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# Depression and Anxiety among Women: An Analysis of Kashmir Valley

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## Abstract

Mental, physical and social health are the important elements of life that are deeply interwoven and closely interdependent. Mental disorder affects all people of all countries and societies, individuals of all ages, men and women, the rich and poor, rural and urban and so on. In conflict regions, depression and anxiety are very common and disrupts the social, economic and political life of the people. Many people living amidst the rages of conflict suffer from a posttraumatic stress disorder. The valley of Kashmir is a conflicted region between India and Pakistan. Most civilians witnessed war-related traumatic events such as shootings, killings, rape and loss of family's members. Bomb attacks, indiscriminate firings have affected the daily lives of the people. Human rights are abuses in such conflict area, and they are reported in the form of arrests, extra-judicial, loot, abduction, and torture by the Armed forces. High level of violence and mass uprisings are still against this oppression. The ongoing conflict, constant threats, and poor future perspectives put a heavy strain on the natural coping mechanisms of the people of Kashmir. A lot of people suffer from stress, high amounts of psychosocial problems and disorders like anxiety, mood, and post-traumatic disorder are mounting. These psychological problems have also given rise to general health problems like diabetes, cardiac problems, and hypertension. This Paper will highlight as to what extent the conflict has affected the mental health of Kashmiri women from the period of the 1990s.

**Keywords:** Kashmir Conflict, Mental Health, Disappearance, Orphanage, Impacts on women

## 1. Introduction

The state of Jammu and Kashmir is located in the heart of Asia. It is situated between 32.17 and 35.58 degree north latitude and 72.26 and 80.30 degree east longitude. The state of Jammu and Kashmir was formed on 26th October 1947. The state covers an area of 2, 22,236 sq. Km. and is the sixth largest state of India in terms of area. The state of Jammu and Kashmir is surrounded by Himachal Pradesh in its south as well as neighboring countries like Pakistan, Afghanistan, and China from west, north and east respectively (Report, 2012).

Conflicts in South Asia can be ascribed to four reasons: Firstly, some have their roots in British colonial policies such as divide and rule. Secondly, some conflicts have arisen due to

the modernization process in the sub-continent which benefits some and marginalize and exclude others. Thirdly, conflicts are due to the intervention of external countries like Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in early 1980's, and the last being is that some conflicts arise because of limited resources and the struggle for these resources. Kashmir conflict is a complicated and multidimensional one and can fit into the first category (Ganguly, 1996). The political mobilization of the Kashmiri Muslims, deinstitutionalization of Indian politics and the intervention of Pakistan sowed the seeds of discontent in Kashmir (Ibid, 1996). India took repressive measures to deal with the insurgency that created the situation of 'new war' in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Mary Kaldor (1998) argues that the 'new wars' were basically post-cold war conflicts which differ from the accepted definition of warfare. The main features of these conflicts include human rights abuses, identity issues and the presence of Para-military forces, which lead to displacement of population. Moreover, these conflicts take place in the context of criminality, corruption and administrative failures.

Kashmir had a Muslim majority population and was ruled by Mughal-Afghan dynasties. In the nineteenth century, the British gained it from Sikhs after the latter is defeated in the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46) and imposed an indemnity on the Sikh government. The Sikhs were not in a position to pay and hence gave Kashmir, Jammu, Ladakh, and Baltistan to British. The Hindu Maharaja Gulab Singh (Dogra) stepped in and agreed to pay the indemnity of seventy-five lakh rupees to the Britishers and the Treaty of Amritsar<sup>1</sup> Was signed (Kaul 2010:43, Dewan, 2008). Thus, the valley of Kashmir witnessed Dogra rule from 1846-1947 and was marked by the alienation of Muslims in Kashmir. The imposition of heavy taxes, capital punishment, and the constant terror was created by the Dogra's against Kashmiri Muslims (Ahmad, 2010).

On the eve of independence in 1947, there were five hundred and sixty-five princely states in colonial India and were given a choice to merge either with Pakistan or India (Dewan, 2011). Kashmir was one of the largest princely states, and its Dogra ruler Maharaja Hari Singh wanted to remain independent and refused to accede to either state. In 1947, the Maharaja faced an armed revolt by Muslims from Poonch, and the revolt then began to spread to other parts of Jammu and Kashmir. To maintain the status quo, the Maharaja signed a Standstill Agreement<sup>2</sup> with Pakistan. In 1947, the Kashmiri Muslims revolted openly against the oppressions of Maharaja and was the revolt was supported by the tribesmen of Pakistan's North West Frontier Province (NWFP). In October 1947, the tribesmen captured the several towns and massacred a large number of civilians and advanced to capture Srinagar (summer capital of valley) (Husain, 2009: 1008). To crush the rebellion, the Maharaja sought assistance from the state of India and the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, agreed to send troops to Kashmir on the condition that the state should accede to India. On October 26, 1947,

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<sup>1</sup> The Treaty of Amritsar was signed on March 16, 1846 between the British and Gulab Singh Dogra. Under this treaty, Kashmir came under the direct control of Dogra's. The Maharaja Gulab Singh gained the possession of the land to the west of the Indus including Hazara (Bali 2014).

<sup>2</sup> The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir signed a still stand agreement with Pakistan on August 12 in an exchange of telegrams. The main objective of this agreement was to ensure those services which existed for trade, travel and communication would carry on in the same way as they had in British India. However, India did not sign the still stand agreement with the state of Jammu and Kashmir and created suspicion among the Pakistanis about the future plans of India (Schofield, 2003)

Maharaja Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession<sup>3</sup> With India on the condition that Kashmir should be permitted to have its own constitution (Bazaz, 2005).

In January 1966, Tashkent Agreement was signed between India and its neighboring country, Pakistan and both countries decided to solve the Kashmir dispute through peaceful negotiations. However, in 1971, India supported East Pakistan for its independence and another war came into existence between India and Pakistan. In 1972, an agreement was signed, and both countries decided to end their conflicts through bilaterally, and this agreement came to be known as Shimla Agreement (Singh, 2011: 12). The main features of Shimla agreement are that both the countries should respect each other's territorial integrity, sovereignty, political independence and non- interference in each other's internal affairs. Besides it lay emphasis on the cooperative relationship with the special focus on people to people contact and upheld the inviolability of the line of control (LOC) in Jammu and Kashmir (Ministry of External Affairs, 1972).

## **2. Conflict vs Mental Health in Kashmir Valley**

After the Shimla Agreement, the conflict of Kashmir became bilateral. However, the conflict laid its ill effects on all ages of people whether men or women, old or children, literate or illiterate, poor or rich, urban or rural and soon. In other words, it can be argued that the Kashmir conflict had a deeper impact on all sections of the society. The negative impact of violent conflict is experienced by the people, who suffer displacement, loss of home and property, loss or involuntary disappearances of close relatives, broken family, poverty and disintegration.

The impact of conflict and violence on mental health started only in the 1970s after the humanitarian crisis started in Biafra and Nigeria (Shafi & Hassan, 2013). Nowadays it is a concern for everybody, as there are so many conflicts like Kashmir, Palestine, Syria, Rwanda, Somalia, Ukraine and soon. In all these nations there are violent emotional reactions mainly in women and stress, and depression are common. The people in such regions are badly affected by Psycho-Traumatic stress disorder, mal nutrition, hypertension and other cardiac diseases which creates a barrier in their today life.

According to American Psychiatric Association, mental illness is a psychosocial disorder that is related to thinking (cognition) or the mood (emotions) and is correlated with psychological and social problems. Psychological trauma is associated with thinking and emotions, whereas social disorder is linked with relationships, feelings, behavior, and development (Hasan & Shafi, 2013). Such traumas had become evident in disturbed and anti-social behavior, such as the conflict in family and aggression towards others. In conflict-ridden nations, women become the first victim of depression and anxiety through various ways like rape, torture,

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<sup>3</sup> The instrument of Accession that was signed by Maharaja Hari Singh gave the dominion legislature powers to make laws in the state with respect to matters concerning defense, communication, external affairs and ancillary matters. There was a provision in the agreement that the state of Jammu and Kashmir would be made by the free will of the people until law and order should be restored (Dewan, 2011).

displacement, and killings of their beloved ones. The impacts of conflicts on mental health are complex and unpredictable because it is influenced by a number of factors such as the nature of the conflict, the kind of trauma and distress experienced, the cultural context and so on (Summerfield, 1991).

The mental illness related to conflicts includes sleeplessness, fear, nervousness, anger, aggressiveness, depression, substance abuse and suicide. All these traumatic events create nightmares, anxiety, and depression and lay foundation to the certain questions like security, identity, statelessness, and poverty. Besides these, conflict experiences may lead to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and chronic depression. Studies indicated that in conflicts regions women are not only affected by mental illness but have associated with bodily dysfunction, such as the problem of child reproduction, poor nutrition, education and development (Baingana, 2005). These all ill-treatment put a heavy strain on the women and increased the high amount of Psychological problems and disorders.

### **3. Role of Torture in Kashmir**

Torture prevails in the Kashmir since the outbreak of insurgency in 1990. It is used as a tool of counter-insurgency by Indian security forces to crush the movement for self-determination. The Laws like Disturbed Area Act (1990), Armed Forces Special Powers Act (1990) and Public Safety Act mandated heavy militarization, which eventually led to torture and other methods like extra-judicial killings and custodial deaths which gives birth to the various disorders like fear, hypertension and cardiac problems particularly in women (Haq & Dar, 2015). In the valley of Kashmir, Rape is a form of sexual torture which is practiced by security forces against prisoners. Hundreds of women have been raped with impunity, and most of them go unreported given the social stigma and fear of retribution by the State.

The gang-rape Kunan Poshpora (Village in District Kupwara) and Shopian Kashmir in 2009 were the examples which are still fresh in the minds of people. All these brutal measures were used for the purpose of crushing the movement of self-determination that started by the people of Kashmir against the political system of India (Human Rights Watch, 1993). There are cases documented about the physically and mental torture of women's both by police officers and Indian security forces. Sarwar Jan, a woman of nineteen years old was married to a surrendered militant. On February 6, 2002, both of them were arrested by STF of the Jammu and Kashmir police. Her husband was killed, and she was sent back to home after torture. Many a time she had attempted to suicide due to the remnants of her miserable incidents (Qayoom, 2014). Another case such as, a 22 years old school girl was arrested from the road by the security force, considered her as a supporter of militants. She was released after tortured and raped by security forces (Torture Trial Documentary, 2012).

Various militants in Kashmir have also committed sexual torture (Rape) to many women's in order to create fear among them. Some militant forces also launched other attacks on women who do not observe Islamic dress code and other social restrictions. However, there are no clear evidence about the non-state actors regarding torture. There must be two reasons for that

[a] the militants mostly execute the detainees as they consider them as Mukhbirs (spies) of the army. [b] Most people fear to speak about the violations caused by militant because they fear of being killed by them. There are many such cases and evidence that the armed militants use sexual-harassment (sexual torture) as a tool during counterinsurgency. Despite laws and legal Act like Indian constitution, 376(1) of the Indian penal code and the criminal Act of 1983 and so on; no such serious investigation has been taken place by the government.

#### 4. Issues of Disappearance and Orphanage

In police custody, thousands of people have disappeared in the Kashmir valley. Disappearances often end in extra-judicial killings or death. Persons took into custody by law enforcement agencies and being denied to disclose the knowledge of their whereabouts is known as disappearances. Consequently, these terror incidents affected the mental health of the people especially the women. Being with patriarchal society the women have socially, emotionally and most importantly economically dependent on the male member of the family and relatives. As the violent conflict are male-oriented, the women are the most sufferer living with panic and stressful life when their male member- father, husband and children lose/death from the family. They also become the victims of "half-widow" status (unknown of their husband in the ongoing conflict-either dead or alive) in the society (Qutub, 2012). Unfortunately, woman/half-widow, which had small children, had faced the challenges of economic conditions to support their children. They have witnessed the conflicting status of self and society, whether to marry again or not. Such socio-psychological issues have been developed among the woman victim, and they lived with a stigma in the society. In addition, many children have become an orphanage.

According to Pervez Imroz, a human rights activist and a lawyer of Srinagar High Court argues that in Kashmir valley 1000-1500 disappearances have been documented, while the number of half-widows is ranged up to 8000. Besides the disappearance, the conflict of Kashmir also produced 107,366 orphans in the state from 1990-2010. The growing number of orphans had become a challenge for society. About 80% widows aged 25-32 with children below the age of 10 years prefer to remain single if remarriage is possible.

*Table 1. Violence against women 1990-2010*

Women Widowed	22,734
Children Orphaned	107,366
Women Gang Raped	9,946

**Source:** (Jahangir and Shafi 2013)

## 5. Impact of conflict on the mental health of women

The oppressive response used by Indian state to suppress the movement is torture, rape, enforced disappearance, custodial deaths and burning of houses in the valley, laid its worse impacts in the social life (Lubna, 1997). Depression and Anxiety emerged as a social-psychological problem in Kashmir after counter-insurgency by the Indian security forces. In the valley usually, no one is sure to return home safely in the evening. This environment of insecurity, killing, and disappearances of Kashmiri youths led to psychological problems. Traumatic events can have a profound and lasting impact on the emotional, cognitive, behavioral and physiological functioning of an individual. The most common traumatic event experienced is witnessing the torture and killing of a close relative.

The impact of conflict on women in Kashmir comes out in the form of suicide. Suicide is a fatal, self-inflicted destructive act with explicit or inferred intent to die. During the two and half decades, suicides became an epidemic in the valley of Kashmir. Sociologists and Doctors are of the view that the number of suicides has soared since the start of insurgency which increased mental health disorder. Studies have found that the trend of suicide is higher in females than males, because women have suffered emotional trauma due to the conflict (Shafi & Hassan, 2013). The most important aspect of conflict on women is that they had to face various challenges within their society. These challenges became their mental illness, which forced them to live the life of depression and anxiety. Among such challenges, socio-economic had badly affected the women, particularly on Half-Widows.

## 6. Conclusion

Women are an integral part of society. The multiple roles that they are fulfilling in society render them at greater risk of experiencing mental problems than males. Women are associated with being wives, mothers, and careers of others. Women are more likely affected by mental disorders, and most of the disorder found in them is depression and anxiety. Women in Kashmir have been closely associated with political mobilization and continue to be the victims of an ongoing cycle of abuse and violence. They continue to confront and cope with psychological and physical violence, dislocation and disillusionment of a situation of war. The women in the Kashmir valley also face psychosexual problems because of depression which leads to infertility, miscarriages, polycystic ovarian syndrome, serum insulin, insulin resistance and irregular menstrual cycle levels are significantly higher in women suffering from the disorder (Wani, et al. 2011). It has been estimated that the number of women suffering from depression and anxiety is more than men.

The conflict stressors include torture, rape, disappearance, displacement, fear, financial hardships create psychiatric disorders and give birth to the concept of suicide which is increasing from last ten years. Mental health is a symbol of overall health and quality of life. The cure for this mental condition is difficult in a situation like Kashmir. Patients need a peaceful environment, which Kashmir still cannot afford. There is a need for attention to concern the mental health in conflicted region especially the women, which incorporates both

preventive and care elements. This is the time to co-operate with local to national to the global level and work from the ground reality to tackle the issues of socio-psychological and other related problems for the bright future of the future generation.

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# The Predictors of Body Image Dissatisfaction among Undergraduate Students at the United States International University-Africa, Nairobi, Kenya

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## Abstract

Utilizing a sample of 114 undergraduate students studying at the United States International University-Africa, this study analyzed the factors that impacted on body image dissatisfaction among young adults in Kenya. A quantitative design was utilized for the study. Data were collected through a self-administered structured questionnaire and analyzed utilizing the SPSS software version 24 with beta ( $\beta$ ) coefficients as the main test statistic. The results showed that those studied had low levels of both body image consciousness and dissatisfaction and that, overall, they were free from the negative consequences of body image dissatisfaction. Regression analysis revealed that further showed that only 4 of 8 individual factors, none of the socio-cultural factors and only 1 of 4 control variables evaluated were significant predictors of body image dissatisfaction. The regression model explained 72.1 percent of the variance in body image dissatisfaction. It was concluded that, among others, the factors that have been utilized as predictors of body image dissatisfaction in Western countries also apply to the Kenyan situation.

**Keywords:** Body image, body image dissatisfaction, body image consciousness, individual factors, socio-cultural factors

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Over the years, people have given a lot of importance to the beauty associated with the human body, and hence the term body image. The term refers to an individual's perceptions, beliefs, and emotional and cognitive attitudes regarding their body (Klaczynski, Goold & Mudray, 2004; Sloan, 2003; Stice & Whitenton, 2002). Body image is a reflection of how a person feels concerning whether their body is attractive and appealing based on personal perceptions.

The concept is multidimensional and includes various components, which are behavioral, cognitive, affective and perceptual. Whereas the behavioral dimension refers to what a person does with regards to his or her body, the cognitive aspect deals with the beliefs and thoughts a person has concerning their body. The affective facet, on the other hand, focuses on the feelings a person has concerning their body. Lastly, the perceptual element deals with the way in which a person views himself or herself.

To gauge body image, society has come up with a set of standards that do not always correspond to an individual's perception concerning their body. Some of the standards include being thin, curvy and even having a proportionate body (Waldman, Loomes, Mountford & Tchanturia, 2013). Both women and men have their concerns regarding how they fit society's provided conception of body image. A positive body image occurs when an individual feels good and accepts all aspects of their body (Menzel & Levine, 2011). An individual who has the positive body image tends to be proud of his/her body even in situations where factors such as the media and family ideals may not match up with the individual's appearance (Champion & Furnham, 1999). S/he appreciates and celebrates the natural shape of the body, and understands that his/her physical appearance does not dictate his/her value and character. In addition, the individual will be accepting and proud of the fact that they have a unique body (Kotanski, et al., 2004; Menzel & Levine, 2011). By being confident and comfortable about his/her body, such a person is unlikely to become involved in spending unnecessary time thinking about calories, weight, and food. On the contrary, a negative body image exists whenever an individual feels that his/her body is not able to match up to some expectations such as media, social, and family ideals (Champion & Furnham, 1999; Kotanski, Fisher & Gullone, 2004). An individual who has a negative view of his/her physical appearance and body, experiences dissatisfaction with his/her body image (*Derenne & Beresin, 2006*).

Since the 1950s, many empirical researches have been conducted providing more information about the issue of body image (Kotanski, Fisher & Gullone, 2004; Stice, Maxfield & Wells, 2003). Whereas the physical schema or perceived feelings of the individual's physical appearance may play a major role in the individual's body image (Kotanski, et al., 2004; Schilder, 1950), the predictors of body image dissatisfaction are many and varied. These can be categorized into individual factors and socio-cultural factors. Individual factors include body size, personality traits, depression, or low self-esteem, gender and age (Rothblum, 1992). On the other hand, socio-cultural factors include influences from the family, peer influences, and media influences (Menzel & Levine, 2011; Stice, Maxfield & Wells, 2003).

Negative body image and consequently, dissatisfaction with one's body image has been associated with a number of illnesses and disorders that include eating disorders, body dysmorphic disorder, depression, anxiety, and low self-esteem. Various authors (Birbeck, 2003; Davison & McCabe, 2006; Vonderen and Kinnally, 2012). Vonderen and Kinnally (2012), for example, established that self-esteem and peer comparisons could make the individual develop eating disorders. On the contrary, individuals who experience the body image satisfaction tend to have healthy behaviors and outlook, self-acceptance, and higher self-esteem levels.

The purpose of this study is to explore for the predictors of body image dissatisfaction among undergraduate university students at the United States International University-Africa (USIU-Africa). Doing so is important because the adverse effects of body image dissatisfaction, such as anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa (McCabe & Ricciardelli, 2005; Menzel & Levine, 2011), are well documented, especially in Western countries. In Kenya, concerns with body image are catching up, especially among the youth and the middle-aged, as manifested through a variety of ways such as the ever-growing enthusiasm for the gym with maintaining a desirable body type as one of the key objectives, dieting practices and dressing styles among both females and males, and the application of make-up especially among females. In an attempt to further improve and have a positive body image, Kenyan men and women are also doing other useful activities, including engaging in meditation, having an adequate sleep as well as having a daily routine for moisturizing, toning as well as cleansing (Waswa, 2011).

The study is anchored on two specific objectives; to measure the level of body image dissatisfaction, and to test for the effects of established individual and socio-cultural factors on body image dissatisfaction among undergraduate students at USIU-Africa. Through the study, we hope to contribute new knowledge that will increase the understanding of the subject matter of body image in general and the predictors of body image dissatisfaction in particular within the Kenyan context. This is important in light of the fact that much of the research conducted in this subject area focuses on the industrialized nations of the West (see, e.g., Kotanski, Fisher & Gullone, 2004; Schilder, 1950) leaving the Kenyan context understudied.

## **2. DELINEATION OF STUDY VARIABLES**

In all, 15 variables were evaluated as factors impacting on body image dissatisfaction among undergraduate students in USIU-Africa. These included 11 substantive variables and four (4) control variables. The substantive variables, drawn from the existing literature, were grouped into two categories; individual factors and socio-cultural factors. It is to the operational definitions of these that we now turn, commencing with individual factors.

### **2.1 Individual Factors**

Individual factors include personality traits (such as openness, conscientiousness, agreeableness, extraversion, and neuroticism); depression, and low self-esteem (Rothblum, 1990). It has been argued that an individual's personality traits can lead to body image dissatisfaction. Furthermore, individuals who experience depression and low-self-esteem will most likely have a negative view concerning their bodies (Kotanski, et al., 2004). This is especially the case among individuals who have perfectionist tendencies, and those trying to obtain approval from other people. These are likely to develop negative body image perception since they are seeking to become the best when compared to other people (Kotanski, et al., 2004). For the purpose of this study, the following eight (8) individual factors were analyzed: Openness, conscientiousness, agreeableness, extraversion, and neuroticism, depression, (low) self-esteem, and life satisfaction.

The term *openness* is defined after John & Srivastava (1999) to represent the complexity and depth of a person to engage in new experiences. According to them, the individual who is open to new experiences is willing to think outside of the box, is vulnerable as well as willing to try out something new. In this study, it is argued that openness increases the individual's propensity of experiencing body image dissatisfaction.

John and Srivastava (1999) have defined the term *conscientiousness* as a trait that is characterized by being effective at organizing and planning and working within the established rules. As utilized in this study, the term refers to the tendency by an individual to act in a manner that is socially acceptable and also to be able to control his or her impulses. In turn, the person can benefit from achieving their goals. We hypothesize that conscientiousness increases the individual's inclination toward body image dissatisfaction.

For the purpose of this study, the term *agreeableness* refers to the extent to which an individual is able to agree with other people. The term denotes the individual's ability to interact with others. We argue that being agreeable reduces the individual's susceptibility to body image dissatisfaction.

*Extroversion* refers to the high end of a spectrum whereby a person draws energy from other people. An extrovert recharges his/her energy from other people. A person who has the extroversion trait will seek out the opportunities that provide social interaction. S/he can be described as being prone to action, gregarious, and being comfortable around others (Ozer & Benet-Martinez, 2006). In this study, it is hypothesized that extroversion decreases the individual's predisposition toward dissatisfaction with body image.

*Neuroticism* refers to a characteristic present in an individual who displays negative traits such as having low-esteem, being sad, and anxious. According to Ozer and Benet-Martinez (2006), a neurotic individual is not sure about himself or herself, is self-conscious and easily angered. We argued that being neurotic raises one's chances of experiencing body image dissatisfaction.

The term *depression* refers to experiencing the lack of pleasure or interest in any daily activity. It also includes other symptoms such as recurrent thoughts of suicide, feelings of worthlessness, and significant weight gain or loss (American Psychological Association, 2017). It is hypothesized here that depression increases one's proclivity towards body image dissatisfaction.

The term *self-esteem* refers to the feelings and beliefs that an individual holds concerning themselves. It is usually formed from other people's perceptions and internal perceptions. The self-worth of the individual is an important factor in determining self-esteem (Roy & Andrews, 1999). In this study, it is argued that individuals with low self-esteem have a higher predisposition toward body image dissatisfaction.

Finally, the term *life satisfaction* denotes the quality of life that an individual is experiencing or subjective well-being. Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin (1985) define it as the individual's judgment and conclusion concerning their entire life. Individuals who report being satisfied with life are likely to have a positive body image because they believe that

their life has a positive impact on their body. It is hypothesized here that life satisfaction decreases one's likelihood of suffering from body image dissatisfaction.

## 2.2 Socio-Cultural Factors

The second category of variables evaluated for this study included three (3) socio-cultural factors as follows: Media influences, parental influences, and peer influences. *Media influences* refer to the effect of exposure to media channels such as television, magazines, and the internet on the individual's evaluation of his/her body image. The exposure can have an impact on the perception a person has concerning their body (Grieve & Bonneau-Kaya, 2007). It is hypothesized that the greater the media exposure, the higher the likelihood of experiencing body image dissatisfaction.

As utilized in this study, the term *parental influences* refer the extent to which values espoused by parents determine how one constructs one's body image. By parent, we mean the individual's blood father and mother. We argue that parents tend to have certain values that are shared among the members of the family, which can influence an individual's evaluation of his/her body image. As such, exposure to parental influences is hypothesized to increase the individual's predilection toward body image dissatisfaction.

The term *peer influences* are utilized to refer to the peers' conversations that are held concerning weight, appearance, and even teasing. Such conversations have an influence on the overall perception an individual will have about his/her body (Jones et al., 2004). Consequently, the greater the peer influence, the greater the body image dissatisfaction.

## 2.3 Control Variables

The following were analyzed as control variables: Perceptions about aging, religious affiliation, complexion, and body weight. As utilized in this study, the term *perception about aging* represents the opinions and views that people hold regarding aging. The perception held by an individual tends to affect how the individual feels about his or her body. We hypothesize that individuals who have a negative view of aging are likely to experience body image dissatisfaction. On the other hand, the term *religious affiliation* denotes the religious faith that an individual abides by. We argue that the teachings presented in a certain religion can influence how the individual engages in activities that can affect their body as well as body image.

As utilized in this study, the term *complexion* refers to the pigmentation of one's skin. Broadly defined, individuals can be classified as dark skinned or light skinned. It is individuals who are light skinned who are considered in this study to be more susceptible to body image dissatisfaction. Finally, *body weight* is used to refer to the individual's objective heaviness of his/her body, measured in kilograms. We argue that persons who have hefty bodies are more likely to experience body image dissatisfaction compared to those who are light bodied.

## 2.4 Independent Variable

The independent variable for this study is *body image dissatisfaction*. It refers to the individual's negative subjective evaluations of his/her whole body or some parts of it such as legs, stomach, and hips (Stice & Whitenton, 2002).

### 3. METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted among undergraduate students registered for various degree programs at the United States International University-Africa (USIU-A). The USIU-A is a private non-profit institution located in the Kasarani area of Nairobi, Kenya, behind Safari Park Hotel, off the Thika Superhighway. Established in 1969 as the first private, secular university to operate in Kenya, following an agreement between the trustees of USIU in San Diego, California and the Kenyan Ministry of Education, the university has grown to become one of the largest private universities in the East African region. It is dually accredited by the Commission for University Education (CUE) in Kenya and the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC) in the United States of America (USA). By January 2017, its student population stood at 6960; 5 281 undergraduate students (77.9 percent) and 1 679 graduate students (22.1 percent). The university is organized into four schools as follows - The School of Humanities and Social sciences, the Chandaria School of Business, the School of Science and Technology, and the School of Pharmacy and Health Sciences – offering varied undergraduate and graduate degree programs.

A quantitative research design was utilized for this study. Data were collected utilizing the survey methods. Specifically, self-administered structured questionnaires were utilized. In addition to adducing information related to the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of respondents, the questionnaire sought to establish the respondents' views about the following issues: The level of body image dissatisfaction; perceived positive and negative consequences of body image evaluations, and the effects of individual, cultural and societal factors on body image dissatisfaction. Those administered with the structured questionnaires were selected in three stages. In the first stage, the university was stratified into schools out of which two schools - School of Humanities and Social Sciences and Chandaria School of Business – were randomly selected to be included in the study. The second stage of the sampling process involved the random selection of specific programs offered by each school from which respondents were finally drawn. From the school of Humanities and Social Sciences, the Psychology and International Relations programs were selected, while from the Chandaria School Business it is the International Business Administration and the Finance programs that were sampled. The final stage of the sampling process entailed the selection of the students to be interviewed in each of the four programs selected above. Unlike in earlier stages where random sampling was used, here convenient (availability) sampling was utilized. That is, for each program, a class that was in session during the time when the researcher was available to conduct the interviews was selected and visited. This process went on until the desired sample of 50 students from each school was met.

Data were analyzed utilizing the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) IBM version 24. The analysis occurred in two stages. In the first stage, descriptive statistics (means, standard deviations, frequencies and relative frequencies) was employed. These were utilized to profile the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the study sample as well as the main patterns emerging from the data. The second stage involved the use of multiple linear regression analysis, with beta coefficient ( $\beta$ ) as the test statistic, to test for the effects of various factors on body image dissatisfaction.

#### 4. RESULTS

A total of 114 undergraduate students studying for varying degrees in the United States International University-Africa (USIU-A) were interviewed for this study. Out of this number, 39 (32.2 percent) were males while the rest 75 (65.8 percent) were females. Those interviewed ranged in age from 18-28 years. The mean age was 21.0 years with a standard deviation of 1.97 years. The median age was 21.0 years. As evident from Table 1, those aged under 20 years constituted 19.3 percent of the study sample while those aged between 20 and 24 years comprised 74.6 percent. The remainder 6.1 percents were those aged 25 years and above. Those interviewed included 48.2 percent (55) freshmen, 35.1 percent (40) sophomores, 12.3 percent (14) juniors, and 4.4 percent (5) seniors. Broadly construed, 62.3 percent of them were of light-skinned while the remainder, 37.7 percent were dark skinned. The respondents' body weights ranged from 38 to 95 kilograms; the mean weight was 62.6 kilograms (the standard deviation was 11.0).

**Table 1:** Distribution of Respondents by Age

Age	Frequency	Percent
18 years	4	3.5
19 years	18	15.8
20 years	31	27.2
21 years	28	24.6
22 years	15	13.2
23 years	8	7.0
24 years	3	2.6
25 + years	7	6.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The study found that the respondents were characterized by low to moderate levels of body image consciousness. Consistent with this, it was revealed that the interviewees had low levels of body image dissatisfaction. On a scale of 1 to 4, the mean body image dissatisfaction for the six items used to measure body image dissatisfaction was 1.783; the standard deviation was 0.627. Furthermore, low proportions of those interviewed affirmed that they had experienced the negative consequences of body image dissatisfaction, such as eating disorders, unhealthy dieting habits, emotional distress, anxiety, social withdrawal, suicidal thoughts, suicidal acts and unhealthy exercise regimes.

