or Poke Stops in the enunciation space.

The player's experience may be described by the adaptation of agon concepts and mimicry to the locative games. *Agon* corresponds to the competitive characteristic of the game (Callois 2001).On Ingress, the agon characteristic consists of the dispute between the groups Enlightened and Resistance for the portal spread around the city. This aspect is not on Ingress so in a few cases, some players suspected of the question of this research, judging that the interviewer was a spy. A player even said that if the interviewer were from the enemy team the interview would end at the moment, and he even justified himself saying that he is very competitive.

The mimicry corresponds to the temporary acceptance of the imaginary universe of the game (Callois 2001).On Ingress, the mimicry is present in the game's narrative. The Enlightened believe in the study of the Exotic Matter (XM) while the Resistance considers it a threat to freedom. Mimicry is still present in Ingress because of the way the game performs its interaction with the world. A monument, a house or a simple wall are just portals of Exotic Matter (XM), and they may have two types of status: dominated or free. When they are dominated, they have the color that corresponds to the group that holds the domain of it, green or blue. The free portals remain gray until one group member of one of the factions dominates it. Regarding mimicry, a player pointed out as his great motivation to play Ingress the fact of acting discreetly on the streets as if he were a

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secret agent to save "the world from the Enlightened". From now on, it is easy to realize how the game extrapolates the human life sphere because it creates an autonomous reality generating its phenomena (Huizinga 1968).

According to Attfield et al. (2011), the involvement is the combination of emotional, cognitive and behavior existing between the players and some resource of the game for some time. To study the involvement of players in Ingress, it was necessary to detail the locative game structure with the data obtained in the research. To collaborate with the structure detailing, an elementary tetrad of the game (Schell 2008) and the Bartle profiles were used as explained below.

According to Schell (2008), all the games are composed for four components that form an elementary tetrad. These four elements are the aesthetic, mechanics, the story and technology used in each game. To the locative games, the aesthetic refers to the sensorial quality of the interface that mediates the game and the city. The mechanics consists of the main options of the interaction of the players to reach satisfactory and compensatory rewards. The story corres ponds to the narrative proposed by the game. At last, technology implements all previous concepts, such as interactivity, simulation, feedback and possible configurations of the game.

The Bartle profiles (1996) present a proposal of classification of the Role Playing Game (RPG) online games persona that was never adapted to the locative games. In this case, the spatiality of the RPG online games consists of the city in electronic devices and the integration between them. The players have fun as four personas, which are achievers, explorers, socializers, and killers varying their interaction between two sources of interest that are the world and other players.

After that, the aspects of each profile that will be explored again from the Ingress's point of view on one of the upcoming section are summarized. The achievers are players that determine goals to accumulate items, while the explorers are players that pioneer most of the game ambiances. The explorer profile is very present in locative games because going out through the exterior ambiance, not staying in a closed ambiance and having possibilities to explore the real world is relevant to the players. These statements were noticed on the answers of the players to the virtual survey. Both the achievers and the explorers prioritize the interaction with the game's space.

To the socializers, the priority is communication. The socializers are a profile apparent on Ingress players because, besides the communities to discuss strategies and to clarify doubts the players have, Niantic performs events between the players in several cities worldwide to promote the game. At last, the killers are players that aim at the destruction of other players. Both socializers and killers prioritize the interaction with other players (Bartle 1996).

To be able to understand how the reward system of Ingress players works the elementary tetrad of the game (Schell 2008) was combined with the (Bartle 1996) profiles. Figure 1 exemplifies how this relationship works.

	ACHIEVERS	EXPLORERS	SOCIALIZERS	KILLERS
AESTHETICS				
MECHANICSY				
STORY				
TECHNOLOGY	Implements interactivity, user control and simulation and geolocation			

Figure 1: The relationship between the elementary tetrad of the game and the Bartle profiles

Technology is a constant aspect in all of the profiles because it does not depend directly on the player but the electronic device and the Internet connection networks.

From the player's point of view, it is the social interaction and the geographical exploration, in a true immersion that enables to flow in this mix between real and virtual world, where the physical references lead to an equivalent portal in the virtual world. That, many times leads to a sense of time and identity loss in a deep process of immersion. The flow is a state, in which they are so involved in an activity that nothing else

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seems to matter; the experience is so pleasant that people will do it even at a great cost, by the simple interest in doing it (Csikszentmihalyi 2009).

Motivation may be classified as extrinsic and intrinsic. Extrinsic motivation corresponds to work that was performed aiming at the actual reward, such as money or score, while intrinsic motivation consists in the performance of activity only by the personal interest, regardless the effort or reward (Matlin 2009).

By applying these concepts, it was possible to identify a relation between the motivation of players and the spatiality of Ingress and Pokémon Go that may be noticed in a commentary about Ingress at Google Play from a Pokémon Go player; it is on Figure 2.

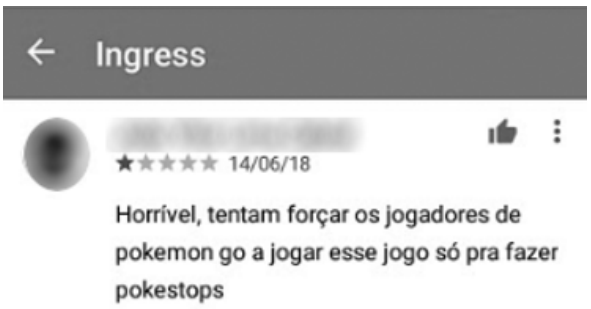


Figure 2: Figure from Google Play

By analyzing this commentary with the data obtained on the survey with Ingress players, it was specified that Niantic uses Ingress to create the spatiality of Pokémon Go. In the case of the player who commented (Figure 2), it is obvious that his motivation is extrinsic because his goal is the expansion of Pokémon Go spatiality. There are channels of advice on YouTube that teach strategies to speed up the process of Ingress portal migration to Pokémon Go, for instance, to fulfill information that are empty in the figure description.

However, the research was able to identify users that changed their motivation related to Ingress. That was also acknowledged in the commentary at Google Play store on the game, as showed in Figure 3.



Figure 3: Figure from Google Play

The translation of thetext:"I started to play with the idea of reaching level 10 to create Poke Stops, but even after I did it I stillplay it. I find it very interesting and fun. Besides, it has good graphics…five stars."

V. Locative Structure

To understand how the current locative structure is implemented, it is necessary to analyze the city by its composition and forms of mediation. Through the composition perspective, the city is formed by heterotrophic and isotopic information. Heterotrophic information consists of the most subjective facet of the urban ambiance composed by image scenery and social aspects. Isotropic representation has a more technical characteristic encompassing geographical coordinates and technological infrastructure of services and devices. (Fragoso 2015; Walther 2005; Cresswell 2009).

As forms of mediation, the city is analyzed through the immediacy and hypermediacy perspective. According to Bolter and Grusin (2000), immediacy is when the ambiance and technology (services and devices) establish a high level of symbiosis that it is not possible to identify on an interface. Diametrically, according to the authors the hypermediacy is, that means the interface is evidenced on purpose. Applying these concepts to the locative structure of Ingress, when the player performs an activity in the game, such as attacking a portal, the city is hyper mediated because it is necessary the use of cell phone as an interface. However, moving to another area of the city is a characteristic of immediacy because the urban scenery is integrated into the game.

On this immediacy proposal of Bolter and Grusin (2000), to access the space created by the game, in the imaginary space, it is essential the use of an interface. The fact of the physical ambiance of the city is annexed to the game as an important motivation to the player, as was found in the result of the surveys. The interface is limited to the cell phone when the user moves around the city. Inside the line of this study, immediacy and hypermediacy correspond to the player's uses. Hence, the Board 1 is the result of the analysis of concepts of Heterotrophic Representation and Isotropic Representation (Walther 2005), the principles of Immediacy and Hypermediacy (Bolter and Grustin 2000) and the data collected with the players of Ingress and Pokémon Go to be able to deepen the locative structure in these games.

Board 1: Mediation of the city: the adaptation of Immediacy and Hypermediacy (Bolter and Grusin 2000) and Heterotrophic Representation and Isotropic Representation (Walther 2005)

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Mediation of city in Ingress (Heterotrophic Representation and Isotropic Representation)	
Uses of Immediacy	Uses of Hypermediacy
Movement around the city	Performance of the game's mechanicsy through the cell phone.

Source: Research data

The city and the Ingress integrate their spatiality to promote the game's dynamics. According to Walz (2010), this phenomenon is the hybrid space, in which materiality and immateriality determine an indivisible fusion to the locative game, both the physical attributes of the city and the immateriality of the mechanics and stories of the game are encapsulated in a single spatial dimension of Ingress. The hybrid space exposes the rules that limit the player's activities, the possible changes of status of the game for progress and feedbacks.

The locative structure in the games involves the following actors: the player's experience (intrinsic and extrinsic motivation), electronic devices (the hypermediacy state and the hybrid space) and the cities (heterotrophic and isotropic representation). The players are motivated by the competition and possibilities of entertainment caused by the game's narrative (Caillois 2001). Given the presented definitions, the locative structure configuration is exemplified on Board 2:

Board 2: Current locative structure configuration

The city and its heterotrophic and isotropic representation.	Electronic devices as hypermediacy accesses the hybrid space.	Player's experience and its motivation.
Technological infrastructure: services and equipment.		

Source: Research data.

VI. Interaction of the Players with Ingress

On this section, the relations defined between the elementary tetrad of the game and the Bartle profiles are exemplified according to the answers of Ingress players. In this analysis, the aspect of the tetrad technology is not discussed as exposed before.

Achievers

The "Achievers" profile appears on Ingress through the players who are head to play especially aiming at dominating portals and accumulating guns and score. On Pokémon Go this profile is more present because the Progress is the result of the catching of characters spread through the city. A player informed in an interview that because the cell phone's operating system is unlocked, he could catch characters of the game in several parts of the world without going out of his current geographical point, that means he caught characters in Brazil, North America, Europe, and Asia in a short period. That result in his banishment from Pokémon Go. Regarding aesthetics, the inventory screens and the possibilities of obtaining items are important for the achievers in Ingress, as is presented in figure 4.



Figure 4: Inventory screen captured by the authors. The translation of the text: Ressonador = Resonator; Loja = Store; Chaves do portal = Portal Keys; and Inventário = Inventory

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Through the mechanics' perspective, to obtain more items, such as guns and energy cubes, the player needs to access the "hack portal" button next to any portal. When it is the enemy team's portal the player risks being attacked, depending on the attack intensity, the player may be out of the game for a while and to revert this; it is necessary to catch more energy or to use more collected items for regeneration.

Explorers

The "Explorers" profile is the most common on Ingress and Pokémon Go as it was noticed after the interviews. Many players who were approached by this survey indicated the possibility of moving around the physical world as a motivation for these games. When the players were asked about their motivation to play Ingress, Pokémon Go or other game of this style, most of the answers were related to the trajectory in the physical world. Some of the answers the players gave and that exemplify this motivation are the possibility of going out; not being stuck in a closed place; to be able to visit tourist and historical attractions; to get to know new places; and to explore the real world to play.

Through the aesthetic bias, it is obvious the necessity of moving because the main screen of both games is the city map stylized from Google Maps. Figure 5 presents the main screens of Ingress and Pokémon Go.

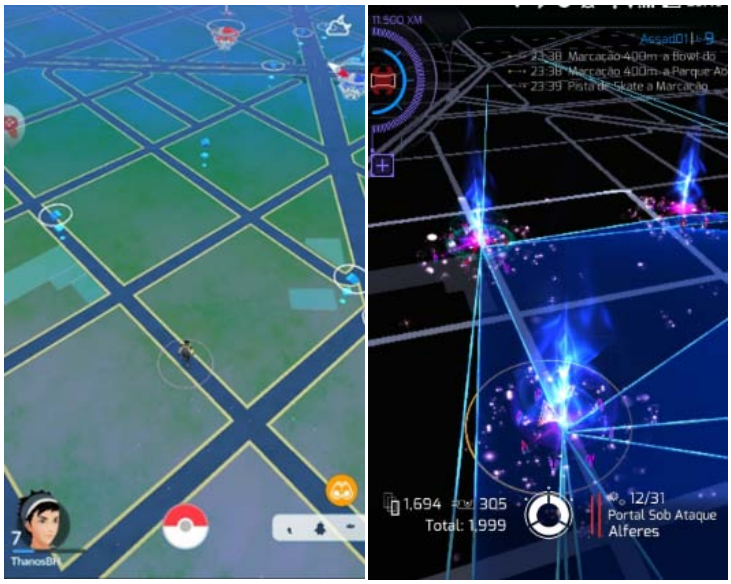


Figure 5: The first screen corresponds to the Pokémon Go map's aesthetic, while the second screen is from Ingress. The translation of the text: Portal under attack

The achievers and explorers profiles many times may be confused. The main mechanics of Ingress is related to locative interaction of the player to collect items, attack portals and create fields of influence. These fields of influence are the result of "links" between portals of the same team. Once a field of influence was established, the enemy team cannot create "links" of portals that are in this perimeter and "links" that go beyond the region of influence. On the interviews, one player said that in an event promoted by Niantic called Mission Day some Resistance team members were able to create fields of influence that covered entirely the state of Rio de Janeiro. The dislocation through the urban ambiance is also implied in the story because according to the game, emergency portals are spread around the city and each team has a purpose of usage.

The mechanics to brood the Pokémon eggs on Pokémon Go serves the explorer profile. According to the participant observation and the consult on researches on Pokémon Go, to be able to brood the eggs it is necessary to cover a 2 km, 5 km or 10 km distance depending on the egg that was obtained. To brood this egg, the player must move in slow speed, that means it motivates him to walk. In some cases, some players use bicycles to speed up the process as it was noticed in the participant information.

Regarding the explorer profile, players state they use weather forecasting application because the city spatiality is not limited to urban constructions. The transcendence does not occur between the virtual and the physical but also inside the virtual ambiance when the player extrapolates the game's interface to access other application to complete his goals on Ingress.

Socializers

On the first access to Ingress, right after the player selects the team, the application reports to the community a new member just got in through an intern system of message exchange in the game's interface. More experienced players advise the new players on the game mechanics and team strategies. The internal message exchange screen may be accessed from the main screen, and it is exemplified in Figure 6.

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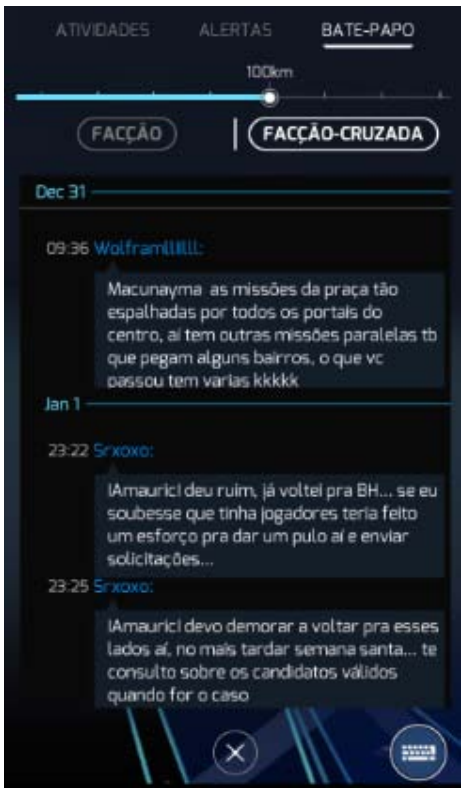


Figure 6: Instant message exchange screen inside Ingress interface. The translation of the text

"Macunayma the square missions are so spread through all portals of downtown, there are other parallel missions as well, and they are in a few neighborhoods, the one you passed through has several kkkkkk" "Amauricl something went bad, I came back to BH…if I knew there were players I would have put some effort on going over there and send requirements…" "Amauricl I might linger to come back there, at the latest on Holy Week…I'll check with you on the valid candidates if it is the case".

The internal message exchange screen is split into three tabs All, Faction and Alerts, and they may be managed according to the geographical distance from the current location of the player. This distance varies between area: regional and global. On the tab "All" the total of messages and activities of both teams, such as control of portals, are shown. On the tab "Faction" only the team's messages are shown, while on "Alerts" the system informs who is attacking a portal dominated by his team and when it is happening. During the research, the team's collaboration to annul an important enemy portal was requested. In two days the referred portal was dominated by the team, following all the steps and strategies of the players.

Besides, through this internal message exchange system, the new players are invited to participate in groups through Telegram and Whats App to receive more information on the team's strategies. There are several groups related to Ingress where the players exchange their experiences. Besides going beyond the virtual ambiance by using the city as scenery, the game extrapolates its interface because of the socializers.

Several events are organized to play Ingress in groups. One of these events is the *IFSIngress First Saturday* that happens on the first Saturday of every month, and it aims at helping new players to level up and socialize with the rest of the players. There is also an international event called Mission Day that consists of reuniting the players of a city and having them performing missions together.

Killers

The profile "Killers" was identified when the players are motivated to destroy enemy portals. Some players said that when they find an enemy portal, they always attack. In this profile, when the players are next to enemy portals they prefer to attack and collect items.



Figure 7: The screen presenting the items for an attack. The translation of the text: Disparar = Shoot

Through the aesthetic bias, it is possible to imply that the sound alert indicating enemy portals and the contrast between blue and green (to identify the portals) are important for the Killers profile. Regarding the mechanics, the attack to the enemy portals depends on its location, level and amount of items as it is exemplified in figure 7. Ingress level is important regarding the quality of the item of that level, in case it is on level 2 it is only possible to use items in this level. The amount of items is limited so it is necessary to collect them in portals and a player may count with until 2000 items on his arsenal.

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Players' participation

This study identified coincidences between the spatiality of Ingress and Pokémon Go after comparing the interfaces in different situations. Figure 8 corresponds to a comparison of Pokémon Go and Ingress interfaces at the same place.

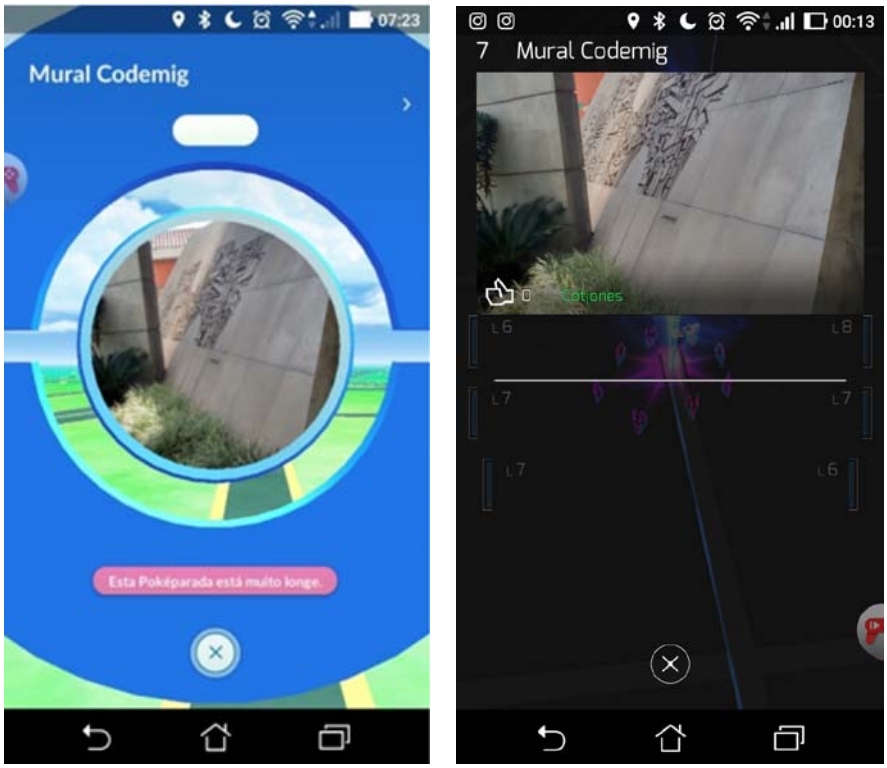


Figure 8: Comparison screen of Pokémon Go and Ingress interfaces

This similarity between the spatiality of Ingress and Pokémon Go were identified in other portals as it is on Figure 9, with both games interface. The first picture on figure 9 is the Pokémon Go screen while the other is Ingress screen.

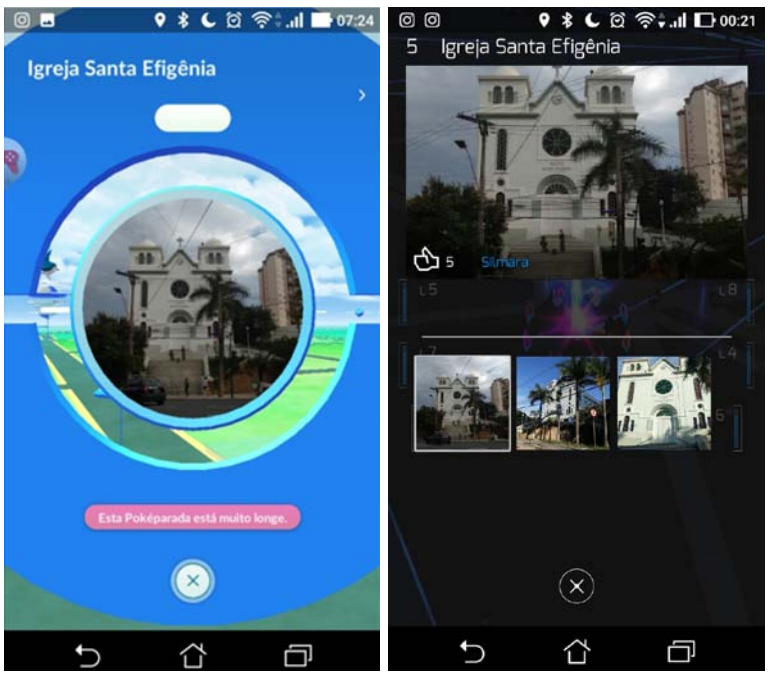


Figure 9: Comparison between Pokémon Go and Ingress screen from the same place

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Through an interview via Telegram with a player of advanced level, it was explained how the dynamics of portal addition works on Ingress. Any player higher than level 11 may submit areas to become portals. Players higher than level 12 evaluate this indication after they attend training about the evaluation of portals that is provided by Niantic. At last, who approves the indication submitted by the evaluators is the game's developer itself. Niantic creates spatiality on Pokémon Go from the areas approved by the players of Ingress. In addition to this analysis with the surveys' data, Ingress portals become Poke Stops and Gyms on Pokémon Go. Niantic uses the involvement of Ingress and Pokémon Go players to feed the spatial database of its games. In the surveys, some players said that a Pokémon Go player needs to go to Ingress to be able to create Poke Stops and Gyms. In some cases, some players leave Pokémon Go to play Ingress because of the mechanics.

VII. Conclusion

The validation strategy of geographical areas in several cities around the world assumed by Niantic has been very successful. The company's spatiality production of locative games extrapolates its developer team and city, and it embraces the involvement and activity of the players. Through the competition between the groups and the hierarchy of players, the places of the real world are referenced and photographed at a low price. Niantic may use both extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. Through extrinsic motivation, the players feed the database of geo-referenced areas aiming at an improvement of Pokémon Go, and they do not care about playing Ingress to reach higher levels. While Ingress players use intrinsic motivation to expand the spatiality of their group. At this point, Ingress is not only a simple game but a strategy to feed the geographic database of Niantic and Google.

From this geographic database, Niantic may propose new locative games and test new mechanics. Through Ingress, the number of users that interact with portals and their time of interaction can be deduced. For the players, Ingress is a simple amusement that mixes physical space and the electronic narrative of the game. While for the developer, Ingress also works as a platform to feed and update its database of areas geo-referenced around the world.

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Potentials of Bangladesh Pharmaceutical Industry: A Comparative Study

By Naznin Sultana Niti
University of Dhaka.

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GJHSS-H Classification: *FOR Code: 671704p*

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I. Introduction

Being one of the world's leading industries the global pharmaceutical industry revenue is forecasted to reach an estimated $1,226.0 billion by 2018, with good growth over the next five years (2013-2018). The industry is expected to register growth led by aging population, changing lifestyles, hectic daily activities, unhealthy eating habits, increasing incidence of chronic diseases across the entire global population providing growth opportunities for the industry players[1]. The Industry has seen remarkable changes in the present years that leave another heap on payers, suppliers, and producers. Today it is the core of Bangladesh's Healthcare sector. With an evolutionary history, the industry has now become one of the most successful pharmaceutical manufacturing industry amongst the growing nations. Currently, the industry meets 98% of local demand and exports to more than 125 countries.

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There are two effective policies that have noticeably, boosted up the growth of the Pharmaceutical Industry. One was the Drug Control Ordinance 1982, which barred foreign companies from selling imported pharmaceutical products in Bangladesh. The other regulatory framework was WTO's agreement on TRIPS (Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) relaxation, which permitted Bangladesh to reverse engineer patented generic drugs and it was extended until December of 2032. Though, due to the recent graduation from LDC in 2018, this may change. But we can expect the relaxation will continue, until UN announces its elevation to the status of a developing country in 2024. The industry size was only BDT 1.7 billion in 1982, which eventually grew ninety times by 2018. Gradually, it has been expanding locally and internationally. Some of the leading pharmaceutical companies of Bangladesh has already got accreditation from international regulatory authorities like UK-MHRA, Australia-TGA, US-FDA, and EU.

II. Historical Background

The pharmaceutical industry discovers, develops, produces, and markets drugs or pharmaceuticals for use as medications. Pharmaceutical companies are allowed to deal with generic or brand medications and medical devices. They are subject to a variety of laws and regulations regarding the patenting, testing and ensuring safety and efficacy and marketing of drugs. The majority of leading pharmaceutical companies also work in Consumer Health, Animal Health, Nutritional Products or Medical Devices/ Diagnostics business segments[2]. Therefore, the main aim of Pharmaceutical companies is to work for the betterment of health and care of the people, and they devote their utmost effort to give their best. Their products do not only comprise of drugs that help in curing diseases but also consists of numerous nutritional supplements, and with the means of trading these products are sent in all over the world.

Following those objectives, the pharmaceutical sector is now one of the 'thrust' sectors in Bangladesh. Before Liberation, there was barely any pharmaceutical enterprise in Bangladesh (then East Pakistan). Though, during the 50s and 60s, a few local pharmaceutical companies started operations. Nevertheless, after several years of liberation, the government could not increase budgetary allocations for the improvement of

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the health sector, as the sector was prominently dominated by Multinational Companies, whereas, local companies were suffering from proper infrastructure, modern equipment, and technology. Moreover, there was no regulatory authority. Most of the people had little access to the essential lifesaving medicines[3]. According to the World Development Report published by world bank, in the early 1980s, Bangladesh ranked as the world's second poorest country, with average per capita income of US$130, and with about 95 million people in a land area of 144 000 square kilometers, giving it the highest population density in the world….a large portion of the Bangladesh population had limited access to modern drugs, with estimates varying from 30% of the population2 to 85%.3 In 1981, the national market consisted of about US$75 million in allopathic drugs, less than 0.1 % of the total world drug market[4].

Then, from the 1980s, pharmaceutical sector started to improve. In the last two decades, it has grown at a considerable rate. After the promulgation of Drug Control Ordinance-1982, the development of the pharmaceutical industry has accelerated. As the local Pharmaceutical companies were the beneficiary of the NDP, they started to expand their business. Meanwhile, the MNCs sold their business shares to local companies. The drug policy had two immediate consequences. First, it eliminated the importation, sale, and production of drugs declared to be dangerous or useless. While groups differed in their assessment of the costs (and desirability) of removing so many drugs from the market, most groups agreed that the policy succeeded in achieving this goal. Second, it reduced the cost of essential drugs within Bangladesh (with savings to consumers, government, and foreign exchange reserves) by decreasing import prices and the value of imported finished products[5]. According to the Directorate General of Drug Administration (DGDA), the market share of the locally produced drug was 175 crores in 1981 that increased to 325 crores by 1985. Since the promulgation of Drug Policy in 1982, the sector has grown from BDT 1730 million to more than BDT 113 bn ($1.5 bn). In 2000, there were 173 active and licensed allopathic drug manufacturing units in the country, while the figure now stands at 300. There are two organizations, one governmental the Directorate General of Drug Administration (DGDA), Under the Ministry of Health and family welfare. DGDA regulates all activities related import and export of raw materials and finished products, packaging materials, production, sale, pricing, license, registration, etc. of all kinds of medicine including those of Ayurvedic, Unani, Herbal and Homeopathic system and one semi-Government. The pharmacy council of Bangladesh (PCB) regulates the practice of Pharmacy throughout Bangladesh control pharmacy practice in Bangladesh.

Table 1: Bangladesh Pharmaceutical Market Before 1982

Government Spending	BDT 1,500 million per year
Number of brands in the market	3500
Number of manufacturers	177
Multinationals	8
Retail Pharmacists	16000
Number of Wholesalers	1300
Private Sector	90% available drugs
Government Utilize	10% available drugs

Source: Bangladesh Pharmacy Council (BPC), Annual Report – 2009

III. Industry Overview & Growth Rate

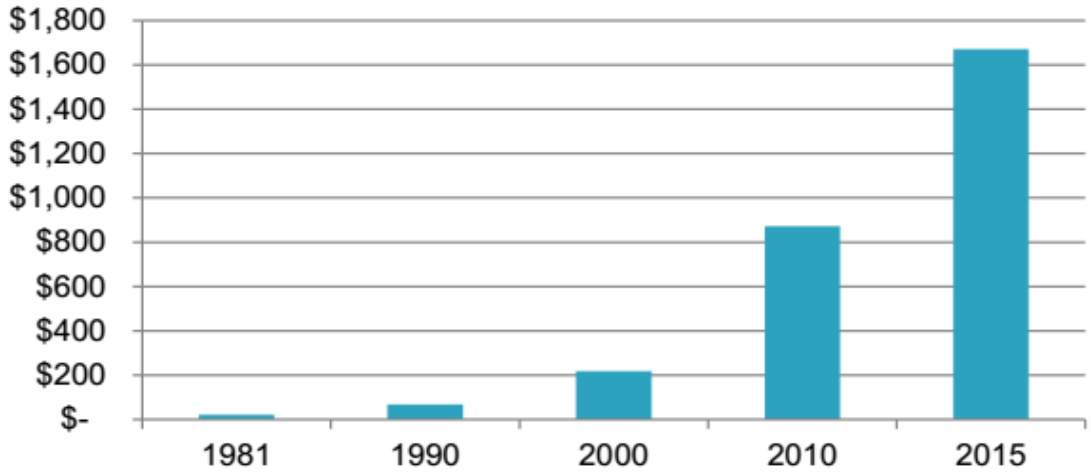
There are several sectors on which Bangladesh can be proud of and undoubtedly the pharmaceutical industry is one of these sectors, which is the second-largest contributor to the government exchequer. There are however, 1,495 wholesale drug license holders and about 37,700 retail drug license holders in Bangladesh. Following the IMS report of 2014, the overall size of the pharmaceutical market of Bangladesh is estimated to be approximate Tk.113bn. With an annual growth rate of about 11.37%, Bangladesh Pharmaceutical Industry is now self-sufficient in meeting the local demand, and it is the largest white-collar intensive employment sector of the country employing around 115,000 workers. As indicated by IMS Health, annual pharmaceutical sales in the local market may reach BDT 160 billion within 2018. By 2020 the market is estimated to be $3,369bn[6]. Bangladesh's pharmaceutical sector will grow 15 percent year-on-year to reach $5.11 billion by 2023, propelled by high investments by local companies as they seek to grab a big share of the global market. By 2022, the market size will be more than doubled to $4.44 billion from $2.02 billion now[7].

