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## of Human Social Sciences: F

# Political Science



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**Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future**

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Political Science

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## Political Science

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# 2018 Presidential Elections in Georgia

By A. Tukvadze, E. Gelashvili & I. Ubilava
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*Annotation-* The article notes that the Constitution of 2018, which came into force since the inauguration of the President, establishes the model of Parliamentary governance in the country and this was the last time President was chosen through universal public elections (6 year term), from 2024 President will be chosen (for 5 years) by election board and Country will totally shift to Parliamentary form of governance. The work analyzes aggressive pre-election campaign factors: socio-economic conditions, the management team's mistakes, features of political culture, contrast of Georgian mentality and consciousness, mutual accusations of candidates in protecting Russia's interests - the "war with compromises", pre-election promises of Salome Zurabishvili and Grigol Vashadze, Government resources used in favor of a government-supported candidate, preliminary reports published by international (according to which the legitimacy of the election was not doubted, but there were critisizing comments), new initiatives announced in inauguration speech of newly elected President (democratic values and political priorities), which gives the public hope for the future.

*Keywords: president, elections, leaders, aggressive rhetoric, russia, political culture, compromises.*

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# 2018 Presidential Elections in Georgia

A. Tukvadze [α], E. Gelashvili [σ] & I. Ubilava [ρ]

*Annotation-* The article notes that the Constitution of 2018, which came into force since the inauguration of the President, establishes the model of Parliamentary governance in the country and this was the last time President was chosen through universal public elections (6 year term), from 2024 President will be chosen (for 5 years) by election board and Country will totally shift to Parliamentary form of governance. The work analyzes aggressive pre-election campaign factors: socio-economic conditions, the management team's mistakes, features of political culture, contrast of Georgian mentality and consciousness, mutual accusations of candidates in protecting Russia's interests - the "war with compromises", pre-election promises of Salome Zurabishvili and Grigol Vashadze, Government resources used in favor of a government-supported candidate, preliminary reports published by international (according to which the legitimacy of the election was not doubted, but there were critisizing comments), new initiatives announced in inauguration speech of newly elected President (democratic values and political priorities), which gives the public hope for the future.

*Keywords: president, elections, leaders, aggressive rhetoric, russia, political culture, compromises.*

## I. Introduction

33 changes have been made to the current constitution of the transitional period, country moved from American model of Presidential Governance (1995) [1], to semi-Presidential French model (2004) [2], and later through the Polish Model of the Parliamentary Republic (2004), The Constitution of 2018 establishes the classical government of the Parliamentary Governance. This is a general characteristic of the constitution that has been adopted since the 1990s, since after their study we are convinced that they have very few connections with "American" and "French" analogs and the main purpose is not to seek the form of governance that is acceptable to the Georgian State, but adoption of a constitution that is tailored to the interests of a particular political force.Numerousconstitutional amendments aimed to increase the executive power, in particular increasing the rights of the President. However, none of the Presidents have been elected for more than two terms in Georgia, we can not say the same about the majority of post-Soviet States. Constitutional status and real power of Presidents have never been in compliance with each other during the transitional period in Georgia, especially during the Presidency of Mikheil Saakashvili, the margin between the party and the State was absent and the Statefunctioned as repressive machine, while the democracy was left in the field of rhetorics and theory and in real life there was no guarantee of protection of constitutional human rights. It is important to note that the model of the US Presidential Governance has brought democracy only to the American people, and its transplantation, like in Georgia, has established super Presidential authoritarian regimes in most countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The reason is that the US constitution is the result of the development of American political culture and political history, expressing the political aspirations of the American people and their mentality.

The Constitution of 2018, which came into force since the inauguration of the President, is a model of Parliamentary rule in the country and has been the last occasion of electing the President (6 years) through the general elections, whose powers are significantly reduced and is similar to the status of the head of State of the Parliamentary Republic. The experiences of previous years show that the President's high legitimacy has created problems (like Poland) between the perception of power and the real power of the branches of the government.

The next President will be elected by Election Board (300 members) for a term of five years and the same person who has lived in the country for 15 years and has reached 40 years of age can only be elected twice. In fact, the country's constitutional model of strong, undefined Presidential rights is gradually moving to the weak Presidential institution according to the Parliamentary form of governance.

## II. Constitutional Status of the President of Georgia

According to the Constitution, the fifth President of Georgia will be the head of State, guarantee of national unity and national independence, Supreme Commander and presenter of the country to the international arena.

The future President is a symbolic, representative figure. [3. P. 25]

The President of Georgia will conduct internal and foreign policy with the consent of the Prime Minister, the Security Council existing with the President will be

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abolished completely. "The President will be the Chairman of the National Defense Council, which will be created during the war." [3. P.42] The President shall retain the right of veto, according to the request of the Parliament Speaker and Parliament Members (not less than 1/4) or by the request of the Government to appoint an extraordinary session, in case of the President's declaration of war or State of emergency, Parliament is obliged to convene an extraordinary session.

If the legislative body fails to approve its new composition within two weeks after the resignation of the government, the President should dissolve the Parliament and appoint early elections.

The President will have the right to appoint three of the nine members of the Constitutional Court and one of 14 members of the High Council of Justice to appoint and participate in the appointment of the Chairman and Members of the Central Election Commission.

Besides, she will be able to appoint or dismiss the President of the National Bank.

Also, the President of Georgia is entitled to appoint a referendum on the issues constituted by the Constitution and the law at the request of Parliament, Government or at least 200,000 voters within 30 days upon receipt of such request.

The resignation of the President is only possible through impeachment.

The initiation of impeachment procedure will be possible by the Parliament of Georgia with no less than 1/3 consent.

According to the following procedures, the case must be handed over to the Constitutional Court, which will have one month to prepare the case and the conclusion. In case of Parliamentary consent, the issue should be considered and voted under two weeks times. The consent of the 2/3 of deputies is necessary for the impeachment of the President.

However, there is a limit. In case of war or emergency situation in the country, the initiation of the President's impeachment is prohibited.

If the President gives up his powers prematurely, the Chairman of the Parliament will fulfill his duties.

*The Head of State will be able to unilaterally make decisions* such as granting citizenship, pardoning convicts, State prizes and awards, higher military, special and honorary rankings, as well as higher diplomatic rankings.

The President will be able to sign the Constitutional Agreement with the Georgian Orthodox Church on behalf of the State.

The President of Georgia is authorized to appeal to the people. Once a year, she will submit a report to the Parliament on the most important issues about the State of the country. [3. P 29]

Pre-election environment was influenced by:

A. The hard socio-economic situation-impairment of the GEL has almost deducted the cash revenues of the employeed population (1 US dollars in 2013 was 1.73 GEL, and in 2018 the value of 1 USD was varied within 2.66 -2 to 70) [4]. Part of the population who had debt in dollars were particularly affected; Pension is equal to 70 dollars. The number of unemployed has increased significantly; outflow of the country's work capable population abroad has increased (since 1989 the population has decreased from 5 401,000, to -3720.4 by 2016); prices for energy and food was increased. The process of economic impoverishment of citizens was supported by numerous overdue loans. All of them greatly promoted polarization of political orientation of citizens.

B. Mistakes made by the ruling team that may be linked with the extra self-confidence during the pre-election period and government initiative to cultivate and exportcannabis. Opposition leader Vashadze used the advice of his political scientist (Viktor Shkliarov, a US citizen), used the cannabis topic and began to collect signatures, thus attracting supporters who opposed the cultivation and export of cannabis.The Patriarchate also expressed a negative reaction about the cannabis topic. Part of the church was politically motivated to support Grigol Vashadze. The Patriarch's appeal that the church authorities should not interfere with the election campaign, partly suspended the propaganda activities of the clergy against Zurabishvili, but the negative charge could not be reduced. The government showed a delayed reaction and revoked Cannabis Cultivation initiative.

C. The Presidential election was distinguished with extreme aggression and the reason for this is to be looked in the rules of the "political game" established in political culture: the inclination towards violence and violence in political culture is primarily related to the communist heritage that has been associated with dissociative subculture from the Soviet era like the omniscient ideology, the Gamsakhurdia government was characterized by uncompromi- siness and denial of heritage, and in the absence of political institutions, their leaders embarked on extremist and radical ideology in public consciousness [6. P. 103-11-11]; Radicalism and confrontation are largely linked to Mikheil Saakashvili's authoritarianism - a model of the "party-government", when the National party actually "privatized the State" in their favor. Mikheil Saakashvili, by forming an actually repressive State, established violence in political life as a norm. Saakashvili rejected legacy in politics, established hostility between generations and different social groups, split public consciousness, imitating



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Western values instead of national values, established an authoritarian State based on cosmopolitan outlook. [7. P 125] Members of the National Movement had legalized limitless privileges, and uncontrolled influence in the country. Today they are distinguished with very aggressive and uncompromising actions. The reason for this is the loss of privileges, judicial decisions against their representatives and permanent demands for restoration of justice from society.

D. Any election campaign is affected by peculiarities of people's mentality, psychological mood and emotional components, which have been formed over the centuries and find expression in everyday life. Despite the fact that Georgians have rich traditions of religious and ethnic tolerance and there are many examples to prove this, they cannot boast with experience of political pluralism and plethora of political parties is not enough: The transition period does not know the concept of constructive opposition. One of the reasons for this is found in Georgian character- excessive emotional attachment to leaders derives from the specifics of Georgian mentality and public consciousness: The famous Georgian historian, geographer and cartographer of the 18th century Vakhushti Batonishvili believes that the Georgians equally had ability of “being hostile and friendly, supporting during bad times and good times” and they are similarly successful in “choosing the good over the evil." The main feature of Georgian nature is contra stability. Our character is difficult and contradictory. We know plague and feast both in excessive forms, as well as love and hate, morality is miraculous high and staggeringly low immorality.

The contradictory qualities of the Georgian people coexist in extreme forms - the ultimate idealism is combined with extreme realism: the excessive emotional attachment of citizens to President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has strengthened the elements of Messianism in political culture, and on the other hand, confrontation with him caused inclination towards hatred and violence: relatives of people who died on the opposite sides during the civil war of the 90s, did not share mourning with each other. This happens in the people whose folk ballad ("Tiger and the knight") describes the unprecedented event of martyrdom in the history of the world - the mother of the man who died in the battle goes to a mother of a tiger who also dies in that battle to say her condolences ("maybe his mother is mourning just like me"); i.e. this woman has shown a great ability of sharing similar plague and humanism, identified pain of the deceased animal's mother with her own and her son's love. [8. P. 101-102.]

Candidates' pre-election promises, according to the Electoral Code, "can not contain the urge to incite hatred, call for overthrow of State sovereignty and such difficult issues." In other cases, the election legislation "does not regulate the content of the Presidential candidates' pre-election promises". [9]

25 candidates have participated in the first round of elections, their promises have gone beyond the Presidential powers: "Power is in unity - we can change it together!" This is the election slogan of the Presidential candidate of the United Opposition. According to the leaders of the National Movement, their main message and promise is that Grigol Vashadze will end the Bidzina Ivanishvili's "Government ". Grigol Vashadze's pre-election promises included pardoning "political prisoners" Saakashvili, Merabishvili, Akhalaia, Tsaadze. In the first round such intentions attracted the maximum participation of the National movement supporting electorate, but in the enforcement part and in the second round it was the announcement of destabilization and the voter’s turnout was taken in favor of Zurabishvili. According to Vashadze, he will lead a hundred thousand supporters in the street and force the government to appoint early Parliamentary elections. E. i. Elections have become the outcry that government should go, and the winner candidate gets the mandate to change the ruling force. This is why we got a high level of confrontation in the second round. After the defeat of the opposition by 20%, the opposition intentionally tried to disrupt the President's inauguration, these plans were disrupted by the effective actions of the government and they failed to change the government with "Saakashvili's scenario", Vashadze announced permanent actions, saying that the he would overthrow the government with constitutional means, but the protests stopped due to the lack of supporters.

Grigol Vashadze's false promises to increase the pensions up to 400 GEL worked due to two reasons: first, populism played a leading role in Georgian politics and reached its zenith during Saakashvili’s Presidency, when the timeframe for becoming NATO and EU member was reduced and the existing authoritarian regime in the country was sold as democracy ("political schizophrenia" this is what Steven F. Jones calls the promises of National movement [10]); Secondly, pensioners are the most vulnerable group of society, pensions are not enough to meet the minimum requirements and naturally their support has increased the number of Vashadze's electorate.

Salome Zurabishvili's, an independent Presidency candidate supported by the Georgian Dream, main slogan is "Together for Georgia". The main message of her election campaign is to look forward to the future, to understand the role of the President as a above party figure, the arbitrator in political processes, the focus of the country's historical past, the first woman President, protecting the interests of all citizens, and about the functions of the President. However, her



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Statement was unclear for the people: "The President should be with the people, but still higher." The wave of Black PR, her Statements about the war of 2008, confidence of the government, European-style election campaign, lack of populistic promises and lack of knowledge of the Georgian language significantly reduced her rating; The Georgian Dream's candidate is running the first round of the election campaign with excuses, so it is difficult to evaluate her election campaign positively.

46.74% of the 3,558,437 voters participated in the first round. Georgian Dream's candidate Salome Zurabishvili received 615,572 votes, which constituted 38,64%, and the United Opposition (11 party) "Power is unity" "Presidential candidate Grigol Vashadze received 601,224 votes, 37.74 percent. [11]

According to the results of GALLUP INTERNATIONAL order by TV Company "Imedi", Salome Zurabishvili has 58% and Grigol Vashadze has 42% in the first round, which was unrealistic. [12]

The political biographies of the candidates (Zurabishvili, Vashadze) who moved to the second round are different, but both of them at various times were appointed as foreign minister by Saakashvili.

Salome Zurabishvili was born in Paris in 1952 in the family of Georgian political emigrants and she is granddaughter of the famous public figure Niko Nikoladze.

In 1972 she graduated from the Paris Institute of Political Sciences, Columbia University in 1973, and in 1981 the National School of Management of Paris. She was the professor of the Institute of Political Sciences of France in 2006-2015.

The French stage of Zurabishvili's diplomatic career, which started in 1974 and continued until 2003 is pretty diverse. He worked at various positions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UN, OSCE, NATO headquarters, in Washington, Rome, in the Republic of Chile, as Ambassador to Georgia.

In February 2004, Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili appointed Salome Zurabishvili as Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia. [13]

The greatest achievement of his post on the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs was signing a document on withdrawal of Russian military bases from Georgia on May 19 of 2005 [14]

Salome Zurabishvili has created"a new group of Friends of Georgia", Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Romania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and Poland, which are supporting Georgia in the NATO and EU membership.

In few months after a successful agreement with Russia, Salome Zurabishvili was dismissed from the minister post. Reason: "lack of professionalism, nepotism and lack of results in foreign policy". Since October 2005, she moved to the opposition and established the party "Georgia's Way", which was based on the right-wing ideology. [15] In the conditions of Saakashvili's authoritarian regime her party failed to succeed in the elections and Salome Zurabishvili left Georgian politics in 2010 and said: "In this country the democracy is no longer and the opposition cannot be any longer. Being in opposition in such conditions means that we are taking part in illusions and lies of the government. I can not take part in this lie." [16]

Since 2012, when government in Georgia has changed, Salome Zurabishvili returned to the politics in 2013, she offered her candidacy for the Presidential elections, but she was citizen of Georgia and France at the same time, so the Central Election Commission rejected her Presidential candidaacy. [17] from 2016 to December 12 of 2018 she was a member of a Parliament until was elected as a President. [18]

On September 9 of 2018, the party "Georgian Dream" supported independent candidate, Salome Zurabishvili, as the Presidential candidate. [19]

Since August 23 of 2018, the Presidential candidate Salome Zurabishvili gave up French citizenship. [20]

Grigol Vashadze (born in 1958 in Tbilisi)- Georgian diplomat and politician; Has been granted the diplomatic rank of the plenipotentiary and extraordinary envoy.

In 1981 he graduated from Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Faculty of International Law. In 1981-1988 he worked at the Department of International Organizations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union and later in the Space and Nuclear Weapons Division. In 1988-1990 he was a graduate of the Diplomatic Academy.

From 1990 to 2008, Vashadze was busy with private business and managed companies founded by him: "Georgia Arts Management" and "Gregory Vashadze and BR".

In 2004, with the invitation of Mikheil Saakashvili, Nino Ananiashvili arrived in Georgia with her husband (Grigol Vashadze) and became the art director of the ballet troupe.

Grigol Vashadze on February 2 of 2008, was appointed by Saakashvili as Georgia's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Culture, Monument Protection and Sports of Georgia on November 2, and from December 6 of 2008 to 2012 was a Minister of Foreign Affairs. [21]

The main achievement of Grigol Vashadze was the so-called "non recognition" policy after the August 2008 war, which aimed to hinder the recognition of independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia at international level.

He speaks Russian, English, Portuguese, Italian, Spanish and French languages. [22]



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## III. "War with Compromises"

Presidential candidates failed to involve citizens into discussions about the long-term strategy of the State and their election campaign was built on mutual demonization and unconstructive opositioning. The leaders of the National Movement were not avoiding dirty methods and in the majority of cases they lied using mass media; National movement TV "Rustavi 2" successfully utilized the successful method of releasing numerous records that were related to Bidzina Ivanishvili and other State official's corrupt business deal with Zaza Okuashvili founder of "Omega" and TV 1.

To discredit Salome Zurabishviliand radicalize the situation the opposition TV channel violated every norm of the journalism ethics, began from ranking Zurabishvili supporters as "secondary citizens" continued with releasing recordings on TVand manipulating with bereaved fathers' interests, this launched quite crowded protest, where the leaders of the National Movement were drawn as "defenders of truth". In the second round TV company "Imedi" was actively involved in the campaign "without rules" against Vashadze.

There were compromises about private life, as well as fragments from their past, and many other, but central positions, and the defining influence was if which candidate defended Russia's interests and betrayed the country; After the war in 2008, the perception of Russia as the enemy was not very difficult.

"The Russian factor" took the central place in the war with compromises. All the opposition forces emphasized the remarks made by Salome Zurabishvili at different times, citing his writings: "That night Saakashvili opened fire on Georgians, his compatriots, opened fire and launched rockets ... led to an expected Russian military reaction, achieved expected defeat and" planned" loss of territories. He has not yet been convicted for this crime. "I'm not supporting the establishment of American base in this country, because anyone knows the geopolitical situation, they understand that establishing the US base is more dangerous than security. This does not mean that we are refusing to partnership." [23]

In the first round, the self-confident ruling elite Stated that the Presidential candidate does not need an electoral program and also was in using compromises, as such approach does not correspond to Salome Zurabishvili's European election campaign. In the second round the situation is extremely tense and government supporting TV channel "Imedi" switches to emergency regime and releases lots of compromises on Grigol Vashadze: was accused of working with the KGB, workings at Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR was discredit; His political Statements were used against him: "Russian citizenship - in general Russia - is a part of my life, does not have any significance, if I have a Russian passport in my pocket or not." [24] "We are part of Russian culture and we have two native languages." [25]

"Georgian Dream" focuses on the resolution adopted by the Council of Europe about the 2008 war, which was signed by United National Movement deputies of the European Parliamentary Assembly: "However, on August 7, 2008, by bombing Tskhinvali by the Georgian military forces without warning, escalation moved to new, open and full-scale warfare. Using heavy artillery and cluster bombs, which posed serious danger to the civilian population, was disproportionate use of military force by the Georgian side, despite the fact that this was happening within its territory, and as such action was a violation of international humanitarian law and of the commitments undertaken by the State to decide the conflicts with peaceful means.

6 .... This has led to the occupation of important part of Georgian territory, as well as damages to the economic and strategic infrastructure, which may be considered as either a direct attack on the sovereignty and therefore a violation of the Charter of the Council of Europe, or Russia's attempt to expand its influence on the nearest border country, by violating its obligations, including refusal of such concepts."[26]

Salome Zurabishvili's Statements did not go beyond the scope of the adopted resolution, but the united opposition's propaganda machine managed to beat Salome Zurabishvili with former military high-ranking officials, life threatening messages were sent towards the Presidential candidate;

The candidate who moved to the second round was supported by previous National party members "European Democrats" and their leader Davit Bakradze (who received 10% of the vote in the first round), also, the "Republican Party", which was always came to power with "someone else's train," they were followed by other political unions.

The support of "European Democrats" did not mean the mechanical transition of votes in favor of Vashadze, as their electorate did not share the prospect of National Movement coming to power with the. Three non-governmental organizations Transparency International, Young Lawyers Association and Fair Elections blame the authorities for making false IDs without evidence and openly defended the interests of the National Movement.

The ruling party only woke up in the second round and realized that the danger to their unilateral hegemony in the political space was real (in fact loosing the fight for the weak position of President, made pardoning of Saakashvili Akhalaia and others, made instability and civil war in the country at least realistic) and launched completely different kind of campaign: In the second round, Moshe Clughauft, a polit-technical



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adviser was invited from Israel, working in favor of Zurabishvili, at this time anti United National Movement banners appeared, videos and slogan "principle choice" appeared in Tbilisi. With the advice of Moshe Clughauft along with Salome Zurabishvili, on the banners appeared the faces of Bidzina Ivanishvili and other party leaders, indicating that the Presidential candidate was supported by the ruling party. Salome Zurabishvili started the second round of the election campaign with a very aggressive message: she will not give up Georgia to Russia and Vashadze and specified that the choice is between Russia and Europe.

The number of voters needed to be increased in the second round because many Georgian Dream supporters did not participate in the first round; The second round of the election campaign was built on the threat of expected destabilization and the possible return of the "National Movement" government; The banners appeared with pictures of Saakashvili, Akhalaia, Kardava and Adeishvili, "no to Nazis, not the evil" written on them. In 2012 Parliamentary elections Bidzina Ivanishvili convinced citizens to take part in elections and this decided the fate of the elections, but the Georgian Dream's government could not justify the expectations of the people and consequently trust in it's leader decreased. Ivanishvili realized everything and he returned to the post of party chairman in April 2018. The government's promise to increase the pensions (180 GEL) by 20 GEL was not enough (Vashadze's promise of 400 GEL pension was more charming); Ivanishvili criticized the rules of unfair play in the banking sector. A year-old initiative to dismiss the debtors from debt was activated and specified only prior to the second round, that only those debtors would be dismissed from their debts whose loan base did not exceed 2000 GEL. After the elections, approximately 600000 debtors were dismissed from their debts (4 billion GEL) and this obligation was taken by the Cartu Foundation, which was founded by Ivanishvili. This fact played an important role in the favor of Presidential candidate. Ivanishvili had previously provided assistance to the citizens when he was performing "State functions" - covering pension debts and paying salaries to Saakashvili's government officials.

According to the CEC data, in the second round 56.23% participated from 3,558,437 voters, from which the candidate of the Georgian Dream, Salome Zurabishvili received 59.52% (1147627 votes), and the candidate of the United Opposition Grigol Vashadze received 40.48% (780633 votes). The CEC data was very close to the results of the exit polls (GALLUP INTERNATIONAL and EDISON Research). [27]

International observers assessed the second round of the Presidential elections as conducted in a competitive environment and the candidates were given the opportunity to conduct the pre-election campaign freely, but one of the candidates had an advantage - said in a preliminary report of *the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights Office (OSCE / ODIHR) and its partners-eu Ossetian Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE PA), the European Parliament (EP) and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE)*. The election process has been negatively affected with both rigid rhetoric and violent incidents, as well as the use of administrative resources and the involvement of high-ranking officials of the ruling party in the pre-election campaign. An assessment was made that the margin in the second round of elections between the party and the State became vague: [28]

Observers outlined government initiative of dismissing the debts of 600,000 citizens. This can be regarded as a bribery; For the second tour, there was a sharp inequality between financial donations, in favor of a candidate supported by the ruling party; The Central Election Commission appointed the second round of the Presidential election in the middle of the week, which did not express the interest of the voters and raised doubts about political motivation; The Public Broadcaster has taken a biased position against the opposition. Private media maintained a polarized position;

National-Democratic Institute of the United States of America assessed the elections of 28 November. According to the NDI report, the second round of the Presidential election was negative and damaging to democracy: [29]

Overall, "Elections, by both NATO and other international organizations, including the OSCE, have been assessed as open and fair. However there was some criticism towards high political rhetoric and we saw it. There was a demand for the creation of a tranquil political environment and we hope that this will happen in future elections, but the final assessment was positive." [30]

## IV. Conclusion

The second round of Presidential elections was appointed for the first time in the history of Georgia. Salome Zurabishvili'sPresidential election campaign was based on the methods of European type "political game" and was almost empty of emotional speeches and populist promises (while populism and emotions are a sign of leadership skills in Georgian reality and corresponds to the psycho-emotional State of Georgians) and mostly emphasised the functions of the President as an arbitrator and above party person (in the opinions of Salome's closed persons she is more convincing when speaking in French and English:: Mouche Cloughaft claims that Salome is a leader and thus she hardly accepts advices), but she used the method of accusing the opponent in being pro-Russian. As for Vashadze, he referred to political force united around Ivanishvili as "government" and aimed to change



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it (respectively, the"dream" was figting to maintain power, as Vashadze announced pardons and early elections, which meant at least civil conflicts and the prospect of changing the government), he was supported byinterests of several non-governmental organizations, defenders of National Movement. Vashadze's supporters were mainly the electorate of Mikheil Saakashvili (Vashadze unsuccessfully played the role of the leader), the absolute majority of which participated in the elections, and the angry voters who were part of the pensioners, but the involvement of the population in the second round increased, the possibility of returning of the National Movement and the threat of destabilization surpassed the negative attitude towards the government and increased the number of votes in favor of Salome Zurabishvili. The government initiative of nullifying the debts played a significant role. Because of this fact, the observation missions did not undermine the legitimacy of the elections, but none of them suggested that the 2018 Presidential election was a "step towards democracy".

The elections showed that there is an acute crisis inside the ruling political elite and it does not derive from ideological confrontation, but rather from the business interests of individual groups or even political ambitions. "The short but ferventPresidential campaign has outlined the astuteness and emptiness of the Georgian political elite". [31]

Low activity of citizens in the first round of the Presidential electionindicates thealienation and distrust towards the political elite. The high trust mandate of the population, which "Dream" has received in the 2012 elections, is expiring. We are talking about the third political force, whose ideological orientations will be clearly formed and will replace the government in the future, but the contours of such forceis nowhere to be seen.

We could call the Presidential election of 2018 an elections without "a leader" because the Presidential candidates were not able to show leadership skills and the success of the "National Movement" and "Georgian Dream" candidates was behind the activeness of the forces backing them and we could share a perturbing phrase: the choice was made between "the bad and worse"but President Salome Zurabishvili in his inaugural speech announces new democratic values in Georgian politics, which gives positive expectations to society.

The Presidentthat her biggest challenge is to overcome aggressive, violent political orientations and establish modern, democratic culture: "unity of the country, the consolidation of the society and the strengthening of our place in Europe - this is my main goal. I will convince fellow citizens that national consent for development and unification of Georgia is essentially important." [31]

For the first time in the history of Georgia the woman became the President and the transfer of the position was peaceful and civilized, "thus another democratic step", which can not be disagreeable.

Salome Zurabishvili emphasized the necessity of protecting the political heritage and for the first time in the Georgia's latest history evaluated the activities of the predecessor President positively;

It should be noted that every President has put his bricks on the road to the building of independent and democratic Georgia;

A century ago, the leaders of the first Republic adopted a modern and progressive constitution at that time;

Zviad Gamsakhurdia played the greatest role when he appointed a referendum and adopted the act of restoring Georgia's independence.

Eduard Shevardnadze was the first to pave the way to the European and Euro-Atlantic space;

Mikheil Saakashvili laid the basis for many important reforms at the initial stage of his administration;

During the Presidency of Giorgi Margvelashvili steps were taken towards strengthening the democratic processes and stability.

My purpose is to do everything to ensure the development of our State, its European future, irreversible and so nothing could hinder our main goal. [31]

During the transition period, the greatest harm to the unity of the society was dealt by the national movement government, who denied Ilia's admonision about the objective regularity of inheritance ("son should know where his father has stoped") and removed older generation from social activities, shifted the focus on differentiative options of generations and social groups and practically divided the public consciousness. Salome Zurabishvili is well aware of the threat of solidarity and support and indicates:

"Solidarity is essential for strengthening our society - first of all, solidarity between generations, which historically characterized us. It should not be lost." [31]

In Georgian political thinking, the ruling and opposition elites have strengthened the excessive hopes of western partners and international organizations, the key to the independence of the country was completely withdrawn [33] and activated the consciousness of false expectations, which is part of the Georgian mentality ("Imitate the stranger"). "Georgia's political strategy lies in the fact that, says Professor M. Bichuashvili, the Georgian national State should be built on the basis of global international organizations: NATO will create the Georgian army, the International Monetary Fund will strengthen the



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economy, the OSCE will resolve the issue of territorial integrity, the Hague will eliminate all of the injustice".[34] Zurabishvili made her emphasis on culture and rich traditions and emphasized: "Georgians can be useful to the world with its old, wealthy, original culture that stands on Christianity. Georgian civilization can boldly establish its place in the world.

Our identity is historically revealed in tolerance. The tradition of peaceful coexistence with people of different origin and beliefs has been with us for centuries. Georgia is also famous for the fact that there is no example of anti-Semitism here. Tolerance is something that todays worldlacks. We must strengthen this tradition so that we become an example for others. We should increase the awareness of Georgian culture and identity on the international arena". [31]

Zurabishvili focused on the necessity of development of the regions of Georgia. The President knows well that unequal development of the regions has often led to separatism and the country's dismemberment: "The path of development goes through the strong and prosperous regions. I think it is noteworthy that the inauguration of the President is held not in the capital of the country but in one of the regions of Kakheti, and it is my choice".

The modern, European-type State implies equal development of regions and capital. The foundation of Georgia was historically always its regions and their strength. We can combine this historical experience and a modern European example ... I am sure that every Georgian's dream is returning of as many emigrants as possible to their villages and abandoned houses." [31]

When speaking about foreign policy orientation, Zurabishvili's position is firm and consistent: "Russia, as a neighbor of the Caucasus, should realize that if he wants to be a full member of the international community and to restore normal relations in the region, it should prove recognizes all international law verbally and factually. This is necessary to establish equal and peaceful ties with its neighbors.

I believe that Georgia will be united. We should remember that people living in the occupied territories are our citizens and we should condone them. Past unites us with Abkhazians and Ossetians, we are relatives of each other, we have mixed families! We need to find ways to get to the new generation and pave them a way to Europe. Today, as never before, Abkhaz language and identity needs protection!" [31]

Let's conclude the conclusion by quoting David Ost, that democracy is born where angry people, driven with power and wealth, become solidarity to each other and demand something that already belongs to them. [35]

So far, the government and opposition only produce hatred on the Georgian political scene, and there is no force visible that will be able to chanell this hatred in favor of democracy.

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# Change of Ownership and Financialization of the Agents: Analysis of the Curriculum of the Professionals in the Leadership Position in the Electricity Sector in Brazil

By Patricia Mari Matsuda

*Abstract-* The aim of this study is to approach the professional trajectory of Brazilians who occupied high positions in large companies. After the process of mergers and acquisitions, and privatization of companies, in the 90s in Brazil, we look for identify how, due to the new financial logic, elite professionals had to seek ways to reconstruct and rebuild their careers according to the new financial logic at the moment. The case of the Brazilian company, Eletropaulo, which went through restructuration, exemplifies this scenario, as it was a stateowned enterprise before and now privatized company. The central importance of studying the Brazilian electricity sector is that this sector has been subject to the most radical changes in financialization since 1990. In fact, these transformations are unprecedented in any other economy. This unique experience has led a number of other countries to examine the Brazilian model, sometimes in order to criticize it, but in other cases to emulate and develop it further. However, no study about the built of careers elite in this Brazilians context has so far been made.