The study had as its core objective ‘to test for the effects of established individual and socio-cultural factors on body image dissatisfaction among undergraduate students at USIU-Africa’. In all, 15 variables were investigated. These included eight (8) individual factors, three (3) socio-cultural factors and four (4) control variables. All individual and socio-cultural factors were measured using multiple indices in which respondents were required to select from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (4). The results are presented in Table 2. As evident from the Table, four (4) of the eight (8) individual factors evaluated by the study were found to significantly impact on body image dissatisfaction at the .05 and below the level of significance. These included neuroticism ( $\beta = .158$ ; p-value = .050), depression ( $\beta = .443$ ; p-value = .000), self-esteem ( $\beta = .229$ ; p-value = .002), and life satisfaction ( $\beta = -.238$ ; p-value = .000). This means that undergraduate students who had neurotic personalities were more likely to experience body image dissatisfaction, and so were their counterparts who suffered from depression. Similarly, the results showed that students who had low self-esteem were significantly more likely to exude body image dissatisfaction relative to their counterparts who had high self-esteem. Finally, the study revealed that high levels of life satisfaction tended to significantly lower body image dissatisfaction among those studied. The other four individual factors – openness, conscientiousness, agreeableness, and extraversion – were not found to significantly impact on body image dissatisfaction.

**Table 2:** Factors Affecting Body Image Dissatisfaction

Factors	Beta ( $\beta$ ) Value	P- Value
<b>Individual Factors:</b>		
Openness:	.019	.784
Conscientiousness	-.075	.265
Agreeableness	.025	.673
Extraversion	-.090	.134
Neuroticism	.158	.050
Depression	.443	.000
Low Self-esteem	.229	.002
Life satisfaction	-.238	.000
<b>Socio-cultural Factors:</b>		
Media Influences	-.045	.475
Parental Influences	.103	.149
Peer Influences	-.061	.345
<b>Control Variables:</b>		
Perception about Aging	.046	.437
Religious Affiliation	.061	.263
Complexion	-.120	.038
Body Weight	-.094	.093
		$R^2$ value = .712

Of the three socio-cultural factors analyzed – that is, media influences, parental influences and peer influences - none was found to significantly impact on body image dissatisfaction. On the other hand, only one (1) of the control variables evaluated - complexion ( $\beta = -.120$ ; p-value = .038) - was shown to significantly impact on body image dissatisfaction at the .05 and

below the level of significance. The results revealed that dark-skinned undergraduate students at USIU-Africa were less likely to experience body image dissatisfaction compared to their light-skinned counterparts. The control variables 'perception about aging', 'religious affiliation,' and 'body weight' were not found to significantly impact on body imager dissatisfaction.

The explained variance ( $R^2$ ) in body image dissatisfaction was .712. This can be interpreted to mean that of all the factors (independent variables) that cause variation in body image dissatisfaction (the dependent variable), the factors (or variables) analyzed accounted for 71.2 percent.

## 5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The overall aim of this study was to explore for the predictors of body image dissatisfaction among undergraduate students at the United States International University-Africa (USIU-Africa). The study produced some unique findings that require further treatment. First, the study revealed that those interviewed had low levels of both body image consciousness and body image dissatisfaction. This is inconsistent with findings in the West, which have tended to reveal high levels of body image consciousness (Champion and Furnham, 1999; Derenne & Beresin, 2006; Waldman, et al., 2013). There are two possible explanations for this finding. First, the finding could be a manifestation of the fact that despite the permeation of Western culture in Kenya, certain aspects of African culture, in this case, the social construction of the body in general and of body image/beauty in particular, remain strong/ have not been eclipsed by Western construction of the same. This means that individual's perceptions, beliefs, and emotional and cognitive attitudes regarding the body are yet to be fully westernized.

The alternative explanation of the low body image consciousness realized by this study has to do with the nature of the campus environment in Kenya. A closer look at the campus environment in Kenya paints it as a less formal one where most students do not worry much about dressing and appearances. It is the place for casual wear such as jeans/ slacks, t-shirts and other forms of informal wear. Logically, in such an environment, students are less likely to be conscious about their body image; meaning that their individual perceptions, beliefs, and emotional and cognitive attitudes regarding the body are likely to be deliberately suppressed.

The third and final possible explanation of the above findings rests with the composition of the study sample. Whereas those interviewed cut across all years of study, - freshman, and sophomore, junior and senior – the majority of them (62.3 percent) were in their freshman and sophomore years. Logically, juniors and seniors who are approaching graduation and eventual entry into the labor market are more likely to be body image conscious, and consequently to experience body image dissatisfaction. Being older, they are also more likely to have increased sensitivity to physical appearances and body image.

Consistent with the low body image consciousness realized by this study, the results revealed that USIU-Africa's undergraduate students had low/ average levels of body image dissatisfaction, which was the outcome variable for the study. On a scale of 1 to 4, the mean

body image dissatisfaction was 1.783 with a standard deviation of 0.627. This is contrary to results realized by studies conducted in Western countries, which have tended to suggest the prevalence of body image dissatisfaction, especially among young adults, including among university students (see e.g., Ansari et al, 2014; Ferrari et al, 2013; Goswami, Sachdeva and Sachdeva, 2012). It should be noted that the existence of low levels of body image dissatisfaction adduced by this study is backed up by the absence of the symptoms of negative body image consequences - such as attempted suicide, suicide thoughts, withdrawal from friends/peers/colleagues, and eating disorders - among the bulk of those who were interviewed for the study. To reiterate, only 4.5 percent, and 18.0 percent, 9.9 percent, and 11.4 percent of the respondents, respectively agreed that they had attempted suicide, they sometimes entertained suicidal thoughts, their body often forced them to socially withdraw from friends/peers/colleagues, and that they experienced eating disorders because of their body.

The existence of low levels of body image dissatisfaction among those interviewed for this study suggests that the respondents were characterized by positive as opposed to negative body image. Consequently, they viewed their bodies, including the different parts of the same, in a realistic and objective manner, leading them to appreciate and celebrate, as opposed to being ashamed of and condemning the natural shape of their bodies. This is consistent with the literature, which posits that individuals with positive body image appreciate and accept their bodies, and are proud of the fact that they have a unique body (see Kostanski, Fisher and Gullone, 2004). According to Kostanski, et al (2004), such persons are confident and comfortable about their body and, therefore, are unlikely to spend time thinking about calories, body weight, and food.

Regression analysis results revealed that only five (5) of the 15 substantive and control variables analyzed significantly impacted on body image dissatisfaction. Specifically, it was found that undergraduate students characterized by neurotic personalities, depression, and low self-esteem were significantly more likely to suffer body image dissatisfaction, whereas those characterized by high levels of life satisfaction exuded lowered body image dissatisfaction. These results are supported by the existing literature (see e.g., Kostanski, et al., 2004; Rothblum, 1990). In addition, it was revealed that individuals who were dark skinned were significantly less likely to experience body image dissatisfaction. This finding is consistent with expectations. Normally, light-skinned persons are more concerned about their appearance in particular and their body image in general. It is often the case that being light skinned especially among women, is associated with being beautiful. Hence the common saying that 'every man desires to marry or have a light-skinned woman.'

It is noticeable that a large number of the variables, in fact 10 out of 15, analyzed did not impact on body image dissatisfaction significantly. There are a number of possible explanations for this. First, it is possible that these were not important factors among those studied. Second, one may view this situation in terms of the sampling method utilized, especially to select the actual respondents for the study. Relying on convenient/availability sampling at the third stage of the sampling process most probably led to a sample that was not representative. This is likely to have introduced biases as well as increased the sampling error,

thereby impacting negatively on the results of the regression analysis. In this regard, one must reiterate that 62.3 percent of the study sample were in their freshman and sophomore years. Yet, as argued earlier, it is students who are approaching graduation and subsequent entry into the labor market who are more likely to worry about their grooming/body image.

Based on the results of this study, it may be concluded that, contrary to their counterparts in Western countries, undergraduate students at USIU-Africa have low body image consciousness/awareness as well as body image dissatisfaction. However, the factors that have been used to predict body image dissatisfaction by studies conducted in Western countries are also tenable in the Kenyan situation. Their relevance is evident through the explained variances obtained by this study. To reiterate, the regression equations accounted for 72.1 percent of the variance in body image dissatisfaction. Nevertheless, there is a need for further research in Kenya. The research should key on two categories of young adults. First, those who are attending colleges and/or universities throughout the country should be included. In this regard, studies should be conducted covering more private universities as well as bringing in the public sector of higher education. Kenya has a large number of private universities, many of them with a religious inclination. It would be useful to assess whether the construction of body image in general and of beauty, in particular, may vary across students studying in secular and religious inclined private universities. This is important instead of the fact that some of the universities with a religious inclination have a prescribed dressing code.

The second category of young adults that could be the locus of future investigation is the working/career category. This includes those who are aged 25-45 years, who have completed college/university and are pursuing career paths in the labor market. It is posited here that it is this category of young adults who might have embraced formality in dressing, and are very conscious of their appearances because it is part of their organizational/workplace culture. Of course, it is this same group of young adults who are likely to exude higher levels of body image consciousness as well as to experience body image dissatisfaction where individual/other expectations and set standards are not met. Not to forget that this category of young adults has the financial capability to maintain/ sponsor a preferred body image.

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# Virtual Tutoring in Mexican Computer Assisted Learning for Marginalized Populations

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## Abstract

This paper presents the results of scientific, pedagogical research, which goal was to reveal the main features and the role of virtual tutoring in computer-assisted learning for marginalized population analyzing the Mexican Care Program for Demand of Adult Education and its instruments: Meeting Points and Community Places. Author finds that the virtual tutoring in Mexican computer-assisted learning for marginalized population tutoring is an essential component of the educational process, is completely free, accessible and flexible. The users of the Mexican Care Program for Demand of Adult Education can have virtual tutoring not only in Spanish, but also in 63 languages of the indigenous ethnic groups. The virtual tutoring as part of the computer-assisted learning for the marginalized population is relatively recent tutoring modality and has had rapid development. It is a system of online academic activities planned, scheduled, registered, evaluated and followed up. The virtual tutor in the education for the marginalized population in Mexico acquires not only the general skills of e-moderating but also masters the specific psycho-pedagogical and psychosocial skills for mentoring a marginalized adult.

**Keywords:** Adults' Education, Computer Assisted Learning, Education for Marginalized Population, Mexican Educational System, Virtual Tutoring

## 1. Introduction

It is a fact that, as technological development advances, the use of new technology platforms applied to education facilitates the work of the tutors to guide, motivate and induce students' activities, so that they can build their own knowledge. In this sense, virtual tutoring is a process of guidance, help or advice, which the teacher makes on the student to achieve different objectives: integrate him into the technical-human learning environment, solve the doubts of understanding the content presented to him, facilitating their integration in the formative action, or simply overcoming the isolation that these environments produce in the individual, and which are a determining factor for the high dropout rate of students in these training actions.

On the other hand, does virtual tutoring create new forms of inclusion/exclusion: the connected and disconnected people? Is it possible to achieve that virtual tutoring becomes a mechanism of promoting for the less fortunate? The answer lies in the analysis of educational initiatives that make the virtual tutoring the main strategy of inclusion in the productive life of the most marginalized. Examples of the use of virtual tutoring by the vulnerable population are Meeting Points and Community Places of the Care Program for Demand of Adult Education developed by the Mexican National Institute for Adult Education. What are the characteristics of virtual tutoring that is implemented in these programs?

The aim of the research which results are presented in this article was to identify the main features of the virtual tutoring in computer-assisted learning for marginalized population realized by Meeting Points and Community Places under the Care Program for Demand of Adult Education belonging to the Mexican National Institute for Adult Education. This work is a documentary-bibliographic study, which was performed under the critical-dialectical approach, using research methods of analysis, synthesis, comparison, and generalization that were necessary to study the original texts and official documents, an organization of the studied material and its exposure.

Thus, the analytical method allows examining the documents governing computer-assisted learning for marginalized in Mexico, systematizing its content, in order to visualize the organizational, operational and procedural model of virtual tutoring. The method of systematic-structural analysis facilitated the identification of the specific features of the organization of virtual tutoring in computer-assisted learning for marginalized in Mexico; the method of theoretical generalization provided the tools for the formulation and concretization of the conclusions and substantiation of research perspectives on the issues of the of virtual tutoring for marginalized in Mexico.

## **2. Results**

To the problems of virtual tutoring are dedicated numerous studies in Iberoamerican region: García-Aretio, 2001; Martínez, 2004; Muelas, 2004; Ugaz, 2005; Pagano, 2007; Sevillano, 2009; Aguaded-Gómez and Cabero-Almenara, 2013; Avila-Barrios, 2014; Santoveña-Casal, 2014; Going-Martínez, 2014, Pérez-Mateo and Guitert-Catasús, 2014; Vázquez-Cano and Sevillano-García, 2015, among others. However, the issue of the use of ICT in order to support the education of the poor people is not very explored by regional researchers.

So, for Pagano (2007), in the educational process in virtual environments, the tutor serves as supervisor and facilitator; his/her intervention should stimulate and guide the student, facilitating learning situations, help to solve the difficulties and providing the type of communicative bidirectionality; thanks to his/her work, education is personalized through systematic and organized support (Pagano, 2007).

In turn, Sevillano (2009) believes that it is the process of supporting the student from mobile communication where the mobile device becomes an extension of the senses: the user can capture information, images, signals and voice, issued or created by the tutor, at a distance at the same time or a different moment from when it originated (Sevillano, 2009).

On the other hand, Aguaded-Gómez and Cabero-Almenara (2013) state that virtual tutoring is a flexible modality, creates asynchronous query scenarios that allow space independence, communication and access to information; develops the competencies for self-organization, autonomy, collaborative and creative work, as well as for the search, selection, discrimination and analysis of information in different sources of consultation; includes less fixed content and includes open research and communication processes; gives importance to the motivation and interests of the students (Aguaded-Gómez, Cabero-Almenara, 2013).

Vázquez-Cano and Sevillano-García (2015) argue that virtual tutoring gives the possibility of going to the support of the tutor in any situation or context, learning in, with and from the environment in a restricted and broad sense; it enables the tutor to produce and disseminate information necessary for the student, so that learning can take place at any time and in any place (Vázquez-Cano, Sevillano-García, 2015).

Also, for Pérez-Mateo and Guitert-Catasús (2014) virtual tutoring as part of the ubiquitous educational environment (ubiquitous learning, u-learning), integrates in itself a series of principles and pedagogical bases appropriate to the learning objectives, as well as mediation technologies that comply with these bases and promote interaction with student. In the process of virtual tutoring the tutor acts as facilitator and e-moderator, and for its effectiveness the tutor must be kind, attentive, respectful and courteous, have cultural sensitivity, not to admit the use of sexist, xenophobic terms (Pérez-Mateo, Guitert-Catasús, 2014).

On the other hand, there are numerous studies on the problems of marginalized groups in general and in particular on the need for education of the representatives of these social strata as a strategy for their inclusion in productive work life: Boltvinik, 2004; Cabrera, 2011; Damián, 2004; Dresser, 1997; Duch, 2005; Gordon, 2004, 2011; Juárez-Bolaños, 2006; Lerner, 1996, 2006; Pieck, 2005; Rosas, 2005; Schulze, 2013; among others.

So, as Lerner (1996) points out, the programs to reduce poverty (including education for the most vulnerable) were devised and applied trying to rectify the errors of previous social policies. In these programs “[...] an attempt is made to adapt to the requirements of the new era, which is characterized by globalization” (Lerner, 1996, p. 94).

Following Dresser (1997), the fight against poverty and the implementation of socio-educational programs for those, who have less, become mechanisms of political manipulation of the poorest, are means to maintain clientelistic policies (Dresser, 1997).

In Gordon's opinion (2004), despite the application of the policies recommended by the international organizations (United Nations Development Program, World Bank, Inter-

American Development Bank, International Monetary Fund, among others), which suggested that poverty reduction could be achieved around economic growth fostered by the opening of the market that would result in greater welfare of the population through improved income distribution, the poverty has been increasing in Latin American region (Gordon, 2004).

According to Damián (2004), Mexico has been "[...] an experimental laboratory for structural adjustment programs in both economic and social matters imposed by international organizations, due to the fact that by the end of the eighties of the 20th century, the problem of poverty took on an unusual importance. These programs emerged as a mechanism to offset the costs of the adjustment that the implementation of the neoliberal model led to. However, history showed that the result has been disastrous. As a consequence, at the beginning of the 21st century, poverty in Mexico was higher than in the eighties of the twentieth century" (Damián, 2004, p. 150).

Likewise, Boltvinik (2004) sustains, that the socio-educational programs aimed at the poor, "[...] make two inevitable mistakes: the error of exclusion which consists in discarding the benefits of really poor individuals; and the error of inclusion, which lies in admitting non-poor people within the beneficiaries. By avoiding the misuse of resources to benefit those, who don't need it, we actually affect many, who are in a situation of poverty, leaving without support" (Boltvinik, 2004, pp. 320-321).

Concerned about the consequences that trigger reproduction of exclusion, marginalization, vulnerability, the authors conduce their studies to understand the underlying causes of these phenomena and propose solutions to its problems. For scholars, one possible amendment is an inclusive education for marginalized groups.

In addition, it must be emphasized, that the subjects of modern studies of Latin American researchers about the socio-economic marginalization (Castel, 1998; Wacquant, 2001; Botto, Fenoglio, Moulia, 2002; Boltvinik, 2004; Damian, 2004; Juárez-Bolaños, 2005; Cortés, 2006; Schulze, 2013, among others), are the people who appear in the margin of socio-economic relations, who have failed to adapt themselves to the new conditions of scientific and technological progress, of the "knowledge society", globalization, postindustrial economic, new labor skills. These people became "useless" in the new postindustrial society.

For Schulze (2013), the "promotion" of a marginal man implies not only his desired participation in different social spheres, not only the growth of his family economy, but also the "evolution" of his patterns, his traditional culture in order to achieve the redefinition of the roles and his full integration into globalized life. This can be achieved through education (Schulze, 2013).

So the analysis of the state of knowledge about the problem of the use of virtual tutoring in order to support the education of the marginalized, showed that while exists the interest of researchers in the topics on virtual tutoring in education, as well as there, are a vast amount of works on the problems of the marginalized. However the material on the use of virtual

tutoring in education of vulnerable groups will not be visualized. From this consideration this study is justified, and its current character states.

The study carried out showed, that one of the educational initiatives that make computer-assisted learning the main strategy of inclusion in the productive life of the most marginalized are Meeting Points and Community Places of the Care Program for Demand of Adult Education developed by the Mexican National Institute for Adult Education.

Through the examining the documents governing computer-assisted learning for marginalized in Mexico, systematizing its content, there were visualized the organizational, operational and procedural model of virtual tutoring in this education, same as below.

It is worth mentioning that although the building of Mexican system of computer-assisted learning for marginalized population started with the incorporation in the National Education Program 2000-2006 of a subsector program Education for Life and Work and creation of the National Council for Life and Work (2004), its antecedents are in the sixties and seventies of the twentieth century. It's about the implementation of ICT in Mexican education: radio and television began actively used, especially in rural communities away from big cities. Also, the study made it possible to reveal that in 1996 the Educational Satellite Network operated by the Mexican government in conjunction with the Latin American Institute of Educational Communication, began operating Zhizhko, 2016).

It should also be noted, that as a condition for the implementation of the approach of education for life and work and access to education for disadvantaged sectors are considered actions around lifelong learning. One of the key strategies for the proper functioning of Education for Life and Work was the creation in 2004 of the National Council for Life and Work (CONEVyT) as a coordination mechanism with reasonable base resources and sufficient management capacity.

The CONEVyT's objectives are to support and coordinate activities among the various agencies that offer this service, promote the implementation of new programs and define national policies in this area by promoting social participation through the use of technology and telecommunications allocating resources to priority programs.

Finally, it was proposed that, as a short-term policy, the CONEVyT achieves joint actions on education and training for work with various entities through a national system. Hence, it was considered necessary to achieve the articulation of institutions that provide education for youth and adults through CONEVyT to form a national system; advance the care of the lag with a quality education; and improve equity of Mexicans through education and training aimed at the population in poverty (Consejo Nacional de Educación para la Vida y el Trabajo [CONEVyT], 2005).

So, the priority subjects of education for life and work in México were set up the following: young people (15-24 years without basic education), Indians (five million), workers (three and a half million), workers requiring recognition of labor skills (fifteen million). It's

important to note, that to propose evaluation as an action that takes the CONEVyT, assuming the importance of monitoring and balancing processes to improve the political orientations.

The CONEVyT's projects are operated by the National Institute of Adult Education (INEA) through the State Institutes for Adult Education and delegations of INEA in the states achieving the decentralization of its administration. Considering the education of vulnerable groups, INEA developed the Care Program for Demand of Adult Education with Education Model for Life and Work (MEVyT), which is the basis for computer-assisted learning for the marginalized population.

The main purpose of Education Model for Life and Work is providing for young and adult marginalized population (who live not only in Mexico but also abroad, mostly in the United States) the basic education related to issues and learning options based on their needs and interests, so that helps them to develop the knowledge and skills necessary to function in better conditions in their personal, family, work and social life, improve quality of their life, raise their self-esteem and the formation of attitudes of respect and responsibility (Instituto Nacional de Educación de Adultos [INEA], 2013).

It was found out, that MEVyT is based in the postulates of Jomtien, agreements of CONFINTEA V, the Regional Framework for Adult Education, resumes constructivism and cognitivism and promotes flexible, diversified and open learning. MEVyT programs focus on the following lines:

- 1) Educational (literacy, post-literacy for youth and adults; programs for indigenous);
- 2) The economic survival (agricultural production projects, livestock, fisheries, forestry, etc.);
- 3) Social development (rural, community, sustainable, comprehensive, humane, for sustainable agriculture);
- 4) The organizational aspects (social enterprises, small businesses, cooperatives);
- 5) Legal, accounting and administrative management (marketing, financial services, defense of labor rights) ([Hernández, 2008](#)).

MEVyT is aimed at adults who have not started or completed their basic education or want to continue learning and allows people to recognize and integrate the experiences and knowledge they already have; enrich their knowledge with new elements that are useful and meaningful to their development; improve their ability to search and manage the information to keep learning; strengthen basic skills of reading, writing, numeracy, oral expression and understanding of the natural and social environment around them; explain in their own words the social and natural phenomena; participate responsibly in the democratic life of the country; strengthen the skills, attitudes and values that enhance and transform their life and their community in a framework of legality, respect and responsibility; take reasoned and responsible decisions, based on their creativity, learning, and application of scientific methods and logical procedures (Secretaría de Educación Pública, 2013).

Currently, the Care Program for Demand of Adult Education with Education Model for Life and Work is the basis for Mexican computer-assisted learning for marginalized. All MEVyT's programs are free and allow easy access for users: all its contents are located electronically on the official websites of MEVyT: <http://www.conevyt.org.mx>; <http://www.cursosinea.conevyt.org.mx/>; <http://mevytenlinea.inea.gob.mx/inicio/index.html> (CONEVyT, 2015).

It's important to note that the materials for each specific course are found in Spanish (the official language of Mexico); however basic literacy courses, as well as virtual tutoring, are proposed in 63 languages of the indigenous ethnic groups living in this country (see Figure 1).

1. Amuzgo. Módulo. MIBES 1
2. Ch'ol. Módulo. MIBES 1
3. Chatino Santos Reyes Nopala. Módulo. MIBES 1
4. Chatino Tataltepec. Módulo. MIBES 1
5. Chatino Yaitepec. Módulo. MIBES 1
6. Chatino Zenzontepec. Módulo. MIBES 1
7. Chinanteco Ojitlán. Módulo. MIBES 1
8. Chinanteco Usila. Módulo. MIBES 1
9. Chinanteco Valle Nacional. Módulo. MIBES 1
10. Chinanteco del Sureste Medio. Jujmii. Módulo. MIBES 1
11. Cora. Módulo. MIBES 1
12. Cuicateco del Centro. Módulo. MIBES 1
13. Hñahñú. Escribo mi lengua. MIBES 7
14. Huichol. Módulo. MIBES 1
15. Maya. Módulo. MIBES 1
16. Mazahua. Escribo mi lengua. MIBES 7
17. Mazateco Alta. Módulo. MIBES 1.
18. Mazateco Media Módulo. MIBES 1
19. Mixe Alta/Media. Escribo mi lengua. MIBES 7 (MIB 3)
20. Mixe Baja. Módulo. MIBES 1
21. Mixteco Alta 1. Módulo. MIBES 1
22. Mixteco Baja 1. Módulo. MIBES 1
23. Mixteco Costa 1. Módulo. MIBES 1
24. Mixteco de Guerrero. Módulo. MIBES 1
25. Nahuatl del sur (Zaragoza). Módulo. MIBES 1
26. Nahuatl del sur (Mecayapan). Módulo. MIBES 1
27. Nahuatl del sur (Pajapan). Módulo. MIBES 1
28. Náhuatl Sierra Nororiental (Cuetzalan). Módulo. MIBES 1
29. Náhuatl de Chicontepec. Escribo mi
30. Náhuatl de Chicomilco. Escribo mi
31. Náhuatl de Chicomilco. Escribo mi
32. Náhuatl de Chicomilco. Escribo mi
33. Náhuatl Sierra Nororiental (Cuetzalan). Módulo. MIBES 3
34. Náhuatl Sierra Norte. MIBES 1 (M y A)
35. O'dam (Tepehuano del sur). Escribo mi lengua. MIBES 7
36. Odami (Tepehuano del norte). Módulo. MIBES 1
37. Ombeayiüts (Huave del Oeste). Módulo. MIBES 1
38. P'urhépecha. Modulo. MIBES 7
39. Popoluca. Módulo. MIBES 1
40. Rarámuri (Tarahumara). Escribo mi lengua. MIBES 7 (MIB 3)
41. Tenek (Huasteco). Módulo. MIBES 1
42. Tlapaneco. Módulo. MIBES 1 (segunda edición)
43. Tojolabal. Escribo mi lengua. MIBES 7
44. Totonaco. Escribo mi lengua. MIBES 7 (MIB 3)
45. Totonaco. Variante Cuetzalan. Módulo. MIBES 1
46. Totonaco. Variante Espinal. Escribo mi lengua. MIBES 7
47. Triqui Chicahuaxtla. Módulo. MIBES 1
48. Triqui Copala. Módulo. MIBES 1
49. Tseltal. Escribo mi lengua. MIBES 7
50. Tsotsil. Escribo mi lengua. MIBES 7 (MIB 3)
51. Xi'iui (Pame). Módulo. MIBES 1
52. Yokot'an Central. Módulo MIBES 1
53. Yokot'an del Este. Módulo MIBES 1
54. Yokot'an del Sureste. Módulo MIBES 1
55. Zapoteco Costa NE. Módulo. MIBES 1
56. Zapoteco de la Sierra Sur/CO. Módulo. MIBES 1
57. Zapoteco Sierra Juárez. Módulo. MIBES 3
58. Zapoteco Sierra Norte. Módulo. MIBES 1

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| lengua. MIBES 7  | 59. Zapoteco Sierra Sur/Central. Módulo.                     |
| 30. Náhuatl de Guerrero. Módulo. MIBES 1                               | MIBES 1  |
| 31. Náhuatl de la Huasteca. Módulo. MIBES 1 (segunda edición)          | 60. Zapoteco Sierra Sur/NEA. Módulo. MIBES 1                 |
| 32. Náhuatl Sierra Negra/Zongolica. Escribo mi lengua. MIBES 7 (MIB 3) | 61. Zapoteco Sierra Sur/Suroeste Alto Ditsè. Módulo. MIBES 1 |
|  | 62. Zapoteco Valles/Este Central. Módulo. MIBES 1            |
|  | 63. Zoque. Escribo mi lengua. MIBES 7 (MIB 3)                |

Figure 1. List of basic literacy courses proposed in indigenous ethnic groups' languages by the Mexican system of computer-assisted learning for marginalized. Source: own elaboration based on INEA (2015). *Cursos MEVyT en línea*, <http://mevytenlinea.inea.gob.mx/inicio/index.html>

The study showed that this educational model of computer-assisted learning for marginalized operates through Meeting Points and Community Places (Pl@zas Comunitarias). First, are places provided by the community, including schools, churches, ejido houses, etc., where people gather, form study groups and obtain a comprehensive education service.

The Community Places are an operating strategy of MEVyT and a program in itself. As a strategy, they are defined as educational spaces open to the community, have computers and collections of printed materials, videos, CDs and other learning resources. The Community Places are installed in all states and municipalities in Mexico and in most states of the United States (CONEVyT, 2015), in addition, exist Mobile Community Places.

It are supported by the Service Center for Community Places, connected with wireless and iron resonant regulators and provided in every place the following computer and communication equipment: Computer software (Office); Computer equipment (1 server and 15 Lap tops); LAN (802.11b wireless network); Outboard (1 Multifunctional, 1 Projector, 1 Intelligent Blackboard, 1 DVD and VHS Reproductive, 1 Camera webcam, microphone and consumables) (INEA, 2013).

It was stated, that the pedagogical method of Community Places is based on the accessibility and flexibility of the content of teaching: each user study at his/her own pace and according to his/her possibilities and interests; he/she can count on the support of volunteer adviser (tutor), who is always present and available in the Community Places, or have virtual tutor support through internet access; when he/she feel ready, he/she can electronically file exams and get the official certificate of conducted studies (primary or secondary school or professional certification).

The Meeting Points and Community Places are coordinated by a headline, who incorporates voluntary consultants and organizes educational attention for learners. Using these

community spaces, learners may get *tutoring as personal advice* having personalized attention. In addition, studying online, adults experience the *virtual tutoring*.

This virtual tutoring consists of asynchronous communication between teacher and students via e-mail or other electronic device in a private and individual or public (group) form, which facilitates the orientation of the students by the teacher, the monitoring of the student's activity and allows to offer academic and personal orientations, specific and personalized. It allows supplying the teacher-student meeting in a specific physical location and at a certain time, to exercise a more adequate and personalized training and guidance, to deepen the knowledge of the doubts and interests of each student.