The pharmaceutical industry of Bangladesh is primarily a generic one. There are about 5,300 different brands which meet 97% of the domestic demand. The

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local companies have 90% share of the market while MNCs hold only 10%. Domestically, Bangladeshi firms generate 82% of the market in pharmaceuticals; locally based MNCs account for 13%, and the final 5% is imported. Although 257 pharmaceutical companies are registered in Bangladesh, only about 194 are producing drugs. The top 20 companies generate 85% of the revenue. The top 30 to 40 companies dominate almost the entire market; the top 10 hold 70% of domestic market share; and the top two, BEXIMCO and SQUARE, capture over 30% of the market that demonstrates the relatively concentrated business structure of the industry. Comparatively, the top ten Japanese firms generated approximately 45% of the domestic industry revenue in 2006, while the top ten UK firms generated approximately 53%, and the top ten German firms generated approximately 60%. Out of 257 registered companies, the top ten companies account for almost 70% of the total market. Total market size of CAM (Complementary and alternative medicine) companies are about USD 0.18 Billion. Below here, is a chart to show the rapid growth of the pharmaceutical market since 1981 to 2015 which is e stimated to grow around $1,900.000 in 2017.

Table 2: Bangladesh Pharmaceutical Market growth since 1981 (USD)



Source[8]

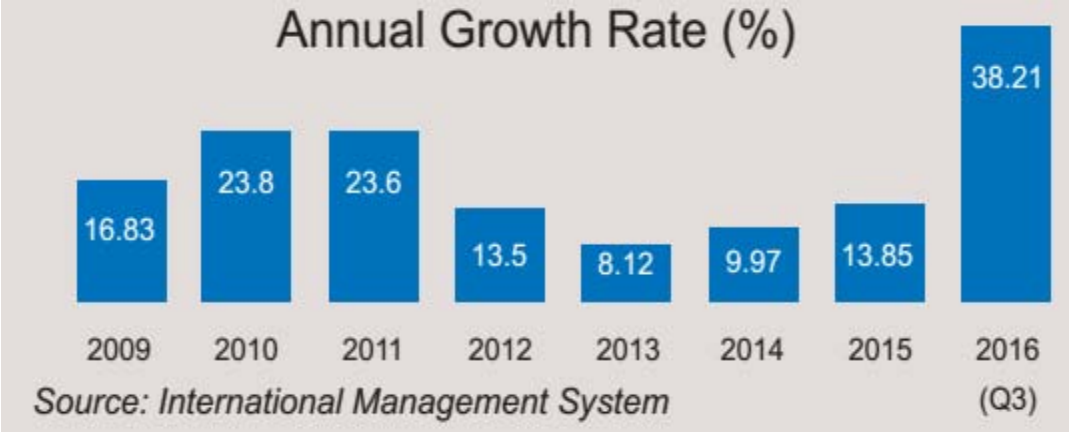
The WTO Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), the Doha Declaration and the succeeding decisions of the council of TRIPS allowed all LDCs to have pharmaceutical patents immune from the ambit of patentability till 2016 (later the patent waiver period was extended up to 2033). This TRIPS flexibility has helped companies in operating in Bangladesh develop generic versions of pharmaceuticals that are under patent protection elsewhere and to sell these products in local markets or to other LDCs or non-members of WTO which have not implemented patent protection. The proper utilization of this patent waiver flexibility made Bangladesh become the only LDC country with adequate pharmaceutical manufacturing ability and almost self-reliant. However such exemption will no longer be permitted when the country will be finally graduating from LDC to the category of developing country.

The TRIPS agreement has turned Bangladesh into a center for affordable and high-quality generic medicines and contract manufacturing, with exports to potentially more than 100 countries across the world. Even, more than ten leading Bangladeshi pharmaceutical companies are exporting generics to international markets. A number of these firms are also evolving as contenders to high-ranked Indian companies in certain areas. The pharmaceutical companies of Bangladesh are investing comprehensively in upgrading manufacturing plants and obtaining certifications from United States, Australia, Canada, and Europe. Beximco Pharma and Square Pharma, each successfully completed FDA inspection of their solid oral dosage producing facilities and received notification in June 2015. These allow them to penetrate regulated and unregulated markets. The top-ranking companies have already developed world-class pharmaceutical plants with the most progressive and up-to-date technology. About 85 percent of the drugs sold in Bangladesh are generic, and 15 percent are patented drugs as the pharmaceutical companies focus primarily on branded generic final formulations, using both imported and domestically produced Active Pharmaceutical Ingredients (APIs). The country manufactures more than 450 generic drugs for 5,300 registered brands, which have 8,300 different forms of dosages and strengths. These include not only tablets,

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capsules and syrups but also a wide range of products from anti-ulcerates, fluoroquinolones, anti-rheumatic non-steroid drugs, non-narcotic analgesics, antihistamines, and oral anti-diabetic drugs. Bangladesh also produces high-tech medicines such as anticancer treatments, hormonal products, enzymes and coenzymes on a limited scale, but it is currently only able to meet four percent of local requirements[9] (Export Promotion Bureau of Bangladesh). The facility of exemption from obligations to implement patents and data protection for pharmaceutical products gives the local pharmaceutical industry an advantage over India and China who do not come under the exemption agreement. After entering the international market, Bangladesh pharmaceutical industry has made prominent growth in export.

Table 3: Pharmaceutical Industry annual growth rate



Bangladesh is in a position to emerge as one of the regional R&D centers for pharmaceutical research as reverse engineering has ended in China and India. So, there is a great opportunity to vie with the Contract Research and Manufacturing Services (CRAMS) model of India. Currently, more than 80% of the APIs are imported from abroad. But with the establishment of adequate reverse engineering and API manufacturing facilities, the local demand for raw materials can be met without import. Bangladesh can provide a strong platform for offshoring/outsourcing generic bulk and formulation drugs due to a cheap labor force and established infrastructure. Bangladesh can present itself as an attractive destination for off-shoring as more and more western companies are concentrating more on the high-cost patented drugs and seeking new sources to cut cost in their manufacture of bulk drugs. Besides, the industry can emerge as a regional hub for pre-clinical testing and clinical trials with the establishment of modern technical facilities. The Contract Research Organization (CRO) model success of India can act as a template to emulate as the subject cost will be very low in Bangladesh as compared to that of western countries[10]. There is an opportunity for substituting import of vaccines, injectables through manufacturing it domestically. Many local entrepreneurs are searching for new ways to amplify their operations beyond the country borders. They are also trying to emulate the buying of distressed companies in the west to attain immediate market access.

EXPORT

Pharmaceutical export is contributing significantly to the GDP of the country, and every year the contribution is increasing rapidly. Since 2004, exports have increased multifold, with export destinations rising from 37 in 2004 to 127 in 2017. Bangladesh exported $37.9 million (about Tk. 3.0 billion) worth of drugs in the fiscal year 2015-2016.

Generic drugs exported from Bangladesh amounts to 25% of the worldwide pharmaceutical sales. Bangladesh earned $82.11 million, a 13.04% up, in the fiscal year 2015-2016, compared to 72.64 million a year ago. The sector has exceeded the export target by 2.64%. Pharmaceutical export grew around 25% in the last seven years. The amount stood at $60.19 million in the first eight months of this fiscal year, registering a 9.94% rise compared to the same period a year ago. Bangladesh has an export target of $95 million, this fiscal year 2016-17, according to data from Export Promotion Bureau[11].

Bangladesh is exporting their pharmaceutical products to 125 countries including Vietnam, Singapore, Myanmar, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Yemen, Oman, Thailand, and some countries of Central Asia and Africa. It also has a large market in European countries.

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Table 4: Drug Export in millions (USD)



Source: Export Promotion Bureau of Bangladesh

Due to the relaxations provided by TRIPS, APIs can bring a bunch of opportunities for exports. For, API (also known as Bulk Drugs), there is no stringent registration requirement and the operational, as well as promotional charges, are also nominal. The only crucial factor in this regard is the cost competitiveness. Bangladesh can export API to several countries if cost-effectiveness is ensured. But being restrained to synthesis stage only, Bangladesh has to rely on import of core compound, solvent, and other intermediates. Thus, the cost-effectiveness of local production can be a bit dependent on import costs. Alongside, these productions often also entail effluent treatment plant, requiring a high investment. Though, the economy of scale is yet to achieve, and high investment requirement has troubled to achieve entrepreneurs' attention. But developments will soon come forward, as some of the firms are manufacturing raw materials locally. The Active Pharmaceutical Ingredients Park in Munshiganj, around 40 km from the capital, will help the sector manufacture at an economy rate, with plans to establish 40 API industries inside the park, including a central effluent treatment plant and incinerator amongst many other facilities.

Import

Every year Bangladesh imports a huge amount of both, finished products and raw materials from out of the country. More than 90% of 4.700 crores (TK) worth of raw materials are imported every year. Over and above 700 different types of finished products and 750 numbers of raw materials including packaging materials come into Bangladesh for the use of the local pharmaceutical companies. Two categories of raw materials used and imported 1. Active ingredients/ basic materials and 2. Excipients. Different organizations of Bangladesh are associated with the import of pharmaceuticals products and raw materials of pharmaceutical industries. Mostly, MNC's are engaged to import the pharmaceuticals products. Imported drugs mainly comprise of cancer drugs, vaccines for viral diseases, hormones, etc. Bangladesh pharmaceutical industry is now heading towards self-reliance in meeting the local demand. However, developments are taking place through a number of firms' manufacturing small amount of raw materials locally. Additionally, the government has already completed the construction of API (Active Pharmaceutical Ingredient) industrial park that will go into operation in 2018. Costs of APIs are estimated to decrease by about 20%, if the API Park is launched.

According to experts, Bangladesh has a competitive hindrance when compared to India, since its pharmaceuticals production is not backward-integrated. Even if the API is manufactured in Bangladesh, the raw materials have to be imported, which generates higher factor costs, especially in cases where the provider of the API is a competitor in selling the finished product. Building up backward-integration for all relevant APIs is not a realistic option: scale disadvantages and infrastructure of constraints are more relevant in the early stages of the value chain, where the products have strong commodity character.

Bangladesh import Organic Chemicals mainly from Indonesia, USA, Japan, Taiwan, Germany, Malaysia, Republic of Korea, Singapore, China, India and others Pharmaceutical Products Import from USA, China, Korea, Japan, Greece, Cyprus, Hungary, Ireland, United Kingdom, UAE, Austria, Singapore, India, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, France, Demark, Spain, and Switzerland etc. Half of the total raw materials are imported from China, 20% from India and the rest 20% are from other countries. Again, the machineries for pharmaceutical manufacturing also has to be imported while Indian manufacturers can source those equipments nationally. It's a cost disadvantage for Bangladeshi companies. The leading manufacturers

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import most of their equipment from Europe or Japan, China, India, etc. Here is a chart to explain, the gradually increasing amount of pharmaceutical import since 2000-2010.

Table 5: Pharmaceutical Import to Bangladesh

(USD Million)	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
All Products	9335	8540	9658	10903	13147	14746	17157	21629	22507	23505
Pharmaceutical Import	33	39	44	45	41	50	49	62	80	82
Pharma % of Total	0.35%	0.46%	0.46%	0.41%	0.31%	0.34%	0.29%	0.29%	0.36%	0.38%
Yearly Growth for Pharma	18.18%	12.82%	2.27%	-8.89%	21.95%	-2.00%	26.53%	29.03%	36.30%	38.01%

Source: Bangladesh Bank, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics

Considering the socio-economic scenario, increasing per capita income, and the literacy rate in the country and also due to increased concern about the health of a certain group of people in the urban areas, it is assumed that total demand for all kinds of medicines and healthcare products will grow in Bangladesh shortly. Simultaneously, with the increasing trend in the export of pharmaceuticals, the demand for raw materials will also increase substantially. However, taking into consideration of the past performance as well as the introduction of new entrants in the sector, it is expected that the import will experience at an annual average growth rate of at least 10% in the next 4-5 years.

IV. Growth Potential

According to Industry Insiders, the pharmaceutical industry of Bangladesh is gifted with high potentials to grow in the days ahead as they enjoy a number of competitive advantages. Almost all pharmaceutical companies are well-equipped with WHO Good Manufacturing Practice (GMP) standards. It has a strong ability to face competition from developing countries like India, China, Brazil and Turkey in its export markets due to strict quality compliance[12].

R&D Activities, formulation, and market are three primary concerns for a strong API base. Whereas our industry does not have R&D activities, we have good domestic formulation industry and a moderate size domestic market. Alongside, we have trained local human resources to support development in the industry. With the government proposed utility and ETP (Effluent Treatment Plant) benefits, and present regulatory structure, it is possible for Bangladesh to develop a good base in the formulation of API and formulations for generic products. Alongside, due to growth factors such as low manufacturing labor cost, availability of relevant manufacturing technology and entrepreneurial assertiveness, the domestic market is to become an emerging market. Change in affordability, the strength of continuous investment, the rapid spread of urbanization and education will result in high growth of the industry in the coming years.

Being a part of the healthcare sector, the growth of the pharmaceutical industry is related to several economic variables. A gradual demographic shift, including increased life expectancy over the last two decades, has translated into proliferated health consciousness and needs, encouraging people to spend more on healthcare services. The income base of the population has been growing over the last decade. Health expenditure per capita doubled during that same period, indicating people's willingness to spend more on health as their disposable incomes increase. Further, with the emergence of private healthcare service - a number of high-quality private hospitals began operating, including Apollo Hospitals, Square Hospitals, United Hospital, and others. These hospitals have become popular due to their high-quality service. They have been an important factor contributing to increased healthcare expenditure and have substituted for regional healthcare travel. Although government expenditures as a percentage of total healthcare expenditures remained stable over the last decade, they have increased in absolute terms[13].

At present, Bangladesh has a quite good outlook on its demographics. GDP growth has been roaming around 6% over the last few years. With average population growth life expectancy at birth has increased by 0.89% annually, along with poverty level reducing 1.68% each year. Most importantly, healthcare expenditure per capita grew by at 8.7% per year, and private healthcare expenditure raised by 3.16% annually, demonstrating a growing propensity among people for healthcare expenditure. With all these positive indicators, more than 15% growth rate is expected now for the local market API industry can provide another growth opportunity in the export market. Exports presently amount to 5.93% of total size (local + Export) of the pharmaceutical market on average. With a vision

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to attain double-digit growth in 2018, the current government has set a target to achieve a higher growth rate. So, it is expected that the actual growth rate in GDP will be 7% within five years and the healthcare expenditure is likely to be more than that estimated value of around 17%. Now, the retail Pharmaceutical market size is about 1% of GDP and health expenditure is about 3.7% of GDP. As a result, the Pharmaceutical sector revenue accounts for almost 30% of the healthcare expenditure. If this situation continues over the coming five years, pharmaceutical revenue will also mature at par at 16.67% annually over the next five years. In the export market, as TRIPS relaxation extended, and present effort towards improving international reach continues, the industry can expect another period of good growth, with more growth coming from exports.

Currently, 48 LDCs, including Bangladesh, are not obliged to enact legislation on product patent rights. Taking the fast growth of the economy into consideration, there is growing concern that the bonanza might end soon for Bangladesh. However, based on international standards and previous examples, it is believed that Bangladesh will continue to enjoy TRIPS benefits at least until 2025. Moreover, since partners are encouraged not to abruptly end LDC support, Bangladesh can enjoy limited TRIPS support even after that with some competent negotiations[14].

V. Conclusion

Today, it's needless to say that the Pharmaceutical industry has already declared as one of the powerful and dimensional sectors of Bangladesh. The pharmaceutical industry is growing at our expected rate with the development of healthcare infrastructure and an increase in health awareness and the purchasing capacity of people. Apart from that, while most of the emerging and LMIC (lower-middle-income countries) drug markets are dominated by multinational Pharma companies, Bangladeshi Pharma companies can penetrate these markets. Being thriving in domestic market Bangladesh pharmaceuticals Industry is successfully exporting active pharmaceutical ingredients (APIs) and a wide range of Pharmaceuticals products covering all major therapeutic class and dosage forms to more than 125 countries. To achieve a new peak, we have to find new markets, enhance quality of products, enhance productivity, branding and overall efficiency to sustain in the global competition. New technology should be developed to generate new kinds of medicines are added to the product line, and it can be used in various establishments. Progress in Pharmaceutical industry means progress in the economy. The growth of the pharmaceutical industry depends on the advancement of the economic condition. The pharmaceutical industry also faces many problems. So, if government develops policies to support this industry as well as to overcome its obstacles, this industry will flourish and its contribution to employment, other sectors of the economy and growth of export earnings from the present level of five thousand million would be more. Hopefully, within a short time, Pharmaceutical manufacturing industries of Bangladesh would become a 'generic player' in the world.

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A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Perceptions Regarding Human Trafficking

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Abstract- This study surveyed 135 individuals, of which 68 were native speakers of English and 67 were native speakers of Thai. Respondents answered questions on issues related to human trafficking, its causes, and potential solutions. Statistical tests showed significant variance in opinions between language and other groups regarding factors associated with trafficking, and regarding the potential impacts of legalization of prostitution. Thai responses reflected collectivist cultural perceptions while English responses reflected more individualistic views. Males and English speakers were most likely to think legalized prostitution would lead to a reduction in human trafficking while females and Thais were most likely to believe legalized prostitution would increase trafficking. Responses to an open-ended question showed participants felt similarly about potential remedies for human trafficking, including information and awareness campaigns, interaction between civilians and police, increased penalties for offenders, and reduction in macro-environmental variables such as poverty.

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A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Perceptions Regarding Human Trafficking

Palapan Kampan [α], Adam Tanielian [σ] & Sangthong Tanielian [ρ]

Abstract- This study surveyed 135 individuals, of which 68 were native speakers of English and 67 were native speakers of Thai. Respondents answered questions on issues related to human trafficking, its causes, and potential solutions. Statistical tests showed significant variance in opinions between language and other groups regarding factors associated with trafficking, and regarding the potential impacts of legalization of prostitution. Thai responses reflected collectivist cultural perceptions while English responses reflected more individualistic views. Males and English speakers were most likely to think legalized prostitution would lead to a reduction in human trafficking while females and Thais were most likely to believe legalized prostitution would increase trafficking. Responses to an open-ended question showed participants felt similarly about potential remedies for human trafficking, including information and awareness campaigns, interaction between civilians and police, increased penalties for offenders, and reduction in macro-environmental variables such as poverty.

I. Introduction

Human trafficking is a global criminal phenomenon whose trade routes are historical, growingand continuously adapting. Victims come from and can be found in any country. Networks of traffickers span the globe, operating within legal transportation and commercial supply channels. Buyers tend to be affluent, but aside from access to capital, they are as diverse as victims and traffickers. Estimates vary on the number of trafficking victims around the world, but none aside from the traffickers and buyers themselves would suggest human trafficking is not a serious problem.

Victims of trafficking are subjected to unimaginable conditions, treatment, and exploitation that cause severe physical and psychological trauma. Some die during abduction, transit, transfer, harboring, or after a tertiary buyer takes control for the purposes of sexual exploitation, forced marriage, involuntary labor, organ removal or other abuses. Those who are rescued, escape, or otherwise become emancipated face a complicated process of reintegration into social networks that did not or could not support or protect them before their departure. In the worst cases, victims are blamed for their experiences by morally corrupt communities whose law enforcement officials may be facilitating illicit trades for supplemental income.

Human trafficking is one of the most egregious forms of abuse, yet compared to other human rights violations (i.e. war crimes, genocide, ethnic cleansing), relatively little is known about human traffickers or their victims. Police and court statistics provide only a crude glimpse at the global market. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), intergovernmental organizations like Interpol and offices of the United Nations, and secular government offices report estimates of the number of trafficking victims, but there is no consensus on what is an appropriate approximation. For the years 2012—2014, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC] (2016) reported 63,251 victims in 106 countries. The United States Department of State (2018) Trafficking in Persons Report reported 100,409 victims in the year 2017, corresponding to 17,880 criminal prosecutions leading to 7,045 convictions. These numbers are likely only a small fraction of the total number of victims as they represent only cases where police and courts were involved.

Crime occurs in relative secrecy, which makes statistical analysis of criminal economies a complicated and imprecise process. Since human trafficking is a global phenomenon, various cultural, legal, and linguistic factors affect aspects of the trade and its study, from defining terminology to enforcement, adjudication, reporting and beyond.

II. Research Design & Hypotheses

This study aims to explore potential cultural and linguistic aspects of perceptions on human trafficking. Analysis of opinion data from distinctly different regions, cultures, linguistic heritage, and legal traditions helps qualify and quantify differences and similarities between two survey groups: native speakers of English and native speakers of Thai.

The study aims to confirm or disconfirm two hypotheses:

H1: Thai and English respondents have significantly different opinions regarding aspects of human trafficking.

H2: English language respondents believe human trafficking is likely to decrease if prostitution is legalized whereas Thai respondents do not believe legalized prostitution would decrease human trafficking.

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The study also aims to answer the following questions:

Q1: To what extent, if any, do opinions vary between groups separated by survey language, sex, age, education, and income.

Q2: Why are responses different between groups, or why are responses not different?

Q3: How can the data help stakeholders improve the situation regarding human trafficking?

In the following section, a review of literature provides secondary quantitative and qualitative data. Then, a survey provides primary quantitative data for analysis and interpretation. The discussion section reflects on findings and ties together theory found in literature to form potential courses of future action. Conclusions suggest that we are only in the beginning stages of a thorough remedy for the scourge of the modern day slave trade which is human trafficking. Most importantly, communication and cooperation among and between police agencies and civilians are paramount in making progress on the overarching goal of abolition of the modern day slave trade, and thus human trafficking.

III. Legal Background and Prior Research

Starting in the late 19th century, nations began condemning slavery and trafficking for the purposes of slavery. Jus cogens, or peremptory norms of international law, emerged just prior to consensus that slavery violated fundamental rights and freedoms (Kirchner and Frese, 2015). Shortly thereafter, the League of Nations Slavery Convention (1926) at Article 4 set out to abolish slavery and the slave trade. As human rights gained acceptance as part of customary international law, the UN General Assembly's (1948) Universal Declaration of Human Rights [UDHR] at Article 4 recognized freedom from slavery or servitude as a fundamental human right. Nearly three-quarters of a century after the Slavery Convention and more than half a century after the UDHR, states adopted the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000) and its Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2000). Article 3(a),the Protocol defines "trafficking in persons": "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs".

UNODC (2016) identified four forms of trafficking: forced labor, prostitution, organ removal, and other forms of exploitation. The "other" category includes all forms of trafficking not specifically mentioned in the UN Trafficking in Persons Protocol but identified by government offices and reported to the UNODC; this category may include begging, commission of crimes such as drug trafficking, forced marriage, or adoption. While the terms "human trafficking" and "slavery" are legally distinct, the definition from the Protocol creates an inextricable link in virtually every case of slavery. Prohibition of human trafficking is ipso facto a jus cogens norm (Cornell Legal Information Institute, 2018). Because slavery is prohibited by customary international law, states are obliged to prohibit the practice, regardless of whether the state is member to a treaty regarding its prohibition (Perez Solla, 2009). As such, all states are duty bound to prohibit human trafficking as defined by the UN Protocol.

Despite immense effort to thwart the slavery and human trafficking menace, the trades persist. ILO (2017) estimated that in the year 2016, as many as 40 million people were victims of slavery, including 15 million in forced marriage. If ILO's estimate is accurate, each of those 40 million victims of slavery would have been victims of trafficking at some point in their lives. The main motivator for offenders appears to be money. Trafficking for the purposes of slavery is a multibillion dollar industry. UNODC (2012) estimated traffickers earn some $32 billion annually. People who force victims into various forms of labor earn an additional $150 billion each year, according to ILO (2014).

According to a UNODC (2016) study which compared statistics from nearly every country, females accounted for 71 percent of all victims in the year 2014; 20 percent of them were under age 18. Between 2004 and 2014, the male share of victims increased in each of five UNODC (2016) surveys. UNODC estimated children account for more than one-quarter of all victims, and that girls become victims at more than twice the rate of boys. In 71 countries, UNODC found all but a few sex trafficking victims are female; they earn criminals who exploit them profits of about $100 billion annually according to ILO (2014), which is twice the profit from forced labor, whose victims are roughly two-thirds male. The profit margins on sex trafficking victims, and thus females, are several times greater than margins of their male laborer counterparts (ILO, 2014).

UNODC (2016) found victim profiles varied from one region to another though some trends are apparent. Children are more likely to become victims in countries that have an abundance of children. UNODC cited "cultural practices" and access to education as demand drivers of child trafficking. Another factor UNODC cited was institutional strength, or whether a state has sufficient legislation and power to enforce. UNODC

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found improving legislation among 179 countries between 2003 and 2016, by which time 158 countries or 88 percent had implemented statutes covering most or all forms of trafficking. The number of countries meeting legislative standards experienced sustained growth, from just 33 in the year 2003 to 149 of 179 countries in 2014, but UNODC (2016) discovered countries that adopted laws after 2003 prosecuted far fewer cases than those who adopted laws before 2003. While more countries have signed treaties and implemented laws, prosecutions are rare in most countries, and traffickers have found a very profitable growth market.

Human trafficking persists because of opportunity in the political economy; that is, a complex combination of political and economic factors provides opportunity for traffickers to exploit people. Victims flow in all cardinal directions, but flows are generally out of poverty and into relative wealth; from countries with lower human development and income per capita and to countries with higher standards of living (UNODC, 2016; United States Department of State, 2018).Reports separated victims by regions that were not drawn purely on ethnic and cultural lines, but regions also tended to reflect distinct ethnography as compared to other regions (i.e. Eastern/Western Europe, Middle East, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, East Asia & Pacific, South/Central Asia, North American, Latin America). Studies suggested cultural views in each region influenced how much people tolerated, rationalized, ignored, or reacted to human trafficking (Robinson, 2011; Mace, 2013). In short, different regions are populated by different cultures who think, feel, and behave differently regarding human trafficking perpetrators, victims, laws, and economies (Sharapov, 2014; Withers, 2017). This study was designed considering the apparent relationship between human trafficking and cultural, ethnic, national, linguistic and other social identity.

IV. Methodology

A questionnaire survey was deployed to quantify perceptions regarding human trafficking and related topics. To answer research questions and confirm or disconfirm hypotheses, the survey was translated into English and Thai and electronically distributed to speakers of each language.

a) Participants

Participants included 68 native speakers of English and 67 native speakers of Thai, all of whom were recruited by researchers via Facebook. Participants were informed of the purpose of the study, that participation was voluntary, and that their identities would remain confidential throughout the research and reporting processes. All participants in both surveys were 20 years of age or older. Aside from confidentiality, there were no outstanding ethical matters to consider. No institutional review board approval was required for this research.

b) Instruments

A 10-question survey assessed attitudes regarding human trafficking among native speakers of English and Thai. Both English and Thai surveys were constructed and delivered via Survey Monkey. Five questions on the surveys asked for demographic data regarding geographical origin, gender, age, highest level of education, and income. One question asked respondents to quantify the threat level that human trafficking poses to their community, on an integer scale of 0 to 100. One question asked participants to quantify the level of association, on a5-point Likert scale, between human trafficking and ten factors mentioned in literature (i.e. statelessness, poverty, child abuse, lack of education, religion, community morals, bad parenting, prostitution, drugs and alcohol, war and violent conflict). One question asked respondents if the threat that human trafficking poses would increase, decrease, or stay the same if prostitution were legalized. One question asked respondents to rank the four most common purposes human trafficking given choices of labor, prostitution, household servant, and organ harvesting. Finally, one open-ended question asked participants about how people can prevent human trafficking.

*See Appendix for survey

c) Sampling & Analysis

In January 2018, researchers began collecting a convenience sample by distributing the Survey Monkey instruments via Facebook. Several solicitations for participants were made via researchers' personal Facebook feeds until the final response was collected in May 2018. The sample size was 135 total, with 68 in the English sample and 67 in the Thai sample.

The surveys were translated into two languages and distributed to samples of native speakers of each language, so the population size can be estimated as the population of native English and native Thai speakers, but the survey is intended to apply to a broader population. The sample size may appearsmall given the large population size, however, the sample is sufficient under the assumption that response distribution is low; that is, very few people deviate from the norm on questions of human trafficking (i.e. people are unanimous in their disapproval of the trade). Sample size was calculated using the following formula (Krejcie & Morgan, 1970; National Business Research Institute, 2018).

$$s = \frac{X^2 NP(1-P)}{d^2(N-1) + X^2 P(1-P)}$$

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s = required sample size
X^2= chi-square value for 1 degree of freedom at 95 percent confidence level
N = population size
P = population proportion, estimated at 10 percent
d = degree of accuracy, or margin of error at 0.05

Researchers took note of the limited or logistical growth of the graph of the formula, which yielded a sample size of 130 for a population of 2,000; that sample size grew to 138 for a population of 20,000 and 139 for all populations above 65,000. Researchers felt 135 responses were adequate considering potential interference of factors such as culture, religion, and language within the context of very large populations. For the purposes of exploratory and preliminary confirmatory study, the relatively small sample size was innocuous to validity.

Survey data were translated into Microsoft Excel 2016 and SPSS v23 for representation and analysis. Demographic data aidedresearchers' understanding of the composition of participants by age, sex, income group, and education. Excel tables helped researchers represent descriptive statistics (i.e. means, frequencies, standard deviation) using tables, line and bar graphs. SPSS helped calculate complex parametric and non-parametric tests such as one-way and two-way ANOVA, Chi-Square, Kruskall-Wallis, Shapiro-Wilk, and Levene statistics.

V. Results

Data were approximately normally distributed as assessed by Q-Q plots, however, Shapiro-Wilk tests showed the data violated the normality assumption with p-scores lower than 0.05. Data also violated the homogeneity of variance assumption as assessed by Levene's statistic ($p > 0.05$). Despite these violations, ANOVA was still considered an appropriate test as ANOVA is considered a robust test that tolerates such violations with small effect on Type 1 errors (Lund Research, 2018). To ensure the validity of results, researchers conducted Welch and Kruskal-Wallis tests in response to the violations.

a) Demographic data

Among the 68 participants of the English survey, 32 were male and 36 were female. There were 57 respondents from 22 states across the USA. Among the 11 international respondents on the English survey, there were 2 from Japan, 2 from Thailand, 2 from Canada, 2 from Ireland, and 3 from the United Kingdom. All 67 participants in the Thai language survey were from Thailand. Responses were mainly from northern provinces of Chiang Mai and Maehongson, and the capital city area in and around Bangkok. In the Thai group, there were 48 females and 19 males.

Table 1: Survey participants by gender and language

	ENG	TH	TOT
Male	32	19	51
Female	36	48	84
Total	68	67	135

Roughly 70 percent of Thai respondents and 46 percent of English respondents were between the ages of 30 and 39. English survey respondents reported a broader range of ages. Figure 1 shows age distributions.

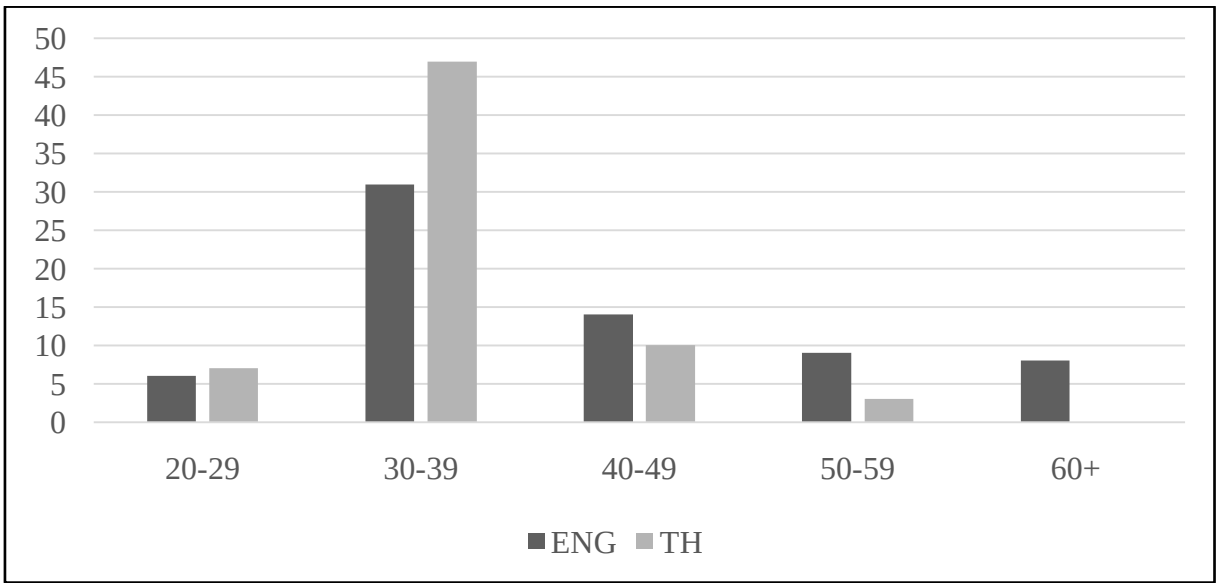


Figure 1: Number of participants by age group and language

All respondents in the English survey had at least some tertiary education; about 49 percent had a bachelor's degree, and 44 percent had a graduate degree. Thai-language respondents reported slightly

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lower education overall. English respondents were more likely to have earned a graduate degree whereas Thai respondents earned more bachelor's degrees. Figure 2 shows a comparison of education distributions.