*Keywords:* *financialization; professional trajectory; quantitative analysis; culture; privatization.*

*GJHSS-F Classification:* *FOR Code: 360199*

CHANGEOFOWNERSHIPANDFINANCIALIZATIONOFTHEAGENTSANALYSISOFTHECURRICULUMOFTHEPROFESSIONALSINTHELEADERSHIPPOSITIONINTHEELECTRICITYSECTORINBRAZIL

*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*

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*Abstract-* The aim of this study is to approach the professional trajectory of Brazilians who occupied high positions in large companies. After the process of mergers and acquisitions, and privatization of companies, in the 90s in Brazil, we look for identify how, due to the new financial logic, elite professionals had to seek ways to reconstruct and rebuild their careers according to the new financial logic at the moment. The case of the Brazilian company, Eletropaulo, which went through restructuration, exemplifies this scenario, as it was a state-owned enterprise before and now privatized company. The central importance of studying the Brazilian electricity sector is that this sector has been subject to the most radical changes in financialization since 1990. In fact, these transformations are unprecedented in any other economy. This unique experience has led a number of other countries to examine the Brazilian model, sometimes in order to criticize it, but in other cases to emulate and develop it further. However, no study about the built of careers elite in this Brazilians context has so far been made. A quantitative research approach is employed in this study, which is also supported with descriptions. Information about curriculums of the leaders was taken from the company website and also from a commission in Brazil that regulates public companies. To analyse the data, we separated the curriculum by formation, schools and career building and then we looked for the frequency and accumulated frequency separated by variables of officers and directors in periods before and after the privatization. Through the analysis of the curriculum of the leaders of the company from its emergence as a state company in 1979 until the year 2012 we have found that the engineering profession has been highlighted. And, in the period after the privatization of the company a great internationalization occurred, the boarders and directors start to have their undergraduate and graduate studies abroad. Regarding the work of professional agents, it was verified that the boarders began working in finance areas after the privatization period, and before they occupied other positions, such as unions, universities and other companies. Also after the privatization process there was an emphasis in formation of economics courses. Economics occupy a central position in the implementation of economic policies in the country, but the late crystallization of economics courses in Brazil, and the beginning of the occupation only from 1950, it may have been one of the reasons why engineering (this profession in Brazil dates back to the imperial era) was the first profession to consolidate, form and frame the first professional of Brazilian's elite. The company Eletropaulo has substantial number of engineers even in the present day. Therefore, this verification points out that hiring engineers still becomes a preference for Brazilian financialized companies, even after the opening of courses in economics and management in the country.

*Keywords: financialization; professional trajectory; quantitative analysis; culture; privatization.*

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## I. Introduction

In Brazil, since the 90s, there was a movement of transition of professional careers, which occurred soon after the restructuring of companies in merger and acquisition movements in a scenario of financialization of the economy, and also the emergence of institutional investors (funds pension, insurance companies, etc.). (Zilbovicius, 1999).

Moreover, the 90s was marked by the privatization of Brazilian state-owned companies. This is the case of AES Eletropaulo, before state company, began to be privatized and incorporating, since the beginning, the restructuring from financialization model. Changes that will impact in the body of executives, composed in large part by engineers–managers. Therefore, through the case study in this company, we present a discussion that contributes for the studies about the professional trajectory of the staffs that hold positions of leaders in large Brazilian companies, also emphasizing their role as elite leader.

The study mainly consisted in the analysis of the curriculum of the professionals in the leadership position in Eletropaulo, since its establishment as a state-owned in 1979 until the year 2012. Being that, throughout this period, even undergoing restructuration that significantly changes the hierarchy configuration of companies, the situation as an engineer has been an occupation prominent in the frames of the direction of the company in these different periods. This way, considering this scenario of changes, this analysis attempts to explain why the engineers in Eletropaulo continue on the board, even after privatization and financialization of the company.

Considering that such a process start to impose a new logic, the financialization logic, in which investors begin to interact directly in the conduction of the



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company business, seeking for a performance with higher liquidity of the company in relation to the value of its shares, in order to obtain the maximum profit in the short term. Therefore, the Corporate Governance emerges as an innovative way of shareholders and directors to control the company, in opposition to the mode of bureaucratic organization, the Corporate Governance makes the transparency be the tonic of the control.

Thus the professional leaders, in this case, mostly engineers, are now seeking strategies and tools of guidance to rebuild their careers and meet these new dynamic in the companies. Therefore, we also observed the search for training courses focused on the business and finance area on the part of these leaders, gaining emphasis on the issue of internationalization, with a realization of postgraduate courses abroad.

However, not all of them follow these changes, keeping in more traditional roles. Another aspect that proved to be relevant in this analysis is the process of constitution of the engineering profession in Brazil, so we discuss some other historical aspects of these professional performances.

Being that their performance in the business and finance areas, just highlighting the status that this profession acquired in Brazilian organizations, because although we have today in the country, the consolidation of an area, the economic, which would be the most appropriate in terms of training to deal with such activities, the engineers do not have lose space.

Such permanence of the engineers was observed in the case of Eletropaulo. Through a quantitative research and analysis of all the leaders of the company, we found that among its boarders and directors there are a significant number of engineers. Thus revealing that, there is a preference for hiring engineers, and it has been maintained, even after the consolidation of economics courses in Brazil and the presentation of professionals in this area.

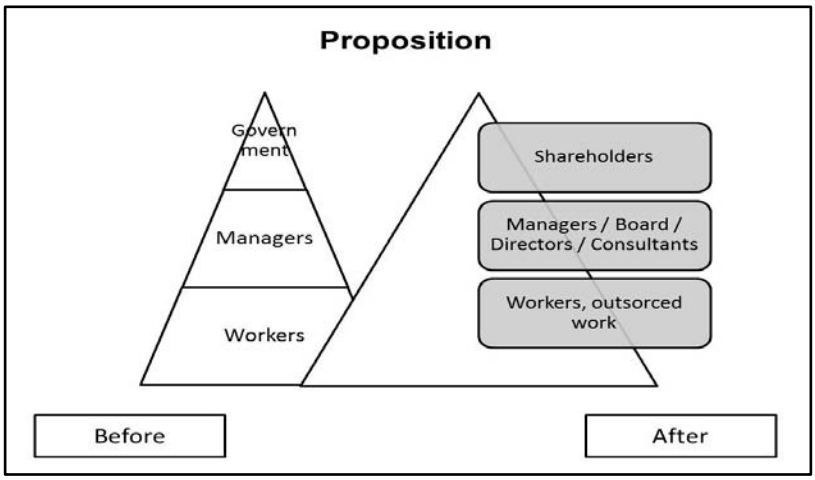
Thus, the study approaches aspects, about the career of engineer's professionals and their re-conversion, taking as a case study, the company Eletropaulo. The engineer as a social agent, his performance as a manager-engineer, the issue of leadership and the new financial elite. The transformation of the productive movements and the financial movements. The configuration of the game between managers, engineers (stakeholders) and investors (shareholders). The displacement of power structures established.

The Corporate Governance as an alternative to bureaucratic organization: the rise of a new business model and a new model of the world. Aspects of the labour market for the engineering professional in Brazil, the education of officers and directors, the tendency towards internationalization of education in the area of business and finance as a way of maintaining their career and professional status.

## II. Proposition

The proposition of this study is the restructuration of the company in all levels. After the change of ownership, the company need to answer the new proprietors. And to do so, we observe your entire reorganization. When the company was state-owned, the goal was provide high quality energy to their consumers, and while public company, it would be responding to the shareholder value.

In Figure 1, the pyramidal figure shows in the first period, 1 - owner of the company (in this case, state-owned company), 2 - managers (administrators), 3 - workers. Secondly, after the restructuring of the company, we get our figuration in the format of a hierarchical pyramid in the following way: 1 - shareholders; 2 - managers, directors, boarders and consultants, 3 –workers and outsourced workers.




*Source: Authors (2014).*

*Figure 1:* Proposition of restructuration of the company



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## III. Objective

The aim of this study is approach the professional trajectory of Brazilians who occupied high positions in large companies. After the process of mergers, acquisitions and privatization of companies, in the 90s in Brazil, we look for identify how, due to the new financial logic, elite professionals had to seek ways to reconstruct and rebuild their careers according to the new financial logic at the moment.

## IV. Methodology

The development of this work occurs in a Brazilian enterprise that went through a financialization process: AES Eletropaulo, an electricity company from São Paulo, Brazil.

We observe the differences between the Boards and Directors of this company before and after privatization, which occurred in 1998. Information about curriculum of the leaders of the year 2012, were taken from the company website. And the years between 1998 and 2008, documents were found in the Securities Commission (CVM), which is the commission that regulates public companies in Brazil.

The methodology used for this study is the quantitative analysis and after descriptions. As a form of analysing the data, we separated the curriculum by formation, schools and career building, and they were tabulated. Finally we analysed the frequency and accumulated frequency separated by variables.

## V. Literature Review

This movement of careers transition occurred in Brazil after restructuration of the firms in merger and acquisition movements, and also after the emergence of the institutional investors (pension funds, insurance companies, etc.), starting from 90s. (Zilbovicius, 1999; Chandler, 1984).

In this brief literature review we will be developing the theory of the so called managers - engineers, who are currently leaders of the financial elite. With the fall of Fordism the Engineer professionals had to adapt and acquire different qualities as manager. We end the literature review with some survey data based on CONFEA - CREA (Federal Council Engineering and Agronomy - Regional Council Engineering and Agronomy), with a picture of where the Engineers are working, if they are working as Engineers, or in other areas.

*a) AES Eletropaulo*

This first section we talk about the model of the company before the privatization, the second part is about the restructuration that went through this company and the predominance of the financial logic; the third and the fourth section we describe how the managerial and shareholder revolution occurred in AES Eletropaulo.

i. *Company Eletropaulo model before the period of privatization*

In the mid-year "1979, the federal government passed the company Brascan the controlling interest then Light - Electricity Services SA. In 1981, the company command passed to the state government of São Paulo (...). Electricity de São Paulo SA "(AES ELETROPAULO, 2011) and from the mid-90s begins its privatization process.

The process of privatization of state enterprises in the electricity sector came under discussion in 1995, with the beginning of the first term (1995-1998) of the presidential administration of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and the beginning of the Mario Covas government in the state of São Paulo (BOA NOVA, 2002). The privatization program of the federal government that started in the 90s, led to the need for a rearrangement of the organizational body of state enterprises. In general, the relationship between managers and owners would take a new form, as well as the hierarchical chain inside these companies also would suffer profound changes, primarily through corporate governance and after the career's built of its leaders, varying in accordance with the logic of the moment, in this case a company financialized.

ii. *Company Eletropaulo model after the period of privatization and the predominance of financial logic*

The process of financialization is affirmed by the structure of the parent company, which in addition to AES Eletropaulo, holds interests in other companies, proving the financial logic (AES ELETROPAULO, 2011).

Through the form of corporate governance adopted in the post-privatization period, there was a restructuration at all levels of the company: shareholders, directors and employees of AES Eletropaulo were all affected by this new form of management and work organization. Shareholders are directed to a company more committed to financial logic; executive compensation depends on the performance of the firm, and motivation of employees is based on the company's profit sharing and bonuses, affecting this way, the culture of the entire organization.

iii. *Managerial Revolution in AES Eletropaulo*

Regarding climate change after privatization of Eletropaulo, an issue that deserves attention is the remuneration of the executives (managers) of the company, not by the amount of money involved, but by how this remuneration is structured and paid.

According to Dona done (2002), many studies on corporate governance suggests that there is a business environment that is called the Principal-Agent Problem, that is, modern corporations are not addressed by the shareholders (principal), but by managers (agents), effect caused by financialization. These two groups have conflicting interests:



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shareholders want to maximize your returns over the long term, because they are owners of the company, on the other hand, managers want to maximize your income in the short term, so they can get bonds and other forms of remuneration.

iv. *Shareholder Revolution in AES Eletropaulo*

Regarding the relationship between the adoption of differentiated levels of corporate governance and the impact on the market value of their shares, we observe that the pressure of the new owners has consequences in organizational design and composition of the power in the company, then there is a pressure for a search of maximizing the value of the company. (FLIGSTEIN, 1990; DONADONE, 2002).

The salary and benefits of the current executives and the difference in their remuneration and the difficulty of aligning these with the interests of the board is presented as a battlefield of economic interests. Then there is the destruction of social capital, changing the organization environment. The company's relationship with its stakeholders enter in a new logic now, enter in a profitable market with high potential, purchasing a company of financial capital, having no commitment to it, only in income and profitability, besides being easy the entrance by stocks.

According to Bourdieu (1990), a company as a field, its direction depends on the political fight of the agents, who try to identify their specific interests with the interests of the company, whose power is measured in the ability to identify the company's interests with their own interests in the company.

*b) Engineer career in Brazil*

Due to the new financial logic and the interaction and consolidation of investors on the business environment, the engineers needed to leave away some mechanisms and directions to rebuilt their professional careers. The case of the fall of managers of large conglomerates (Wall Street and others) is one of the examples that show how these professionals have their career redirected due to the inclusion of other agents of financial capitalism on the business game, namely the large institutional investors.

By the 1980s, with the advent of the Fordism crisis and post-Fordism, the process of flexibility labourin production systems, changes also in professional qualifications in general, and also consequently in the profession of engineer. The manufacturing engineer is no longer just an engineer but a manager-engineer, in other words a person responsible for the management and control of operations.

i. *The social agent in question: The "manager-engineer", the leader and the new financial elite*

Meanwhile companies rely on the net increase in shares and the key is the maximum return in the short term. According to Grun (1999) in the language of the market we would be facing a revolution of shareholders. Many authors like Zilbovicius (1999) point out that along with the previously mentioned processes most of the mass of workers is excluded from the battle, because the focus is not productivity and quality anymore. Now, the logic of the industry is focused on maximizing profits.

With cuts of functions and the process of outsourcing a large contingent of managers (possibly engineers) is moved from their old jobs. Therefore, they seek to convert some strategies to be re-allocated in the labour market. (CHANDLER, 1984) That is because of this process, we can see strong organizational changes in career paths, and professional insertion linked to the context of business, as is the case of "managers-engineers."

ii. *Bureaucracy versus corporate governance: The Fall of a model of the world and the rise of a new world model*

The bureaucracy has important features that can lighten our understanding of the organizational situation at the time studied. According to Fligstein (2001) bureaucracy eliminates all practices that escape the calculation such as love, hate, and all personal and irrational elements. The logical imperative at this time (the bureaucracy), so will the logic of efficiency in this sense underlying legal rational order to modern states where companies becomes legitimate authority. In this sense, companies, social workers and even the state promote rules and laws to ensure that rationality and efficiency within companies.

At the same time, Weber (1999) mention that despite this efficiency within companies, there is a political system that guides one's efficiency and behaviours of the actors themselves. Because of this fact we should not be forgotten that organizations function not only as tools but as instruments of power. Thus, we can say that what happened in the case of managers- engineers is the fact that these organizational actors, seeking power for themselves at the expense of other social actors.

In that sense, the movement of corporate governance monitor the managers by shareholders, organization's owners where the first ones worked act to oversee managerial practices since these actors imbued with a power and a certain hierarchy within the company put suspicion on their corporate practices.

iii. *Arises the principle of "good corporate governance"*

Actually there is a mechanism of social control by those shareholders who put themselves in position panoptic (in the sense of the concept of Michel Foucault) watching the professional administrators of the company at any time can use their power to usurp the space hierarchical symbolic and material occupied by shareholders. Thus, arises the principle of "good



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corporate governance" which is nothing more than a discussion about the efficiency of a type of capitalism that would be financial. In this sense our attempt would be to see the intricacies embedded within this social and economic agenda formatting in society.

According to Roberto Grun (1999), "good governance" is imposed on social actors through institutional pressures. In this sense, the author points out that this ideological instrument was only possible in the United States from the 1980s where it was created an environment of popular outrage against the excesses of high salaries and benefits of senior executives. That is, the good governance emerges as a solution to problems related to the issue of seizure of power by some social actors in that country.

To better explain this process of "good corporate governance", it is worth mentioning that the role of managers (formerly the corporate governance process) in the companies have the social skills to deal with people with different interests to have cooperation inside the firm that eventually would generate a more reliable production of goods. However Weber (1999) also argues that actors who will direct organizations have their own interests, in other words, working for the production of power itself, so in the case of policy instruments organizational managers dictated by social actors (instrumented with corporate governance) going against logic is management's own "self", and rules will be established between managers and shareholders.

iv. *Labour market for the engineering profession in Brazil*

According to the survey data "labour market of engineers and technologists in Brazil" by the national CONFEA-CREA in 2008 (Federal Council engineering and agronomy-regional council engineering and agronomy), and also according to the study of Solange Simões (2000), we can say that the labour market for engineers has been radically transformed.

A good percentage of unemployed engineers work as freelance consulting (12.9% according to the survey CONFEA-CREA, 2008 – Table 1), however the process of privatization of state companies in Brazil may lead these professionals to unemployment at first, however, large companies deprived of Brazil also will be concerned with total quality programs and reengineering and tend to keep large hierarchical differences within firms.

*Table 1:* Engineers hired by size (Number of employees)

| Branches that employ the first 49.2% of engineers | Until 49 | 49-249 | 250-499 | 500 or more | Total | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 45 - Construction | 21.930) | (30.267) | (16.542) | (60.086) | (128.825) | 49,2% |
| 74 - Services primarily to companies | 7.655 | 6.468 | 2.291 | 2.679 | 19.093 | 14,8% |
| | 3.909 | 5.018 | 2.732 | 4.929 | 16.588 | 12,9% |
| 75 - Public administration, defense and social security | 176 | 1652 | 1.414 | 10.365 | 13,607 | 10,6% |
| 40 - Electricity, gas and hot water | 450 | 1.421 | 598 | 5.218 | 7.687 | 6,0% |
| 34- Manufacture and assembly of motor vehicles, trailers and bodies | 104 | 685 | 740 | 4.880 | 6.409 | 5,0% |
| Total of Engineers | 34.224 | 45.511 | 24.317 | 88.157 | 192.209 | 49,2% |

*Source: CONFEA-CREA (2008).*

Therefore, Brazil suffers a process hybrid being discovered slowly with the advent of new research where the careers of middle-class professionals, high as engineers is undergoing changes that include either the process deproletarianization the profession and now the process of proletarianization profession. This moment of uncertainty in Brazil is characterized both by an economic rise of popular groups to the middle class, instability and crisis in some sectors professionals already were legitimized in the middle class and that this mass "middle" increasingly more search their rights and benefits with regard to work and a lifestyle fairer.

## VI. Quantitative Results

To understand better the position of boarders and directors, we withdrew from the Bylaws of the company, their definitions:

1. *Board*

The Board is a body of great versatility and efficiency in corporate management. Your goal is to follow the Company's business in order to protect and enhance its heritage and maximize return on investment through the guidance of its business.

The Management Board take its decisions by committees, serving as an instrument of shareholders in governance of the Company's assets. (AES Constitution, 2011).

2. *Directors*

The Directors Commission is the executive body of the Company, being the Directors pursuant to the Bylaws, the representation of the Company, to perform the acts required for its proper functioning and implementation of the resolutions of the Board and the General Assembly.



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The members of Directors Commission will perform their duties in accordance with the Company's corporate purpose, usually conducting business and operations in strict compliance with the provisions of the Bylaws, the decisions of the General Meetings of Shareholders and the Board. (AES Constitution, 2011).

Now we will present the first results of the analysis of board and directors curriculum of AES Eletropaulo.

*a) Coding of variables*

For achieving a better graphical presentation the possible responses of each variable are coded as shown in Table 2.

*Table 2:* Legend of the variables

| Variable | Answers | Legend |
|---|---|---|
| University of Undergraduate | Abroad | G1 |
| | State | G2 |
| | Particular (Paid) | G3 |
| | Federal | G4 |
| | IBMEC/FGV | G5 |
| Formation of Undergraduate | Engineering | GF1 |
| | Law | GF2 |
| | Economy | GF3 |
| | Other | GF4 |
| | Administration | GF5 |
| University of Graduate | Abroad | PG1 |
| | State | PG2 |
| | Particular | PG3 |
| | Federal | PG4 |
| | IBMEC/FGV | PG5 |
| | Don't have | PG6 |
| Formation of Graduate | Engineering | PGF1 |
| | Law | PGF2 |
| | Economy | PGF3 |
| | Other | PGF4 |
| | Administration | PGF5 |
| Professional Background | Government | PP1 |
| | AES Group | PP2 |
| | Others 1 (Companies) | PP3 |
| | Others 2 (Unions, Academic, others) | PP4 |
| | Finances | PP5 |
| | Electricity sector | PP6 |

*b) Period before privatization*

We can observe the following tables on descriptive analysis of data on directors before the company's privatization.

*Table 3:* Frequency of Universities for the undergraduate degrees of boarders

| Undergraduate Degree | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| G1 | 1 | 2.08 | 1 | 2.08 |
| G2 | 18 | 37.50 | 19 | 39.58 |
| G3 | 27 | 56.25 | 46 | 95.83 |
| G4 | 2 | 4.17 | 48 | 100.00 |

Frequency of missing observations = 8

*Table 4:* Frequency of the formations for the undergraduate degree of boarders

| Major of undergraduate degree | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| GF1 | 22 | 41.51 | 22 | 41.41 |
| GF2 | 14 | 26.42 | 36 | 67.92 |
| GF3 | 13 | 24.53 | 49 | 92.45 |
| GF4 | 4 | 7.55 | 53 | 100.00 |

Frequency of missing observations = 3



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*Table 5:* Frequency of Universities of graduate of boarders

| Degree of Postgraduate | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PG1 | 8 | 15.69 | 8 | 15.69 |
| PG2 | 8 | 15.69 | 16 | 31.37 |
| PG3 | 4 | 7.84 | 20 | 39.22 |
| PG4 | 1 | 1.96 | 21 | 41.18 |
| PG5 | 2 | 3.92 | 23 | 45.10 |
| PG6 | 28 | 54.90 | 51 | 100.00 |

Frequency of missing observations = 5

*Table 6:* Frequency of graduate formations of boarders

| Major of Postgraduate degree | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PGF1 | 6 | 10.91 | 6 | 22.22 |
| PGF2 | 2 | 3.64 | 8 | 29.63 |
| PGF3 | 9 | 16.36 | 17 | 62.96 |
| PGF5 | 10 | 18.18 | 27 | 100.00 |
| PGF6 | 28 | 50.91 | 55 | 100.00 |

Frequency of missing observations = 1

*Table 7:* Frequency of professional experience of boarders

| Professional Background | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PP1 | 13 | 23.21 | 13 | 23.21 |
| PP3 | 13 | 23.21 | 26 | 46.43 |
| PP4 | 16 | 28.57 | 42 | 75.00 |
| PP5 | 5 | 8.93 | 47 | 83.93 |
| PP6 | 9 | 16.07 | 56 | 100.00 |

Regarding to the position of directors in the period before privatization of the company, Tables 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 explain the academic and professional status of 56 employees.

*Table 8:* Frequency of Universities for the undergraduations of the directors

| Undergraduate Degree | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| G2 | 8 | 40.00 | 8 | 40.00 |
| G3 | 9 | 45.00 | 17 | 85.00 |
| G4 | 1 | 5.00 | 18 | 90.00 |
| G5 | 2 | 10.00 | 20 | 100.00 |

Frequency of missing observations = 1

*Table 9:* Frequency of the formations for the undergraduations of directors

| Major of undergraduate degree | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| GF1 | 15 | 71.43 | 15 | 71.43 |
| GF3 | 1 | 4.76 | 16 | 76.19 |
| GF5 | 5 | 23.81 | 21 | 100.00 |

*Table 10:* Frequency of Universities of graduate of directors

| Degree of Postgraduate | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PG1 | 1 | 4.76 | 1 | 4.76 |
| PG2 | 6 | 28.57 | 7 | 33.33 |
| PG5 | 3 | 14.29 | 10 | 47.62 |
| PG6 | 11 | 52.38 | 21 | 100.00 |

*Table 11:* Frequency of graduate formations of directors

| Major of Postgraduate degree | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PGF1 | 3 | 14.29 | 3 | 14.29 |
| PGF3 | 2 | 9.52 | 5 | 23.81 |
| PGF5 | 5 | 23.81 | 10 | 47.62 |
| PGF6 | 11 | 52.38 | 21 | 100.00 |

Frequency of missing observations = 11



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*Table 12:* Frequency of professional experience of directors

| Professional Background | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PP1 | 1 | 4.76 | 1 | 4.76 |
| PP3 | 1 | 4.76 | 2 | 9.52 |
| PP4 | 10 | 47.62 | 12 | 57.14 |
| PP5 | 4 | 19.05 | 16 | 76.19 |
| PP6 | 5 | 23.81 | 21 | 100.00 |

c) *Period after privatization*

Tables 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 explain the academic and professional status of 226 employees occupying positions of boards.

*Table 13:* Frequency of Universities for the undergraduations of boarders

| Undergraduate Degree | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| G1 | 36 | 15.93 | 36 | 15.93 |
| G2 | 25 | 11.06 | 61 | 26.99 |
| G3 | 61 | 26.99 | 122 | 53.98 |
| G4 | 34 | 15.04 | 156 | 69.03 |
| G5 | 26 | 11.50 | 182 | 80.53 |
| G6 | 44 | 19.47 | 226 | 100.00 |

Frequency of missing observations = 44

*Table 14:* Frequency of the formations for the undergraduations of boarders

| Major of undergraduate degree | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| GF1 | 86 | 40.57 | 86 | 40.57 |
| GF2 | 16 | 7.55 | 102 | 48.12 |
| GF3 | 50 | 23.58 | 152 | 71.70 |
| GF4 | 7 | 3.30 | 159 | 75.00 |
| GF5 | 53 | 25.00 | 212 | 100.00 |

Frequency of missing observations = 14

*Table 15:* Frequency of Universities of graduate of boarders

| Degree of Postgraduate | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PG1 | 44 | 19.47 | 44 | 19.47 |
| PG2 | 29 | 12.83 | 73 | 32.30 |
| PG3 | 15 | 6.64 | 88 | 38.94 |
| PG4 | 25 | 11.06 | 113 | 50.00 |
| PG5 | 59 | 26.11 | 172 | 76.11 |
| PG6 | 54 | 23.89 | 226 | 100.00 |

*Table 16:* Frequency of graduate formations of boarders

| Major of Postgraduate degree | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PGF1 | 32 | 19.16 | 32 | 19.16 |
| PGF2 | 14 | 8.38 | 46 | 27.54 |
| PGF3 | 28 | 16.77 | 74 | 44.31 |
| PGF4 | 2 | 1.20 | 76 | 45.51 |
| PGF5 | 91 | 41.18 | 167 | 75.57 |
|  | 54 | 24.43 | 221 | 100.00 |

Frequency of missing observations = 59

*Table 17:* Frequency of professional experience of boarders

| Professional Background | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PP1 | 15 | 6.64 | 15 | 6.64 |
| PP2 | 21 | 9.29 | 36 | 15.93 |
| PP3 | 47 | 20.80 | 83 | 36.73 |
| PP4 | 39 | 17.26 | 122 | 53.98 |
| PP5 | 60 | 26.55 | 182 | 80.53 |
| PP6 | 44 | 19.47 | 226 | 100.00 |



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Tables 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 explain the academic and professional status of 85 employees who held positions of director.

*Table 18:* Frequency of Universities for the undergraduations of the directors

| Undergraduate Degree | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| G1 | 14 | 16.47 | 14 | 16.47 |
| G2 | 5 | 5.88 | 19 | 22.35 |
| G3 | 41 | 48.24 | 60 | 70.59 |
| G4 | 10 | 11.76 | 70 | 82.35 |
| G5 | 4 | 4.71 | 74 | 87.06 |
| G6 | 11 | 12.94 | 85 | 100.00 |

Frequency of missing observations = 11

*Table 19:* Frequency of the formations for the undergraduations of directors

| Major of undergraduate degree | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| GF1 | 42 | 55.26 | 42 | 55.26 |
| GF2 | 5 | 6.58 | 47 | 61.84 |
| GF3 | 12 | 15.79 | 59 | 77.63 |
| GF4 | 11 | 14.47 | 70 | 92.11 |
| GF5 | 6 | 7.89 | 76 | 100.00 |

Frequency of missing observations = 9

*Table 20:* Frequency of Universities of graduate of directors

| Degree of Postgraduate | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PG1 | 25 | 30.12 | 25 | 30.12 |
| PG2 | 8 | 9.64 | 33 | 39.76 |
| PG3 | 2 | 2.41 | 35 | 42.17 |
| PG4 | 4 | 4.82 | 39 | 46.99 |
| PG5 | 17 | 20.48 | 56 | 67.47 |
| PG6 | 27 | 32.53 | 83 | 100.00 |

Frequency of missing observations = 2

*Table 21:* Frequency of graduate formations of directors

| Major of Postgraduate degree | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PGF1 | 4 | 4.71 | 4 | 4.71 |
| PGF2 | 10 | 11.76 | 14 | 16.47 |
| PGF3 | 3 | 3.53 | 17 | 20.00 |
| PGF5 | 41 | 48.24 | 58 | 68.24 |
| PGF6 | 27 | 31.76 | 85 | 100.00 |

Frequency of missing observations = 27

*Table 22:* Frequency of professional experience of directors

| Professional Background | Frequency | Percentage | Accumulated Frequency | Accumulated Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PP1 | 2 | 2.41 | 2 | 2.41 |
| PP2 | 13 | 15.66 | 15 | 18.07 |
| PP3 | 11 | 13.25 | 26 | 31.33 |
| PP4 | 15 | 18.07 | 41 | 49.40 |
| PP5 | 11 | 13.25 | 52 | 62.65 |
| PP6 | 31 | 37.35 | 83 | 100.00 |

Frequency of missing observations = 2

*d) Analysis and Synthesis of descriptive statistics*

Using the data from quantitative research, follow the synthesis of the descriptive analysis, followed by a brief discussion below:



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*Table 23:* Before the privatization

| Boarders before privatization | Directors before privatization |
|---|---|
| • The majority (56.25%) graduated in private universities. And 37.5% graduated in state universities.<br>• The course more present is engineering (41.51%). and 22.45% studied law.<br>• Their Post-graduation, 18.18% got in the field of administration, and economics is just behind with 16.36%.<br>• According to them professional background, is almost equally (23% and 29% for each area) between the areas of government, other companies that are not in electricity sector and unions, academia and other jobs. | • The majority (45%) graduated in private universities and 40% in the state universities.<br>• The course more present is engineering (71.43%).<br>• Approximately 23.81% got the post-graduation in the administration area.<br>• About their postgraduate, 23.81% studied in administration area, 14.29% in engineering and 9.52% in economics.<br>• Almost half of the directors (47.62%) worked in labour unions, academics, and others jobs, and a quarter worked in the electricity sector. |

*Source: Authors (2014)*

*Table 24:* After privatization

| Conselheiros pós privatização | Diretores pós privatização |
|---|---|
| • The majority (26.99%) graduated in private universities. 15.93% graduated abroad and 15.04% studied in federal universities.<br>• Also, the most popular is the Engineering course (40.57%), after administration course with 25% and 23.58% in economics course.<br>• Departing for the analysis of post-graduate, 26.11% did in the Universities IBMEC and FGV. And the field of Administration is the most popular (41.18%).<br>• The professional background of them is located mostly in the financial area (26.55%) followed by areas: other companies (20.80%) and electricity sector (19:47%). | • Most of them (48.24%) graduated in private universities and minority (4.71%) in IBMEC or FGV.<br>• Also, the most present is the course of Engineering (55.26%), followed by Economics (15.79)<br>• Departing for the analysis of post-graduation, 30.12% studied abroad, followed by 20.48% that did in IBMEC or FGV. The postgraduate area of administration is the most common (70.69%).<br>• Finally, 37.35% of the directors had experience in the electricity sector in their professional backgrounds and only 2.41% in the government. |

*Source: Authors (2014)*

i. *University education of boarders*

We can observe that according to our sample, discarding the cases unknown and anonymous, we can generalize that slightly more than half of the boarders attended for private universities before the privatization process of the company. Right after the privatization process, the number of graduations in private universities thins and increases the number of those who attended universities abroad and federal universities. In 44 cases of the total of 312 cases analysed, we do not know which universities they attended.

ii. *University education of directors*

About the directors before privatization period, the percentage of those who graduate from private universities and those who graduated from the state universities is very close. After the privatization process, the percentage of those who received their education in private universities increases slightly, but is only a limited number of individuals who completed IBMEC and FGV. I.e., the highest probability is that most directors have attended private universities of distinct orientations and segments; and have not focused on the two universities that form executives focused on management and finance areas.

iii. *Postgraduate highlighted*

The boarders, before privatization, the individuals in the company (those who did postgraduate) were divided between the areas of economics and business administration. After privatization, increase the group that focuses on schools as IBMEC and FGV and especially in the area of administration.