In fact, the Meeting Points and Community Places represent the space in which it is assumed as relevant the use of new technologies by the vulnerable population. In addition, in this educational model, the virtual tutoring plays a fundamental role. With the support of the new technologies, the tutoring are developed for multiple educational objectives, so that the student can "learn to learn", according to the evolution of society. Computer-assisted (virtual) tutoring is helpful in motivating students to improve their communication, work, and study skills.

### **3. Conclusion**

Succinct, the study carried out allows stated that the virtual tutoring as a part of computer-assisted learning for the marginalized population in Mexico, is relatively recent tutoring modality and has had rapid development. It is completely free, accessible and flexible. The users of the Mexican Care Program for Demand of Adult Education can have virtual tutoring not only in Spanish but also in 63 languages of the indigenous ethnic groups. The virtual tutoring is a system of online academic activities planned, scheduled, registered, evaluated and followed up. This activity is carried out under the general principles of e-moderating, such as psycho-pedagogical, psychosocial statements and specific principles of tutoring for the marginalized adult.

The virtual tutor in the education for marginalized population in Mexico acquire not only the general skills of e-moderating (understand the information society and online processes; change his/her spatio-temporal coincidence; learn to work with a diversity of codes other than verbal ones; have communication skills and online techniques; know how to value the veracity of online information; be an information consultant, course and material developer, academic supervisor; learn to design, moderate, guide, advise and manage media and learning environments; identify the advantages and disadvantages of ubiquitous learning), but also master the specific skills of mentoring a marginalized adult.

In order to carry out efficient virtual tutoring it is considered the particular characteristics of each student (individual differences between human beings increase with age), their experiences, aspirations, expectations, hopes, needs, interests; plan the activities following the integral interdisciplinary approach, develop in the tutors the basic, professional, methodological competences; promote their autonomous learning.

The virtual tutor in the education for marginalized adults in Mexico, bases his/her praxis on the principles of horizontality, participation, and synergism, where horizontality reflects the fact that both the tutor and the student are adults with certain experiential baggage, hence the relationships between them must be equal; both must be responsible for the planning, realization, and results of the tutorial process; both collaborate in order to achieve the same objectives, with mutual help, understanding, tolerance, respect, recognizing each one's mistakes and successes.

At the same time with the above, the virtual tutor in computer-assisted learning for marginalized population in Mexico has knowledge of modern theories that explain the behavior of an outcast; he/she understands that marginality not only extends to the person and the life of the marginal sectors, but it affects the whole society, it is a global problem. In fact, virtual tutoring in computer-assisted learning for the marginalized population in Mexico serves to build new forms of inclusion, become a mechanism of promoting for disadvantaged people.

It is considered appropriate to devote future researches about the virtual tutoring in computer-assisted learning for marginalized population in Mexico, realizing the quantitative and qualitative empirical studies about the following topics: how the virtual tutoring process takes place in real terms; what specific learning problems are presented by different groups of the most vulnerable population (workers, migrant agricultural laborers, farmers, indigenous, etc.), among others.

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# A Review of Taiwanese Trust in the Police with Alternative Interpretations

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## Abstract

This study aims to review and reinterpret Taiwanese citizens' trust in the police, with a focus on taking its social changes, political transitions, and historical background into consideration. Modern Taiwan inherits both Chinese and Japanese cultures, and the urbanization on the island has generated substantial differences between rural areas and metropolitans. The political system has also successfully transformed from authoritarianism to democracy since late 1980s and subsequently leads to paradigm shift in policing. All of the contemporary empirical studies regarding public assessments of the police are based on survey data, however, they either poorly measure the multi-dimensional nature of trust as a social construct or understudy social-historical context when interpreting survey findings. This review attempts to fill the gap and points out the demand of qualitative insights in future research.

**Keywords:** Procedural Justice, Urbanization, Perception of Police, Transitional Justice

## Introduction

After nearly three decades of democratization, Taiwan is considered as a democratic country that successfully transformed from authoritarian regime. Along with the major political change, social institutions, including the police that is in charge of maintaining social order, have to make substantial efforts in adjustment in order to remain functional in a different social context. In democracy, citizens' attitudes toward the police and assessments of their performance has become important reflections of their belief of the authority's legitimacy. In democratic societies, citizens' attitudes toward the police can influence their perceptions of public safety, political support of the authority, and then compliance with the law (Tyler, 1990). A lack of public support and trust in the police signals inadequate policing or insufficient crime control efforts, which can lead to more serious political consequences, including threats to the legitimacy of domestic governance (Wang & Sun, 2018).

The primary purpose of this study is to articulate recent empirical studies of Taiwanese' assessment of the police, offer alternative interpretations of the survey findings based on

Taiwan's social-historical background, and then sum up a direction of future research. Two reasons justify this study. First, Taiwan is an island society that has experimented political transformation and successfully switched from authoritarianism to democracy (Cao et al., 2014), and such a case offers implications to other Chinese societies that either face enormous societal and economic changes (e.g., China) or political transitions (e.g., Hong Kong and Macau). Second, while recent studies have assessed public trust in the police in Taiwan (Sun et al., 2014; Wu, 2014; Wu et al., 2012) or other Chinese societies (Wu & Sun, 2009; Wu et al., 2012), they often measured the level of police trustworthiness using a singular dummy or ordinal variable. In addition, only one recent empirical study on the Taiwan police addresses rural and urban difference (Wang & Sun, 2018), but, like many prior studies, the interpretation is lacking sufficient social-historical context, which is elaborated in this review.

### **Social and Political Background of Taiwan**

Taiwan is a densely populated island off China's southern coast, with a current population around 23 million. Before the World War II, this 13,855 square miles island, formerly known as Formosa, was a colony of Japan after the Qing Empire lost the Jia-wu Sino-Japanese War in 1895 and signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki. The Republic of China (ROC), which was led by Chiang Kai-shek and his political party (Kuomintang or KMT), acquired control of Taiwan in line with the Cairo declaration of 1943 and the Potsdam Conference of 1945 after the World War II. The forces of Chiang and KMT swiftly took over Taiwan following Japan's 1945 surrender. Shortly after the regime were glorified by the victory of defeating Japan in the war, they surprisingly lost mainland China to Mao's Communist Party.

Ultimately, ROC took refuge to Taiwan and accompanied with massive mainland immigrants, documented and undocumented. It was estimated that mainland immigrants were accounted for about 15% of the residential population at the time. After the Martial Law was declared in 1947, Formosa was under an exhaustive control by the regime of Chiang and KMT, until late 1980s. Accompanied with the implementation of Martial Law, the 228 Incident/Massacre<sup>1</sup> in 1947 quickly generated a chilling effect (the so-called *White Terror*) that was unspeakable among citizens across generations for several decades. During the period of Martial Law, the KMT exhaustively controlled over the government, including the police, the military, the media, content of education, and business associations. The police force was used to maintain coercive social order, monitor activists, and facilitate other forms of control, in addition to its core functions like crime fighting (Cao et al., 2014).

Even though this island society was coercively controlled, with the financial aid from the U.S., Taiwan enjoyed remarkable economic growth after 1950 and was glorified by a title of "economic miracle" given by the international community. The successful economic development transformed Taiwan from an agricultural society to an industrial and commercial one. Urbanization has been an ongoing process since Japanese colony but at a faster pace.

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<sup>1</sup> According to U.S. Military personnel's report (Cole, 2006), between twenty and thirty thousand civilians lose their lives during the incident, and the overall population is around 6.3 million when the incident occurred. However, the exact number of victimization may remain unknown.

More rural residents moved to cities because of job and business opportunities, and consequently led to a continuous decline of population in rural counties, especially after mid-1970s. Accompanied with the above structural changes in the society, particularly in cities, some traditional values and family functions (e.g., family-centered, education, child welfare) were gradually replaced by non-familial institutions, and the lifestyles become similar to Western cities' residents in the modern world (see Cao et al., (2014) for a general description of social and legislative changes). Jobs were further divided and occupations were specialized to increase the efficiency, which is important to Taiwan's economy that is highly influenced by international trades and exportation. Although official version of educational content in schools remained uniform and foreign news were largely blocked, Taiwanese residents were increasingly adaptive to the Western values of diversity, legality, and equality. Collectively, the social changes, economic achievements, and geographical environment probably provided the fertile soil for the democracy.

After martial law was lifted in 1987, the president Lee from KMT of the time partially led a series of Constitutional changes in 1990s and 2000s to satisfy the realistic demands of democracy from the grass root. Citizens were allowed to organize political parties and practice political right via a representative system of government in Taiwan. The largest one that gathered activists and non-KMT politicians was Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), which was considered as the opponent party. These two major parties are substantially different in many ways, such as interpretations of national independence, practices of democracy, and emphasis on political agendas like environmental protection and economic development. It is worth noting that some early DPP members dislike KMT regime because of their conflict ideology or deprived status. During this transition period, criminal incidents, including juvenile delinquency and drug abuse, escalated steadily. More confrontations between the police and the citizens occurred, especially during protests, in the process of democratization.

The process of transforming from an authoritarian to a democratic society was also characterized by several observable changes, such as the media was exempt from the government's forceful control, collective bargaining were allowed, and the educational system began to accept different voices and discussions of alternatives. To the general public, one noticeable change in their daily lives probably is about the open market of mass media. Radio stations, newspapers, cable companies, and TV stations were allowed to form in the market and compete with those funded by the state or KMT. Some stations even use local dialects (e.g., Taiwanese, Hakka), which were suppressed in the educational system during Martial Law period, to report news or play in TV shows for the purpose of attracting certain groups of audience, largely Taiwanese citizens who had lived on the island for several generations. Information come from foreign news are allowed to be broadcasted. As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, the media was completely controlled by the KMT regime's absolute force through Martial Law in Taiwan before late 1980s. In the era of democracy, the free market model has brought serious competitions to private-owned news groups, and one of the less desirable consequences is the tendency of reporting negative and/or sensational news to attract audience. Political figures and governmental agencies, including the police, are not waived from being the subjects of these reports. Today, Taiwanese enjoy a high level of press

freedom, and publicly making comments or critics against the public entities, including the president, is not uncommon. At the same time, citizens somewhat suffer from the quality of some contents covered by the mass media.

While democracy was taking root, the process was not immune from a few drastic confrontations and incidents. For example, Cheng, a pro-democracy activist and publisher who set himself on fire in 1989 in support of “real” freedom of speech. Cheng’s wife later became an important political figure in DPP. For another example, the first student protest in modern history of Taiwan – Wild Lily Movement – was initiated by students from National Taiwan University, the iconic higher education institution of Taiwan, in 1990 to seek for essential changes regarding how democracy should be practiced (e.g., citizens directly elect the president) in “real” democracy. This large scale student-led protest brought real challenges of the time to the authorities because a similar protest – Tiananmen Square protest – led by students of Beijing University, the iconic higher education institution of China, was out of control one year before.

To individual citizens, being truly free to affiliate with political parties or not to affiliate with KMT without concerning consequences was a relatively new experience that takes time to form a set of social norms at different levels. Since KMT’s massive migration from China to Taiwan in mid-1900s to today’s fully, but not necessarily mature, democratic society, Taiwanese has had experienced dramatic political and socio-economic changes. Several waves of immigrants, in conjunction with major events like Civil War and World War II, left interesting phenomenon in the society’s basic unit of social institution. For example, in a family, the great grandparents may be born and educated as Japanese, the grandparents grow up in KMT’s authoritarianism with limited rights, the parents witness substantial political and social changes in democratization process, and the grandkids take freedom and democracy for granted. In another family, the great grandparents may be born in mainland China, the grandparents grow up during wars, and loss everything and migrate (with KMT) to Taiwan. Occasionally, a sense of group identity derived from political affiliation or political ideology can cause serious conflicts or even separations, especially during elections, in other pro-social institutions like family in this new democratic society.

Taiwan’s successful and largely peaceful transition was labeled as a “political miracle” by some Western scholars, as the process challenged existing political theories (Clark, 2001). As of now, Taiwan has practiced democracy to a great extent for about three decades, and citizens are truly free from White Terror to organize political parties and to elect their legislative representatives and executives without concerning coercion and persecution. Also, citizens have the right to directly vote the president in the last six presidential elections and have used ballots to rotate the ruling party of the central government (KMT: year 1996-2000, year 2008-2016 and DPP: year 2000-2008, year 2016- ). In 2016, citizens of Taiwan even elected the first female leader in modern Asia.

During the post-martial law period of Taiwan, general public are free to affiliate with any political parties, including communists. The freedom to exercise this part of civil rights is relatively new to Taiwanese. In the process of democratization, citizens identified themselves

with political ideologies held by KMT and other smaller parties (e.g., People First Party and New Party) and those identified themselves with ideologies held by DPP and other smaller parties (e.g., Taiwan Solidarity Union and Taiwan Independence Party) have different views and perceptions of governmental entities, including the police (Sun, et al., 2016). Today, three political orientations are naturally emerged among residents of Taiwan: Pan-Blue, Pan-Green, and neutral. Pan-Blue group tends to align with a Chinese nationalist identity and holds the political ideology that favors a greater linkage with the mainland China. Pan-Green, on the other hand, tends to support the political ideology that favors a viewpoint of focusing on Taiwan's interests and be independent from China (Sun et al., 2016). Still others are neutral in their political orientation, and they tend to ignore political affiliation and elect political candidates based on individual credentials and characteristics.

Like other countries new to democracy, Taiwan is still developing its legal foundation and not immune from corruptions of public entity. Governmental corruptions often lead to ineffective operations, compromised human rights, wasteful public spending, weaker economic performance, larger inequality, and erosion of citizens' trust in the government. According to Transparency International, Taiwan ranks 29th out of 180 countries/regions on corruption perceptions index 2017, and the ranking fluctuated downward in 2000s<sup>2</sup>. When DPP first time won the presidential election and controlled the central government between 2000 and 2008, serious scandals and corruptions occurred to high-end officials, which ultimately sentenced the president Chen to the prison. It is worth mentioning that the police has been perceived as the least trustworthy governmental branch in Transparency International reports, and citizens' concerns of police integrity would generally predispose a lower evaluation of the police performance (Rosenbaum et al., 2005).

While the democracy is rooting in Taiwan, more representatives are elected from small political parties recently. The general public are gradually shield by liberty to contest voting results that are used to be dominated by two major political ideologies. The capital city – Taipei – even elects a medical doctor as the mayor who has no political party affiliation and no prior election experience.

## **Policing in Taiwan**

The police is described as the “gatekeeper” of the justice system in the community, and the political transitions often bring challenges to the police force in many aspects. In the era of Japanese colony in Taiwan, the police were exclusively Japanese until the later period. The system of neighborhood-based police stations (the so-called *pai-chu-suo*) was established to main social order. The Japanese police were granted great authority in Taiwan and sometimes empowered to exercise authority that usually reserved for judges. The Japanese police could

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<sup>2</sup> Please view the report from Transparency International Corruption Index at [https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption\\_perceptions\\_index\\_2017](https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2017). Previous rankings of Taiwan were 27 (2001), 29 (2002), 30 (2003), 35 (2004), 32 (2005), 34 (2006), 34 (2007), 39 (2008), 37 (2009), 33 (2010), and 32 (2011). Some methodology changes occurred in 2012, and the index scores of corruption are comparable across years. Between 2012 and 2016, Taiwan has been scored about 61 and ranked 31.

even administer corporal punishment against Taiwanese for minor offenses on the street. The police not only enforced laws but also provided guidance to residents' daily living, farming, public health, and education. Generally speaking, the Japanese police penetrated into residents' daily lives in nearly all aspects, and they cast an ever-present shadow over the Taiwanese. Parents, for example, would threaten their ungovernable kids by mentioning the Japanese police. Incidents of resistance or retaliation occurred from time to time though.

While KMT took over Taiwan and implemented the Martial Law, the police force was used to maintain coercive social order and monitor activists in the name of fighting against communists. Although the economy took flight after World War II, the political atmosphere remained coercive during Martial Law period. All the heads of the national police agency and the presidents of Central Police University, where police officers are educated and trained in Taiwan, had military but police background. The police was genuinely used as an extended arm of military to suppress political dissents before the Martial Law was lifted in 1987. The Taiwanese police used to coercively maintain social order and reserve status quo of KMT during Martial Law period. Also, the police used to enjoy a great deal of discretion regarding search, seizure, and detention.

Warrantless arrests were not unusual, but all these practices were gradually restricted by the legislations during post-Martial Law period. Importantly, the policing paradigm shifted from systematically reaching out for the regime's potential threats to cautiously limiting activities within the reinforcement of criminal law and to protect individuals' rights in a society that inherent Chinese and Japanese cultures, which morally encourages its members to sacrifice some of their individual interests for the sake of group harmony. During the political transition, the practice of law enforcement changed principles from "high policing" (exhaustive control) to "low policing" (protect citizens' rights) (Cao et al., 2014). The purpose of policing changed from preserving the distribution of existing power to serve general population, take public opinions into account, and proactively prevent crimes (Lai, 2016; Sun and Chu, 2006).

Currently, there are two law enforcement agencies in Taiwan – the National Police Agency (NPA) within the Ministry of Interior and the Investigation Bureau within the Ministry of Justice (MJIB). Both are centralized forces of the executive branch in the central government, and the later one is equivalent to U.S. Federal agencies like FBI, Secret Service, and DEA. To the citizens, the police wearing identical uniforms and stationing in neighborhood-based branches (*pai-chu-suo*) across cities and counties is under the chain of command of the NPA (Sun and Chu, 2006). NPA exercises administrative jurisdiction over all police departments throughout the country and evaluates police chiefs' performance, although local elected political leaders have the authority to appoint their police chiefs from a list of candidates recommended by the NPA. In addition, NPA recruits and selects candidates of both genders through an identical set of process, and there are two educational institutions underneath: Central Police University and Taiwan Police College. The Central Police University grants 4-year bachelor degree, in addition to graduate studies, and the Taiwan Police College offers 2-year degree.

Currently, the NPA has approximately thirteen hundred local police stations across the country, which enable the police to function at the neighborhood level. The current Taipei mayor tosses out some ideas of policing, such as replacing static police stations (e.g., in buildings) with mobile stations (e.g., on vehicles) to increase the mobility and visibility of the police, and the experiments have been conducted in Taipei. Nevertheless, the traditional police stations remain the mainstream. Furthermore, officers are encouraged by the management to keep good relations with local residents by frequent contacts and participation of local events (Sun & Chu, 2009). Rural police agencies also have had devoted efforts to increase their quality control measures by introducing international standard like ISO quality management certificate. Taidong County Police, for example, had implemented quality control circle initiative integrating operational research and development into the quality control management. For another example, the police of Yuli Township, Hualien County was also ISO certified for its extensive services, such as assistance to elders and delivery of public library books to remote tribal (Wang, 2015). Cao et al. (2014) argued that these noticeable changes in Taiwan policing are driven by external factors like globalization and new media (e.g., Internet, social media), and to what extent these introduced Western standards have positively changed the internal culture and management of the police remains unclear.

Although the Taiwanese police is a relatively enclosed system – it has its own radio station, education (e.g., textbooks), and training (e.g. Taiwan Police College and Central Police University), Taiwan police has faced greater challenges in performing their duties after the political transition. While the market of mass media has been opened for competition, the police retain its radio station and professional magazines. However, the police are not waived from being the subjects to media coverage of misconducts or scandals (Cao et al., 2014; Wu et al., 2012). Today's Taiwanese perceptions of the police are significantly influenced by the media – citizens who know negative media coverage about the police and believe in negative news of the police tend to have a lower level of trust in police (Sun, et al., 2014; Wang & Sun, 2018).

A changing social, economic, and political context in Taiwan, where a greater emphasis placed on human rights, has brought a different set of problems (e.g., influences of political representatives and media) to the police. For example, when DPP first took control of the central government between year 2000 and 2008, both sides spent some time learning the boundary. Because of DPP's long-term political opposition position, there was a profound distrust between DPP and NPA leaders. Some founders of DPP and its coalitions were either family members of victims of 228 Massacre/White Terror or human right lawyers during Martial Law period. Their injustice were greatly suppressed by the state through both formal and informal controlling mechanisms, so it is intuitive that DPP generally had a weak relation with the police. The NPA top leader was uncommonly replaced four times when DPP first took over the central government in 2000s. Ironically, eight high-ranking police officials joined DPP in a public ceremony, which contradicted to this party's long-term position of criticizing the police leaders used to pledge loyalty to the KMT and advocating the separation of political party and the police. These frequent police personnel changes somewhat led many police officers to believe that personal connections with politicians are more important than professional qualifications when deciding promotions. Some deep connections between police

commanders and politicians might have led to selective, if not biased, policing in cases like voter bribing and corruption investigation. Through legislative efforts, the passing of the *Civil Service Administrative Neutrality Law* in 2009 formally institutionalized the ideal separation between political influence and the police (Cao et al., 2014).

### **Legitimacy of Authority and Citizens' Trust in Police**

Citizens and the police are mutually depended stakeholders of community safety, and the public perceptions of the police signal their evaluations of the police that have political implications about the legitimacy of the authority (Reisig and Parks, 2000). Contemporary research regarding citizens' assessments of the police, largely derived from Western context, has recognized several key dimensions. Tyler (2006) proposed two of them in assessing the legitimacy of the police: procedural-based and outcome-based. Procedural-based dimension concerns people's judgements about the fairness of the police decision-making process, and the police are usually inspected by whether they are respectful, polite, patient, and fair when encountering the citizens. Outcome-based dimension generally focuses on the competency of the police, and whether the police can effectively play its role in the community and fulfill the promised functions (e.g., solve crime problems, respond to requests of help, control traffic) is essential. Similarly, based on qualitative data collected from Boston area, Stoutland (2001) constructed four aspects of trust in the police: dependability ("Are the police dependable?"), competency ("Do the police have the knowledge and skills to do their job?"), priorities ("Do the police share residents' priorities and concerns?"), and respectfulness ("Are the police respectful and fair in their interactions with residents?"). Conceptually, the former two aspects are consistent with Tyler's outcome-based dimension, and the latter two are aligned with procedural-based dimension (Hawdon et al., 2003).

The police cannot effectively maintain social order and ensure public safety without citizens' cooperation, which is directly related to residents' trust in them. In his theoretical framework, Tyler (1990) emphasizes the acceptance of the authority, and among citizens' perceptions of the police, trust is the most important domain in democratic societies for its links to legitimacy of the authorities (Tyler, 2006). When citizens accept the legitimacy of the police, they are more likely to comply with the law and follow officers' commands (Tyler, 1990). The police enforce laws and carry out strategies of crime control, which have direct impacts on citizens' chance of victimization, quality of life, and perceptions of personal safety in the immediate environments (Sun et al., 2012). Thus, criminal victimization experience tends to make citizens believe that the police is incompetent to protect them. A lack of citizens' trust in the police also indicate their questions about the legitimacy of the authorities, especially the local governments that they are more likely to interact with on a regular basis.

To some, trust may reflect personal and emotional reliance that a person holds toward another, but citizens' trust in the police should be tight to the social construct in the public domain. Either way, trust involves risks of danger and consequences, if the trust is broken. Psychologically, people are motivated to replace untrustworthy others who play a role in their lives, but citizens usually are unable to peacefully replace their objects of vertical trust in

institutions in dictatorship. Public trust in the police implies instinctive unquestioning belief in and reliance upon a public institution established to protect citizens (Cao, 2015). In the empirical studies, the measurement of trust reflects different emphases on the construct of trust that can have both social and psychological aspects. Studies conducted in the American and European societies focus on social construct of trust in police with multiple dimensions (Hawdon, 2008; Jackson et al., 2011; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Some prior studies measuring trust in the police in Taiwan suffer from single question item regarding trust that somewhat leans toward psychological aspect (Wu, 2014; Wu et al., 2012) and deviate from the very nature of the police as a social institution and trust in the police is a social construct. Simply asking “do you trust the police?” may present a straightforward sense of face validity, but what it really measures can vary from respondent to respondent in surveys. The other camp preserves the multi-dimensional measurement of public trust in the police, although some studies argue that Taiwanese cannot differentiate procedural-based from outcome-based trusts (Sun et al., 2014; Sun et al., 2016) while others point out urban/rural differences on these two types of trust (Wang & Sun, 2018).

Lack of public trust, as well as subsequent residents’ cooperation and compliance, can have serious political consequences, especially in Taiwan that social control mechanism deeply penetrates into civilians’ lives as police officers perform their duty in neighborhood-based stations (Cao et al., 2014). Also, recent empirical studies concerning trust in the police in Taiwan often limited by measuring the level of police trustworthiness using a singular dummy or ordinal variable (Sun et al., 2012; Wu, 2014; Wu et al., 2012); however, the theoretical construct of multi-faced trust of the police is strongly supported by empirical studies in the Western literature (Jackson et al., 2011; Stoutland, 2001; Tyler 1990). Furthermore, urbanization has structured urban Taiwanese’ life styles and daily operating values close to modern Western societies, while the rural areas of Taiwan largely rely on agriculture and function in a more traditional fashion. These urban/rural differences lead to differential assessments of the police (Wang & Sun, 2018).

### Factors Influencing Taiwanese’ Trust in Police

Public attitudes toward the police are influenced by an array of factors at both individual and aggregate levels. Prior research concerning the influence of individual characteristics on their attitudes toward the police suggests a group of socio-demographic and attitudinal variables. Socio-demographic variables, such as income level, education attainment, age, and gender, are often examined in prior studies. The socioeconomic status pin points an individual’s relative position in the social spectrum, and people from the lower socioeconomic class and marginalized groups (e.g., homeless, unemployed) tend to have negative opinions on police for they more often receive unpleasant requests or orders from the police (Sun et al., 2008; Wu et al., 2009, Wu et al., 2012). The correlation between income level and perceptions of the police, however, is not significant in prior studies conducted in Taiwan (Lai, 2016; Sun et al., 2016; Wang & Sun, 2018). Additionally, the correlation between education attainment and perceptions of the police is largely insignificant in Taiwan (Sun et al., 2014; Sun et al., 2016; Wu, 2014). Age is a consistent predictor that positively correlated with favorable attitudes toward the police in the Western societies (Brown & Benedict, 2002; Decker, 1981;

Reisig & Parks, 2000), and youth usually have less trust in police than seniors, as younger individuals more often perceive police officers as law enforcers who place restrictions. Seniors are more likely to have service-related contacts with the police, as they are more vulnerable to frauds, while youths tend to view officers as law enforcers. On the other hand, seniors in Taiwan usually have gone through White Terror or suffered directly/indirectly from 228 Incident, and they may distrust authorities in general. Among published survey analyses, age in general is not associated with citizens' favorable attitude toward the police in Taiwan (Sun et al., 2014; Sun et al., 2016; Wu, 2014; Wang & Sun, 2018), however, respondents' life time experience with the police is not addressed. It is likely that the positive correlation between age and favorable attitudes toward the police cancels out the negative perceptions derived from injustice experience.

Citizens' perceptions of the police are influenced by their immediate environments where they directly interact with the police or indirectly observe the outcomes – crime prevention and order maintenance – of policing. Being victimized naturally leads to residents' concerns of personal safety and, subsequently, questioning of the police's competency to maintain social order in the community. A higher level of safety concern has been found to inversely associate with a lower level of satisfaction of the police (Weitzer & Tuch, 2006, Wu & Sun, 2010). An unsafe or disordered neighborhood implies that laws are inadequately enforced and/or the formal social control is loosened (Skogan, 2009). Also, personal satisfaction of general life quality of the community has been found to positively associate with their favorable perceptions of the police in Taiwan (Lai, 2016; Sun et al., 2014; Sun et al., 2016; Wang & Sun, 2018).

#### Political Orientation and Rural/Urban Difference

Based on the most recent large probability sample of adult citizens from cities (Taipei, Taichung, and Kaohsiung) and rural counties (Yunlin and Taidong) in Taiwan in 2010s, it is found that Taiwanese had a higher level of trust in the police in compliance with procedural rights than in outcome performance (Sun et al., 2014; Sun et al., 2016; Wang & Sun, 2018). When the survey was conducted, the KMT was the ruling party in the central government, as well as local governments in Taipei city, Taichung city, and Taidong County. About 23% of the survey participants identified themselves as Pan-Green and 36% identified as political neutral, and political orientation exerts some significant effects on Taiwanese trust in police. The empirical evidence shows that survey participants who identified themselves as non-Pan-Blue (Pan-Green or neutral) were more likely than their Pan-Blue counterparts to display lower levels of trust in police (Sun et al., 2016; Wang & Sun, 2018).

Respondents of Pan-Green political orientation demonstrated a significantly lower level of outcome-based trust in police, regardless where they lived (Wang & Sun, 2018). One may think that political party congruence between the survey participants and their local executive officer would ease participants' concern and reveal their political support, however, the variable failed to serve as a significant predictor of trust in police, no matter the trust is viewed as unidimensional (Sun et al., 2016) or broken down into procedural-based and outcome-based dimensions (Wang & Sun, 2018). This finding implies that citizens with Pan-

Green ideology may distrust the governmental authorities in general, but qualitative component is necessary for participants to elaborate their responses in future survey studies.

Urbanization has accompanied with an array of differences between rural and urban citizens. While the urban environment offers more specialized services, convenience, advanced education and public health, and anonymity, it generally correlates with a much more stressful physical and social environment - high living costs, social disorganization and crime, traffic and long commute times, pollution and noise, and greater socioeconomic inequality. Furthermore, the police-population ratio are higher in cities (Sun et al., 2016). Urban officers often work as a team while rural officers tend to be generalists and work geographically isolated. Officers usually have more knowledge about the history and local culture of rural communities where they police (Sun & Chu, 2009).

Although rural law enforcement agencies often lag behind the applied technology in policing, rural officers are expected to stretch their coverage to other social services (Wang, 2015). Based on the above survey, it was found that rural citizens have less knowledge of negative news about the police, a lower level of safety concern, a higher level of trust in neighbors, better life quality in general, less concern about police misconduct, and lower residential mobility than their urban counterparts. Importantly, Wang and Sun (2018) found that urban citizens showed a lower level of trust regarding the police's ability to solve problems of crime, control traffic, and effectively respond to calls for help, while there is no statistical difference regarding whether citizens perceive the police is polite, patient, respectful, and fair. Although residents were significantly influenced by media coverage, residents of rural Taiwan were influenced at a greater magnitude by media coverage of police misconducts.