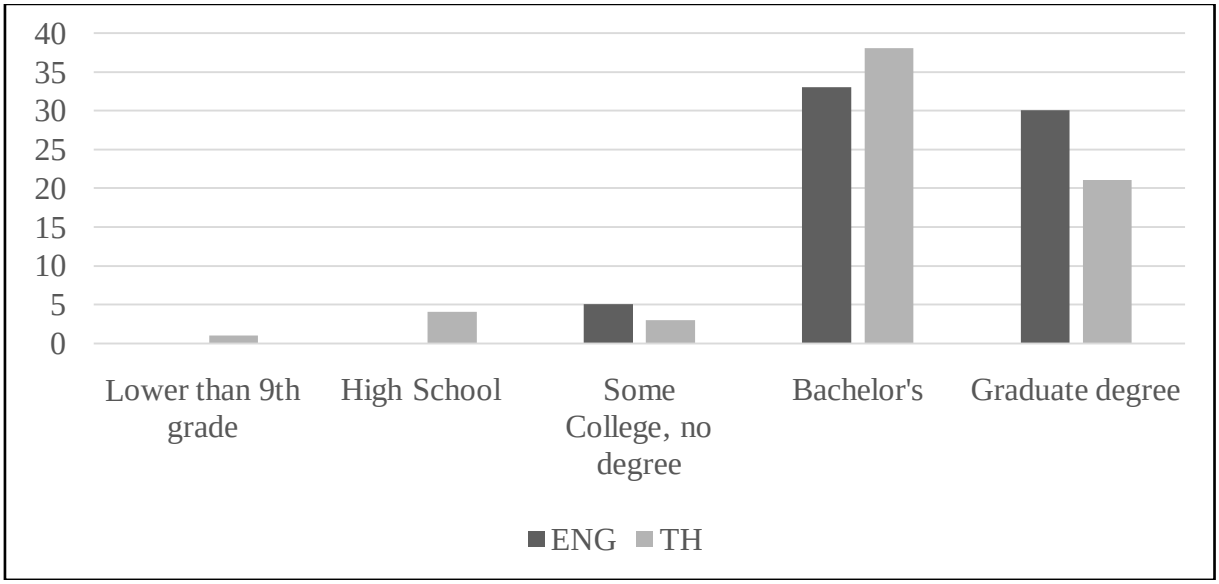


Figure 2: Number of participants by highest level of education and language

Distribution of incomes in the Thai group resembled a slightly skewed normal curve with roughly 62 percent of respondents earning between 15,001 and 50,000 Thai Baht (THB) per month, or approximately 5,450—18,200 USD per year at 33THB/USD. Figure 3 shows income distribution of Thai participants by income group.

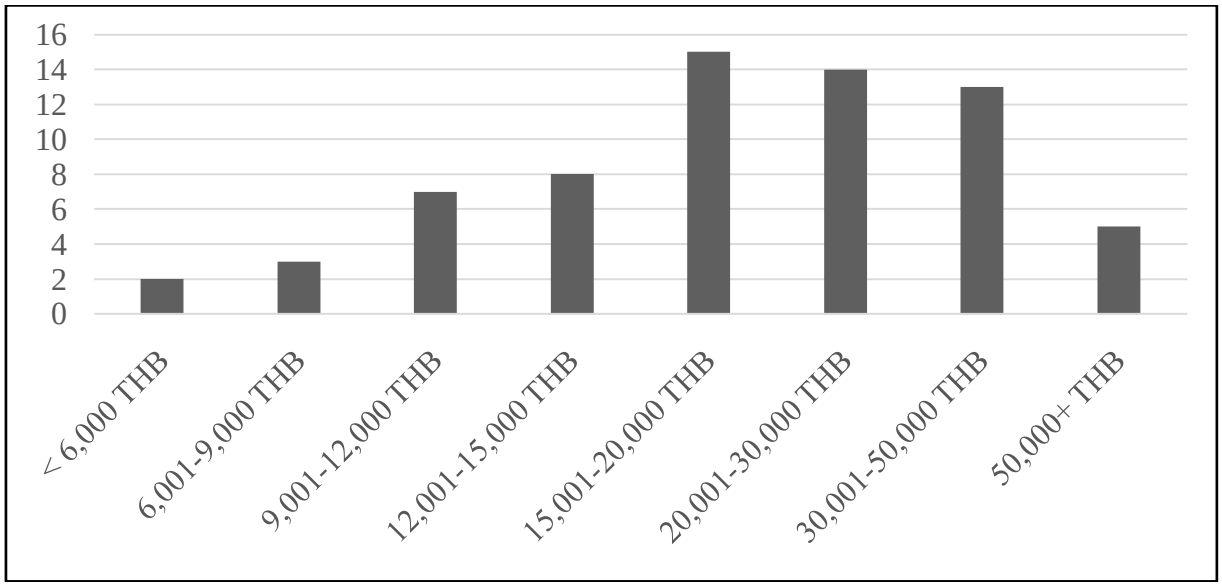


Figure 3: Number of Thai survey participants separated by income group (Baht per month)

Nearly all Thai respondents had incomes corresponding to the lowest level in the English survey. In the English group, approximately 63 percent of respondents reported annual household income in two categories: 30,000—45,000 USD and above 80,000 USD. Figure 4 shows distribution of English respondents by income group.

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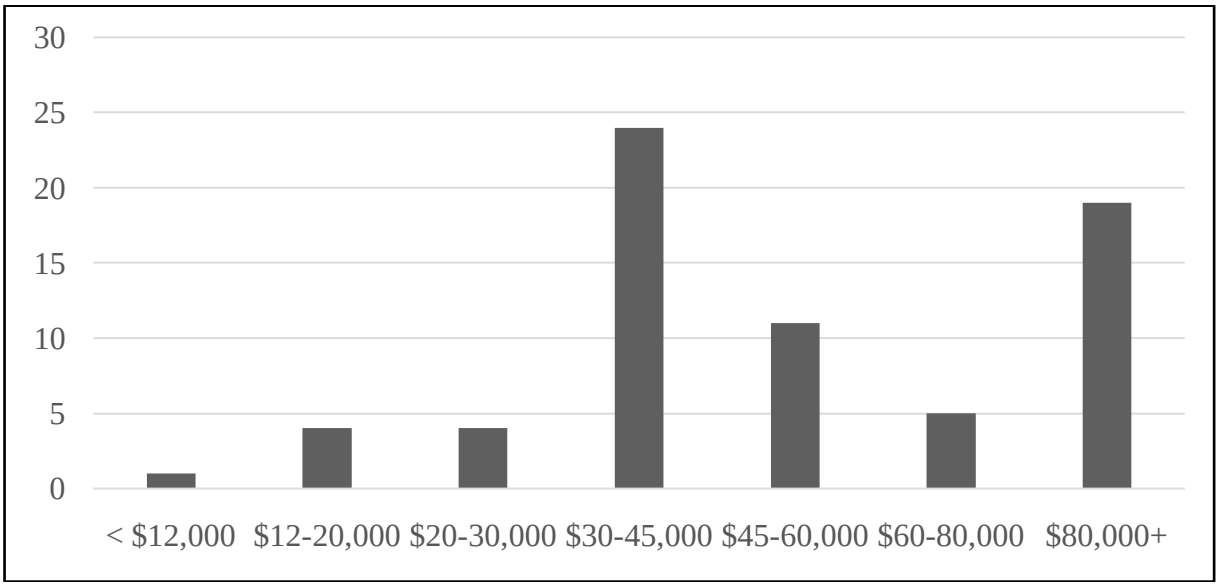


Figure 4: Number of English respondents by household income group (USD per year)

Income disparity between Thai and English groups is partially explained by survey language requesting "household income" for English respondents and "income" for Thai respondents. Household income was thought to be a more accurate measure of wealth than personal income, but such a concept is largely foreign in Thailand where income is reported individually. If Thai incomes are doubled to reflect two-earner households, some of the disparity is erased, but it is very doubtful that any Thai respondent's household income exceeds 80,000 USD. The difference is also explained by Thailand's position as a middle income country as compared to the high income economies (World Bank, 2018a) represented by English respondents.

b) Opinion data

Thai and English responses were similar in part and different in part. Survey question six asked participants to quantify the threat that human trafficking posed to their community, using a Survey Monkey tool where respondents chose a number between 0 and 100, where 0 was the lowest threat level and 100 was the highest. Responses were very close: Thai respondents ($M = 29.99$, $SD = 23.14$) and English respondents ($M = 32.71$, $SD = 25.9$) considered trafficking alow or moderate threat in their communities. The most remarkable difference between groups was that 13 Thai respondents perceived threat levels in the 50—59 range whereas only five English participants reported perceived threat level in the same range. Figure 5 contains a graphical representation of question six data.

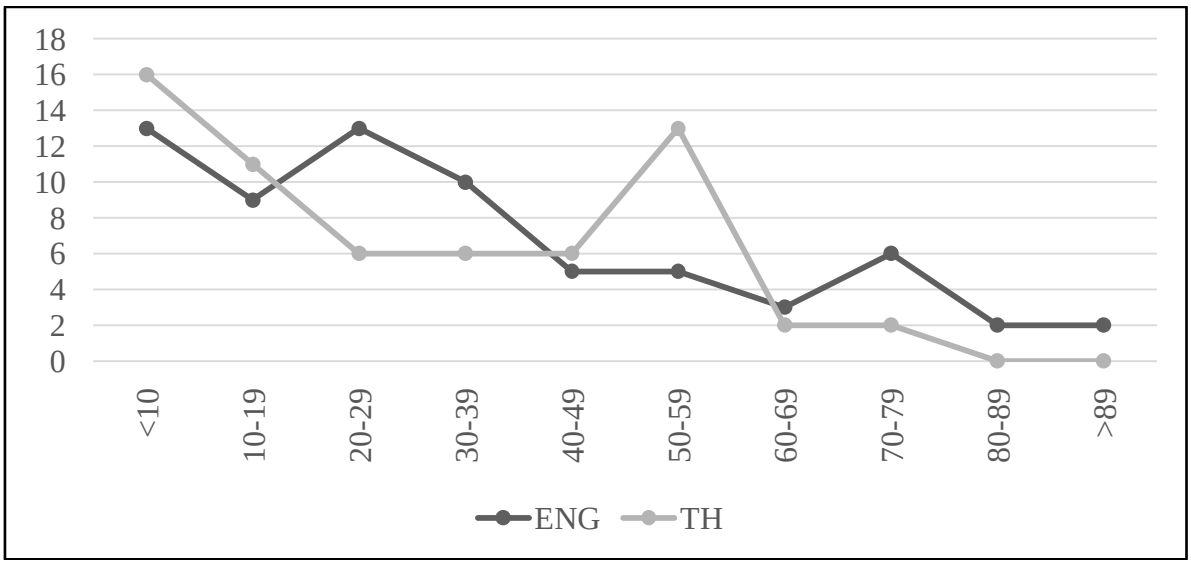


Figure 5: Survey question six response frequencies by language

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Several trials of one-way ANOVA were run to assess the presence of significant differences between groups with regards to question six. There were no significant differences of opinion between languages, sexes, income groups, or education groups. ANOVA found a statistically significant difference in opinion among age groups ($F(4,130) = 2.711$, $p = 0.033$). A Tukey post-hoc test revealed participants aged 60 and older perceived the overall threat of human trafficking ($M = 54.63$, $SD = 25.35$) as higher than respondents in both the 30—39 age group ($M = 29.22$, $SD = 21.92$, $p = 0.039$) and 40—49 age group ($M = 25.50$, $SD = 25.76$, $p = 0.028$).However, Kruskal-Wallis and Welch tests failed to verify the presence of significant differences between groups ($p > 0.05$).

Question seven asked participants to estimate the level of association between human trafficking and several factors. Descriptive statistics showed Thai respondents generally perceived lower association on all factors. A one-way ANOVA found several statistically significant differences between English and Thai language respondents. English language participants ($M = 4.16$, $SD = 1.09$, $p = 0.000$) felt statelessness was more highly associated with trafficking than Thais ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 1.23$, $p = 0.000$). Thai-language respondents ($M = 2.11$, $SD = 1.09$, $p = 0.043$) were less likely to think religion was associated with trafficking than native speakers of English ($M = 2.49$, $SD = 1.029$, $p = 0.043$). Native speakers of Thai ($M = 3.63$, $SD = 1.02$, $p = 0.002$) were more likely to associate community morals with trafficking than English-language respondents ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 1.25$, $p = 0.002$). Bad parenting was thought to share a higher association by Thais ($M = 3.62$, $SD = 1.11$, $p = 0.005$) as compared to English speakers ($M = 3.04$, $SD = 1.20$, $p = 0.005$). Prostitution was more highly associated by English speakers ($M = 4.49$, $SD = 1.03$, $p = 0.003$) than by Thais ($M = 3.89$, $SD = 1.20$, $p = 0.003$). Finally, war and violent conflict were thought to be more strongly associated with trafficking by English participants ($M = 4.24$, $SD = 1.05$, $p = 0.000$) than by Thai respondents ($M = 2.52$, $SD = 1.28$, $p = 0.000$). Kruskal-Wallis and Welch tests showed statistically significant differences between the same groups as the ANOVA ($p < 0.05$).

Table 2: One-way ANOVA, associated factors and language

		Sum of squares	df	Mean squares	F	Sig
Statelessness	Between groups	31.176	1	31.176		
	Within groups	177.660	132	1.346		
	Total	208.836	133			
Religion	Between groups	4.659	1	4.659	4.171	.043
	Within groups	145.220	130	1.117		
	Total	149.879	131			
Community morals	Between groups	13.222	1	13.222	10.121	.002
	Within groups	171.138	131	1.306		
	Total	184.361	132			
Bad parenting	Between groups	11.154	1	11.154	8.347	.005
	Within groups	176.398	132	1.336		
	Total	187.552	133			
Prostitution	Between groups	11.712	1	11.712	9.356	.003
	Within groups	165.243	132	1.252		
	Total	176.955	133			
War and violent conflict	Between groups	99.101	1	99.101	72.384	.000
	Within groups	180.720	132	1.369		
	Total	279.821	133			

Possible explanations for differences between groups include culture and religion. As a primarily Buddhist eastern culture, Thailand tends to be more collectivist than its primarily Christian, western, English-speaking counterparts (e.g. Robson, 2017; Hofstede Insights, 2019). A collectivist culture would more likely hold the group responsible for wellbeing or ills in the community. Thais may also be more likely to hold a positive or neutral view of religion considering the prominent role Buddhism plays in most aspects of life in Thailand; whereas the second most common religious belief in North America and Europe is atheism or no religious affiliation (Bullard, 2016), thereby suggesting pervasive acrimony toward religion among English speakers. Unfortunately, this study could not provide more data on religious or collectivist/individualist beliefs. Figure 6 shows responses on question seven.

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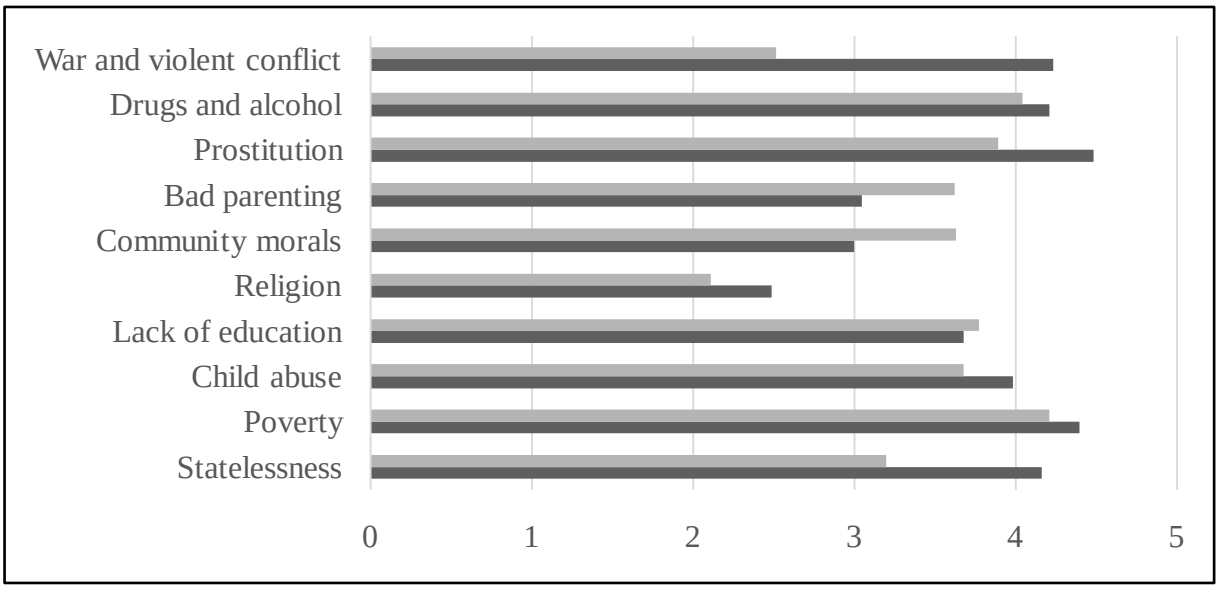


Figure 6: Survey question seven regarding association between factors and trafficking

A one-way ANOVA also found statistically significant differences between participants with a high school education as compared to those with a graduate degree, on the relationship between poverty and trafficking ($F(3,130) = 3.972$, $p = 0.01$). Respondents with a graduate degree ($M = 4.47$, $SD = 0.90$) perceived a very strong association between poverty and trafficking as compared to those with a high school education ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.26$). A Kruskal-Wallis test confirmed this difference ($X^2(1) = 8.234$, $p = 0.041$). A two-way ANOVA was used to assess the possibility that language was an interfering variable due to absence of English participants in the high school education category. Results of the two-way ANOVA showed no significant relationship between language and education ($X^2(2,127) = 2.841$, $p = 0.062$), thereby further validating results of the one-way ANOVA.

An additional one-way ANOVA found significant differences between male and female opinions regarding association between community morals and trafficking ($F(1,131) = 4.230$, $p = 0.042$). Females ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 1.04$) tended to believe community morals shared a higher association with trafficking than males ($M = 3.04$, $SD = 1.36$). A Kruskal-Wallis test confirmed this the difference ($X^2(1) = 4.020$, $p = 0.045$). In order to assess potential interrelationships between gender and language, a two-way ANOVA was performed whose results showed no significant interaction between language and sex ($F(1,129) = 1.450$, $p = 0.231$), indicating the disproportionately high number of Thai female respondents did not affect the outcome of the one-way ANOVA.

Question eight asked participants what effect, if any, legalized prostitution would have on human trafficking. On question eight, responses were remarkably different on the basis of language and gender. Figure 7 shows question eight data in bar graphs.

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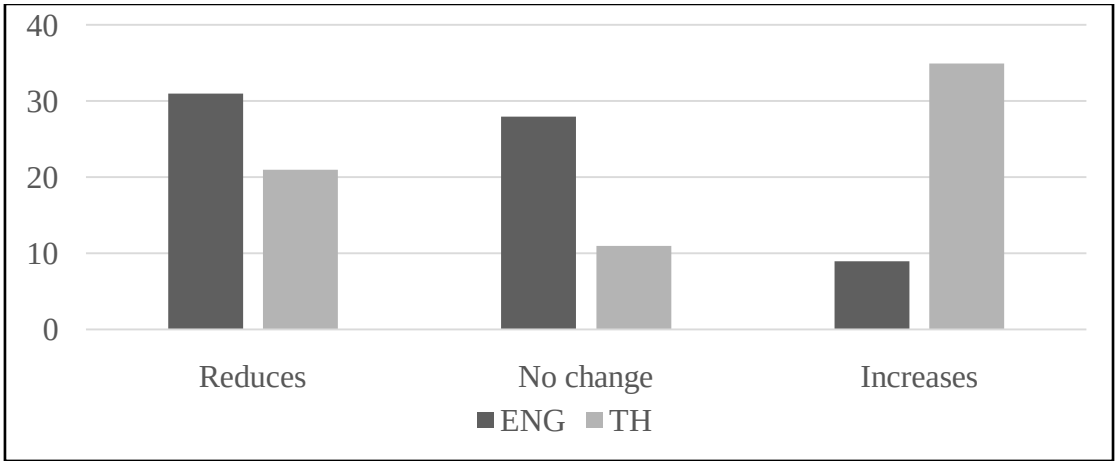


Figure 7: Survey question eight by respondent language

A Chi-Square test showed highly statistically significant association between beliefs regarding potential effects of legalized prostitution and survey language ($X^2(2, N = 135) = 24.69$, $p < 0.005$). Phi and Cramer's V tests showed very strong relationships between survey language and attitudes toward question eight ($p < 0.0005$). English respondents most often believed legalized prostitution would decrease trafficking, followed by a null effect, and increased threat, respectively. In contrast, Thai respondents were more polarized with most believing legalization would increase trafficking, followed by decrease, and lastly a null effect.

A Chi-Square test also showed significant association between gender and question eight ($p = 0.001$). The most common response among males was that legalization of prostitution would reduce threat of trafficking, followed by a null effect, and increased threat, respectively. Females responses followed the opposite pattern: they most often felt legalization of prostitution would increase the threat of trafficking, followed by a null effect, and decreased threat, respectively. Figure eight shows overall male and female responses follow opposing trend lines.

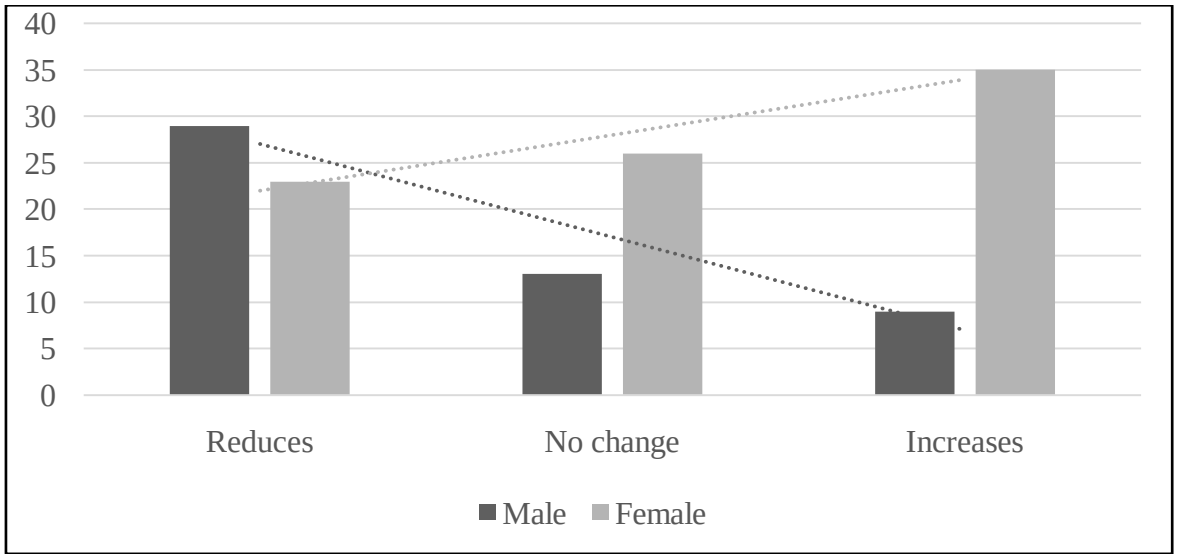


Figure 8: Survey question eight by respondent gender

Worthy of note was the likely impact Thai-language female respondents had on data distribution in this question. Among the four respondent groups of English and Thai males and females, only English males followed the overall trends for both their gender and language. Thai female responses reflected the data trend among Thai respondents, but not among female respondents together. Thai and English females strongly disagreed on the issue, with just under 20 percent of English females thinking trafficking threats would increase under legal prostitution versus over 58 percent of Thai females. Moreover, Thai females were more divided on the issue, with the larger two groups reporting at the poles and only 14 percent in the middle

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compared to 52 percent of English females who responded "no change". Thai males and females showed similar aversion to the "no change" category. Like Thai females, the most frequent response among Thai males was "increase," but nearly as many responded "decrease". The most decisive group – and the group whose responses were most unlike any other group – was English males, of whom just over 6 percent responded "increase" as compared to over 65 percent for "decrease". Figure nine shows distribution of responses separated into language and sex groups.

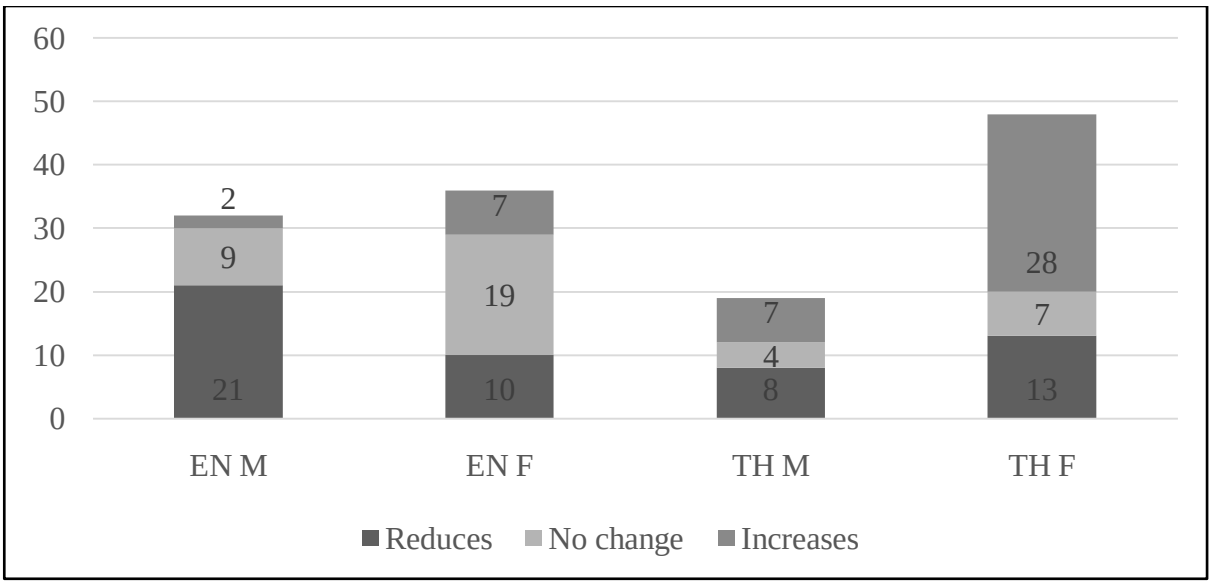


Figure 9: Survey Question Eight Response Frequency by Gender and Language

No other significant associations between question eight and participant groupings were discovered.

Question nine asked participants to rank four reasons why people are trafficked, from 1 to 4 where 1 was the most common reason and 4 was the least common reason. Almost one-third of Thai language respondents did not complete this question. The remaining data showed similar attitudes between Thai and English surveys. Both groups believed the most common reason for trafficking was prostitution, followed by labor, household servant hood, and organ harvesting. Table 3 contains the distribution of data where cells are highlighted with darker color to indicate higher numbers of responses.

Table 3: Survey Question Nine Regarding Ranking Most Common Reasons for Trafficking

		1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Labor	ENG	10	34	15	9
	TH	15	20	6	9
Prostitution	ENG	46	12	9	1
	TH	29	10	3	5
Household servant	ENG	7	13	33	15
	TH	4	7	24	10
Organ harvesting	ENG	5	9	11	43
	TH	6	11	16	19

VI. Discussion

Literature suggests as many as 40 million people are trapped in slavery, indicating they have been victims of human traffickers whose aggregate profits are greater than the entire gross domestic product of more than 100 countries (World Bank, 2018b). Despite these alarmingly high numbers, attitudes regarding the direct threat were fairly cool among participants. On the question six, hypothesis 1 was rejected in part as a battery of statistical tests failed to find any reliable difference between groups on the question of how great a threat human trafficking posed. Thai and English respondents ranked forms of trafficking identically on question nine, again rejecting hypothesis 1 in part. Hypothesis 1 was confirmed in part by results on

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questions seven and eight. Data also showed some difference of opinion among participants on the basis of gender and education, but the most significant and robust differences were found between languages.

Language and culture are inseparable (e.g. Jiang, 2000; Mahadi & Jafari, 2012); one influences and is influenced by the other. Thai language respondents, as representatives of a more collectivist culture (Hofstede Insights, 2019), were significantly more likely than their English counterparts to believe trafficking is affected by family and community behavior or morals. English respondents may have showed preference for individualism when they perceived higher association of religion with trafficking. Stark (2009) found non-religious people rate lower on the collectivism scale compared to religious people. The largest differences between English and Thai respondents were regarding statelessness and war and violent conflict; a complex mix of sociocultural, socioeconomic, educational, institutional, and linguistic factors are likely to explain these findings.

Results from survey question eight regarding legalization of prostitution confirmed hypothesis 2 and illustrated how two distinct cultures perceive the same issue very differently. Thai language respondents tended to believe human trafficking would increase with legal prostitution while English respondents believed the opposite. Additionally, male and female opinions opposed one another. Results reflected classic dichotomies of East and West, male and female.

On the question of "why" groups held different opinions, there are varied possibilities. To some, it may seem intuitive to consider participants' responses as having been affected by their own political perspectives, and that they responded based on their feelings about the morality of prostitution. The Western world, and Europe in particular, tends to be more liberal on questions of morality than the Eastern world (Pew, 2014). With this view, we could assume Easterners felt both human trafficking and prostitution were immoral acts, so legalization of a malum in se act was both inappropriate and unlikely to lead to a reduction in another such act. Westerners' political beliefs, in contrast, would tend to lead them to conclude that while human trafficking is malum in se, the act of prostitution itself is but malum in jure, and by relieving the legal pressure on the relatively benign sexual services industry, human trafficking could be reduced via government oversight and regulation. The logic is that the practice of buying and selling sex is historically prevalent, and that supply and demand are sustainable in perpetuity, so the best course is to integrate participants into formal economies where customers and workers can enjoy rights, contribute taxes, and receive protections against violence, exploitation, or disease. The Dutch model, for example, legalizes licensed sex work and criminalizes unlicensed sex work; licenses are not granted to trafficking victims, so traffickers are pushed out of the market due to availability of licensed, legal prostitutes (Lee & Persson, 2018). In this legalization scenario, governments gain revenues through taxation of sex markets whose participants are no longer marginalized, stigmatized, or left vulnerable to abuse (Albright & D'Amato, 2017).

Theoretically, the legalization argument seems to stand up, but studies suggest it is more fantasy than reality. Cho, Dreher, and Neumayer (2013) analyzed data from 150 countries and found higher trafficking inflows in countries with legal prostitution. Lee & Persson (2018) argued that no current systems effectively prevent and suppress trafficking, but criminalizing the purchase of sex has greater potential to eradicate trafficking because supply decreases alongside demand. Thai survey responses may have reflected the conservative Eastern political view that prostitution is illegal because it is inherently immoral and harmful to society, and a change in its legal status would only increase associated immoral and harmful practices such as human trafficking; in this case, that conservative ideal is supported by empirical evidence. Somewhat counter intuitively, English respondents associated prostitution with trafficking more than Thais in question eight and believed legalizing prostitution would decrease trafficking in question eight; this combination of answers is either logically inconsistent, or it suggests English respondents believed the law itself was somehow a cause of trafficking. Proponents of the Dutch model would likely agree that criminalization of prostitution creates more opportunity for traffickers and thereby raises the level of association between trafficking and prostitution in a market where all suppliers are criminals.