Among the directors, before privatization, the majority studied post-graduation in the administration area, and the second percentage in engineering and lastly in economics. After privatization, the majority of the directors start to attend postgraduate school abroad and the second highest percentage in IBMEC and FGV.

iv. *Most prominent profession*

The most common profession among the boarders and directors of the company, both before and after privatization are the engineers.

However, the majority of the directors are engineers and other part studied in law schools. In the post-privatization this framework is modified because almost half of the individuals formed in the areas of administration and economy.

For instance, the directors, before privatization, the majority are engineers and administrators are the



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lowest percentage. After privatization, the number drops slightly for percentage of engineers and becomes smaller the formation of economics.

It is highlighted in every moment Engineers because it is an electricity company, and at first as a state-owned the goal is offer quality energy to their consumers, and after privatization, the company aims to answer the shareholder value, but even so, we have engineers in the leading body in the two periods.

v. *About professional activities of agents*

Before privatization boarders are divided into three areas: government, business and other areas such as labour unions, academic, etc. After the privatization process the individuals who start to work at the company worked in finance in the first place and secondly, they are divided between other companies and electricity sector.

With regard to the directors did before privatization, almost half worked in the areas of labour unions, academic and others, and a quarter of them worked in the electricity sector. After privatization, most of the directors he worked in the energy sector and a tiny part worked in government. And a new category of employment is created, work in the AES group that Eletropaulo became part of this holding named AES Group, where on average 15 of its officers and directors participate in other companies of the same group AES.

## VII. Final Considerations

After the process of explanation of theoretical and practical part of this research, in this article, we can get to some important findings. First we start with the proposition that both, the company and the careers inside companies has changed in the transition to one type of capitalism, from productive to financial. Our figuration of the company in pyramid show the following hierarchy: 1 - owner of the company (or state in the case of public companies) 2 - managers (administrators), 3 - workers.

Secondly, because the transformation and transition from one type of productive to the financial capitalism, our figuration in the format of a hierarchical pyramid shows: 1 - shareholders; 2 - managers, board, directors and consultants, 3 – workers, mainly outsourced.

It can be concluded therefore, that our initial proposal can be confirmed with our results, since we could clearly see, in the case of the case study, the change in the fundamental characteristics of in the careers of the agents studied. Or somewhat, observed that in the period after privatization of the company, occurred a financialization of the agents, who start to do their studies abroad (before, they use to frequent the private universities). And the directors, who have no function directly linked to stock environment, continue with a more traditional posture, attending private universities and do not attending institutes focused on financial management.

Regard to the profession, both, before and after the privatization process, among directors and boarders, the profession that stands out is the engineering. After the privatization process, occurs an opening for a formation in economics courses.

The internationalization process is also highlighted through postgraduate courses of the individuals. After privatization there is an opening for courses taken abroad and also for national institutes focused on administrative and financial management.

Regarding to the professional activities of the agents, we observed that boarders have the tendency to have started working in finance areas after the period of privatization, previously this period; they worked in other positions, as unions, academics and other business. And, the directors still have maintaining the more traditional position, working in unions, academics, and other companies. Also, after privatization, increases the number of endogenous. In other words, increase the numbers of director who worked inside the electric sector.

Another important aspect that asks for attention is the fact that, different of the engineers who had a great expressivity in the construction of the Brazilian State, since Empire, the profession of economist starts to earn "breath" only after the 1930s, when the first economic courses are actually created. It is dated from 1930 to 1945, the period related to creation of the economics courses in the universities, and the expansion of the management practices and economic intervention. (GOMES, 1994).

However, it is only in the 1960s, that economists come to occupy a central position in the implementation of economic policies in the country. It is significantly highlight that before the creation of the economics schools, we had studies in accounting. And additionally, even after the creation of institutes of economics, the economics institutes were linked to the accounting course. It is only on September 22th, 1945, by Decree Law number 7.988, that the course of economic science is separated from the accounting and actuarial sciences course. (GOMES, 1994).

It is important also to focus that, the opening of the first economics courses, as FCEARJ (School of economic and administrative sciences in Rio de Janeiro) was open to a students that needed to work and study at the same time (more modest classes) because it was the only course that has vacancies for the night time. Therefore, there is a difference between recruiting students from economics and engineering courses. Because the last one, it would occur for the higher classes, so-called elite, from the imperial period. The engineering course compared to economics course, was much more competitive course, since it was



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required a higher score in the exams to enter in the course. (BRUNO, L. B.; LAUDARES, J. B, 2000).

Reminding that, it is only from 1950 that started in Brazil the professional activity of economists. Therefore, since 1960 there are a growing number of undergraduate students of economics Universities, which overrides the number of undergraduate students in engineering and law Universities. The postgraduate courses in economics are created from the 1970s. But the massive occupation in strategic positions in the bureaucracy from the part of economists, it is significantly from the second half of the 1980s. (GOMES, 1994).

It is noticed so that the late crystallization of economics courses, and the beginning of professional activity been consolidated from the 1950s, can be one of the reasons that the engineering was the first profession to consolidate in order to shaping and form the first Brazilian elites. (GOMES, 1994).

The importance of this of kind of formation reflected in this analysis since, the company has a substantial number of engineers in the leader position of the company until the present day. Thus, we observe a preference for hiring engineers inside Brazilian companies even after a possible opening for courses in economics and management in the country.

We live in a world where companies and individuals became financialized, but at the same time, we live in Brazil, with the repetition of traces of the past, that marked the mix between traditional and modern, which continues to highlight a profession that was part of a tripod of hierarchical professions, from the Empire country to the present day.

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# Migration and Asylum Problems between Politics and Humanitarian Action: Highlighting the GCC Countries

By Ahmad Al-Zubaidi

*Abstract-* This research examines the root causes that prevent the reception of refugees by the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries. The nature of the historical social formation of these countries when compared to the West indicates the reasons for the culture of asylum. Therefore, countries that cannot properly integrate their historical traditions with globalization are likely to be culturally shocked with modernity, this is then reflected in legislation within the state, Economic well-being alone does not provide opportunities for growth, Growth is a complex issue in which economic well-being enters, And the level of values that society holds. This paper discusses the treatment of the six GCC countries (Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Bahrain, UAE and Saudi Arabia).

With the issues of asylum and immigration, and this paper discuss according to theories of political science the reasons for the provision of aid and reception of refugees, and humanitarian aids shows that the issue of migration is normal for the survival of the human species, so it is an indigenous culture, the cultures of different societies are changing, evidence of the demise of many languages and cultures. This study examines the GCC legislation, Most of the legislation shows that the protection of refugees is inadequate in the GCC countries.

*Keywords:* *asylum, migration, new world order, populism, GCC, tribalism, culture, law.*

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# Migration and Asylum Problems between Politics and Humanitarian Action: Highlighting the GCC Countries

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## I. The Roots of the Idea of Humanitarian Action and the Reception of Refugees and the Idea of the World Order

The terms "humanity", "humanitarian action", "human rights", "reception of refugees" are related to the idea of a single world order, and this idea is modern and today the world lives under this system called the new world order. The state is the only important element in the international community, and after the Cold War, the so-called new world order emerged, noting that it is called the world order and not the international order, because individuals are important in it, not just states, and therefore the importance of the rights of these individuals. The system established in Westphalia is a system created to stop the conflict between states and give the state sovereignty over its population and its territory. Then came global liberalism, which tries to penetrate the borders of states .[1]

Mankind has known asylum in different ways everywhere in the world, in Greece, Rome, Mesopotamia and Ancient Egypt, and there was ecclesiastical legislation to hand over the same asylum seeker in 600 AD[2], Islamic law defined asylum in the name of giving safety and had practical applications in history, and has legal provisions.[3] The first modern law providing for asylum was the French Constitution of 1793, and with the founding of the United Nations after the Second World War, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 provided for in Article 14 the right of persons to seek asylum. With the immigration and asylum of Europe, the Europeans reacted first to the creation of a convention for the protection of refugees in the world after World War II in 1951 to protect European refugees. The 1967 Protocol extended the terms of reference of the Convention to include refugees worldwide, and most of the world then signed one or both.

Today, there has been a change in the views of some politicians, media professionals, intellectuals and people towards the ideas of humanitarian action and the values that formed in post-World War II Europe. They are, in fact, capitalist liberalism, which is linked to the freedom of the market. Liberal values, and the importance of human rights in many international conventions and declarations, have emerged based on this new vision of the world, where human rights issues were considered a fundamental issue in the interests of the state and its internal sovereignty, and then in the formation of the world order. The foundation of the post-World War II refugee rights was that Europe should build on the "free market", an idea that accompanied the importance of the idea of "human rights", and

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considered these issues in Western civilization after World War II. , In one package, any ideas can not take some and leave other[4].

With the emergence of large numbers of these unintegrated refugees in European societies, forms of civilizational clash emerged, to the extent that it was said that Islam was a more influential factor on Europe than Russian or American culture ،[5]. The twentieth century was the first century in which Muslim immigrants lived in European societies.

China now appears to be a strong competitor to the United States, as China seeks to play a greater role in the global economy. This raised the level of fear within the United States of the decline of the strength of the US economy globally, which contributed to the emergence of the populist trend in the United States with the victory of President Donald Trump in 2016) [6] (And populist parties in Europe that tried to exploit the feelings of fear of refugees, and economic problems, to promote feelings of racism)[7].

Since the Second World War in the GCC region that has not yet existed, and its resources for that time were very small, as oil was still new as an energy source, the UK found interests in this region because of its belief in the importance of protecting this A route for international trade from all that opposes the interests of the British Empire؛) [8] (The United States saw the importance of oil in this region to take care of its interests and the interests of Europe and Japan, where the United States found itself in need to maintain the security of the Gulf and the security of GCC countries because of oil, and thus Gulf oil became an essential element in the global system established by the United States, It prevented the Soviet Union from becoming a strong competitor, by making oil in the Gulf essential for world markets, a desire to preserve its power and liberal values and to build a new world order led by the United States as the most powerful in the world.[9]

It is noticed here that the new world order established by the United States began as if it had become unstable with the rise of populist tendency all over the world, under President Donald Trump. Any thinking in the opposite direction to the previously established international order means that the American power built by the United States, which relied on the power of the United States beyond its borders, through the free economy, will decline .[10]

It is also against global liberalism and human rights, which appeared in the Western context as a package with the idea of a free market, and on the contrary, the consolidation of nationalism in the economy and narrow affiliations in the founding of States, and not the establishment of states on the most important element, which is human in general, and here Any weakness in establishing a world order based on human rights would mean a decline in interest in the free market, in human rights and in the reception of refugees.

We find that individualism and neo-liberal mixing in the ethics of people and personal relations and friendly trade with any other person to form an identity of Western culture, this culture is based on the integration of globalization and the doctrine of humanism and the free market, and social solidarity according to liberal values, and reflected on ethics For Western man.[11]

The fact that the idea of asylum has existed since the oldest human civilizations in ancient times, but in its current form, has evolved by Western civilization, terminology varies depending on the languages and cultures expressed, in terms of distance and historical depth, It is an idea of the production of European and American culture primarily in the literature of the modern era, but we can say that the United States is more concerned with the term immigration, as evidenced by the history of US immigration legislation since 1790, where its systems have evolved over a long period of time.[12]،

As well as the diversity of ethnic origins of the American society, Europe has the term asylum is more used, and asylum in Europe is also a complex system, executive and judicial organs, and a common European

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[12] Migration Policy Institute, Major U.S. Immigration Laws, 1790 – Present, FACT SHEETS, MARCH 2013.



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Fund, ie, the issue of asylum is deep within the EU system.‘ [13]

Politics in each country and culture in each country determine the reality of the use of terms. Illegal immigrants are found in countries that legally accept migrants according to provisions such as Germany. ‘[14] Somecountriesmaynothavethisterm, But the term "illegal residents", residing in the GCC countries is linked just to employment contracts, This is the culture of societies in the Gulf countries. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries receive the largest number of migrants around the world compared to the population, although there are numerous human rights reports against the ill-treatment of these residents in the GCC countries [15].

There is no terminology on immigration and asylum in the GCC legislation, Compared to European countries, legislation has been enacted to protect the human rights of refugees. He is an illegal immigrant before applying for asylum. If he is found to be a refugee, he is granted asylum, for example in Sweden and Germany are among the most European countries receiving refugees ‘ [16]. He becomes a refugee, and then after a while he may become a citizen if he fulfills the condition stobe a citizen. However, if the judge does not judge that he is a refugee, he is an illegal immigrant, In the GCC and much of the world, there are none of these phases, an immigrant is an illegal resident if he enters illegally. The judiciary has nothing to do with the rights of this immigrant as the executive authority takes direct action against him. It becomes an expatriate laborer if he obtains a contract of employment and a residence permit, i.e., the law regulates purely economic conditions, and does not care about the development of an integrated system of human rights that may occur to immigrants, many residents are subjected to inhuman treatment and deportation contrary to international law.[17]

In the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, migrants are not accepted as refugees, whatever the circumstances except in Qatar from the issuance of an asylum law since 2018, and Oman in the Aliens' Residence Law.

In Europe, the loss of large numbers of people after World War, and the destruction of Europe, led to the need for workers to rebuild Europe from 1945 to 1970. In Europe, the loss of large numbers of people after the World War, and the destruction of Europe, led to the need for workers to rebuild Europe from 1945 to 1970. Some of the reasons for emigration to Europe in this period were human rights violations in non-liberal countries, the need to work from the population of poor countries, and the period from 1960 to 1970 was the period of decolonization, where the Europeans returned to their countries of origin and emigrated to Europe and many workers from abroad, and so Europe has organized many systems for asylum and immigration.[18]

This led to oil-based economic growth, in the formation of state infrastructure, citizens remained dependent on oil welfare, created problems afterwards, including unemployment among citizens, the lack of development of new industries, and a significant increase in expatriate labor, and remained there Urgent need for migrant workers since the 1960s and 1970s to today without their integration into society, through nationality. ‘ [19]

This means that abnormal economic growth is behind the need for migrants, and the need for migrant workers due to other cultural reasons not abandoned by societies in the GCC countries, which is the unwillingness to work in the manual occupations by the citizens of these countries. And the barrier of tribal affiliations, which create a kind of transcendence to manual occupations.[20]

The failure of GCC countries to receive refugees can be attributed to the cultural barrier of the GCC communities, which leads to the non-acceptance of citizens of these countries to deal with non-citizens. Where In the GCC[21], the tribal system merged with the Westphalian state.

In the recent crisis in Europe over refugees, there has been talk of terminology between politicians and media professionals. Globalization and openness, albeit carrying a lot of ideas from the West to the East on human rights and migration, must be. But these trends

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were reversed against the West, where the West was affected by the lack of such a philosophy in the rest of the world. But from the point of view of other countries that are not in alliance with the West, the centrality of the West to the world capitalist system creates opportunities for it, in liberalism within its westren societies.

The liberal rhetoric in the West has fallen backwards due to the rise of many countries, without the promotion of human rights institutions. China has achieved economic growth, but it is against the reception of refugees, as well as the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, as well as Russia, which has become capitalist as well but remained not liberal, and these countries believe in the free market, but capitalism in these countries are populist. ‹[22]

Strangely enough, the only ally in the new US system that has followed this populist capitalism is the GCC. These countries tried to form a society out of the tribe system, But it is still stuck between the tribe and the society of the non-liberal state.

Much of the understanding of the mechanisms for dealing with migrants around the world comes from understanding the mechanisms of manipulating speech and terminology, or ambiguity in statements.That the terminology for each topic may be related to the culture of society in particular, Asylum and migration are not part of the culture of societies in the GCC countries, and this has been reflected in the laws and dealing with foreigners in the GCC countries.[23]

This is why the GCC states do not deal with human rights or the idea of refugees in this way. This is why the GCC states do not deal with human rights or the idea of refugees in this way. This is because these countries refuse to deal with new ideas. as the term refugees or migrants in their legislation, because this means thinking in a new way towards dealing with people, which will reflect on the nature of the political system, and the system of government.

That is why history is part of the human culture. World War II, with its damage to the European population, allowed the idea of asylum, with about 50 million refugees. In the United States, its history was based on immigration. The term "asylum" is used more in Europe, and so by deconstructing the terminology through the historical dimension, we find that the question of asylum is subject to the human culture that exists in humans, and to various circumstances. Where the culture as it sIn its early years, immigrants from Europe, Africa, and the rest of the world, immigration has always been a factor in the development of American society.[24]

## II. Comparing the Nature of the Political and Humanitarian Work of the GCC Countries

If political systems use humanitarian action to serve political interests, how can we differentiate between political action and humanitarian action? Today, political interests do not overlap with the issue of humanitarian action. The human tragedy has contributed to changing views towards political interest.

In the GCC countries, the same rule applies. The GCC region prior to the establishment of these countries allowed migrations, and allowed the entry of foreigners, whether Arabs or other races. This is evidenced by the research on the origins of families in the Hijaz and Eastern regions, where besides the Bedouin Arabs found in these areas, there are also many residents who originate from peoples of Central Asia and Persians and Arab and African peoples. A study on the genes of Saudi Arabia's population revealed that the population of eastern and western Saudi Arabia has increased non-Arab assets. The Middle, South and North regions have a lot of Arab assets. The study showed that 71% of the population of Saudi Arabia are of Arab origin, twenty-nine percent are ethnicity who migrated to Saudi Arabia in previous centuries .[25]

Is all the work of the political authority a political act, in fact the work of the politician is related to his presence in power, whether or not this politician exercises to strengthen his political power, where even the actions he practices as a natural human affect on his presence in power. Here, the question arises: what is the criterion for differentiating between political and non-political action? But every time this humanitarian action is mixed, it becomes politically beneficial, that is to say, it becomes a political act. Thus, it is necessary to say that any humanitarian action emanating from the politician is necessarily political.[26]

[22] Alsaied Ould Bah, Progressive capitalism and egalitarian liberalism, Al Ittihad Newspaper, 11 August 2019, https://www.Alittihad.ae/wejhatarticle/103255/, (Original in Arabic).

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Humanitarian actions have been considered a kind of soft power by states, because the humanitarian aid provided by states guarantees a positive image in world public opinion, therefore, the GCC countries have been a strong contributor to humanitarian work and financial grants to poor countries and regions. Another aspect of the soft power of these countries is in part that they are the heart of the Islamic and Arab world, and are committed to tribal traditions.[27]

This conservative approach in society was a kind of soft power, but this had an effect on not reforming the legal environment, but it always prefers to provide financial assistance abroad. The basis of the theory of soft power goes back to the neoliberalism system, but the realism and structuralism has other view in the question of humanitarian action by states.

These two theories are important in understanding the reasons why the state provides assistance to other poor countries. because refugees are not the responsibility of the state, in normal circumstances, but the responsibility of the state from which they fled, so what are the reasons for such assistance while what is traditional in politics is that the state works to achieve the national interests,

Theorists of the theory of political realism believe that the strategic goals and objectives of the states crystallize the idea that each country is interested in its affairs only under an international system that poses challenges, and then achieve national interests, as all countries seek to maximize their power in a broad sense, as it has concerns about its strength, it tries to take foreign strategies, including foreign aid, which contribute to strengthening its economic and military status.

There are three assumptions of political realism in the actions of external states. The first is that states are legal persons led by natural individuals, and therefore their behavior as the actions of ordinary people. Second, states are rational entities that act in their foreign policy to achieve strategic objectives and not based on the spontaneous nature like ordinary individuals. Thirdly, it is the interest of national states that determines their foreign policy, and their foreign policy is in accordance with strategies to achieve this national interest.

This third view is the only one that clearly explains why countries provide foreign aid. One criticism of the theory of political realism is the difficulty of determining what is in the interest of the state it wants to achieve. In the classical sense, national interest may reflect the maintenance of state power and national security. The recipient countries are then subsidized, which are of strategic importance to donor countries, Therefore, the strategic objectives of the States in providing assistance may be diplomatic interests of a security and military nature. Such as the establishment of military bases in the recipient country, It may also be a business matter, so it may be noted that the commercial interests earned by the aid provider are more important than the amount of assistance they provide, to maintain positive diplomatic relations[28]. The perspective of realistic theory does not discuss the historical perspective of concepts in the culture of these countries.

If the reception of refugees is a form of assistance, we will find that the state will most likely not gain from the other state by one of the issues mentioned earlier, but another form of gain, is that these refugees become workers, and low-paid work, And perhaps other complex economic or political issues, such as moving the sluggish economy, this view is taken from the perspective of political realism theory, The view that achieving the national interest of the State is the goal of the State to provide assistance, and here the humanitarian perspective has no value according to this theory in itself.

In the case of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, we note that they prefer to provide foreign assistance to countries in the form of grants and non-reception of refugees as refugees, faced with criticism of the reason why they did not receive refugees, the GCC states answered officials with two arguments, the first argument is that she said she didn't want refugees to receive hard-to-live camps, the second argument is that these countries are generously providing assistance to refugees in their countries of existence, this argument is consistent with the theory of political realism.

The Structuralism holds that foreign policy issues, provision of foreign assistance is not from the perspective of the national interests of the State providing assistance, but from another perspective and is the perspective of standards, where according to the standards of common aspirations of those who have power according to this theory are determined by the standards of right and wrong in the external orientations of the state with other countries, political realism ignores local factors in determining the nature of foreign policy orientations, unlike constructivist theory, local standards according to the constructivist theory are of great importance in understanding the purpose of external assistance by donor countries.

Structuralism holds that external and internal standards are involved in shaping the foreign policy of states, Thus, the strategies of foreign countries towards

[27] Giulio Gallarotti, Isam Yahia Al-Filali, Saudi Arabia's Soft Power, Division II Faculty Publications Social Sciences, 2012, Volume: 49 issue: 3-4, page(s): 233-261. SAGE Journals, https://doi.org/10.1177/0020881714532707.

[28] Moussa Alaya, External assistance between strategic objectives, internal actors and influences in donor countries, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Arab Politics Magazine, May 2015, Issue 14, pp. 74-87.



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poor countries and the provision of humanitarian assistance are influenced by the internal standards of the donor country, constructivism thus differs from the theory of political realism, where constructivism gives importance to the norms of society in the formulation of state policy. This means that humanitarian aid is for itself, not for another purpose.

When comparing Western societies with those of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) from a perspective of Structuralism, we find that the societies in the GCC have a humanitarian perspective that is contrary to that of European countries according to this theory. Western societies in general have formed a culture about man dating back to the Renaissance, and a long history of migrations and dealing with different races, until it has a culture of migration and refugees known, while the societies of the Gulf countries are based on a tribal culture, and the family is the most important thing, not the individual And therefore reflected on the perspective of human action in these cultures, we find that financial humanitarian work is the most widespread, humanitarian action that allows for the integration of other cultures is unacceptable to the traditional tribe system, this was related by another thing that the formation of a class capitalism according to a Marxist perspective.[29]

But there is a lot of philanthropy in the oil-rich Gulf countries, inside and outside the GCC, to help the poor Muslims, and to support the poor Muslim countries. can't be counted, because they are in all Muslim relationships. In Africa there is a lot of philanthropy done by the wealthy societies of the GCC countries. In addition to the grants provided by the Gulf States to the governments of the rest of the Arab and Islamic countries[30], as a soft power in enhancing the religious and humanitarian status of the Gulf Cooperation Council, and this works to obscure the problems of legislation and the reality of legal problems in the GCC countries.

The GCC, led by Saudi Arabia, is involved in many Islamic charitable projects, including the Muslim World League, which was established from Saudi Arabia in 1962, and many Islamic organizations sponsored by the GCC as a soft power.

## III. Regulating the Legal Status of Migrants in the GCC Countries

The GCC countries are still experiencing significant population growth compared to the world average or compared with developing countries known for their high population growth rates. This is despite the fact that more than six decades have passed since the discovery of oil and the start of production, which is the main factor affecting population developments. The comprehensive development processes adopted by the countries of the region required the introduction of foreign labor because of the poverty of the region in terms of qualitative and even quantitative in most countries.

In the first decade of the 21st century, population data show that the total population of the region rose from about 30 million in 2000 to about 44 million in 2010, a growth of about 4.3% annually, and the overall rate of expatriates at least 46%. On the other hand, data show that the size of workers in 2010 amounted to about 16.1 million, including more than 65% of expatriates, after they were only about 60% 10 years ago, despite the qualitative developments of national workers.

The 2016 census shows that the total population of the Gulf States is 51,002,366, including 24,691,868 foreigners, representing 48% of the total population of the Gulf States. The statistics indicated that the percentage of citizens of the total population in the GCC countries is 52%, with 26,310,498 citizens, which is the highest percentage of foreigners in a country in the world. [31]

Refugees from persecution always try to go to countries where they find safety, and legislation that guarantees their rights, as the rights guarantees in the GCC do not pay refugees to "Syrian refugees, for example, compared to guarantees of human rights in the West.

The philosophy of law sponsored by the GCC states is very different from the philosophy of law in the West. The GCC countries, although they were established with British and American assistance, have not yet reached a sufficient degree of development. [32]

Therefore, we find that political participation has a big role in the renaissance of any society. Part of the renaissance of the West is based on political participation. What maintains the status quo is the huge oil revenues, based on the tribal system that cares for

[29] Abdullah Juma Alhaj, Arab Gulf Society and Class Analysis, alittihad newspaper, https://www.alittihad.ae/wejhatarticle/79385/. (Original in Arabic).

[30] Peter Mandaville and Shadi Hamid, Islam as statecraft: How governments use religion in foreign policy, The Brookings Institution, Report, November 2018, https://www.brookings.edu/research/islam-as-statecraft-how-governments-use-religion-in-foreign-policy/, (Last seen: 14-08-2019).

[31] Statistical Center of the Gulf Cooperation Council States, Population Statistics in GCC Countries 2016, Muscat, Issue 2, November 2018. (Original in Arabic).

[32] Said Sultan Al Hashimi, Human Rights Discourse in the Arab Gulf States, Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs and Asfari Institute for Civil Society and Citizenship at the American University of Beirut, Beirut, 2017, 1-27. (Original in Arabic).



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the sovereignty of families, and recognizes the honor of some families more than others.

In the GCC countries, there is no legislation regulating refugee status. According to the refugee concept found in the 1951 Refugee Convention, people from conflict areas must be received and not returned for fear of discrimination. Article 1 clearly defines who is a refugee. A person who is outside his country of nationality or habitual residence, because of a well-founded fear of persecution because of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, and because of that fear he cannot or does not want to remain Under the protection or return to that country for fear of persecution. Although more than 140 countries have signed the 1951 Refugee Convention or the 1967 Protocol, or both, the GCC has not signed either agreement..[33]

The economic migrant is different from the refugee according to international legislation. Here, we find that the GCC countries are among the countries that have large numbers of economic migrants legally, and although some of them stay for decades, but they are not allowed under the nationality laws to obtain citizenship no matter how long they stay.

Islam is a major source of legislation in the GCC, although immigration and asylum have provisions in Islamic law, the GCC states have not received refugees in accordance with these provisions, the Saudi Basic Law of Governance of 1992 states in Article 1: "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a fully sovereign Islamic Arab State;.[34]

،In the State of Kuwait, according to Article 2 of the 1962 Constitution, it states that "the religion of the state is Islam, and Islamic law is a major source of legislation.". In the United Arab Emirates, Article 7 of the UAE Constitution of 1971 states: "Islam is the official religion of the Federation, and Islamic law is a major source of legislation in it.". As for the Constitution of Qatar, the Constitution of 2004 stipulated in Article 1: "Islam is the official religion of the State, and Shari'a is an essential source of legislation.". In the Sultanate of Oman, Article II of the 1996 Constitution states: "The religion of the state is Islam and Islamic law is the basis of legislation.". In the Kingdom of Bahrain, the 2002 Constitution states in Article II: "The religion of the State is Islam, and Islamic Sharia is a major source of legislation.". Under Islamic law, a refugee must be accepted, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, if he escapes from persecution or war.

The fact that refugee is mentioned in the GCC legislation is found only in Oman and Qatar. The Omani Foreigners' Regulation Law No. 16 of 1995 stipulates certain rules for refugees. The Omani legislator authorized the foreigner who for political reasons to apply for political asylum and reside in Oman if such prosecution threatened his life or freedom, Provided that these political reasons do not contradict the general policy of the State of Oman and do not prejudice the Islamic beliefs, Until the end of danger, this is stated in Article 24 of the law.

In article 24, the Omani legislator also granted the Minister of Foreign Affairs the power to regulate matters relating to refugees and political residents. In this case, the foreigner shall be given a special card, stating all the details relating to his identity and the obligations that may be imposed on him.

It is also stated in 26 of the same law that: "A person granted asylum shall not engage in any political activity during his stay in the Sultanate of Oman.",. Article 27 stipulates that "the granting of asylum to an alien may be withdrawn and deported from the Sultanate and, at any time, the right to political asylum may be restricted under new conditions where circumstances so require, If a political refugee is to be deported, he may not be deported to a country where his life or freedom is feared".

In the State of Qatar, the current Constitution of 2004 stipulated in Article 58 that extradition of political refugees is prohibited. Law No. 11 regulating political asylum in Qatar was issued in 2018.This modern law provides detailed rules for political asylum.

An executive body has been established in accordance with the provisions of this law to regulate the status of refugees. Article 4 of this law provides for the establishment of a permanent committee called the "Committee for Political Refugees Affairs." This law is very advanced in the issue of admission of refugees. Article 1 of the law defines a political refugee: "a political refugee: any person outside his or her country of nationality, or the country of his or her habitual residence if he or she is stateless, and cannot or does not wish to return to it because of fear Justified the risk of being sentenced to death or punishment Torture, brutal or degrading treatment, or persecution, because of his race, religion, membership of a particular social group or political views." Many human rights organizations considered this to be a real progress from Qatar, likely to have repercussions on Other GCC countries remaining.

## IV. Conclusion

The GCC countries depend on foreigners in many professional competencies. Most of the GCC

[33] A. N. Al-Zubaidi, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S METHODS OF SUPPORTING STATES TO SOLVE REFUGEE PROBLEMS, RUDN Journal of Political Science, Moscow, 2018, Vol. 20 No.3, pp.398.