## Summary

After about three decades of democratization in Taiwan, the majority of citizens trust the police in terms of their decision process is motivated to be fair - friendly, patient, respectful, and responsive. Some scholars argue that Taiwan citizens may not conceptually distinguish procedural rights from outcome performance like Westerners do (Sun et al., 2014), while others found that urban residents revealed a lower evaluation of outcome-based trust in the police (Wang & Sun, 2018). Taiwanese seem to gradually recognize indicators of procedural-based trust, which is conceptually tight to the spirit of due process in Western societies, although citizens of Taiwan may not have the same conceptions of those indicators. More interestingly, urbanization makes a significant difference of citizens' assessments only on outcome-based dimension of trust in police, and a greater impact of mass media on outcome-based trust was found in rural counties (Wang & Sun, 2018). Experience from Taiwan also showed that rural police earn residents' support by extending scope of service to non-essential tasks in rural areas (Wang, 2015), while city police have to focus on the core functions. It is somewhat puzzling, especially when the fact of street crime rate in Taiwan is relatively low compared to the rest of the world (Huang & Sun, 2014).

Furthermore, citizens who identified themselves as Pan-Green or political neutral consistently revealed a lower level of trust in the police (Sun et al., 2016), including procedural-based and

outcome-based dimensions (Wang & Sun, 2018), than their Pan-Blue counterpart. Once again, some founders of DPP and Pan-Green coalitions were either family members of victims of 228 Massacre/White Terror or human right lawyers during Martial Law period. Perhaps in such a social-historical context, today's residents with Pan-Green ideology may reveal a lower level of trust in authorities, including the police, to an extent that the tendency of distrust exists even when citizens have the same political orientation as their elected local governors do. This empirical finding may reflect an accumulated effect of historical incidents which ultimately would present a challenge for the governing body to (re)establish the public trust from the grassroots.

In the framework of transitional justice, Teitel (2000) points out the importance of dealing with the violations of human rights and incidents against humanity done by the prior authoritarian, when a country is facing democratic transition. Particularly to some Taiwanese citizens, including indigenous people, who may have a deep distrust of authorities because of the embedded social-historical context constructed by their personal experience, cross-generational suppression, and subsequent socio-economic marginalization, restoring their trust in government in general probably is essential. While race/ethnicity has been a consistent predictor of attitudes toward the police in the Western societies with racial/ethnic minorities hold less favorable attitudes toward the police (Brown and Benedict, 2002; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005), this variable is often not discussed in Chinese societies, including Taiwan. Future research should devote some qualitative efforts to provide insights about citizens' trust in the police that are not revealed in published survey studies.

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# Egypt's Domestic and International Role to Combat Political Terrorism

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## Abstract

In the past decades, Egypt has suffered a lot from terrorism, but after the June 30 revolution in 2013, there was unprecedented political terrorism, without international attention to what was occurred in Egypt, The ambiguity of the concept of political terrorism has given a strong sense of concern for this phenomenon, which led to the attempt to develop the concept of terrorism in general and political terrorism in particular. The problem of the study shows the ambiguity surrounding the idea of political terrorism, which has a various meanings, and there is still no comprehensive definition of it. And the failure of the United Nations Organization to take a decisive situation towards the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, is a big question mark? Hence, it makes a key question in the research "What is the role played by Egypt to combat the phenomenon of political terrorism at the domestic and international levels? Hence, this study seeks to describe and analyze the Egyptian role in confronting political terrorism, and the qualitative method is the most appropriate in the study of the legal, security and social phenomena, and as a result, the researcher used it. It examines the phenomenon of political terrorism as it exists in reality and describes it closely in order to reach to the conclusion which contributes to understanding and developing what is happening in real. Also, the researcher used the case study methodology as a complementary approach to understanding the situation in Egypt in depth.

**Keywords:** International Role, Political Terrorism, Egypt

## Introduction

Terrorism is a compound and complex phenomenon, its reasons are numerous and overlapping, all of which contribute to its production in varying proportions, so it should not stand at some of them, but must be studied in a comprehensive study. These reasons are including what is political, intellectual, social, economic, psychological and educational. The growing phenomenon of terrorism in the world is one of the most dangerous forms of security threats faced by States because it aims at an important aspect of the security, stability, and future of their societies, especially the gathering of terrorist act between the ambitions and objectives of external forces that do not want to use their direct tools, but by relying on

engines to create crises within the target countries plus the exploitation of its borders or surrounding political conditions.

One of its categories may encourage behavior that is harmful to society, threatening his safety, including the use of violence to achieve political goals as well as class interests that may in part be reflected in the service of regional or international external actors.

So, the researcher will address the following six points:

- Definition of terrorism in literature and international laws,
- The Kind and meaning of political terrorism,
- Political terrorism in Egypt since the June 30 revolution,
- The Egyptian vision in combating terrorism,
- The decisive confrontations against terrorism, and
- Egypt's international situation on the phenomenon of political terrorism

## 1. The Concept of Terrorism in Literature Review

The word terrorism in Arabic (Al El-Erhab) came from terrify (Yorhib), The Arab Linguistic Council recognized the word "terrorism" as a modern term in the Arabic language, based on a "Terrify" in the sense of fear and panic. Terrorists are a description of those who use violence to achieve their political goals. And also, terrorism means the attempt by groups and individuals to impose ideas, views or doctrines by force because they consider themselves right and the majority as well, no matter how misleading, and give themselves the status of guardianship under any reason.<sup>1</sup>

In English Dictionary, the word terrorism meant fear and panic and derived from verb (terror), the use of the word terrorism in English indicates crimes associated with violence or threats or crimes against the state to create an atmosphere of instability or insecurity in a country, it is the use or threat of violence for political ends, including putting the public in fear.<sup>2</sup>

Alex P. Schmid, in his book "Political Terrorism", wrote about one hundred and nine definitions of terrorism collected them from authors in all branches of social sciences including the science of law, so it can be said that all researchers in the field of terrorism have a certain priorities and specific ideas that control their minds in determining the notation of terrorism.<sup>3</sup> Joel Lisker, chief counsel of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, mentioned that the terrorism is "a Violent criminal activity aimed at intimidation in order to achieve political objectives."<sup>4</sup>

Terrorism is one of coercion means in the international community; it has no goals universally agreed nor legally binding. It is defined by the Criminal Code as those violent

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmed Mokhtar, The Modern Arabic Language Dictionary, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, Alam Elkotb Publisher, Cairo, 2008,p949

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth A. Martin (Ed), Oxford Dictionary of Law, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, Oxford University Press, 2003, P495

<sup>3</sup> Schmid, Alex, & Jongman, Albert, Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature. Amsterdam, 1988, pp5-6

<sup>4</sup> Stuart Taylor, When is a terrorist not necessary a terrorist?, The New York Times, Dec 12, 1984

acts aimed at creating an atmosphere of fear, directed against religious and political followers, or an ideological goal,<sup>5</sup> in which the intentional targeting or disregard of the safety of non-civilians. It is also illegal violence and war. Criminal acts against the State whose purpose or nature is to intimidate certain persons or groups of persons, or from the public people. Terrorist acts are characterized by intimidation associated with violence, such as bombings, destruction of public facilities, destruction of railways, poisoning of drinking water, spreading infectious diseases and mass killings.<sup>6</sup> Louise Richardson of Harvard University has said that “the definition of terrorism has become so widely used in many contexts as to become almost meaningless.”<sup>7</sup>

### *1.1 The Definition of Terrorism in U.S. and Western Countries Laws*

American Laws define terrorist acts as criminal violence practiced with the intent to intimidate or overwhelm a civilian population, or influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion, or influence the behavior of a government by means of intentional murder or kidnapping of persons.

The American project to define terrorism stems from the limitation of international terrorism to the terror of individuals, excluding or condoning state terrorism.<sup>8</sup> Throughout its history, the United States has evaded any definition of State terrorism, it focuses on the terrorism of individuals and considers it any use of illegal force and harshness against individuals or property, and this action is imposed on the government or civilians for political and social purposes.<sup>9</sup>

### *1.2 Definition of the US Department of State*

Terrorism is the deliberate violence with politically motivated, which is committed against non-combatants, or agents of traitors, usually in order to influence the public, as non-combatants are civilians, along with the unarmed military, or at times when there is no state of war and hostility.<sup>10</sup>

### *1.3 Definition of the CIA*

In the 1980s, the CIA defined terrorism as the threat of violence, or use it to achieve political objectives by individuals or groups, whether they are working for or against government authority, these acts are aimed at shock and influence on a party that goes beyond the victims of direct terrorism. Terrorism has been practiced by a group seeking to overthrow certain regimes and treatment of certain injustice and weaken the international system as an end in itself.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Mohamed Ben Makaram & Gamal Eldin Ben Manzour, Arab Talks, Dictionary Almoheet, Resala Institution. Beirut, 2nd edition, p118

<sup>6</sup> Ahmed Sayed, Security Council: Chronic Failure and Possible Reform, Al Ahram for Translation Publishing, Cairo, 2010, p231

<sup>7</sup> Richardson, Louise. “Terrorists as Transnational Actors.” In *The Future of Terrorism*, (Max. Taylor and John Horgan: Editors), Portland: Frank Cass, 2000. Pp 209-219

<sup>8</sup> USA Patriot Act of 2001.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid

<sup>10</sup> Title 22, Chapter 38 of the United States Code

<sup>11</sup> National Strategy for Combating Terrorism on [www.cia.gov/news-information/cia-the-war-on-terrorism/Counter\\_Terrorism\\_Strategy.pdf](http://www.cia.gov/news-information/cia-the-war-on-terrorism/Counter_Terrorism_Strategy.pdf)

#### *1.4 Definition of French law on terrorism*

Whereas the French legislature has addressed this issue within the provisions of the Penal Code, and select certain criminal acts subjected to more stringent rules as terrorist offenses if they linked to an individual or group in criminal acts, with the aim of seriously disrupting public order through intimidation.<sup>12</sup> The French legislator defined terrorism as, "Violation of the law by an individual, or organization with a view to causing serious disturbance in public order by threatening with intimidation."<sup>13</sup>

#### *1.5 UK Definition of terrorism:*

In Act 1974 (UK), it provided that: "terrorism" means the use of violence for political ends, and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public in fear'. Thus, terrorism is the use of violence to achieve political objectives, including violence, the use of force to put the public in fear and panic.<sup>14</sup>

The Act 2000 defines terrorism as "a designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system." In 2001, the UK government drew up new plans and laws to deal with terrorists and terrorist acts, anyone who leaves or enters the UK will undergo an accurate electronic examination, and a new border police forces in uniform will monitor new arrivals across all border crossings, and the external security departments will also share information concerning all those leaving the country.<sup>15</sup>

#### *1.5 Terrorism in International Law*

The large numbers of the scholars of international law have been avoiding a specific and explicit definition of terrorism and confirmed that the search for a definition of this phenomenon is a waste of time and effort, researchers should focus on effective and active action to combat it, this what confirmed by United Nation in December, 29, 1986<sup>16</sup>. When the General Assembly condemned all forms of terrorism and ignored its definition, and it has been agreed on a very briefly definition which was done by the Protocols Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949, 1977<sup>17</sup> as well as the Eighth Congress on the "Prevention of Crime" and the "Treatment of Prisoners" which held in Havana in 1990<sup>18</sup> and the Ninth United Nations Conference which held in Cairo in 1995, which discussed strategies to prevent violent crime and the action against transnational and organized crime.<sup>19</sup>

From all the previous definitions, many scholars have a view in the definition of terrorism, some of them focused on *the psychological impact of terrorist violence*, and mentioned that the definitions had been focused on the psychological impact of the terrorist act, intentionally intended to spread fear or terror, where the nature of the terrorist act leads to the effect that is

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<sup>12</sup> Law No. 86/102 of 1986

<sup>13</sup> The new French anti-terrorism law Nov. 2014

<sup>14</sup> Cliver waLker, the prevention of terrorism in British Law, second edition, Manchester, University Press, U.K, 1992, P.P. 9-10.

<sup>15</sup> The Antiterrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001

<sup>16</sup> Nicholas Rostow, Before and After: The Changed UN Response to Terrorism since September 11<sup>th</sup>, Cornell International Law Journal, Vol.35. 2002. P475

<sup>17</sup> Saul, Ben. Defining Terrorism in International Law, Oxford University Press, 2010.pp 21-22

<sup>18</sup> A/C0NF.144/28/Rev.I on <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1296532/files/a-conf-144-28-rev-1-e.pdf>

<sup>19</sup> United Nations Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice 1955-2010, 55 years of Achievement, p6, on [http://www.un.org/ar/conf/crimecongress2010/pdf/55years\\_ebook.pdf](http://www.un.org/ar/conf/crimecongress2010/pdf/55years_ebook.pdf)

required. But there are two different trends were discerned within this impact, the first trend was the requirement of availability for fear or terror. The terrorism is the use or threat of violence in order to create a climate of fear and panic to spread terror, and thus cause some political or social change.<sup>20</sup>

The second trend, it does not require the existence of an intention to spread fear or terror, on the other hand, some believe that the fear, is one of the components of terrorism, it is not a distinguishing feature of it, and is not necessarily the primary intent of most terrorists.<sup>21</sup> It is a consequence of violence, which is the means or tool that away a specific response that achieves what terrorists want, and that terrorism is merely violence that produces terror or fear, and at the same time, the war and others of human atrocities will enter within the definition of terrorism.<sup>22</sup>

While another sees that the requirement of fear or terror as the object of a terrorist act leads to the exclusion of acts of genocide, and acts that aim to support the perpetrator regardless of implications of the latter act, therefore, terrorism is devoid of fear, where terrorism is seen as a use of violence or force, or threats against innocent persons, civilians or non-combatants, in order to achieve political objectives.<sup>23</sup> Others scholars have been focused on *the use of terrorist violence*, they clarified that the definitions of this component varied widely, and two different trends were observed in this regard, the first trend was the necessity of violence use. Terrorism is the use or threat of violence against individuals endangers innocent or human lives, or threaten the fundamental freedoms of individuals for political purposes with a view to influencing on the attitude, or the behavior of a target group regardless of direct victims, It is also a violent way of political opposition, consisting of violence and threats.<sup>24</sup>

The second trend has clarified that there is no need to use violence, many scholars see it, no need to use violence in terrorism, but the need for criminal content which causes fear and panic in society, such as burying nuclear waste, killing others with their radiation, poisoning of drinking water, the use of toxic gases, contaminating food with toxic chemicals, lethal bacteria, as well as the disruption of communications using electronic means, flooding the country with counterfeit currencies that harm the national economy, or sending mailings carrying epidemiological microbes.<sup>25</sup>

And the last group of scholars has written about *the perpetrator of the terrorist act*. The definitions are determined who could use terrorism. However, there has been a clear divergence in this definition. Two different trends were observed in this regard, the first trend was mentioned that the terrorism is used only by non-state actors, a number of scholars

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<sup>20</sup> Brian M. Jenkins, International Terrorism, The other world war, in Charles W. Kagley, Jr (ed), The New Global Terrorism: characteristics, causes, and controls, Prentice Hall, 2003, P. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas J. Badey, Defining International Terrorism, A Pragmatic Approach, Terrorism and Political Violence Journal, Spring 1988 vol.10, No. 1, P.97

<sup>22</sup> Jenny Teichman, How to define Terrorism, Philosophy, The Journal of the Royal Institute of philosophy, Cambridge University Press, 1989, Vol. 64, No. 250, P 511.

<sup>23</sup> Tomis Kapitan, The Rhetoric of Terrorism and its Consequence, Journal of Political and Military Sociology, summer 2002, p.1.

<sup>24</sup> Noemi Galor, international cooperation to suppress terrorism, London, Croom Helm, 1985, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Kent Roach, Global Anti-terrorism law and policy, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 9

focused on their definition of terrorism in using by non-state actors only, some have defined it as the use or threat of violence without the State with the aim of spreading panic in society in order to weaken or overcome the authorities, and political change.<sup>26</sup> Another has defined it as the sudden use of indiscriminate violence or threats from non-state actors against innocent people for political ends.<sup>27</sup>

The second trend, terrorism is used by individuals, groups, and States alike, If the prevailing trend in the definitions of terrorism focuses on that perpetrated by an actor other than the State, and recognizing the seriousness of acts of terrorism, whoever perpetrates them, some scholars have argued that this focus should not distract attention from state terrorism, or makes us believe on other than the reality of the modern international order that terrorism is concerned only with the will or entities without the State only.<sup>28</sup>

## 2. The types of Political Science

The most important classifications of terrorism and the types of political terrorism as follows: There are three categories of terrorism, the first is “**Criminal Terrorism**” where the organized crime and terrorist crime common in many characteristics and features that can be summarized as follows:<sup>29</sup>

- Both organized crime and terrorism are relying on clandestine organizations;
- Relationships between groups involved in political violence and those involved in the criminal business;
- There is a kind of awe and secrecy about the criminal operations that they are conducting in the light of a set of internal principles and strict rules for each of the members or who dealt with;
- The organizational structures of organized crime and terrorism are similar in their cross-border nature, their illicit means, and money-laundering; and
- The unity of threats posed by organized crime and terrorism to national and international security and stability and the values of democracy.

Second, **Pathological Terrorism** which well known as one of the worst types. It is committed by one individual rather than a group, and has no reasoning behind it, to understand this form of terrorism, it's necessary to define 'pathological' which can be a number of things, it can refer to physical or mental illness, and it can also refer to being compulsive and obsessive. This form of terrorism has no meaning or beliefs; this is pure because the terrorist themselves wanted to do it for their own personal gain and or entertainment. This form of terrorism is usually linked to mental illness. A classic example of this form of terrorism takes place with school shootings,<sup>30</sup> As well as involves a mass shooting involving a fire arm on a school. Third, **Political Terrorism** which well known as a form that is more dangerous than the forms

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26 Walter Liqueur, No End to War, Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century, NY, continuum, 2003, p. 13.

27 Audrey Kurth Coronin & James M. Ludes, Attacking Terrorism, Georgetown University press, 2004, p. 4.

28 Paul Wilkinson, Why Modern Terrorism? Differentiating Types and Distinguishing Ideological Motivations, in Kegley, Ir (Ed) The New Global Terrorism, Characteristics, Causes and Control, Prentice Hall, 2003, p.108

29 Phil Williams, Organized Crime, and Terrorism, Latin American and Caribbean Center, Working Paper Series, School of International and Public Affairs, Florida International University, p4

30 Nafiu Ahmed, Terrorism Security and the Threat of Counterterrorism, American Journal of Social Studies, Vol.1, No.1, p69

mentioned above. There is a clear link between terrorism and political violence, one of the difficulties facing this situation is the overlap of both the concepts of terrorism and political violence, and their acquisition of the same meaning, so that terrorism becomes political violence, and it may be identical in purpose and goal, it may differ in content and values, so terrorism becomes a criminal and delinquent act contrary to the values and customs of societies.<sup>31</sup> It embodies inhuman and barbaric practices, while political violence remains legitimate and acceptable to society, yet it remains counterproductive. Terrorism as an act depends on violence as a means to achieve its goals and aspirations, violence is similar and synonymous with terrorism, and legitimate violence may turn into terrorist acts of a barbaric nature.<sup>32</sup> So, the political terrorism is “the violent criminal behavior designed primarily to generate fear in the community, or a substantial segment of it, for political purposes.”<sup>33</sup>

There are forms that fall under political terrorism, which can be highlighted as follows:<sup>34</sup>

**2.1 Sub-State terrorism.** It is as an epidemic infection, also affects individuals and groups that close in their face the normal political opposition, the resistance of the oppressive state and the establishment of the values of democracy and the transfer of power, and what affects the individual and the group of intimidation and torture turns into a desire to revenge and restore dignity waiting for the opportunity to overcome the natural way that deprived him. However, the most serious aspect of this epidemic is its transmission to social behavior, individual relations and the pattern of crime, all characterized by aggression and violence.

State terrorism stems from the feeling of excessive power, the possession of its tools and a false sense of the legitimacy of its actions, especially in the eternal dictatorships. The individual does not have such luxury; he is not safe for his life and the fate of his family. This is a new concept in power relations based on the domination of the state, not the free choice of the individual and the people, and thus increases the lust for violence in the state and the lust for revenge in the individual in agitating the basic pillars of society.

**2.2 Ideological terrorism,** however, the violence that is based on a particular ideological base, principles, and concepts is the most serious violence that threatens modern societies, which is precisely the description of terrorism, because in this case, it is no longer a sadistic or ordinary crime but it has become an ideology based on the principle of terrorism and the use of violence to gain political, social, religious or even intellectual and cultural gains, especially if it knows that these groups aim to establish a model of state, law, and social values, as it occurred in Afghanistan under Taliban rule.<sup>35</sup>

**2.3 Ethno-nationalist terrorism,** are “regionally concentrated peoples with a history of organized political autonomy with their own state, traditional ruler, or regional government, who have supported political movements for autonomy at some time since 1945”.<sup>36</sup> Nationalist terrorism is a type of terrorism motivated by nationalism. Nationalist terrorists aim to form self-determination in some form, which may range from acquiring a high percentage of autonomy to create a totally independent, sovereign state (separatism).

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31 Nehemia Fiedland, Political Terrorism: A social Psychological Perspective in Wolfgang Stroebe & et al. (Ed), The Social Psychology intergroup conflict: Theory, Research and Application, Springer, 1988, pp103-114

32 Frank T. De Angelis, Terrorism as a Political Philosophy A comprehensive Analysis with a Unique and Controversial perspective, Writer Club Press, NY, 2002, p15

33 N.C Asthana, Anjali Nirmal, Urban Terrorism: Myths and Realities, Pointer Publisher, 2009, p7

34 Jerrold M. Post, The Socio-Cultural Underpinnings of Terrorist Psychology, in Tore Bjoro (Ed), Root Causes of Terrorism, Myths, Reality, and Ways Forward, Routledge, UK, P.54

35 Michael Burleigh, Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism, Harper Collins NY, 2009, p111

36 Ole J. Forsberg, Ethnonational Terrorism: An Empirical Theory of Indicators at the State Level 1985-2000, paperwork in WISC Conference, Turkey, August, 2005, p6

Jalata clarified, that by depending on the grievances of collective memory to regain economic, political and cultural rights and or by rejecting subordination and cultural assimilation."<sup>37</sup> Nationalist terrorists usually oppose what they consider to be occupying, imperial, or otherwise illegitimate powers. Nationalist terrorism is linked to a national, ethnic, religious, or other identifying group, and the feeling among members of that group that they are oppressed or denied rights, especially rights accorded to others.<sup>38</sup>

**2.4 Religious - political terrorism**, however, has caused great acts to occur, and it has acted as a social control mechanism for millions of people. Religion has been a motivating factor for both good and evil.<sup>39</sup> Hoffman Bruce mentioned that the Religious terrorism is "terrorism carried out based on motivations and goals that have a predominantly religious character or influence."<sup>40</sup>

**2.5 Single-issue terrorism**, it also called Special interest terrorism and differed from traditional right-wing terrorism, and left-wing terrorism in that extremist special interest groups seek to resolve specific issues, rather than a wide-ranging political change.<sup>41</sup> Special-interest extremists continue to carry out politically motivated violence to force the sectors of society, including the public, to change positions on issues that are important to their issues. These groups are extreme parties to animal rights, pro-life, environmental, anti-nuclear and other movements. Some extremists with special interests - particularly in the field of animal rights and environmental movements - have increasingly turned towards sabotage and terrorist activity in attempts to promote their issues.<sup>42</sup>

**2.6 State-supported terrorism**, is government support of violent non-state actors engaged in terrorism. Because of the pejorative nature of the word, the identification of particular examples is usually subject to political dispute and different definitions of terrorism".<sup>43</sup>

**2.7 Regime or state Terrorism**, N. Chomsky describes state terrorism as "terrorism exercised by states (or governments) and their institutions and agents."<sup>44</sup> The main difference between state terrorism and other types of state violence is that state terrorism involves the illegal targeting of individuals that the state has a duty to protect with the intention of creating extreme fear among an audience beyond the direct victim of the violence<sup>45</sup>.

**2.8 International/ Global terrorism**, it carried out by one or more States. It is either unilateral international terrorism perpetrated by one State, bilateral terrorism perpetrated by two States or collective terrorism committed by a group of States or by one State, but with the support of States or a coalition of other States, and this type of terrorism is coming from the

<sup>37</sup> Asafa Jalata, "Ethno-nationalism and the global 'modernising' project," Nations and Nationalism Vol.17, No.3, 2001, p 389.

<sup>38</sup> Randall D. Law, Terrorism: A History, Polity Press, UK, 2009, pp 178-179.

<sup>39</sup> Peter Tarlow, The International of Religion and Terrorism, International Journal of Safety and Security in Tourism and Hospitality, University of Palirno, Italy, 2017, p3-4

<sup>40</sup> Hoffman, Bruce "The Confluence of International and Domestic Trends in Terrorism." Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol. 9, No.2, 1997, pp 1-15

<sup>41</sup> Dingley, James; Kirk-Smith, Michael "Symbolism, and Sacrifice in Terrorism." Small Wars & Insurgencies. Vol. 13, No.1, pp102-28.

<sup>42</sup> Raphaeli, Nimrod, "Financing of Terrorism: Sources, Methods and Channels," Terrorism and Political Violence Journal, Vol 15, No.4, 2003, pp59-82.

<sup>43</sup> Maogoto Jackson Nyamuya, Battling Terrorism: Legal Perspectives on the Use of Force and the War on Terror, Ashgate Publishing, 2005, p. 59

<sup>44</sup> N.Chomsky "What Anthropologists Should Know about the Concept of Terrorism'." Anthropology Today, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2002, pp. 22-23

<sup>45</sup> Blakeley, Ruth, State Violence as state terrorism, in "Breen -Smyth, Marie (Ed), The Ashgate Research Companion to Political Violence, Ashgate Publishing, 2012, PP 63-78

globalization, and many scholars are mentioned that there is a link between globalization and terrorism in a causal fashion.<sup>46</sup>

### 3. Political terrorism in Egypt since the June 30 revolution

Terrorism in Egypt is a term that refers to a number of attacks, most of which were perpetrated by extremist groups” inside Egyptian territory, they targeted senior politicians, symbols of power, and Egyptian security forces throughout the 1980s. These attacks targeted government offices and Egyptian police headquarters, they also targeted tourists in Egypt in the early 1990s, but after successive security strikes by Egyptian security which included arresting most of their members and the beating of their bases.<sup>47</sup>

The strength of these terrorist groups increased again after the June 30, 2013 revolution, where an armed attack on the evening of 24 October 2014 targeted the security point of the Armed Forces in the area of “Karam al- Qawadis” in Northern Sinai, hi has been died dozens of lives and injures in the Egyptian Armed Forces.<sup>48</sup> After the incident, Abdul Fattah al-Sisi initiated an urgent meeting of the National Defense Council, in which it directed towards the implementation of a rapid plan aimed at stopping the terrorist operations in Sinai, preventing its expansion in Egypt and restoring security and stability.

On January 29, 2015, an armed group has been targeted the “101<sup>st</sup> Battalion” by using mortars shells on Armed Forces Hotel and Police Rest, killing 30 people, 56 injured, and this attack was adopted by ISIS<sup>49</sup>. This year witnessed the largest number of terrorist attacks, according to records, the number of terrorist attacks in the years 2014, 2015 and 2016 reached to 1165 attacks, in 2014 has reached to 349 attacks, in 2015 to 617 attacks, and 2016 to 199 attacks which in 2015 the largest proportion of them<sup>50</sup>, and in 2017 reached to 45 attacks as the figure No. 1 showed below.