Survey results also showed significant differences in opinions between males and females. Male responses tended to reflect English response patterns while the female responses more resembled Thai language responses. Coincidentally, Thai culture exhibits much lower masculinity than Western countries like the United States, United Kingdom, Ireland, France, Germany, and Canada (Hofstede Insights, 2019). Thai culture is also distinctly more feminine than any other country in Asia, according to Hofstede's cultural dimensions. Like language, gender influences beliefs. The survey data reflected Jakobsson and Kotsadam's (2011) discovery that men and liberals support prostitution more than women and conservative, implying that, on the question of prostitution, females and feminists break from liberal ranks. Therefore, there was more influencing survey data than mere political affiliation.

Feminist philosophers have at numerous occasions commented on how prostitution harms women; how it reinforces pernicious stereotypes of women as the sexual servants of men; how it exploits

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social vulnerabilities and unreasonably threatens the health and wellbeing of women (Shrage, 2016).That is not to say there are not feminists who believe in legalized and regulated prostitution, but it is a myth that more than a minority of radical feminists support legalization as a means toward greater gender equity (Gerassi, 2015). Data from the survey reflected a relative ignorance of feminist philosophy on the part of English males, and a possible reluctance among English females to align with conservative politics which usually threaten feminist values. English-speaking females, most of whom perceived the legal status of prostitution as having no impact on trafficking, may have also gained exposure to literature regarding the ineffectiveness of any current reduction strategy, which left them feeling ambivalent about effects of law on trafficking.

While cultural perceptions may have significant bearing on how individuals responded to survey questions, there are probably other, more prominent factors influencing governments. Countries around the world have nearly universally adopted anti-trafficking treaties and drafted legislation to criminalize trafficking and exploitation, but literature showed broad international disparities in enforcement, prosecution, and conviction. By the letter of the law, human trafficking is a criminal act virtually everywhere on earth, but the economics of enforcement leave many laws without significant effect. Victims of human trafficking tend to come from impoverished communities, and unfortunately, those communities simply do not have the capital and manpower to prevent and suppress the trade.

Supporters of legalization of prostitution probably recognize that sex trafficking is the most common form, and that if their theory were correct, a change in laws could result in a reduction in aggregate levels of human trafficking by up to half or more (UNODC, 2016). Nevertheless, it remains unlikely that more than a handful of countries would ever seriously consider legalizing prostitution as moral, ethical, and religious traditions adamantly oppose the practice. Furthermore, robust empirical data has shown trafficking and prostitution are positively correlated (Cho, Dreher, & Neumayer, 2013). For more reasons than mere culture, feminism, political ideology, or even economics, prostitution is likely to remain a crime in the vast majority of the world.

Aside from the question of prostitution, participants reported perceptions that numerous other factors relate to trafficking, and unlike the issue of prostitution, the other associated factors cannot be nullified by promulgation, amendment, or repeal of law. Factors such as poverty, child abuse and neglect, lack of access to quality education, statelessness, war and violent conflict have limited personal freedoms and self-actualization of individuals since time immemorial. Progress has been made on alleviating the strain of these macro environmental variables, but there is no indication that such factors shall ever cease to exist.

Regarding research question three on what stakeholders can do to reduce human trafficking, survey respondents made suggestions in question 10 that reflected literature sources. Question ten responses addressed four main ways to combat trafficking. First, governments and NGOs should utilize communication and awareness campaigns to spread the word about what human trafficking is, its related factors, potential at-risk groups, and how to contact law enforcement if individuals see something suspicious. Second, individuals need to interact with police and government agencies to exchange information. "If you see something, say something," one respondent remarked. Third, governments need to have harsh penalties for traffickers, actively investigate cases, enforce the law, prosecute and sentence offenders, and protect victims. Fourth, people need to work toward eliminating the underlying causes of trafficking such as poverty, lack of education, and other factors mentioned in survey question seven. The first three types of recommendations are actionable – people can communicate and interact with police or government agencies that enforce a strict and severe law – but eradicating causal factors is a feat that no mass of people nor ambition can achieve within current social, political, and economic systems.

VII. Conclusion

A bilingual survey was administered to collect opinion data regarding human trafficking, associated factors, and potential remedies to the scourge of the modern day slave trade. Results showed Thai and English language respondents felt about the same on the overall threat of human trafficking in their communities, and they perceived that threat level as relatively low. Different groups of respondents felt differently about what factors are associated with human trafficking. Thai respondents appeared to support a collectivist worldview as compared to English respondents who tended to support more individualistic values.

Both male/female and English/Thai groups disagreed on the question of whether legalized prostitution would produce a positive, negative, or null effect on human trafficking. Male responses trended away from mainstream feminist ideals which generally oppose prostitution. Thai responses, and especially those of Thai females, tended to reflect feminist philosophy and empirical findings which indicate human trafficking is likely to increase under legal prostitution. English female responses were mainly ambivalent on the legalization question, perhaps due to knowledge of the ineffectiveness of both legalization and

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criminalization around the world. The legalization question is an impressive finding in the study as it exposed flawed, inconsistent logic, or erroneous thinking among English-speaking males who believed prostitution is associated with human trafficking and that legalization of prostitution would result in decreased human trafficking. In other words, English-speaking males believed that there presently exists a positive correlation between human trafficking and prostitution, but if the law were changed, that correlation would turn negative.

Language was a stronger predictor of opinions regarding human trafficking than sex, age, education, or income. Results supported the theory that language is a corollary of culture, or vice versa, such that a change in either implies a change in the other. Findings did not produce any panacea; rather, this study explored, discovered, and communicated about concomitant matters relevant to the pursuit of eradication of human trafficking. In its 2009 report on trafficking, UNODC (2009) commented on the need for improved legislation and enforcement, but more importantly, for dialog and communication. Indeed, the process of change requires engagement with the public via awareness campaigns, and a destigmatizing of discussion of human trafficking, prostitution, and related harms.

Human trafficking has existed throughout history, and thus if eradication is our ultimate destination, we are still in the first stages. Government agencies should certainly continue strategizing new, comprehensive and holistic approaches to enforcement and adjudication; yet perhaps the most important action required is extensive communication on the issue. Through continued research and reporting, by working together within and between communities, and by cooperating with and between governments, each individual can add momentum to larger-order transformations of their culture and society. If a genuine solution shall emerge, it will undoubtedly materialize as a consequence of overwhelming concern, of robust discussion, and of exhaustive study of this unwelcome plague.

Conflict of interest: None.
Ethical clearance: The study was approved by the institution.

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Appendix

1. Where are you from? (city, state, country)
คุณมาจากไหน? (อำเภอ, จังหวัด)
2. Please indicate your sex/gender.

เพศ
Male Female Other
ชาย หญิง อื่นๆ
3. How old are you?

อายุ
Under 2020-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60+

4. What is the highest level of education you have attained?

ระดับการศึกษา
High school Some college, but no degree
Bachelor's degree Graduate degree

ต่ำกว่ามัธยมต้น มัธยมปลายศึกษาระดับมหาวิทยาลัย(ไม่จบการศึกษา)ปริญญาตรีปริญญาโท หรือ ปริญญาเอก

5. What is your annual household income?

รายได้ต่อเดือน
less than $12,000 $12,000-$20,000 $20,000-$30,000
$30,000-$45,000 $45,000-$60,000 $60,000-$80,000
$80,000+
รายได้มากกว่า
ต่ำกว่า 6,000 บาท 6,000-9,000 9,001-12,000 12,001-15,000
15,001-20,000 20,001-30,000 30,001-50,000 50,000+

6. Use the slider to indicate how much of a threat human trafficking poses to your community. 0 is the lowest threat level, 100 is the highest. If you're not sure, just guess.

ปัญหาการค้ามนุษย์ได้คุกคาม ชุมชนของคุณมากน้อยแค่ไหน ? (กดปุ่มสไลด์ตามระดับความคิดเห็น, 0 ระดับต่ำสุด , 100ระดับสูงสุด) ถ้าไม่มั่นใจระดับไหน คาดเดา

7. Please indicate the level of association with human trafficking you think each of the following factors has. If you think one of the factors creates a higher risk of an individual becoming victim to human trafficking, select a higher number. If you think a factor poses a lower level threat, select a lower number. If you're not sure, just guess.

กรุณาช่วยแสดงความคิดเห็น อะไรเป็นปัจจัยทำให้เกิดการค้ามนุษย์ (ถ้าคุณคิดว่า ปัจจัยไหน ทำให้ตกเป็นเหยื่อของการค้ามนุษย์ เลือกระดับสูงกว่า , ถ้าคุณคิดว่า ปัจจัยไหน ทำให้ตกเป็นเหยื่อน้อยกว่า เลือกระดับต่ำกว่า, ถ้าไม่แน่ใจคาดเดา)

1 = No significant relationship 2 = Low-level relationship
3 = Moderate relationship 4 = Somewhat strong relationship
5 = Very strong relationship

ไม่มีความสัมพันธ์ (1) มีความสัมพันธ์น้อย (2) มีความสัมพันธ์ปานกลาง (3) มีความสัมพันธ์สูง (4)มีความสัมพันธ์สูงมาก (5)

a) Statelessness (having no citizenship)
ผู้ไร้สัญชาติ

b) poverty
ความยากจน

c) Child abuse
การล่วงละเมิดสิทธิเด็ก

d) Lack of education
ไม่มีการศึกษา

e) Religion

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ศาสนา

f) Community morals

มีศีลธรรมในชุมชนต่ำ

g) bad parenting

การอบรมเลี้ยงดูไม่ดี

h) Prostitution

การค้าประเวณี

i) Drugs and alcohol

ยาเสพติด และ แอลกอฮอล์

j) War and violent conflict

ปัญหาสงคราม

8. What effect, if any, does legalized prostitution have on human trafficking? If you're sure, just guess.

ถ้าการค้าประเวณีถูกกฎหมาย จะเกิดการเปลี่ยนแปลงอะไร ต่อการค้ามนุษย์ (ถ้าไม่แน่ใจ คาดเดา)

a) Legalizing prostitution reduces the threat of human trafficking (less human trafficking with legal prostitution)

ถ้าการค้าประเวณีถูกกฎหมาย ปัญหาการค้ามนุษย์จะน้อยลง

b) The threat of human trafficking is the same whether prostitution is legal or illegal (no effect)

ไม่เกิดการเปลี่ยนแปลง

c) Human trafficking is likely to increase if prostitution is legal (greater threat with legal prostitution)

ถ้าการค้าประเวณีถูกกฎหมาย ปัญหาการค้ามนุษย์จะสูงกว่า

9. Why are people around the world trafficked? Rank the following. #1 is the most common reason, #2 is the second most common reason, #3 is the third most common reason, #4 is the least common among those listed.

อะไรที่เป็นสาเหตุทำให้เกิดการค้ามนุษย์?

a. labor b. prostitution

แรงงาน (โรงงาน, การประมง, เกษตรกรรม, อื่นๆ) โสเภณี

c. household servant d. organ harvesting

คนรับใช้ในบ้าน (กักขัง) การค้าอวัยวะมนุษย์ (ตับ, ไต, อื่นๆ)

10. How can people prevent human trafficking? (optional, please provide comment)

เราจะสามารถป้องกันไม่ให้เกิดการค้ามนุษย์ได้อย่างไร? (เขียนแสดงความคิดเห็น)

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Impact of Road Crashes on Poverty in Myanmar: A Case Study in Yangon

By Phyu Phyu Thwe & Kunnawee Kanitpong

Abstract- This paper reveals the impacts of road crashes on poor people in Yangon, Myanmar. The study aims to investigate whether poor people are more likely to be involved in road crashes and to identify whether the consequences of road crashes have higher impacts on poor households than on non-poor households. The study was based on a questionnaire survey conducted in Yangon. To identify involvement in road crashes and impacts on the households of poor and non-poor people, hypothesis tests were applied. A linear regression model and logit model were applied to evaluate contributing factors to a declining situation of household income after road crash involvement. The results show that lower social economic groups are more involved in road crashes in Yangon than are higher social economic groups. The costs and impacts of road crashes are higher burdens for poor people. The findings can assist policy makers in determining appropriate policies to mitigate the impacts and improve poverty alleviation actions. Other than that, transportation planning, such as the improvement of public transport and basic road infrastructure, could reduce the road crash problem for poor people who are the main group of road users in Yangon.

Keywords: *road crashes, poverty, yangon, myanmar.*

GJHSS-H Classification: *FOR Code: : 291899*



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Phyu Phyu Thwe [α] & Kunnawee Kanitpong[σ]

Abstract- This paper reveals the impacts of road crashes on poor people in Yangon, Myanmar. The study aims to investigate whether poor people are more likely to be involved in road crashes and to identify whether the consequences of road crashes have higher impacts on poor households than on non-poor households. The study was based on a questionnaire survey conducted in Yangon. To identify involvement in road crashes and impacts on the households of poor and non-poor people, hypothesis tests were applied. A linear regression model and logit model were applied to evaluate contributing factors to a declining situation of household income after road crash involvement. The results show that lower social economic groups are more involved in road crashes in Yangon than are higher social economic groups. The costs and impacts of road crashes are higher burdens for poor people. The findings can assist policy makers in determining appropriate policies to mitigate the impacts and improve poverty alleviation actions. Other than that, transportation planning, such as the improvement of public transport and basic road infrastructure, could reduce the road crash problem for poor people who are the main group of road users in Yangon.

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I. Introduction

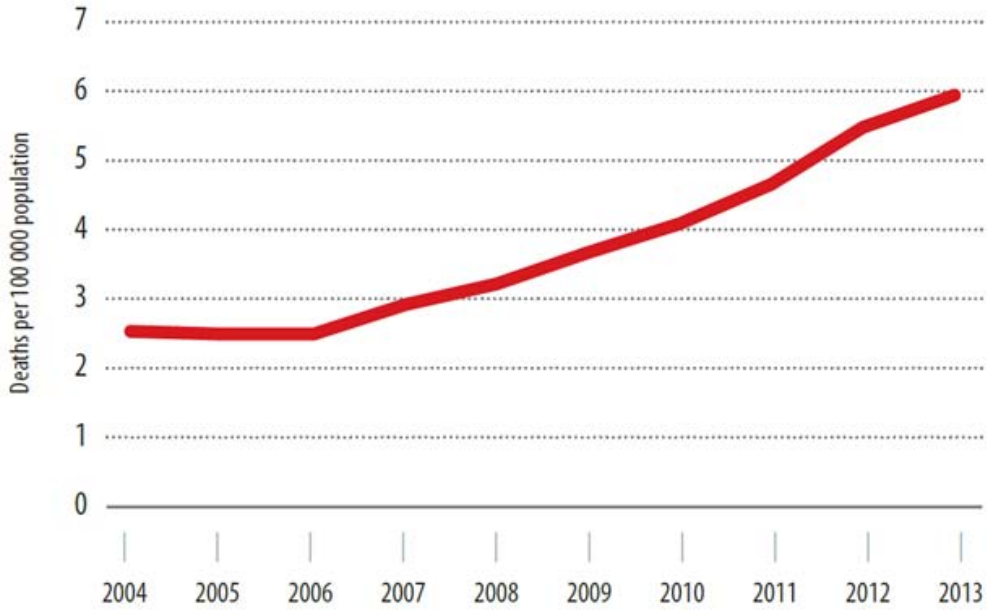
According to WHO's recent Global Status Report on Road Safety (WHO, 2015), over 1.2 million people die each year in road crashes and 20–50 million people suffer non-fatal injuries. Findings from the Global Status Report state that more than 90% of world fatalities on the roads occur in low-income or middle-income countries where the number of registered vehicles is low. Over one-third of road traffic deaths in low-income and middle-income countries are vulnerable road users, such as pedestrians, cyclists and users of motorized two-wheelers or three-wheelers, and the proportion of vulnerable road users is higher in poor countries.

In addition to suffering from crashes, road crashes can cause poverty to families that have had members killed or seriously injured. The long-term consequences of crashes include funeral expenses, the cost of medical treatment and rehabilitation, and the loss of family breadwinners or family members whose earnings are the primary income sources of families. Therefore, the impact of a road crash is more likely to be serious if the victim is a breadwinner or a member from a poor family. In recent research studies, little work has been done to understand the socio-economic status of road crash victims and the impact of road crashes on poverty, especially in low-income countries. A similar study to the present one was conducted in Bangladesh and India by Thomas et al. (2004). The findings clearly illustrate a great impact of road crashes on the poor. Road crashes can even cause poverty to non-poor families involved in crashes. This problem has been a major concern in terms of economic development in many low-income countries as road crashes are found to be serious obstacles for poverty reduction.

Myanmar is one of the countries, which is classified by the World Bank as a low-income country. The number of fatalities due to road crashes was 3,612 in 2013, and the death rate has shown an increasing trend in recent years (Figure 1). Road crashes cause great losses in the economic development of the country; the estimated annual economic loss is 3% of GDP (ADB, 2004). About 58% of road crash victims in Myanmar are vulnerable road users as presented in Figure 2. It is more likely for these victims to be poor people who cannot afford to travel using safer modes, and a road crash can push a family to poverty due to the loss of income from the family breadwinner. Moreover, poverty represents a major barrier to the implementation of road safety in the country. An impact study of road crashes on poverty in Myanmar is, therefore, needed to better understand the socio-economic status of road crash victims and the impact of road crashes on victims and their families. This study can assist policy makers in determining appropriate policies to mitigate the impacts and improve poverty alleviation actions.

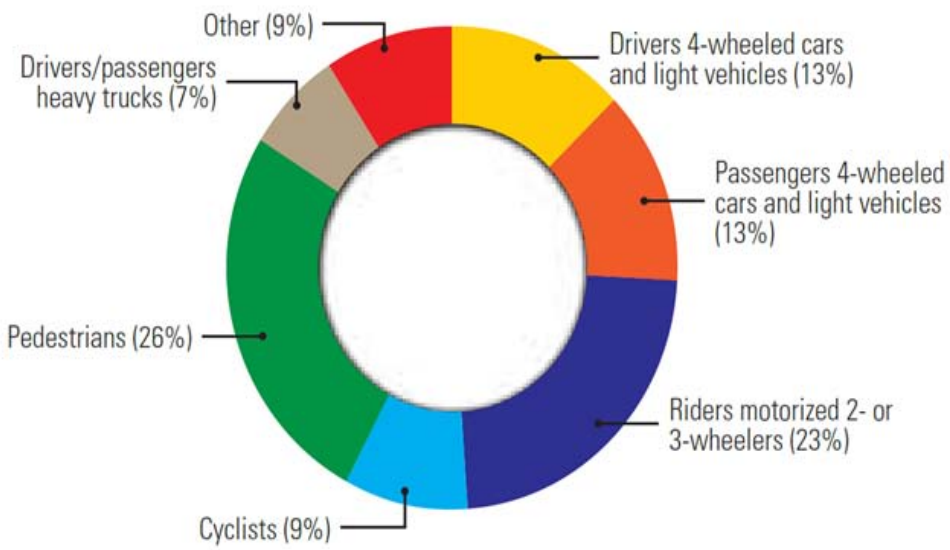
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source: who global status report on road safety (who, 2015)

Figure 1: Road Accident Situation In Myanmar



(Source: WHO Global Status Report on Road Safety (WHO, 2015)

Figure 2: Number of deaths classified by road user type

II. Objectives

The objective of this paper is to investigate whether poor people in the city of Yangon, Myanmar are more likely to be involved in road crashes and to identify whether social consequences of road crashes (e.g., household income and quality of life) are more severe for poor families than for non-poor families. The paper is intended to understand the current situation of road crashes in Myanmar and the differences between the impact of road crashes on poor and non-poor families. A questionnaire survey of the economic status of households involved in road crashes was carried out in Yangon. A statistical technique has been applied to the survey data in an attempt to establish a link between the socio-economic characteristics of road crash victims and the consequences of road crashes on socio-economic status and quality of life.

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The next section will summarize the findings from recent research studies related to road crashes and poverty. Then, the overall research methodology will be described. Finally, the results and analysis will be discussed.

III. Research on Road Crashes and Poverty

Little work has been done to study the socio-economic status of road crash victims in low-income countries. However, in developed countries, much evidence shows that lower social economic groups are at higher risk due to road crash deaths or serious injuries. There is an increasing fatality rate in lower social economic groups among children, youth, and early adults in Sweden (Elmen and Sundh, 1994). Another study shows that, in the Netherlands, higher social economic groups are associated with lower fatality levels (Van Beeck et al., 1991). Laflamme and Diderichsen (2000) and Laflamme and Engstrom (2002) also state that most traffic injuries are borne by children from disadvantaged communities and poorer social economic areas. Doughterty et al. (1990) found that, in urban Canada, the injury rate of children aged 0–14 years living in the poorest neighbourhoods was four times that of children living in the least poor neighbourhoods. Ghee et al. (1997) studied the socio-economic aspects of road crashes in Bangladesh, Fiji, Ghana, Indonesia, Peru, and Zimbabwe, and they indicated that road crashes have substantial economic and social impacts in developing countries.

Many previous studies have illustrated the strong relationship between road crashes and poverty. As most victims involved in road crashes are poor people, road crashes can also cause poverty to victims. Many road crash victims at higher risk are the sole earners of families, and their deaths often radically diminish family incomes. Similarly, serious injuries can also have long-term negative impacts on family incomes and severe consequences on household quality of life, especially for low-income families. The death of breadwinners, the cost of health treatment, and the loss of jobs and/or incomes resulting from road crashes have unpleasant economic and social consequences on households (ADB, 2005). Evidence shows that the costs incurred from road crashes push families into poverty (Nantulya and Reich, 2003). Thomas et al. (2004) have assessed the impacts of road crashes on poor households in Bangladesh and India and found that household income and food consumption were reduced for road crash victims' families. It is also estimated that, in Bangladesh and India, many families who were not poor previously became poor after death or serious injury resulting from crashes. It is stated that road crashes have been obstacles to poverty reduction in many low-income countries (Thomas et al., 2004). Road crash injuries can cause family poverty, resulting in debt, cutting back on nutrition, taking children out of school, and sacrificing future prospects.

IV. Research Methodology

Data collection in this study was conducted through a questionnaire survey in Yangon, Myanmar. Yangon was selected as the study area because it is a major economic city of Myanmar and the previous capital city. In this study, poor and non-poor households were classified by the national poverty line, which is defined in terms of per capita monthly income of a road crash victim's family. A country-wide survey of 18,660 households in Myanmar was conducted in 2009–2010 by the Ministry of National Planning and Economic Development and the UN Development Program (UNDP) in coordination with UNICEF and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, and, afterwards, the government of Myanmar defined the poverty line as 754 kyats (or 0.9 USD) per day or an average monthly income of 22,600 kyats (26 USD) or less for one adult person (1 USD = 873 MMK). Fatality is classified with the definition of death within a 30-day period, and serious injury is defined as disability for 30 days or more.

This study is divided into two parts. The first part studies the involvement of 'poor' people in road crashes. The second part assesses the impact of road crashes on poor and non-poor families in terms of social consequences, household income and quality of life after the crashes. Factors affecting the consequences of road crashes are also determined. Data collection of each part is presented separately in the following sections.

Part 1: Involvement of Poor People in Road Crashes

Data collection for the first part is from respondents whose household members were involved in road crashes, resulting in either death or serious injury within the past three years (from 2008 to 2010). The list of casualties in the area of Yangon was identified by traffic police and hospital records, and, then, data were obtained by interviews by phone or a direct household survey. From the casualties list, a survey of 510 people, who were either seriously injured victims or the relatives of fatal victims, was done by randomly selecting from among households involved in road crashes. It should be noted that a large number of households were surveyed but few casualties were found. Level of crash severity, gender, age, education, occupation, road user type, and household income per capita were asked to identify which groups of people are at higher risk to be involved in road crashes. In this part of the study, the proportion of poor and non-poor was determined to compare between different characteristics of casualties involved in accidents.

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Part 2: Impact of Road Crashes on Poor and Non-Poor Households

This part of the study uses the questionnaire survey to identify differences in the impacts of road crashes on poor and non-poor households and to assess the economic status of households before and after involvement in road crashes.

a) Data Collection

Data collection focused only on death and serious injuries within the past one year after accident occurred so that road crash victims or their family members could remember their social economic status before crashes and the consequences after crashes. The lists of road crash victims were obtained from traffic police records for the past one year. The data were then collected from the household survey of road crash victims in eight districts of Yangon, Shwe Pyi Thar, North Okkalapa, South Okkalapa, Mingalardon, Hlaing Thar Yar, Thingyungun, Insein, and Thekata. The selected districts included both poor and non-poor households. A total of 76 poor households and 74 non-poor households were equally selected by using post-crash household income per capita to classify between poor and non-poor.

b) Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire survey was designed to include information, which could be grouped into five sections as follows:

Section 1: Respondent information such as name, relationship to victims, household district, gender, number of people in the household.

Section 2: Victim information such as type of crash severity, victim's gender, victim's age and marital status, education, and occupation, road user type, and household responsibility.

Section 3: Loss of cost such as medical treatment cost, funeral cost, transportation cost for medical treatment, and vehicle damage cost.

Section 4: Consequences of road crashes to households. The following questions were asked to the respondents:

- How long is the disability period of the victim?
- Does the family need to borrow money?
- Does the family need to pawn assets?
- What is the time period for the injury treatment?
- Is there at least one family member who has taken leave from a job to take care of the victim?
- Is there a loss of income for the person who has taken leave from the job to take care of the victim?
- After the crash, have the children in the family permanently taken leave from school?
- Has the victim lost a job that he/she had before the crash?
- Has the victim received any compensation from the road crash?

Section 5: Household assets. The respondents were expected to answer the following questions regarding three periods: before the crash, post-crash within the recovery period, and post-crash after the recovery period. These questions were to compare the economic conditions and quality of life before and after the crash and within and after recovery periods.

- Household income
- Food consumption
- Number of household assets (e.g. car, motorcycle, bicycle, refrigerator, washing machine, TV)
- Housing condition (e.g. brick and concrete, wooden, thatch roof and bamboo)

It is expected that victims may have more financial difficulties within the recovery period rather than after recovery period.

V. Results and Analysis

Part 1: Involvement of Poor People in Road Crashes

Table 1 summarizes the results of study in the first part to determine the involvement of poor people in road crashes. As the poverty line was used to classify poor and non-poor casualties, it was observed that, among the 510 people surveyed, 66% of them were poor casualties and 34% of them were non-poor casualties. From the results, poor people appear to have been more involvement in road crashes than non-poor people. However, it should be noted that the findings do not consider the amount of trips made in terms of the number of trips and trip lengths. Therefore, the comparison made between poor and non-poor does not represent exposure to risk in terms of poor and non-poor people.

For crash severity, 25% of poor people were involved in fatalities, while 14% of non-poor people were involved in fatalities. In fatal cases, the deaths were higher for the poor than the non-poor, while, in serious injury cases, the inverse proportion was observed between poor and non-poor. The reason for a higher proportion of deaths among the poor may be due to the costs of full medical treatment, which is not affordable for poor people.

In the comparison between males and females, the proportion of males involved in road crashes was higher than that for females for both poor and non-poor people. The age groups of 21–30 and 31–40 were the highest risk groups involved in road crashes with proportions of 27% and 20% among the poor and 22% and 22% among the non-poor respectively. A similar trend for age was observed in poor and non-poor groups. As age increases, the number of casualties decreases. Therefore, the highest risk group for road crashes is the group of people in early and middle age.

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Such individuals are working as main income earners for their families.

According to Table 1, 73% of the poor casualties were educated at a lower level than high school, while this figure was 17% for non-poor casualties. This finding implies that most of the poor involved in the road crashes were less educated people. Occupation also shows that 63% of the poor casaulties were labourers, sellers, and drivers and that 21% were unemployed. For the non-poor, the causalities were distributed in many occupations, such as government servants (21%), the unemployed (21%), the self-employed (14%), students (11%), government officers (10%), and others. The findings support previous studies in other countries, which found that most casualties are people who are of a lower social economic class.

Pedestrians are the highest risk group involved in road crashes for both the poor and non-poor. 60% of the poor and 50% of the non-poor casualties were pedestrians. The second highest group of casualties is public car users for the poor. For the non-poor it is bicycle users followed by passenger car users and public car users. This shows that both poor and non-poor vulnerable road users are at higher risk in terms of road crashes in Yangon.

In this part of the study, the poor people seem to have more involvement in the road crashes than the non-poor people. Poor people have greater chance of dead in the road crashes than non-poor people which could be due to the fact that poor people cannot afford to pay for the full medical treatment or poor people are more often vulnerable road users (pedestrians or in bicycles). In Yangon, most people involved in the road crashes are those in the age between 21-40 years old which is early and middle age of the working group in the country. Most of the poor involved in the road crashes are lower educated people, and work as labors, sellers, and drivers, while non-poor people involved in the road crashes are higher educated, and work in higher class of occupations. Pedestrian is in the highest risk group involved in the road crashes for both poor and non-poor.

Table 1: Survey results to determine the involvement of poor people in road crashes

	Poor		Non-Poor	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Involvement in road crashes	335	66	175	34
Crash Severities				
Fatality	84	25	24	14
Serious Injury	251	75	151	86
Total	335	100	175	100
Gender				
Male	245	73	112	64
Female	90	27	63	36
Total	335	100	175	100
Age				
0-10	15	4	7	4
11-20	43	13	24	14
21-30	91	27	38	22
31-40	67	20	38	22
41-50	52	16	28	16
51-60	39	12	23	13
61-70	21	6	12	7
71-80	7	2	4	2
Over 80	0	0	1	1
Total	335	100	175	100
Education				
Higher than Bachelor	0	0	3	2
Bachelor	3	1	66	38
College level	12	4	35	20
High school	78	23	42	24
Secondary school	129	39	21	12
Primary school	91	27	5	3
No education	22	7	3	2
Total	335	100	175	100
Occupation				
Farmer	10	3	1	1

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Government officer	0	0	18	10
House keeper	7	2	9	5
State enterprise employee	7	2	15	9
Self-employed	4	1	25	14
Student	12	4	19	11
Unemployed	72	21	36	21
Others (government servant)	13	4	37	21
Others (labor, seller, driver, etc.)	210	63	15	9
Total	335	100	175	100
Road User Type				
Pedestrian	200	60	88	50
Bicycle	43	13	25	14
Motorcycle	4	1	13	7
Three wheelers	17	5	2	1
Passenger car	5	1	22	13
Public car	55	16	22	13
Truck	11	3	3	2
Total	335	100	175	100

Part 2: Impact of Road Crashes on Poor and Non-Poor Households

The impact of a road crash can affect a household economically, socially, and emotionally, even if only one person in the family is involved in the crash. Particularly if the road victims are sole earners or family leaders, their deaths can possibly reduce household incomes and increase other expenses, such as funeral costs and/or medical treatment costs. On the other hand, serious injuries also have long-term negative impacts on household incomes, food consumption, number of household assets, and housing conditions. Moreover, serious consequences of road crashes can cause debt to households due to borrowing money or pawning assets to cover expenses from crashes.

The Impact of Road Crashes: A Comparison between the Poor and Non-Poor

Table 2 shows the comparison of the loss of cost and the consequences of road crashes between poor and non-poor households. A hypothesis test was conducted to test the difference of sample means. The results of the t-test reveal that, in the fatal cases, funeral costs and vehicle damage costs were significantly different between poor and non-poor households at the 10% level. The non-poor households spent more on funeral costs and vehicle damage costs than did the poor households. Medical treatment costs and transportation costs for the medical treatment were not significantly different between poor and non-poor households. It is observed that these costs incurred were considerably higher than their average family incomes resulting to the fact that the road crashes become a serious burden for lower income households.

For the serious injury cases, medical treatment costs and transportation costs were significantly different between poor and non-poor households at the 5% level. The non-poor households spent more on medical treatment costs and transportation costs for medical treatment than did poor households. However, the medical cost of 437,027 kyats and transportation cost of 32,351 kyats are also a greater burden, especially for poor households, because the sum of these costs is much higher than their average household income (Table 2).