[34] Ibrahim Mohamed Ibrahim Hadithi, The Basic Law of Government 1412H, King Saud University, https://fac.ksu.edu.sa/hidaithy/page/20237, (Last seen: 14-08-2019).(Original in Arabic)./Saudi Arabia – Constitution, Adopted by Royal decree of King Fahd, Adopted on: March 1992. Wayback Machine, https://web.archive.org/web/20070206115254/http://www.oefre.unibe.ch/law/icl/sa00000_.html. (Last seen: 14-08-2019). (Original in English).



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countries, although they do not accept foreigners under the name of immigrant or refugee, but they are among the most welcoming countries in the world through contracts and temporary residence, these foreign populations are called 'migrant workers'. The cultural nature of these countries has not allowed the development of a legal system allowing for asylum, migration, or even integration of workers or the acquisition of nationality, and the GCC communities have tribal traditions that continue to influence the policies Gulf Cooperation Council to date.

The GCC countries face many fundamental problems in the presence of foreigners and the continued dependence of the state on oil, which has resulted in the problem of dependence on foreigners in most professions, and made most of the original citizens working in the public sector, or high professions in the private sector, The foreigner according to the view of society and the law as a means to fulfill the purpose of meeting the professional needs of society, without looking at the foreigner from an integrated social perspective, Thus, the foreigner was prevented from obtaining citizenship in these countries no matter how long he stayed, and refugee reception does not exist as a humanitarian situation in the Gulf States.



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# The Political Dimensions of Science Consciousness in Africa

By Technics Ikechi Nwosu

*Abstract-* This paper explores the concept of science consciousness in the national life of African states. The publics in African states interact with new creations of science in the form of products imported from the developed countries, yet no one cares to communicate to these publics how such artefacts were arrived at – the science in simplified language behind such products as well as the intrigues (political, social, and even religious) that played out before such artifacts became reality. In this way, the general public in Africa does not flow with the science and politics of science behind the emergence of technological artefacts and new inventions which are sold to them as finished products. Each artifact of science tells a story that expands our science awareness and inspires the average mind. More rudimentarily, African governments have weak institutions that promote the knowledge of some science among the public or the masses and where private organizations which can perform this function exist the governments do not know what to do with them. In Africa today, science still exists only in the laboratory. For science to get into the cultures of African societies, it must first get into the everyday language of the people through whatever means.

*Keywords: science consciousness, scientism, democratization of science, domestication of science, technological independence, public engagement with science and technology, anticipatory regime.*

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# The Political Dimensions of Science Consciousness in Africa

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*Abstract-* This paper explores the concept of science consciousness in the national life of African states. The publics in African states interact with new creations of science in the form of products imported from the developed countries, yet no one cares to communicate to these publics how such artefacts were arrived at – the science in simplified language behind such products as well as the intrigues (political, social, and even religious) that played out before such artifacts became reality. In this way, the general public in Africa does not flow with the science and politics of science behind the emergence of technological artefacts and new inventions which are sold to them as finished products. Each artifact of science tells a story that expands our science awareness and inspires the average mind. More rudimentarily, African governments have weak institutions that promote the knowledge of some science among the public or the masses and where private organizations which can perform this function exist the governments do not know what to do with them. In Africa today, science still exists only in the laboratory. For science to get into the cultures of African societies, it must first get into the everyday language of the people through whatever means. For science to take proper root in Africa, it must stop being a 'government thing' in every instance and must get into the common language and conversation of the people. This way the people will own science. The best root is the deepest root which science will develop in Africa through the masses. Building the science consciousness quotient of the African masses amounts to building the foundation for the emergence of technological African states. Science fiction is the simplest method to penetrate the intelligence of the masses to achieve the critical mass of science-thinking and science consciousness required to propel African countries unto the path of the scientific state. The paper invokes and thereon adopts Snow's scientism – that is scientism as formulated by C.P. Snow in his discourses on the Scientific Revolution.

*Keywords:* *science consciousness, scientism, democratization of science, domestication of science, technological independence, public engagement with science and technology, anticipatory regime.*

## I. Locating the Problem

In Nigeria today, in the age of AI, quantum computers, and postmodernism – in a word, the age of the scientific state – there remains a marked total absence of science and technology agendas in the people's political and social engagements. In public conversations on radio and television, on social media, in the newspapers and popular press, there is a resounding absence of science agendas, whether for entertainment or for public enlightenment and engagement. Even if one blindly admits that some form of social engagement with science and technology agendas could be found upon closer investigation, it would be a near-impossibility to locate some local content in the said science and technology agendas.

The Nigerian story resonates Africa's story, except South Africa. Science is presently locked up – caged and chained as it were – in the laboratory in African political systems. The Nigerian scenario does not even reach the laboratory and depicts Nigerian science and technology scholars as textbook scientists and engineers. These experts neglect their work in science-consciousness enrichment. But this may be far from the truth. Where is science done in Nigeria and why is the public completely unaware of it and thus completely unable to contribute to it? Why does the Nigerian public place no demands on their science and technology sectors?

In the southeast of Nigeria, break-up politics dominates the political consciousness of the vast majority. Millions here do not admit that they are Nigerians. The quest for the realization of the sovereign state of Biafra has eaten so deep into the mental fabric of the Igbo collectivity that nothing else is worth considering. There is however no indication that if granted political independence by some arrangement this area can produce a better country than Nigeria in terms of achieving technological independence. Present indications that the area can achieve a technological-state status are about negative. The science consciousness quotient of the collectivity of the southeast of Nigeria is just about the same as the rest of the country, which is near zero. The countrymen and women seem to be happy to be technologically dependent on even fellow developing countries – countries a few years back could be rated as far less prosperous than Nigeria.

The extremely low level of science awareness among Nigerian citizens suites the country's political gladiators very well, because this backwardness in the population facilitates the government's practice of corruption. There are practically no demands from the population to make the production and deployment of science the foundation of the Nigerian economy. Huge

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capital budgets are made that have zero impact on the science system of the Nigerian state. It is as though hard and deliberate efforts are made by the government planners to skew the development of the state's science system. Whereas intelligent governments use capital budgets great and small to target a stimulating impact on the state's science system, whether as catching-up regimes or comprador regimes or scientific leadership/ surprise regimes, Nigerian and other African governments deliberately ignore such science system targets by carefully avoiding the setting of such targets. Nigerian political 'rulers' whether in power or behind power are very much aware that increasing the state's science capability amounts to shooting themselves in the leg as the expanding production and deployment of technology would eradicate their ability to loot public funds and can entirely cut off their largesse networks, and so their political domain would be defined by a low net worth value. At the moment, the masses (the 99%, the vast majority) are blind, and their blindness defines the states democracy such that the people are very comfortable with annual zero growth of the state's scientific enterprise. This blindness, occasioned by the near-absent science consciousness among the vast majority, is the stock-in-trade of the Nigerian political class. The more blind the vast majority is, the easier it is for *incredible corruption* to continue among the political elite, the ruling class. Who then will bail the cat? The scenario in Nigeria is not different in the rest of Black Africa, except South Africa, which itself cannot be categorized among Black African states.

Ghana's independence came in 1957 and Nigeria became 'free' in 1960. The 1960s is known as Africa's decolonization decade. It is obvious that nationalist leaders of African states that became decolonized in the 1960s were not aware of the 1959 Rede lecture or ever heard of the name C. P. Snow who introduced what can be labeled scientific (or technological) republicanism or technological nationalism (to use a more common parlance) which are anecdotes that build upon and are in turn nourished by the selfsame science awareness regime. The first generation of Black Africa's Ph.Ds in science and mathematics, who incidentally emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, were trained in Europe (especially the UK) and North America (especially the United States). It is obvious that political leaders that ruled independent Black Africa from inception had no confidence in their countrymen scientists and engineers, albeit their world-class training in the UK and the US. For instance, the Nigerian political leaders may have imagined that a car put together by a group of these US-trained scientists and engineers (but who were nevertheless Africans and not Whites) would simply fall apart on the road and kill everybody on board! Incidentally the political leaders who negotiated Black Africa's independence and became the first leaders of their countries were men of letters and not men of science. They could not understand that science could dwell in the Black African's soul and manifest through his skin, much as it did among their colleagues in their colonial-master countries. African politics then could not connect with the science industry – which was at that time rudimentarily composed of the science and technology intellectuals and negligible science infrastructure. The government leaders, both civilian and military, could not complete the domestication process of science from whence a burgeoning science consciousness regime could be established in African societies by the full engagement of science and technology in the Blackman – that is Black African scientists. Till today, African political leaders and governments are yet to properly understand the notion of scientific republicanism and the concomitant notion of technological nationalism as offshoots of a science-conscious political identity regime.

## II. The Meaning of Science Consciousness

Science consciousness is the relative quantification of information possessed by a people on science issues, which includes traditional science knowledge available through science textbooks and information on scientific and technological break-throughs and imaginations on how contemporary society will live with such technological advances, such that one political society can be said to be more 'science aware' than another. I deploy the term *science consciousness* then to refer to the notion of public awareness of science in a political state.

Science consciousness therefore is the information-quotient about the possibilities of technological advance in the world and how the individual's specific society could relate with such possibilities. Science consciousness equips citizens of a state to analyze and tell where the policies of government are heading. The individual can easily read and measure the science component of government policy and determine whether it falls in the direction he desires. Science consciousness in this way shapes political expectations of the citizen in democratic societies.

*Seeing through science, thinking through science, imagining through science* are aptitudes developed in citizens with a certain measure of science consciousness. If per capita quotient of science consciousness in a political society is high enough, the entire society will evaluate the performance of government based predominantly on this parameter, and this too will determine their choice of leaders.

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Science consciousness connects the average citizen of a political state with her scientists and inventors in a passionate way, such that the citizen is ready to make sacrifices where necessary to ensure that the work of the inventor is made manifest and mass-produced for the benefit of the entire polity. Science consciousness therefore has great impact on the political system through the quality of the citizens' inputs and demands on the system. For instance in Nigeria, the average citizen still lives in the erroneous belief that it is only a professor of science or technology that can call for the governments' increased attention to science and technology, such that even ordinary citizens who have through their lifework achieved high political capital do not have the mentation to use this leverage to direct mass attention to the government's inattentiveness and lip service to science and technology development.

Again, science consciousness is an autogenic force in the citizens which creates high confidence in their ability to create and recreate science and to use this tool to drive their own economy by themselves. Science consciousness therefore manifests in a do-it-yourself sense which itself produces an export-oriented economic mind. By deduction therefore, a political system with a high import economic system is extremely low on science consciousness quotient of her people.

Science consciousness affects the character of heterogeneous and deeply divided societies in an unprecedented manner. In one scenario it can become a unifying force in societies deeply divided along ethno-religious lines; in another scenario it can deepen these divisions and ethnic cleavages but to an advantage.

Where science consciousness is not able to diffuse ethnic consciousness and ethnic solidarity, it fuses with this and other consciousnesses and will now be coloured and energized by same. So where science consciousness fuses with ethnic consciousness the result will be a further deepening of the lines of division to the point where the various ethno-nationalities will begin to compete for scientific and technological supremacy which all-in-all is very healthy for the emerging scientific state regime.

As science consciousness deepens among the ethnic nationalities in a state, all other lines of division that may exist, such as culture, ideology, etc, will be eroded, leaving only language and territorial identity (or ethnic homeland) as the remaining significant lines of division. As science consciousness pushes science among the ethnic identities, their cultures will become more and more homogenous as science itself begins to get into their various cultures and common conversations and becomes or assumes the common denominator.

## III. Conceptual Configurations

*a) Science consciousness and development consciousness*

Science consciousness rightly should be the fundamental consciousness which defines and drives development consciousness. The two are not synonymous. One is and ought to be the root of the other. Development consciousness is a quick-fix consciousness recommended by Western countries for backward countries instead of emphasis on the underlying science behind development. Sustainable development must focus first on science. This is because what constitutes 'development' will always be defined by where science is at any point in time. Development therefore is a *fluid concept* and depends on the relative stage of science in the world as defined by the science-focused states. Therefore development consciousness will always trail behind science consciousness and the two concepts are not the same. One is a cause while the other is an effect.

African states are defined by their high development consciousness, which is rather retrogressive. African states in the twenty-first century should change their consciousness driver from 'development' to 'science'. Development is not science and cannot always produce science. Science should be the real goal of development. In other words, science will always produce development – sustained and perpetual development.

Africa's high development consciousness is a post-colonial and neo-colonial orientation designed and propagated by the erstwhile colonialists in order to draw the attention of the newly decolonized states away from focusing on their real goal which is the emergence of a high science consciousness regime, such that these states will for hundreds of years to come serve as extensions of their markets and no more. The neo-colonizers have consolidated their grip on the control of Africa's consciousness by churning out certain development targets tagged Millennium Development Goals which all-in-all further deepen these states' attention on *development paradigms* rather than focus their attention on *science and technology paradigms.*

The fluidity of development is defined by the super-dynamism of science. Again the super-dynamism of science gives science the power to define time, that is eras or epochs. So in each era, science defines what constitutes development and countries that are focused on development agendas are forever going back to the drawing board in an effort to 'catch up' with the contemporary development regime instead of themselves defining such agendas by being in control of the cause.

Development as a quick-fix consciousness creates disarticulated and subservient economies. For



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instance, in Nigeria the telecommunications subsector was liberalized in 2001 and private GSM operators joined the sector and between 2001 and 2014 telephone lines increased from less than 400,000 to over 120 million. This means that as at the close of 2014 there were at least 100 million telephone handsets in use in the country. Yet the country does not manufacture telephones or sim cards. The country imports at least 15 million telephones and accessories every year through hundreds of importers, adding their own quota to the demand for scarce foreign exchange which in turn contributes its own bit towards weakening the exchange value of the naira. If the country's science consciousness was high enough, the planners would have designed a compulsory programme for the telephone companies to set up local manufacturing plants within at most one year of their operations in the country to produce telephones and sim cards. The mentality of the Nigerian planners in this instance is not to acquire the underlying science and technology in GSM handset design and manufacturing, but simply to 'develop' by getting everybody to communicate and own mobile telephones and to expand employment in the sector. Driven by this quick-fix thinking, the development-conscious Nigerian leaders failed to plan how the technology could be domesticated such that even more employment could have been generated and today the country could be Africa's largest exporter of mobile telephones and accessories. A Nigerian telephone brand could today have been a household name in Nigeria, the way every Nigerian knows Nokia, Samsung, and Techno.

Development consciousness is merely an adjustment mechanism. Development consciousness only generates adjustment techniques. Adjustment techniques only adapt to the problem but do not solve it. This is because development consciousness cannot create anticipatory regimes which build local capacity for technoscientific transformations. Development consciousness regimes are quick-fix regimes that predominantly skew over domestic technoscientific capability consolidation agendas. Development consciousness is inferior to science consciousness which itself creates anticipatory regimes as an aspect of technological independence regime.

*b) Science consciousness and political consciousness*

In order of precedence, science consciousness should come before, or develop ahead of, political consciousness. Political consciousness if not backed by the right measure of science consciousness creates political leaders and followers who are completely incapable of initiating technological advance of their states. Political consciousness is very high in African states as a consequence of the very high value attached to political power through primitive accumulation. In heterogeneous African states such as Nigeria, political consciousness mixes with ethno-religious consciousness and is driven by it to dangerous levels. Science consciousness is the substructure consciousness upon which the superstructure consciousness (being political consciousness) may be safely built. All other forms of consciousness, be it ethnic, religious, political, are inappropriate and in fact dangerous to constitute the base consciousness of citizens of a state. These elements operating as the base consciousness or consciousness driver or substructure consciousness easily produce religious riots and genocides, ethnic cleansing, political insurgency and civil wars, terrorism, ethnic politics, etc.

Science consciousness should be developed in the citizens of a state well ahead of political consciousness. This is necessary in order to direct and control the force of political consciousness which could easily run out of order and become counter-productive when it is not shaped by science consciousness. This is especially so in countries deeply divided along ethno-religious lines such as Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, and a score other African countries.

High political consciousness in African states has created two regimes in the political sphere. One regime is composed of typical African politicians and political activists and other politically conscious groups whose sole interest is the perpetuation of African style of politics characterized by looting of public treasury and the transformation of political actor into dollar millionaires. Another regime is composed of younger people in the form of interest groups who call themselves reformers of the political order but who are very readily subservient to manipulation by the first group through money offerings and acculturation. This second group cannot stand on their own and their members are one by one recruited into the regime of the typical African politicians. The regime of African politicians is an oligarchic group whose interest is the complete subjugation of the masses by owning and controlling the entire economy with the funds they looted from public treasuries. This group's interest is to completely impoverish the people while deceiving them to believing that they are working hard for their survival by showcasing peanut 'developmental projects'. Both regimes – the younger and the older – have one thing in common: They are extremely low on science consciousness. The political gladiators who specialize in looting government funds and impoverishing their people have no interest in investing these stolen funds in their country's science sector to get their people out of the dependency trap. They are incapable of doing this because they lack the requisite science consciousness.



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In summary, to get the best from political consciousness in African societies, an underlying science consciousness must begin to crystallize in both the older and the younger political actors and their audience or spectators represented by the masses.

*c) Science consciousness and political leadership in Africa*

In international relations and exchanges, African political leaders do not negotiate for science domestication in their states. They rather negotiate for stomach security which ultimately translates to their private pocket security. They are driven by other consciousnesses that do not encourage science-thinking. The critical mass of science consciousness in political leaders in Africa would create in them the appetite for science-thinking. This appetite may not convert political leaders and stop them from looting government funds, but it will determine what they will do with the many billions stolen. The crop of Africa's leaders who have been stealing the continent's money for the past fifty years seem to have sworn an oath sometime in the past never to invest in technology and science and to always ignore their inventors, especially when the politicians are in control of political power.

Prior to independence many African nationalist leaders all but failed to negotiate with the "colonialists to teach [their] people the system of discovery, the system of invention, the system of science," for this would have been more uppermost in their minds than anything else. By this estimation it does appear that every African state negotiated for political independence twenty years earlier than it was mature and ready for, and by this error, Africa's nationalist leaders ushered in an era of darkness after the Whiteman left. And they sold their people to slavery for probably a hundred years, the slavery of technological dependence.

Soon after independence, ethnic consciousness grew unrestrained as an inheritance from the nationalist leaders. The nationalist leaders who negotiated Africa's decolonization were characterized by a marked absence of science consciousness in their personalities. They bequeathed to their children the younger generation ethnic infighting and the struggle for ethnic dominance which are very fertile grounds for corruption and poor governance.

Political leaders in Africa from the post-colonial era up till the 21st Century seem to have sworn an oath never to develop the science sector of their economies. *Africa's political leaders are doing all other things but science*. Africa's political leadership, driven by zero science consciousness for at least the first fifty years of decolonization, has produced the reality better known as Africa's technology gap. Africa's political leaders hide under neocolonialism to explain their weakness and failure and consequent inability to convert their populations into an army of scientist, engineers, and inventors. Africa's political leaders, lacking completely in science consciousness, have done everything to destroy the spirit of invention among Africans. There are no government policies to harness and recognize inventors and mass-produce their inventions. The inventors are simply not known, and the governments have no plans to popularize them anytime soon. Some African inventors and scientists have revolutionized science, yet the political leaders have done everything to ensure that these captains of science remain unsung. African politics destroys science and invention and the causative factor is the marked absence of science consciousness in the political leaders. This cannot be overemphasized. Men behave the way they are raised and the way they are continually nourished.

*d) Science consciousness and good governance*

Since the dawn of the 21st Century there has been unprecedented sing-song in Africa about good governance especially since the creation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in 2001 and the emergence of the Africa Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) out of the instrumentality of NEPAD. The science and technology goals of NEPAD are bogus and the APRM does not include them as part of their review parameters. Granted that good governance includes the deepening of democracy and the increasing supremacy of the law such that all persons high and mighty can feel the bite of the law when they run against it, good governance in 21st Century Africa would flourish in its truest sense in societies nourished by a high science consciousness. This is because science has proved to be the best instrument to deepen democracy and accountability in governance and guarantee man's freedoms, including freedom from governmental corruption. For instance, primitive accumulation, which is a major characteristic of African politics, can be completely eradicated with e-government. In e-governance, government accounts and expenditures can be viewed and queried by the public. Government incomes from taxes and other sources (in Nigeria this includes the monthly allocation from the Federation Account to the various states) can be viewed and analyzed by the financially literate members of the public. Government expenditures, which include contracts for road constructions and rehabilitations which in Nigeria represents the highest single object of expenditure regime after regime and which are usually delivered to the people without any guarantees, can be made open to the public in e-governance. The fear that technology may one day put an end to their ability to steal public funds may be the real reason why African political leaders are not interested in raising to any significant level the science consciousness quotient of their populations. In this way,



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the longer the science consciousness quotient of the people remains at the level near zero, the longer the political elite can continue their public looting spree and the more they can continue to impoverish the masses, the vast majority.

If change in the consciousness driver of the average African shifts away from all other elements and moves towards science, the political behaviour of man in Africa will change towards *emphasis on appropriating the powers of science to deliver the best justice and accountability in the political system.* The attendant increasing demands for science in the political system will then constitute an input which the government can only respond to in the form of political imaginations on science as an output.

Therefore the bearing of science consciousness on good governance is not just on the delivery of public goods and services to the people, but essentially on how monies are spent in their delivery and how much access the public has to oversee and assess these deliveries, as well as how much of these resources are committed to developing the state's science capabilities. Essentially too, the bearing of science consciousness on good governance includes assessments of how much science the government employs in the delivery of public goods and services. Public services include of course the justice system. How much available technology (and the knowledge of the underlying science) is brought to bear on the delivery of justice to guarantee maximum speed and accuracy of judgements is also a focus created by the requisite quotient of science consciousness. According to a popular adage, "justice delayed is justice denied." Similarly, and especially in cases that involve those in control of political power, the law must be able to operate as a respecter of no persons and must bite quickly and decisively where applicable, no matter whose ox is gored. Electronic judiciary, electronic courts whose proceedings and pronouncements are accessible to the public will materialize in African societies driven by a high quotient of science consciousness. A high science-conscious regime is the best enhancer of good governance since it shapes political consciousness towards a science-regime state, and of course a science-regime state is the best facilitator of the democratic state.

Therefore the best "good governance" is only possible in socio-political environments characterized by a predominantly high quotient of science consciousness. This is the best antidote to the negative peculiarities of African politics which all-in-all make a caricature of the noble concept of good governance and democracy.

## IV. Review of Related Concepts

Science consciousness may not be confused with 'science of consciousness' which the web is replete with. Science consciousness simply means 'awareness of science' and the word 'consciousness' can readily be juxtaposed with awareness without distorting our meaning. Science awareness is a more direct synonym for science consciousness. Other related concepts include *public awareness of science, public understanding of science, public engagement with science and technology, scientific citizenship, science for citizenship, science or scientific literacy,* and *citizen science*.

Science consciousness in my formulation is meta-concept which embeds all the aforementioned notions of science and the citizen or citizen engagement with science.

*a) Public awareness of science*

Science awareness is popularly referred to as *public awareness of science (PAWS)*. However, according to Wikipedia (Wikipedia [1]) the terms 'public understanding of science (PUS) and *public engagement with science and technology' (PEST)* are concepts that define "the attitudes, behaviours, opinions and activities that comprise the relations between the general public or lay society… to scientific knowledge.."

*b) Public understanding of science*

This notion explores the multitudinal relations between science, technology innovation, and the lay society (ibid.) in terms of information flows from the scientists to the public. Initial trends in PAWS, PUS and PEST (expressions of science awareness) were traditionally built on the information deficit model of science communication (ibid.), but later trends have rejected this model and emphasized on "the development of interfaces to mediate between expert and lay understanding of [a scientific] issue" (ibid.). Historically, the Bodmer Report initiated the establishment of the Committee on the Public Understanding of Science (COPUS) in 1985 by the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS, but known as British Science Association since 2009), the Royal Institution, and the Royal Society whose objective was "to interpret scientific advances and make them more accessible to non-scientists" (Wikipedia [2]). This body played a strong role in developing the public understanding of science regime through "establishing standards for communicating science and technology" to the lay society (ibid.).

In the same vein, "How to raise public awareness and public understanding of science and technology, and… [What] the public feels and knows about science in general… are important lines of research in this area" (Wikipedia [1]).

Moving away from the deficit model, the contextualist model, leaveraging on the sociology of scientific knowledge, "focuses on the social impediments in the bidirectional flow of scientific



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knowledge between experts and laypersons/ communities" (ibid.).

The emergence of deliberative democracy theory as a new movement or school of thought in political philosophy had a catalytic effect on the Public Understanding of Science movement. Taking science and technology as a public good, deliberative democracy demands that "citizens exchange arguments and consider different claims that are designed to secure the public good. Through this conversation, citizens can come to an agreement about what procedure, action, or policy will best produce the public good" (Eagan). An agreement on what constitutes public good or common good is itself a precondition for deliberation. Inherent in this is an understanding (through reason) of what constitutes public good and the best process of securing such good in the best interest of the citizens. As such, "citizens' preferences should be shaped by deliberation in advance of decision making, rather than by self-interest" (ibid.). With deliberation as a fundamental requirement for democratic political decisions to be considered legitimate, "deliberative democracy claims that citizens should arrive at political decisions through reason and the collection of competing arguments and viewpoints instead of taking "political decision as the aggregate of citizens' preferences…" (ibid.).

Deliberative democracy which took root in advanced democratic political states shaped the emergence of the *democratization of science* regime which finds expression in public understanding of science and technology movements. Eagan's (ibid.) concluding remarks buttress this connection:

Deliberation in democratic processes generates outcomes that secure the public or common good through reason rather than through political power. Deliberative democracy is based not on a competition between conflicting interests but on an exchange of information and justifications supporting varying perspectives on the public good. Ultimately, citizens should be swayed by the force of the better argument rather than by private concerns, biases, or views that are not publicly justifiable to their fellow deliberators.

In deliberative democracy then emphasis shifts from the decision-outcome to "the quality of the process" of that decision (ibid.) in terms of its all-inclusiveness. Influenced by the theory of deliberative democracy, "Public deliberation of and participation in science practiced through public spheres became a major emphasis" (Wikipedia [1]). As such, scholarly debate on public understanding of science expanded to include the notion of public engagement with science, for 'understanding' naturally precedes 'engagement'.

"The deliberative turn" in the public understanding of science movement "attempts to develop more inclusive participatory models of technological governance in the form of consensus conferences, citizen juries, extended peer reviews, and deliberative mapping" (ibid.).

Public awareness of science according to Wikipedia (ibid.) embeds a number of themes and genres which include:

- Science communication in the mass media, Internet radio and television programmes.
- Science museums, aquaria, planetaria, zoological parks, botanical gardens, etc.
- Public controversies cover science and technology.
- Fixed and mobile science exhibits.
- Science fairs in schools and social groups.
- Science education for adults.
- Science and social movements.
- Media and science (medialisation of science).
- Consumer education.
- Citizen science.
- Public tours of research and development (R & D) parks, manufacturing companies, etc [and I may add here that this is a way to attract human masses to form the engine to push the technological take-off aircraft to lift off].
- Science in popular culture.
- Science in textbooks and classrooms.
- Science and art.

*c) Scientific citizenship or scientific citizen*

Quoting Alan Irwin, Brigitte Nerlich (2014) identifies this notion as coming from Science and Technology Studies. Thus ,

> Scientific citizenship is the active and aware participation of citizens in the democratic process in the knowledge society. Public decisions are more and more complex and involve highly specialized knowledge. To achieve better outcome in decision making processes it is necessary to combine the knowledge of the experts with citizens' knowledge and values. Scientific citizenship requires an open dialogue between science and citizens and transparency in information and knowledge exchange.

Melissa Leach (in Brigitte) further defines the implicit background of scientific citizenship as one core issue in STS scholarship, which includes "how citizens mobilize to claim rights around knowledge and expertise in relationship to science," as well as "citizen participation in S&T policy-making." Brigitte sums up this notion of scientific citizenship and the scientific citizen in the caption, "citizens are scientists too," which views citizens as scientists.

Similarly, "Scientists are citizens too" is another caption in Brigitte's treatise which defines another "framing" of the notion of the scientific citizen and scientific citizenship. Brigitte examines Beverly Gibbs' thesis which she claims "… uncovered various as yet under-explored aspects of scientific citizenship, focusing in particular on membership, rights and responsibilities and participation…" This has to do with



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the obligation of scientists as citizens of the state whose expert knowledge is acutely needed in formulating public policies. However, the "choices" available to policy-makers "should be part of a wide public debate, and such debate must be leveraged by 'scientific citizens' – engaging from all political perspectives, with the media, and with a public attuned to the scope and limit of science" This framing of the scientific citizen implies the scientist- citizen whose expert advice is a compulsory input in forming public policies in any modern state. Implicit in this type of citizenship then is the onerous responsibility upon the scientist-citizen to communicate science to the society, not just as science experts but must also enframe into their arguments political, philosophical, and social dimensions of their scientific knowledge. Implicit in this framing too is that the public has already achieved some appreciable level of science awareness as a necessary backdrop.

The third 'framing' of scientific citizenship in Brigitte's treatment of *Beverly Gibbs thesis* is considered to be of a US persuasion. "Scientists are political…" and "the focus is …not on citizens acting with or as scientists but on scientists acting as citizens" (ibid.). For American Physicists, "we are dealing with the issue of 'civic scientists' " which "range from scientists engaging in outreach and public engagement activities, to scientists in government, to scientists as political dissidents and even revolutionaries" (ibid.). Civic scientists then are not aloof in their laboratories but can be involved in local and national politics as they throw their support on socio-political causes, as well as scientific issues which may have heavy political undertones.

Brigitte however draws attention to the intellectual history of the notion of scientific citizenship and states its origin as the publication of an article in 1857 captioned "The Relations of Science and the Scientific Citizen to the General Government" (now available on the Internet) which scholars with keen interest in science and politics will find worthy of note.

For Anna Pellizzone (2018), scientific citizenship is predominantly about citizens' involvement in the creation and management of science. She quotes Bruno Latour (2004) to paint a vivid picture of the old system:

> Once upon a time, scientists conducted their experiments, formulated their theories and made their products inside their laboratories. They shared their results, models and theories with other experts before making them known to the rest of society. They played an undisputed leading role in technological and scientific development. Citizens were not part of the research and innovation process; they did not have a say and could not contribute to the results of science.

The scenario is different today because citizens' active role in the innovation process has become necessary and acceptable. Citizens are tax payers and aspire to have a voice in state-funded technological innovation. Citizens too are the very consumers of such technological developments and their viewpoint is deemed essential by both public and private research because a thorough understanding of their needs translates to a thorough understanding of market needs (Pellizzone, 2018). Scientific citizenship then "is what experts call bottom-up innovation, an approach that makes it possible to intercept the collective intelligence distributed through society and put it at the service of the community (ibid.). Similarly, the era of scientific citizenship is a "knowledge era" defined by "both … the irruption of science in society and by the irruption of society in science" (ibid.). The scientific citizens era has brought about the collapse of the "ivory tower in which scientists once worked" and has therefore redefined "the relationship between science, innovation and society" and demands imaginative "efforts in the area of public communication of science and scientific education." Scientific citizenship is about the democratic governance of science and technological innovation, and according to science and society scholars "today there is a huge demand for more open and inclusive research and innovation in which citizens and all players in society have a role and a space to make their contribution" (ibid.). In Europe, the European Commission supports "the voice of citizens in defining research programmes" through "projects that involve the various social players in the definition of research priorities." The CIMULACT (Citizens and Multi Actor Consultation on Horizon 2020) which involved 5000 citizens and 600 experts and VOICES (Views, Opinions and Ideas of Citizens in Europe on Science) which involved 1000 EU citizens are EU-level project examples of public consultation projects on science (ibid.).