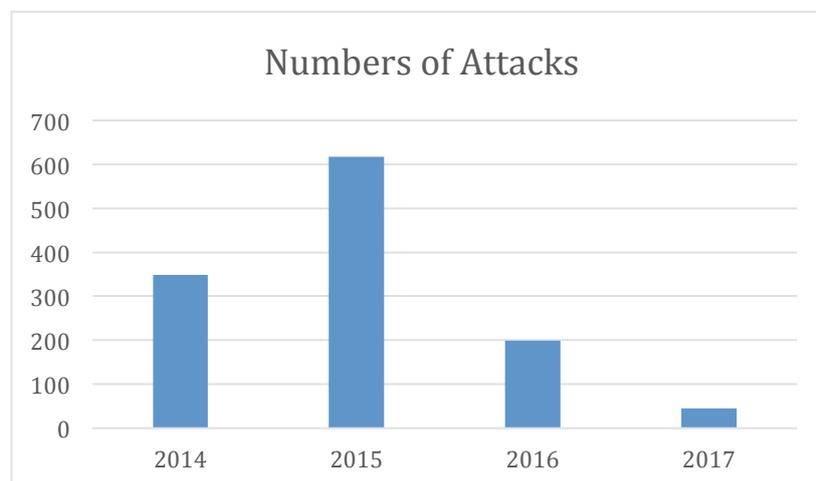


Figure No. 1 shows the number of Attacks since 2014 to 2017

<sup>46</sup> Albert J. Bergesen & Omar Lizardo, International Terrorism and the World System, Sociology Theory Journal, Vol.22, No.1, 2004, p43

<sup>47</sup> Mohamed El Sayed Selim, The Evolution of International Politics in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Dar Al Fajr Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, 2006, p. 702

<sup>48</sup> Yousry Mohamed, " Attacks in Egypt's Sinai kill 33 Security Personnel", Reuters, 24 October 2014, on <https://www.reuters.com/article>

<sup>49</sup> Lizzie Dearden, Egypt attacks: Isis – Affiliated group kills 26 people in bomb and rocket strike in the Sinai Peninsula, on <http://www.independent.co.uk>

<sup>50</sup> Ahmed Kamel Albeheri, Terrorism attacks Numbers in Egypt during the end of 2016 on <http://www.acpss.ahram.org.eg>

In the context of attempts to monitor and analyze terrorist operations in Egypt, it can be noted that the year 2017 saw a significant decline in the number of terrorist attacks, reaching less than 50% of the number of attacks in 2016.<sup>51</sup>

However, the year 2017 also witnessed terrorist incidents, the most violent in the history of modern Egypt at all, most notably the attack on the “Masjid Alrouda”, which occurred on the twenty-seventh of November 2017 (killed 311 people), which is the worst terrorist incident in Egypt, surpassing the terrorist bombing of the Russian plane No. 9268, which crashed after leaving Sharm El-Sheikh International Airport on 31 October 2015, killing 224 people on board. At the international level, the Masjid Alrouda incident is the second largest terrorist attack in the world in 2017 while Al-Shabaab suicide bombing in October 2017 in Mogadishu, Somalia, which killed more than 358 people is the first.<sup>52</sup>

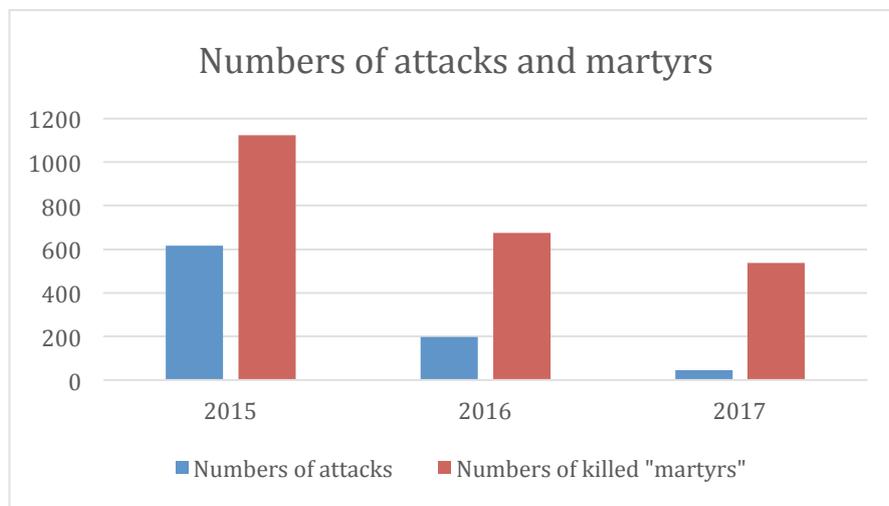


Figure No. 2 shows the number of Attacks and Martyrs since 2015 to 2017

It is also noted that the number of martyrs and the innocent killed in 2015 is the most where the number reached 1124 and declined in 2016 to 674 killed, and then dropped to 539 killed in 2017.<sup>53</sup>

#### 4. The Egyptian vision in combating terrorism

The Egyptian vision in this field is based on the following elements<sup>54</sup>:

- Egypt believes the war against terrorism is a war led by defending itself first and protecting Arab national security secondly, and on behalf of the world thirdly.
- Egypt does not differentiate between a terrorist group and the other and see all the armed organizations that are outlawed must be confronted.
- Egypt supports each action contributes to undermining terrorism, these contributions are numerous, and the most recent was revealed by the director of the Russian security

<sup>51</sup> The State Information Service, on <http://www.sis.gov.eg>

<sup>52</sup> <https://timep.org/commentary/special-report-attack-at-rawda-mosque>

<sup>53</sup> The researcher depends on the number of sources such as

Asmaa Khalifa, 2017 numbers: In Egypt where you go, there's terrorism on 25 December 2017 on

<https://www.ida2at.com/terrorism-egypt-2017/> Idaat is an Arabic site that provides analytical service for contemporary issues and events and knowledge readings of related ideas.

Ahmed Kamel Albeheri, the killed people from terrorism group in Egypt on 22 February 2017 on

<https://www.acpss.ahram.org.eg>

<sup>54</sup> Egypt and counter-terrorism, on Ministry Of Foreign Affairs <https://www.mfa.gov.eg>

services Alexander Portnikov, for the suppression of a group of terrorist operations inside Russia with the help of foreign partners, headed by Egyptian intelligence.

- Egypt believes that the military war is the most prominent and most important option in confronting terrorist organizations, with strengthening intellectual confrontation to prevent new terrorists joining these groups.
- Egypt has always emphasis that terrorist groups do not work in isolation, no matter how geographically diverged, where they are ideologically linked, and share in funding, military coordination and information.
- Terrorism cannot be eliminated, but it must a confront in all the terrorist spots in the Middle East by all countries, to prevent the infiltration of terrorists from one country to another like what happened after the restrictions on ISIS in Iraq which make them went to Libya and Syria.
- The Egyptian vision is based on the renewal of religious discourse which is the most important way in an intellectual confrontation where it will stop the bleeding of young people who joined the terrorist organizations and reduced the number of eligible to join them under what is called a "terrorist project."
- The Egyptian vision of the intellectual confrontation of terrorism depends on Al-Azhar as the most important religious institution in the Islamic world. Al-Azhar is expected to play an active role in rejecting all that distorts religion which is exploited by terrorists.
- It is also expected that the media, which can play an excellent role intellectually in correcting concepts and ideas that can contribute to the destruction of communities.
- Egypt sees poverty, declining development rates, and rising unemployment, as one of the most important reasons for creating an environment for attracting the hundreds of terrorists who fall prey to those who exploit their social conditions.
- Egypt has affirmed that it is one of the most important steps in combating terrorism is the establishment of a national state, which is collapsed in a number of countries, due to their environments which has become an incubator for terrorist organizations particularly after their disintegration and the destabilization of their institutions.

#### *4.1 The Muslim Brotherhood is a terrorist group*

The Court of urgent matters has been sentenced that considering the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization. The Court paved the way for its ruling by noting that the word "terrorism" in terms of language, The court said, "It is fright and panic, horror and grief, words are close to indicating fear," and in the Holy Quran word "terrifying" is found to indicate severe fear. The concept of terrorism in Islam is divided into two parts, firstly, a section is denounced, and it is forbidden to do and practice it, it is one of a major sin, the perpetrator deserves a punishment, It is at the level of states, groups and individuals, which about the assault on the safe, second, legitimate terrorism, which is God has decreed us and ordered us, a preparation of strength and preparedness to resist the enemies of God.

As the plaintiff presented the request to consider the Brotherhood as a terrorist organization, it based his claim on the availability of the requirement of urgency, and the Brotherhood's practice a number of crimes against the Egyptian people, which is a major sin and deserves a punishment, they are intimidating people in roads inside and outside the cities. The history of the Brotherhood's work dates back to the love of control, the abandonment of people, and

intimidation in order to obtain their purposes contrary to social concepts, also using methods of violence, intimidation and murder, which opposite the text of the Constitution of 2013 in accordance with Article 59 that every human being has the right to a safe life and that the assault on the human body is a crime punishable by law. For these reasons, the court ruled that the Muslim Brotherhood was a terrorist group.<sup>55</sup>

## 5. Decisive confrontations against terrorism

After repeated terrorist incidents against the army, police forces, and the people of Sinai, which resulted in the fall of dozens of innocent people, and the martyrs of the homeland, Egypt is Began a series of military operations on the land of Sinai, which is being fought by the Egyptian army in a decisive battle to eliminate terrorist outposts that penetrated some limited areas of the Sinai. The terrorist are coming to Sinai, and have been stationed in it, to establish the state of terrorism, and placement this part of the land of Egypt to control. They have been attacked on police stations and security personnel to break the prestige of the state, then assaulting the armed forces in attempting to destabilize the people's confidence in the capabilities of its armed forces.

### 5.1 *The Launching of military operations in Sinai:*

It began the crucial security confrontations with terrorism in Sinai with an operation "Eagle 1" in 2011 after the Police Station was bombed by heavy artillery shelling<sup>56</sup>. And after continuing targeting army patrols in its fulcrums and soldiers, following the attack on a military unit and the killing of 16 soldiers, it was the process of "Eagle 2" in August 2012, A spokesman for the armed forces, Col. Ahmed Mohamed Ali, announced in September 2012, at a press conference that 33 criminal elements were killed, weapons were confiscated and 31 tunnels were destroyed on the border with the Gaza Strip during the first phase of Operation Eagle2 after more than a month of its launch to root out terrorist elements and criminal targets in the areas of North Sinai.<sup>57</sup>

Terrorist attacks continued on Sinai, and seven soldiers were kidnapped in May 2013, then the President Mohamed Morsi in that time, has met the Ministers of Defense, the Minister of Interior, and the head of the General Intelligence, at the Federal Palace (Kasr Al-Etahdia) in Heliopolis. Morsi declared to make efforts to release the abducted soldiers quickly and ensure the preservation of the lives of everyone, whether or kidnapped the kidnapers<sup>58</sup>.

It is the first time, which the public hear the attention of the President of the State about the safety of the offender and equalize their victims.

However, the ambiguous negotiations conducted by President Morsi with the kidnapers, resulted in the return of soldiers and found them in the desert, without any mention of the fate of the kidnapers, who carried out the operation, the case was closed in a mysterious way, but after year, a security source has revealed the details of what happened in the abduction of the seven soldiers in the Sinai in mid-May 2013 as he confirmed the existence of a relationship

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<sup>55</sup> The reasons for the rule of considering the Brotherhood as "terrorist": The history of the group is due to the culture of control and the intimidation of people to obtain their purpose using violence and murder. The Court explains the meaning of terrorism according to Sharia on <http://www.youm7.com/story/2014/2/24/>

<sup>56</sup> Egypt: Army begins with "Eagle" operation against militants in Sinai, on [http://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast/2011/08/110815\\_sinai\\_arrests](http://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast/2011/08/110815_sinai_arrests)

<sup>57</sup> Samir Said, "Eagle 2" operation aimed at cleansing the Sinai of terrorism and the wells of criminality, on <https://www.emaratyyoum.com/politics/news/2012-09-13-1.511277>

<sup>58</sup> Fathia Al - Dakhkhani Morsi calls for safety of kidnapped and kidnapers in "liberating Sinai soldiers" on 16-05-2013, <http://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/317252>

between President Morsi and leaders of the Brotherhood on the one hand, and the militant who kidnapped soldiers in Sinai on the other hand, through monitoring telephone between the leaders of Muslim Brotherhood and kidnappers. Finally, the National Security in Egypt declared that the isolated president informed Interior Minister Mohammad Ibrahim that the kidnappers will release the soldiers at 7 am and that the negotiations succeeded.<sup>59</sup>

After the revolution of 30 June 2013, terrorist attacks have been increased, where 25 soldiers were killed in August 2013. Under these repeated crimes, there are joint forces of the army and police launched an expanded military campaign, started in September 2013, to trace the elements of "terrorist," and "extremists," in a number of provinces started with North Sinai.

The armed forces have succeeded in countering terrorism and eradicating many terrorist outposts, they arrested a number of very danger criminals, and continued demolition of tunnels in the northern border area, between Arish - Rafah.<sup>60</sup>

### 5.2 "Operation Martyr's Right"

The General Command of the Egyptian Armed Forces on Monday, September 7, 2015, has been announced in a statement on Egyptian television, it was about the start of the comprehensive operation to confront terrorism in the Sinai (Martyr's Right) in the areas of (Rafah - Sheikh Zwaïd – Arish), in North Sinai to eliminate terrorist groups in those areas. The statement has mentioned that the Army was in the field supported by commandos and rapid intervention forces, with the help of anti-terrorist units of the Civilian Police in order to raid the terrorist outposts' areas which referred above and the elimination of the terrorist group.

This process has begun in the framework of the continuation of the Egyptian armed forces for the cleansing operations of terrorism, where it was decided to start the implementation of a massive operation to uproot terrorism from the land of Sinai, under the name of « Martyr's Right.»<sup>61</sup> There is no doubt that the choice of this name reflects the appreciation of Egyptian Armed Forces for the sacrifices of the righteous martyrs of their sons, and also affirms its determination to uproot terrorism and eliminate the remaining remnants of it. The armed forces have announced the end of the first phase of the comprehensive security and military operation in Northern Sinai, which lasted for 16 days, after achieving its main objectives.

The results of the process have included more than 300 terrorists were killed and the arrest of large numbers of them, as well as the destruction of 10 stores of weapons and explosives, large numbers of cars and scooters, and hundreds of terrorist outposts in the cities of Rafah and Sheikh Zuweid.<sup>62</sup> The armed forces have announced that intensified its actions to secure vital targets, facilities and public properties, and areas of Arish, Sheikh Zuweid, and Rafah, and all Roads leading to there, They continued its operations to purge and prosecute terrorist groups very insistently to achieve homeland security, and securing the Egyptian people from the evils of those terrorists.

### 5.3 "Operation Martyr's Right 2"

On January 3, 2016 The second stage of Operation " Martyr's Right", to complete Sinai's cleansing of terrorism, the army and police forces participated in security attack which made

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<sup>59</sup> Sayed Noon, Security source reveals the relationship «Morsi» kidnappers of the seven soldiers in 2013, on October 26, 2014 <http://www.shorouknews.com/news/view.aspx?cdate=26102014&id=8bfe501d-47a2-444f-ad0d-45fb13b20dcf>

<sup>60</sup> Egypt declares a state of emergency in Sinai after checkpoint bombing on

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/25/egypt-declares-state-of-emergency-in-sinai-after-checkpoint-bombing>

<sup>61</sup> A report entitled "The Right of the Martyr" attacks Sinai terrorists with "blindness and helplessness," Al-Watan website, 10/9/2015, <http://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/802519>.

<sup>62</sup> Operation martyr's right on <https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/1257404>

several painful blows to the terrorist groups which called "Beit Al-Maqdis" - "House of Jerusalem"- The security forces launched an extensive attacks on the hotbeds of terrorism, in the cities of Arish, Rafah and Sheikh Zuweid, On the third day of the operation, also participated Apache, helicopters, and F-16 aircraft, which were targeted a number of the most dangerous terrorist strongholds. The Army Forces continued attacks in the field under air cover to raid the terrorist strongholds and eliminate the elements of the terrorist groups. The operation aimed at completing the elimination of the remnants of terrorism, and the remnants of "Beit Al-Maqdis: who managed to escape from Rafah and Sheikh Zuweid, and concentrated in the city of Arish, they carried out a number of intermittent terrorist operations, in order to relieve pressure on their members in Rafah and Sheikh Zuweid, and during these operations resorted to assassinations and detonated (IEDs) explosive devices, police and army armored vehicles.<sup>63</sup>

The process of "Martyr's Right 2", achieved great and tangible results, because of prior information on terrorist groups, and participated the honorable people of Sinai with the Armed Forces for their desire to eliminate terrorism, and the cleansing of the land of Sinai. The Armed Forces were able to kill more than 500 terrorists and captured a large number during the operation. Also, the army managed to destroy more than 99% of the tunnels with the Gaza Strip. It has been confirmed that the successful preemptive strikes of the military, which was carried out in the Operation "Martyr's Right 2" That the Egyptian armed forces, civilian police, and all counter-terrorism bodies have the "upper hand" in the battle of terrorism in the Sinai.<sup>64</sup>

#### *5.4 Operation Martyr's Right 3 and 4*

On 25 May 2016, the third phase of operation began an extensive operation in Sinai, which sheltered some very dangerous terrorist groups.

The process of Martyr's Right has resulted in the following points:<sup>65</sup>

- The Killing of 85 terrorists during the air strikes, in addition to, the success of artillery elements in the areas of Sheikh Zuweid and Rafah.
- Destruction and burning of 190 cottages, and 57 houses, the terrorist elements have taken it as the base of their criminal operations.
- The arrest of 3 suspects, and the destruction of 10 cars and five motorcycles used by a terrorist in attacking the bases and security points.
- Destroying 73 shelters and hideouts used by terrorist elements in the areas of Al-Zawraha, Al-Nasraniyah, Al-Bitaytat, Al-Abadi, Al-Shadeideh, and Al-Jurei.

On 10 February 2017, the success of the armed forces was announced in the killing about 500 terrorist elements in North Sinai, and destroyed the number of 130 cars, and a number of 250 bunkers which gathering those extremists, as well as stores and administrative needs.<sup>66</sup> In July 2017, the armed forces completed Operation Martyr's Right 4 which the army forces killed 30 terrorists, and the discovery and destruction of 20 cars and four motorcycles, and

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<sup>63</sup> Report entitled "The Right of the Martyr 2» Continue to catch "the heads of terrorism", Al Watan newspaper, 23/10/2015 on [http://www.elwatannews.com\\_news\\_details\\_824505](http://www.elwatannews.com_news_details_824505)

<sup>64</sup> Ibid

<sup>65</sup> Ahmed Eleiba, Egypt's counterterrorism operation 'Martyr's Right' continues in North Sinai, on August 6, 2017, <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News>

<sup>66</sup> Ismail Gomaa, wandering through the caves and shelters after being completely cleared. Fall legend of the Mountain of Halal, Al - Ahram, 3 April 2017.

destroyed more than 100 shelters.<sup>67</sup> Finally, all the operations under the name Martyr's Right are considered the most dangerous and difficult operation as achieved a number of victories.

## 6. Egypt's international view on the phenomenon of political terrorism

Egypt was the first country to call for an international conference to combat terrorism; the initiative was launched by former President Mubarak during his speech at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on 28 January 1986.<sup>68</sup> The speech-based on two basic rules, the first is the security manner and to prosecute terrorist cells and their elements everywhere, and the international cooperation should be established between the security services for this purpose, and terrorist financing sources should be pursued through the international financial network. The second rule is sought to find and root up the roots of terrorism. In this regard, President Hosni Mubarak said clearly and confidently that "the sword of terrorism will reach everyone."<sup>69</sup>

In the interest of the Egyptian leadership to dry up the sources of terrorism, President Abdul Fattah al-Sisi presented at the Arab-Islamic-American summit held in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, an integrated strategy to combat fundamentalist organizations. The Security Council documented it as an official UN document under the symbol S / 2017/450.<sup>70</sup> Over the course of years, successive events have shown that confronting and rooting up the threat of terrorism at its root, in addition to, the security and military measures require a comprehensive approach that includes the political, ideological and developmental dimensions. However, President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi pointed to this question in four points:<sup>71</sup>

**First**, talking about addressing terrorism in a comprehensive manner means confronting all terrorist organizations without discrimination, there is no room for reducing the confrontation in one or two organizations, terrorist organizations operate through a cancerous network, it has many links in most parts of the world, including "ideology, funding, military, information and security coordination."

**Second:** the comprehensive confrontation with terrorism means necessarily confronting all dimensions of the phenomenon of terrorism in terms of "funding, armaments, political and ideological support." As the terrorist is not only a weapon holder but also is "the one who trains it, funds it, arms it, provides it with political and ideological cover, Here the researcher asks, where are places for terrorist organizations to train fighters and the treatment of the wounded and the replacement of their equipment? Who buys from them the natural resources they control ... like oil? Who colludes with them through antiquities and drugs trade? Where do they get their financial contributions? And how do they have a media presence in the media who wanted to become propaganda trumpets for terrorist organizations?"

**Third:** Eliminate the ability of terrorist organizations to recruit new fighters by confronting them comprehensively at the ideological and intellectual levels, as the battle against terrorism is a battle of intellectual, and the successful confrontation of terrorist organizations must include restricting their ability to recruit and attract sympathizers with distorted

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<sup>67</sup> Operation martyr's right on <https://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/1257404>

<sup>68</sup> Voices of Europe: A selection of speeches delivered before the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe 1949-1996, Council of Europe Publishing, Germany, 1997,p146,147

<sup>69</sup> Jihad Ouda, M. Abdel Azeem, Ayman zaki, Introduction to Terrorism in Egypt and Saudi Arabia: Strategic Experiences, Arab Knowledge Bureau, Egypt, 2015, p 234

<sup>70</sup> <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1287579>

<sup>71</sup> Statement by President Abdel Fattah El Sisi at Arab-Islamic-American Summit on 23 May 2017 <http://www.sis.gov.eg/Story/113123?lang=en-us>

interpretations of the teachings of religions, remove them from their tolerant purposes, deviate from them for political ends.

In this regard, Egypt has launched an initiative to correct the religious discourse. So that leads to a comprehensive intellectual revolution that shows the inherent essence of the tolerant Islamic religion, and face the attempts to abduct and confiscate religion in favor of misinterpretations, and pretexts to justify crimes have no place in the doctrine of Islam.

**Fourth:** There is no doubt that the recognition of the necessary condition, which provides an incubator environment for terrorist organizations is the disintegration and destabilization of the institutions of the national state in the Arab region. This is what Egypt has faced in recent years through systematic attempts well-funded to dismantle its institutions, and drawn the region in a destructive vacuum is what has provided the ideal environment to emerge terrorists' organizations as well as the depletion of Arab peoples in sectarian and ethnic conflicts.

The Security Council's decision to document the speech is an official UN document is being circulated on counter-terrorism, and drying its sources is important in several respects, it can be summarized in the following points:

- The speech of Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi draws a picture of "New Egypt" capable of achieving its objectives, which confirms that the international community is aware of the reality of what happened in Egypt, and that what is happening in the Middle East is a good witness.
- The speech presents the image of "New Egypt" as a state that pursues the principles it sought through the map of the future, through the referendum on the constitution and the presidential and parliamentary elections.
- An important step was taken by the Security Council, the General Assembly of the United Nations takes the same action by distributing the statement to all Members of the United Nations, to promote the vision of Egypt and document the historic speech of the President of Egypt in the United Nations folders.

## Conclusion

Although the number of terrorist operations has decreased, the number of martyrs is increasing in 2016 and 2017, and the number of killers reached to more than half of the numbers of operations, it means that the terrorist attacks have become more dangerous and killed more victims, so if there is a positive trend that the operations are few, there is also a negative trend in the number of killed people "martyrs." The sponsorship and support by some States for political terrorism in Egypt has led to the wide range of terrorist practices, that the support and care have played a role in executing the objectives of the sponsoring state and the achievement of its interests, and we cannot ignore in this role the Intelligence of some countries in that matter, like the training of its personnel and in the careful planning of its operations. These countries and regimes achieved their objectives, and its political pressure on Egypt through those terrorist practices, avoiding the entry into international wars that are unsafe consequences.

The intellectual deviation of the Muslim Brotherhood is one of the most important motives and causes of the delinquency of violence and political terrorism in Egypt, and in light of the recent terrorist acts that led to the most heinous crimes against humanity in Egypt, the United

Nations and international units should consider the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist group due to their supports of crimes against the homeland's sons of the army, police, and civilians. Therefore, Egypt should update the old Arab conventions on counter-terrorism, there is also an urgent need for in-depth studies and scientific research on the phenomenon of political terrorism from research centers, as well as the establishment of information centers in counter-terrorism agencies to gather as much information as possible on terrorism.

As well as, the Egyptian state should care of the isolated and rural areas in the field of education and economy as one of the areas from which terrorism originates, in addition, to eliminate the problem of unemployment where it has become an input to the engagement and participation of the unemployed with these illegal groups, and make a strict control of mosques (Zawya) in the villages which work on the brain washing of young Egyptians. Finally, the researcher view that the use of brute force, especially in Sinai, is the only way to eliminate terrorism in Egypt, because if it lasted long, there is a legal basis for the Security Council to intervene militarily to combat it like what happened in Afghanistan as well as the intervention in Syria, which will affect Egypt's sovereignty in its territorial integrity. .

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## Anies Baswedan and Indigenous-ness in *Seword.com*: Anti-Out-Group Bias in a Democratized Online Sphere

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### Abstract

This paper investigates discourses related to the notion of *pribumi* (indigenous people) and Anies Baswedan offered through opinion articles published by *Seword.com*. This opinion portal has been actively criticizing Anies Baswedan, the Governor of Jakarta since his candidacy for the 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election, the hardest fought and most segregating election ever held in Indonesia. The campaign and related events leading to the election and afterward had consumed the attention not only Jakarta voters but also most of the Indonesian people. The problem of segregation, the fear of nation disunity, the rise of intolerant discourses and actions, mostly related to religious identity were debated throughout Indonesia. Social media, online news outlets, online pages, blogs and online opinion portals were the boiling venues for such segregating discourses. This warring minds of the public have not ceased after Jakarta Election Commission officially announced Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno as the elected governor and vice governor of Jakarta. It was reflected through the quick, almost instant, online outcry criticizing Anies because of the term *pribumi* (indigenous people) he used in his acceptance speech as Jakarta Governor on Monday, 16 October 2017. Those critics lambasted Anies as implicitly yet deliberately segregating Jakarta people even more. This research employed critical discourse analysis in investigating how do opinion articles published in *Seword.com* portray Anies in relation to indigenous people-related issues.

**Keywords:** Indigenous People, *Seword.com*, Anies Baswedan, 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election, Online Opinion Portal

The 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election might be one of the hardest fought and most segregating elections ever held in Indonesia. The campaign and related events leading to the election and afterward had consumed the attention not only Jakarta voters but also most of the Indonesian people. The problem of segregation, the fear of nation disunity, the rise of intolerant discourses and actions, mostly related to religious and social identities were widespread throughout Indonesia. Social media, online news outlets, blogs, online forums, and online opinion portals were the boiling venues for such segregating discourses. This

warring mind of the public has not ceased after Jakarta Election Commission officially announced Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno as the elected governor and vice governor of Jakarta (Ramdhani, 2017; Hutabarat and Habibi, 2017; Rat, 2017). It is reflected through the quick, almost instantly, online outcry criticizing Anies because of the term *pribumi* (indigenous people) he used in his acceptance speech as Jakarta Governor on Monday, 16 October 2017.

Those critics assumed that the word *pribumi* or indigenous people was carefully chosen by Anies and his team to imply that there are two kinds of Indonesians, the indigenous people and non-indigenous people. Furthermore, they argued that the non-indigenous people referred by Anies in his speech was Indonesian Chinese and that it is an indirect attack toward Anies' former rival, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (widely known by his nickname, Ahok). Apart from being widely criticized online, Anies was also reported to Indonesian Police Department on the grounds that he has committed ethnic discrimination and segregating the community (Movanita, 2017). One of the online venues actively criticizing Anies is *Seword.com*. This opinion portal has been actively criticizing Anies since the campaign period prior to the 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election.

During October 2016-March 2017 or at the height of 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial campaign and election period, *Seword.com* was very popular. It recorded total visit of 56.7 million which put it as the largest online opinion portal in Indonesia. In terms of traffic, *Seword.com* even perform better than *Tempo.co* (47.5 million) and *Republika.co.id* (43.7 million), two Indonesian influential conventional media which were the principal sources of news items for both Anies-Sandi and Ahok-Djarot supporters. Total visit to *Seword.com* was only next to *Kompas.com* (199 million) and *Detik.com* (357.8 million), two giants of Indonesian online news outlet (Lim, 2017, pp.418). The fact that *Seword.com* is the largest online opinion portal in Indonesia and its nature as the opposition headquarter for Anies position It as one of the most significant players in constructing the public opinion related to 2017 Jakarta Gubernatorial Election.

Therefore, this research investigates how do opinion articles published in *Seword.com* portray Anies in relation to *pribumi* or indigenous people-related issues. This paper discusses online sphere as part of the public sphere in which people and machine (algorithmic network) interact, thus this paper does not follow the perspective that put algorithmic network as more powerful in shaping the interactions online.

Theories on public sphere and identity are the backbone literature for this paper. The reason for this is that opinion portal is part of the online sphere, a rather new public sphere for most of Indonesians, to which many people flock into debate many things. Identity still plays a very important role in Indonesian politics, be it in elections and in the online debates which put Identity-laden topic as the most hotly debated topic online. One of the identity-laden topics is indigenous people.

Habermas formulated public sphere as space in which citizens can share information, ideas, suggestions as well as creating discussions and debates about anything worthy of their life. Habermas stressed the importance of freedom of interaction for the public sphere to flourish.

“Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion – that is, within the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions” (Habermas, Lennox and Lennox 1974, p.49).

Habermas put his concept of public sphere within the historical background that the bourgeois discusses their situation and aspiration among them as a counterweight to the state that at the time was holding an almost absolute power. Fraser (1990, p.57) noted that the bourgeois public sphere experiences a shift on its function from scrutinizing what the state was doing (so that it will not harm their interest) to conveying their aspirations to the state to fulfill. They will ask, criticize and press the government if their aspirations are not met and they do it through democratic mechanisms such as press publications, rallies, and through their representatives in the parliament.

In this regard, the online sphere is public sphere too. The online sphere in its various and intertwined forms of social media, news outlets and their comment sections, opinion portals, online groups and chat applications are undoubtedly a big space or layers of spaces in which citizens can share their opinion, demand, suggestion, criticism, and other forms of aspirations to be acknowledged and followed up by both fellow citizens and the government. The online sphere has been proven as a productive space to initiate socio-political movements, such as the Coin for Prita and Love Coin for Bilqis (Lim, 2017, pp.414-415; Supardi and Primasyahrizal, 2012, p.153-164).

The fact that online sphere is actually a public sphere is also reinforced by the history of the public sphere itself. The history suggests that public sphere as the place to mobilize political forces is shifting from the once empirical and tangible places such as the parliament building, the church, the coffee shop, the field and others, into less tangible spaces of mass media. The community has no longer discuss and debate things in city corners or in church, but in newspapers, magazines, radio, and television (Poster, 1995). The fact that people nowadays are seldom using conventional mass media to have a discussion and debate about political issues and rather have it online is a historical continuity or a sort of evolution from the public sphere itself.

Some events of governments tried to control the interaction online is another evidence that online sphere is really a part of the public sphere and exercise the same function (Phillips, 2017; BBC Monitoring, 2017; Rife, 2015). McNair (2011, p.18) argued that public sphere consists of “the communicative institutions of a society” that circulate facts and opinions which later helps the creation of citizen’s common stock of knowledge, an important factor for the creation of collective political action. Here, McNair connects the spheres and political actions that can be bred there. This is quite similar to Josef Ernst’s definition of the public sphere which is the “‘distinctive discursive space’ within which ‘individuals are combined so as to be able to assume the role of a politically powerful force’” (Ernst,1988, p.47 cited in McNair, 2011, p.18). The functioning public sphere, according to Dahlgren (2005, p.148) is the one exercised in an unfettered manner or there is no one who limits the dynamics within the sphere. Dahlgren pointed the government as the one having the power to alter or influence the dynamics within a public sphere, hence he suggested that the more democratic a country

the more functioning public sphere it will have (*ibid.*). The online sphere is usually detached from the realm of the government, in the sense that the government cannot fully control it, even in less democratic countries.

The public sphere is contested sphere and has constantly competed for by many actors. It is the venue to mobilize supports for different actors and varied causes. Actors use public sphere to throw an issue and diligently guide its course in the desired direction in order to better serve their interest. The act of 'guiding' the course of the issue includes intervention on the discussions and debates about the issue. A period when an issue is discussed or debated by the public is very crucial since it potentially produces proliferation of actors and fragmentation of issue. The proliferation of actors might happen naturally (more people engage on the discussion/debate because they have genuine interest or curiosity about the issue), or by intervention (one core actor or several core actors mobilize people to involve in the discussion and/or debate to influence the course of the issue). The proliferation of actors might potentially cause issue fragmentation, a situation when an issue was split into several new issues, whether they are related to each other or not. This is a crucial phase in the opinion-making and support-garnering process during which the original actor that first place the issue in public sphere faces other actors that have a differing stance and interest about the issue. Fragmentation of issue and the way people react toward the issue determine actors' success in exploiting the issue to serve their interest.