Comparing the consequences of road crashes in the fatal cases between poor and non-poor households, Table 2 shows that poor households are more likely to borrow money or pawn assets than are non-poor households. A similar trend was observed in the serious injury cases. Nevertheless, it seems that at least one household member has to take care of a victim in the case of serious injury, and that that person will face a significant loss of income, especially for non-poor people. Even though the difference is not statistically significant, it is likely that more victims from poor households will lose a job after road crashes (32.4%) than is the case with those from non-poor households (29.7%). Due to the great burden to a victim's family, 13.5%–16.2% of children in the family have to permanently leave school, and this impact seems to be more serious for the poor. About 50% of poor and non-poor households receive compensation for road crashes in the case of fatalities. In the case of serious injury, a higher number of non-poor households (62.2%) receive compensation for road crashes as compared to the case with poor households (43.2%).

Table 3 shows the changes in the economic conditions and quality of life for poor and non-poor households. The comparison was made between before crash and post-crash within the recovery period, and before crash and post-crash after the recovery period. For the serious injury cases, the recovery period is the time duration when the victims are still under medical

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treatment due to injuries from road crashes. For the fatal cases, the recovery period is the time duration when the families are taking care of funeral costs and facing difficult situations because of the loss of their family members.

The results from Table 3 illustrate that household income, food consumption, the number of household assets, and the quality of housing decrease after road deaths or serious injuries. Although the reduction of some of these economic conditions is not significant when comparing poor and non-poor families, the proportion of the reduction seems to be larger for poor households than for non-poor households. According to the results, the impact on poor people seems to be more serious than for non-poor people both within the recovery period and after the recovery period.

Table 2: Comparison of loss of cost and consequences of road crashes between poor and non-poor

	Fatal			Serious Injury		
	Poor	Non-Poor		Poor	Non-Poor	
Average Household Income	67,846	106,432		65,351	105,676	
Loss of Cost						
Medical Treatment Cost (Kyats)						
Mean	25,128	59,730		437,027	704,054	**
Funeral Cost (Kyats)						
Mean	344,359	409,459	*			
Transportation Cost for Medical Treatment (Kyats)						
Mean	2,308	8,378		32,351	57,811	**
Vehicle Damage Cost (Kyats)						
Mean	4,103	10,405	*	7,162	40,135	
Consequences of Road Crashes						
Need to Borrow Money						
Yes	46.2%	21.6%	**	67.6%	40.5%	**
No	53.8%	78.4%		32.4%	59.5%	
Need to Pawn Assets						
Yes	33.3%	16.2%	*	29.7%	40.5%	
No	66.7%	83.8%		70.3%	59.5%	
Taking Care Person Income Loss (Kyats)						
Mean				31,330	76,486	***
Victim lost a job						
Yes				32.4%	29.7%	
No				67.6%	70.3%	
Children in a household permanently taken leave from schools						
Yes	16.2%	5.1%		13.5%	10.8%	
No	83.8%	94.9%		86.5%	89.2%	
Compensation Receipt						
Yes	51.3%	51.4%		43.2%	62.2%	
No	48.7%	48.6%		56.8%	37.8%	

*Note: *** indicates significance at the 1% level, ** indicates significance at the 5% level, * indicates significance at the 10% level.*

Table 3: Economic status of the households after the crash

	Fatal			Serious Injury		
	Poor	Non-Poor		Poor	Non-Poor	
Within Recovery Period						
Household Income Reduction						
Yes	84.6%	70.3%		97.3%	97.3%	
No	15.4%	29.7%		2.7%	2.7%	
Food Consumption						

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Reduction						
Yes	94.9%	89.2%		81.1%	56.8%	**
No	5.1%	10.8%		18.9%	43.2%	
Reduction in Number of Household Assets						
Yes	20.5%	16.2%		32.4%	13.5%	*
No	79.5%	83.8%		67.6%	86.5%	
Lower Quality of Housing Condition						
Yes	33.3%	10.8%	**	40.5%	24.3%	
No	66.7%	89.2%		59.5%	75.7%	
After Recovery Period						
Household Income Reduction						
Yes	84.6%	70.3%		51.4%	29.7%	*
No	15.4%	29.7%		48.6%	70.3%	
Food Consumption Reduction						
Yes	94.9%	89.2%		83.8%	43.2%	***
No	5.1%	10.8%		16.2%	56.8%	
Reduction in Number of Household Assets						
Yes	23.1%	21.6%		32.4%	13.5%	*
No	76.9%	78.4%		67.6%	86.5%	
Lower Quality of Housing Condition						
Yes	35.9%	13.5%	**	45.9%	27.0%	*
No	64.1%	86.5%		54.1%	73.0%	

*Note: *** indicates significance at the 1% level, ** indicates significance at the 5% level, * indicates significance at the 10% level.*

Factors Affecting the Consequences of Road Crashes

The data obtained from the survey were analysed using a multiple linear regression model and a logit model to determine the factors that contribute in deterioration of the economic conditions and quality of life of households due to road crashes. Both types of model were applied due to the fact that different types of dependent variables (both continuous and binary variables) were included in the study. The dependent variables in these regression models are listed in Table 4. The independent variables considered in the analysis, as summarized in Table 5, include individual characteristics of the road crash victims, such as gender, marital status, education, occupation, household responsibility, and severity type, economic condition, and income loss of the person taking care. However, the test of multicollinearity indicates the existence of a strong correlation between two variables: type of severity and income loss of the person taking care (i.e. the pair-wise correlation coefficient is higher than 0.6). Only one of these two variables is, therefore, included in the preferred model selection.

Table 6 presents estimation results from the linear regression models and the logit models. The relative magnitude of estimated coefficients indicates the extent to which social economic characteristics of victims affect the consequences of road crashes in terms of the economic conditions and quality of life of victims' households.

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Table 4: Definitions of the dependent variables

Variables	Definition	Category
Y1	Household income reduction within recovery period (Household Income $_{\text{before crash}}$ –Household Income $_{\text{post-crash in recovery period}}$)	Continuous variable
Y2	Household income reduction after recovery period (Household Income $_{\text{before crash}}$ –Household Income $_{\text{post-crash after recovery period}}$)	Continuous variable
Y3	Food consumption reduction within recovery period (Food Consumption $_{\text{before crash}}$ –Food Consumption $_{\text{post-crash in recovery period}}$)	Continuous variable
Y4	Food consumption reduction after recovery period (Food Consumption $_{\text{before crash}}$ –Food Consumption $_{\text{post-crash after recovery period}}$)	Continuous variable
Y5	Amount of money that the household needs to borrow from others	Continuous variable
Y6	Need to pawn the assets (1 if the household needs to pawn the assets, 0 otherwise)	Binary variable
Y7	Housing condition within recovery period (1 if the housing condition is in lower quality, 0 otherwise)	Binary variable
Y8	Housing condition after recovery period (1 if the housing condition is in lower quality, 0 otherwise)	Binary variable

Table 5: Definitions of the independent variables

Variables	Definition
X1	Gender (1 if the victim is male, 0 otherwise)
X2	Marital status (1 if the victim is married, 0 otherwise)
X3 X4 X5 X6 X7	No Education (1 if the victim is non-educated, 0 otherwise) Primary School (1 if the victim graduated at primary school level, 0 otherwise) Secondary School (1 if the victim graduated at secondary school level, 0 otherwise) High School (1 if the victim graduated at high school level, 0 otherwise) College (1 if the victim graduated at college level and higher, 0 otherwise) – Base case
X8 X9 X10 X11	Business owner (1 if the victim is business owner, 0 otherwise) Student (1 if the victim is student, 0 otherwise) Unemployed (1 if the victim is unemployed, 0 otherwise) Seller/labour (1 if the victim is seller or labor, 0 otherwise) – Base case
X12	Household responsibility (1 if the victim is sole earner, 0 otherwise)
X13	Type of severities (1 if the victim is fatal, 0 otherwise)
X14	Income loss of a person who need to take care of a victim after the crash. (1 if there is an income loss, 0 otherwise)
X15	Economic condition of victim's household (1 if the victim household is poor, 0 otherwise)

In Model 1, a dependent variable in this multiple linear regression analysis is the reduction of household income within the recovery period. It is found that the coefficients of all independent variables except 'gender' are statistically significant at the 1–10% level; however, the signs are varied depending on the effect of each variable. Victims with less education suffer less impact on their household income reduction. This could be explained by the fact that that victims with less education earn less income, thus, the result of less of an impact on the reduction of household income. There is little impact on the reduction in household income for students and unemployed victims because they do not earn any income for their families. If the victims are business owners, there will be a great impact on their household income reduction as the victims could have but are now not able to earn income for their families. If the road crash victims are sole earners of families, great losses in household income are observed. Within the recovery period, if there is at least one family member who has taken leave from his/her job to take care of a road crash victim, household income is significantly reduced. The results also show that it is likely to have more household income reduction in non-poor families than in poor families. This could be explained by the fact that victims from non-poor households earn higher incomes than those from poor households, and this causes a great loss to non-poor household incomes.

In Model 2, a dependent variable is also the reduction of household income, but in this case, after the recovery period. The coefficient signs of the significant variables 'business', 'student', and 'unemployed' remain unchanged from those in Model 1. In addition, the 'severity' variable is found to be

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significant at the 1% level, and the positive sign implies that if a victim dies due to a crash, there will be a greater impact on household income than in a case of serious injury. This is because, after the recovery period, seriously injured victims can recover from crashes and return to work, resulting in less impact on their household incomes.

Models 3 and 4 present factors affecting food consumption reduction within and after the recovery periods. In the case of student and unemployed victims there is less reduction in food consumption of households in both models. However, in Model 3, the negative sign of the 'sole earner' variable shows that when victims are the sole earners of the families, there is less impact on food consumption reduction. In Model 4, the 'severity' and 'economic condition' variables significantly affect food consumption reduction after the recovery period.

In Model 5, a dependent variable is the amount of money that a victim's family has to borrow from others to cover the burden due to a road crash. 'Business' and 'severity' variables are significant at the 1–5% level. The negative coefficients of both variables reveal that if the victims are business owners, or if they die in road crashes, their families will borrow less money to cover expenses due to road crashes.

Models 6, 7, and 8 present the estimation results from the logit models. A dependent variable in Model 6 is the need to pawn assets. It is found that if the victims are the sole earners of families, the households tend to pawn assets after road crashes. In addition, if at least one family member has to leave a job and take care of a victim, there is a potential that the household has to pawn assets as well. Models 7 and 8 reveal that when the victims are sole earners of families, when at least one family member has to leave a job and take care of victims, or when the victims come from poor households, the households tend to have negative impacts in terms of lower quality of housing. This could be due to the impact of lower incomes on poor households after crashes that could push victims' families into living in poorer housing conditions.

It was observed that the adjusted R^2 of all linear regression models is rather low (Table 6), ranging from 0.386 to 0.019, indicating that the model does not sufficiently predict the variance of the dependent variables, probably due to the relationships are not linear.

Table 6: Coefficients of models for consequences of road crashes

Variables	Model 1: Household Income Reduction within Recovery Period (Y1)	Model 2: Household Income Reduction after Recovery Period (Y2)	Model 3: Food Consumption Reduction within Recovery Period (Y3)	Model 4: Food Consumption Reduction after Recovery Period (Y4)	Model 5: Amount of Money borrowed from Others (Y5)	Model 6: Pawn the Assets (Y6)	Model 7: Housing Condition within Recovery Period (Y7)	Model 8: Housing Condition after Recovery Period (Y8)
Gender (X1)	-266.65	1,314.80	-1,452.77	-865.74	20,918.27	-0.405	-0.759	-0.465
Marital Status (X2)	7,133.19 *	1,657.57	-1,389.34	-756.22	6,795.90	0.358	0.027	-0.264
No Educated (X3)	-18,130.00 **	497.18	3,783.69	2,825.42	-23,916.15	-0.258	0.516	-0.092
-20,129.06 ***	-7,227.12	77.39	115.48	-7,481.58	1.708 **	1.575 **	1.298	
Secondary (X5)	-18,961.78 ***	-6,168.91	142.90	1,395.78	-19,452.38	1.009	0.522	0.100
High Sch. (X6)	-17,111.03 ***	-7,733.49	1,960.88	1,506.51	-39,044.07	1.804 **	0.730	0.649
Business (X8)	16,647.22 **	13,109.52 **	-4,673.01	-3,229.03	-181,853.30 **	-0.521	0.228	0.921
Student (X9)	-19,699.16 ***	-10,762.64 *	-11,454.30 ***	-9,012.37 ***	-75,724.50	-0.674	-0.208	-0.603
Unemployed (X10)	-23,107.81 ***	-24,730.18 ***	-5,435.10 **	-6,619.07 ***	-22,930.11	-0.987	-0.444	-0.495
Sole earner (X12)	19,170.27 ***	-733.72	-5,454.81 **	-3,693.60	-8,116.97	1.440 **	1.948 ***	1.818 ***
Severity (X13)		19,889.21 ***		8,899.63 ***	-146,535.50 ***			
Income loss of taking care person (X14)	15,769.45 ***		-2,407.55			1.354 ***	1.272 ***	1.442 ***
Economic Condition	-8,598.59 **	-606.43	2,458.34	4,168.76 **	-6,445.11	0.173	0.985 **	1.225 **

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(X15)								
No. of obs.	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Adj. R^2	0.386	0.278	0.122	0.303	0.019			
Log likelihood						-77.280	-74.062	-75.51

*Note: *** indicates significance at the 1% level, ** indicates significance at the 5% level, * indicates significance at the 10% level.*

VI. Summary and Discussion

This paper attempts to investigate if poor people in the city of Yangon, Myanmar are more likely to be involved in road crashes and to identify the social consequences of road crashes in poor and non-poor households. The study is divided into two parts. The first part studies the involvement of 'poor' people in road crashes. The second part assesses the impact of road crashes on poor and non-poor families in terms of social consequences such as household income reduction and reduction in quality of life after crashes.

In the first part of the study, poor people appear to be more involved in road crashes than non-poor people. Poor people are more likely to die in road crashes than non-poor people. This could be due to the fact that poor people cannot afford to pay for full medical treatment. In Yangon, most people involved in road crashes are those in the age range of between 21–40 years old, the early and middle ages of workers in the country. Most of the poor involved in road crashes are less educated people and work as labors, sellers, and drivers, while the non-poor people involved in road crashes are more highly educated and work in higher classes of occupation. Pedestrians are the highest risk group involved in road crashes for both the poor and non-poor.

The second part of the study uses a questionnaire survey to identify differences in the impacts of road crashes on poor and non-poor households and to assess the economic status of households before and after involvement in road crashes. The results reveal that non-poor households spend more on funeral costs and vehicle damage costs than do poor households in cases of fatalities, and that non-poor households spend more on medical treatment costs and transportation costs for medical treatment than do poor households in cases of serious injuries. Poor households are more likely to borrow money or pawn assets after crashes than are non-poor households. The consequences of road crashes, such as household income reduction, food consumption reduction, decrease in the number of household assets, and decrease in the quality of housing, seem to be worse in both fatal and serious injury cases. However, the reductions in these economic conditions are not significantly different between the poor and non-poor.

To evaluate the significant factors affecting the consequences of road crashes, multiple linear regression and logistic regression techniques were applied in this study. The occupations of victims seem to affect the consequences of road crashes in terms of household income reduction, food consumption reduction, and the amount of money borrowed from others. Household responsibility as sole earner significantly affects household income reduction, food consumption reduction, reduction in the quality of housing, and the need to pawn assets. If at least one family member takes leave from his/her job to take care of a road crash victim, it is more likely that the consequences of the road crash are worse. Non-poor families tend to have greater losses in household incomes than poor families due to the fact that, before crashes, the victims from non-poor households earned more income than those from poor households.

Even though, there was a limitation in this study that the statistical analysis cannot be applied to compare between the risk level to encounter to the road crashes by poor and non-poor, some evidences were found based on the descriptive analysis that the poor are at higher risk from road crashes than the non-poor, and that non-poor families can become poorer after crashes due to significant losses of their incomes. This study provides implications that there is a great impact of road crashes on both poor and non-poor families. Road crashes can cause increased poverty to families whose family members are involved in crashes. To alleviate this poverty problem, especially in developing countries like Myanmar, more efficient road safety policies should be implemented. This will reduce the number of deaths and injuries from road crashes. For example, road safety education, such the teaching of rules and regulations, is needed, especially for poor people. Alternative transportation modes, such as public transport, and safer road infrastructure for pedestrians should be provided. Lastly, providing better pre-hospital and trauma care, including rehabilitation programs especially for poor casualties who normally have difficulties accessing full medical services, is needed.

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Urban Land Issues and Policy Challenges in China's Rapid Urbanization

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Abstract- This paper discusses land issues and attempts to explain why they are persistent and prevalent in Chinese cities. We will demonstrate that the factors behind the land issues include land institution setting, gradualism in reforms, illdesigned policy instruments, one-size-fits-all approaches to land management, a fragmented planning system, and development objectives that are conflicting among themselves at the national level. We then discuss land policy challenges and unfinished reforms that deserve attention. Land reforms underscore the balancing act required between the concerns about the protection of property rights and public interests. They were meant to address the entitlement question of unearned land value increments, minimize social welfare losses in farmland protection, and add planning/policy flexibility to cope with future development uncertainty. Finally, we illustrate the challenges in policy choices and the importance of the political will/determination of top leaders at all levels of government in undertaking radical and fundamental land policy reforms. Political will/determination would be critical in land policy reforms because leaders will face rising political resistance and huge socioeconomic costs.

Keywords: land issues, policy challenges, unfinished reform, policy dilemma, china.

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Chengri Ding [α], Kunzi Cao [σ] & Weixing Gao [ρ]

Abstract- This paper discusses land issues and attempts to explain why they are persistent and prevalent in Chinese cities. We will demonstrate that the factors behind the land issues include land institution setting, gradualism in reforms, ill-designed policy instruments, one-size-fits-all approaches to land management, a fragmented planning system, and development objectives that are conflicting among themselves at the national level. We then discuss land policy challenges and unfinished reforms that deserve attention. Land reforms underscore the balancing act required between the concerns about the protection of property rights and public interests. They were meant to address the entitlement question of unearned land value increments, minimize social welfare losses in farmland protection, and add planning/policy flexibility to cope with future development uncertainty. Finally, we illustrate the challenges in policy choices and the importance of the political will/determination of top leaders at all levels of government in undertaking radical and fundamental land policy reforms. Political will/determination would be critical in land policy reforms because leaders will face rising political resistance and huge socioeconomic costs.

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I. Introduction

Land issues have attracted attention in China in recent decades. Land issues involve social unrest and instability derived from land redevelopment and requisition (Lin et al., 2014; Zhang, 2007), public risks in land-based financing of urban infrastructure (Liu, 2010; Lardy, 2010; World Bank and DRC, 2014; Ding et al., 2014), land speculation and hoarding that cause housing bubbles and skyrocketing housing prices (Du and Peiser, 2014), and chaotic and uncoordinated land development resulting from a fragmented land use planning system (Ding, 2009; World Bank, 2008). The land also links to corruption, fraud, and embezzlement in land management and development. These problems threaten public trust in the government (Wu and Jin, 2009; Zhang, 2007; Lin, 2009). At the same time, land also plays an important role in local (city) economies, public financing, the provision of urban infrastructure, and the privatization of state-owned enterprises (Ding and Lichtenberg, 2011; Lichtenberg and Ding, 2009; Lin et al., 2014; Wu et al., 2014; Zhang, 2007).

The severity of land issues forced the central government (the State Council and ministries) to announce 40 measures/directives to address land issues between 2001-2008 (Wu and Jin, 2009). These measures include a new law (Property Law 2007), a constitutional amendment (2004), and executive orders and documents. They cover areas of land development, land markets, land leasing, farmland conversion, land requisition, land speculation, regulation of housing market bubbles, and land financing. However, there are few signs that indicate the effectiveness of these measures/directives in resolving land issues, making one wonder how this has happened in China's centralized and top-down management system.

China is experiencing two development trends that have outstanding implications in terms of land policy. One is the growth of the private sector. In 1978, the private economy contributed less than 10 percent of national GDP; it now accounts for more than 80 percent. In 1978, private owned properties accounted for approximately 7 percent of the urban housing units, but now for more than 90 percent. The protection of the private sector has, therefore, become important in maintaining China's current pace of growth and achieving a sustainable transformation toward a market economy in the long term. The other development trend is a new era of urbanization, as the central government has targeted it as a national growth strategy. About 200-300 million people will migrate from rural areas to cities and towns by 2030, leaving about 30 percent of the Chinese population, mainly youth and the elderly, in rural areas. In the next 20-30 years, land issues thus will continue to dominate public attention as the new urbanization era would fundamentally reshape China city landscape.

The literature covering Chinese land issues is extensive, but few papers have examined China's land issues in a comprehensive way. This paper attempts to answer the following questions: 1) What are issues on land in China? 2) What are the institutional factors that cause land issues to persist and prevail in Chinese cities? 3) What are the emerging land issues as the private sector becomes increasingly important and China enters a new urbanization era under the New Urbanization Strategy adopted by the current central government? And 4) What are the socioeconomic obstacles in China in terms of undertaking land reforms to resolve serious land issues?

The first question will be examined in Section 2, whereas Section 3 investigates factors behind land issues. Section 4 discusses land issues and policy

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challenges that will likely emerge as China transforms into a middle-income country. It will also reveal challenges in policy choices and the importance of political will/determination of top leaders at all levels of government to undertake radical and fundamental land policy reforms. Finally, Section 5 provides concluding remarks.

II. Land Issues

Land requisition has generated a massive number of landless peasants. There were 40-50 million landless peasants in 2011, with an additional three million adding to that total in each successive year. Source: http://www.caijing.com.cn/2011-08-09/110804337. html. Land requisition is the main reason that peasants file complaint letters and petitions. For example, land-related disputes account for 40% of total complaint letters and petitions and 60% of group complaints. Source:http://news.sina.com.cn/c/sd/2013-1014/08 512 8427149.shtml.

In rural areas, land serves as an economic safety net for peasants. The land requisition may imply a forced migration, creating new urban poor. There are substantial differences between new migrants and incumbent city residents in terms of hourly wages, working hours, housing conditions, access to social insurance programs, and poverty rates (Park and Wang, 2010; Du, Gregory and Wang, 2006).

Chinese cities spatially expand in ways in which scarce land resource is wasted and inefficient land use patterns emerge at an unprecedentedly pace, as illustrated by prevailing spatial development patterns such as over-scale land development projects, excessive designation of development zones, excessive industrial land, and chaotic and uncoordinated land development patterns across Chinese cities (Ding, 2009; World Bank, 2008; Wu et al., 2016). In 2004, the designation of various Special Economic Zones (SEZs) occupied total land of 38,600 km^2. Lack of investment led to the central government to revoke 24,900 km^2 in SEZs, of which 1,300 km^2 returned to agricultural use. In Beijing alone, the number of SEZs reduced from 470 to 28, and 15 km^2 of land returned to agricultural use in 2008 (source: Beijing government work report, Beijing Municipal Government, 2008). The State Council has investigated 6,024 development zones with a total area of 35,400 km^2 since 2003 and revoked 2,046 of them (Wu et al., 2016).

Land-based public financing imposes a risk and has caused skyrocketing local public debts. Lardy (2010) estimates that total local debts were 6 trillion RMB in 2009. Liu (2010) states that land-based financing of the public sector creates outstanding off-budget government liabilities of more than 30 percent of GDP. Most of the liabilities are associated with land being used as collateral. The land is the main source of off-budget income for local governments. Off-budget incomes, which are often the source of abuses, embezzlement, and corruption, have different spending patterns from on-budget expenditures and cause efficiency losses in pubic finance (Ding et al., 2014).

The land is responsible at least partially for housing bubbles in many Chinese cities. Three indicators all point to the severity of housing bubbles. The first indicator is the rising housing price index. In Beijing, for instance, the average price of a new apartment in the inner city was 45,000 RMB in 2013, an increase by a factor of ten compared with the 2004. The second indicator is the ratio of annual rent over housing price. It fell to 3.81% in major cities like Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen in 2005. This ratio is well below the threshold of 4.5% that is widely used to indicate housing market bubbles. The third indicator is housing vacancy rates. A survey in 2010 by the National Grid Company in 660 cities revealed that 65.4 million new apartments had zero electricity consumption for more than six months. Sources: Economist, May 4-10, 2013;http://house.ifeng.com/detail/2010_03_31/10444839_0.shtml;http://house.ifeng.com/detail/2010_07_06/11724747_0.shtml. These vacant units could house 200-250 million people, which is equivalent to the predicted number of rural-city migrants in the next 10-20 years. Vacancy rates are at 15-23%, and it would take approximately five years for markets to absorb newly-built housing stock in many third- and fourth-tier cities. A by-product of the housing bubble is land speculation and land hoarding. In the period from 2003-2009, 40 well-known developers had acquired 270 lots through LURs; but more than half of these lots has been remaining idle by the end of the period. Source: http://www.legaldaily.com.cn/zmbm/content/200911/05/content_1177543.htm?node=7577.

The effectiveness of land policies, in general, has long been questionable. The Chinese central government has claimed to implement the most rigid farmland protection policies in the world, but studies conclude that farmland protection polices have not effectively slowed down land development (Feng et al., 2015; Lichtenberg and Ding, 2008). China has also introduced intensive land policy directives to resolve land issues. There were an annual 6-7 policy directives and initiatives in the period 2001-2008 (Wu and Jin, 2009). The intensity suggests that the land policy instrument either fails to deliver its promises on resolving land issues or results in unwanted/unexpected consequences that deserve a further policy remedy. One may wonder how this has happened in a country with such highly centralized authority. The following section will address the question.

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III. Causes and Factors Behind land Issues

a) Land institution and roles

China has a unique land institution that helps to create monopolistic situations in both land supply and land demand for urbanization and industrialization. Land development is legally permitted only in urban areas (state ownership), and rural land cannot be developed (collectively owned by rural communes). Land ownership conversion, hence, is a prerequisite for land development. China introduced the Land Use Rights (LUR) system, which is a public land leasing system in which ownership separates from the rights to sell, rent, and mortgage the property, to promote the development of land markets. Land (use rights) transactions between users/developers in land markets are legally permitted after the land is leased out from the State, defining the first-level land markets (Ding, 2003; Lin, 2009).

Under China's land institution system, local governments (cities, counties, and townships) act as the representative of the State in the land requisition and land leasing. This institutional setting enables local governments to exercise their power to obtain land for urban development at low prices and then charge developers high land prices as the sole provider of land. In one village in Fujian province, for instance, the local government paid approximately 8,700 USD per acre to farmers and then sold the land to developers for over 650,000 USD for commercial housing (Southern College of Land Management of Zhejiang University, 2003). Land revenues become a dominant source of off-budget incomes for local governments. Land leasing in 2006, for instance, generated land revenues of 808 billion RMB, equivalent to 23% of total taxes levied at all levels of government. Since land conveyance fees are retained primarily by prefecture cities (provincial and county governments take a small share, depending on the intergovernmental fiscal arrangement), land revenues become more important to city governments. The ratio of land (leasing) revenues over tax revenues of subnational governments was 53 percent in 2006 (it jumped to over 84 percent in 2010). Proceeds from land leasing in Beijing and Shanghai, for instance, were equal to 40 and 50% of their total fiscal revenues, respectively, in 2009 (Liu, 2010).

Land issues can be considered to be the costs of land roles. Lichtenberg and Ding (2009) conclude that local officials' seeking of land revenues is a main driver of land conversion. Wu et al. (2014) illustrate that local officials often subsidize industrial land access to attract investment. Ding and Lichtenberg (2011) conclude that land plays an important role in city economic growth because land availability may constrain urban economic growth. Their research suggests that it is the combination of high demand for land and strict control on land conversion that makes the land a critical ingredient in local economic development policy. Land financing provides much-needed incomes for local governments that faced rising fiscal deficits after the 1993/94 tax/fiscal reforms. City governments employ a land-based infrastructure scheme to fuel rapid urban spatial expansion (Liu, 2007; Lin et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2011).

The privatization of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) is a critical step in transforming China's planned economy into a market one. From 1995 to 2005, about 100,000 firms with 11.4 trillion RMB worth of assets were privatized, representing two-thirds of both the total number of SOEs and total state assets. Source: http://english.ckgsb.edu.cn/sites/default/files/privatization_in_china.pdf. Most of the SOEs that were to be privatized, if not all, were in serious debt. Active land markets helped local governments to use site values to resolve the indebtedness of the SOEs and resettle their employees. Sources: http://www.360doc.com/content/11/0901/15/7293128_145014585.shtml;http://www.chinaacc.com/new/63/74/115/2006/2/zh00591198162260024587-0.htm. Leasing out the SOEs' land provides much-needed cash for worker buyouts, pension insurance, and debt payments.

The land institution enables local governments to requisition land at extremely low prices, while incentives behind land-based public financing explain their aggressiveness in land conversion. Monopolies by local governments in the first-land markets (public land leasing) generate monopolized land proceeds from land development (land requisition and land leasing). Without the presence of land demand for industrialization and urbanization, the aggressiveness of land conversion inevitably causes the idling of land resources, particularly in the form of excessive industrial land.

b) Designed policy instruments

A policy should be assessed by examining not only its goals, but also the means and instruments that are chosen to achieve them. In other words, a good one needs to have the right implementation instrument with which to achieve policy goals.

China has adopted a rigid land management system that is distinguished by the following features. First, the farmland policy mandates no less than 80% of farmland to be designated as "basic" cultivated land (in "basic" farmland districts), which is prohibited from being developed unless the State Council issues development permission. The State Council approves land development on "basic" cultivated land for national projects (such as transport networks) as well as for policy initiatives (such as the designation of various economic zones, and demonstration projects for policy reforms). Furthermore, without an effective mechanism by which to differentiate the percentage of "basic" cultivated land across governments, the 80% minimum

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requirement is uniformly assigned to all sub national governments.

Second, China adopts a strict implementation of the dynamically balanced farmland policy, which is virtually a no-net-loss of farmland policy and implies that land reclamation is mandated to offset farmland losses due to industrialization and urbanization. Third, China has a vertical land use planning system in which land use and development quotas are allocated through the centralized bureaucratic structure. Land use and development quotas include 1) maximum developable/constructible land in cities and rural areas, 2) maximum developable/constructible farmland, 3) minimum farmland, 4) minimum "basic" farmland, 5) minimum land reclamation, and 6) maximum per capita land consumption for industrial use.

Farmland protection is a legitimate objective and national interest for a country as populated as China to maintain grain self-sufficiency. But the question is how to achieve the goal. There are two approaches, each having different sets of policy instruments. One is through agricultural policy (such as income subsidies for peasants or price subsidies for farming), and the other is through land policy (farmland protection). A fundamental question thus arises: which one is more effective?

In 2004, China introduced several initiatives to provide peasants with incentives to increase grain yields. They included the abolition of agricultural taxes, income subsidies, subsidies for plant seeds and machinery purchases, and increased spending on rural (agricultural) infrastructure (Lichtenberg and Ding, 2008). Grain production responded well to these policy initiatives, even though the amount of farmland was declining at the same time (Li et al., 2014). Furthermore, studies reveal that China's grain output is highly correlated with planted farmland rather than the total amount of farmland (Lichtenberg and Ding, 2008). This says that the food security objective can be achieved through agricultural policies, at least in the short run. Farmland has been continuously depleting in recent decades due to rapid urbanization and industrialization. The total amount of cultivated land was 1.951 billion *mu* in 1996, decreasing to 1.911 billion *mu* in 2001, to 1.824 billion *mu* in 2011. Source: China Land & Resources Almanac. In those 15-years (1996-2011), grain output first fluctuated and then steadily grew. From 2003 to 2011, total grain output rose steadily from 430.7 million tons to 571.2 million tons, at an annual rate of 3.59%. Total grain output reached a historical record 607.1 million tons in 2014. Those data suggest that something other than farmland protection is contributing to steadily rising grain production.