*d) Science Literacy or Scientific Literacy*

This is yet another ancillary notion of the science consciousness regime. This notion states that everyone in a civilized society "should have working knowledge of science and its role in society" (Wikipedia [3]). The rendering by the National Science Education Standards as reproduced by Sheril Kirshenbaum (2009) is such a perfect and rounded explanation of this notion that I beg to indulge in quoting a large chunk of it:

> Scientific literacy is the knowledge and understanding of scientific concepts and processes required for personal decision making, participation in civic and cultural affairs, and economic productivity. It also includes specific types of abilities…
>
> Scientific literacy means that a person can ask, find or determine answers to questions derived from curiosity about everyday experiences… Scientific literacy entails being able to read with understanding articles about science in the popular press and to engage in social conversation about the validity of the conclusions. Scientific literacy implies that a person can identify



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> scientific issues underlying national and local decisions and express positions that are scientifically and technologically informed. A literate citizens should be able to evaluate the quality of scientific information on the basis of its source and the methods used to generate it. Scientific literacy also implies the capacity to pose and evaluate arguments based on evidence and to apply conclusions from such arguments appropriately.

Implicit in the foregoing rendering is the conceptualization of scientific literacy as part of basic literacy. Some states, having understood the acute importance of science literacy in a modern political state, have obviously built this quest into their standard literacy programmes, while attaching socio-economic leverages to same.

The National Science Education Standards (ibid.) further elaborates that individual scientific literacy quotient will differ in their preference for or savvy in different domains such as a higher understanding of life-science concepts and their terminologies as compared with a lower understanding of physical-science topics and jargon. Scientific literacy then manifests in varying degrees and forms in individuals, while expanding and deepening in the individual over a lifetime. However, the attitudes and values developed towards science during school years shapes the individual's growth in science literacy as an adult (ibid.).

The OECD PISA Framework (2015) gives a standard definition of science literacy as "the ability to engage with science-related issues, and with the ideas of science, as a reflective citizens" (Wikipedia [3]). A person who is science-literate then, according to the Framework can be engaged in "reasoned discourse" concerning the state of science and technology in his country. For the Framework, this engagement of the so literate citizens would require the prior development of certain capabilities and competencies, which include the ability to "explain phenomena scientifically," especially natural and technological phenomena, the ability to "evaluate and design scientific inquiry" which includes the capability to address issues scientifically and the ability to "interpret data and evidence scientifically," which includes the capability to draw accurate scientific conclusions. One of these three capability would suffice to define a science-literate person in most countries.

The launch of the sputnik satellite in 1957 and the Japanese economic boom of the 1980s drove education reforms in the United States toward the science literacy regime. These external challenges from the defunct USSR during the Cold War and Japan's economic expansionism and dominance led educationists and reformers in the United States to take a hard look at the country's science education system. Contemporary science literacy in the United States is conceptualized as the right of every American citizen and "a requirement for responsible members of society" (ibid.) which builds into average citizens the ability to make better decisions and to enrich their lives. The publication of *Science for All Americans* and *Benchmarks for Science Literacy* in the early 1990s necessitated this contemporary notion of science literacy (ibid.).

*e) Citizen Science and Public Engagement with Science and Technology*

These anecdotes of science consciousness have already been discussed in one form or another in the foregoing review. However, I shall attempt to outline them as they appear in current literature.

Public engagement with science and technology (PEST) has already been treated under *Science Awareness*. Be that as it may, I would like to add more comments here and relate it to Citizen Science. The American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) actually runs a department or programme known as Public Engagement with Science and Technology (PEST). Though the AAAS mission statement is "advancing science, engineering and innovation throughout the world for the benefit of all people," its primary area is the US society where it works as a pressure group on governmental institutions to achieve "sustainability for our nation's research" (AAAS). Since its establishment in 2004, "the AAAS Centre for Public Engagement with Science and Technology has worked to further awareness of science and the scientific process and increase public input into scientific research and policy agendas, encouraging and facilitating dialogue between policy makers, the general public, and the scientific community"(ibid.).

The Center equips scientists and scientific institutions with "opportunities and resources" to engage the public in "meaningful conversations" (ibid.) through:

- Increasing awareness and understanding of public engagement and its benefits.
- Demonstrating excellence in public engagement.
- Training scientists to communicate with non-scientific audiences.
- Building capacity for conducting public engagement with science activities.

Apparently, "demonstrating excellence in public engagement" goes beyond public conversations and public rhetorics on science and technology and includes actual practical engagement of the public or non-scientists in scientific research activities. Thus, the AAAS goal of "building [and demonstrating] capacity for conducting public engagement with science activities" and similar organizational and institutional visions in technologically advanced countries led to the emergence of the notion of citizen science. So, one of the goals of PEST programmes in science-active



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countries will be efforts to create a vast army of citizen scientists (that is, to turn as many of its nationals into citizen scientists). To the development of this hallmark in the evolution of the science consciousness regime I now turn.

*Citizen science* is the most advanced form of the science consciousness regime which seeks to convert a vast proportion of the population of a state into an army of amateur scientists who assist the work of professional scientists. For SciStarter, "citizen science is the public involvement in inquiry and discovery of new scientific knowledge." Its aliases include " 'amateur science,' 'crowdsourced science,' 'volunteer monitoring,' and 'public participation in scientific research'" (SciStarter). Other aliases include "community science, crowd-science, … civic science, or networked science" (Wikipedia [4]). Such public involvement typically involves data collection, data analysis, or reporting. A typical citizen science project can involve thousands or even millions of citizen scientists. Citizen science is predicated on two axioms: "1) that science should be responsive to citizens' concerns and needs; and 2) that citizens themselves could produce reliable scientific knowledge" (ibid.).

According to Wikipedia, 'citizen science' and 'citizen scientists' entered the Oxford English Dictionary in 2014. Citizen science therein is defined as "scientific work undertaken by members of the general public, often in collaboration with or under the direction of professional scientists and scientific institutions" (ibid.), while a citizen scientist is the term used to refer to a member of the public who participates in a citizen science project. A citizen scientist then is a member of the society with or without a formal science background "who voluntarily contributes his or her time, effort, and resources toward scientific research in collaboration with professional scientists or alone" (SciStarter).

In the United States today there are boundless opportunities to participate in citizen science projects, and organizations like SciStarter provide databases of thousands of "vetted projects," such that for any hobby or interest or curiosity a citizen may have, there is a corresponding and available citizen science project he can participate in. The social impact of citizen science resonates more when socialites and crowd pullers participate in citizen science projects such as "current and former NFL and NBA cheerleaders …who tune thousands of non-traditional audiences into citizen science…" (ibid.).

Suzuki (2014) views citizen science as "using the same technologies that separate us from nature to help us understand and enjoy it." Thus he states that "Smartphones, the Internet and accessible research technologies deinstitutionalize science and get the inner scientist in all of us outside to contribute to a broader understanding of a variety of topics…" The citizen science regime in this view is a veritable tool for decentralizing science in society abd a way to effectively get science "out of the laboratory and into the culture." Suzuki's view of the scientist in every man capable of activation by citizen science defines an underlying axiom in arguments by the scientistic movements implicit in science consciousness regimes. In Suzuki's view, "citizen science is a way to encourage us all to get outside, hone our senses [of observation], and undertake meaningful activity to monitor and maintain our environment, improve scientific literacy and …be happier and healthier." Thus, citizen science bequeaths scientific literacy gains to the participants.

Garbarino's and Mason's (2016) summary on the subject is worthy of note:

> Citizen science has become a powerful force for scientific inquiry, providing researchers with access to a vast array of data points while connecting nonscientists to the authentic process of science. This citizen-researcher relationship creates an incredible synergy, allowing for the creation, execution, and analysis of research projects that would otherwise prove impossible in traditional research settings, namely due to the scope of needed human or financial resources (or both). …emerging citizen-science projects show how improved protocols for reliable, large-scale science can realize both an improvement of scientific understanding for the general public and novel views of the world around us.

Citizen science therefore adds value to the public understanding of science. It is "a valid mechanism to help rectify shortcomings in the public's understanding of science." Garbarino's and Mason's rationale herein derives from a 2015study by the Pew Research Centre wherein "it was reported that the public's limited knowledge in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) is a problem for scientific progress." Similarly, the report "revealed that scientists and the general public see scientific issues through different lenses, creating a gap – sometimes a chasm – between the scientific consensus and the public belief." Citizen science as the acme of the science consciousness regime comes as a demonstrable antidote to this "problem for scientific progress." As Garbarino and Mason (ibid.) further stress: "Evaluations on a variety of citizen-science projects have suggested a positive impact on participants' awareness of specific scientific issues and their content-knowledge gains, as well as improved skills related to scientific inquiry and critical thinking." This is enhanced by the potential of citizen-science projects "for making positive impacts on the public's attitude to science." The rationale here is that "by encouraging inclusivity and openness, citizen science can break down the fear about or perceived distance from science, making science more accessible" to the general society. The second rationale lies in the message embedded in or inherent in citizen science itself, which is "that science is for everyone,



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regardless of personal, geographic, or socioeconomic background" (ibid).

The future of scientistic movements has arrived in citizen science. Through citizen science, science and technology practitioners, especially in technologically underdeveloped countries, can expand their sociopolitical capital as a vital component of their reward system in epistemes of dearth of scientific patronage (Nwosu, forthcoming). Citizen science too shrinks research costs, thus expanding the horizons and possibilities of scientific research in any economy.

*f) Science for Citizenship*

This school of thought in the science consciousness domain argues that modern democratic states require as their citizens populations with an enhanced understanding of science to enable their engagement in contemporary dialogues about science and technology issues to enable them arrive at reasoned decisions especially about the political, moral, and social challenges these have brought about in the modern state. Authors in this school include American Association for the Advancement of Science (1989), Jenkins (1997, 1998), Millar (1996), Millar & Osborne (1998). Osborne (2002) approaches this notion more as an educational problem in science education and advocates that mass science education requires a mass science curriculum, unlike the present curriculum with its "foundationalist emphasis" on traditional standard content suitable for the training of the career scientist only (ibid., pp.126-127). The non-inclusion of "the grand ideas of science" disconnects the learner from understanding science as " a cultural achievement" and thus cannot sustains the interest of the vast majority of citizens of the modern state who nevertheless are inadvertently required to learn science as concomitant to better citizenship. Science education for citizenship then must first "demonstrate the tremendous libratory power that science offers – a combination of the excitement and thrill that comes from the ability to discover new knowledge, and the tremendous insights and understanding of the material world that it provides" (ibid. p. 126). The second point for science education for citizenship according to Osborne is the tinkering with traditional school science curriculum to include "the science that interests adolescents," that is "contemporary science" defined as "the science and technology of informatics… mobile phones… modern cosmology… medical genetics," artificial intelligence, robotics, in a word, high technology. This is "what makes young people want to learn science…" and school science curriculum should be tinkered with to include at least an introduction of this all-important content.

Osborne further explains Science for Citizenship campaigns as a necessity to deal with an economic problem, namely the ever dwindling rate of recruitment of scientists into the science and technology sector. While the supply of scientists in the UK and the US remains "a small minority of the school cohort of around 10-15%" (ibid. p.133), one can imagine how insignificant this figure will be in less developed countries. This economic problem, for Osborne, can be alleviated by a working science for citizenship regime which itself is a "science for all" regime that demands "a curriculum for all" which has a catalytic effect in turning out scientists for the state through expanding and sustaining students' interest in the science and technology domain.

Millar and Osborne (1998) argue that "science education should be for the majority and should be for scientific literacy," that "Scientific knowledge can best be presented as a set of explanatory stories that would provide a holistic overview of the great ideas of science," and that "The science curriculum must give more emphasis to key ideas about science" as reform recommendations among others for science education for citizenship.

## V. Theoretical Framework: Snow's Scientism for Africa and the Third World

Frameworks that best support this paper are generally theories of technological take-off and technological development. C. P. Snow (1961) explains the Scientific Revolution not in its traditional historic construction but as an on-going and replicable event which occurs in a political state that prepares for it. The Scientific Revolution is a system which can be produced or reproduced anywhere in the world when its algorithm is applied with mathematical precision. In expounding the algorithm of the scientific revolution, Snow details its composition, which includes a high quotient of science consciousness among the population of a sovereign political state – that is, a certain critical mass of science consciousness in the population of a political state. Snow's algorithm precludes the existence of biological or racial advantage in technological capability-manifestation or "scientific teachability" of a given country. This work stands upon Snow's axioms to discuss the socio-political complex of science consciousness in Africa and the Third World.

Snow's arguments in his scientism include the doctrine of internalization of science. This means that science should expand beyond its primordial homeland and become a citizen of the entire world. Africa and the rest of the poor world in Snow's scientism are called upon to champion this internationalization of science *by making science their major business*. Of course, the premise for this bold recommendation is that Arica and the rest of the poor world are not inferior to the already scientifically advanced countries of the world in terms of national IQ or general intelligence. Building a science



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consciousness regime cannot succeed on an abysmally weak IQ infrastructure, but the population of any African state does not need a high scientific literacy to develop confidence in its own scientists and to understand that science is the solution to the plagues of governmental corruption and low agricultural production and that these can be remedied by putting science at the centre of the state's business.

Whereas political consciousness among Nigerians for instance has become probably higher than in the average American citizen because the Nigerian scenario is oiled by ethno-religious consciousness and passion and low republicanism (the very reverse of the US political atmosphere where ethnic homelands for instance do not exist), a science consciousness regime can be introduced in Nigeria and can thrive therein in spite of perceived inadequate IQ infrastructure because it can be mixed with and driven by the existing ethno-religious competition. Arguments about the IQ status of African countries as reasons for their technological backwardness (for example) are therefore not valid. Much as rocket-science IQ is required among the science and engineering professionals, you do not need an equivalent IQ in the rest of the population to initiate and sustain a science-consciousness regime. Competition for scientific achievement among the major ethno-religious blocs – which yields a science-conscious culture – can take off in the Nigerian scenario. When science consciousness mixes with ethno- religious interpretations, ethno-religious group A which dominates geopolitical zone A only needs to become aware of the calculations of ethno-religious group B which dominates geopolitical zone B and competition in science mobilization begins. Science consciousness regimes then can serve as science mobilization instruments, which succeed no matter how low the given society may be on the IQ ladder. Similarly, as a ladder has rungs so does a country, a population have different levels of IQ at each time in its history. IQ of political states then is not a permanent irreversible structure. Once some science has taken off in a political state in the first instance, the natural condition of man in terms of IQ strength must move upward and continue in that direction. This is because science itself will continue to reveal to those who have taken it as their business how IQ can be grown, whether from the environment or from blood. More and better smart drugs will be discovered, more and better smart nutrition will be discovered.

When periphery countries join in the internationalization of science by making science their business, they subject science to the requisite domestication process which begins as an expanding science-consciousness regime. Snow is telling Africa and the Third World that it is not only the Caucasoid West that can do science. The Mongoloid East (starting with Japan in 1939) has become a great army in the science race. And so Negroid Africa too and the rest of the poor world, great and small countries alike, will join in the race and will one after another succeed. Science is not voodoo whose secret incantations are only known to the white world, for the Mongoloid East (Japan with China marching on) have also become great masters at it. The internationalization of science doctrine as proposed by Snow is a direct antithesis to the diffusionist political theories of development and underdevelopment championed by Western scholars during his time. I therefore revere Snow for his uncanny thinking in the circumstance of his time and christen him as the *father of technological take-off*.

African countries and the rest of the poor world then must develop their own requisite army of scientists and believe in them and rely on them. Whether the army of scientists are trained at home by imported expert scientists from the technological world or are taken to the academic institutions of the technological world, trained therein and returned to their home countries, the salient point in Snow's scientism is that the requisite number and quality of scientists must be found or developed for the poor world to take off. This brings up the notion of the critical mass. Snow's scientism is a pragmatic technological take-off manual for underdeveloped countries livened up with mathematical calculations. The critical mass of scientists and engineers and technologists trained to the levels prescribed by Snow and finally *engaged in the business of doing science and technology in their countries and* relied upon by their people and governments to provide the good life is simply a game of numbers. The numbers are also determined by the local terrain. Hot tropical terrains would require more of these experts than temperate cool terrains. Factoring in differences in geographical terrains, a certain number of these professionals must be determined per million of the population and per thousand square kilometers of landmass. This number per million of the population and per thousand square kilometers should be the minimum recommended quantity that will trigger and sustain a technological take-off. This is the critical mass of scientific experts required for the technological take-off of the specified country. Nigeria's requirement then will be different from Ghana's requirement. Then the ability of countries like Ghana and Nigeria to work on a national agenda like technological competition will be reviewed. This calls up the ethnicity question. Again, Ghana's circumstance is different from Nigeria's circumstance, using these two countries as examples in this analysis. Whereas Ghana has very few ethnic groups that are nearly equal in landmass occupation and population uptake, Nigeria has hundreds of unequal ethnic groups whose powers are difficult to balance, and so ethno-religious distraction of national goals is



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very high here. Mono-ethnic countries have a great advantage here (I have in several writings treated the thesis of ethnic homogeneity as a precondition for technological take-off wherein I referred to several technological states of Europe as ethnic-group countries), but multiethnic countries can devolve such 'national' agendas to their respective ethnic enclaves in the structure of provinces or federating states, the essence being to achieve ethnic ownership of those agendas to ensure their survival through their *ethnicization*. Whatever the obstacles are, Snow's algorithm in his scientism states that "the poor world" must one way or another *make science their business* (and I must add that he particularly had Africa in mind when he said this).

Adjunct to the creation of an army of research scientists, engineers, and technicians trained to world-class standards is the provision in Snow's algorithm for a public that knows enough science to understand what the scientists are talking about. This is the prerequisite background that switches on the Scientific Revolution. In Snow's algorithm for technological take-off in the poor world, the Scientific Revolution in each country must precede their take-off. Each country must experience the Scientific Revolution in its own time because, for Snow, the rest of the poor world must take off technologically whether Western countries believe it or not, whether Western countries are prepared to accept the consequences or not.

Snow as father of technological take-off theory has this knack for debunking traditional theories and thinkers of his time. Snow as a utilitarian thinker, in opposition to classical thinkers, saw the Scientific Revolution as an ongoing phenomenon, a human experience that establishes the rule by science in human societies. It is the human experience in its engagement with science that takes science "out of the laboratory and into the culture," thus rendering it as a cultural practice of each people who experience it. The Scientific Revolution puts science into human culture and must therefore be experienced in every culture on Earth if the world must rid itself of the evils of poverty, disease, and nuclear genocide. If the Scientific Revolution is a compulsory cultural explosion required for technological take-off, then the science-consciousness regime is the massive accumulation of gunpowder, which requires just a flame from anywhere.

*a) Brief History of Scientism*

Scientism is a hotly contested doctrine of modernity such that it is in various circles taken as taboo. Attacks on scientism can be explained in terms of its contextual development. Historically, the scientistic regime was at least a century or more ahead of the democratic regime. Countries that championed this scientistic development (mostly European countries) had not yet realized well-fermented democratic regimes as several of them were either perpetrators of political enslavement of other people in the form of colonialism or slavery or beneficiaries of such enslavement. Libertarian democracy was the missing political context in the historical development of scientism. Described as "a dogmatic faith in the power of science" (Whitney, 2007, p.2) or equated with the Holocaust, the two World Wars, and the possibility of a nuclear world war, critics of scientism question whether modernity has achieved any 'progress.' A great critic of scientism, Voegelin (1998), captures scientism as a dire condition of man thus: "The damage of scientism is done. The insane have succeeded in locking the sane in the asylum… As a consequence of the interlocking science and social power, the political tentacles of scientistic civilization reach into every [part] of an industrialized society…"

Whitney (2007) defines scientism as "a pseudo-religion, or a form of idolatry." Voegelin (1998, p.205) is most apprehensive because scientism has fused with political power.

The origin of the scientistic movement is traceable to Francis Bacon's publication of *Novum Organum* in 1620. Whitney (2007, p.3) describes Bacon as "perhaps the first philosopher to explicitly suggest that society could be advanced through science." Francis Bacon openly advocated for the union of science and political power. Bacon's "optimism in the unlimited power of science" (ibid.) produced his later work, *New Atlantis* which is a utopia wherein "inventors are given god-like status" (ibid.). Francis Bacon can aptly be described as the father of the Scientific Revolution. The origins of the Scientific Revolution can be traced to Bacon's *Novum Organum* of 1620 and his *New Atlantis*, which is his piece of scientific utopia driven by his *optimism in the unlimited power of science.*

For Bacon, history does not repeat itself but "represents progress so that [his] own age is greater than that of antiquity" (ibid., p.4). The perfect society would be produced by Baconian scientism as found in his utopia, *New Atlantis*. Bacon's utopia is a "technological paradise" built on the principles of his new science (ibid.). White (1973, p.350) describes this technological paradise as "transhistorical and not subject to decay" and "universal in character and not subject to the evils of previous human societies."

Francis Bacon's "dogmatic faith in the power of science" exemplified in his utopianism formed the background for the scientistic movement which later became the forerunner of the Scientific Revolution (Whitney, p.4). Baconian political philosophy is built on an advocacy for scientific advance as the general good. This is because science itself is the instrument with which man can realize his greatest good (White, p.344).

Newtonian science emerged subsequently as the next big push to the scientistic movement with his



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"idea of absolute space [which] had important philosophical and political consequences" (Whitney, p.5). Newton's philosophy defines "a rational, utilitarian core that promotes technology and wealth, but seeks to delegitimize… forms of knowledge that do not promote practical utility" (ibid.).

The rational-utilitarian influence of Newton's scientistic philosophy had a great impact on the French thinker Henri de Saint-Simon during the French Revolution. Saint-Simon sought to reunite his French society under the philosophy of scientism as framed by him. Saint-Simon rejected both Libertarianism and Christianity and proposed a society led by the "Council of Newton, consisting of twenty-one scholars and presided by the mathematician who had received the most votes" (Hayek, 1979, p.219). This Newtonian Council, serving as "the representatives of God on Earth," would overthrow the pope, cardinals, the bishops, as well as the priests who "do not understand the divine science which God had entrusted to them and which some day will again turn Earth into paradise" (ibid.). In Saint-Simon's scientism, "the law of human progress guides and dominates all; men are only its instruments," and those who are unable to keep up or unwilling to follow this plan for 'progress' should be treated by the rest of society as malformed (ibid., p.222).

Saint-Simon's totalitarian philosophy is expressed thus: "the vague and metaphysical idea of liberty impedes the action of the masses on the individual and is contrary to the development of civilization and to the organization of a well-ordered system" (ibid., p.249). This dictatorship of the masses presents Saint-Simon as the primogenitor of Marxism. In his philosophy, there must not be ideological pluralism and for this purpose "individual liberty must give way to collective necessity" (Whitney, p.6). Saint-Simon advocates for scientific totalitarianism or totalitarian scientism. In Simon's doctrine, science should be seen as a social enterprise driven by "collective necessity" as opposed to individual liberty. Saint-Simon's scientism therefore can best be understood as *authoritarian scientism* which can easily lead to *scientific tyranny*. Every religion in Simon's doctrine must comply with the requirements of his "positive science" if it must be permitted to exist. To this end, he rejects the Christian code but admires only the hierarchical structure of the Church (ibid.). The twenty-one scientists of the "Council of Newton" according to Simon's utopianism should structure their hierarchy after the pattern of the Catholic clergy and lead the education of the masses (ibid.). This Council would therefore "elect a scientific pope, employ excommunication for crimes against the ideology, and institute a Newtonian form of baptism" for all (Lyon, 1961, p.62).

Saint-Simon had a disciple, Auguste Comte, who further developed his master's utopia. The emergence of positivism as a very powerful aspect of scientism is widely credited to Comte. Auguste Comte desired to introduce into the society a "new spiritual organization" founded on "a new dogma of science" (Whitney, p.7). To this end "the organic and rational society of the future must be based on science: the principles of its organization will be scientifically elaborated, and all its members must adopt scientific modes of thinking" (Kolakowski, 1969, p.50). Like Bacon and Saint-Simon, Comte rejects the "cyclical view of history" and maintains that history is progressive and does not repeat itself (Whitney, pp.4,8). He rather proposes the three progressive stages of history, namely the theological stage (in which the mind explains natural phenomena through supernatural causes), the metaphysical stage (in which the mind finds singular, universal causes of phenomena), and the positivist stage (in which the mind rejects all metaphysical questions and accepts only knowledge that has practical utility which is defined as matters that deal only with observable phenomena) (ibid., p.8). In his 'positivist utopia' Comte treats human beings as "organisms" with defined "structures and functions" and rejects human "emotions, rights, and thoughts" and concludes that science can achieve unity of all members of the society within a massive "integration of religion and knowledge" (ibid., p.9).

But it is Karl Marx who took scientism to the political sphere where it made its greatest mark. As Whitney (p.10) notes, "The main difference between Marx's brand of scientism and that of Comte, Bacon, and Saint-Simon is that Marxism became socially [and politically] relevant" by getting the full attention of the powerful politicians of the world. Marxism, like its predecessors, elevates science to the position of the acceptable religion for all and repudiates conventional religions as "opium of the masses." The pursuit of science by the state to the point of truncating virtually all human freedoms, including the prohibition of "socialist man from asking questions about his origin," all bespeak classical scientistic principles (ibid.). Man's "classless realm of freedom" requires no government and is the "perfection of man" (ibid.).

In spite of the collapse of the Soviet Empire, the principles of Marxist scientism have however remained in China. The end of Maoism "did not result in the abandonment of scientistic principles" in China (ibid., p.11). Factors that explain the continued prevalence of attitudes of scientism in post-Maoist China will make an interesting study. But for one, Maoist Marxism seems to have been replaced with "a technological/materialistic scientism" in contemporary China (ibid., p.12). There is total acceptance of science in China as the answer to the material existence problems of the Chinese people.



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This implies a cultural inclusion of scientism in contemporary Chinese society. In China, scientism has been absorbed into the contemporary culture. This easy uptake of scientism becomes natural for the Chinese people because of scientism's natural similarity with Confucianism, with its noted intellectual tradition and other pragmatic elements of Chinese culture. Thus, Hua (1995, p.33) states:

> 1) Scientism inherits the Confucian cultural and intellectual tradition which has a holistic approach. All aspects of social consciousness are regarded as an inseparable whole. This intellectual holistic notion is also linked to the monistic political orientation in the Chinese culture where only one legitimate source of truth is recognized. Scientism is also in line with the utopianism embodied in the Chinese tradition. 2) It is a psychological response to what is termed voluntarism and ethic-purism as demonstrated during the Cultural Revolution. 3) It is a practical response to the socioeconomic problems encountered by the Chinese people after the Cultural Revolution.

The Chinese are obviously enamoured by scientism's claims to give unlimited material power. The Chinese must be naturally power-hungry people or they have over many decades been indoctrinated to be so. The "rational, utilitarian core of scientism… promotes technology and wealth" but at the same time denigrates everything it considers to be non-utilitarian knowledge which includes religion (Whitney, p.13). Freedom of conscience and other civil liberties are unknown in China and the one-child policy has not been repudiated since 1980. With most churches operating underground, only the officially approved Christian churches can operate. The implication here is that in the 21st Century the Chinese government still prioritizes "pragmatic politics over individual rights" (ibid., p.14). The Chinese authorities are aware of the delicate situation that religious pluralism would destroy the established political order. Everything is done by the authorities to encourage the apparent worship of science. Hua (p.145) notes a popular comment nearly a hundred years old:

> During the last thirty years or so there is a name which has acquired an incomparable position of respect in China; no one, whether informed, ignorant, conservative or progressive, dares openly slight or jeer at it. The name is Science. The worth of this almost nationwide worship is another question. But we can at least say that ever since the beginning of the reformist tendencies (1890) in China, there is not a single person who calls himself a modern man and yet dares openly to belittle Science.

Totalitarian impulses across the ages have been branded scientism. This is because science has become the new consciousness of man that enables him to become the master of his physical world, endowing him with the power to eliminate disease and hunger and to achieve a longer life span. The enamouring power of science became its own trappings which has convinced political men over the ages that anything could be sold across to the people when it is branded science. Subsequently, the equalitarian ideology in Marxism (which is not evil in itself) could be sold to the masses along with a repudiation of religion; and the destruction of man's freedom of conscience (a great evil) could gain public acceptability because these ideologies at polar variance with equalitarianism were branded 'science.' Contemporary scholarship on scientism should begin to separate totalitarian scientism from libertarian scientism.

## VI. Domesticating Science Fiction for Building Science Consciousness in African States: An Examination of the African Science Fiction Project

I have explored in this paper to some extent how science consciousness or science awareness shapes and propels political participation, political expectations, and generally political orientations and ultimately political culture of members of political systems and how this motive force can best be exploited to propel African states, whether underdeveloped or developing, onto the path of the technoscientific state.

*Politics of African states cannot transcend their cultural milieu*. The import of this statement is that a nation's culture components determines to a large extent the colour and character of her politics. Ethnicity and ethnocentrism, religion and tribalism, sectionalism and *clanism* for instance are basic components of Africa's cultures which became prominent upon decolonization and subsequently became the elements of her political culture. Africans were completely untutored on the values of universal consciousness which at least could manifest as Africaness, much less on the value of national consciousness, which is a country by country consciousness. Country-consciousness manifested at most the first ten years after independence of each African state and thereafter the primordial cleavages quickly took the reigns. In several African countries it manifested in military takeover of governments and in others as outright civil wars.

Granted that cultural backgrounds determine the character and pattern of politics in Africa and have in fact produced the peculiar reality called African politics which has produced little progress in Africa over a period of half a century of political independence, what possible ways can we begin to reshape Africa's culture, what ingredients and components and elements can we inject into the culture such that its influence in the political sphere will be desirable? Culture is extremely



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dynamic and is one aspect of human society that is readily amenable to change.

In this section of the paper, I shall explore science fiction as a method of reshaping Africa's culture towards expanding the science consciousness quotient of her diverse peoples. I shall understudy The African Science Fiction Project and the efforts of this institution at domesticating science fiction in Africa.

Every human society at any stage of development has a science fiction possibility. Science fiction novels and short stories and movies are works about the future of man in a specific society. Therefore, arguments that science fiction is not useful in Africa because it would not be understood and appreciated by the African masses is baseless because human imagination and curiosity are universal drives in man irrespective of the environment and upbringing, and can be used to propel the African along the path of imaginations about his future with science as the theme of that future.

Science fiction over the years has failed to connect Africans to science-thinking and imagining because the stories told in them have been about Western civilizations represented by the developed countries, and this way it has failed to critically ignite the imagination of Africans. This is the basis for arguments against the relevance of science fiction because it is for societies whose level of development puts their people on a plane of reasoning to flow with science fiction thoughts and imaginations. The real problem is that science fiction has not been prepared to include the African and African countries and governments in its visualizations. This is the missing link, and this absent link has added to the mystification of science to the African masses rather than achieve its goal of demystification of science. Professor Mark Brake and Martin Griffiths (insert reference) capture the role of science fiction in the culture formulation of society thus:

> On the eve of the millennium *The Times* asked a number of prominent scientists to identify major issues in science leading into the C21st. Professor Susan Greenfield of Oxford University and the first female head of the Royal Institution suggested the scientific breakthrough of the C21st would be: "*The engagement of the public in science and the expression of scientific ideas in a way they can understand and contribute to*"
>
> We believe science fiction can be used to help demystify science, highlight its social and cultural context, and act as a bridge to public consciousness, providing an opportunity to tackle pseudoscience head-on.
>
> …Why is science rarely appreciated as a cultural activity at all? If science is to be restored to its rightful place in our cultural heritage then science fiction can help to play an important part in bringing science "...out of the laboratory and into the culture.