This research argues that online sphere is actually a public sphere. The argument is simple: the online sphere is a sphere, albeit materially less tangible, and it facilitates individuals to assemble, converse, discuss, debate, and mobilize power to reach their interests. The reasoning capacity of any individual and group within the online sphere is no different from those operate within public sphere in the traditional sense. One feature that we can see is that online sphere is becoming more and more democratized in the sense that people from all social levels interact each other more or less equally. It is in the online sphere that the hierarchy respected very much in the offline interaction lost its recognition. Academic competence, for example, determines people's authority in commenting on specific academic field offline. However, people from all levels of academic competence can comment about something academic almost equally online. This situation applies to all fields. Muslims acknowledge that some people are more competent than the others in terms of understanding and interpreting religious teachings. Therefore, they recognize a social structure in which those with better religion knowledge entitle more authority in deciding matters related to religion. However, this authority is widely challenged online. More and more people debating religion-related issues equally online, disregard of their authority levels. It is what Mark Poster (1995) termed as democratization in the online sphere since "the acts of discourse are not limited to one-way address and not constrained by the gender and ethnic traces inscribed in face-to-face communications". Furthermore, he said:

The "magic" of the Internet is that it is a technology that puts cultural acts, symbolizations in all forms, in the hands of all participants; it radically decentralizes the positions of speech, publishing, filmmaking, radio and television broadcasting, in short the apparatuses of cultural production (Poster, 1995).

Apart from its similarity to the public sphere in general, an online public sphere has also distinctive features. The fact that people interact online were represented and mediated by 'accounts' creates a kind of distance which affect the emotion and sometimes the awareness about self, environment and the issue they are absorbed in. The fact that online sphere can lend us a sort of 'mask' also affects the way we react to things which in turn determine the way we display our identity, opinion, and stance.

There are three characteristics of the online sphere which make interactions within it distinct. First, the fact that actors involved in online interaction basically have different understanding about online sphere and possess a different level of capability in utilizing online sphere to serve their interest. It posits that online sphere still has a form of hierarchical structure. Second, online sphere is more democratized compared to other spheres offline, enables more people to involve in an interaction regardless their capacity. Third, although not entirely, but the online sphere remains a relatively more layered place than offline. It enables the emergence of identity vagueness and providing a sort of hideout because of which people with less internet literacy feel secure to share harsh comments, unverified information, and other things they do not do in offline interaction. People with less internet literacy and political literacy are the ones most exploited online. They become the groups which are unable or seldom creating discourse and only consuming the discourse put in place by other groups/actors. The fact that action is controlled by mind makes the competition to influence people's minds online is very crucial. "So, if we are able to influence people's minds, e.g. their knowledge or opinions, we indirectly may control (some of) their actions, as we know from persuasion and manipulation (van Dijk, 2001, p.355).

*Seword.com*, in this regard, is also a public sphere and part of the wider web of public spheres since It is a venue for the public to communicate, interact, and in turn, mobilize power. Trust is always a contested aspect in assessing online platform as part of the public sphere. Those opposing the idea based their argument on the fact that online platforms aggregate accounts rather than 'the real' individuals. Indonesia-based accounts, for example, do not always refer to Indonesians. The real number of participants in an online debate is also constantly problematic. The use of machines to create thousands of 'hollow' accounts undermine the trustworthiness of online platform as a public sphere even further. While we must take these issues seriously in assessing online platforms as public sphere, they do not annihilate the fact that online platforms, including *Seword.com*, perform the function as both space and mediator of public interaction which eventually creating power.

## **Identity**

Identity, in its traditional form such as religion and ethnicity, is tightly attached to Indonesian politics. It is the most utilized tool to gain more support in elections. Throughout the Old Order, most of the Indonesian people vote for political parties they deemed as representing their identity, hence we have political parties exploited religious identity such as Partai Nahdlatul Ulama, Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Masyumi), Partai Kristen Indonesia (Parkindo), and Partai Katolik to name a few. Some other parties exploited other types of

identity such as Persatuan Pegawai Polisi Republik Indonesia, Persatuan Rakyat Desa, and Partai Buruh which exploited the socio-occupational identity (Perpusnas.go.id 2017). This tendency persists. Fox and Menchik (2011, 11) found that ethnic symbolism dominated the campaign posters both for national and local elections. While nationalist symbolism is most often used (39%), other identities were also worth noting such as religious (23%), indigenous ethnic (18%) and regional (9%) identities. Islamic identity is the vast majority within the category of religious symbols, while there is a wide range of indigenous ethnic symbols in the posters (*ibid.*).

Identity is also one issue that is easily "flamed" the plebeian groups and therefore used by more capable groups to exploit them. Efforts to defend identity is related to aspects such as social, economic, and political positions of each group in society which then provide the context as well as the trigger for the spark and enlargement of identity-based conflict. Awareness of own position as majority or minority, dominant or non-dominant, powerful or marginal groups all affect how each group interacts, including in the online sphere. Usually, the dominant discourses are made by the majority group. They become the determinants of conversation and become the most powerful parties, including having the ability to create and use labels and stereotypes that are sometimes so systemic that they are not realized and hence considered natural.

"The power of dominant groups may be integrated in laws, rules, norms, habits, and even a general consensus, and so take what form Gramsci (1971) called "hegemony"" (van Dijk, 2001, p.55).

Van Dijk equates majority group as the dominant group. He argued that dominance is not always exercised in abusive ways that reveal exploitation and discrimination. The dominance is often "enacted in the myriad of taken-for-granted actions of everyday life, as is typically the case in the many forms of everyday sexism or racism" (Essed, 1991 as cited in van Dijk, 2001, p.355). The dominant group also has the ability to dominate discourse so that public always refer to their interpretation of things while interpretation by others is considered alien and even dangerous for the stability of the society. Is this what happened in the debate related to 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial Election? This paper investigates whether this pattern is maintained or changed within the election-related opinion articles published by *Seword.com*.

In Indonesian context, some people believe that Muslims are the majority. The question then is twofold: first, is it true that Muslims (as a whole or a particular group in it) are dominant groups? Second, which Muslim group constitutes the majority given the fact that 'Indonesian Muslim' is certainly not a single entity. Muslim placing degrading label toward other Muslim has been one of the prominent features of Indonesian socio-political interactions. Van Dijk stressed that "not all members of a powerful group are always more powerful than all members of dominated groups: power is only defined here for groups as a whole" (2001, p.355).

Identity is closely attached to any political actions and preferences. The Rwandan genocide took place because the Hutus saw the Tutsis as having a different identity. Instead of seeing the Tutsis as Rwandan as they are, Hutus chose to see Tutsis as Tutsis who are different from

and not part of Hutus. Hutus see Tutsis as ‘the other’. When Ambon deadly conflict occurred in 1999-2002, most Ambonese sees themselves either as Muslim or Christian, ignoring the fact that they share the same identity as Ambonese, Moluccan, and Indonesian. In a more recent development, the residents of Jakarta see themselves as the supporters of either Anies Baswedan or Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), rather than as Jakartans seeking the best governor.

Jose van Dijck (2013) elaborates some notions which argue that identity is not completely ‘natural’ but designed. Online sphere, especially the social media, is the place in which identity formation can take place. It is because social media and other platforms in the online sphere utilize what Lim called as an algorithmic enclave that pushes user to interact more with people that they share more similarities or more frequently (Lim, 2017, p.422-423). Therefore, it is important to investigate the relationship between identity and the way people interact within online political debates. The amount of efforts one is willing to put to support his/her group is equal to the degree of identification he/she has with an in-group (i.e. religion). The higher the degree of identification an individual has with a certain religion, for example, the more motivated that individual to defend the name and position of that religion (Hinkle & Brown 1990; Tajfel & Wilkes 1963; Verkuyten & Brug 2004 cited in McKinley, Mastro, and Warber 2014: 3). Brewer (1979, 1999 cited in *ibid.*) argued that “in-group-out-group distinctions typically consist of pro-in-group bias rather than anti-out-group bias”. It means that it might be the case that people jumped to online debates not to attack others in the first place, but more to protect their groups’ position and interest.

Investigating online debate is very important to help us identify whether those debates are truly sporadic, structure-less and have no fixed pattern(s) or just the contrary. If, for instance, the debates within online sphere are well-structured and exhibit a certain degree of pattern, then it is interesting to investigate who control the debates? Is it the one that traditionally considered as the majority group? Do the debates possess a certain degree of similarity with the actual political cacophony? If so, what kind of connection do they have with actors actively engage in the conventional offline political field? This paper will answer those questions in the context of opinion articles on indigenous people published by *Seward.com* after the acceptance speech of Anies Baswedan as Jakarta governor.

## **Methodology**

There were 115 opinion articles published in *Seward.com*’s Politics rubric during the period of 16-24 October 2017, 5 of which were published twice, therefore total eligible articles to be studied were 110 items. There were 60 articles (55%) talking about Anies and indigenous people issue. This paper analyzed 10 opinion articles in *Seward.com*’s Politics rubric about Anies and/or indigenous people issue which have the largest number of interactivity (views, shares, and comments). The cut-off date was set 24 October 2017, 8 days after the acceptance speech in order to provide sufficient time for *Seward.com*’s contributors to share their opinion. Considering the diversity of opinion, only one article from each opinion writer

included in the list of 10 selected articles. A complete list of the studied articles can be seen in Appendix 1. List of Coded Articles and Their Metrics.

### *Analysis Unit*

All 10 opinion articles are divided into analysis unit. Title, paragraph, and subheading are considered as analysis units given the fact that they conceive meaning in a specific point(s) of thought. This study only investigates analysis units made by the opinion writers that reflect the stance of the writer. Paragraphs quoted from other sources by the writer are not considered as the analysis unit, hence excluded from analysis. Aspects identified on each analysis unit are the target of the statement (whom the statement is talking about); the tone of the statement and specific language attribute used in the statement, which all are contributing to explaining the writers' attitude (perception, assessment) toward the target of the statement. References used by the writers in building his/her argument (and assessment) about the target are also identified to provide clearer and more comprehensive analysis about why the writer assesses the target of his/her article that way.

### *Tone of Statements*

The tone of statements is divided into three categories, namely positive, neutral and negative. Positive statements show hope, praise and/or support toward the actor(s) mentioned in a statement. Negative statements characterize by hostile or impolite utterance according to Indonesian custom. These include swearing, hoping for someone's bad luck, the use of animal words (dog, pig, etc) as pronouns, improper utterances such as 'mouth' and 'sound' rather than 'saying', the use of sarcasm, and the presence of insinuation. Statements which do not show the above-mentioned characteristics are categorized as neutral.

### *Target of Statements*

Target(s) of statements are actors specifically talked and aimed in a statement. Therefore, actors who were mentioned in a statement as additional information and were not specifically talked and aimed at the statement are not considered as the target of the statement. There are possibly more than one targets of the statement in one analysis unit. Actors whose name are not mentioned in the unit of analysis but whose position is known based on the coherence of sentences and paragraphs are still regarded as targets of statements.

### *Specific Language Attributes*

These refer to language attributes that create meaning and help direct readers' interpretation to a certain direction. Main attributes identified here are:

- a) Strong words (words that are considered strong, unique and/or specific which their selection reflects effort to create a certain meaning)
- b) Figure of speech (including proverb and parable)
- c) Insinuation (sentence that indirectly or implicitly claim something about the target of the statement)

## d) Sarcasm

*Main attitude toward the target of statement*

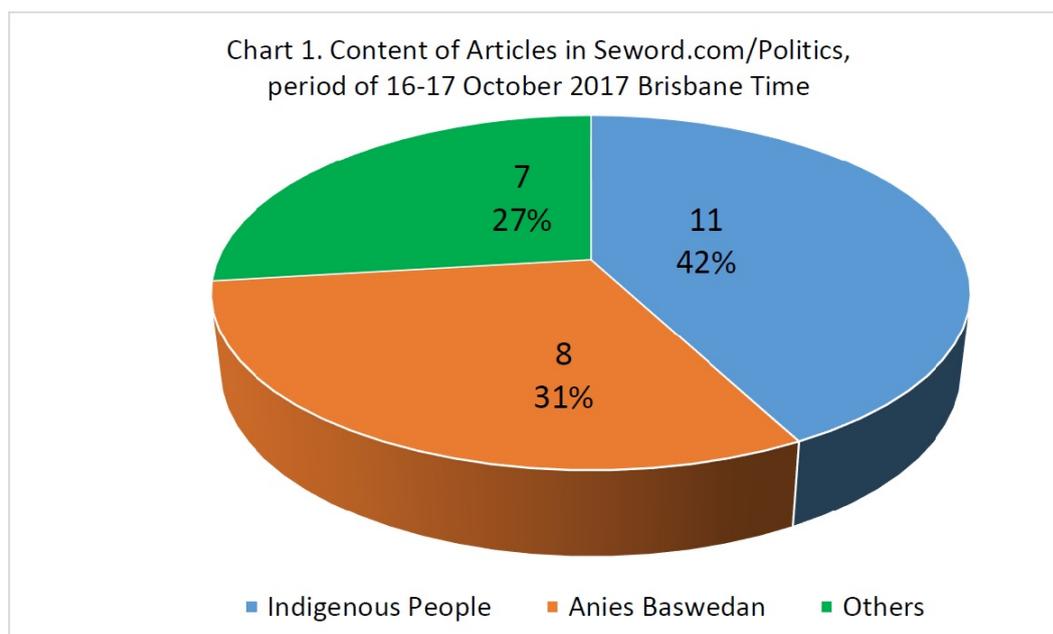
The conclusion that readers' most probably infer about how the writer react and assess the target of the statements. This conclusion is derived from each analysis unit as a whole (for example the conclusion is derived from a paragraph, not from each sentence within a paragraph). Each article is considered as one analysis unit for 'main attitude'.

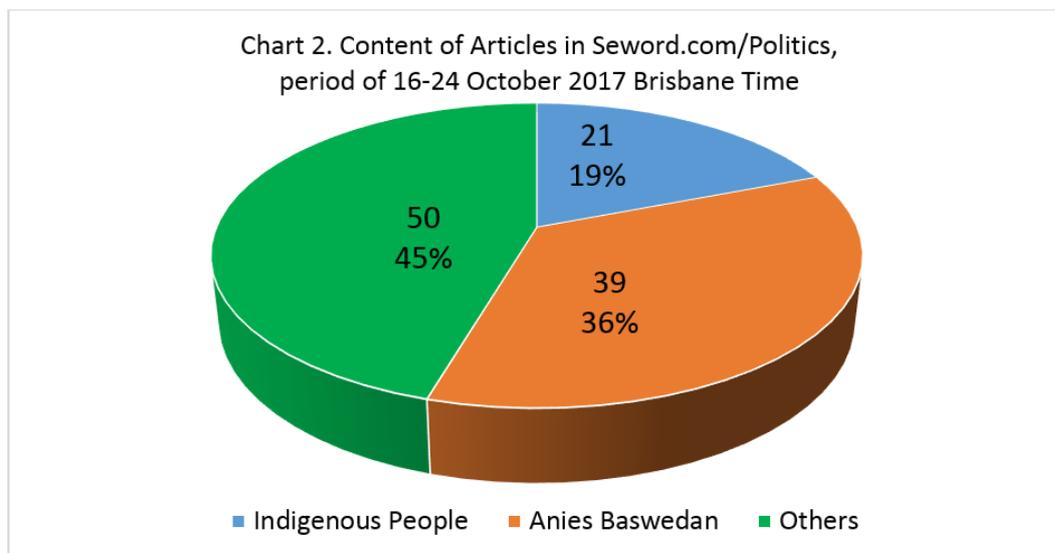
*References*

Any reference used by the opinion writers to support their arguments. The references could be both clearly stated and implied in the paragraph. A judgment without specific external reference will fall into the category of 'writer's opinion/assessment'. Any prediction and analysis without quoting external references will be categorized as 'writer's analysis'. This part will help readers to see whether the writers develop their arguments mainly based on their own opinion or that they try to include more of external references implying a higher degree of objectivity.

**Findings**

Chart 1 and 2 show us that Anies Baswedan (Jakarta newly elected governor) and the indigenous people were two main topics in *Seward.com*'s Politics rubric. During the first 2 days of the acceptance speech, there were 15 articles made focusing on Anies and indigenous issue which accounts for 58% of total articles in the Politics rubric (see Chart 1). The fervor to talk about Anies and indigenous people issue last until a week after the acceptance speech. During the period 16-24 October 2017, there were 60 opinion articles written about Anies and indigenous people which account for 55% of the total articles in the Politics rubric.





### *Who these articles are talking about?*

Table 2. The target of Statement (see Appendix 2) shows us that Anies Baswedan, the new elected Jakarta governor and Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno as Jakarta's new governor and vice governor couple are the most discussed by all opinion article writers. Five articles mostly talked about Anies while other 5 articles focused their attention talking about Anies-Sandi. In total, Anies was talked in 70 analysis units while Anies-Sandi were discussed in 53 analysis units. A bit surprisingly, there are very little analysis units dedicated to Ahok and Ahok-Djarot (3 and 1 respectively). The third largest target of statements is Anies-Sandi's supporters (20 analysis units). There are 5 prominent supporters of Anies-Sandi specifically mentioned in the articles (highlighted yellow, see appendix 2) and none of Ahok-Djarot's prominent supporters were specifically mentioned in the articles. It seems that these opinion writers focus on commenting about Anies rather than comparing between Anies (and Anies-Sandi) and his rival (Ahok and Ahok-Djarot). Jakarta people and articles' readers are two biggest target groups under the 'Other' category (highlighted pink).

### *How were these articles assessing Anies and Anies-Sandi?*

Table 2 (see Appendix 2) shows us that Anies-Sandi as the newly elected governor and vice governor of Jakarta were assessed negatively. Anies as an individual was assessed even worse. Anies-Sandi were aimed at 53 analysis units in which 20 of them are negative, while Anies was talked in 70 analysis units in which 47 of them are negative. This tendency applies also for Anies-Sandi's supporters in which 10 out of total 20 analysis units assessed them negatively.

*What language did they use to talk about Anies and Anies-Sandi?*

The language used to talk about Anies and Anies-Sandi were very harsh. The selection of specific words such as *'buang'* (throw away); *'tantang'* (challenge); *'nekat'* (recklessly, desperately); *'balas dendam'* (take a revenge) have developed an impression that Anies really is an ambitious and opportunist politician rather than someone sincerely fight for public causes. Another set of words such as *'hanya bualan belaka'* (it was only a joke) and *'munafik'* (hypocrite) aimed at saying that Anies was an untrustworthy person. Some writers even used impolite mode of the utterance such as by utilizing the words like *'mulutmu'* (your mouth) and *'bunyi'* (sounds, rattles), which in Indonesian context is considered impolite. Indonesian culture encouraged Indonesians never use 'mouth' to infer of someone talking about something and not to equalize men with things such as by the use of words like *'berbunyi'* (rattle). Rather than saying *'berbunyi'* (rattle, sound), Indonesians are encouraged to use *'berkata'* (say) (see Appendix 3).

Some figurative speeches, including proverb and parable, were used by the writers. They use "membuang" (throw away) to emphasize that Anies is someone who does not hesitate to completely dump anyone –including former coalition partner—to chase his own dream (see Appendix 4. Specific Language Attributes - Figurative Speech). The selection of this parable emphasizes Anies as an ambitious person (in the negative sense of that word). Writers see Anies as someone below the par of the former Jakarta governor, Ahok. Comparing Anies to Ahok, according one of the writers is like *'Mengharapkan salju di musim panas'* (hoping for snow during summer) which is impossible. Anies was also seen as someone responsible for the segregation among Jakarta people, and even among Indonesians. His campaign strategy was considered as *'merobek tenun kebangsaan'* (tear out the weave of nationhood) (see Appendix 4).

Not only his character, Anies' programs were also scrutinized. Many writers labeled them as "angin surga" (the wind of the paradise), an Indonesian parable referring to something too good to be true and unattainable (see Appendix 4).

Sarcasm is another obvious feature of language that widely used by writers in commenting about Anies and Anies-Sandi. When they talk about Anies' temperament which is much softer and more polite than the one of Ahok, writers wrote "Dengan bahasa santun menawan hati semua makhluk di Bumi (using the polite language that captivates all beings on Earth)" (see Appendix 5).

Writers seem to remind readers again and again that Anies was reshuffled by President Joko Widodo. The insertion of this information is a sarcastic style to say that Anies is of low quality and not capable of handling his position (see Appendix 5).

However, the most sarcastically opposed by writers is the notion of indigenous people. They sarcastically questioned Anies credibility in discussing the term given the fact that Anies himself is of Arab descent and hence considered as not belonging to indigenous people. Writers used sarcasm such as *'Apakah seorang keturunan Arab seperti Anies termasuk kalangan pribumi sebagaimana dengan yang dia maksud?'* (is an Arab descent like Anies can

be considered indigenous people?) and ‘Heh Tong’ (Hi kid, implying impoliteness) ‘jangan-jangan lu juga setengah “pribumi” lagi’ (perhaps you yourself [Anies] is only half indigenous) when questioning Anies’ indigenuity (see Appendix 5).

Another obvious language attribute was insinuation. Writers tend to not believing good deeds of Anies and at many times implicitly accusing Anies and Anies-Sandi of committing something wrong or at least have the potential to do so. For example, they wrote: ‘Anies menampakkan diri sebagai pribadi yang santun, elok, dengan tutur kata penuh kebijaksanaan tanpa cela’ (Anies *projected himself as* a polite, elegant person, with a flawless word of wisdom) which questioning whether Anies is *really* polite. Another example of insinuation is ‘Anies *projects* himself as a Pancasilaist, an NKRI, pluralism, diversity and Pancasila-lover, care for the nation's children's education, intellectual, and humble” which is an explicit display of not believing these characteristics in Anies (see Appendix 6).

The writers also implicitly accused Anies as belong to and behave like radical groups. A sentence like ‘Selama ini kita tahu bahwa Anies Sandi adalah pasangan gubernur dan wakil gubernur yang didukung oleh ormas radikal nan intoleran. Bahkan ormas pendukung Anies Sandi ada yang sudah dibubarkan oleh pemerintah’ (we have known it for a while that Anies and Sandi are governor and vice governor supported by intolerant radical groups. Some of those groups have been disbanded by the government)” shows nothing but indirect accusation that Anies is part of radical groups (see Table 6).

They even questioning something that is widely recognized by most people, that Anies is an intellectual. Writers wrote “[Anies] menampakkan diri menjadi bagian kaum intelektual ([Anies] projects himself as part of intellectuals) as if Anies is not really an intellectual (see Appendix 6).

All language attributes used by writers show efforts of displaying Anies as an ambitious person who is ungrateful; Anies as a fake person rather than sincere; and that Anies is part of radical groups who are not really loyal both to Indonesia and Indonesia’s ideology, Pancasila.

*How were the attitude of these articles’ writers toward Anies and Anies-Sandi?*

Writers’ attitudes were mainly focused on Anies, Jakarta people, and the term pribumi (indigenous people) and its controversy. One most obvious attitude is that writers assessed Anies negatively. They extensively discussed Anies characters that portrayed as very bad. Anies were seen as an ambitious –in the negative sense of the word— person who is more than willing to copy others’ successful strategy (hence Anies is not original) and to break up from his former supporters if it does not benefit his political endeavor (therefore he is portrayed as ungrateful and non-loyal politician). It is shown in statements such as:

*Sifat Anies cenderung sebagai pribadi yang ambisius dan penuh pencitraan* (Anies is an ambitious person who staged all of his behaviors) (article 1, paragraph 2)

*Dari sini, Anies yang berkecenderungan oportunistis dan penuh pencitraan, terus merangsek ke berbagai kalangan termasuk yang paling spektakuler: kalangan FPI dan HTI* (From here,

Anies who is tend to be opportunist and full of staged behaviors, continuously build up his support basis, including the most spectacular one: FPI and HTI) (article 1, paragraph 5)

*Godaan untuk mengikuti jejak Jokowi menjadi semakin menghantuinya. Segala hal yang berbau Jokowi ditiru, bahkan dalam pembuatan foto pun, dia menampilkan diri di daerah kumuh...* (The temptation to copy Jokowi haunts him. Everything about Jokowi was copied by Anies, including taking a picture in the slum area...) (article 1, paragraph 12)

*...semenjak mengenal kekuasaan, anda memang sudah menjadi pribadi yang berbeda.* (...you became a different person after you have tasted power) (article 8, paragraph 14)

*Setelah mencapai kursi Gubernur DKI, Anies sangat potensial untuk mencapai kursi RI-1. Anies pun saya yakin ingin menuju kursi RI-1. Munafik jika Anies tidak ingin kursi RI-1.* (After winning the seat of Jakarta governor, Anies is very potential to win the Indonesian president position. It is a hipocrisy if Anies does not want it) (article 9, paragraph 13)

Anies was also assessed as unauthentic in the sense that whatever he is doing is not original, not sincere and only to project a good image for himself.

The second aspect of Anies widely scrutinized by writers is his supporting groups which were portrayed as radical, intolerant, and ignorant. Anies' supporters were also seen as those who want to replace Indonesian democracy with Islamic system and to replace Indonesian united statehood in khilafah. Anies victory was seen as the victory of anti-Pancasila groups. This is a very serious allegation since Pancasila is Indonesia's ideology and the basis for all laws in the country.

*Selama ini kita tahu bahwa Anies Sandi adalah pasangan gubernur dan wakil gubernur yang didukung oleh ormas radikal nan intoleran. Bahkan ormas pendukung Anies Sandi ada yang sudah dibubarkan oleh pemerintah karena berseberangan dengan Perppu Ormas Anti Pancasila.* (We have known it that Anies-Sandi are the candidate for governor and vice governor supported by intolerant radical groups which some of them already been disbanded by the government as they have violated Law about Mass Organization and Pancasila) (article 6 paragraph 1)

*Maka tidak berlebihan jika kemenangan Anies Sandi dapat dikatakan sebagai kemenangan ormas radikal nan anti Pancasila* (It is fair to say that Anies victory is actually the victory of anti-Pancasila radical groups) (article 6, paragraph 3)

*Gaya blusukan Jokowi pun ditiru agar ambisi untuk menjadi RI-1, maju menyingkirkan Prabowo berhasil. Itu mimpi kebablasan Anies pada hari 1 dilantik menjadi pemimpin 58% manusia Bumi datar DKI Jakarta.* (The blusukan strategy of Jokowi was copied by Anies to serve his ambition to be Indonesian president. That is too much a dream for the leader of 58% flat-earthers) (article 1, paragraph 13)

Anies' close relationship with radical groups is believed affecting his strategies in winning the Jakarta gubernatorial election. Anies was seen as implementing a strategy that highly segregating the society and even endangering Indonesia's unity. Anies and his supporters

were accused of exploiting sensitive issues such as SARA<sup>1</sup> which particularly aimed at cornering Indonesian Chinese and Ahok as its central figure.

*Saya yakin Anies paham tentang Inpres No. 26 ini. Saya menduga ada udang dibalik batu dibalik pernyataan kontroversi ini. Entah apa tujuan Anies menyebut istilah pribumi, saat ini yang tahu hanya dia dengan Tuhan. Yang pasti pidato Anies kembali membuat suasana gaduh. Pendukung Ahok yang sedang mencoba move on kembali dibuat kecewa dengan pernyataan Anies yang sarat akan sara. (I am sure Anies is aware about the Presidential Instruction No. 26. I suspect there is a ‘shrimp behind the stone’ [a parable implying a hidden agenda] behind this controversial statement. I do not know what Anies’ intent by uttering the term indigenous people. What I know is that this speech has created a rowdy atmosphere. Ahok's supporters who are trying to move on are again disappointed with Anies' SARA statement) (article 9, paragraph 3)*

*Apalagi menggunakan isu-isu SARA yang bisa merobek tenun kebangsaan, bisa mengedorkan sendi-sendi kebangsaan, sangat berbahaya sekali (exploiting the SARA issues can tear down the unity of the nation which is very dangerous) (article 8, paragraph 12)*

*Tampaknya, politisasi SARA yang sebelumnya dihidupi dengan begitu bergelora telah meninggalkan jejak yang permanen di dalam jiwanya. Dan hal itu terbukti hari ini (16/10/2017). Pidato pelantikan Anies menceritakan semuanya. (Apparently, the politicization of SARA which had previously been so vibrant lived has left a permanent imprint on his soul. And it was proven today (16/10/2017). Anies's inaugural speech tells the whole story) (article 7, paragraph 1)*

The way writers assessed Anies’ supporting groups and election strategy brought them to discuss the issue of indigenous people. Here the writers were trapped in a paradox. All writers talking about indigenous people urged people not to use the term in their interaction – especially in political encounters, hence they criticized Anies for using this term in his acceptance speech as Jakarta governor. These writers accused Anies of segregating the society and discriminating those deemed as non-indigenous groups. However, these writers were also assessed Anies’ level of indigenous-ness. They were extensively questioning Anies’ indigenous-ness. They claimed that Anies are not credible to talk about indigenous people because he himself does not belong to Indonesian indigenous people. This argument implies that indigenous people as a term and as a socio-political category does exist, and hence contrasting writers’ claim that there is no indigenous people in Indonesia.

Apart from Anies and the issue of indigenous people, writers also aimed their assessment to Jakarta people, both Anies’ supporters and Ahok’s supporters. Most of them label Anies’ supporters as radical, intolerant and ignorant. They used the term “kaum bumi datar” or the flat-earththers to imply that Anies supporters were not using their logic and they live in the darkness just like those in the medieval century who believe that the earth is flat. In contrast, they label Ahok’s supporters as rational and the proponent of pluralism. Writers tend to label

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<sup>1</sup> SARA stands for “suku, agama, ras, dan antar golongan” or ethnic, religion, race, and group, something taboo to be discussed in the public. This is the legacy of New Order regime that do not want people to talk about SARA-related issues that is considered as sensitive and dangerous.

Ahok's supporters as the true defender of Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI or the unitary state of Republic of Indonesia) and categorize Anies' supporters as Muslim fanatics who have the tendency to change Indonesia into khilafah under Islamic regime and system. However, there is a writer who urged Jakarta people to support Anies-Sandi as the new governor and vice governor regardless the candidate they voted for during the election.