Strict farmland protection policies prohibit land development inside "basic" farmland districts. This policy generates two types of social welfare losses. One loss is related to urban sprawl, i.e., forcing urban development to leapfrog over protected farmland in urban fringe areas. The other loss is the forgone losses in the land price premium. Land in urban fringes has a much higher land price premium than land further away from city cores. Overall social welfares decrease if the price premium difference between two sites exceeds grain output gaps. In other words, when gains from farmland protection in urban fringes cannot offset the losses in the land price premium, we have a net reduction in social welfare (Ding, 2009). Also strict farmland protection policies make plans for incremental land supply for urban development impossible. As a result, local officials often use large-scale SEZs to obtain approval from the central government to develop farmland to circumvent strict farmland protection policies.

The distinguishing features of China's land system include a standardized and one-size-fits-all management approach, and formula driven policy implementation (Lichtenberg and Ding, 2008, 2009), as indicated by the mandated 80% farmland in "basic" farmland districts. This type of land management may work in small and homogenous places, but not in big and extremely diverse countries in terms of natural endowment, development status, and people-land tensions such as China. For instance, Ding and Lichtenberg (2011) conclude that land is a constraint for development in eastern China, but not in the middle and western areas. A policy implication is that the eastern regions should have different farmland protection standards and more flexible land development quotas than the rest of the country. The one-size-fits-all type of land management did not work out before, does not now, and will not in the future in China.

Local competition causes severe over-capacity in Manufacturing sectors in China (Ding and Lichtenberg, 2011). A quarter of capacity is unutilized in sectors such as steel, electrolytic aluminum, ferroalloy, cement, automobile, shipbuilding, and glass industries, for example. Substantial over-capacity also includes the production of coke, calcium carbide, copper smelting, electric power, coal, and textile goods (Ding and Lichtenberg, 2011). The central government has attempted to use land as a macro policy instrument to 'slow down' the economy and a counter-measure against local competition. In 2004, the State Council issued an executive directory banning all public land leasing for six months. In 2007, the central government used land as a means of macroeconomic adjustment to cool off the over-heating capital investment that threatened the national economy (Wu and Jin, 2009). Macro-economies should be adjusted through fiscal, tax, credit, and monetary policies (Ji, 2010). It is not surprising, however, to see that the land-based macro-policy to resolve over-investment in manufacturing was short-lived. Policy instruments are vital for achieving policy objectives. Unwanted consequences arise when

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inappropriate or incorrect policy instruments are used to achieve well-justified policy objectives.

c) Local officials' incentives behind land development

i. *Fiscal decentralization*

Land issues may not be fully comprehended without understanding China's fiscal decentralization and cadre evaluation, both of which greatly affect local officials' behaviors toward local economic growth. China's economic and fiscal decentralization has fueled its remarkable economic growth during the pro-reform period, but with huge costs. The unwanted consequences of fiscal decentralization include local competition that often leads to over-heating economy, the state's weakening fiscal control, and a race to the bottom in terms of tax incentives and subsidies used to attract businesses and investments (Shick, 2007; Afono and Furceri, 2009). Off-budget activities often rise along with fiscal decentralization, particularly when local governments face tight budgetary constraints. The downside of off-budget incomes includes distortion of supply and demand in the local economy, erosion of fiscal control, and damage to the effectiveness of government budgeting (Bennett and DiLorenzo, 1982; Schick, 2007). Off-budget activities also undermine the role of budgeting in managing the economy and formulating public objectives and priorities as they tend to weaken the government's fiscal control (Schick, 2007). On the positive side, empowered by off-budget incomes, local governments have a larger fiscal capacity with which to promote local economic growth than they otherwise would (Ding and Lichtenberg, 2009). China has extremely large off-budget revenues. Land revenues are the most important source of off-budget incomes for subnational governments in China. They were equivalent to 38.9% of the total fiscal revenues of subnational governments in 2006. Intergovernmental transfers contribute 45% of total fiscal revenue, on average; this translates to ratios of land revenues to tax revenues for subnational governments of as high as 0.7 (Ding et al., 2014).

ii. *Cadre evaluation*

China has established a cadre responsibility/evaluation system with which to build a civil service society as part of its modernization propaganda. Although the principal criteria of cadre evaluation are formula driven and there are other elements/factors in addition to economic performance, work achievements account for 60-70% of the score received. Work achievements are mainly measured by indicators of GDP growth and tax revenues, which are then used by human resource departments to determine the turnover/promotion of local leaders (Landry, 2008; Whiting, 2004).

iii. *Government-led growth model*

Investment is a driver for economic growth in China (Ahuja and Nabar, 2012; Zhu and Kotz, 2010). In 2100s, about one-half of the growth in GDP was attributed to investment (Ahuja and Nabar, 2012). The ratio of gross fixed capital formation over total GDP reached a historical high of 44% in 2004. This investment-driven economic model causes the over-designation of development zones and excessive industrial land (Wu et al., 2014, 2015; Ding, 2009), both of which in turn produce over-capacity in manufacturing. A concern is that the investment-led growth model is seldom sustainable in the long term. As experienced in many countries, including Japan, South Korea, Thailand, and Indonesia, a period of exceptionally high investment precedes macroeconomic instability and a serious setback for growth (Garnaut and Huang, 2005). Theoretically, negative consequences of an investment-led growth model include: 1) diminishing returns to incremental investment imply that resources will be used more efficiently if they are allocated to alternative uses, 2) excessive production capacity across the economy, 3) a high element of speculative activity, and 4) international tensions rise when it is closely associated with international trade which generates pressure on employment in other economies (Garnaut and Huang, 2005).

Weak domestic consumption makes Chinese governments to over-depend upon investment for growth. Private consumption remains weak despite the fact that China has the largest domestic consumer market in the world. In 2013, for instance, China's household consumption was only 34% of its GDP, much lower than that of the US (70%), Japan (61%), Germany (57%), and South Korea (52%). Source: http://www.stratfor.com/analysis/urbanization-and-demographics-could-skew-chinas economicrebalancing #axzz3H98b6Zrk. The central government has undertaken enormous efforts to abandon the government-led growth model. Initiatives to boost domestic consumption, for instance, include financial liberalization, expansion, and modernization of the logistics industry, social security and health insurance programs, and the higher education system. But these efforts have generated few results.

Local competition, the performance-based cadre evaluation, and the government-led growth model all contribute to persistent and prevalent over-capacity in the manufacturing sectors. Land issues, in one form or another, may continue to pose a threat to China's sustainable growth unless China finds ways to address the unwanted consequences of fiscal decentralization, shifts its focus in cadre evaluation away from economic growth performance, and finds alternative growth engineers to the government-led model.

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iv. *Rigid and fragmented planning system*

China's planning system share blames for development challenges around land. First, planning practices have paid little respect to both emerging markets with growth uncertainty and the price mechanism in land-use decisions. In effective land markets, cities with larger populations tend to have a higher population density, implying smaller per capita land consumption. However, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development sets a standard of land consumption in Chinese cities at 60-120 m^2 per capita and links city size to land development density in a positive way. For instance, Beijing is larger than Luzhou city (Sichuan province), which is larger than Liangjin town in Huizhou city (Guangdong province). But their planned land consumptions per capita are 105 m^2, 100 m^2, and 94.5 m^2, respectively, which implies higher density in smaller cities.

Second, land policy and planning are rigid. Land use/development quotas, the dynamic balance of farmland, and floor-area-ratio (FAR) are all fixed in planning horizons of 15-20 years, leaving no room for local governments to deal with future development uncertainty. In response, local governments attempt to maneuver politically, whenever possible, to obtain permission to launch large-scale land projects, through the designation of Special Economic Reform and Industrial Districts. In many cases, these projects are unnecessarily large, wasting land resources (Ding, 2009). Another example of this rigidity is the configuration of highways, in which some land hold-outs stand right in the middle of the road, blocking traffic flow, as peasants ask outrageous compensation for the requisition of the land. See http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/11/22/in-one-chinese-province-the-government-literally-paves-a-highway-around-homeowners-who-refuse-to-move/. However, just a little flexibility in highway planning can avoid this type of problem and, at the same time, send a message of unacceptability of peasants' requesting unjustifiably high prices for land requisition.

Third, blueprints for city development are shaped by a fragmented planning system, in which three plans are the most dominant and each of these determines one of three market elements: population (laborers), capital, and land. Those three plans jointly determine location patterns and intensity of land use, which in turn affect city competitiveness and urban spatial efficiency ((Bertaud and Malpezzi, 2003; Rosenthal and Strange, 2003). The three plans are: 1) the economic growth and social development plan (EP), 2) the urban master plan (UP), and 3) the land master plan (LP). The EP is developed and administrated by development and reform commissions, UP is developed and administrated by departments of urban planning, and LP is developed and administrated by departments of land and resources. Beside administrative fragmentation, these three plans are also fragmented in the following ways:

Planning contents are fragmented, encouraging planning failure from the outset. The EP determines fixed capital investments, including for both infrastructure and land development for different uses. Total land supply is determined by the LP but is affected by land development intensity (floor area ratio), which is separately by the UP. The EP determines a city's size in terms of population, which in turn affects total demand on public goods and services, which are separately decided by the UP.

Planning horizons are fragmented, making the whole planning system look awkward. The EP has a five-year planning horizon, whereas the UP has a 20-year and the LP has a 15-year window. China's Constitution mandates that both the UP and LP are subordinate to the EP.

Planning approval authority is fragmented, making it difficult for city governments to be held accountable for their decisions/actions in land development. The EP is approved by the People's Congress of the city, while the UP and LP are by either the State Council or the provincial government, depending on the city's administrative status and size. The State Council approves UPs for 53 cities in which they also have the authority to make local laws, plus 33 other large cities, and provincial governments approve the UPs for the remaining cities. The State Council approves LPs for cities with more than one million inhabitants, while provincial governments approve LPs for smaller ones. Thus, there are cities whose EPs are approved by city congresses, while their LPs are approved by the State Council, and their UPs are approved by provincial governments.

The failure of China's rigid and fragmented planning system is not a surprise, as evidenced in the frequent revision of plans. Beijing's 1982 Urban Master Plan with the planning horizon to 2010 was revised in 1992 with the planning horizon to 2020. Beijing's 1992 Urban Master Plan was modified again in 2004. China's fragmented planning system has become an institutional barrier for city governments to work with market forces and price mechanisms and promote sustainable urban spatial development. Top-down planning approval undermines the principles of spatial mobility and concentration of labor and capital, as well as the market determination of land use intensity (Ding, 2009; Bertraud, 2007).

Moreover, the LP and UP have their fundamental flaws in directing the development of efficient urban spatial patterns. The LP focuses exclusively on farmland protection and pays little attention to the opportunity costs and socioeconomic consequences of protecting farmland on urban fringes. Chinese urban planning is full of dreams for an utopian city and is responsible for over 100 ghost cities full of

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failed idealistic development. Source: http://www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2016/06/10/talking-policy-michael-jlewis-utopian-cities;http://www.demagazine.co.uk/architecture/why-utopian-urban-developments-never-work. Plans are never perfect and things always go wrong. Future uncertainty should be a norm during China's rapid urbanization and dramatic transformation toward a market-based economy. Therefore, it is essential for planning to be flexible to stay ahead of market trends and competition.

d) Land policy conflicts with other national goals

An overarching purpose of the land policy in China is to protect farmland to maintain self-sufficiency in grain production. Even though China has adopted, self-claimed, the most rigid land management system in the world to achieve it, there is little sign that land conversion has slowed down (Feng et al., 2015). Local governments are criticized for their failure to help the central government to achieve the goal of grain self-reliance.

It is true that local governments have a strong incentive to pursue land development, which then becomes a root cause of land issues. What is overlooked in the literature, however, is that the conflicting objectives of the central government are responsible for the failure of land policy. For instance, successful execution of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games had both symbolic value and substantive importance to the central government, as the Games became a showcase for the world of China's rising status and supreme identity in international affairs. This one-time goal easily trumped that of the farmland "dynamic balance policy", which is the no-net-loss of farmland policy. By 2009, Games-related land development contributed significantly to the depletion of the total land use/development quotas for Beijing for the planning period 2004-2020.

Both housing and infrastructure development have proven to be much more important than farmland protection. In responding to rapidly rising housing prices, the central government to introduce an ambitious public housing program, by pledged to build 5.8 million units of public-assisted housing in 2010 and another 10 million units in 2011. Most public housing projects are constructed on farmland. The rapid development of the national transport network (highways and railroads) has also contributed to farmland depletion. The first high-speed railroad in operation was the Beijing-Tianjin line (opened in 2008), only 120 km long. By 2013, the total length of operating high-speed railroad lines was 11,152 km. The pace of highway development is equally impressive. There were approximately 500 km of highways in 1990, which increased to 15,900 km in 2000, and 74,100 km in 2010.

The national policies that implicitly or explicitly conflict with farmland protection also include maintaining a high rate of economic growth and promoting harmonious growth between the environment, economy, and society and between cities and rural areas (World Bank and DRC, 2013, 2014). China needs high economic growth rates to alleviate employment pressure and reach the goal of a middle-income country by 2020. Toward the building of a harmonious society, the central government provides subsidies to promote reversion of farmland to pasture, grassland, and forest in ecologically vulnerable regions. Those conversions accounted for approximately 50-55% of total farmland loss in the period 1998-2003, compared with a 20% loss due to urban construction in that same period (Ministry of Land and Resources, 2005).

In sum, China's challenging land issues occur for following reasons. First, the land plays too many functions/roles. The land is not only a core policy instrument for farmland protection, but it also plays important roles in city economic development, public financing, and land supply for industrialization. Second, the land links two development frontiers: one is urban and the other is rural areas. Third, the land is saddled with conflicting development objectives or placed between opposing forces. Figure 1 illustrates that land is a link between rural and city areas (through land requisition and landless peasants), and sandwiched between food security and urbanization and between economic growth and environment protection (competing uses of land and conflicting goals). The land is also caught between two conflicting roles of government: property (land) rights protection versus public interest in land (see Section 4.1). Finally, the land is a large part of the question: 'Who is entitled to the unearned land value increases as a result of urban growth?'

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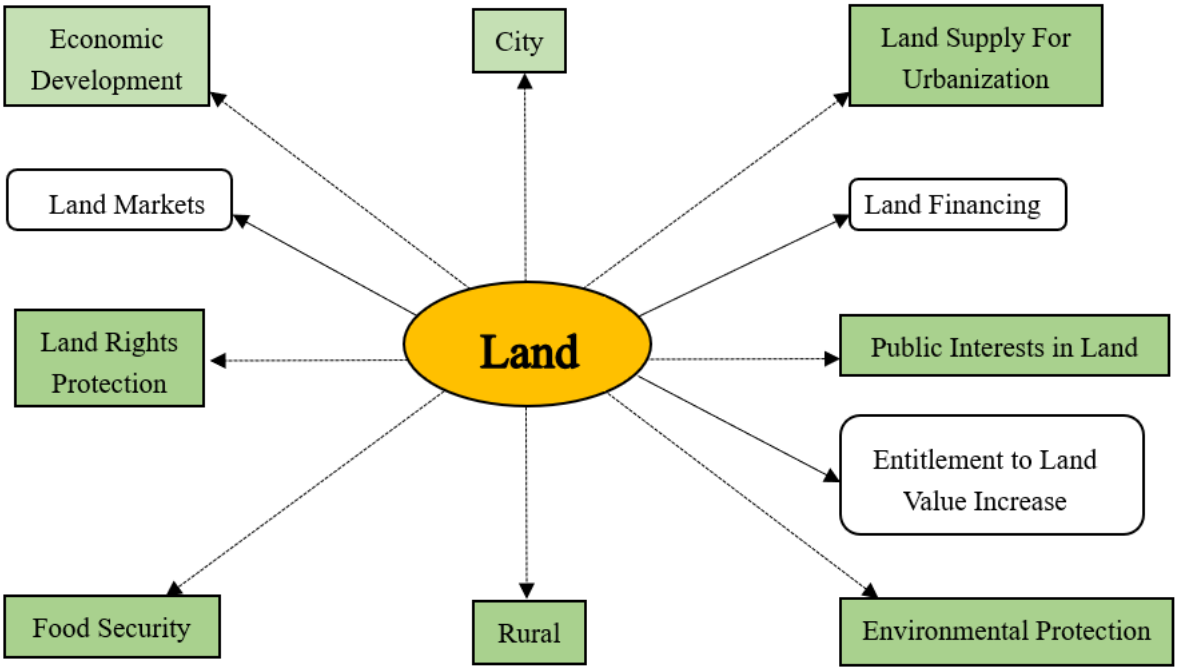


Figure 1: Land as a Platform for Multiple Functions/Development Objectives

IV. Land Policy Challenges

a) *Unfinished land reforms*

The land has been at the center of hot public debates. Well debated/discussed land issues have involved land rights, land property protection, tenure security, land requisition, farmland policy, land markets, land leasing, land finance, and the socioeconomic impacts and consequences of land policies/institutions. Persistent and prevailing land issues suggest that China has a long, challenging journey ahead of land policy reforms. The following questions will continue to dominate public debates and discussions: How to (re)-define public interests to justify land acquisition? What are farmland values and how do they change over time? Who (peasants or local governments) is entitled to a portion of the value increases in farmland under development and how large a share should go to each stockholder? In other words, what is the peasants' fair share of value increases? What are peasants' constitutional rights on land property? What are the economic impacts of urbanization and provisions for infrastructure on farmland? Should farmland value increase due to public actions be captured, and, if so, what is the best way to do so? How best to accommodate land demand due to urbanization and industrialization while protecting farmland for environmental and grain autarky reasons? How best to protect public interests in land? What are the alternatives to land financing and land-based infrastructure financing? How should land markets that cross urban-rural boundaries develop?

This list of questions is by no means comprehensive. Land requisition requires the justification of public interest, but the definition of public interest is too broad in Chinese laws. As the private economy continues to thrive, a more fundamental question emerges, which is whether or not a public interest can justify the land requisition for the development of the private economy. If the answer is not, then how should the Chinese government supply land to boost the private sector, which is vital for the Chinese economy? Currently, the land requisition is the only way to accommodate the need in both the private sector and public projects. Fundamental reform in the land requisition is necessary to recognize the rights and interests of peasants over land development in rural areas.

b) *Emerging challenges*

There are land issues that have not yet been addressed adequately in the literature. The first issue is the conflict between land rights protection on one side and public interest in the land on the other. Public pressure to protect private rights and interest will continue to rise along with the growth of the private economy and housing development (World Bank and DRC, 2014). At the same time, the government also needs to protect public interests in the land since 1) it is the state's asset, and 2) the government needs to access it for public projects. Civilized governance of urban development requires the government to develop institutions to balance these two sides. Unless such institutions are put into place, any policy initiative moving in the direction of offering more protection on land rights may generate unwanted consequences with

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high socioeconomic costs and could lead to social unrest, as evidenced by land hold-outs. Institutions should be established to ensure a fair mechanism with due process for both farmers and local governments in land use, land development, and land requisition. The occurrence of nail houses implies that China is lack of a due process mechanism in the land requisition.

The second issue is the question of who is entitled to unearned land value increases and how much should be given out to each affected party/stockholder. Land values have increased remarkably in the past two decades. Both planning and provisions for infrastructure increase land values substantially. Urban theory suggests that increments in land values due to public actions should be taxed away to recoup government costs for the provision of infrastructure. Empirical studies have concluded that windfall gains in land value that fall to private owners could pay off the capital costs of infrastructure construction (Batt, 2001). Policy instruments of value capture include betterment taxes, tax increment financing, joint development mechanisms, and property taxes. Unfortunately, little attention has been drawn to this important issue of land value entitlement as well as to the related social justice question (the number of windfall gains cases in the land requisition given the scale and pace of urban development throughout Chinese cities).

The third problem relates to the site values and opportunity costs of farmland protection. The physical quality of farmland is the primary factor in the geographical determination of the boundaries of "basic" farmland districts. Site value for alternative uses is seldom considered. It is necessary to fully assess the costs and benefits of farmland protection when designating "basic" farmland districts in order to maximize social welfare.

Finally, the "New Urbanization Strategy" represents another set of challenges. The "2014-2020 National New Urbanization Plan" (NNUP) aims for 60% of China's population to be living in an urban environment by 2020 and 70% by 2030. Accordingly, 200-300 million rural residents will move to cities and towns in the next 10-20 years. A fundamental question, therefore, is where and how to house and employ those enormous rural-urban migrants. According to the NNUP, the New Urbanization Strategy encourages population growth in small cities (less than half a million in population), which have been chosen by the central government as the growth poles in next 10-20 years, and, at the same time, discourages or controls growth in super-large and mage-cities (mega-cities have more than 10 million population). Two specific means have been introduced to implement the new urbanization strategy. One is to offer rural migrants a city *hukou* in small cities and to control the growth of *hukou* residents in super-large cities. The other is to differentiate land development quotas by city size. New land construction quotas or permits are negatively correlated with city size; at the lowest end, a zero-new-land construction quota is mandated for super-large or mega-cities.

The New Urbanization Strategy (NUS) would be unsustainable and make it more challenging to resolve existing land issues, such as land-based public financing. Local governments, especially those of small cities geographically located in the interior and separated by a distance from overseas markets, lack both locational prospects as manufacturing bases to offer employment opportunities for migrants and the fiscal capacity to provide urban infrastructure and services for planned population growth. Also local governments will be required to spend more on the social services essential for helping workforces manage the social and financial requirements of caring for elders. Public spending pressure is rising with China's demographic trends, which feature an aging population, and a shrinking workforce. The share of the population aged over 60 years over the total is approximately 15%, at present. It will increase to 25% by 2020 and continue to grow beyond 2020. At the same time, the working-age population (aging between 20 and 59 years old) is projected to decline by 80 million between 2015 and 2030. Large cities tend to mass un-proportionally economic wealth and attract high-value-added manufacturing and high-end service industries. Consequently, small cities have no viable options other than land financing to generate public revenues.

Furthermore, the NUS may misallocate land resources among cities. Demographic trends imply that China will need to increase worker productivity significantly to sustain growth rates at even half of the present levels. Given the relatively low productivity levels of many Chinese industries, gains in productivity can be (at least partially) achieved through focusing on the 'top' end of the value chain and incorporating advanced technology. These gains will require substantial improvements in education and skills training, increased market competition, promotion of greater freedom of movement for labor, and increased financial support for small businesses. Large cities and megacities will have comparative advantages in increases in labor productivity because of their concentration of human resources. Growth potential thus may be present in large cities but not in small ones. This suggests that the land market distortion caused by the NUS, which allocates land development/use quotas by city size, leads to both excessive land demand (in large cities) and excessive land supply (in small ones).

c) Challenge in policy choices

China's future transformation will be influenced by emerging markets, a rising awareness of private rights and interests, the dominance of the private economy, diversification of interest groups, and increasing pressure on governance by the rules and

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laws decreed by the central government. As a result, future land reforms will incur outstanding socioeconomic and political costs. High socioeconomic costs will be associated with the redistributive effects of land reforms and forgone benefits attached to the status quo. High political costs will arise when interest groups become stronger and civilized local governance takes shape (implying that individual rights and interests will be increasingly recognized and protected by laws and social disputes settled in due process). All of these suggest prolonged and costly procedures in planning and policy discussion/processes and enormous challenges in changes to the status quo. Overcoming the status quo requires strong political will and determination/commitment at all levels of government, including the central and subnational, to undertake land policy reforms that may have outstanding and foreseeable socioeconomic costs but marginal and intangible socioeconomic benefits in the short run. The most challenging policy choices include the development of rural-urban integrated land markets, soft-landings for housing bubbles, and land financing reform.

i. *Land market development in rural areas*

Dichotomous land markets are a key factor in the rising urban-rural inequality that threatens sustainable growth in the long run (Jin and Lee, 2013; World Bank and DRC, 2014). It has long been proposed to develop rural land markets in such a way that collectively-owned land used for construction will be subject to the same rights in terms of leasing, transferring, mortgaging, and shareholding of use and development rights as state-owned land in cities and towns (World Bank and DRC, 2014). In 2013, the central government called for an integration of urban and rural construction land markets so that use rights would no longer be differentiated between different land ownerships (state owned vs. collectively owned) in market transactions. This call will create land markets for construction land in rural areas but still, deny land markets for land conversion.

This move is in the right direction. Little progress, however, has been made so far. The reason for this is twofold. First, there is great concern that, in opening up land markets in rural construction land, a new wave of housing construction will follow and greatly enlarge the already severe housing bubbles that, once 'busted,' could have catastrophic consequences. In 2011, Beijing had more than 1,500 km^2 of construction land in rural areas, which was larger than its built-up area of 1,425 km^2. Second, local governments are reluctant to develop markets for rural construction land mainly because that will undercut the potential revenue from land leasing in cities and towns.

China has launched a policy experiment concerning rental housing development on collectively-owned rural land. Although this is a baby-step in developing integrated rural-urban land markets, it is the right direction to take in land policy reform and may have profound impacts on China's urbanization in the next 20-30 years.

ii. *Housing bubbles*

The housing purchasing restriction policy was first introduced in 2010. It stipulates that city residents with more than two apartment units cannot buy a new one. Since then, the 72 largest cities have adopted this policy. In 2014, with the exception of four cities (Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen), all 68 of the remaining ones abolished the purchasing restriction policy. There is no market indication, however, suggesting that housing bubbles have vanished or evaporated. Quite the opposite, vacancy rates across these Chinese cities are still increasing, and the housing bubbles are just getting larger.

Why has the central government allowed cities to abolish the purchasing restriction policy at the risk of an even larger bubble? A possible and reasonable explanation is that it must have other concerns that are more urgent than the perceived risks of a housing bubble. These concerns include the slowing of economic growth, high unemployment pressures, declining public revenues, and potentially high inflation. The housing and real estate sector remains to be a very important contributor to the national economy. In 2013, value added in the real estate sector accounted for 5.9% of GDP, while taxes from real estate development and housing property contributed 19.8% of total tax revenues. Source: http://city.ifeng.com/a/20141028/414462_0.shtml. In the absence of other drivers of economic growth, the central government has maintained its reliance on housing development to boost economic growth and absorb new graduates. Without alternative drivers of economic growth, the central government seems to have no choice but to rely on the land-led growth model. The risk of a 'hard-landing' for the housing bubble increases, which would imply catastrophic and long-lasting impacts on the economy.

iii. *Land finance*

The potential risks associated with land-based public financing are understood, and there have been many calls for reform. A challenging obstacle, however, is the size of land revenues, which cannot be replaced by any single alternative tax/fiscal instrument. In 2013, total land conveyance fees were 4.1 trillion RMB, which was nearly 60% of the total revenues of sub-national governments (including provinces, cities, counties, and towns). Since land conveyance fees are generated by and retained in cities, cities' dependence on land revenues for public finance could be much larger than the aggregate data suggested. Given the size of land revenues, the only feasible way to address the land

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financing issue is to undertake a comprehensive and radical fiscal and tax reform, similar to the 1993/94 one that restructured tax entitlements and spending responsibilities of local governments.

V. Final Remarks and Conclusions

Unlike Western countries in which land policy, management, and planning are local affairs, land use is at the national policy agenda level in China. Land use is instrumental as a policy measure not only for the national objective of food security but also for macro-control and management of the national economy. The land is at the center of the conflict between the central government's goals of equitable growth and social harmony at one hand and local economic growth and cadre evaluation at the other. The land will continue to command attention partly because the land institution in China has not been restructured to line up well with the dramatic economic transformation toward a market economy and partly because there are the internal conflicts between development objectives.

Moving forward, China needs to undertake fundamental land reforms that should be comprehensive in contents, radical in restructuring of institutions (abandoning the duality of rural and urban land tenure systems, reducing over-dependency on land revenues, and integrating rural and urban land markets), and part of a dramatic administrative reform (consolidating fragmented departments). The land reforms should be unfolded along three frontiers. The first is in the land arena itself, such as challenges in land tenure, land requisition, land markets, value capture, and so on (see Sections 4.1 and 4.2). The second frontier refers to broad institutional changes, such as fiscal/tax reform, which should redefine intergovernmental relationships between central and subnational governments, and between subnational governments, as well as rural-urban land market integration. These institutional changes will have profound impacts on how urbanization will take place, and how the modernization of China will unfold. The third frontier should focus on administrative reform. An administrative reform in terms of consolidation of departments (merging several departments) was attempted in 2008, but a little progress has been made since. At the local level, cities such as Shenzhen and Shanghai combine the department of land and resources and department of urban planning into one department, which is the future direction that reforms should take. However, consolidating and integrating administrative departments at a city level only is unlikely to produce wanted results and deliver targeted promises. As China transforms its economy into a market economy and strives to build a harmonious society, it becomes increasingly important to promote synthesized policies and development objectives across authorities and government branches.

Land reform should aim at the realignment of the division of labor between markets and the government. To achieve the goal, price mechanisms and market principles should play an important role in the decisions of land management, use, and development. Standardized, formula-driven and one-size-fits-all approaches in land management are ad odd with market principles, and have not worked out at all. Flexibility and locality-orientation/focuses thus should be a norm in land management and policy, while land development process should be transparent, and officials should hold accountability for local decisions on land development and uses. At the same time, land reforms should focus on land institution that provides protection of land property rights and tenure security, as well as the reduction of government intervention in local decisions regarding land uses and development.

China's success in the past decades has something do to with its gradualism in reforms. It is attractive to policymakers because of its limited objectives, relatively easy implementation, and manageable risks and consequences. More importantly, piecemeal reform seldom threatens the stability of a political system or results in socioeconomic shocks. See http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/155-shock-therapy-latin-america-russia-and-eastern-europe for details. In the short run, China's case may support piecemeal reforms. In the long run, whether or not the same assessment will be reached is an open question. For instance, Phan and Cox head (2013) conclude that there are huge costs associated with incomplete reform in Vietnam, while the OECD (1995) has recommended that comprehensive reform generally works better than piecemeal reform. As China has transformed since the open-door policy in 1978, fundamental and comprehensive reforms are urgently needed now. As China becomes a middle-income country with rapidly forming interest groups, political obstacles to comprehensive reforms may never have been so strong. Therefore, if China undertakes comprehensive reforms, how far they will go and how successfully they will be, will largely hinge on the political will of the top leader(s). It will be interesting to observe how land policy reforms will unfold as China has launched an ambitious, renascent journey.

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Medieval Stupidity

By James F. Welles

Abstract- Medieval stupidity should be easy to characterize: It should be Christian stupidity. However, a look at the historical record indicates much less Christian behavior than belief during the Middle Ages so stupidity in this era of religious violence was more a function of the Church reacting to medieval realities as a ruling rather than Christian institution.

Still, although the Christian schema was not much of a guide to medieval behavior–being more a set of rituals than a code of ethical integrity, it inhibited appreciation of the secular di-mension of life, and it was this inhibition which actually char-acterized medieval stupidity. This condition was more noticeable among the intelligencia, such as it was, which had been indoctrinated with theology, than among the people or the prag-matic rulers of the Church or states. Certainly the political be-havior of medieval leaders was clearly shaped more by some eternal, transcendent power ethic4 than by either a sense of Christian virtue or a inherent desire to understand what they were doing.

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Medieval Stupidity

James F. Welles

Medieval stupidity should be easy to characterize: It should be Christian stupidity. However, a look at the historical record indicates much less Christian behavior than belief[1] during the Middle Ages so stupidity in this era of religious violence[2] was more a function of the Church reacting to medieval realities as a ruling rather than Christian institution.

Still, although the Christian schema was not much of a guide to medieval behavior being more a set of rituals than a code of ethical integrity,[3] it inhibited appreciation of the secular dimension of life, and it was this inhibition which actually characterized medieval stupidity. This condition was more noticeable among the intelligencia, such as it was, which had been indoctrinated with theology, than among the people or the pragmatic rulers of the Church or states. Certainly the political behavior of medieval leaders was clearly shaped more by some eternal, transcendent power ethic[4] than by either a sense of Christian virtue or a inherent desire to understand what they were doing.

Because of this inhibition, medieval stupidity came in two forms, both of which were malfunctional expressions of the interaction of the Church with its environment. One of these was the general lack of intellectual activity in all fields but theology, in which scholastic analysis was eventually carried to hairsplitting extremes. The other was the moral corruption of the Church as its emerging, centralized leadership dealt with the evolving practicalities of medieval life.