Communicating science to the masses or publics is viewed in the above extract as a prime problem of societies in the 21st Century. Of course the essence of communicating science to the public is to build science literacy and science consciousness in the vast majority.

Mass orientation programmes whose focus is the expansion of science literacy, science awareness, and science consciousness (of the public) are essentially bottom-to-top approaches to scientific development of the state and are therefore best conceptualized as democratic approaches. Bottom-to-top approaches too are social approaches since they are apt to get into the cultural milieus of the societies being addressed and thus become autogenic in temper and propulsion. While governmental mass orientation programmes traditionally adopt a top-to-bottom approach and are therefore autocratic in outlook, non-governmental mass orientation programmes are usually democratic in approach and outlook because they adopt a bottom-to-top approach. The African Science Fiction Project in my assessment is a non-governmental mass orientation movement for the cultivation of science consciousness in Africa through the establishment of African Science Fiction in diverse media. Some slogans of the Project as indicated in the Advocacy Campaign Document (TASFP – Document, 2014) include:

- *Producing Africa's Best Leaders.*
- *The African Scientific Revolution.*
- *Stirring up the African science Spirit.*
- *Celebrating science-thinking in Africa.*
- *Bringing science-thinking to the African grassroots.*
- *The African Visualization Project*
- *Bringing Africa's tomorrow now…*
- *Putting Science into Africa's Culture…*
- *The African Science Consciousness Programme.*

## VII. Science Consciousness and the Political Relevance of the African Science Fiction Project in the Era of Africa's Leadership Crisis: Specific Political Leadership Imageries in Science Fiction

This focus or conceptualization derives from the fact that The African Science Fiction Project is a bank of ideas on political imaginations on science in Africa which are not just idealistic but also very seriously realistic and pragmatic in outlook. These imageries of political imaginations on science throw up a challenge for present and future African leaders and as indicated in the Advocacy Campaign Document,

> Books and movies such as produced by Scifi Africa project images of African leadership and scientific and technological attainments of Africa of the future in a manner that has the capacity to *infect* the imagination and consciousness of Africans of today.



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The African Science Fiction Project therefore is not just "a new movement in African Literature… committed to public communication of science and technology and the inculcation of scientific and technological temper among the African masses through the creation of African Science Fiction" (ibid.), it is also laden with political undertones through its challenge and enrichment of the political sphere with a million political imaginations on science in Africa that bother on political leadership. Images of African leadership laden with political imaginations on science continually bombarded upon the political class cannot but stamp themselves into the consciousness of Africa's political leaders, and having invaded their consciousnesses the outward expression in the political sphere becomes unstoppable. This engagement is scientifically and mathematically true because "once a mind has been stretched by an idea, it never returns to its original shape" (ibid.). African Science Fiction visualizations through film and novel are especially targeted to affect the political class. The African Science Fiction Project creates imaginary political leaders who are different from and superior to the real-life leaders which creates a conflict in the minds and consciousnesses of present day African political leaders. Basically driven by the fear of becoming obsolete, the present-day African political leaders will begin to *idealize* and consciously begin to appropriate into their modus operandi the patterns of thinking of those imaginary African heroes. The vehicle – The African Science Fiction Project – connects with the imagination of Africans to impart science-thinking and science consciousness to the masses and political leaders in diverse visualizations of Africa's future societies and politics.

The African Science Fiction Project owns a manual called *African Science Fiction Imagery* (TASFP – Imagery, 2014) which is a collection of ideas (imageries) from which its novels and short stories are created. At idea number two (ibid., p.6) we read:

> Defining the Nigerian State anew. Fusing Science and Government. Government is about Science. Science is about Government. Scientists are agents of Government. In the 2030s the Nigerian State redefined its purpose as follows: the Nigerian State is a scientific state and to this end a preponderant part of the job of the Nigerian Government (that is each regime) is the production and reproduction of science and its consumption. Governance in the Scientific State (such as Nigeria) is therefore inseparable from Science and is all about the expansion and deepening of scientific knowledge and its application. In the Scientific State, Science is an object: therefore the pursuit of Science is a grand objective of the state.

*African Science Fiction Imagery* is a working document of The African Science Fiction Project which is periodically updated. As at the time of writing this paper, it is five volumes with a total number of 300 ideas for African Science Fiction stories. A good number of these imageries or visualizations focus on Africa's political leadership of future years or an imaginary past which transposes Africa's real past (alternate history) which all-in-all stretch the imagination of Africa's political leadership. The picturesqueness of *African Science Fiction Imagery*, especially those about African political leaders, is the soul and magic of it. It is like showing Africans in clear pictures the leaders they have waited for generations to have and the political systems they have worked hard to achieve without success because of the existence of contrary political forces. In these political systems, equalitarian justice and the supremacy of law are achieved through the power of science and not through the goodwill of the man with political power.

In these imageries, political leaders of African societies are creators and facilitators of Technoscience. The leaders depicted herein are like individuals carrying the political burden of closing four hundred years of the technology gap between Europe and Africa. Thus, we read again from the Imagery (ibid., p.14):

> In 2025 the President of Nigeria initiated a project that he called *Extreme Engineering*. Then he garnered his efforts and got requisite legislation that recognized Extreme Engineering as a Nigerian programme that will run for 100 years, that is from 2025 to 2125. With its base in Nigeria the territory of the project was the ECOWAS sub-region with a total population of 300 million. The President enthused about Extreme Engineering and stated that while some Nigerians are living in the past and others in the present, provision must be made for some Nigerians to live in the future. So Extreme Engineering was all about creating tomorrow's techno-scientific society today…

The following reading concerns Africa's future legislators (ibid., p.12):

> The Biotechnology and Life Science industry in Imo State in the 2040s was comparable to the magnitude of that industry in the entire South Africa. The state had become the Mecca of experts in this field throughout sub-Saharan Africa. The National Assembly had rejected the passage of *The Sixth Day Laws* as proposed by some assembly men. So the Assembly had failed to pass legislation regulating the practice of biotechnology and the life sciences as applied to humans, the onus of which it said fell upon the Assemblies of the respective states, being as it is a moral question more than anything else. Soon the state became home, a haven, to hundreds of European and American scientists frustrated and silenced by *The Sixth Day Laws*. The effect was an exponential growth in r-DNA research and capacity accumulation. Human r-DNA or r-DNA as applied to humans (Human recombinant DNA) is where the state built its strength. It was revealing that for those who visited Human r-DNA clinics the quest for a higher IQ ranked most, followed by beauty desires, etc. One billion Euros in naira equivalent was accumulated by way of gross earnings by r-DNA clinics operating in Imo State in 2040 alone. The Government of Imo State had aggressively transformed the state into "a eugenics workshop." Indeed



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> Imo State by 2040 was variously described as "the eugenics workshop of Africa" and "Africa's Centre for Life Sciences." The government re-christened the state as "Africa's Centre of Genetic Excellence." Imo State had become Africa's Genetic Engineering technopole.

Each of these imagery-ideas is billed to generate at least ten novels and short stories for public consumption. It is expected that as the imagery-ideas are packaged into novels and movies, they shall arrest the attention of Africa's publics. Once the people are shown possible political leadership patterns in the form of stories revolving around certain individuals, government institutions, leadership patterns defined by technology incubation skills, a marked temperament for science domestication, and an unprecedented science business savvy, we can expect and predict that imageries of this category of African political leaders shall diffuse into the political consciousness of both the leaders and the led, to pave the way for the emergence of these species of leaders in real life.

Politicians seeking elective offices will directly or indirectly, overtly or covertly begin to associate their personalities with the imageries of technoscientific political leaders in African Science Fiction. In other words, *Africa's political leaders can be led, influenced, directed, and inspired by Africa's fictional techno-scientific leaders.*

The following are other specific African political leadership imageries in science fiction (ibid., p.25):

> IQ Political Parties. The rise of IQ Party of Africa (IPA). The philosophy behind the formation of this party is the assertion that political leadership is for persons of extremely high intelligence. A gathering of 100 professors of Science at Benin in 2021 gave birth to this unusual political party. These founding fathers were all of them active members of *Future Generations* (an international eugenics society that originated in the United States) and *Foundation for the Future*. Subsequently members were drawn from the Nigerian Chapter of *Mensa International* (an international association of persons of IQ above 130 which originated in the United States). Membership continued to grow in leaps and bounds, until total number of registered members reached one million in the first two years. Over two-thirds of the members were students in higher institutions studying mathematics, engineering, and the sciences. Around 150,000 came from MTN Brain Development Programme. The master plan was to transform the party into a continental political movement and political party, such that in 2023 IQ Party of Ghana and IQ Party of Sierra Leone were formed in Ghana and Sierra Leone respectively. By 2030 the Party had been formed in all English-speaking African countries, including South Africa. IQ Party of Nigeria by 2026 had 30 seats in both chambers of the national legislature and had produced three State Governors – those of Edo, Enugu, and Lagos. The Party was responsible for the realization of 'Nobel-Laureate Presidency' – a law requiring persons who wished to run for the Presidency to be men and women who had won a Nobel Prize for Science. The re-definition of the Nigerian State by the national legislature as a Science State (or Scientific State) in the 2030s is also credited to the vision and tireless efforts of IQ Party of Nigeria.

At number 28 of the same source we read (ibid., p.26):

> Nobel-Laureate Presidency. In 2028 a law was made requiring persons that may be elected to the position of President of the Science State of Nigeria to be men and women who had won a Nobel Prize for Science. In the absence of a Nobel Prize winner, the winner of any of several listed national and international Science laureates would suffice to run for the Presidency. Politicians rally around Nigeria's Nobel Laureates. The proponents of this law and the politics. The proponents in the National Assembly and the various State Assemblies argued as a university as an academic institution is headed by a person with the highest level of academic achievement – a professor, so also must a Science State be headed by a person with the highest scientific achievement – and the benchmark was the Nobel Prize for Science. In Nigeria the lawmakers were driven by the vision that Science must be crowned with political power. The impact of this law on Science and Politics in Nigeria. Nigeria is the first and only country in the world to have such a law.

The African Science Fiction Project is building models of science-based African political leadership through the instrumentality of African Science Fiction. The African Science Fiction Project is building African models of political science fiction. In the words of Donald M. Hassler and Clyde Wilcox, (2009) political science fiction.

> …examines the close relationship between politics and science fiction and shows how much of the former is grounded in the latter.
>
> [It]…analyze [s] science fiction texts as literature and …discuss [es] them as models of political science theory and practice …[It arises from] the propensity of [science] fiction writers to center their works on particular governmental structures.

Political science fiction entails "how current cutting edge technology might have social and political ramifications" (Bowers). "How can imagining the future help us understand the present? How does considering the future help us think critically about politics today?" (ibid.). These questions are at the centre of campaigns to develop science consciousness in a political system, and campaigns of this nature are key to achieving the requisite political transformations for the technoscientific development of African nations.

## VIII. Anticipation as a Political Dimension of Science Consciousness

What are the troupes for anticipating the future in sovereign political states of Africa and the Third World? It is important to first define the political character of the political state before discussing the

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anticipatory regime. This is because non-sovereign political states are not in the proper frame of mind to navigate the anticipatory regime since they are basically puppet-states in the hands of the master-states, and so their anticipatory scope is constricted, and to the extent that their sovereign status exists in truth and indeed so can the anticipatory regime be articulated within their borders.

Anticipation is "a virtue emerging from actuarial saturation as sciences of *the actual* are displaced by *speculative forecast*" (Adams, *et al.* p.246). Key elements of the anticipatory regime then are optimization, preparedness, and possibility: "*optimization* as the moral responsibility of citizens to secure their 'best possible futures'; *preparedness* as living in 'preparation for' potential trauma; and *possibility* as 'ratcheting up' hopefulness, especially through Technoscience" (ibid.).

Our "politics of temporality" defines the way "[the] present is governed, at almost every scale, as if the future is what matters most." In this 'politics,' "eternalism" and "ephemeralism" are united, thus producing an "instantiation of 'modernity' "[which] offers both a promise of certainty (that the truth can be known for certain in a way that applies across time, into the future) coexistent with the acknowledgement of an ongoing deferral of truth as ever changing (as more sophisticated ways of knowing it continually emerge)." The future then is understood as "a conceptual possibility" that "is always knowable in new ways, even as the grasping for certainty about it remains persistent" (ibid., p. ).

The science-consciousness regime then is an anticipation intensifier which engages the public mind to work with the governmental mind to scan the future in order to leverage, on 'optimization,' 'preparedness,' and 'possibility' which are troupes that involve "abduction as [the] requisite tacking back and forth between futures, pasts, and presents, framing templates for producing the future…"(ibid., p.246). Abduction itself is the mental state of "governing" the present as though the future is the most important component thereof (ibid., p.248).

While the politics of anticipation is both "temporal and affective," anticipation is seen to possess both "multiple valences" and "epistemic value" and is therefore a virtue. Science consciousness defines the "modes of prediction" in "the speculative forecast" which is a mode by which knowledge of the future can be known, which replaces the saturated sciences of the actual (ibid., p.247). In the anticipatory regime, "Preparedness is infinitesimally possible and infinitely malleable when one has a good working model of an anticipated future" (ibid.). Science consciousness shapes both the "infinitesimally possible" and the "infinitely malleable" nature of our preparedness agendas.

Driven by uncertainties about the future, anticipation becomes "an affective state, an excited forward-looking subjective condition characterized… by nervous anxiety as a continual refreshing of yearning, of 'needing to know'" (ibid.). Anticipation describes the 'palpable effect' on the present of imaginings of the future. Anticipation is also "a way of actively orienting oneself temporally," to deal with the mundane today that will affect the unknown (spiritual) tomorrow (ibid.). Whether as "terror-inducing apocalyptic visions" or as "an excited forward-looking subjective condition," anticipatory regimes define "a …self-evident 'futurism' in which our 'presents' are necessarily understood as contingent upon an ever-changing astral future that may or may not be known for certain, but must be acted on nonetheless" (ibid.).

Science consciousness is an instrument of cogitation which catalyzes futurism. It opens the citizens up to awareness of certain possibilities that can be maximized or minimized today to achieve the desired public future or avoid an unpleasant anticipated public future. Since modern anticipatory regimes do not occur or exist in a vacuum but are defined by scientistic calculations, the science-consciousness regime then becomes the foundational structure – the substructure that is – upon which anticipatory regimes are built and upon which they thrive. The relationship between anticipation and science consciousness can also be interpreted in terms of embeddedness, such that science consciousness assumes the interface with which to navigate anticipation. Anticipation is implicitly embedded in science consciousness regimes.

The notion of "injunction" defines the "moral imperative" of anticipation (ibid., p.246); thus anticipation is "a moral economy in which the future sets conditions of possibility for action in the present, in which the future is inhabited in the present" (ibid., p.249).

While science fiction enhances science consciousness, science consciousness itself becomes the language of expressing anticipation in political practice. However, anticipation and science consciousness can be observed to have a two-way relationship of their own wherein one fires/ignites the other and the other in turn is fired/ignited by one. As the principal regime in science consciousness, anticipation is the trajectory wherein "the future increasingly… defines the present [and] creates material trajectories of life that unfold…" while it 'reconfigures' "technoscientific and biomedical practices as a totalizing orientation" (ibid., p.248) as transformational agents of great utilitarian value.

Anticipation as politics of science consciousness is defined as anticipatory modes that "enable the production of possible futures that are *lived* and *felt* as inevitable in the present, rendering hope and



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fear as important political vectors," otherwise known as "the politics of affect" (ibid.). Science consciousness as it imbricates with anticipatory rhetoric utilizes a "breathless futurology" in its logic (Harrington *et al.*, 2006, p.3). While biotechnology and nanotechnology "stun us, generating a sense that we not only can but must *hold* anticipation," the diverse science awareness campaigns in Earth Science literacy, global warming campaigns, green energy campaigns, endangered species campaigns, etc, actually "infuse a sense of looming time limits that generate [a sense of] urgency and anxiety about acting now to protect the future" (Adams, *et al.*, p.248). Invocations of anticipation then provoke "preparation (tied to hope) but also surprise, uncertainty, anxiety, and unpreparedness (tied to fear)," such that "[the] unknown …plays an integral role in producing action" (ibid., p.249). 'Psychopolitics' is a politics of anticipation which defines the way "states, corporations, and military complexes tactically project and distribute fear and anxiety as a means to interpellate and govern subjects" (ibid.). The military-industrial complex can be interpreted as a highly sensitized science consciousness regime driven by psychopolitics which itself is an anticipatory regime.

Science consciousness can also be considered as the self-awareness of the science system. Technoscience or the science system can be seen as an *organic* system which develops in much the same pattern as any evolutionary system. Science consciousness in its diverse languages and troupes then is the self-aware status of the science system in its evolutionary history. The self-awareness of the science system can be likened to the maturity manifestation of the science system with which it can self-correct, inspire, and motivate and practically teleguide itself with its in-built intelligence and internal logic. It is the total engagement of the human collectivity of the state in the task of constructing and shaping its technological future. Whether it is framed as technological nationalism or as technological competition paradigm driven by primordial sentiments such as ethnicity or racism, science consciousness is an anticipatory regime in the scientific state agenda. Science consciousness regimes drive technoscience into the public consciousness and transforms same into the playing field of societal publics. Anticipation by the wide societal publics then becomes *the self-aware element* of science consciousness paradigms.

Anticipation then is the spirit of the scientific state. This notion of anticipation captures all the aforementioned tomorrow-today manifestations of anticipation. The language of expressing these aspects, again as stated, is the science consciousness regime in its diverse elements and troupes. In this perspective, "Anticipation is… a strategy for avoidance of surprise, uncertainty and unpreparedness, [and] also a strategy that must continually keep uncertainty on the table" (ibid., p.250). Similarly, "sciences and technologies of anticipation demand that the phenomenon be assessed and calculated – producing probabilities for anticipatory projects as interventions in the present" (ibid.). Implicit in this regime of anticipation, "the unanticipated… offer new territories for expanding anticipation" which opens up conversations on "new forms of curiosity." Science consciousness formulates anticipation in the creation of the scientific state. It catalyzes anticipation in the direction that forms the spirit of the scientific state. To this end, anticipation in its aspects of injunction, abduction, optimization, preparedness, and possibility imbricates with the spirit of the scientific state. These aspects of anticipation are themselves epistemes of the scientific state.

Injunction is the ethical imperative to anticipate, to articulate an "orientation toward the future" (ibid., p.254). From the complexities of modernization, "there is a moral injunction to anticipate as an act in which life, death, identity, and prosperity are at stake personally and collectively" (ibid.). Similarly, our "obligation to 'stay informed' about possible futures has become mandatory for good citizenship and morality, engendering alertness and vigilance as normative affective states" (ibid.). Injunction then as a dimension of anticipation defines science consciousness as a civic obligation. Several troupes of the science consciousness paradigm buttress this observation such as scientific literacy, science for citizenship, and citizen science. These science consciousness regimes inform citizens' imperative to "stay informed about possible futures" through a working knowledge of the scientistic possibilities, with a view to creating in them a natural orientation toward preparing for the future. Science consciousness then is the most powerful tool in politics of anticipation.

## IX. Addendum

In aspiring for technological independence, it may be required as a citizenship obligation in backward political states for citizens to know the technological histories of products imported into their countries and sold to them. Products such as the television, music systems, mobile phones, etc, should have embedded in their packaging systems concise or possibly elaborate histories of their technological invention and subsequent development. This practice has the potential to trigger a home-thinking attitude to science and technology development which inspires a do-it-yourself sense, which itself is a fertile soil for the Scientific Revolution to replicate in that political state. And of course a sine qua non for technological take-off in a political state is the occurrence or replication of the Scientific Revolution. Expanding or increasing technological self-confidence develops into the Scientific Revolution. Technological

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histories of technological artefacts tell who did which technology and under which circumstances the technology was done and in this sense is a stimulating learning experience. Mass communication of technological histories then becomes the tillage and fertilization process of the soil before planting. The Scientific Revolution thereon needs no deliberate planting as its germinal seeds have already infected the soul of the population through the selfsame technological histories running in the collective memory and imagination. The Scientific Revolution then sprouts and builds itself into the cultural practices of the population and becomes endemic, redefining and restructuring the political system. It is difficult for a state to achieve technological independence without a cultural experience of the phenomenon known as the Scientific Revolution.

Intellectualization of scientism entails looking at scientism as 'what it is outside ethics.' Scientism, anticipation, and science consciousness are imbricated with each other (where scientism is defined as the highest point in the expression of anticipation and science consciousness). Scientism is contextual – its practice is influenced and defined by the prevailing sociopolitical determinants such as religion, the prevailing values of the social system, the type of political system (whether libertarian, authoritarian, or totalitarian), and the economic system (whether neoimperial capitalism, post-Marxist capitalism, liberal capitalism).

What has scientism achieved? The government of China sponsored the massive production of its own scientists at home and abroad (especially in the United States) because it was propelled by scientism. Demystification of science and technology by Japan (which paved the way for the Chinese intrusion) is another grand achievement of scientism. The Japanese applied scientism to become the first non-Western, non-Caucasoid scientific power in the world. The blackening of scientism by mostly Western scholars underscores the fact that those who have a thing mostly do not understand what they have (or in its reverse form being that you do not know the value of what you have until you lose it). The present super-sophistication of Western science systems is the very product of scientistic movements of the past, albeit radical they may have been. Yet these traditional science-countries of Europe (with Germany included) have been threatened and overtaken by Japan and lately China in terms of technological refinement and quantity of high-tech production. Scientistic movements will one day achieve *freedom from disease* as a fundamental human right championed by the UN.

Scientism is the mentality and force that pushes scientists; it is the mentality that pushes science, and as it is, human civilization cannot get by without it. Scientism is the very air that science breathes without which it cannot live.

Scientism is an important political dimension of the science consciousness regime. Every citizen of the world in the 21st Century has the responsibility to become science-conscious compliant as a citizenship requirement. Every citizen of the world must know and speak some science to enable its complete domestication and democratization and to guide and direct it to build a world free from overpopulation, terrorism, hunger, and tyranny. This is scientism. It is a reality embedded in the Scientific Revolution.

## X. Conclusion

Building science consciousness in Africa is an antidote to the century-long neocolonialism and lingering economic imperialism. Science consciousness generates an African political consciousness that can best be described as revolutionary – the absolute awakening of her technological inventiveness and latent power, the complete mastery and control of her political will herself without external influence. Increasing science consciousness strengthens a country's assertion of her political will.

Technological artefacts allowed into Africa because of the proddings of commerce must needs have their histories embedded in them in whatever medium so that African consumers can learn and be inspired by the fact that the path of science and scientists has historically been rather tortuous than a bed of roses.

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# The Socio-Political Structure of Iranian Islamic Cities and the Role of Capacity Building in Achieving Good Governance with an Emphasize on the Production of Social Capital in Civil Society of Iran (A Critical View)

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*Keywords:* *social-political; political culture; good governance; social capital; Iran.*

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# The Socio-Political Structure of Iranian Islamic Cities and the Role of Capacity Building in Achieving Good Governance with an Emphasize on the Production of Social Capital in Civil Society of Iran (A Critical View)

Zohreh Fanni [α] & Sahar Golchini [σ]

*Abstract-* Recent changes in globalization, whether in developed or developing countries, have made nations seek a new form of governance. The basis of these changes is to reform the intellectual, cultural, and political structure of nations and governments to establish democracy. This study is an attempt to illustrate the formation of the structure of states as a set of factors (government, people, politics, social, political and local institutions) and the importance of the role of the political culture in governance and civil political culture in achieving good governance, particularly in societies with a traditional system of governance, and it posits social capital as the unofficial and effective social norm of democracy in a society. This article also examines the history of centralized governance structure and cultural models in Iran and aims to create new attitudes toward removing structural obstacles and create sustainable communities and optimal management. This article concludes that legitimacy, which is the moral basis of the authority of a governance system, derives from the satisfaction of the people of that society, and is referred to as the political culture of that country, and in case of public dissatisfaction and lack of public participation and trust, a crisis of legitimacy will occur in that society. Hence, in countries such as Iran, for reasons such as the individualistic system of governance, individuals are less able to participate in political decisions, and due to mistrust, the formation of civil institutions is less, and given the diversity of ethnicity and the multiplicity of cultures with diverse thoughts, weaknesses in the culture of civic engagement, and the dominance of the element of religion, good urban governance is at an early stage in Iran.

*Keywords: social-political; political culture; good governance; social capital; Iran.*

## I. Introduction

Iran's prime cities reflect the power of governments, the governing ideologies in the society, and the manner of social interactions and practices. In fact, there are fundamental differences between Iranian society and Western society in terms of geographical conditions, manner of ownership, the nature of power, and the system of social classes; therefore, the generalization of other countries' social theories on Iran is an unrealistic idea (Maroufi 2014, as cited in Katouzian 2000). Unlike European cities, Iranian cities have not been autonomous and independent, and in many ways are the result of power relations and centralized governance in the macro-socio-political structure of Iran. The political and social structure of Iran, both before and after Islam, has been based on the rule of different tribes because the primary social structure did not require complex social institutions (Zibakalam, 2014), and the political structure stemmed from the role of a father, boss, commander or (king) (Maroufi 2015, as cited in Pakzad 2011).

Thus, in a society of one's absolute and monopoly power, it was not possible to form an independent government since the ruler owned all the land and even the life and property of the people. The government in Iran indeed meant a division of affairs that was protected by the government and the clergy, and the social duty of the clergy formed a very close bond with the people because the clergy could easily impact public opinion because they were highly respected by the people (Algar, 1969). Yet, unlike medieval Europe, the clergy in Iran did not have a centralized organization independent from the central government (Ashraqh, 1974- Slugllet, 2005- Pakzad, 2011) in addition to the two factors of government and religion, a third factor played a role in complementing the socio-political structure and relations of government and society in Iran, which, due to geographical conditions and specific cultural characteristics, had different ethnicities with different traditions and characteristics. It was in this structure that clan or custom made sense, but it was not the concept of law and norms they wanted, consequently, due to the absence of a central army and bureaucracy, kings had to give rulers and tribal rulers authority (Reid, 1983).

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These tribes were the most effective means of control and security, particularly in the Qajar era, when they played a more prominent role in the structure of government. The customs are factors that are now valid among the people in the social framework of Iran.

The tendency of advanced countries has recently shifted toward drastically reducing the role of governments and revising their functions and duties (Evanze, 2003). The emergence of widespread social movements and the development of new forms of social organization and the demand for increased political participation have led to a widespread democracy in authoritarian regimes in the late 1980s and 1990s. There has been a shift from the role of formal structures and governments as decision-makers, emphasizing the role of civil society and creating a state-oriented urban management approach, to a proper urban governance approach (Barakpoor & Asadi, 2009) Given the complexities of social conditions for management and development policies, the government is not the mere governing agency but what is significant is the governance with the participation of other social forces at the domestic and international levels (UN-Habitat, 2002). In a proper governance model, the political system with a qualitative and strategic nature is present in the social arena and the government facilitates its intrusive and monopolistic role. Interactive social forces and groups form a harmonious and coordinated community for development and most importantly provide trust, cooperation and a networked structure organized throughout the process of social capital formation in civil societies.

In Iran, during the 1953-1978 period, considering the historical characteristics of government, government and society and the social and cultural structure of Iran, the hostile relations of governments with civil society, their unconventional structure, the domination of states over all the political, cultural, social and administrative affairs of cities, petroleum rental income, and eventually political corruption and instability and the lack of political participation in the ruling system expanded, reflecting the formation of constitutional and Islamic revolutions in Iran. Reviewing the research conducted on the social and political structure and the formation of proper governance in Iran and other countries reveals that most studies have merely examined proper governance in terms of dimensions and indicators, and other international research, have examined the reasons, requirements, context, and barriers to proper governance in cities. The present article examines the role of Iran's governance, social, and political structure and the obstacles and capacities of proper governance and the political culture of the governmental system and the weakness in the political culture of social participation in Iran in the absence of fully implemented governance, and the role of social capital production and civil society institutions in establishing governance in all international and national regional societies, and addresses the role of social actors as key players in the development of a country. In this article, we believe that the nature and characteristics of the political culture of government and the political culture and ethics of the participants in each nation have a direct impact on the manner of realizing good governance in each country because the type of governance and the balance between centralization and decentralization of decision-making to deliver services and increased social order helps realize good governance.

Hence, we believe that in order to move from the obstacles (centralized and hierarchical government) toward good governance, it is essential to revise the structure of the centralized system of government and establish decentralized and democratic approach in parallel with the participation of public institutions, management agencies, and the private sector. This will not occur unless there is a reciprocal link between government and social forces and civil organizations in order to enforce the rule of law, accountability, transparency in decisions and actions, accountability, continued supervision, non-discrimination, non-corruption, and public commitment, and above all, civil ethics should be defined and implemented in societies.

## II. Literature

Fokoyama (1986- 2000) believes in a dialogue between civil society and the government. In his view, good governance occurs when governments move through social discourses and integration between states and nations (Burchll et al., 1991-2000). (Safarian and Emamjomeh-Zadeh, 2017) believe that in some countries the pattern of good governance is in line with globalization and new technical conditions, changing the way we interact and trust and collaborate at all levels of society. (Sardarnia, 2017) examines the governance in Iran from a pathological point of view, and emphasizes on the civic ethics of public institutions and government, in addition to structural reform and how people and government communicate. Hashmatzadeh et al. 2017) consider the political culture and characteristics and historical background of nations in each country to be effective in achieving good governance. (Poorahmad et al. (2018) argue that to achieve good governance, traditional approaches in developing countries, namely the focus on management, need to be reduced and local governments should be strengthened. (Sundraresan, 2019) believes that the planning system and management structure in Bangladesh derive from how public and private associations compete, and maintains that planning at the local level is more desirable. Concerning the role of culture on participation, (Dang, 2018) claims that cultural models such as



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religion, gender, etc, in countries with specific conditions and histories, have a particular impact on participation, for instance, China and Italy that have a centralized, hierarchical structure of government, are very different from the Netherlands, which has a consensus-oriented individualist culture. (Gjaltema & et al, 2019) also argues about the formation of mega-governments as a combination of government and administration. In this mode of governance, societies are interconnected and the state and the government have a complementary role, but this type of governance is a new concept and one needs to look at its implementation comprehensively and operationally. Given this and most of the research reviewed on the subject of this article, most authors consider the barriers to good governance to be the lack of citizen participation in decision-making, lack of interaction among government agencies, and lack of local governments' involvement in governance, insufficient funds to inform people about their demands and requirements. For instance, In India, the main challenge is the lack of coordination among parties, and in Latin America, citizens' disinterestedness in local issues (UN-habitat, 2016; Gordon, 2016; Dacruz et al., 2019). This article now argues that, throughout Iran's history, governance structure and political culture of governments and the participatory political culture of the people and the ethics of the participants have a direct impact on the implementation of good governance in Iran.