*What references used by articles' writers in assessing Anies and Anies-Sandi?*

There are five big groups of references used by opinion articles in commenting about Anies and Anies-Sandi, namely:

1. Writers' own opinion and analysis
2. Events and socio-political situation during the campaign period and their impacts toward society
3. Statements and promises made by Anies
4. Government regulations
5. Others

Writers' opinion and analysis dominated the references (59 out of 98 identified references). It shows that these opinion article writers do not really care to support their opinion with external references. They take the advantage of freedom of expression to deliver their assessment about Anies and Anies-Sandi. They also offered their own analysis about the situation, future political constellation and why things happened the way they did.

*Anies akan membuang Prabowo dan menantang Presiden Jokowi di 2019.* (Anies will dispose of Prabowo and challenge President Jokowi in 2019) (article 1, paragraph 1).

*Saya yakin JK tentu tidak ingin kehilangan pengaruh setelah lengser nanti. Mengorbitkan Anies bisa menjadi alternatif dirinya untuk menanamkan pengaruhnya di Indonesia.* (I'm sure that JK certainly did not want to lose influence when he is no longer in the government. Orbiting Anies could be an alternative for himself to instill influence in Indonesia) (article 9, paragraph 15).

*Namun, sekali lagi, berkat kemampuan mencitrakan diri yang aduhai, dia mulus masuk. Pernyataannya yang mengecam dengan elegan terhadap Prabowo dan Timses-nya membuat dia menjadi magnet kalangan rasional. Bahkan setelah kemenangan Jokowi, atas rekomendasi Jusuf Kalla ke Rini Soemarno, Anies yang dinilai sukses di dunia pendidikan, dipercaya menjadi Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (semua tahu akhirnya dia dipecat).* (However, again, thanks to his fantastic imaging capabilities, he smoothly enters the inner circle (of Jokowi). His eloquent criticism of Prabowo and his success team made him as a magnet for rational people. Even after Jokowi's victory, on the recommendation of Jusuf Kalla to Rini Soemarno, Anies who was considered successful in education was then named as Minister of Education and Culture (all people are aware that he was finally fired) (article 1, paragraph 8).

This shows us that there is no more knowledge/expertise authority in online sphere. Online sphere is a democratized sphere as argued by Poster (1995). People engage in online debate,

as shown by these opinion articles, are very confident to offer their own assessment and analysis even without a formal degree or proven experience in the area. People tend to deny knowledge-based hierarchy within the online debate, one thing that still applicable and well recognized in off-line interaction such as in conventional media as well as education and governmental institutions.

The second clear tendency is the opinion writers' focus toward Anies. Three strands of external references they used were all focusing on Anies. The first strand of reference was events and socio-political situation during the campaign period and their impacts toward society. Here the writers highlighted events took place during the campaign period such as:

*Setelah serangkaian proses politisasi ayat Al-Maidah besutannya Buni Yani dan demo nomor togel berjilid-jilid, serta ngancem-ngancem mayat, akhirnya Jakarta hari ini punya pemimpin baru, yaitu bapak Anies Baswedan dan bapak Sandiaga Uno.* (After a series of politicization of Al-Maidah verse by Buni Yani and series of rallies and threatening the corpses, finally Jakarta today have new leaders, namely Mr. Anies Baswedan and Mr. Sandiaga Uno) (article 2, paragraph 1).

*Jika Anies-Sandi gagal dalam membawa Jakarta lebih baik dari sebelumnya, yang sangat terpuuk semestinya yang memilihnya. Karena dengan berbagai cara dilakukan untuk memenangkannya. Dari menyentil sentimen agama sampai sentimen suku bangsa.* (If Anies and Sandi fail in bringing Jakarta better than before, the worst hit should be those who have voted for them. They employed all ways possible to win the election, utilizing religious sentiments to ethnic sentiments) (article 3, paragraph 14).

*Bahkan sempat seorang Haji Djarot pun diusir dari rumah ibadatnya, hanya karena ia dianggap menjadi wakil dari Ahok. Keberpihakan semacam ini adalah bentuk keberpihakan kepada intoleransi dan ontaleransi.* (There was even an event when Haji Djarot was expelled from his own worshipping house just because he was considered as a representative of Ahok. This kind of alignment is a form of alignment to intolerance and ontaleransi (article 6, paragraph 7).

Segregation within the society caused by campaigning actions and discourses; and the widespread use of SARA issues (including the issue of indigenous people) to gain support from potential voters. These highlights were mostly negative and aimed to share a negative impression toward Anies and Anies-Sandi. The second strand of external reference was Anies' statements and campaign promises. Anies' acceptance speech as new governor of Jakarta, delivered in his inauguration, 16 October 2017, was used by these writers to corner Anies. They focus their attack on Anies statement on his acceptance speech which includes the notion of indigenous people. While Anies and his supporters said that the statement was referred to Jakarta's history as a place in which local people experience the colonialism that should not take a place for the second time, but all the writers referred to it as Anies' deliberate strategy to segregate the society and further cornering Ahok and Chinese minority groups. Writers mockingly question the right of Anies in bringing about such issue. According to writers, Anies is not competent to talk about indigenous people because he himself does not belong to Indonesian indigenous people. This is a paradox given the fact that

these writers opposing the use of 'indigenous people' term and denying its existence while at the same time they use it to negate Anies' credibility in talking about the issue. The third strand of external reference is government regulation. Here the only one government regulation quoted was Presidential Instruction No. 26/1998 on The Termination of the Use of the terms of Pribumi (Indigenous People) and Non Pribumi (Non-Indigenous People). Writers brought this external reference for two purposes. First, to mock Anies as ignorant that even he belongs to intellectual group (he was a rector of a well-known private university; he is the initiator of education volunteering movement Indonesia Mengajar and he was minister of national education) but he did not know that the use of the term 'indigenous people' is prohibited and its existence is no longer recognized by the Government of Indonesia. Second, to portray Anies as someone who violated a regulation (presidential instruction) and hence he is not fit for the position that requires him to embrace all groups. External reference that falls into the 'others' category were 'white color' and its semiotic meaning. White is associated with Muslims that implies Anies prioritize Muslim and will neglect others. It is one way to delegitimize Anies' suitability to be in the position of Jakarta governor.

## Discussion

There are four main findings arise from the analysis of opinion articles published on *Seward.com*. First, Mark Poster's argument that online sphere presents a more democratic sphere where people can share opinions without considering the level of expertise about what is being said. No less than 60% of the references used by writers to support their opinion is their personal judgment. They do not seem to need to quote the opinions of experts or observers who are generally considered more knowledgeable, nor do they feel the need to strengthen their opinions with the data. This shows that they are confident in their own opinions and show that they are equal to anyone, including with experts who in offline interaction are still highly respected and heard.

Second, the fragmentation of issue really took place. Anies in his acceptance speech underscored the need to build social welfare and justice for all citizens of Jakarta by citing Jakarta's current strategic position as well as in the past. However, the content of this speech was addressed by debating the position of the indigenous and non-indigenous population simply because there was an 'indigenous' term in Anies' speech. This shows that *Seward.com*'s opinion writers were bowing to their own understanding of the term 'pribumi' (indigenous people) and neglecting the context of the term in Anies's speech which actually refers to all Jakartans as opposed to the colonial ruler.

Third, the opinion articles in *Seward.com* defy Brewer's argument that said any interaction related to in-group and out-group are mostly "consist of pro-in-group bias rather than anti-out-group bias" (1979, 1999 cited in McKinley, Mastro, and Warber, 2014, p.3). *Seward.com*'s opinion articles show anti-out-group bias rather than pro-in-group bias. This is evident from the dominance of negative assessments toward Anies and Anies-Sandi's programs. Very few of these opinion articles discussed or defended Ahok. Most assessments were on Anies, especially on his personal character which described very negatively as hypocritical, opportunistic, and ambitious in pursuing the public position.

Fourth, these opinion articles indicate the contradiction in the attitude of the opinion authors toward the term pribumi (indigenous people). They criticized Anies for using the term, but they did criticize him by assessing Anies' level of indigenous-ness. This is not only pointing out the contradictions on the part of opinion authors but also indicates that the term 'pribumi' and its definitions do exist and socio-politically have positions and roles in Indonesian contemporary society.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1. List of Coded Articles and Their Metrics

No	Title of the Articles, Names of writers and URLs	About Indigenous People	About Anies Baswedan	Others	Comment	Recommend	Share
1	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/anies-dilantik-jadi-gubernur:-buang-prabowo-untuk-tantang-jokowi-jadi-ri-1">Anies Dilantik Jadi Gubernur: Buang Prabowo untuk Tantang Jokowi Jadi RI 1</a>		1		34	11	0
	Ninoy N. Karundeng <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/anies-dilantik-jadi-gubernur:-buang-prabowo-untuk-tantang-jokowi-jadi-ri-1">https://www.Seword.com/politik/anies-dilantik-jadi-gubernur:-buang-prabowo-untuk-tantang-jokowi-jadi-ri-1</a>						
2	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/puji-tuhan-alhamdulillah-hari-ini-jakarta-punya-pemimpin-baru">Puji Tuhan Alhamdulillah, Hari Ini Jakarta Punya Pemimpin Baru</a>		1		76	8	0
	Argo <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/puji-tuhan-alhamdulillah-hari-ini-jakarta-punya-pemimpin-baru">https://www.Seword.com/politik/puji-tuhan-alhamdulillah-hari-ini-jakarta-punya-pemimpin-baru</a>						
3	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/selamat-datang-gubernur-dki-yang-baru-akan-banyak-yang-iri-jika-janji-janjimu-terpenuhi">Selamat Datang Gubernur DKI yang Baru, Akan Banyak yang Iri Jika Janji-janjimu Terpenuhi</a>		1		54	8	0
	Cak Anton <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/selamat-datang-gubernur-dki-yang-baru-akan-banyak-yang-iri-jika-janji-janjimu-terpenuhi">https://www.Seword.com/politik/selamat-datang-gubernur-dki-yang-baru-akan-banyak-yang-iri-jika-janji-janjimu-terpenuhi</a>						
4	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/apakah-anies-baswedan-seorang-pribumi?">Apakah Anies Baswedan Seorang Pribumi?</a>	1			27	13	0
	Daniel Setiawan <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/apakah-anies-baswedan-seorang-pribumi">https://www.Seword.com/politik/apakah-anies-baswedan-seorang-pribumi</a>						
5	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/kepada-gubernur-baru-ingat-jakarta-punya-semua-orang">Kepada Gubernur Baru Ingat Jakarta Punya Semua Orang</a>		1		0	4	0
	Hisar Ivan Hutabarat <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/kepada-gubernur-baru-ingat-jakarta-punya-semua-orang">https://www.Seword.com/politik/kepada-gubernur-baru-ingat-jakarta-punya-semua-orang</a>						
6	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/absu-didoakan-pendeta-dan-pribumi-harus-toleran">ABSU Didoakan Pendeta dan Pribumi Harus Toleran</a>	1			9	5	0
	Hysebastian <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/absu-didoakan-pendeta-dan-pribumi-harus-toleran">https://www.Seword.com/politik/absu-didoakan-pendeta-dan-pribumi-harus-toleran</a>						
7	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/anies-yang-rasis?ketika-supremasi-pribumi-diteriakan-seorang-keturunan-arab">Anies yang Rasis? Ketika Supremasi Pribumi Diteriakan Seorang Keturunan Arab</a>		1		47	15	0
	Nikki Tirta <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/anies-yang-rasis-ketika-supremasi-pribumi-diteriakan-seorang-keturunan-arab">https://www.Seword.com/politik/anies-yang-rasis-ketika-supremasi-pribumi-diteriakan-seorang-keturunan-arab</a>						
8	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/apa-yang-aneh-ketika-anies-baswedan-memakai-kata-pribumi">Apa yang Aneh ketika Anies Baswedan Memakai kata pribumi</a>	1			7	7	0
	Glen Joshua <a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/apa-yang-">https://www.Seword.com/politik/apa-yang-</a>						

	aneh-ketika-anies-baswedan-memakai-kata-pribumi					
9	<a href="#">Polemik Pribumi, Anies Tak Perlu Khawatir, Ada JK yang Membelanya</a>	1			23	8
	Saefudin Achmad					
	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/polemik-pribumi-anies-tak-perlu-khawatir-ada-jk-yang-membelanya">https://www.Seword.com/politik/polemik-pribumi-anies-tak-perlu-khawatir-ada-jk-yang-membelanya</a>					
10	<a href="#">Pakaian, Identitas, dan Pesan Penyingkiran</a>	1			8	10
	Siti Zainatul Umaroh					
	<a href="https://www.Seword.com/politik/pakaian-identitas-dan-pesan-penyingkiran">https://www.Seword.com/politik/pakaian-identitas-dan-pesan-penyingkiran</a>					

## Appendix 2. Target of Statements

Target of Statements	Tone of Statements*			Total
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	
Anies Baswedan	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(1); (0); (1); (8); (1); (0); (2); (6); (4); (0) = (23)	(16); (2); (0); (7); (2); (0); (6); (9); (5); (0) = (47)	70
Anies-Sandi	(0); (0); (2); (0); (0); (4); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (6)	(0); (3); (5); (1); (5); (6); (0); (0); (0); (7) = (27)	(2); (4); (4); (0); (4); (0); (1); (0); (1); (4) = (20)	53
Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (1); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (2)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	3
Ahok-Djarot	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	1
Supporter Anies-Sandi	(0); (0); (2); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (2)	(0); (0); (3); (0); (0); (4); (0); (1); (0); (0) = (8)	(0); (1); (1); (0); (0); (6); (0); (0); (2); (0) = (10)	20
Supporter Ahok-Djarot	(0); (0); (3); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (3)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (1); (1); (0) = (3)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	6
Prabowo	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	1
JK	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (7); (0) = (7)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0) = (1)	8
FPI	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(1); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	1
HTI	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	1

Pandji Pragiwaksono	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	1
prominent supporter of Ahok and Djarot	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	0
Jokowi	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (2); (0) = (2)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	2
Sandiaga Uno	(0); (0); (0); (0) (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0) (1); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	1
Jakarta people	(1); (0); (0); (0); (3); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (4)	(0); (0); (1); (0); (2); (0); (0); (1); (0); (1) = (5)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	9
Indonesian people	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	2
Article's readers	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (3); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (3)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (2); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (2)	6
Writer	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (2); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	1
Anies-Sandi's program	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0) (1); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	1
History of Indonesian people	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0); (0) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	1
Book source	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1); (0); (0); (2) = (3)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	3
Javanese proverb	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	1
White color and white dres	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (5) = (5)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	5
Color selection and color's political meaning	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (3) = (3)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	3
Human appearance	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (1) = (1)	(0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0); (0) = (0)	1

\*sequence of bracket with number reflects the sequence of article

Yellow = Actors within the category of prominent supporters of Anies-Sandi

Pink = Actors which coded as 'other'

### Appendix 3. Specific Language Attributes - Strong Words

Article	Paragraph	Words and/or terms
1	Title	Buang (throw away); tantang (challenge)
1	Par. 1	Buang (throw away); tantang (challenge)
1	Subheading 1	Ambisius (Ambitious)
1	Par. 2	Ambisius (Ambitious); penuh pencitraan (full of staged behaviors); kehidupannya jauh dari idealisme AR Baswedan (his life is a far cry from AR Baswedan's idealism, note: AR Baswedan is Anies' grandfather and one of Indonesia's national hero)
1	Par. 4	diam-diam (silently); faksi garis keras Muhammadiyah (hardliners faction of Muhammadiyah)
1	Par. 5	oportunis (opportunist); pencitraan (projecting good image);
1	Subheading 2	membuang (dumped) Prabowo
1	Par. 10	nekat (recklessly, desperately)
1	Subheading 3	Balas dendam (revenge) to Jokowi
1	Par. 11	dendam (revenge); makin bernafsu (more passionate) [to be the next president]
1	Par. 13	ambisi (ambition); menyingkirkan Prabowo (eliminate Prabowo); manusia bumi datar (flat-earthers)
3	Par. 1	Pasangan Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Anies Sandi sudah terpilih dengan sah dalam proses demokrasi (Governor and vice governor Anies-Sandi have been elected legitimately through a democratic process)
4	Par. 13	Anies mencederai keberagaman Indonesia; Anies telah mengingkari keinginannya berdiri di atas semua pihak (Anies tears up Indonesia's diversity; Anies denies his own promise to stand for everyone)
5	Par. 17	Firza (name of a woman which said as having an affair with Habib Rizieq, the leader of FPI, one of Anies' primary supporting organizations)
6	Par. 4	direbut (seized by)
6	Par. 9	Ontaleran (intolerant combined with onta, Indonesian word for camel, the way Ahok-Djarot's supporters mockingly identify Anies-Sandi's supporters)
7	Par. 2	begitu rusak (very bad); bedebah sekali caranya (a means that is very bad)

7	Par. 3	sebelum mulut Anies berbunyi (before Anies' mouth rings). The use of words "mouth" and "ring" is considered impolite in Indonesian culture.
8	Title	aneh (strange)
8	Par. 3	sangat-sangat blunder (a serious blunder)
8	Par. 6	mulut Anda (your mouth). An impolite utterance in Indonesian culture
9	Par. 2	hanya bualan belaka (it was only a joke)
9	Par. 13	Munafik (hipocrite)
10	Par. 7	kultus dewa raja (king god cult)
10	Par. 16	pelenyapan (annihilation); pembersihan (extermination); menghantui (haunted); mimpi buruk (nightmare)
10	Par. 17	kamufase (camouflage)
10	Par. 20	kekonyolan (a joke)
10	Par. 21	gegabah (reckless)

#### Appendix 4. Specific Language Attributes - Figurative Speech

Article	Paragraph	Figurative Speeches
1	Title	Buang (throw away); tantang (challenge)
1	Par. 1	Buang (throw away); tantang (challenge)
1	Par. 8	Magnet (the magnet) for rational voters
1	Par. 13	mimpi kebablasan (too much dream)
2	Par. 4	janji angin sorgawi (literally means 'the promise of wind of heaven', but usually understood as something too good to be true.
2	Par. 5	Perang Badar (the Badar war, one of wars in the time of Prophet Muhammad pbuh)
2	Par. 6	Perang Badar (the Badar war, one of wars in the time of Prophet Muhammad pbuh)
3	Par. 6	angin surga (wind of heaven, a parable of almost impossible-to-materialize promises)
4	Par. 1	...banyak harapan warga Jakarta yang ditaruh di pundak Anies Baswedan, ... (there many many hopes of Jakarta people are put on anies' shoulders)
4	Par. 10	merobek tenun kebangsaan (tear out the weave of nationhood); merobek (tear out' rip off)
6	Par. 17	you say you pay

7	Par. 1	Lumpur yang menelan mereka sudah terlalu pekat, terlalu gelap menghisap (the mud that absorbed them is too thick and and too dark)
7	Par. 2	membakar kembali isu SARA (flaming the SARA issues)
8	Par. 6	tenun kebangsaan (the weave of nationhood)
8	Par. 12	Apalagi menggunakan isu-isu SARA yang bisa merobek tenun kebangsaan, bisa mendedorkan sendi-sendi kebangsaan, sangat berbahaya sekali
9	Par. 4	Mengharapkan salju di musim panas (hoping for snow during summer)
9	Par. 5	Selain telah memiliki jabatan, ada faktor lain yang membuat Anies lebih percaya diri untuk melontarkan pernyataan yang dia suka. Posisi Anies semakin kuat. Dia mendapat dukungan dari Wakil Presiden Jusuf Kalla. Selain itu, Gerindra dan PKS juga siap menjadi bamber untuk Anies.

### Appendix 5. Specific Language Attributes - Sarcasm

Article	Paragraph	Sarcasm
1	Par. 1	Selamat (congratulation)
1	Par. 2	Dengan bahasa santun menawan hati semua makhluk di Bumi (using the polite language that captivates all beings on Earth); Top (fabulous; superb)
1	Par. 6	Sama sekali tidak terbayangkan oleh publik bahwa Anies akan ngomong DP NOL persen yang sangat tidak rasional itu pada saat itu (the public has never imagined that Anies will put [a complete nonsense of] 0% housing downpayment as one of his campaign promises)
1	Par. 8	semua tahu akhirnya dia dipecat (Everyone knows that eventually Anies was sacked from his position as Minister of Education)
1	Par. 11	Nah, sifat pribadi dan konstelasi politik yang berkembang, ditambah adanya dendam terhadap Jokowi karena dipecat dan dukungan Jusuf Kalla, dipastikan akan membuat Anies semakin bernafsu untuk menjadi calon presiden (Well, personal trait, current political constellation coupled with a grudge against Jokowi for sacking him [as minister of national education] as well as the support from Jusuf Kalla, will certainly make Anies increasingly eager to become a presidential candidate)
2	Title	Puji Tuhan Alhamdulillah, Hari Ini Jakarta Punya Pemimpin Baru?
2	Par. 4	entah ini downgrade atau bukan (I don't know ehther it is a downgrade or not)
2	Par. 5	Gusti ora Sare (Javanese proverb which means 'God has never been sleeping', implying that whoever committed good and bad deeds will get the appropriate rewards)
3	Subheading 1	Janji kampanye tidak mesti ditepati

3	Subheading 2	<b>Janji kampanye itu surga jika terwujud</b>
3	Par. 7	janji lebih indah (more attractive promise)
4	Title	Apakah Anies Baswedan Seorang Pribumi? (Is anies belongs to indigenous people?)
4	Par. 15	Darimana Anies Baswedan bisa mengklaim dirinya adalah pribumi? Apakah karena Kakeknya turut serta memperjuangkan kemerdekaan Indonesia, sehingga layak disebut dengan kata pribumi? (How come anies claim himself as indigenous people? Is it because his grandfather was a national hero fighting for Indonesian independence?)
5	Par. 2	Sang Gubernur barupun terlihat rendah hati sekali, kemarin itu diantar dengan mobil biasa tidak perlu mobil mewah. Katanya sih mau ke istana naik Helikopter pinjaman rekannya yang pengusaha itu tapi malu mau ngomong sama Pak Presiden yang katanya ndeso itu. Moso helikopter sudah pinjam, helipadnya juga pinjam terus sampeyan modalnya apa (the new governor seemed so humble. He went to his inauguration in the presidential palace usiang ordinary, not the luxury car. Rumours said that he previously plan to go to the palace using his friends' helicopter but he was so embarrassed to the president who is very humble and characterized as 'backward'. When he borrow both the helicopter and the helipad, so what do you actually have, Sir?).
5	Par. 10	Kapan lagi boo bisa punya rumah di Jakarta. Ingat ya, di Jakarta bukan pinggiran Jakarta (when will again in the history we can afford a house in Jakarta. Be aware, in Jakarta, not in the outskirts of it)
5	Par. 11	Ketika anda membohongi diri anda sebenarnya anda sudah mengingkari keluarga anda juga secara tidak langsung itu seharusnya menjadi pemikiran anda di awal pencaangan program ini (when you lied to yourself, it is actually you lied to your whole family and you have had thought about it before)
7	Title	Ketika Supremasi Pribumi Diteriakan Seorang Keturunan Arab (when the indigenous people supremacy is urged by an Arab descendant)
7	Par. 2	Apakah seorang keturunan Arab seperti Anies termasuk kalangan pribumi sebagaimana dengan yang dia maksud? (is an Arab descendant like Anies is considered indigeneous people?)
7	Par. 9	Heh Tong (Hi kid, implying impoliteness); jangan-jangan lu juga setengah "pribumi" lagi (perhaps you yourself [Anies] who is only half indigenous).
8	Par. 4	mantan menteri pendidikan (former minister of education)
8	Par. 14	Ditambah, semenjak mengenal kekuasaan, anda memang sudah menjadi pribadi yang berbeda (moreover, you have become a different person since you taste the power)
8	Par. 17	sudah ada peraturan Presiden untuk menghentikan penggunaan kata pribumi dan non-pribumi, apakah bapak yang pernah menjabat sebagai Menteri Pendidikan tidak tahu akan hal ini? (the is presidential decree prohibiting the use of indigenous people term, don't you as former minister of education, aware of it?)
9	Par. 2	Tentu lucu mendengar Anies berbicara soal pribumi padahal dia sendiri adalah keturunan Arab (it is funny to hear Anies talking about indigenous people while he is an Arab descent).

9	Par. 4	Dengan jabatan barunya, saya yakin Anies semakin tidak ragu lagi untuk melontarkan pernyataan yang dia suka, termasuk kritik sana-sini (A new position [as Jakarta governor] will make Anies feel free to talk about anything, including criticizing here and there). Mengharapkan karakter Anies seperti Ahok yang melayani rakyat seperti mengharapkan salju di musim panas (Hoping that Anies will be like Ahok who is sincerely serving the public is like hoping for a snow during summer).
10	Par. 5	Sepanjang masa-masa kampanye, Anies-Sandi sibuk bersolek dan mendandani diri untuk terlihat menjadi "pemimpin Islami dan bersih" sebagai jualan mereka. Gaya berpakaian islami juga sering ditampilkan dari partainya yang dikenal jelas juga berbasis orang abangan. Kesan islami dan penampilan sahaja melalui busana mudah memikat hati dan menjaring suara mayoritas pemilih yang beragama Islam dalam kontestasi Pilkada.

### Appendix 6. Specific Language Attributes - Insinuation

Article	Paragraph	Insinuation
1	Par. 2	Anies menampakkan diri sebagai pribadi yang santun, elok, dengan tutur kata penuh kebijaksanaan tanpa cela (Anies appeared to be a polite, elegant person, with a flawless word of wisdom)
1	Par. 3	Anies projects himself as a Pancasilaist, a lover of NKRI, pluralism, diversity, Pancasila, care for the nation's children's education, intellectual, and humble. The result of the whole series [of these projections] is that he is able to strategically seize the University of Paramadina, the symbol of pluralism laid out by one of the fathers of the nation, Nurcholis Madjid.
1	Par. 5	pameran tentang penghargaan yang ia terima dari luar negeri dan dalam negeri (showing off his awards from overseas and domestic)
1	Par. 6	menampakkan diri menjadi bagian kaum intelektual (Anies projects himself as part of intellectuals)
1	Par. 7	Persentuhannya dengan kalangan yang jauh dari idealisme Nawa Cita Jokowi (his interaction with the groups who are not supporting Jokowi's nine agendas)
1	Par. 8	mencitrakan diri (to project good self image)
1	Par. 12	Godaan untuk mengikuti jejak Jokowi menjadi semakin menghantuinya. Segala hal yang berbau Jokowi ditiru, bahkan dalam pembuatan foto pun, dia menampilkan diri di daerah kumuh, meminta lap dari jongsnya dengan bersilang kaki.
1	Par. 13	Gaya blusukan Jokowi pun ditiru (Anies copy the blusukan style of Jokowi)
2	Par. 1	politisasi ayat (politicizing the Qur'anic verse); demo togel berjilid-jilid (series of rally); ngancam-ngancam mayat (threatening the death bodies).

2	Par. 35	Janji-janji itu harus ditepati agar tak ada dusta di antara kita (those promises must be fulfilled so that there will be no lies between us)
4	Title	Apakah Anies Baswedan Seorang Pribumi? (Is anies belongs to indigenous people?)
4	Par. 7	Jika benar demikian, tentu kita sangat miris mendengarnya. Karena selama ini pengrusakan yang dilakukan oleh Basuki Tjahaja Purnama maupun Djarot adalah untuk memindahkan warga Jakarta yang tinggal di tempat kumuh dan dipindahkan ke tempat yang lebih layak. Jika itu dimaksudkan dengan penjajahan kolonial masa kini, maka Anies Baswedan salah besar.
4	Par. 9	Apa yang dimaksudkan dengan pribumi yang ditindas dan dikalahkan? Apakah maksud Anies bahwa selama ini Jakarta dipimpin oleh seorang yang bukan pribumi? Dan apakah Anies menganggap bahwa Basuki Tjahaja Purnama itu bukan orang pribumi? Sehingga dianggap menindas pribumi?
4	Par. 14	Jika kita ingin memperlakukan tentang pribumi dan non-pribumi, kita juga ingin mempertanyakan apakah Anies Baswedan termasuk seorang pribumi? Karena kita tahu Anies Baswedan adalah keturunan Arab. Dan apakah keturunan Arab dibedakan dengan keturunan India, Pakistan, Tionghoa dan lainnya? Sehingga yang lainnya boleh dibilang non-pribumi sedangkan keturunan Arab boleh dibilang pribumi?
4	Par. 15	Darimana Anies Baswedan bisa mengklaim dirinya adalah pribumi? Apakah karena Kakeknya turut serta memperjuangkan kemerdekaan Indonesia, sehingga layak disebut dengan kata pribumi? Bagaimana dengan keturunan Tionghoa yang juga sama-sama turut serta memperjuangkan kemerdekaan Indonesia seperti Siauw Giok Tjhan yang turut serta dalam perjuangan kemerdekaan Indonesia, apakah tidak layak disebut pribumi?
5	Par. 14	Korupsi adalah musuh bersama warga Jakarta. Jadi jangan khianat terhadap amanah dari rakyat. Menjaga uang APBD adalah otoritas anda berdua, jumlahnya luar biasa besar. Lebih dari tujuh puluh trilyun dalam masa satu tahun yang dianggarkan Provinsi ini untuk bisa terus maju sejajar dengan kota besar lainnya. Dengan anggaran besar tersebut anda berdua harusnya bisa membuat skema penerimaan dan pengeluaran yang transparan tanpa perlu birokrasi tertutup yang biasanya menggoda keimanan seseorang menjadi runtuh.
5	Par. 16	tidak perlu gengsi (don't be ashamed to copy Ahok's good programs)
5	Par. 17	Tuanku yang baru (my newly majesty)

6	Par. 1	Selama ini kita tahu bahwa Anies Sandi adalah pasangan gubernur dan wakil gubernur yang didukung oleh ormas radikal nan intoleran. Bahkan ormas pendukung Anies Sandi ada yang sudah dibubarkan oleh pemerintah (we have known it for a while that Anies and Sandi are governor and vice governor supported by intolerant radical groups. Some of those groups have been disbanded by the government)
6	Par. 3	Maka tidak berlebihan jika kemenangan Anies Sandi dapat dikatakan sebagai kemenangan ormas radikal nan anti Pancasila (It is fair to say that the victory of Anies-Sandi IS the victory of radical group that opposing Pancasila), karena apa yang sudah digembar-gemborkan di rumah-rumah ibadat, berhasil membuat para pengikutnya ketakutan dan tidak berani memilih gubernur baik ([the agitation] loudly socialized through woshipping places [mosques] made their supporters fear (the wrath of God] and finally did not vote for the good governor [Ahok]))
6	Par. 5	Apapun cara yang ditempuh, tetap saja dianggap sah (whatever the means [to win the election] was, it is still considered as legitimate).
6	Par. 13	Karena kita tahu bahwa seseorang dianggap manusia jika mereka menjalankan apa yang sudah dikatakan. Jika tidak, maka, panggillah mereka dengan sebutan... Ah sudah lah... Tidak perlu saya lanjutkan... Nanti saya dipersekusi.
6	Par. 16	Apapun motivasinya, mereka tertunduk dan ikut berdoa, dengan tata cara Kristen (whatever the motivation was, they wee solemnly praying among the congregate that use the Christian liturgy)
7	Par. 2	Entah apa maksudnya, ingin menggaet media dan perhatian publik hingga ia mengeluarkan pernyataan yang begitu rusak? Apakah karena begitu kesalnya ia pada kondisi pemberitaan media yang tidak pernah meliput dirinya setelah pilkada DKI Jakarta? Kalau hanya demi penaikan pamor dan citra, bedebah sekali caranya. Membakar kembali isu SARA antara “pribumi” dan “non-pribumi”. Namun pertanyaannya, siapakah yang pribumi maupun yang non pribumi? Apakah seorang keturunan Arab seperti Anies termasuk kalangan pribumi sebagaimana dengan yang dia maksud?
7	Par. 6	Sebagian suku yang dahulunya pendatang ini telah menetap, beranak cucu, dan secara turun temurun menjadi kelompok suku yang membentuk komposisi dari ragam etnik di Indonesia. Selama 1000 tahun lebih para pendatang ini telah hadir dan menetap di sini. Pertanyaannya sekarang, jikalau memakai logika Anies yang masih belum jelas itu, siapakah mereka? “pribumi” atau “non-pribumi”? Lalu bagaimana dengan keluarga Anies sendiri yang almarhum kakeknya sendiri merupakan seorang pendatang dari jazirah Arab?