Initially, these practicalities were shaped by the Roman Empire's collapse, which marked the beginning of the Dark Ages (ca.500-1000). In the early sixth century, Europe was basically a giant slum, with political fragmentation compounding social disorder. It was not really barbaric just extremely demoralized, with daily life functioning at a very low level physically, morally and intellectually. Only very slowly did people rally around the Cross and regain a sense of community.

Not only was Europe demoralized, but it was confused as well. In the absence of an organized administrative system and in the presence of generally increasing ignorance, social and political chaos posed problems which were solved piecemeal by practical people without theorists and by pragmatic priests without theologians.[5] Indeed, monks both helped and hindered intellectuals: They kept reading alive but at the cost of questioning. "Don't' Ask" Benedict (520) all but prevented reading from promoting discussion or debate, since, according to him, "No one should presume to ask a question about reading or anything else....."[6] In a nutshell, monasteries evolved from Epicurean gardens[7] and were the intellectual opposites of Greek academies which had embraced and encouraged inquiry.[8]

Amidst this repression, there were nevertheless some glimmerings of moral if not intellectual leadership and ability, notably in the person of Gregory the Great (540-604)[9]. Gregory was particularly notable as the inheritor of the Roman State. He lived during the darkest age of Rome when memories and traditions of greatness still existed in an environment of death, grief and isolation. It was under those conditions that he fathered medieval Christianity and the civilization that arose in Western Europe during the Middle Ages. He did so as the "Missionary pope" who championed the dignity of Rome against the worldly power of the Byzantine Empire not by military force, financial influence or political intrigue but by moral authority. Perhaps because he did not want to be pope and made an effort not to be appointed,[10] he saw his position as an opportunity to assert ethical authority in a world of scheming machinations, and one of his noblest if least influential pronouncements was that people are created free and it was morally just to restore them to the freedom to which they had been born.[11] Basically, he made religion, rather than politics or economics, the foundation of Christianity, and after him, the Western world looked to Rome for moral guidance.[12]

Unfortunately, Gregory was a bit too otherworldly for those who came after him. His whole schema was dominated by a supernatural concern for a super worldly Roman order. Not only was he remarkably ignorant in many ways (especially for a pragmatic, successful world leader, which he was[13]), but he could not imagine that the ethical authority he gave the Church would be abused for worldly purposes because he expected the world to end before such corruption could occur.[14] In fact, his reign marked the moral apex of Catholicism the point from which the Church gradually descended into corrupting worldly affairs and took on the schizoid nature of an organization whose leaders became debased by reality while its "The ideology" became ever more unworldly.

Regrettably, Gregory's ignorance was due partially to his morality, which was opposed to anyone's intellect. He promoted the liturgy[15] and believed prayer to be magical, welcomed superstition and frowned on curiosity,[16] which, by the end of the Middle Ages became a mortal sin.[17] As Luther would later conclude,

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faith alone was good enough for God, and it must be an unquestioning faith leaving no room for doubt. Unanimity of belief was essential and assumed in such a world, and, indeed, the word "Catholic" is based on the Greek word (*katholikos*) for "Universal"[18] as in universal belief. It did not matter if doctrine was incomprehensible since reasonable proof was unnecessary. In fact, it helped if belief was rooted in fear rather than reason since anxiety rather than understanding was the best motivation for escaping hell[19] if not going to heaven.

This was Gregory's theological legacy and his contribution to the Dark Ages. If the faith he bequeathed was one of fear and hatred of the natural world, it worked in that it held Europe together.[20] Eventually, faith would yield to reason, but, like the Romans before them who had believed in nothing more than themselves, the medieval priests stayed the course for 1,000 years with faith as their signature identity. Nor was it to be a questioning faith: to question was a step from skepticism, which was a step from heresey.[21]

Gregory personified the moral purity of institutional Christian faith, but it was a purity in eternal conflict with worldly knowledge and behavior necessary for survival. In the face of that conflict, the Church–being the guardian of dogma from which it took and to which it added nothing refused to change:[22] Being perfect, it recognized no need for nor had the capacity to reform and even to question much less appeal any decision made by the Church was heretical.[23] Beyond the perfect Church, however moral God was, He was not a God of law and light who welcomed the pursuit of truth, beauty, practicality nor knowledge, which, according to Paul, would lead to the sin of pride.[24] Faith in that kind of God would later be based upon a faith in humanity, but if there was one thing people in the Middle Ages did not believe in, it was themselves.[25]

With the passing of Gregory, the history of the Church became that of a structured organization gradually emerging with a codified, quasifunctional doctrine recognizable as an institutionalized religion.[26] An unconscious compromise between the limitations of Christian theology and the needs of the Church evolved as popes and priests worked to further their worldly influence while also attempting to convince the faithful to abide by the Holy Word. In order to make Christianity ever more appealing, they carried on the venerable Pauline tradition of sacrificing the gospel according to Jesus for the sake of popularity, so an already adulterated religion became further cheapened and inflated as rites and symbols became material and vulgar. Meanwhile, morality became formalized on a firm financial footing, and purgatory experienced the first real estate boom in history.[27]

Taken together, canny interpretations of Scripture and necessary rationalizations of ceremony became the basis for medieval theology and provided a theoretical framework for life in the Middle Ages. Fundamental to the Catholic schema was "Free will", despite the fact that Ephesians 5 stipulated that choosing the chosen was predetermined. Free Will nevertheless prevailed because it meant that people were morally responsible for sinning and thus needed the Church for salvation.[1]

However, as an ideology, Christian theology was more effective in keeping people from thinking about themselves and their lives than in regulating their behavior. An intellectual vacuum was promoted by the fanaticism and superstition which prevailed amongst the clergy, who thought secular learning wicked. Everyone truly believed in the theoretical Christian schema, which, as the Age of Belief progressed, became increasingly theoretical and detached from reality, with the only certainties being death, Gods' judgment, heaven and hell[28] and taxes. At best, medieval thought was metaphorical and allegorical rather than logical and rational. As for life in general, it was at best "Static",[29] with anything like progress so slow as to be imperceptible. If the soaring gothic cathedral is now viewed as representing the age of practicality sans mathematicians, that is because we do not have their collapsed failures to dwell on.[30]

Actually, the Church based its overweening power not only on the general idea that it provided the standard by which people thought they should live and die but also on the more specific notion that the clergy was necessary for the sacraments[2]. Thus, despite or because of how people indulged their passions on earth, most of them assumed a priest would determine whether they would spend eternity in heaven or hell. If a reprobate repented and confessed and the proper ceremony were performed, he went to heaven after suffering a while in purgatory. A priest could shorten this time by saying masses for the repentant and was willing to do so for a suitable fee,[31] but just why the holy Fathers would not do so out of Christian compassion[32] was not made clear.

This was the medieval schema. It was not just an official creed but a firm belief genuinely held by everyone priests, princes and people. It was this that made the clergy superior to the princes and popes more powerful than the generals. It granted an authority limited only by divisions among the priests and protests from the people,[33] and it was symbolized for the age by the Virgin Mary.

Mary enthralled medieval minds but to minimal practical effect.[34] She began her career as a mother and became a myth. In the Gospels, she is hardly

[1] This puts Christianity on a collision course with the behavioral sciences which are based on the assumption that everything–including human behavior–is caused.

[2] Baptism excepted.

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mentioned–but as a "Young woman", the word for which was deliberately mistranslated to mean "Virgin".[35] She became revered because the ancient world had long worshiped a Great Mother in the loving, sorrowful, Egyptian goddess Isis.[36] Yielding to popular demand to make women theologically respectable, divines at the Council of Ephesus in 431 doomed Mary to perpetual virginity by "Interpreting" the gate of a sanctuary described in Ezekiel 44:2 to be her holy vagina.[37] As a celestial celebrity embraced by the lowly and theoretical, she had surprisingly limited practical impact on behavior. As reigning queen of the Middle Ages, she dominated mighty warriors without influencing their conduct except to provide justification for the bloody excesses they committed in her holy name. Further, she failed to raise her daughters from their inferior status: Legally, women were not people, and because of their frailty, wife beating was legal.[38] (Go figure!)

While Christian theology evolved to declining practical effect during the Middle Ages, the Church did change in both attitude and structure. Originally, members of the clergy perceived themselves as temporary caretakers of an earthly way station on the road to the eternal hereafter. However, as the years passed, priests became ever more effectively involved in ministering to the needs of people in this world and increasingly aware of the powerful role they played as participants in the here and now. As the attitude of the clergy thus changed, a superstructure developed within the Church over and above the local clergy, and to the eventual detriment of the Super church, its medieval leaders became, if anything, too worldly. In fact, the world took over the Church as its leaders ignored Christian principles and surrendered their moral independence to self centered practicality if not indulgence.

Actually, the Church gradually became a gigantic, successful worldly kingdom not only because it was lost to theology but also because it was better organized and more extensive than any other political entity in Europe at the time. During the Middle Ages, Christianity provided the ruling (if misleading) ideology, while the Church became the ruling institution and the clergy the ruling elite. All learning and wisdom, such as they were, were derived from God,[39] concentrated in the Church and used to extend the power of the self promoting clergy.[3]

Thus, the Church became the first great corporation in history, providing the public with a product it wanted (eternal happiness in the next life) at a reasonable price (financial support in this one). As both its power and wealth grew, theologians busied themselves fashioning rationalizations out of Christian ideals not only for political but for financial policies as well. In this regard, they were more successful than convincing since there always remained at the heart of the Church a discrepancy between what the clergy practiced and priests preached.

Nevertheless, nothing could shake the faith of the people in Catholicism. In fact, the greatest tribute to medieval piety and stupidity was that regardless of what clergy did and said, their unworthiness and corruptibility never compromised the sanctity of the Church. Although priests were considered especially unlikely to get to heaven, the Church as an institution remained inviolate. Contempt and even hatred which the people felt for the corrupt clergy were never transposed to the idealized Church.

While theologians kept the medieval mind in slavish subjugation, the Church provided the people a defense against all oppression but its own and that of the nobility. Actually, the clergy's image and influence were not only protected but enhanced by the secular rulers, whom the people knew primarily as inflictors of injustice. As the people suffered underfoot, they found their only consolation in religion, which offered them the possibility of a better time in the next life if they obediently toed the line in this one.[40]

Naturally, not everyone would to get to heaven. In fact, the gloomy forecast of the medieval Church was that most souls would suffer a fate worse than feudalism in the next life. Only those who retained a childlike, thoughtless innocence would find joy in the hereafter. Faith, not knowledge or wisdom, would lead to eternal bliss,[4] which became forever coupled with ignorance.[41] Further, knowledge was threatening in that too much of it among common people could lead to discontent which would make God and his minions uneasy.[42]

To their credit, priests did what they could to promote both faith and virtue by trying to calm, tame and civilize the medieval soul, which was still semi barbaric and as committed to blasphemy as piety. People in the Middle Ages loved gaud and spectacles, fighting and adventure, fantasy and romance. They lived a decerebrate life vividly and intensely in stark contrasts of blacks and whites. Not only did they live in dichotomies but were delightfully inconsistent never never or always doing anything[43] but loosely adhering to oxymoronic combinations of pious superstitions mouthed by devoted heretics.[44] They were happily adapted to the "Sin now, repent later" policy of the Church and unconcerned with either heavy theology or the elaborate rules which the Church dutifully constructed and everyone solemnly forgot. They therefore tended to indulge themselves in open defiance of the

[3] Royal courts were also regarded as seats of learning where neophytes would develop good character. (Burns, R.)

[4] Epicurean worldly pleasure was to be avoided, however, because of the philosophy's nonChristian doctrine of the mortal soul. (Greenblatt. p. 101.) This is the basis for acetic Christianity–soul searching, etc.

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Ten Suggestions[45] upon which society was supposedly founded and salvation allegedly depended since they figured they could enjoy this life and then smugly 'fess and pay up just before the end.[46]

Although Christianity provided the unifying ideology of the age, greed was the common corrupter. It was naked and unabashed among the mighty and rivaled pride as the second most popular sin. Of course, it was noticeable as a corrupter of the clergy and nobility because they had power and espoused high ideals: For example, during the latter Middle Ages, in open defiance of their cogdis Christian vows, Franciscan friars became notorious for their greed and fraud.[47] On the other hand, the people at least appeared to be less corruptible than their leaders but probably only because they were relatively powerless to effect their desires, seldom professed impractical pretensions and are basically unheard of or from.

With Christianity the unifying belief and corruption the common practice, the symbol of medieval civilization really should have been not just the Virgin but the Virgin drenched in gold and blood for just as the clergy corrupted religion, the nobility corrupted chivalry. As a typically feudal contradiction to Christianity, chivalry was a secular code of ritualized violence for the privileged and powerful. It made looting and the shedding of blood honorable by institutionalizing fighting for the love of fighting and perhaps for worldly gain but certainly not for ladies, God or any higher much less religious ideal.[48]

While the clergy preyed on those who prayed, knights imposed themselves with impunity upon anyone too weak to resist. In so doing, they demonstrated the corrupting effects of unbridled power as well as their noble indifference to human suffering. Medieval chronicles are replete with accounts of knightly greed, lust and cruelty as peasants were robbed, raped and slaughtered by those who had sworn to protect them. Knights simply had more scornful contempt than Christian love for the wretchedly poor serfs who labored to support them.[49]

On a good day, a good knight might hear Mass in the morning, rob a Church in the afternoon, beat the wife he had sworn to cherish in the evening and drink himself into debauchery at night.[50] Subsequent ages would somehow idealize such conduct into romantic myths, but knights of old were about as chivalrous as members of our modern motorcycle gangs.[51]

By the eighth century, Europe was regarded by the Byzantines and Arabs as an intellectual and cultural backwash,[52] but in the west, the myth that the ancient world had not ended prevailed. First, Rome had not fallen, then Charlemagne (800-814) had restored it. If he had, it was a most unusual empire, as it had neither cities nor roads, government nor laws, army nor institutional organization of any form except the Church. However, that alone was enough to legitimatize the fiction and make Europe more cosmopolitan and international until any time up to the formation of the struggling EU.[53]

If Charlemagne (aka Carolus) could not revive the reality of the Roman Empire, at least he benefitted from the tradition of the Caesars. By the end of the eighth century, the mentality of Europe had sunk to a level at which creative political thinking beyond legal fictions was impossible and speculation unknown, so no one had the ability to conceive of and organize any new political system. The need was certainly there, but the old *idée fixe* of an Empire blocked the development of any other practical ideas about political institutions. The tradition of the Roman Empire and Emperors remained the ideal, schematic model of European unity so when Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne Emperor in 800, Western Civilization began a repetition of the dreary, misconceived failures of the past.[54]

Certainly as a Church ordained Emperor, Charlemagne was anything but holy. He was a vigorous barbarian whose longterm political aspirations and cultural ambitions were foiled by the endurance of the Church and the turmoil of the age. A magnificent, immoral genius, he was politically allied with the Church but unbound by piety to it.[5]

Nor did Charlemagne "Get" Christianity. His conquests were in the cause of forced evangelism rather than the spirit of Jesus. He perceived himself as bringing the Gospel to stubborn unbelievers who needed to be saved not only from their sins but from their own inability to listen or unwillingness to hear i.e., stupidity. After a costly campaign against the Saxons in the early 780's, he ordered 4,500 Saxon prisoners massacred in good Christian fashion. Any unbaptized Saxon would die as would anyone who stole from a church, did violence to a priest or indulged in Saxon rites.[55] Fortunately, an advisor prevailed upon him to rescind the death penalty but this was done out of a sense of political expediency rather than humane compassion. His duty was to bring not merely salvation but right doctrine to the Western world,[56] and if Christ was lost somewhere on the road to Aachen, who but God was to know much less care?

For their part, the popes needed imperial protection, as papal elections had degenerated into disorderly squabbles among contending factions. Officially, the Church had all but abandoned Jesus and had assumed the task of creating a heaven for the clergy on earth. To do so, it had become a political

[5] Although Charlemagne never learned to write, he promoted education (Collins, P. p. 371.) by touting education as necessary for anyone who wanted to please God or the king. (Wickham 71) He did possess enough intellect to spark the "Carolingian renaissance",which included innovations in art, music, architecture and calligraphy. (Bauer. 2010. 389f.)

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body which used its spiritual leverage to further its designs for worldly domination[57] and financial gain.

During Charlemagne's lifetime, it had seemed a new political order was emerging, but all that remained after his death was an old theory and an impractical empire. His son, Louis the Pious, reigned during two minor military defeats in Spain in 827 which were construed as indicating Divine displeasure and induced moral panic. The body politic was in such disarray that Louis actually gave up hunting. The moral crisis was attributed to sin specifically perjury, pride, hatred, neglect of Sunday as a day of rest and confiscation of Church property. The Franks needed to repent, and in 829, Church councils called for penance from the top down, meaning the royal court, which was the moral center of the Frankish universe. The result was that Louis's sons revolted in 830 and again in 833. In the showdown, his army melted away and joined the boys. After they fell out, Louis returned, and the whole mess was attributed to the devil.[58]

The empire soon disintegrated under the tutelage of successors, whose cognomens the Bald, the Stammerer, the Simple and the Fat tell all, and the chaos that followed the demise of Chalemagne's legendary Roman Empire was worse than the demoralization that had been occasioned by the barbarization and decay of the real one. For the next eleven hundred years, emperors would come and go to no appreciable effect but to maintain the form and dysfunction of a phoney empire.[59]

As for the substance of phoniness, today's Saint John Lateran was the site, in 897, of the "Cadaver Synod" the most macabre and demented incident of the sordid history of the papacy. The cadaver was that of pope Formosus (891-896), which had been exhumed and placed on trial for heresy at the order of his mentally unstable successor Stephen VI, who screamed and raged at his propped up predecessor. Although the charge was trivial, the verdict was a foregone conclusion, and the victim was ceremoniously unpoped.[60]

Overcoming such base theatrics, an idealized memory the image of Charlemagne survived as an inspiration for Chistiandom. In 962, the German king Otto once more restored the Roman Empire. It was nonetheless holy for being opposed by the popes,[6] who claimed their own temporal supremacy based on a forged document the "Donation of Constantine". This fraud served the Church for five centuries, but the unholy Roman Empire lasted in name until 1806[61] by which time it finally had been acknowledged (by Voltaire) as neither holy, nor Roman nor an empire.[62] Otherwise, it was doing just fine.

Despite the restoration of the Empire, the tenth century, like the one that had gone before it, was one of general disorder, as the pendulum which swings between materialism and morality clearly favored the former. Calls by cleric/diplomat Liut prand of Cremona for Italian unity anticipating Machiavelli by 500 years and even a European community aside,[63] politically, it was an era of struggles for power, lawless wars and treachery as neither emperors nor kings could bring order to the anarchy of their nominal vassals.[64] Europe was a sprinkling of nobles theoretically subordinate to but in fact independent of and ever ready to war on their kings, each other or anyone else as resources permitted and occasion required.

This general disorder was also clearly reflected in the disorganization of the Church. Only the monastic priests remained aloof and maintained any semblance of austere if impotent Christian morality. Wherever Christianity came in contact with the real world, reality won and tainted the clergy, which became violent, immoral and worldly to the point of universal decadence and corruption.[65] In 966, Bishop Raherius of Verona complained of priests "who....beget sons and daughters by adulterous intercourse ...belch yesterday's drunkenness and excesses....are busy with continual law suits, who burn with greed, who waste away in hate and envy".[66]

In Rome, the papacy was completely controlled by the local aristocracy and hit its nadir in John XII (955-964), who, as an eighteen year old testosterone driven lout, led street gang assaults on hapless citizens[67] while further debasing his office with debauched orgies at the Lateran,[68] which he converted into a brothel. In this regard, John personified the Roman decadence of the era which had deteriorated to the point that to call someone a "Roman" was an insult implying he was dishonest, untrustworthy, disloyal and devious[69] if not religious.

All things considered, the year 1000 marked the lowest depth to which Western Civilization sank, the end of the Dark Ages and the beginning of a progressive if inconsistent improvement in civilization which lasted until the invention of the trench in 1914.[70] This improvement was generally characterized by and attributable to peace, the development of commerce and moral reform (with the latter factors continuing to act throughout the medieval era until the success of capitalism induced the Renaissance and the failure of the Church produced the Reformation). Wars gradually subsided as the conquests of Western Europe by Muslims and northern barbarians waned and then ceased. Concurrently and just as gradually, the nordic hordes had been Christianized as they overran civilization, so by the eleventh century, there were no more tribes or races left to be conquered by the religion of the land they invaded.

[6] It was gratuitously exalted to the status of Holy by Frederick I in the twelfth century.

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As peace descended and trade improved, an impetus for moral reform in Western Civilization itself began in and spread from the monasteries to the community at large. Unworldly friars and monks promoted literacy and revived and disseminated the Christian ethic they had protected and nurtured during the Dark Ages. Earnestly, they now set out to help people live in accordance with Christian principles. No longer just an institution which baptized infants, the Church more and more to determined how people lived and died.[71]

Ironically, this reform movement was qualified and limited by the hierarchy because in the eleventh century, there was a deliberate movement to separate the clergy from the laity. This reorganization of the Church was due largely to the efforts of Gregory VII (alias Hildebrand). Up to this point (i.e., 1073), the Church was loosely knit, with local clergy in touch with the people. Gregory worked to promote the image of the priest as an uncorrupted moral model while centralizing Church authority in the papacy. Although he was to a degree successful in both respects, as his reorganization of the clergy progressed, contact with the people was characterized less by the animating spirit of Christ than by a false standard of "Efficiency" imposed by discipline.[72] Further, his program for moral reform was tainted by an astute awareness of worldly power and gradually led to a conflict between pope and Emperor over the role and control of the clergy.[73] Matters came to something of a head in 1058, when two claimants to the papacy settled their dispute in a most Christian way: they went to war with each other.[74]

Generally, the squabble over investitures made every prince in Western Europe suspicious of bishops, who were perceived as agents of a foreign power. These suspicions were reinforced as the expanding political role of the papacy required increasing demands for money. Even by the thirteenth century, it was said that the priests were bad men who were always hurting for money.[75]

Thus did the Church on a grand scale follow the path priests had trod to corruption some five hundred years before. It seemed that Christianity could remain a moral force only if hidden away in monasteries. When the individual priest or the Church at large presumed to deal with the world, Christianity suffered. In the case of the Church, the powers it exercised beyond its spiritual functions corrupted it. As it took full advantage of the confidence the people had in it and the extraordinary freedoms granted to it, it became a state above states: It had its own court, made the pope the supreme law maker in Christendom and levied a tax of ten percent on its subjects.[76]

The fundamental problem was that, in Gregory's view, the pope was supreme in matters of morality. This meant there really was no supreme morality just a set of guiding principles which the pontiff could suspend at his pleasure. Of course, if the emperor was immoral, the pope could suspend him, and nothing was more immoral than opposing the pope. This secular clerical split remains essentially irreconcilable and comprises one of the enduring conflicts of Western history.[77]

In view of this split, it is hardly surprising that one of the West's most elusive ideals has been that of a perfect union of church and state. If most medieval leaders agreed on the principle, they struggled over who would be master of the combination pope or emperor. Gregory succeeded in humiliating Henry IV in 1077, but this proved to be a costly victory because the use of material means to combat force with force succeeded too well.[78] As classic victims of the neurotic paradox, the popes became increasingly ambitious for secular power and ever more willing to use material means to obtain it. Consequently, papal power reached its zenith under Innocent III in the early thirteenth century.[79] In the battle between popes and emperors, the temporal power of the papacy increased except under popes who tried to be Christian, thus allowing ethics to intrude into political considerations. As this did not happen often, papal power finally freed the Church of lay control, and the popes became answerable only to God, who was not asking many questions.

However, the papacy's triumph was also its tragedy, as it battled the emperors not on behalf of the people but for the sake of its own prestige. After greed, pride, not Christian humility, was the key to medieval character, and it showed itself when the popes claimed the right to judge the morality of everyone according to their own double standard. Everyone else was supposed to be moral; popes were supposed to be successful, and the criteria for papal success were incredibly temporal not spiritual.

Likewise, it was more pride than humility that led to the ultimate in medieval idiocy the Crusades. They proved little more than the limits of moral reform, in that the guiding ethic for the European community as it turned outward toward the world was anything but Christian. The early Crusades were conducted with incredible enthusiasm, but certainly none was infused with the spirit of Christ and only the first (ca. 1100) met with any real success if leaving the streets of Jerusalum ankle deep in blood[80] is a measure of Christian success.

This was the brain child of Pope Urban II, who perceived a holy war against the infidels as an opportunity to unify the Western Europe into one grand destructive enterprise. For generations, the Turks had been deliberately insulting Christian pilgrims in Jerusalem, and about 1075, they had taken the Holy Sepulcher. The Crusaders were to avenge these disgraces while, in addition, private warfare would be ended by Christians who were encouraged to stop fighting each other and fight Muslims instead.[81] Further, the Byzantine

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Church would be set aside to the greater glory of Rome if not God.[82]

The response of the people to the pope's call was overwhelming, and even if the motives for responding were mixed, the reaction suggests how effective an organization the Church had become in the previous five hundred years. At the end of the sixth century, the Western world really was not a civilization in any manner of speaking: It was a chaos of political, economic and social fragments a non system of self seeking individuals devoid of hope and without any functional, common ideal. By the close of the eleventh century, Europe was united by a shared belief which commanded all to cooperate under the cross.[83]

The irony, of course, was that the Crusades were so fundamentally unchristian in spirit. However, in this regard, they were but an expression of an institutionalized Church which was neither intellectually nor morally sound but somehow worked by functionally framing a theology slanted toward maintaining the institution itself rather than the morality of the parishioners.

Fortunately, the Bible condoned violence in statecraft which it condemned in the private affairs of individuals[84]–an issue that Machiavelli later ignored. Certainly, it was something less than Christian, but those insiders who knew did not care, and those believers who would have cared not only did not know but did not want to. With the onset of the Crusades, all the debauchery, scandal and violence of the Age of Christ were forgotten. All the evil, lazy, stupid priests had done their worst, but the mutable message of St. Paul if not Jesus had survived,[85] and the Crusaders sallied forth to kill for Christ.[86] How tragic that the first time Europe discovered a unifying cause, it was such a perversion of a holy ideal. Actually, corrupted Christianity may have provided only an inspirational guise for many, as there were almost as many motives for going as there were Crusaders: Some went out of boredom[87] looking for adventure, others for trade routes and others for plunder.[88]

Still, most who went were devout, desired to spread the faith and responded on impulse to the call with genuine religious enthusiasm and usually without calculating the consequences. In fact, the zeal of these true believers for this dubious adventure was as infectious and blinding as it was sincere. Sounding like role models for our contemporary jihadists, Crusaders felt they practiced the one and only true religion, were fighting a just cause when they slew infidels and increased their chances of getting into heaven by risking their lives in such self righteous homicide.[89] There was a frenzy among those committed to the cause, and reason and caution may have been further blunted by the fear some had of being thought cowards if they exercised reason or restraint. Seldom did anyone consider the inadequacy of his means or whether he should yield up his lands and livelihood. Princes went because they could afford to; paupers because cost was no object. Others sold their property at the lowest possible price to the few who stayed behind to profit from the righteous ardor of the many.[90]

If each went for his own reasons and without regard for his means, when combined into the rather motley crew they did indeed comprise, the Crusaders beg for but almost defy definitive characterization.[91] They were medieval terrorists who conducted ferocious progroms against Jews and ethnic cleansing against any nonChristians.[92] Driven by the same spirit that animated the *conquistadores* some 300 years later in the Americas,[93] they were greedy, savage bigots parading down a path of blood, sweat and tears, but they were also pious, heroic, virtuous, magnanimous pilgrims serving the cause of Christ with honor.[94] In a word, they were "Human".

The identity of the Crusaders was blurred by the assumptions of historians who applied their own perceptual hangups to the objects of their studies. Thus, a French historian saw them as establishing the first French Empire. Arab nationalists saw them as ethnic exploiters. 19th century analysts presented them as imperialists, while 20th century Marxists saw them as agents of economic expansion. However, in their day, they were considered idealists–although the ideal was one of sacred violence and penitential warfare sanctioned by the pope.[95]

Whatever the Crusaders were, they were supported by a Europe which mobilized for their exploits in much the way we today mobilize for war. Swept up in the grand passion of mass groupthink, crusading feudal chiefs ceased to oppress, robbers ceased to steal, and people ceased to complain. On the surface at least, the one somewhat misleading but sacred idea of holy Christianity predominated, and there was little to no room for any other.[96]

As grand as this may have been, there was another side to the story. Since all sins would be forgiven when the Crusaders arrived in Palestine, hundreds of them indulged in unrestrained licentiousness. Debauchery flourished as never before and without shame since service alone would atone for all transgressions. Hence, with salvation assured, reason was abandoned and cries of revelry mingled with the prayers arising from the Crusaders' camps.[97]

Such cries and prayers notwithstanding, the Crusades had three major results. The first was that papal power was enhanced: This was the only major (if cynical) goal that was realized. Second, many European Jews were massacred,[7] robbed and forcibly baptized:

[7] Eliminating Jewish moneylenders was a cheap way of cancelling debts, and when a Jewish community barricaded themselves in a

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There were some especially large scale massacres of Jews in Germany, although York was the site of one of the most appalling of these mass atrocities.[98] Third: There was an increase in literary traffic between East and West. Until the Crusades, contact had been mostly commercial; thereafter, it was cultural as well.[99]

As part of our common heritage of misunderstandings from the past, the term "Crusader" has for some reason survived as a designation of honor and virtue. This is rather incredible, considering that the original crusaders were little more than loosely organized mobs of cutthroats. Seldom in history have such vicious gangs of self opinionated invaders robbed and slaughtered in such righteousness. If there is any lesson to be learned from the crusaders, it must be that the lowest acts of cruelty and violence can be motivated as well as rationalized by the loftiest of ideals.[100] Excesses are usually dangerous to everyone, and nothing goes to excess like religious zeal, since there is no internal check on power employed in a just cause.

If the Crusades were fundamentally sacrilegious, they merely demonstrated that this was an age of both belief and blasphemy. Although Christian (i.e., kind, humane) behavior was probably as common but hard to document then as in any other age or culture,[101] Christian theology developed more to promote and justify the dominance of the feudal Church than to govern medieval conduct. Derived from and applied to the people, Christian ideals were roundly ignored by nearly everyone, and if this went unnoticed, bear in mind the reason we call the Dark Ages dark was precisely because there were no doubters, critics or heretics: Essentially everyone accepted Gregory the Great's principle of blind faith blindly, as his doctrine did not allow even the possibility of questioning dogma.

This anti intellectual tradition was ably championed by St. Bernard, who headed a fervent mystical movement within the Church in the early twelfth century. He believed that an intense subjective experience, not reason, was the way to religious truth. As do all bigots, he knew what that truth was, abhorred curiosity and actively combated heresy by imposing orthodoxy on adventurous philosophers. Consistent with his mysticism, he deplored papal absorption in worldly affairs and disdained temporal power. He felt the pope was and should be a spiritual leader and not get involved with actual, gritty government. He was shocked that the pope defended his domains by military force and could not understand that wars like the Crusades required organization and could not be conducted by religious enthusiasm alone.[102] He and everyone else in Christiandom were even more shocked when his disorganized Crusade (II) failed. What was God doing? How could He have let the Christian effort down? Actually, Bernard's impetus represented a spiritual ultimate the withdrawal not only from both reason and reality.

This withdrawal was typical of medieval theologians, as their assumed task was not to adapt the teachings of Christ to the world but to maintain established Pauline orthodoxy. Whereas St. Bernard's mystical approach emphasized inspiration over contemplation, it was the Scholastics' methodical logic and faith in reason which made a lasting contribution to the development of Western thought primarily by the platonically clever ways they created support for conventional conclusions. Further, it was their determined commitment to find orthodox truth that demonstrated the value of doubt and heresy.[103]

Actually, the development of critical reasoning in theology was necessary in Christianity because Jesus wrote nothing down. Paul began the process of deductive reasoning because he knew knowledge of Christ's word was inherently imperfect.[104] In the third century, when Clement of Alexandria opined that doctrines were based not just on faith but by reason as well,[105] reason was used to bring an increasingly accurate understanding of God's will to light. In the ninth century, John Scotus Erigena proclaimed "True religion is pure philosophy".[106] For Anselm of Canterbury circa 1078, belief was primary, leading, via reason, to understanding.[107] Intrinsically coupled to reason was the idea of progressive[8] improvement in understanding both Father and Son,[108] and that both are understandable:[109] Philosophy and revelation were compatible with each other[110] and theology.