## III. Methodology and Method

The authors of this article aim to analyze good governance concerning the civil political culture of government and people in Islamic Iranian society. In the theoretical section, the study of the history, context, and different political, cultural, and social experiences of the Iranian government and nation is pointed out since the beginning of Islam. The current structure of the state administration system, which consists of three legislative, executive, and judicial bodies, plays a key role in all decision-making. This descriptive-historical study examines the relationship between good governance and political culture of participation and the roots of the obstacles to good governance in countries such as Iran and used resources and valid scholarly articles and books to draw on the experiences of other countries. It also outlines the role of all government and civil society organizations, social actors and ordinary citizens in good governance, and offers recommendations in this regard to promote civic participation and raise awareness devoid of ethnic and religious prejudice, reform in political culture, and Civil and social capital growth.

## IV. Theoretical Approach

*a) Macro Socio-political Structure*

The post-Islam political-social mechanism in Iran has been the result of the interaction among the three elements of government, religion, and customs (Maroufi 2014-2015) these three factors have shaped the territorial organization, and their balance has guaranteed socio-political stability. It seems that this macrostructure of government in this period consolidated and shaped the political and social structure of the current cities and the existing system of governance. In the following, the impact of each factor on the urban scale will be examined.

i. *Governing Institution*

The Iranian city in the Iranian political system has been the royal seat and center of political and governmental power, and the growth of cities has been dependent on the government and there has been no independent non-governmental urban entity (Sultanzadeh 1984; Maroufi 2015) the reason that some cities have grown and some have declined throughout Iran's history has been the role of the rulers in the flourishing of some cities (Turner 2002; Piran 1991). In Iran, at the outset, government leaders presided over the city's administrative and local government divisions (Ashraf 1970). At the urban scale, many of the city's affairs and were managed by government affiliates; this is the reason for the lack of independence of the Iranian cities from the government. Urban affairs were initially governed by the ruler or the king, the sheriff, and the headmen and the judiciary (Beaumont et al., 1990; Costello 1992).

*Note that none of these powers were elected by the people or representatives of the people, and they were not required to respond to the townspeople.

ii. *Religious Institution*

The impact of religion in Iranian Islamic cities has been such that it has contributed to shaping the social, economic and political relations of the city (Yousefifar 2010). In addition to considering the individual dimensions of Muslim life, Islam focuses on social life and people's actions and behavior in society. One of the supervisory bodies for these principles is the Awqaf, which is an important economic and social entity that is considered to be a non-governmental institutional body formed on the basis of citizens' goodwill and in terms of cultural, social, economic and cultural dimensions. In terms of cultural, social, economic and management dimensions, it has played an important role in such affairs as the establishment of public utilities, the protection of the poor, women, helping the local economy, social cohesion and the promotion of justice among the people, the dependence from the state (Shahabi 2004; Ahlers 1994; Emamjomeh-Zadeh 1993; Maroufi 2015).



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iii. *Custom Institution (neighborhood)*

The neighborhood complements the spatial, social, and administrative structure of the Iranian city. In the formation of neighborhoods, family, ethnic, and religious solidarity has been involved and reflects the cultural diversity existing in different tribes and ethnicities, and this bond between residents has provided psychological security and increased cooperation and collaboration among them (Khirabadi 1997; Maroufi 2015). Initially, Iranian cities were urban neighborhoods of a self-governing social syst (Costello, 1992) and these cities, individual interests were integrated into the collective interests of the neighborhood, and the rights and duties of individuals were based on their membership and solidarity in the neighborhood community. The management of the neighborhoods was delegated to the headman, and the customary nature of these neighborhoods prevented the government from interfering in the neighborhood system (Avery et al., 1991) in addition, another nongovernmental organization (the social hangout), which today forms part of the urban space organization, was responsible for the social and moral control of neighborhoods, and some ethical people and Zurkhaneh played the role of establishing social order and public morality, defending the neighborhood and organizing religious ceremonies and promoting sportsmanship (Martin, 2005; Floor, 1971; Arasteh, 1961; Ridgeon, 2007).

*b) Urban Planning and Management System in Iran*

The planning and management system of urban development in Iran has been centralized from the beginning thus far, and its two main characteristics were the sectionality and poor role of local people and organizations in the development process. This system had legal, structural, functional, and inter-organizational predicaments, and despite efforts to balance activities and organizations, the focus of all government (Hanachi, 2004) was on centralized power, and there was no arena for public participation (Imani, 2002). In Banasheri's opinion, some of the common features of South Asian countries, including Iran, are as follows:

- Decision-making has top-down processes;
- Decentralization policies are poorly implemented;
- The awareness and enforcement of civil rights among citizens and officials are very poor;
- There is little effort to increase local resources and investment in education and social capital production (Imani, 2002; Banasheri, 1999).

The full intervention of the centralized government in socio-economic policy-making and planning over the last 50 years has severely weakened local management and civil society institutions, preventing citizen participation in decision-making (Kazemian & Rezvani, 2001). The formation of executive units of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has been through various ministries as the sectoral planning system and through the five-year economic, social and cultural development plans of Iran that have impacted the functioning of cities (Rahnamaie, 1994-2009) or through a petroleum-based single-product economy policy that results in a quasi-rental economy without the benefit of society (Habibi, 1996; Haji Yosefi, 1999; Rahnamaie & Keshavarz, 2010). However, in the new view of urban management, the shift in attitudes toward the role of the public and private sectors in the process of community development is confirmed.

*c) Political Culture*

Vebra (1965), holds that political culture is the pattern of individual beliefs and attitudes about the system and political issues and political inclinations of a nation's political values and traditions that are closely linked to the extent of people's participation. Additionally, Almond and Pawell (1992) argue that sustainable attitudes are beliefs and feelings in society. The political culture of a nation derives from the historical background and social, economic, and political structure of each society (SefiZadeh, 1994; Haji Yousefi & et al., 2017) and is transmitted from generation to generation (Kazemi, 2003).

The most important inclination at the level of a system is the legitimacy of a government that enables the realization of a political system, which is called the ethical foundations of authority and is understood as the political culture of a nation that. In the process of socialization, it is institutionalized and deals with subjects that form our basic perceptions of government, the rights and obligations of the governors and the governed, the patterns of elections, political change, and so on. To understand the legitimacy of a system, people's positive or negative judgment must be sought with regard to government behavior. There is no longer a crisis of legitimacy if the elements of a given society are satisfied with the efficiency of a government at the level of participation, distribution, and equality (Razi, 1995; Simour & Listed, 1995).

The distribution of political culture at different levels of society and across different social groups is not the same, one of the most important of which is different political culture among masses and elites (Kazemi, 2003). The political culture of the masses consists of the attitudes of the masses, which include citizens and participants and civil society that they do not have the system under their control (Zarei, 2009). In this respect, there are three types of political culture in most countries, including restricted, passive and subordinate, and participatory or active political culture that are of great importance. Now, the history of the political culture in Iran is examined in the following periods:

** Iranian Political Culture from the Beginning of Islam to the Islamic Revolution*



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Throughout the history of Iranian political culture, from the beginning to the Persian Constitutional Period, tyranny and force have been dominant and for a variety of complex reasons, the culture of permanent dependence has been opposed to the culture of participation, and the processes of socialization and acculturation have reinforced this type of culture (Bashryeh, 2011). In developed countries civil society was stronger and it resisted the political system and the rulers could not seize the property of the people in Europe, every city had a community that people formed. Yet, in Iran, European feudalism was never formed because most of the land was state-owned (feudalism) (Keshavarz, 2009; Shanehchi, 1994). Therefore, there were no laws to protect people's property and to protect them from external danger; consequently, there was dispersion across ethnic groups in Iran, and this always caused a sense of insecurity among the people (Ravandi, 1989; Akbari, 1991). Most people in the period did not have a proper understanding of the concepts of rule of law, liberty, and democracy, and most people sought freedom from oppression (Zibakalam, 2013) and there was a culture of out-of-group distrust, intergroup prejudices, and violence against aliens (Sariolghalam, 2014). The constitutional revolution was formed, but the political irrationality of the people prevented its full implementation. Then came the Pahlavi era in which some reforms were implemented but they were unsuccessful because authoritarian political culture (monopoly and individualism) coincided with patriarchal culture in decision making. Additionally, during this period, the political culture of interference in the outcome of the election became common (Ghahramanpour, 2004; Ghalibaf & Shushtari; 2013; Sadeghi & Ghanbari, 2017).

** Iranian Political Culture from the Islamic Revolution Onwards*

At the beginning of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, the ideology of the revolution affected the masses by weakening the ethnic and environmental class identity and by superior Islamic identity. However, in fact, the people's participation was not based on group interests but rather on the general interests of the revolution, the type of the struggle and the nature of power led to the establishment of populist government characterized by political participation and mobilization (Bashryeh, 2011). This period is known as the ideological government era, whereas the Islamic Republic Party was the only dominant party and the government intended ethical and intellectual control of the people in the Islamic style of society (Abbasian, 1999). The period was a major source of reinforcement for suburbanites, immigrants, and peasants, accompanied with different attitudes and cultures, and with the quasi-rental nature, the middle class, which was effective in democratizing in Iran, was weakened (Shahramnia, 2007; Azghandi, 2010; Sadeghi & ghanbari 2017). Thus, at the beginning of the period, due to structural requirements, neither the political culture of civil society nor the government had the priority of forming good governance.

Since the second and third periods of the Islamic Revolution, with the slogan of economic changes and reforms, the system of values, and changes in political culture and globalization, the way was paved for civil political participation. Daniel Lerner believes that if the political culture of a nation is to grow, at the macro level, there should be political peace and investment to reform the political structure. Mohammad Khatami's re-election in 1997 signaled a shift in reformism, with voters not seeking a better life but protesting against ideological domination in society, demanded political and civil liberties and the rule of law and elimination of tensions in foreign policy (Asayesh & et al., 2011). Subsequently, the press increased quantitatively and qualitatively, and spontaneous civic participation replaced mass participation, such as the elections of the councils with the aim of delegating decision-making and increasing participation that provided the basis for the expansion of the middle class and the emergence of civil society and democracy. Yet, in the years after 2005, due to the lack of structural reforms, the reformists were excluded and popular support declined and continues to decline due to unkept promises and distrust.

*d) The Difference between Governance and Good Governance*

Governance refers to the development of governance styles in which there are boundaries between the private and public sectors (Stoker 1987). Governance is a type of conceptual approach to represent actors in public administration. Interactive government is a government in which there is an interaction between government and society (Kooiman, 2003; Laleh Pour, 2007; Mehdizadeh, 2001). (Dunsire, & et al, 1988) argues that bureaucracy is a hierarchy that acts as a decree and that the whole process of institutionalization must be taken into account in the management process. (Abramse,1988) believes that bureaucracy is not the reality behind the political veil, and governments' self-censorship impedes their political performance. According to Abramse, the government is an act and not an instrument. As a new paradigm in public administration, good governance has created a point of interaction between various disciplines of the humanities such as management, economics, political science, sociology, law, public policy, and international relations (Safarian & Emamjomeh-Zadeh 2017). Good governance has been provided by international institutions since the 1980s in response to the adverse conditions of developing societies. The origin of good governance can be traced back to Chester Barnard's



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ideas. He sees the solution to many social issues in chain collaboration and participation of all actors of government agencies, the private sector, and public institutions. Good governance signifies a paradigm shift in the role of governments, which is, in fact, a type of grounding for development based on the needs of the people and the participation of government and social forces in decision making. (AJZT et al., 2010; Azeez, 2012- Baddach & Malgorzata, 2017).

As Mark Bevir (1999) states, governments usually do not have good relations with democracy, but in most developed cities, civic participation and transparency have been prioritized as good governance. This is a model of law based on the interactions between government and civil societies that are accompanied with change and reform in societies; (Farntzeskaki & Wittmayer, 2014; Weingarth et al, 2010). This is a way of governing people in society (Rhodes, 2007) and a set of commonly accepted indicators such as sustainability, fairness and justice, efficiency, transparency, accountability, accountability, and civic participation (UN-Habitat, 2007).

*e) Grounds of Good Governance*

Good governance has two social and political grounds that work in the social sector to harmonize the different social strata in public policy-making and social justice and its political dimension plays a legal and management role in consolidating democracy (Azzez, 2016; Safarian & Emamjomeh-Zadeh, 2017).

- Social structure of good governance model: This section highlights the three main pillars of participation in society: government, civil society, and the private sector, there is no hierarchical structure (Shirvani & Hajeh Rajabi, 2011; Elsenhans, 2001; Borzil, 2008).
- Political structure of good governance model: In this section, governments have a facilitating and accelerating nature and have a strategic orientation and there is no hierarchical structure. This section has two areas and includes indicators that prevent communities from moving toward development.

i. *Deterrent factors*

At the macro-scale, factors such as maladaptive laws and regulations that are based on improper supervision and lack of ethics, and ease of communication and transparency between citizens is not possible (Katozian, 2012; Danayi fard, 2009), or political instability and violence against people stabilizes the country's social landscape and negatively impacts the efficiency and attraction of foreign investment. Moreover, the lack of control over corruption incurs unjust costs and damages the country's economic base (Huntington, 2006; Safarian & Emamjomeh-Zadeh, 2017). In urban policies, delegating duties, responsibility and accountability (Davies & Imbroscio, 2003; Gordon, 2016; Zahedi, 2007; Rahnamaie & Keshavarz, 2010), provides the move to social investment, Radaelli & et al., 2012), and discusses some of the institutional and structural changes and capacities toward the realization of good governance (Bovaird & Löffler, 2003; Rode, 2017).

ii. *Effective Factors*

Establishing these indicators provides the basis for the functioning of the political system and the formation of good governance in the context of the right of expression and accountability whereby people can hold the government accountable and express their views freely (Farzin Pack, 2004; Wallace &Pichler, 2008) or the rule of law, where everyone is equal before the law and the rights of the majority and minority are taken into account. The efficiency and effectiveness that meet the needs of communities and the inappropriate performance of governments lead to a large workload and the inability of governments to win citizens' trust (Ale Omran, 2011).

*f) The Relationship between Political Culture and Good Governance*

Politics and government are the linking points between political culture and good governance. Good governance is understood within a political system in which civil society and the private sector participate, it can be argued that the political culture of a society is an important ground and capacity to form good governance in a country. (Sharif Zadeh, 2003) states that "any attempt to establish good governance in a society extrinsically, when ideological, cultural, and infrastructural grounds are not provided, cannot bring about the rapid growth of democratic culture in that society." Robert Dall considers political culture essential for the expansion of participation. Almond and Powell also believe that the reason for political underdevelopment in Third World countries is due to their historical, cultural and psychological background; that is, in these societies a type of culture has been formed that has prevented the growth of areas of political participation (Seifzadeh, 1994). In fact, neglecting the political culture may defeat any plan, thus models of a country's political development are ineffective in many countries because they are incompatible with the culture of the host society. However, today the concept of good urban governance has evolved to a new concept and approach called centralization or multilevel governance (Jessop, 2004) or creativity and government that reflect the formation of the concept of the creative city and creative class that has led to the production of social capital. In this respect Florida (2000) has promoted creative governance, namely facilitating and enhancing the processes of public participation and the emergence of decision-making civic institutions (Allmendinger & Haughton, 2009) at various levels of policymaking that stem from a close relationship between social and political aspects



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(Pratt, 2010). The result is the emergence of a new approach called smart city in the built environment of the city, arguing that intelligent governance (i.e., reforming the state structure to become smarter and increase knowledge and awareness to create interaction between people and government) because by reforming the government structure with modern and technical methods an appropriate context is provided for educating and enhancing the intellectual knowledge of nations in line with forming the culture of civic engagement and the creation of popular institutions (Meijer & Bolivard, 2015).

## V. Civil Political Culture in Iran and Participatory Governance

Civic political culture includes the values, knowledge, and dispositions of citizens (Olamidi & Aransi, 2017). It also enables citizens to shape the social, economic, and political destiny of nations. (Anton (2011) claims that civic political culture is the best basis for democracy and its practice.

Various studies have shown that participatory culture enhances governments' responsiveness to the present and future needs of society and provides foresight in major policy and decision making (AKinola & Akutson, 2000; opoola, 2013). Characteristics of the civil political culture of nations that facilitate the process of participatory governance include the close relationship of the people with the political system in a broad sense, active participation of people in government activities such as elections and taxation, justice in government officials, membership in political associations. trust and civic engagement, and most importantly, a proper civic or participatory culture (Almond & Verba, 1965). According to Almond (1965), a political system that allows citizens to participate actively in the political process is called a participatory culture and on the other hand, when people are allowed to participate in a limited way, it is called culture, and when people have neither the opportunity nor the desire to participate, the political culture is narrow-minded. Political culture in Iran has been studied from a variety of historical viewpoints, and almost all of the results show that in the ruling groups, it is difficult to find a favorable view toward expanding participation in the political arena. In examining the major features of political culture among the different classes of the Iranian middle class, Ardie Gastil showed that Iranians believe that humans are naturally evil and authoritarian, that everything is changing and cannot be trusted, one must be skeptical and distrustful of those around him, etc. In the current circumstances in Iran, political trust, and particularly trust in the government, has been severely damaged. One of these factors is the behaviors of the government, but some of them stem from the historical political culture in Iranian society. The people of Iran were long been aware of the fact that violence and coercion prevailed, and the social order between people was traditional and ineffective, resulting in inappropriate social contracts and relationships. In such circumstances, everyone attempts to promote profit-oriented and deceptive individualism (www.Khaniki.com).

### a) *Elements and Characteristics of Citizens' Political Culture in Iran*

Given that Iran is in transition in most respects, therefore Iran's political culture is consequently between the two forms of subordinate and active (participatory) culture, which in some cases it may also be claimed that subordinate culture dominates. These elements at both macro and micro levels are as follows:

- *Structural problems:* The structure of our country evades participation, and appropriate laws have not been enacted to remove barriers to public participation and provide the basis for participation in various fields. Throughout Iran's history, governments have relied on traditional bureaucracies as one of the barriers to participation, and this bureaucracy has passed down from the past, preventing people from participating at all levels.
- *Quasi-rental and centralized structure*: One of the problems in Iran is the government that is interested in having everything for itself, and that prevents civic participation, even centralization does not allow institutions such as councils to have an executive status. big bureaucracy and government involvement are some of the causes of structural weakness. Most governments in Iran are not from the middle-class and do not stem spontaneously from the people. Meritocracy and competitiveness in administrative and political relations are weak, which has led to the negligence of competitiveness and participation is passive and directed.
- *Lack of political stability:* Political instability is the opposite of good governance. In this section, mostly the quality of public services and citizenship or the enforcement of laws and the use of violent and non-civil means, or domestic unrest, etc., or government commitments in policy are considered. The higher the quality of these indicators, the better the political stability (Saanei, 2006). In contrast to instability, there are subcultures. According to Graham Fuller, Iranian culture is a culture that surrenders to the extremes in almost all respects. According to Marian Zunis, said" the basis for Iran's elite participatory behavior is its cynical political attitudes, mistrust, insecurity, and abuse among individuals". In fact, the lack of patience and political tolerance among political and social groups and forces, and even people have been features of Iranian civil political culture (Heshmatzadeh et al., 1986).



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- *Negative individualism and apathy in politics:* In the structural and macro perspective, one can point to individuality in policymaking and religious justification. *Relativism, lack of consultation, and selfishness divide people*, preventing the formation of political groups (Heshmatzadeh et al., 2017). Additionally, climatic conditions, ethnic and tribal diversity, different customs and traditions, national and local and regional divisions and tribal attributes, and most importantly, the rule of ignorance and fatalism divide people.
- *Political distrust and authoritarian culture:* This is rooted in social mistrust and is subjective. Accordingly, an individual in civil society is not interested in partnership because of political indifference and evasion from responsibility and the hopelessness from positive change. This distrust stems from the long history of tyranny in Iran and the rule of colonialism in contemporary Iranian history (Katoozian, 2012). The authoritarian spirit is still rooted in society and democracy is meaningless. In fact the authoritarian culture makes the presence of participatory and civic institutions, parties and free media meaningless. As Huntington maintains, "a culture that is deeply anti-democratic denies the expansion of democratic institutions or if it does not hinder the effective functioning of democratic institutions, makes it difficult" (Huntington, 2001).
- *Violence and lack of tolerance:* The lack of patience and political tolerance among political and social groups and civil society has been a long-standing feature of Iranian civil political culture. For instance, when the demands of the people increase and the government does not respond to their demands and the people are silenced, they react violently to the governments. However, the political struggle of the people has also been based on antagonism (Keshavarz, 2009). Therefore, Elimination culture, along with violence, has been part of the political culture shared between governments and the people (Jamalzadeh, 1992).
- *Tendency toward conspiracy theory:* The result of all this is that Iranians, both at the government and the community, instead of rational and scientific analysis of problems, seek a mysterious force outside the Iranian will, or believe that political developments in Iran are due to the hidden hands of foreigners (Razaghi, 1996).
- *The poor tendency toward desirability*: Lack of awareness of citizenship rights and lack of demands from governments concerning good governance indicators and lack of understanding of the concepts of justice, equality and law, participation, security, and the lack of policy-making have led to the government's ignorance of the demands of the people. The people of eastern countries, including Iran, seem to have overlooked the importance of desirability, prosperity, and freedom, which has been the cause of various attacks on Iranian territory throughout history, and Iranian's attention to security.
- *Law evasion:* In fact civil and state political culture in Iran has a law-evading character because in this culture the law has never been in the interest of the individuals and the state and the nation avoid obeying it for specific reasons (Kazemi, 2003). Establishing a strong relationship with the people and the lack of public participation in policy-making and law-making have led to law evasion. Additionally, bribery due to economic rent in Iran, particularly in the pre-Islamic era, has historical roots.
- *Participation evasion:* Civil participation is one of the key foundations of good governance and in Iranian civil political culture due to the subordinate political culture, the political behaviors of individuals are a combination of opportunism, inaction, resignation, and covert protests and fears (Amini, 2011). The structural reason for this is that social groups are more dependent on governments and the instability of class interests in society has not been institutionalized in Iran.
- *Complexity and lack of transparency:* Analysts who have studied Iranian culture from the outside claim that Iranian political culture is very complex, being metaphorical and allusive. In addition, there is a greater lack of transparency in Iranian politics between the state structure and the elite community. There is also complexity and individualism in some of the government's relationships with citizens, which impedes transparency.
- *The weakness of civil society:* The weakness of civil society in Iran has an impact on the extent of participation because civil society is a key element of participation and its status as a constituent and organizing factor is important. Parties and organizations are part of a civil society that has appeared to evade participation as a result of the autocracy. These institutions cannot function properly and have become vulnerable leverage in government. Additionally, the authoritarian spirit of organizations and parties in Iran and hostility and the lack of coordination among them have harmed their participation (Heshmatzadeh et al., 2017).

*b) Good Governance (Production of Social Capital at Civil Society)*

Civil society as one of the three components of good governance structure has a long history, yet its evolution is linked to modern times. Civil society is a set of private and civil structures, institutions, unions, associations, parties, and groups that engage in social



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action. In addition, NGOs can also be mentioned that are involved in various activities such as charity, social damage, human rights and environmental protection, etc. and development activities move along with the government, providing community growth and development in line with sustainable development through expanding partnerships (Banks, 2012). Larry Diamond considers civil society as a socially organized, self-creating, heavily supporter, and independent from the government that adheres to a set of common laws in which citizens express their desires and interests and exchange information (Diamond, 2008). Through civil society and the strengthened civil partnerships, flexibility in social interactions and intergroup collaborations and networking relationships and interactive social capital negotiations will expand. The role of civil society in the macro and micro domains of the managerial structure of nations is discussed below:

c) *The Role of Civil Society in Achieving Good Governance*

Management domain: If governments are reasonably organized in good governance models and increase efficiency, accountability, and transparency, they will gain external trust between the government and the people, consequently moving many of the day-to-day tasks of the government toward macro tasks.

- *Political domain:* By the formation of social groups, good governance provides the basis for the formation of objective and subjective aspects of political democracy and has an impact on political culture. A horizontal structure in good governance maintains political equilibrium, and all components of the system and social network are interconnected, learning concepts and become accustomed to network inconsistencies (Alvani, 2009). In fact, with the formation of parties and civil organizations, experts and thinkers feel secure and creativity grows in civil society. Most importantly, men and women are equal in this society, and with these conditions, political vitality is guaranteed and trust is established between the people and the government.
- *Economic domain:* Fukuyama emphasizes the role of social capital through social and civic participation in economic development (Fukuyama, 2002). Civil and media freedoms, civil society institutions such as trade unions, parties, and credible elections have empowered the people to control or oust governments. Failure by governments to respond adequately to the demands of the public and private sector paves the way for the economics of rent and corruption. In such a society, human capital and social capital facilitate lawlessness and bribery rather than creativity and initiation. Thus, government tax revenue capacity is reduced and the government is unable to perform its duties, provide for GDP, employment, business environment, investment, and social capital productivity.
- *Social domain:* The model of good governance, with equality of all social forces, provides the basis for social justice. There is no gender, race, age, etc. discrimination in this policy-making. Expanding the fair choice of all people in a society and creating equal opportunities for life makes it easier to preserve natural resources for future generations and provides education and learning opportunities for all. The proper functioning of the government system guarantees the moral foundations of that society and eliminates all forms of moral corruption. At the international level, well-trained social capital can also move toward sustainable development, solve environmental and pollution issues and help achieve social development are taking steps.
- *Cultural domain:* The presence of all members of society in social and political relations promotes national cohesion, accelerates the process of civil society formation, reduces ethnic prejudice, and increases the capacity to withstand dissent. Government transparency can provide people with confidence and government policies are institutionalized with the right values and norms and ethics, people's behavior is regulated and defined in terms of specific rules and procedures. Good governance can promote participatory political culture while providing physical and material security, political security and interactions between people.

## VI. Argument

Across the developing world, countries with limited financial resources have suffered from weak and corrupt governments because they have failed to provide citizens with comprehensive development. To transform the relationship between government and the people and achieve good urban governance to fill the gap between the people and the government, civil society organizations have provided the opportunity to meet the needs of citizens and have been able to work internationally with a coordinated and innovative approach to empower disadvantaged communities. The study of its civil society is a requirement of good urban governance in every society. Civil society is distinct from society because it involves citizens to be eager to express their interests and ideas in the public domain and to hold the government accountable for the achievement of their mutual goals and demands. The main function of civil society is to reduce the power of governments. Civic partnerships that have led to the formation of NGOs (local development) are an innovative bottom-up plan aimed at reducing the dominance of governments in public affairs. Through



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providing educational programs and empowering skills by governments, individuals, as a social asset of that community, capitalize on ideas and creativity. In this respect, the importance of the role of cultural capital and social capital in societies with different political cultures can be emphasized. A nation's access to social capital and improved human resources requires culturally appropriate infrastructure and an understanding of dominant cultural models that are rooted in history, geographical features, ethnic and tribal tendencies, and most importantly ideology of that community to have fair access to optimal services. Cultural roots are learned in childhood and families and pass from one generation to another. However, social capital is flowing, thus social capital and the culture of individuals in the community are linked. The cultural structure of society shapes its social structure, reduces cultural multiplicity (racial, ethnic, and religious), reduces social interaction and cooperation, enhances the dominance of parties, and the dominance of power increases, and due to the multitude of beliefs, people's mistrust is increases, formation of civil partnership slows down, leading to weakened social capital and backwardness in a country. Traditional societies such as China, India, Bangladesh, and Iran, which have different historical and cultural experiences, have a tribal ideological structure with religious fanaticism, and due to the dominance of certain parties, national cohesion and harmony between peoples are weakened, and justice in enjoying the services is diminished and the foundation of public participation and trust and the formation of social capital and civil society are weakened. Therefore, these experiences are different from the cultural origins of European countries and require proper planning under the cultural-political structure and participatory civil culture following local and indigenous development.

## VII. Conclusion

It can be seen that resources in many countries are seldom coordinated with power, even in resource-rich countries, because they have less autonomy to develop as a result of weaknesses in decision-making strategies between nations and governments. This article seeks to illustrate how to change from governance to good urban governance and change the ideologies and political culture of government and civic participation. Planning in countries that have implemented good governance is not hierarchical. All actors are coordinated and there are relationships among local governments, organizations, residents and urban movements. The change to incorporate effectiveness, partnership, justice, and so on to create new urban governance (such as creative governance, smart governance) is in line with the sustainability of urban development. We argue that lack of access to information and transparency in the structure of a government is a key constraint on policy change and leads to failure in the realization of governance because innovation and creativity in governance (interaction between people and social actors and the government) alleviate the problems of societies. We need comprehensive, global governance solutions. However, we believe that the problems of good governance will vary according to geographical conditions, historical backgrounds, cultural models of nations, and its implementation is more difficult in traditional, centralized governance structures with strong religious and ideological roots. Elections and referendums in these countries and structural reforms are less achieved due to inequality. It is only in a free and democratic political system that good governance and equal political participation are guaranteed to all. Democracy is the most effective mechanism that can protect the political power of citizens.

Political culture in Iran has also been studied from a variety of historical angles, and almost all of the results indicate that the reason for the lack of development of civil governments throughout Iranian history has been the political culture of Iranians and the culture of civic participation (Moghimi, 2003) because the ruling groups have a very favorable view of political participation and competition. Besides, tribal structure, ethnic and cultural fragmentation, regional divisions, authoritarian political structure, individualism and political apathy, religious justification, tendency toward conspiracy theory, mistrust and hatred, political developments, gender-based culture, media-impacted political culture, and so on are considered as important obstacles. Therefore, the authors of this article recommend that these deficiencies in the lack of integration in Iranian political culture require greater attention from social actors and the formation of a bottom-top bureaucracy at the local government and enhancement of participation and awareness of civil rights, public education, and concentration on corrective plans. It should be emphasized that the role of civic education among the people is highly significant because it gives people a deep understanding of their role in public affairs and expectations of the government and that government actors must respond to their needs so that the sense of belonging and dependence on the country increases. In what follows, reform patterns and ideal examples are suggested for changes in traditionally structured governments.

- Observance of justice and law (equality and proportionality) among all people and governments and respect for mutual rights;
- Capacity-building for decision-making by the economic and social elites in the urban area, ordinary citizens (integrated decision-making) through consultation;

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- Building trust among citizens, with an emphasis on an integrated approach and the sharing of power among different public and state institutions;
- Using the neighborhood planning model and indigenous development concerning the cultural and social structure (participation of citizens, residents and local councils);
- Provision of educational budgets by governments to raise public awareness in civic engagement, particularly in schools;

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# Environmental Terrorism and Poverty in the Niger Delta: The Mosquitoes' Character of the Multinational Corporations

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*Abstract-* There is no gainsaying that the Niger Delta is like a beautiful damsel raped severally with her supposed protector pretending to be defending her while collaborating with the rapists exposing her to more violations. The advent of oil extraction in the region has left it more despoiled than one can imagine. The ungodly and poorly regulated romance of the Multinational Oil Corporations, the Nigerian State and the oilbearing/ producing communities can best be described as dangerous Mosquitoes perching on the very testicle of an old man, and any attempt to kill it spells trouble. Leaving it will equally mean exposing the man to acute malaria. This paper examines the precarious situation of poverty in the Niger Delta induced by the very activities of MNOCs operating without respect to international environmental best practices. Attempts at checking the situation seem to have fallen on deaf ears and in most cases military repression on the part of the government that should protect her citizens whose livelihoods have been bastardized with reckless abandon and impunity. Using the Economic Penetration and Integration Theory, the paper draws a glaring link between environmental terrorism and poverty in the Niger Delta.