Subsequently, St. Bernard's archenemy, Peter Abelard (1100), accepted the Bible as infallible but also believed questioning led to truth. Thus, he did not try to resolve theological conflicts rationally so much as explain them away as being due to the changing meanings of words.[111] It was outrageous enough that he raised questions implying limits on God's abilities, but, worse yet, he did not answer the questions he raised but *left them for the people to decide for themselves*.[112] Despite Bernard's denunciation of his works as "Stupidology", theoreticians after him took Aristotelean rationalism to excess, with Christian theology to take on an airy life in the halls of the hairsplitting scholastic philosophers the creators of an ideology functionally

castle tower, they were beset by rioters and the sheriff's men, who were supposed to protect them. In fear of the pending outcome, the men killed their families and then themselves. (Lacey. pp. 9495.) Viva Masada!

[8] It is precisely this notion of progress that is absent from Islam, Buddhism, Confucianism and Hinduism because devotees thereof could not believe that their sages and priests were not perfect in their sacred pronouncements. (Watson. 2011. p. 447.) *Progress is essentially a Christian idea* and it was made possible by substituting empirical data for faith as the starting point for reason leading to understanding and progress.

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disowned by the evolving Church which produced and promoted it.

As members of a school of philosophy, the Scholastics were clearly committed more to theological orthodoxy than moral reform, with most contributors retracting anything considered heretical. This was not necessarily an indication of intellectual cowardice but more a matter of acquiescing to the decisions of ranking authorities, much as our modern judges do when yielding to higher courts.[113] In matters in which dogma did not prohibit speculation, there could be vigorous debate and even occasional heresy, but most clerics were definitely conservative politically and did not typically challenge the power structure either inside or outside the Church.[114]

Basically, the Scholastics represented a compensatory reaction of theologians to the power struggles of the Church. They were very intelligent men who could not cope with the reality of the Church within its own constraining framework so they hid from the Orthodoxy might as well have been presented and defended by so many frogs croaking mindlessly on so many holy lily pads.[118]

During the twelfth century, Western culture was opening up as Christian scholars, who had eschewed this world for 1,000 years, began to reengage with it.[119] This was due partially to the contact with the East brought about by the Crusades and partially due to the translation of Greek books which gradually became available to Western scholars in ever increasing numbers: specifically, there was a shift in interest from the ideals of Plato to the reality of Aristotle.[120] This shift was opposed by some who felt humans had no business trying to understand "the composition of the globe, the nature of the elements, the location of the stars,[9] the nature of animals, the violence of the wind, the life processes of plants and of roots".[121] These were countered by Aristotelean Scholastics like William of Conches, who noted (ca. 1130), "Ignorant themselves of the forces of nature and wanting company in their ignorance, they don't want people to look into anything. They want us to believe like peasants and not ask the world in quibbling debates about formality and trivia. None of these debates dealt with matters with which the Church was involved for example, they did not discuss the immorality of the Crusades and call for their abolition. Generally, the Scholastic philosophers acted, to the long term detriment of the Church, with self serving, short term political astuteness and couched their rationalizations and justifications for the status morbus in biblical language.

Thus, the Scholastics conducted discussions which were not only narrowly orthodox but, worse yet, functionally irrelevant. Never mind that the Christian, immortal soul was prefigured by Plato: As the ultimate Stoic, Jesus buried Epicureans, who outageously alleged the pleasure seeking soul is mortal, as did Aristotle and Augustine.[115] For the sake of sanctity, Christians renounced their entire pagan heritage,[116] and for centuries, Greek philosophy was banned because the Church feared it could lead people to seek concrete, logical truths in a world based on faith.[117] reason behind things....But we say the reason behind *everything* (sic) should be sought out."[122]

The Scholastics also opened up and debated broad philosophical issues but only in ways that left them meaningless. While they considered Aristotle rather than Plato the supreme lay authority, they took the worst of both: They carried on Aristotle's love of syllogisms, devoted themselves to silly exercises in logic and retained Plato's defects of idealizing abstractions and coining arguments leading to preestablished conclusions. As is so often the case, their strength was also their weakness in that their commitment to thought made them indifferent to facts, science and reality. Hence, they routinely debated matters which only observation could determine and became enraptured with verbal distinctions and pointless subtleties.[123]

For example, in Summa Theologiae, St. Thomas Aquinas's most extensive work, he dealt at length with the weighty issue of the possibility of several angles being in the same place at the same time. This has since been commonly misrepresented as the question of how many angles can dance on the head of a pin, but the later humanist critics were justified in pointing out that the Scholastics, like the theologians at the time of Rome's demise, absorbed themselves with pedantic trivia while ignoring the real major issues of the time.

This propensity was capped in the thirteenth century, when Aquinas succeeded to a degree, in a modernesque mode, in substituting rational principles for appeals to Biblical authority[124] that is, when and where logic proved a theological point, it trumped recourse to the Bible.[125] His great work Summa contra Gentiles convincingly established the truth of Christianity in the minds of any reader who already believed it. However, he failed in his purpose to convert through reason, which could be used by all, those (i.e., Moslems

[9] As odd as it now seems astrology–astronomy applied to human affairs was the means for many contemporary fields of endeavor to enter the Western conscience. Astronomy, geography, geometry, mathematics, medicine and physics all made their triumphant returns to European culture by way of this flaky nonscience: (White, L. p. 298.) e.g. when mercury is conjoined with Jupiter, men will seek knowledge, the sciences and writing–Jupiter being the planet of understanding and intelligence. However, when Jupiter is joined with Mars, wise men will be scorned, and when it is joined with the sun, science and knowledge will be obscured. (Rangel.) From this, we conclude that Jupiter hangs more with Mars and the sun than with Mercury. Astrology eventually fell into disfavor because it limited human and divine influence on affairs. (Doubleday. p. 57.) Now, deism is on the wane because it limits human influence. Sorry, God.(;(

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and Jews) who did not accept the Bible itself as proof of the validity of the Christian faith. What he unwittingly succeeded in doing was demonstrating the limitations of reason since some Christian doctrines (like the existence of God and the immortality of the soul) can be proved to someone who accepts Aristotelian definitions and logic while, as he admits, in Part IV, other cardinal dogmas of Christianity (like the Trinity and the Incarnation) cannot be proved[10] but must be accepted on faith alone.[126]

Nevertheless, even this qualified triumph of Aquinas to bridge the Bible and Aristotle (at the expense of Plato)[127] by converting him to Christianity was too complete. Thought never had been really free, but after his works became dogma, theologians had to limit themselves to nitpicking his inconsistencies. He was accepted as a success because he provided the Church with what it needed and wanted a philosophy which seemed to justify its existence, and his schema has dominated the Church ever since.

Although Aquinas had actually disproved reliance on logic, his fellow Scholastics did not read him that way, preferring to think that reality had failed to live up to the standards of reason. As they drifted into splendid isolation, they became surprisingly harsh in their judgments, since they were removed from and indifferent to the concrete tangibles of life. Intoxicated by logic, verbiage and abstraction, they scorned the real world and withdrew into a dehumanized, disembodied academia whose removed spirit still pervades Church policy as well as the uninvolved attitudes of our contemporary learned institutions at their pointless worst. The arts were slighted, science feared, imagination regarded as heretical and the mind honed to conformity at the expense of informed creativity.[128]

Worse yet, such idiocy was not merely suggestive. Having come to the belated realization that Plato and Aristotle were, for some reason, not Christians, in 1277, the Church forbade anyone from saying–along with 216 other things: 1.) there is no higher life than philosophical life; 2.) theological discussion are based on fables; and 3.) Christian Revelation is an obstacle to learning,[129] which it is. In other words, do not presume to tell the truth.

In the following centuries, the ensuing confrontation between belief and knowledge could not force the Church to change its mental stance. It stood on dogma, and as it became swamped by the rising tide of new knowledge it refused to recognize, it had to yield its place of preeminence as the West's ultimate intellectual authority to science. Although the failure of theologians to adapt to evolving conditions and face up to the complexities of life may have made their work simpler, the endless conflict between faith and fact could not be contained within monastic halls. Finally, it moved beyond Church control into the open air of the secular world, and the complex of philosophy, science and religion which Aquinas had constructed broke apart in demoralizing confusion. It was in that shattered environment that the modern mind began its continuing search for a plausible consistency amongst the discrepant ways we think, know, believe and behave.[130]

Actually, this search for a comprehensible reality began within the medieval Church as some thinkers transcended their theological training and achieved a measure of intellectual ability which carried them beyond the range of their age. The Franciscan Order was especially "Blessed" with two such individuals in Roger Bacon and William of Occam. As a Franciscan philosopher, Bacon (1214-1294) was a visionary[131] a la Leonardo. He had a passion for mathematics and science, which in his time was an odd mixture of alchemy[132] and magic, and is credited with inventing spectacles.[133] Unlike most philosophers of his time, he valued experiment highly and considered logic rather useless. In his Opus Majus, he listed four causes of ignorance, which were: 1.) false authority which did not include the Church since the book was written for the pope; 2.) custom; 3.) uninformed opinion meaning all but his own; and 4.) hiding one's ignorance behind a display of apparent wisdom which he considered the worst of the four. He made a career of attacking clerical ignorance and for some reason was never popular among the clergy. In 1278, his books were condemned, and he was imprisoned until shortly before his death.[134]

Early in the fourteenth century, William of Occam set rational theology back on its ear by showing that reason could not prove the truth of dogma. When engaged in disputes, he frequently resorted to the precept *"Pluarlitas no est ponenda sine necessitat"*, meaning keep it simple or, not to be vulgar: Cut out the...ah....extra stuff. In fact, he resorted to it so often that he became ascribed to him as his "Razor".[135] The result was that theology was finally recognized as sterile and dogma restored to the realm of pure faith. The problem with theology had been that its goal was to demonstrate known truths. This basic problem remained in philosophy, but the enthusiasm and curiosity of the Scholastics for theology staled, and they settled down to choosing horns on dilemmas.[136]

In the long run, the commitment of the Western mind to reason has been less than a complete success. Part of the explanation is that logic omits feelings and spiritual intangibles that makes life human. This was already apparent in the detachment of the Scholastics in the thirteenth century, but they persisted in their commitment to reason because it was seen as a way to

[10] His proof of the existence of the soul anticipates Leibnitz's odd use of logic to make a desired if dubious case. To wit, all dogs bark, and there must be something in us capable of comprehending such universal statements: That universal statement comprehending thing is the soul. (Hodgkinson and Bergh. p. 232.)

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appeal to those, like Muslims and Jews, who believed in other creeds. In this regard, the effort to render Christianity reasonable must be acknowledged as a failure, since very few were converted to the cause by logical argument[11] the efforts of St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Dominic notwithstanding.[137]

In a more immediate sense, the synthesis St. Thomas achieved,[138] which seemed so complete and final, was an even greater failure. It disintegrated in the face of changing conditions in a world Church leaders attempted to rule but could not understand. In the secular domain, democracy, nationalism and commercialism were on the rise as was immorality within the Church.[139] These changes presented challenges to which the Church could not respond effectively because the papal hierarchy could not comprehend them within its irrelevant, theologically correct, Christian schema.

In terms of general political conditions, the seeds of democracy were present, and the medieval Church itself was actually quite egalitarian in practice (offering high careers to the lowest of men if talented[140]) as well as democratic in practice (holding elections to clerical offices) and theory (i.e., theology). Generally, the peasants did have some rights, but these made them equal only to each other, and as in all ages, the only true equality came with death. While waiting to be equalized, few were actually stupid enough to take Church pronouncements on human rights seriously, but one of these was John Ball. In the fourteenth century, he audaciously proclaimed that "At the beginning we were all created equal; it is the tyranny of perverse men which has caused slavery to arise, in spite of God's law". He was properly drawn and quartered, but authorities still have not killed his dream of equality[141] before the law.

A step toward English rights was taken with the creation of a document which listed grievances which the king promised to “Abolish all the evil customs by which the kingdom of England has been unjustly oppressed”. It was the great great grandfather of the Declaration of Independence, but it was not the Magna Charta: It was the Coronation Charter of Henry I granted in 1100. It set the dubious precedent of being a set of campaign promises which were ignored once the grantor gained the power to effect them. Further, the barons who pushed the Magna Carta on King John in 1215, set another precedent by taking their revolutionary step forward by looking backward toward restoring a fantasized golden age free of political corruption rather than the sordid historic past as it actually was.[142]

Meanwhile, in France, England and Spain, strong monarchies arose and served as focal points for emerging nationalist sentiments in these regions.[12] As spokesmen for all those who spoke their respective tongues, the kings were strong enough to fight the pope in their own national interests. In their kingdoms, they suppressed anarchy and allied themselves against the aristocracy and with the growing merchant class.[143]

In general, the feudal aristocracy had been ignorant, barbaric and stupid. In fact, the aristocracy was so bad that it made the Church look cognizant, civil and wise. However, the new commercial class was more knowledgeable in mundane affairs than the clergy, more pragmatic than the nobles and more dynamic than both. As such, the business class played a decisive role not only in breaking Europe out of the Dark Ages but later in breaking down medieval conditions altogether. This it did directly through mercantile endeavor as well as indirectly by serving as a focus for support not only of nationalistic royalty but of the lower classes, who saw the emerging business class as champions of civil liberties and economic opportunity[144] for all.

For its part, the Church was characteristically obtuse with respect to the rising commercial class. In fact, the flat approach of the Scholastics to real life in general was indicated by their attitude toward economics. Aquinas, *i.a.,* worked out a "Just price"[145] for goods rather than having the seller fix the price or charge whatever the market would bear. Divinely impractical "Christian merchants" were to charge just enough to cover costs of their labor, and usury was roundly condemned.[146]

However, if the Scholastics were naive enough to think that business morality could be set by holy pronouncement, they were not stupid enough to believe that public welfare would be enhanced by businessmen in the pursuit of profit. The medieval mind had many blind spots, but it recognized corrupting greed for what it was and called it by its proper name rather than "Enterprise" or "Economy".[147]

What the medieval mind could not recognize was the subconscious desecration of its own ideals. The Virgin, who had conceived without recourse to the joy of sin, now was unwittingly seduced. She was deflowered by the traveling salesman as the new business class remade feudal society into a money economy. The consummation was rather tranquil and largely without self conscious class conflict so there was no bleeding to belie the change of condition. As the new class rose to power, it left medieval myths intact, so everyone could

[11] Looking farther afield and 300 years earlier, the most persuasive theological argument used to convert Icelanders was to present them with the option of conversion or a very Christian beheading. (Haywood. p. 227.) At the same time, Iceland became northern Europe’s first democracy, (Bernowski. p. 411.) so something significant was going on.

[12] The trend toward secular government was captured, in 1337-1338, in the Sienna palace by Ambrogio Lorenzetti’s fresco in which he depicted the effects of good and bad government on the republic–bountiful harvests and humming commerce on the one hand; devastation and discord on the other. (C. Maier. p. 95.)

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claim belief in the sanctity of familiar, sacred Church fictions,[148] however irrelevant they were becoming.

Philosophically, the Virgin could remain pure and eternally dedicated to the established, sham society because the Church was protected in error by ignorance. Devils and witches were invented and feared, but the pious never questioned the truth of the Scriptures upon which everything was theoretically based.[149] To the extent that reason was employed, it was used, often brilliantly, not for self correction but to explain away basic errors or inconsistencies in theology.

While reason was being bent to provide democrats, nationalists and capitalists with a theological basis for civil, political and business ethics, the papacy was losing both the secular power and moral prestige it had earned and enjoyed up to the end of the thirteenth century.[150] Officially, the decline began with Innocent III (1198-1216),who was a firm believer in the papacy if not Christ. He had the most able mind of his age but questionable scruples and was a trend setter in being the first great pope without a trace of sanctity.[151] Less a priest than a monarch, he called for Church reforms[152] while his commitment to power politics actually set the tone for further papal misconduct and induced the fall of the Christian Empire.

In fact, the first signs of decline were evident in the nature of the moral reforms called for by the pope: For example, in the sacred cause of orthodoxy, the Church was committed to the conversion or destruction of heretics. Thus, St. Dominic (1170-1221) and some misplaced Crusaders were dispatched to southern France by Innocent to bring into the fold the Albigenses a wayward sect whose members rejected some Church doctrines: specifically, they entertained a dualist belief that Satan had more powers than acknowledged by the Church.[153] Worse yet, they criticized clerical corruption, strayed into righteousness[13] and lived in conspicuous virtue and purity in a violent, undisciplined and vicious age. Such rectitude had to be eliminated, so Dominic and the Crusaders than the sordid than the sordid: Those whom he could not convert they slew.[154]

At best, St. Dominic's efforts indicated a naive faith in reason as well as an awareness on the part of the pope that force was not the answer to the problems Christianity posed for the world and vice versa. However, along with the rising tide of theological discussions of and Scholastic debates about airy theoretical issues, the development of the Dominican Order showed the Church committed ever more deeply to organized dogma. This was a turning point, and the Church took turned back toward a hopeless conflict with the intellectual advance and moral integrity of Western Man.[155]

Worse yet, this dogma was not even the Church's version of Christ's message but a theological rationalization for its own existence. In framing it, theologians had always been restrained by the verbiage of the creed while the behavior of the popes belied their fundamental faith in power. Confronted with the opportunity to be Christian or reign and rule, the hierarchy of the Church compromised its moral spirit for the sake of worldly sovereignty. Like Rome before it, *the Church became corrupted from the top down*, and the spirit of Christ was smothered, sought refuge outside Catholicism or even "Heretically" opposed it.

The resulting decline of the Church was thus induced partly by the worldly success of Innocent and his successors and partly by their intolerance toward questions and dissent. Church leaders were intolerant not because they were sure of their faith and themselves but because they were not. They had lost faith in the power of truth because their own self serving version was faltering.[156] By the thirteenth century, they already were haunted by gnawing doubts about their pretensions and were anxious about the future of the Church. Personifying cognitive dissonance, they knew they could not succeed in state affairs by adhering to and applying the code of ethics they preached to individuals,[14] nor could they give up on their dysfunctional theological schema. What they could do and did with a vengeance was establish a Papal Inquisition to persecute heretics as well as anyone (like the Albigenses) who lived up to Christian standards or, what's worse, suggested that they themselves should do so.

Certainly under its auspices, many of the victims persecuted as heretics were not atheists or unbelievers but simple, pious souls who took Christianity seriously and literally and, worst of all, practiced it. Such believers in Christ became mortal, moral and mental enemies of the iconoclastic Church, which itself had become heretical.[157]

One of the more disturbing features of the Inquisition was that it was not conducted by a bunch of nutty fanatics but by somber, sober leaders in the establishment. They were simply determined to stay established, and they did for more than three hundred years, but the institution they headed ultimately paid for their

[13] Their way to righteousness was paved by their hatred of the material world in general and the human body in particular. (Cahill. 2006. p. 89.) Generally during this period, crusaders were dispatched to various spots in Europe to grab land and settle old scores among strong armed leaders.(Haywood. pp. 325-326.)

[14] A similar but milder attitude pervades the global warming community today as demonstrated by the tendency to respond to climate skeptics with personal attacks rather than reasoned arguments based on facts. (Freitas.) In this context, a word is in order. Faith is a system of belief based on no, partial, or selected facts. The intellectual battle in Western civilization over the past 1,000 years has been to increase the proportion of facts in the mix. On the other hand, faith provides the moral standard for judging conduct. On the third hand, logic can be used by anyone, starting with faith or fact, to promote his/her particular cause.

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lished, and they did for more than three hundred years, but the institution they headed ultimately paid for their n-dox success. Where their police methods were most effective, the Church became ever more powerful, worldly and corrupt. Success was defined as uniform belief, which was inimical to the moral, spiritual and intellectual health of everyone the Inquisitors included.[158]

It would have been sad enough if this intolerance had been due to a sincere commitment to Christ, but the overwhelming compulsion of the authorities was to make everything fit the letter of Church dogma rather than the spirit of Christ's teachings. Further, their manner of enforcing conformity was actually contemptuous of Jesus, who, as a man of proun d peace, never ordered anyone killed or forced his religion on anyone.[159] The methods of suppression were indeed so horrendous that in its paranoid attempt to hang on to worldly rule, the Church caused more human suffering than any other organization or institution until modern technology became available to twentieth century fanatics. People were tortured and murdered with a cynicism that insults the mental dignity of all but the most righteous bigot[15]. Eventually, the shameful devotion to worldly power combined with the new business spirit of the age, and in a blatant commitment to material gain, the Church commercialized religion to the point that, with the sale (i.e., granting for a price) of indulgences, it sold its soul.[160]

This eventuality was made all the more likely because, during the medieval era, theological dogmatism prevented Church leaders from comprehending what they were doing. Worse yet, dogmatism was not limited to theological matters since the mind-guards of Churchianity[161] feared any knowledge and distrusted any thinking they could not channel to acceptable (i.e., self-confirming) conclusions. Rather than leading the way, *the Catholic hierarchy came to contest and combat* every advance in thought and *almost every attempt to apply Christian principles to life*. They felt obligated to exercise totalitarian control over all aspects of life and thereby alienated the intellectual consci-ence of Western man.

Despite Augustine's admonition that the Church guard against interpretations of the Bible that opposed science thus exposing the Word of God and the best efforts of Robert Grosseteste (ca. 1250), the inventor of experimentation[162] to ridicule[163] science and facts were both ignored, disdained or condemned as unbiblical. All mental activity was repressed except the pointless exercises in logic by the Scholastics. Otherwise, Church officials could not leave to reason only things that were reasonable: Hence, the struggle over the position of the earth in the universe became a religious controversy although it was a matter that could be settled not by logic but by observation and, further, really was not any business of the Church's at all[164] other than it happened threatened to undercut theism. The apparent, presumed movement of the heavens was one of the most common observations used as evidence that God exists[165] so saying that such apparent motion was an illusion was extemely traumatic to the devout,[166] and the Church's position on such matters was disarmingly simple: In a conflict between the bible and observation, scripture prevailed over experience.[167]

Actually, the prevailing fantasy in Rome was that of a universal rule of righteous peace on earth, and, although the popes had betrayed their own chance to lead an effective world government of spiritual affairs,[16] they failed to recognize that like Rome the Church was being corrupted by its involvement with the world it was busily reshaping.[168] Rather, they continued to espouse Christian ethics while the papacy became just another worldly, power-hungry office.

In its doomed efforts to establish a Kingdom of the Clergy on earth, the Church was increasingly committed to maintaining dogma while pursuing power politics. Particularly at the top, the popes and their advisors were committed to winning immediate political ends and dropped all but their verbal commitment to ethical considerations and long term views of a better i.e., more Christian world. Victory for the papacy over the emperors became an end in itself, and as the pope presumably personified and certainly defined righteous rule, power gained for the Church was automatically construed as furthering the idea of universal peace. Even when doubts were entertained about the ethics of Church policy, there was no questioning of its righteousness: Whatever it was, it was correct. The only ideological discord permitted raged over petty disputes of doctrine which were usually settled by arbitrary authority shaped according to the powers within the Church. There was no effective self-criticism or reexamination of basic ideals and little likelihood that Christian values might actually influence or infringe upon basic papal policy.[169]

Nor would there be internal reform through efforts of those like St. Francis of Assisi (1181-1226), who personified sincerity[17] overcome by institutionalism. Something of a hippie styled weirdo,[170] he renounced a genteel life and committed himself to imitating Christ, serving the sick and wretched and particularly the lepers.[171] Joined by a great number of disciples,

[15] This smacks of the enhanced interrogation techniques of the 21st century CIA and their fervent ilk.

[16] In fact, this remains a universal ideal of secular minds to this day.

[17] Francis could forgive anything but the pride of the Scholastics because, in his Christian simplicity, he cared naught for reason, knowledge or the classics. How ironic it is that although St. Francis disliked learning, the greatest minds of the following period were those of above mentioned Franciscans Roger Bacon and William of Occam.

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of the Church that these early Franciscans were suspected of heresy because of their greatest virtue integrity. Not only did they take a vow to poverty, but they took it seriously and, worse yet, practiced it.[172] Such cognitive consistency was a dangerous precedent but miraculously, the Church was rescued from righteous reform and theology from good intentions.

The very success and popularity of the order led to its expansion. This brought upon Francis increased administrative demands which his religious mysticism could not meet, so he resigned.[173] Until his death, he remained committed to poverty as so many are, but even before then the institution he created had already taken on a life of its own in direct contradiction to the principles upon which it had been founded. His successor, Brother Elias, allowed complete abandonment of poverty and wallowed in luxury, and St. Francis was hardly dead before his order was holding property and building a great church and monastery in his name at Assisi. During this period, the Franciscans served chiefly as recruiting sergeants in selected wars of the time and conducted inquisitions in several countries. Thus, the net effect of St. Francis on the internal organization of the Church was the creation of yet another order corrupted by wealth, committed to the worldly establishment and engaged in persecuting all who strayed into morality or, worse yet, thought for themselves.[174]

By way of contrast, a group known as the Spiritualists remained loyal to the spirit of Francis and argued and preached that Christ and his apostles possessed no property. This proposition proved too much for the Church and was pronounced false by Pope John XXII in 1323. Thereafter, those Spiritualists who preached the word of St. Francis were righteously scourged, imprisoned and burned at the stake as heretics.[175]

This reaction of the Church was typical of the institution to what were perceived as troubles brewing within it. St. Francis provided a simple, absolutely impossible ideal in an age of corruption.[176] unfortunately for the Church, such attempts to purify it from within were treated as threats to the establishment and were suppressed and/or vitiated to standards acceptable to the mighty. The dogma of the Church rather than the spirit of Christ reigned supreme.

Thus, the Church did its worst to bring itself into ill repute by becoming lost in dogma while at the same time it was becoming thoroughly worldly. For example, the papacy was coming to play the role of an earlier day Internal Revenue Service. As such, it taxed the pocketbooks and patience of its parishioners as well as the consciences of its priests. On one hand, it drew to itself revenues which the emerging nations of Europe would preferred to have kept at home. On the other, it gave ever less for the support it received because the popes were losing the moral authority that had once given them power. To wit, in the thirteenth century, St. Francis had been able to work with Innocent III, but by the next century, earnest clerics found themselves in conflict with the popes precisely because they were earnest about their all defining religion.[177]

Ironically for the Church, the political power the popes had worked so hard to attain did not endure long beyond the loss of the moral authority which had been sacrificed to attain it. The first indication of this decline came when Pope Boniface VIII was beaten up and arrested by the French king in 1303. It is significant that this act was committed with the approval of the vast majority of the French people and accepted by the other states, suggesting the papacy had come to be generally regarded as a nemesis by both the people and states of Europe.[178]

The fact that the power of the immoral papacy had indeed declined was also indicated by the life and fate of John Wycliffe (1320-1384). He was driven to heresy late in life by the strength of his moral feelings, his sympathy for the poor and his contempt for the rich, worldly clergy. He taught it was unrighteous of the clergy to hold property and that people should think for themselves specifically that anyone could interpret the Bible. Worse yet, he maintained only God and Jesus knew who was going to Heaven, so he advocated obedience directly to Christ rather than the pope,[179] who was not to be trusted.[180] This did not endear him to the Church, which was righteously outraged, but the English government was delighted, since the pope drew huge tributes from England. The indication that papal power had declined was that Wycliffe did not suffer more than he did for his opinions: He was ordered to be silent but was not formally condemned when he died,[181] although, by papal order in1428, his body was exhumed and burned.[182]

Even when weighed with the good the clergy did for devout individuals in need of hope and consolation, the overall story of the Church in the Middle Ages must be regarded as a tragedy. It failed to achieve a noble, splendid, ideal world unified in the spirit of Christian peace, and it failed as a temporal political power. In its twofold failure, it was encumbered by a complex, dogmatic, irrelevant theology which itself somehow ignored idealized moral issues while casting the activities of the clergy in a bad light. The basic problem was that there was too much theology and not enough religion, so ethics were sacrificed for expediency while ideology remained a stumbling block to the education of Church leaders. In fact, Christian theology failed as a moral guide because it prevented the clergy from attaining the breadth of knowledge needed for success in the worldly tasks the Church had assumed.

There was little breadth and less learning mostly because the range of thought was limited by the

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"Christian" schema. Understandably, leaders seemed obsessed with rationalizing their actions in terms of a divine ideology geared toward getting the guilty into heaven. Although popes and Emperors ruled high and mighty, they were usually too preoccupied with petty political squabbles to deal with underlying socio/economic problems.

This underscores the basic challenge for those who lived during the Middle Ages to remain unconscious of the cogdis, contradictions in medieval life.[183] The Church set heavenly standards but played by very human rules, so if Church officials were surprised when the Reformation occurred, so are we that it was so long in coming.

Eventually, reform had to come because the Middle Ages were a lost cause. As hollow monuments to emptiness, the medieval cathedrals which dot the European landscape are forlorn reminders of the earthy life that streamed around them despite what was preached in them. Just as Church officials were drawn into the real world so were the church buildings as both favored trysting places for lovers and hunting grounds for prostitutes. Only Church ideologues remained aloof from reality as the logical, verbal games they played with themselves cast a spell over the minds if not the morals of the age. In fact, the truly great miracle of the age was that Catholic ideology was so effective in blocking thought and criticism but so ineffective in shaping behavior and controlling conduct. Finally, however, in spite of the worst efforts of medieval theologians and because of the immoral reforms of the popes, the Western mind became restless, striving, experimental and eager for learning.[184]

As the Roman Empire decayed, the medieval Church proved that power abhors a vacuum. As the Church's secular role expanded, it found itself encumbered by its theological if not spiritual commitment to Christ. As the Middle Ages developed, the Church took both power and theology to extremes the one to the point of corruption and the other to the point of pointlessness. In fact, if theology had any function beyond itself, it was to keep the clergy oblivious to clerical corruption. In thus taking iniquity and otherwise senseless theology to extremes, the Church was but typically medieval in that this was a period of boundless love for simple, pure commitments to perfect ideals and sacred causes betrayed.[185] Bottom line, there was something absurd about exalting divine humiliation. Jesus was conceived in adultery, his worldly father was an average Joe, he could not make it as a carpenter, and both his poverty and death made an absolute mockery of his alleged, divine status.[186]

Actually, the medieval mind accepted such "Figments of diseased imagination"[187] because they were no more absurd than their pagan counterparts, and because it was so simple. Even today, it is occasionally resurrected and appears in some stunted mind committed totally to a single, absolutely pure, just cause. Whether the commitment is to a religion or a secular doctrine, any mentality which keeps itself deliberately flat, unidimensional and uninformed will eventually malfunction in a round world and complex, interactive universe. However, if we have learned anything from the world of ideas in the last 1,000 years, it is that we can reduce the discrepancy between theory and practice in human behavior by introducing cultural checks which help us learn about what we are really doing and our effects on the world and each other. Although uncertain and confused, the modern Western mind began by burying theology and secularizing ideology. Like a bewildered phoenix molded from the ashes of pious heretics, Western Civilization soared into the heady, beckoning firmament of the Renaissance.

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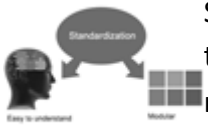
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Unless specified in the notification, the Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed before making the major change in the manuscript.

Acknowledgments

Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned in Acknowledgments. The source of funding for the research can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with their addresses.

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Preparing your Manuscript

Authors can submit papers and articles in an acceptable file format: MS Word (doc, docx), LaTeX (.tex, .zip or .rar including all of your files), Adobe PDF (.pdf), rich text format (.rtf), simple text document (.txt), Open Document Text (.odt), and Apple Pages (.pages). Our professional layout editors will format the entire paper according to our official guidelines. This is one of the highlights of publishing with Global Journals—authors should not be concerned about the formatting of their paper. Global Journals accepts articles and manuscripts in every major language, be it Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, or any other national language, but the title, subtitle, and abstract should be in English. This will facilitate indexing and the pre-peer review process.

The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11'", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
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.

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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.

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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).

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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.



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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.

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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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