*Keywords: environmental terrorism, ecological terrorism, poverty, multinational oil corporations, niger delta.*

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# Environmental Terrorism and Poverty in the Niger Delta: The Mosquitoes' Character of the Multinational Corporations

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## I. Introduction/Statement of the Problem

Many scholars have linked issues of disregard for the environment to the dynamics of poverty in the Niger Delta (Gideon, 2011; Ibaba, 2005; Anthony & Stella, 2016) only to mention a few. The discovery of oil in commercial quantity at Oloibiri in the present Bayelsa State of Nigeria and in the Niger Delta has been described as "a blessing and a curse" by the former Minister for Petroleum and former President of OPEC, Rilwan Lukman (cited in Aiyetan, 2008), as "paradox of plenty"(Karl, 1997), "blood and oil" (Anderson, 2001) "where vultures feast" (Okonta & Douglas, 2001) "oil on troubled waters" (Kemedi, 2005) "the antinomies of wealth" (Ibeanu & Ike, 2006) "the burden of oil" (Courson, 2007) and as "the oil of poverty" (Annet, 2004). This is despite the huge revenue accruing to the Federal Government from sales of crude oil products.

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The Niger Delta represents one of the most extreme cases of poverty stricken regions of Africa and the worst case of environmental pollution in the world (Okolo, 2016:4). To make matters worse, the livelihoods of the people depends largely on the bartered environment. Ibeanu (2000:19) captured the grim realities of the situation when he noted that;

> For four decades, ecological devastation on the one hand, and neglect arising from crude oil production, on the other hand, has left much of the Niger Delta desolate, uninhabitable, and poor. The shady *modus operandi* of oil companies and the incompetence and corruption of state officials ensured that neither took responsibility for the enormous environmental and social damages caused by crude oil production. Frustrated, the people of the Niger Delta took up arms against *petrol-business* and its political allies. The failure of a violent final solution to the community resistance, a tactic favored by successive military dictatorships, inevitably led to calls for a reassessment of the petroleum industry in Nigeria, and particularly the need for a new conflict management regime in Nigeria's oil belt. Presently, these calls are even more pronounced since the inauguration of an elected government in May 1999 appears not to have assuaged the people's needs of the Niger Delta.

The problem is, therefore, the unimaginable hardship, quagmire, squalor and avoidable height of poverty brought upon the Niger Deltans in the name of the oil industry that ought to be an agent of positive change. More worrisome is the fact that the said MNCs operate with double standards making the Niger Delta the most polluted environment in the world. While environmental laws are largely obeyed in the world over, the Niger Delta is neglected. Self-help strategies in the form of oil bunkering have also worsened the already bad situation constituting ecological terrorism. One can ask why the coming in of the MNCs that should bring prosperity has rather brought poverty turning the Niger Deltans who were their brothers' keepers against themselves. Intra and inter-community conflicts have characterized everyday events.

The story has been that of vexation, hatred an conflicts from Beletieama to Liama, Koluama to Akassa, Nembe Ogbolomabiri to Nembe Basambiri, Brass to



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Okpoama, Lobia to Azusuama, Biseni to Agbere, Opuama to Ofonibiri communities in Bayelsa State and from Ke to Bille, Emohua to Ogbakiri, Ogoni to Andoni communities in Rivers State and from Ogidighen to Okerenkoko in Delta State all related to the contradictions of oil induce poverty. This is further complicated by the military repression experienced in the region in order to create room for unhindered oil extraction. Two cases that easily come to mind are the Odi and Umuechem Massacres in Bayelsa and Rivers States respectively with countless hundreds killed. Speaking the unrestrained and unlawful killings in Umuechem, Alapiki (2001:185) observed rightly that:

> The mobile police who attacked Umuechem village was like a…army that had vowed to the take last drop of the enemy's blood. They threw all human reasoning to the wind shot people and raze down a total of 495 houses in the village with blast grenade.

Again, it is also important to find out what activity of the MNCs that constitutes environmental terrorism and how it entrenches poverty in the Niger Delta. Evidence shows that poverty in the Niger Delta has a direct linkage to oil exploration and the associated negative externalities. The evidence to the above claim is presented herein in table 1 as the anthropogenic activities (human activities) that have been implicated in climate change include fossil fuel combustion, wood burning etc. (Tyokumbur, 2010: 72). The evidence in *Table 1* below corroborates the above.

*Table 1:* Green House Gases and their Sources

| Greenhouse gases/substances | Sources |
|---|---|
| Stratospheric water vapor | Hydrologic cycle |
| Carbon dioxide | Fossil fuel combustion, bus burning, forest fires, wood burning, gas flaring, respiration, acidification of limestone deposits |
| Methane | Coal mining activities, leakages from gas pipelines and oil tankers, rice paddies, decay of natural vegetation, landfill emissions, belching from ruminant animals and decomposing droppings from poultry or other livestock farms |
| Nitrous oxide | Fossil fuel combustion, automobile exhaust, bush burning, forest fires, wood burning, gas flaring, atmospheric release from the nitrogen cycle enhanced by fertilizer application in nutrient-deficient soils, automobile exhaust |
| Ozone (within the troposphere in industrialized regions) | Photochemical reactions near the exhaust pipes of automobiles, around emitting points of gas flaring chimneys, flue of power plants utilizing gas and coal |
| Chlorofluorocarbon (CFC) | Human activities related to production and use of organic coolants, refrigerants, solvents such as foaming agents and packing materials |
| Particulate matter (dark aerosols) Debatable, but interfere in heat transfer between the Earth and outer space | Erupting volcanoes, slash-and-burn farming, bush burning, gas flaring, windblown dust. |

*Source: Tyokumbur, 2010: 72*

We should have in mind that: climate change affects farming and fishing which is the main source of income to the inhabitants of the oil-rich Niger Delta, as it reduces the production level of agriculture by altering the weather and ecological conditions of a place. Thus, the activities of MNCs and consequently, the destruction of the ecosystem in the region could be said to have a direct linkage to poverty and dynamics of adaptation. As noted by Akinola and Amos (2016: 39):

> The epidemic of environmental degradation, exclusion, deprivation, unemployment, inequality, poverty, political repression, etc., inflamed solidarity among the youths which engage in divers revolutionary actions, stiff resistant, violent reactions, militancy and hostage taking.

A major take from the above is the obvious fact that decades of crude oil drilling activities have produced widespread environmental pollution with adverse impacts on traditional livelihood on oil-bearing rural communities. This study thus sets out to identify the culprits in this human security dilemma. Consequently, the study aims to achieve the following objectives listed below:

i. To investigate the socio-economic implications of the activities of MNCs and its link with poverty in the Niger Delta.
ii. To examine what activity of the MNCs that constitutes environmental terrorism.



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## II. Literature Review

Although there is no consensus among scholars on a universal definition of the term environmental terrorism, available literature on the concept however, has presented it to represent actions aimed at self-gains that are harmful to the environment. It is important to state right away that the term is quite different from ecological terrorism which by the FBI's definition is the threatened use or actual use of violence against people or properties (considered innocent) by a pro-environmental group aimed at an audience beyond the target for environment-political reasons (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2002) .

Chalecki (2002) defined environmental terrorism "as the unlawful use of force against *in situ* environmental resources so as to deprive populations of their benefit(s) and/or destroy other property". One point stands out in the definition above. The word 'unlawful use of force' seems to be pregnant as it seems to exclude those actions carried out by state-backed up agencies that destroy or deplete environmental resources in an unsustainable manner so as to deprive the general populace of their benefits. Mark (2011) noted that environmental terrorism is a "systematic act of terrorism designed to destroy the life-world". The term systematic here means that for an act to be subsumed as an environmental terror, it must be methodological either a modus operandi applied and sustained over time. To this end, Graham (2010) noted that environmental terrorism depletes life both directly and indirectly by changing the body's surrounding atmosphere and indirectly by acting on society's critical economic, organizational and ecological systems lethally. To Timothy Schofield the term connotes "the utilization of the forces of nature for hostile purposes (cited in Gamal, 2014: 176)".

Alpas, Berkowicz, and Ermakova divided the term into three subcategories: the first relates to the environmental activists who target "industries, companies or even governments that they believe are harming the environment". In the second subcategory, "the environment is used as a weapon to harm an opponent". As for the third subcategory, it concerns the "harm caused by companies, industry, or governments through negligence (cited in Gamal, 2014: 176)". The above categorization points to the fact that the term is value-laden and as such, subject to abuse. It is in light of the above that Berkowicz placed a distinction between the term ecoterrorism and environmental terrorism by noting their targets. The target of ecoterrorism is properties, whilst that of environmental terrorism is environmental resources (Anthony, 2017).

The literatures reviewed above reveals that while much has been written on environmental terrorism, there is arguably none on a localized and context-specific as it relates to the Niger Delta. This research work is therefore concerned with drawing a nexus between environmental terrorism and poverty as it relates to the Niger Delta which is the gap it aims to fill.

## III. Theoretical Framework: Economic Penetration and Integration Theory

The theoretical road map adopted for this research endeavor is the Economic Penetration and Integration Theory. Interestingly, this theory is a variant to the Marxian theory and is associated with scholars such as Lenin (1933), Schumpeter (1955), and Ake (1981) inter alia. The theory offers explanation on the penetration or migration of capitalists into the backward regions and the cunning character of influencing especially the political class, in the peripheral state to justify their occupation of viavle regios in the milieu (Offiong, 1980). Speaking on this capitalist precondition for expansion, Connor (1971) observed inter alia:

> *…The precondition for truly favourable investment climate is an indirect control of internal politics in the backward regions. Economic penetration therefore leads to spheres of influence.*

Undoubtedly, this is perhaps the reason why MNCs cooperate with local ruling class to ensure an atmosphere devoid of security threat for oil exploration/exploitation to thrive at the expense of the local populace whose farmlands and rivers have been polluted without corresponding compensation. The theory is adopted to explain the negatives transformation of the local economy by the cooing of the oil multinationals and consequent oil politics.

The theory is relevant to the study as it helps to draw a nexus between the activities of the MNOC's in the Niger Delta and poverty in the region by illuminating how the MNOC's have collaborated with the government through their operations to perpetuate environmental terrorism in the Niger Delta, and how these have penetrated/destroyed the existing local economy that existed before crude and have subjected the people of the Niger Delta to poverty.

## IV. Chronicles of Environmental Terrorism in the Niger Delta: The Mosquitoes' Character of Multinational Corporations

The Niger Delta has been described as one of the world's most deltaic delta's (Doust, 1990; Etekpe, 2007; and Okonkwo, 2015). This distinguish ecological characteristic has made it vulnerable to decades of an unregulated crude oil business in the region. The discovery of crude at Oloibiri (Present day Bayelsa State) in 1956 by the Royal Dutch Company (now Shell Petroleum Development Company; SPDC) marked the commencement of oil exploration and exploitation activities in the region. Ever since then, it has been



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nothing but; sorrow, tears, and blood for the communities that bear the brunt of the petro-dollar business.

Oil exploration activities in the Niger Delta have been nothing but a disaster with her marine life almost totally destroyed. As a matter of fact, the Niger Delta situation can best be described as an ecocide. The petro-dollar business has left the Delta as the most polluted region in the world (Cadmus, nd). The maximization of profit with disregard for the environment by the MNOC's has turned the region into an ecological nightmare. Despite the significant contribution of the Niger Delta region to the Nigerian economy, the region is still wallowing in poverty making scholars to describe her as a region "poor in wealth".

The huge natural resources in the Niger Delta have not translated to wealth making scholars to describe her resources as a curse rather than a blessing (Watts, 2008). To make matters worse: the contrast in the life style of the MNOC's and the local populace points to the fact that the relationship is nothing but; parasitic. This paradox, coupled with the mosquito character of the MNOC's culminated in the arms struggle in the region that ended up with the amnesty program of the Yar' Adua's administration.

Available data on oil spills in the Niger Delta has been subjected to debate due to the secrecy of MNOC's and the shortcomings of the Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR) (Ibaba, 2017; 11). Nevertheless, available records have shown that the incidence of oil spills (a major source of environmental degradation) is on the high side. Take for example; while 9,107 of oil spills were recorded between 1976-2005 by Nwilo and Badejo, Uyigue and Agho noted that there were 4,647 spills between; 1976-1996. Similarly, the Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) acknowledged to 1,243 incidences of oil spills in its jurisdiction (Ibaba, 2017: 11-12). The figures noted above are quite alarming when one puts into consideration that the attempt to recover the spilt oil from the environment is on the low. The table below captures the scale of oil spills in the Niger Delta.

*Table 2:* Some cases of Oil Spills in the Niger Delta

| Location | Year | MNOC involved | Affected Area | Estimated spill area | Volume (liters) | Cause |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12" Opuekeba - Olero Pipeline at Opuama (Delta) | 2014 | CHEVRON | Swamp | ___ | ___ | Sabotage/Theft |
| 18" Tebidaba/Brass P/L at Benekarukru (Bayelsa) | 2016 | NAOC | Swamp | 0.4494 acres | 1750 | Sabotage/Theft |
| Ovhor Well 9s at Ugborhen Community. (Delta) | 2017 | SEPLAT | Swamp | ___ | 48 | Undefined |
| Etelebou Flowstation at Ogboloma (Bayelsa) | 2016 | SPDC | Land | 0.2296 acres | 11,400 | Operational/ Maintenance error |
| NPDC Ogini at Flow Line (Delta) | 2015 | NPDC | Land | ___ | 1590 | Equipment Failure |
| MAKARABA 7A - 2- 6" (Delta) | 2015 | CHEVRON | Swamp | ___ | 1 | Corrosion |
| SPM2 Forcados Terminal, Warri North, (Delta) | 2013 | SPDC | Swamp | ___ | 160 | Equipment Failure |
| 28'' Trans-Forcados Pipe line at Oteghele, Warri South (Delta) | 2017 | HERITAGE ENERGY OPERATIONAL SERVICES LIMITED | Inland Waters | ___ | 800 | Sabotage/Theft |
| Ibaa Manifold 8" Header, Ibaa (Rivers) | 2016 | SPDC | Land | 0.1235 acres | 48300 | Corrosion |
| NPDC 16" Uzere-Eremu Delivery Line at Iyede | 2017 | NPDC | Seasonal Swamp | ___ | 1091700 | Sabotage/Theft |

*Author's compilation from NOSDRA*

The table above captures the scale of environmental damage caused by the petro-dollar business in the Niger Delta. What is quite alarming from the above is the fact that it barely captures up to 1 percent of the total spills recorded by NOSDRA which put it at an alarming 4769 spills between the years 2013 to 2017. As a matter of fact, the scale of environmental damage in the Niger Delta is so bad that a United Nations study said it could take Shell and other oil companies up to 30 years and about $ 1b to clean up the oil spills (Obi, 2012). The large scale at which the environment is being destroyed in the Niger Delta is terrifying. This situation is even made worse by the fact that the region has not benefited much from oil production despite the fact that it is the center of Nigeria's oil industry, which provides a bulk of the

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country's foreign exchange and despite the fact that the local economy is being destroyed by the petro-dollar business at an unprecedented scale which makes it a take-take scenario for the oil companies and a lose-lose one for the locals.

Nwadiaro (1993), Agahlino (2000) and Okaba (2003) have all acknowledge the negative impact of oil production on the environment, as the various stages involved in the exploration and exploitation of crude ranging from geophysical prospecting drilling, production, transportation and refining have all been implicated for causing severe harm to the environment. Some of the damaging impacts of oil production on the environment have been noted to include but not limited to: a) Land Deprivation as a result of constructing flow lines, barrow pits and trunk line networks in preparation for seismic drilling, b) Soil Quality Alteration as a result of frequent crude oil spillage, c) Air Pollution and Health Problems as a result of gas flaring etc.

Amongst all the issues noted above, the case of gas flaring has been the most annoying as the body language of the MNOC's point to the fact that there is no genuine attempt on their side to put the issue to an end. In the case of pollutants discharged into the air, such as: sulphur dioxide, nitrogen oxides and carbon monoxides, disease reactions range from masophary irritation and cough, bronchitis respiration function impairment associated carbon monoxide toxicity. Although data in Nigeria's oil mineral producing areas are unavailable, preliminary studies shows the occurrence of such effects as abnormal erthrocycle sedimentation rates (ESR), abnormal white cell counts, dermatitis, conjunctivitis, urethistis, upper respiratory tract infections and cardio-pulmonary diseases (Olusi, 1981 in Okaba, 2005).

The character of the MNOC's in the Niger Delta can best be describe as that of a mosquito which feast on its victims blood for survival, and in return deposits parasites that causes malaria. The argument above is particularly true when one puts into consideration the many oil induced conflicts that has occurred in the Niger Delta such as the killing of the Ogoni 9 (including Ken Saro Wiwa) by the Abacha's administration which was in large part due to the role played by the SPDC which eventually led to their expulsion from Ogoni land. Similarly, the Odi massacre by the Obasanjo's administration which left an entire community in shambles was also to a large part connected with oil production. The number of oil related crises in the Niger Delta is quite alarming. The unholy romance between the MNOC's and the federal government to rape the people of the Niger Delta of their resources while at the same time destroying their environment without adequate compensation can best be described as an environmental terror.

Suffice it to say, that it is the mosquito character of the MNOC's operating in the region that gave birth to the Ogoni Bill of Right, and the Kaiama declarion which served as the instrument and rallying point for the Niger Delta agitation which later culminated in to the arms struggle in the region vis-à-vis militancy between the years 2005-2009 (Ibaba, 2017; 4). The government is still playing politics with the Niger Delta issue as can be seen in the Ogoni cleanup. Little wonder Ibaba referred to the Niger Delta situation as "Mopping the Wet Floor, while ignoring the Leaking Roof". The rise of the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) goes a long way to show that the fundamental issues confronting the Niger Delta has not been addressed.

## V. Poverty Malaria: The Deposit of Multinational Corporations in the Niger Delta

Poverty is a tricky concept to capture in a single definition because it is a political, social, economic, and cultural construct. Its conception and expression varies depending on the context in which it is used and as such, relies heavily on both the method of production and social organization. The term poverty is fluid and as such, cannot be subjected to simple definitional categorization. The United Nations Department of Public Information (1996) described poverty as having various manifestations which include: lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure a sustainable livelihood; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of access to education; and other basic services; increasing morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments, and social discrimination and exclusion. Spicker (nd) cited in Anthony (2017) noted that, the concept of poverty in the social sciences is best understood under 'twelve discrete senses' which include:

1. Poverty as a material concept
2. A pattern of deprivation
3. Limited resources
4. Poverty as economic circumstances
5. Standard of living
6. Inequality
7. Economic position
8. Social circumstances
9. Lack of basic security
10. Lack of entitlement
11. Exclusion
12. Poverty as a moral judgment

The definition of poverty given above, has presented the bulk of the Niger Delta people as poor. The activities of the MNOC's in the Niger Delta have left the people without 'productive resources sufficient to ensure a sustainable livelihood' as the environment which a bulk of the rural dwellers depend on have been destroyed thereby living them with little or no income. In



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addition, the presence of the MNOC's in the Niger Delta has led to a hike in the price of commodities in the region. The average cost of living in the Niger Delta is much higher when compared to other regions. The above is indicative as it proves that the presence of the MNOC's has; worsened the economic status of the average Niger Deltan. The table below captures the poverty status of the Niger Delta states.

*Table 3:* The poverty Status of Niger Delta States: 2004-2010

| States | Poverty Rate 2004 | Poverty Rate 2010 | Population living in Poverty |
|---|---|---|---|
| Akwa Ibom | 34.9 | 53.8 | 2,109,071 |
| Bayelsa | 20.0 | 47.0 | 800,578 |
| Cross River | 41.6 | 52.9 | 1,528,263 |
| Delta | 45.4 | 63.6 | 2,606,576 |
| Edo | 33.1 | 66.0 | 2,124,099 |
| Rivers | 29.1 | 50.6 | 2,623,812 |
| All Zone | 48.9 | 56.1 | 11,792,399 |

*Source: NBS, 2004 & 2010 cited in Ibaba, 2017: 17*

Despite its continuous importance to the Nigerian economy, the table above reveals that the poverty rate in the Niger Delta has been on the rise. The shift/increased in the amount of people now living in poverty is significant, as a bulk of the states shown here have almost doubled their poverty rate between a space of six (6) years. The above scenario can only be linked to the large scale environmental degradation being perpetuated in the region by the MNOC's as a result of crude production (outside government failure) as a bulk of the Niger Delta population depends on their environment for survival. As the year goes by, more and more oil is spilt into the environment thereby destroying both aquatic lives and soil texture, which in turn affects the income of the local populace. Little wonder that the people have engaged in self help strategies such as illegal modular refineries to keep body and soul together. Sadly, the vandalization of oil pipes for illegal crude market (known as black market) has further led to the destruction of the already damaged eco-system which makes it a double blow to the local populace. It is for this reason that Anthony and David (2017) noted that "in as much as oil has brought wealth to Nigeria, it has also brought doom on the Niger Delta region at large and the host communities where it is found in particular."

## VI. The Response of Ecological Terrorism: Re-enforcing the Dialectical Poverty Circle While Responding to the Effects Rather than the Cause

With the incessant destruction of the environment by the MNOC's without adequate compensation, and with the traditional livelihood structures of inhabitants of host communities almost totally destroyed, the people (youths) of the Niger Delta resorted to economic sabotage in order to draw the attention of the government to their plight (ecological terrorism as against environmental terrorism). The resort to economic sabotage is made plausible by the fact that previous attempts through protest to draw both the government/MNOC's attention to the wanton environmental damage perpetuated by the MNOC's in the region yielded little or no result.

*Table 4:* Notable protest cases in oil producing communities and targeted Oil majors

| Year | Rural Community | Oil major |
|---|---|---|
| 1991 | Umuechem (Rivers state) | SPDC |
| 1993 | Ogoni/Bodo (Rivers state) | SPDC |
| 1993 | Bonny (Rivers state) | SPDC |
| 1994 | Obagi (Rivers state) | Elf |
| 1995 | Iko (Akwa Ibom) | Western Geophysical/SPDC |
| 1995 | Apelegbene (Delta state) | SPDC |
| 1996 | Biseni (Bayelsa state) | ENI/AGIP |
| 1998 | Okoroma (Bayelsa state) | ENI/AGIP |
| 1999 | Ikebiri (Bayelsa state) | Chevron/Texaco |

*Zibima (2015: 3)*



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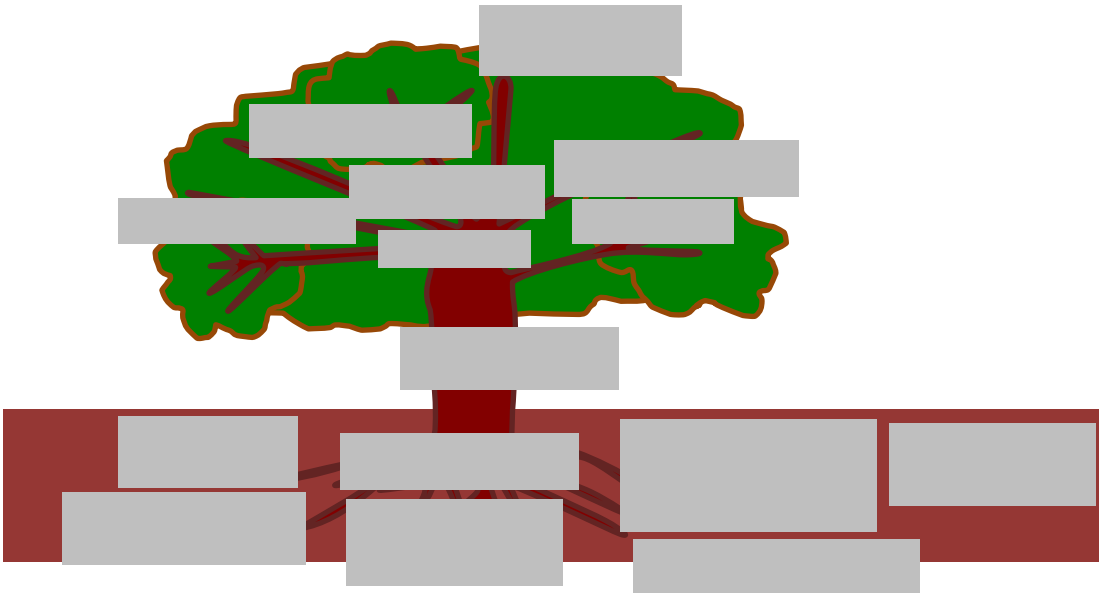
Thus, militancy (ecological terrorism) in the Niger Delta was launched as a tool to draw international attention to the region's plight. Planned attacks by eco-terrorists gave them a sudden national recognition, a bigger recognition by the deprived Niger Deltan's, and an influx of cash, most of them, ransoms paid by oil giants within the Niger Delta creek and also the government. The modus operandi adopted by the eco-terrorists was simple: Destroy oil installations, and kidnap politicians and oil workers (Anthony and David, 2017).



*Source: Ibaba, 2017*

*Figure1:* Conflict Tree Depicting the Niger Delta Conflict

Disturbed by the security and economic challenges of the eco-terrorists violent agitations in the Niger Delta, the Nigerian State under the leadership of the Late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua introduced the amnesty program for the repentant eco-terrorists as a solution to the problem of general insecurity and also to create a peaceful and an enabling environment to tackle the development crisis in the region. Before the granting of amnesty, President Yar'Adua had tried other solutions such as drawing up the Niger Delta Master Plan, establishment of a Niger Delta Ministry among others. It was therefore, not surprising that the Nigerian state, realizing the importance of the DDR and the need to make it respond to local context, implemented the recommendation of the Niger Delta Technical Committee (NDTC) by instituting the DDR process in order to douse violent tensions and facilitate development in the oil-producing region (Ikenya and Iwuagwu, 2009; Omotola, 2010; Oluwatoyin, 2011).

While it could be stated that the amnesty program was very effective in bringing to an end the endless level of sophistication in brutality and violence practiced by the ecological terrorist, and is credited for the 'relative peace' in the Niger Delta, it however, failed woefully in putting to an end the issue of oil theft (also known as oil bunkering) in the region. Oil theft now holds sway in the region, as it seems to be a survival response mechanism in the Niger Delta. Inherently, there is a paucity of research and evidence regarding (i) the current motivations for action as it concerns participation in oil bunkering and the spread of artisan illegal refineries (AIRs), and (ii) the motivations for the change in the nature of rural communities' attitude and response towards oil bunkering and AIRs as veritable agents of environmental pollution (Zibima, 2015: 5).



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Source: IIIPELP, 2011

*Plate 1:* Site of Fire Explosion at an Illegal Crude Oil Loading Bay



Source: Reuters 2012

*Plate 2:* Aerial view of a cluster of artisanal refineries in the Niger delta

Despite the dangers associated with oil theft and AIRs, the market for illegal crude seems to have local support. In trying to establish a rational for the above, Zibima noted that when the interest of the state is disconnected from that of communities, as it relates to natural resource extraction and use in the context of the Niger delta, community perceptions and experiences may lead to a challenge of the system and the nature of resource use. The outcomes of such action while providing short-term benefits may lead to contradictory outcomes for social and intergenerational justice. Essentially, the efficacy of individual and collective action does not always lead to rational outcomes. The environmental impacts of (oil bunkering) and artisanal refining highlight this relationship between collective action and rational outcomes, at least in the context of the Niger delta. This is notwithstanding the fact that the activity has developed to become a source of rural income (Zibima, 2015; 6).

## VII. Conclusion and Policy Implications

The Niger Delta situation is a paradox. The region produces over 85% of the foreign exchange revenue that sustains the country through her rich oil industry, yet her rural communities that houses the petro-dollar business wallow in poverty. The negligence of the MNOC's coupled with repressive government policies/laws transformed a peaceful agitation into an arms race in the region culminating into the Yar' Adua's amnesty program. The decision of the government not to address the key issues that culminated into violent agitations in the region and the subsequent decision to throw money at the problem while the MNOC's keep perpetuating environmental terrorism in the region only gives credence to the illegal oil market in the Niger Delta. If nothing is done to address the issue, then the issue of ecological terrorism in the region will continue to be a bone in the neck of the government.

## VIII. Recommendations

This paper recommends that the government should as a matter of policy address the issues of development and environmental degradation. More so, government should not play politics with the issues of pollution cleanup and payment of compensations. Multinational corporations should be compelled to obey the laws of the nation as well as abide by international best practices.

Poem: Oil and Politics

Wait, wait the power brokers say
Farmers and Fishermen hardly make earns.
Old men like young men falls in yonder place.
The Militants Militates against Multinationals.

Bring the Bear into Kingship even in the Delta,
The Goats will suffer Injustice.
Take the Black Golden Egg,
Forget the Minorities that manufactures.

Bring our benefits Minorities says.
Pipe low, your benefits are in the Pipeline.
We wait endlessly for the ends.
Too much politics, too little light.

Oh Niger Delta! The dazzling beauty damsel.
Decked with dumbfounding dark colors divinely
Spotted even in the dark whose smiles simplifies the hardest heart
Like lightest moonlight lightening dead lands.

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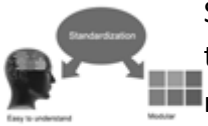


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# AUXILIARY MEMBERSHIPS

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Global Journals Incorporation (USA) is accredited by Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS) and in turn, affiliates research institutions as "Institutional Fellow of Open Association of Research Society" (IFOARS).



The "FARSC" is a dignified title which is accorded to a person's name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FARSC or William Walldroff, M.S., FARSC.

The IFOARS institution is entitled to form a Board comprised of one Chairperson and three to five board members preferably from different streams. The Board will be recognized as "Institutional Board of Open Association of Research Society"-(IBOARS).

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The IBOARS can initially review research papers of their institute and recommend them to publish with respective journal of Global Journals. It can also review the papers of other institutions after obtaining our consent. The second review will be done by peer reviewer of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) The Board is at liberty to appoint a peer reviewer with the approval of chairperson after consulting us.

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We shall provide you intimation regarding launching of e-version of journal of your stream time to time. This may be utilized in your library for the enrichment of knowledge of your students as well as it can also be helpful for the concerned faculty members.




After nomination of your institution as "Institutional Fellow" and constantly functioning successfully for one year, we can consider giving recognition to your institute to function as Regional/Zonal office on our behalf.
The board can also take up the additional allied activities for betterment after our consultation.

**The following entitlements are applicable to individual Fellows:**




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- In addition to above, if one is single author, then entitled to 40% discount on publishing research paper and can get 10%discount if one is co-author or main author among group of authors.
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- Fellow can also join as paid peer reviewer and earn 15% remuneration of author charges and can also get an opportunity to join as member of the Editorial Board of Global Journals Incorporation (USA)
- • This individual has learned the basic methods of applying those concepts and techniques to common challenging situations. This individual has further demonstrated an in–depth understanding of the application of suitable techniques to a particular area of research practice.

**Note :**

"

- In future, if the board feels the necessity to change any board member, the same can be done with the consent of the chairperson along with anyone board member without our approval.
- In case, the chairperson needs to be replaced then consent of 2/3rd board members are required and they are also required to jointly pass the resolution copy of which should be sent to us. In such case, it will be compulsory to obtain our approval before replacement.
- In case of "Difference of Opinion [if any]" among the Board members, our decision will be final and binding to everyone.

"

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**We accept the manuscript submissions in any standard (generic) format.**

We typeset manuscripts using advanced typesetting tools like Adobe In Design, CorelDraw, TeXnicCenter, and TeXStudio. We usually recommend authors submit their research using any standard format they are comfortable with, and let Global Journals do the rest.

Alternatively, you can download our basic template from https://globaljournals.org/Template.zip

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**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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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:

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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.

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

**Formulas and equations**

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

**Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends**

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

**Figures**

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

## Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

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

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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.

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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.

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***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.

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## 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.

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**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.

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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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|---|---|---|---|
| | **A-B** | **C-D** | **E-F** |
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| ***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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