7	Par. 9	Heh tong dari zaman nenek moyang lu masih getok-getokan pake batu, gugusan pulau-pulau Nusantara udah jadi ajang pertukarang budaya dan manusia. Karena itu sejarah bangsa kita dibangun oleh beragam budaya dan aliran agama besar di wilayah Asia. Mulai dari Hinduisme, Budhisme, Konfusioneisme, dan masih banyak lagi. Jadi coba cek dulu di garis keturunan nenek moyang lu itu, jangan-jangan lu juga setengah “pribumi” lagi.
8	Par. 3	Jadi yang perlu digaris bawah yang dikatakan Anies bukanlah sebuah ketidaksengajaan seperti seorang yang sedang berada di penjara (so we need to underline that what was said by Anies was not unintentional, the one said by someone in the prison [Ahok] was)
8	Par. 7	Lalu bagaimana dengan warga keturunan Arab yang, jika anda lupa, mengalir di darah anda sendiri? (So, how about the Arab blood that runs in you?)
8	Par. 10	ketika anda masih mempunyai kepribadian yang berbeda dari hari ini (when your character was not the one you have now)
8	Par. 14	Ditambah, semenjak mengenal kekuasaan, anda memang sudah menjadi pribadi yang berbeda (moreover, you have become a different person since you taste the power)
8	Par. 17	sudah ada peraturan Presiden untuk menghentikan penggunaan kata pribumi dan non-pribumi, apakah bapak yang pernah menjabat sebagai Menteri Pendidikan tidak tahu akan hal ini? (the is presidential decree prohibiting the use of indigenous people term, don't you as former minister of education, aware of it?)
9	Par. 2	Lebih lucu lagi Anies adalah mantan Menteri Pendidikan yang sepertinya hampir mustahil dia tidak mengetahui sejarah bagaimana pada tahun 1998, BJ Habibie sudah meneken Instruksi Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 26 tentang penggunaan istilah pribumi dan non-pribumi yang pada intinya menghapus penggunaan istilah pribumi dan non-pribumi (it is even funnier that Anies who is former minister of education does not aware about President Instruction Number 26 year 1998 prohibiting the use of indigenous people and non indigenous people terms).
10	Par. 18	identik dengan rezim tiran Orde Baru (...identical to the attitudes of tyranic regime of New Order)
10	Par. 20	Patut disayangkan cara-cara pengeksklusian pakaian semacam ini masih dihidupkan oleh penguasa di negeri yang telah sepakat memuja pluralisme (It is a pity that this kind of exclusion is still practiced by the government in a country that worshipping pluralism)

10	Par. 21	Jika benar hatinya seputih bungkusnya, harusnya tidak perlu ada lelucon dress code putih dalam undangan (if their hearts are truly since, they will need no joke such as white dress code).
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# Perfectionism Tendency and Music Performance Anxiety (MPA) on Tertiary Students' in Malaysia

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## Abstract

Despite the fact that almost all studies are done in western countries, this article explains perfectionism tendency and music performance anxiety (MPA) in a communist culture of Malaysia. However, there is a lacking study existing in relation to the relationship between MPA in any field of education or perfectionism among Malaysian tertiary students. Hence, this article presents the expansion of the body of literature on this important relationship between MPA and perfectionism. The knowledge affecting to symptoms and signs anxiety during adolescence among students can help if possible areas can be highlighted for the mediating and prevention on the relationship, this article may prove fruitful to Malaysian youths in the university setting so they can overcome the lacking.

**Keywords:** Perfectionism Tendency, Music Performance Anxiety, Tertiary Students

## 1. Introduction

Perfectionism is observed as an explicit mode of function that relates to a trend to appear perfect or to seek to be acceptable. Verner-Filion and Vallerand (2016) perceive perfectionism as a natural characteristic. A hale and hearty perfectionism have been differentiated from neurotic perfectionism. In one case, an individual is capable to outline accurate objectives and achieve satisfaction after reaching the objectives. The other case is when the individual fixes extremely high standards to be attained. Since these standards are unreachable, they associate imperfect or incomplete feelings. Recently, perfectionism is viewed as multidimensional personality attribute related to psychological complications, spins of social relations and flawed relationship to success.

In accordance with the model, perfectionism is a 3D concept including socially-set, other-oriented and self-set perfectionism. Self-set perfectionism mirrors a tendency to set high or impossible personal criteria of achievement. It is connected to various disorders and traits including hypomania, depression, and anxiety. Perfectionism concerning other-oriented personalities who keep high expectations others around in the social environment. Socially set

perfectionism is interrelated to environmental pressures. Socially set perfectionists observe stresses from others to possess high standards. Psychologists reported that psychological distress prompted by two customs of perfectionism was connected to anxiety, depression, aggressive behaviors, and social stress.

Perfectionism is a behavior that could be beneficial for the talent expression with high ranks of accomplishment; it also associates anxious feelings if standards are not met. In this scenario, talented students may need certain support because of the tendency to be anxious and tense, but a few realistic studies are present to support this view. Should we criticize ourselves for postponing, and complaining of every diminutive detail till everything becomes flawless? Or, is it better to leave ourselves hanging off the fishhook?

### 1.1 Perfectionism

There are a great number of people who would ponder over having high standards the best thing. Struggling for excellence shows that they have a powerful character and good work ethics. High standards do push an individual to reach an ultimate flush of performance. For example, athletes are mostly trained hard and long hours to reach superiority in fitness and their sports. On the other hand, perfectionism contains a tendency to set specific standards that maybe too high that can neither be met nor can be achieved but only met with excessive difficulty. Perfectionists believe that anything lacking perfection is terrible and that even negligible imperfections will lead straight to devastation. For instance, most of the people believe that it is very important to try to not to make any mistakes and do best. Nevertheless, most of the people also think that on and on foregoing mistakes is inescapable and that making one does not clearly means that they have failed in something totally. However, growing youngsters with perfectionism are inclined to believe that they are not at all permissible to make mistakes and making one means they have been disgraced in front others making themselves horrible and an example of failure. This thinking makes it actually frightening for them to make errors. It is also likely to feel maybe even disappointed and make one feel stressed trying to be perfect for oneself most of the time because being able to meet standards is not easy at times. Over time, one may even begin to believe that he or she is not as proficient as others. Therefore, it is sensible to let one loosening up criterions a bit to ease anxiety and the stress one might be feeling from trying very hard to be flawless (Hamamura and Laird, 2014). Perfectionism is defined as a negative trait, regarded as by high criterions of achievement and performance, which lead towards emotional distress, fear of failure and shame.

### 1.2 Performance Anxiety

Millions of individuals fret the performance anxiety, commonly known as "stage fright." In fact, many people will get flu rather than perform. Actors, athletes, public speakers and musicians, often go through performance anxiety. Almost everybody and anybody dreads the feeling of being looked by so many eyes gazing down and judging, though nobody wants to be judged no matter what (Kenny and Halls, 2017).

### 1.3 Overview

An anxiety of any kind is a severe mental-health issue among youth nowadays. It has a pronounced impact on their present and future. The predominant degree of anxiety among the Malaysian youngsters are principally students is about 22.5% which is considered high and should be intervened. Although a cross-sectional revision was conducted on around 506 students, ages between 18 to 24 years old were picked among four general universities from Klang Valley in Malaysia. (Shamsuddin, K. et al., 2013) It was found that from these students 34% were moderate students and 29% suffered a severe form of anxiety, higher than the 20 years of an age group of students from rural areas. Within this population of Malaysia, anxiety is also found in obese and overweight individuals. Abdollahi, A., & Abu Talib, M. (2016) studied anxiety due to social aspects of growing trends in society an average of 207 obese and overweight students were picked from 16 different faculties in Universiti Putra Malaysia (UPM) were found that in terms of appearances students faced social anxiety due to the obesity.

The natural correlation between perfectionism and performance anxiety is a debatable topic, even though the fact is that most of the studies are usually conducted in west which is an individualistic culture very rarely such topics are discussed or studies made between perfectionism and performance anxiety, on students of Asia, belonging from collectivist culture, as Malaysian students which are a vital aspect to be discussed in concern of public health.

Some students face troubles participating in different activities. This anxious feeling grows more intense with growing age and having pre cognition about surroundings with extra sensitivity. It is becoming more centered on one's whole being, be it the body, the looks, features or if nothing than the mere feeling of statuses of people around. This very feeling recounts to rising social anxiety from peer assessment of their selves in a totally negative way by others around. There have been several studies discovered that individuals having low in self-esteem and satisfaction are more likely to practice social anxiety due to the prominence and unavoidability of interaction in social life, often fear roots impairments in all aspects of everyday life. Social anxiety can physically and emotionally paralyze the person, struggling to manage and cope socially. Social anxiety is pervasive and chronic due to the dependence on social prevention common for the people living with the disorder. Although isolation and avoidance may temporarily abate the anxiety symptoms, the fears underlying does remain (Spain et al., 2017).

In spite of how extensive this disorder proves to be, more attention has been paid to panic syndrome despite the minor prevalence degree. Traditionally, social anxiety has been observed inaccurately as mild anxiety disorders and to some extent what most individuals deal with. Similarly, in common culture, social anxiety or social phobia is regarded as mere "bashfulness" versus somewhat clinically pathological and pervasive. In some researchers, social anxiety may be equally weakening as other disorders and has been confirmed a challenge for treatment (Pugliese et al., 2013).

Perfectionism and performance anxiety is paid a great deal of attention recently for the mental health of college students. Even though it was presumed that students do not bare psychological disturbance, an examination from centers of college counseling informs different relation. In a survey of the university, 60 % of the students were reported by the directors using their counseling center, for more periods of time.

Some reasons for this intense rise of mental illness is increasing ranks of competitiveness across the systems of student's life, and they are expected to be flawless in every way. They are likely to get into good professional fields, maintain a high standard, socialize with certain friends, find a very job and also pay off loans. Not only do the parents have expectations, but also the society. It is possibly not astonishing that the young individual feels that they will not be able to keep up with the parental, societal, and in due course self-imposed pressures of perfectionism. Often, great sacrifices are made by parents to give good education to elevate the children and possibility not to disappoint their parents or society. Though many mental health complications resulting from this system of pressure and competitiveness. The recent study supports the theory of anxiety and stress being most typical bi-products. Nearly all of the tertiary students report feeling anxious and depressed (Williamon & Thompson, 2006) and (Schulz, 1981 to Williamon & Thompson, 2006).

## **2. Music Performance Anxiety (MPA)**

Music is a vital means of communication that provides people a way of sharing emotions, meanings, and feelings even though their different languages may be comprehensive. As a notable musician one should have the ability to endure the physical and psychological demands of performing in front of the public. The stress of delivering and preparing a performance can often build high stages of anxiety. Anxiety for music performance, also referred as stage fright is experienced by a lot of music students and also professional musicians including a major problem amongst them. According to Orejudo et al. (2017), Music Performance Anxiety (MPA) is a situation where the response of performer's stress goes beyond an average arousal state, causing unfavorable consequences. Sometimes a tolerable degree of anxiety is perceived as an implementer. Yet, a higher degree of anxiety may intensify significant, devastating effects. Determining the number of stressful performances affecting musicians is very important to enhance understand the MPA phenomenon. Constantly in some studies and other present literature, the findings show, anxiety experienced while the music performance is a phenomenon which is predominant among the students and may have unbearable effects on their performances. Despite the reality of anxiety throughout the performance among the music students, these phenomena have provisionally investigated the students of music practice in Malaysian Universities. Therefore, MPA faced by the music students of Malaysian Universities was organized to evaluate their music performance anxiety.

### **2.1 Symptoms**

This can be quite stressful for some individuals knowing that they are the center of attention and everybody is looking at him or her. The body starts to react to such situation in almost the same way as if one is being attacked. The body's "flight -or- fight" mechanism boosts in, which is the reason why the symptoms of "stage fright" are alike to the symptoms which occur when one is in real danger. The symptoms of performance anxiety may comprise:

- Hallucination
- Rapid breathing and palpitation
- Trembling voice, lips, knees, and hands
- Tight throat and dry mouth
- Nausea
- Cold and sweaty palms (Robson and Kenny, 2017)

## 2.2 Performance Anxiety Causes

The moment when the individual challenges: his vulnerabilities and fears, the feeling of not to prove yourself to others, and accepting oneself for who they are the very first step in the direction of overcoming performance anxiety. We should keep in reminding that nobody is ever perfect, nobody ever expects one to be perfect, and it is not a great deal to make mistakes. The next step is using wisdom to know how to readdress negative predictions, images, thoughts and beliefs about acting in public. This is not as tough as one might think it will be (Chapman, 2017).

## 2.3 Treating Performance Anxiety

There are some tips which can help overcome doubts and gleam on the field, at the podium or on stage:

- Practice and be prepared.
- Limit sugar intake and caffeine on the day of performance is. Eat a practically sensible meal couple of hours before the performance to have energy and don't feel hungry. A healthy meal is a good choice.
- Move the attention off of yourself, and the fear towards the enjoyment one will be providing to the audience. Shut your eyes and visualize the audience cheering and laughing.
- Do not focus on things that could go off beam. As an alternative, focus the mind on the good and positive thoughts. Imagine success.
- Elude thoughts that yield self-doubt.

Practice biofeedback, measured breathing, meditation and different strategies which help to relax and redirect thoughts if they go negative. There a lot of amazing practices of relaxation methods every day, irrespective of whether one has a performance, there is a skill to practice when needed, like:

- Jump up and about, take a walk before, do what seems right, or shake out muscles to comfort anxious state of mind before the big performance.
- Connect with the audience, think of them as friends, smile, make eye contact and relax.
- Be yourself and act natural.

- Indulge in a healthy lifestyle, eat healthily, exercise and take adequate sleep.
- Stage fright can usually be worse before any performance, but it goes away right after it starts (Chapman, 2017).

## 2.4 Overcoming

There are various mental tricks that play in helping one perform in less anxiety. They include:

- Find friendliest faces in the audience and focus on them.
- We have all heard laughing is a big medicine, it helps to relax.
- Look good, feel good.
- These tricks help reduce anxiety before the performance. But in case they do not help, talk to a trained therapist or a counselor in treating issues of anxiety. They may assist in more concentrated therapy, as in cognitive therapy of behavior, to help to overcome performance anxiety. Confronting your terrors and learning methods to reduce and achieve them can be a privilege. Not only does it make one feel good, but one might even discover that one is a confident performer, as well (Osborne et al., 2014).

In conclusion, MPA is a reality that musicians of all ages have to deal with. While most of the existing literature focuses on the way, adults experience performance anxiety, this article highlights on perfectionism tendency among tertiary students' which may have experience nervousness with MPA in Malaysia. Finally, further research is needed to determine if the additional characteristic is specified in defining MPA environments.

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# Investigating the Factors Influencing Patient Satisfaction at a Private Medical Centre in Northern Namibia

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## Abstract

The aim of this study was to investigate factors affecting patient satisfaction at a private medical centre in Northern Namibia. The study was guided by the following objectives: to explore the factors affecting patients' satisfaction at the private medical centre; to investigate factors that can improve patient satisfaction at the centre and to suggest recommendations to management on how they can increase patients' satisfaction. A quantitative research design was adopted in the study through the use of a closed-ended questionnaire which was on a five point Likert scale. Expectation Confirmation Theory was the underlying theoretical framework for this study. Data was gathered from 50 participants above the age of 18 years selected by systematic random sampling from all the patients above the age of 18 years who were attended to at the practice over ten working days. The findings showed that factors that affected patient satisfaction to a greater extent were waiting period before seeing a doctor, availability of doctor during and after working hours and thoroughness of doctor's examination and care. The study concluded that further studies should be done using a larger sample across many organisations. Based on the findings of the study, it was recommended that an electronic filing system be used at the practice and practice cell phones should be available to doctors so that patients can be able to reach them for emergencies after working hours.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background to the Problem

The private general medical practice that was established in 2008. The practice was established in northern Namibia because there were few private practices there at that time and there was a potential for the practice to grow. The practice employs two medical doctors, one nurse, two receptionists, an accounts clerk and a cleaner. When it started operating, the centre was attending to six patients a day. However, the number increased gradually up to a peak of forty patients a day by the end of 2015. Management attributed this increase to the fact that people in the community were now used to the doctors who were working at the practice since they had been there from 2008 when the practice started.

The expectation confirmation theory was used as the theoretical framework of the study. It is a cognitive theory which seeks to explain post-purchase or post-adoption satisfaction of customers. It was developed by Richard. L. Oliver in 1977. The theory originally appeared in the psychology and marketing literatures (Baharum and Jaafar 2015). Expectation confirmation theory involves four primary constructs: expectations, perceived performance, disconfirmation of beliefs, and satisfaction (Lankton and McKnight 2012). Expectation confirmation theory posits that expectations, coupled with perceived performance, lead to post-purchase satisfaction and this effect is mediated through positive or negative disconfirmation between expectations and performance (Baharum and Jaafar 2015). If a client enters a contract with a service provider and the client's expectations are exceeded in a positive way, the client is satisfied with the service (Abdulwahab and Kabir 2014).

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Patient satisfaction is very important for the profitability of private practices and hospitals. Accreditation, business improvement, and risk management are some of the other reasons patient satisfaction is important to a practice. Retention of patients at the practice will lead to profitability and growth of the business (Hosseini 2016). This research was able to identify factors that lead to patient satisfaction/dissatisfaction at the centre. Researching on patient satisfaction can offer patients an opportunity to participate in their care by reporting their care experiences and building engagement. This benefitted the patients too as the practice was able to tailor its services according to the patients' needs. Patient satisfaction research represents real-time feedback for service providers and show opportunities to improve services or decrease risks. By implementing the recommendations given by the patients on improving their satisfaction, the practice might have been able to improve patient satisfaction which might have led to reduced litigations. Improving the quality of care is becoming more vital in the health industry than ever before (Nunu and Munyewende 2017). When it comes to quality of care, the practice should look at its patients for opportunities for improvement and this is what the study addressed. This study supplied statistically reliable data which promoted informed decision making by management. It helped open a dialogue with the patients and this helped them know that management listens to them. This patient relationship building might have earned the practice word of mouth referrals. This research might also have been beneficial to other medical practices in Northern Namibia because the researchers wished to present the findings of the study to the local doctors' association on factors that contribute to patient satisfaction and how patient satisfaction can be improved at private medical practices.

## **1.3 Literature Review**

A number of factors influence patient satisfaction and these factors may be related to patient characteristics or to features of the healthcare system (Raivio, Jaaskelainen, Holmberg-Marttila & Mattila, 2014). Batbaatar et al. (2016) mentioned that most of the studies done examined the correlation between demographic factors such as age, gender, health status and level of education with patient satisfaction. However, the findings from these studies are conflicting (Batbaatar et al., 2016). Thornton, Nurse, Snavely, Hackett-Zahler, Frank and

DiTomasso (2017) performed a three-phase, semi-quantitative analysis using anonymous, validated patient satisfaction surveys collected from 889 ambulatory outpatients in 6 healthcare centres over 5 years. The findings showed that level of education affected patients' satisfaction only in the component of orderly/time. Patients without a high school education were significantly less satisfied than those with more. Patients in their 40's were significantly less satisfied in availability/convenience than those above 60 years old (Thornton et al., 2017). Another study done in Finland also showed that patients above 64 years of age were less satisfied with healthcare services compared to those of a younger age (Raivio et al., 2014). These contradicting findings were worth exploring further in a different setting.

According to Farley et al. (2014:353) a number of studies have failed to demonstrate an association between patient satisfaction and the quality of care. According to Batbaatar et al. (2016:123) healthcare service quality indicators were the most influential determinants of patient satisfaction across the studies reviewed. Among them, health providers' interpersonal care quality was an essential determinant of patient satisfaction (Batbaatar et al., 2016). Tateke et al. (2012) also found out that perceived providers' technical competency appeared to be a predictor of patient satisfaction at both private and public hospitals. However, Lyu et al. (2013:1) found no relationship between patients' experiences and the quality of clinical care in their study of surgical patients.

The perceived cleanliness score of hospitals was found to be associated with patient satisfaction according to a study done by Tateke, Woldi, and Ololo (2012) in Ethiopia. Attractiveness and cleanliness of hospitals, as well as neatness and smartness of staff, played a crucial role in determining patient satisfaction according to a study done by Peprah (2014) in Ghana. A study was also done by Iloh et al. (2013) in Nigeria also concluded that sanitation, cleanliness of the hospital and the environment contributed to patient satisfaction.

A study done by Peprah in Ghana found out that the easiness with which a patient could locate a hospital was associated with patient satisfaction (Peprah 2014). A study done by Van de Ven (2014) concluded that shorter waiting time was not an important predictor of patient satisfaction and therefore reducing waiting time could not be used as a method of improving patient satisfaction. Another study was done by Wetmore et al. (2014) in Canada found out that 40% of patients liked to see their doctors available after normal working hours for emergencies to improve their satisfaction.

Continuity of care is a very important attribute of primary care. This pertains to whether the patients see the same healthcare provider every time they visit the healthcare facility. A study done by Ye et al. (2016) showed that patients who had been treated by the same physician for the previous 2 years had a better quality of life both physically and emotionally compared with those treated by several physicians. They also reported excellent patient satisfaction (Ye et al., 2016). Apart from improving patient satisfaction, a study done by Romaine et al. (2014) also showed that greater continuity of care was associated with less use of high-cost services and lower expenditures for such services. Provision of follow-up appointments is also important for continuity of care and an important determinant of patient satisfaction (Ye et al., 2016). A study by Mitchell, Callaghan, Street, Neuhaus and Bessen (2014) concluded that

patients who were given follow-up dates by their healthcare providers were more likely to be more satisfied than those who did not receive any follow-up dates.

The results of a study done by Peprah (2014) in Ghana showed that one of the factors associated with patients' satisfaction at Sunyani Regional Hospital was empathy. Patients felt that their satisfaction level about the service delivery would probably go high when they are treated with utmost care and given individualised attention (Peprah 2014). Doctors with better interpersonal skills appear to have more of their patients satisfied and they usually have fewer malpractice claims against them (Smith, 2017).

The findings of the study by Peprah (2014) also pointed out that rudeness of nurses and other staff members, the ability of the hospital to provide individualised attention to the aged and physically challenged, understanding the specific needs of patients, and keeping patients informed about when service will be performed were other factors under empathy dimension that determined patients' satisfaction. Other factors extracted under empathy were the politeness of staff, the willingness of nurses to answer patients' questions and patients being given enough time to tell the doctor their problems (Peprah 2014). Another study done by Van de Ven (2014) in USA concluded that staff courtesy was the most powerful predictor of overall patient satisfaction.

A patient's financial status may affect the quality of health care. Sometimes patients may not be able to afford costs associated with their treatment and decide not to buy some of the medication prescribed by the healthcare provider. In this situation the treatment may not be effective and such patients may end up dissatisfied with the service offered (Mosadeghrad 2014). In developing countries, private-sector health institutions that are for-profit usually charge higher fees than public sector institutions and they require full payments as soon as the services have been offered (Chapman, 2014). A study done by Sanjeewa and Serevirathne (2017) in Sri Lanka found out that medical costs contributed to dissatisfaction with services offered in 76.5% of the patients and that dissatisfied patients were unwilling to pay their medical bills. The study concluded that if flexible payment plans were availed to patients, dissatisfaction levels could be reduced. This research study explored whether the perception about the affordability of health care would affect the patients' perception of satisfaction.

## **2. METHOD**

### **2.1 Participants**

The target population for this study was all the patients above the age of 18 years being attended to at the centre. Over a period of 10 days, the practice attends to an average of 200 patients, and 63% of them were above the age of 18 years. The database of the centre had about 12 000 patients above the age of 18 years.

## 2.2 Sampling Procedure

A probability sampling strategy through the use of systematic random sampling was done in distributing a questionnaire to 50 participants. The private medical centre attends to about 20 patients a day, and 12 of them are above the age of 18 years. The questionnaire was distributed to the first 5 willing patients above the age of 18 years seen at the practice for a consecutive 10 working days. Systematic random sampling was chosen because it can accurately represent a larger population. There was also no need to divide the population into sub-populations or take any steps further than taking the number of research subjects needed systematically from the large group.

## 2.3 Research Instrument

Questionnaire compiled in English with closed-ended questions was used to guide and confine participants on questions and responses. The questionnaire consisted of 17 questions divided into 3 sections (Sections A, B and C) grouped under the headings: Section A: Demographics; Section B: Factors affecting patient satisfaction at the private medical centre and Section C: How patient satisfaction can be improved at the private medical centre. Responses were in 5-point Likert Scale categories expect for Section A questions. Respondents indicated their answers by either putting an (x) or a tick (√) against the box next to their preferred response.

The questionnaire was distributed among the first five willing patients above the age of 18 years who were attended to at the centre over a period of 10 consecutive working days. Questionnaire was only given to those who had signed an informed consent. Participants were asked to complete the questionnaires in the practice and leave the completed questionnaires before leaving the practice. This was done to avoid selection and recall bias.

Content validity was accomplished by asking research experts at University of Namibia and the supervisor of the study to assess the questionnaire to establish if the items were representative of the outcome. Construct validity was ensured by correlating the performance of the researcher's questionnaire with performance on an established patient satisfaction questionnaire, the PSQ-18. Test retest reliability was done to establish the reliability of the questionnaire. This was done by administering the questionnaire twice to the same participant at different times.

## 2.4 Research Design

Descriptive research design was chosen for this research study to help discover the relationship between patient satisfaction and organisational performance, to describe accurately and systematically the factors affecting patient satisfaction and to describe the frequency with which factors affecting patient satisfaction were considered to be important by the participants.

### 3 RESULTS

#### 3.1 Recruitment

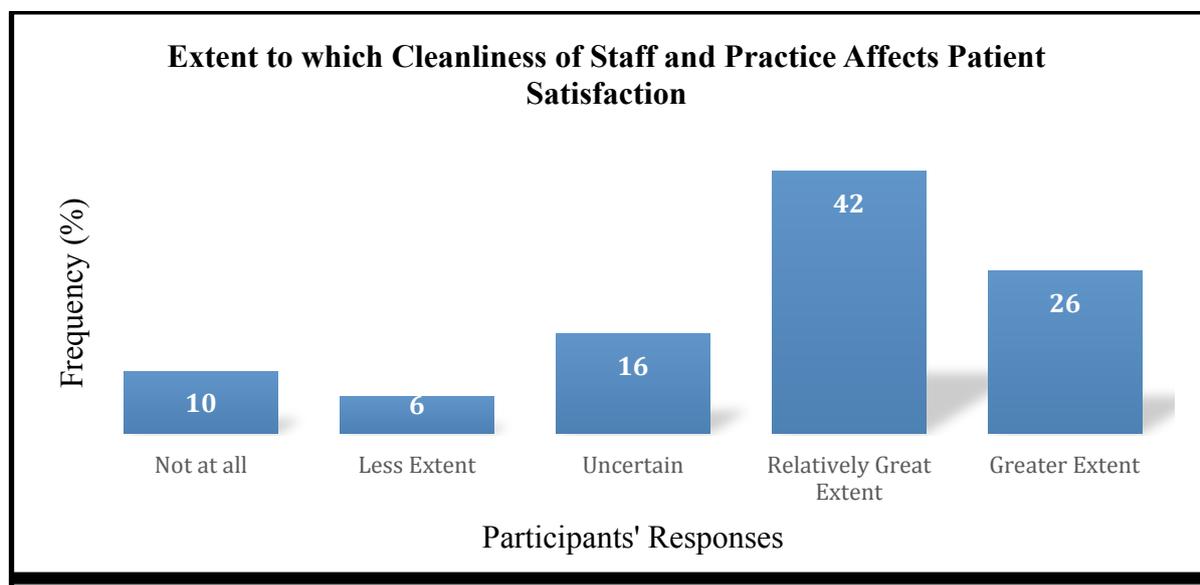
Participants were recruited from 13 November 2017 to 24 November 2017 only during working days.

#### 3.2 Data Analysis

Data was entered into Microsoft Excel and this numerical data was presented in tables and graph form. Percentages and frequency distributions were calculated to analyse participants' responses. The responses to section A of the questionnaire were not scored. Responses to Sections B and C, of the questionnaire were all scored on a 5-point Likert scale. Findings from all the questions were presented in graphical or chart format.

##### 3.2.1 Factors Affecting Patient Satisfaction at the centre

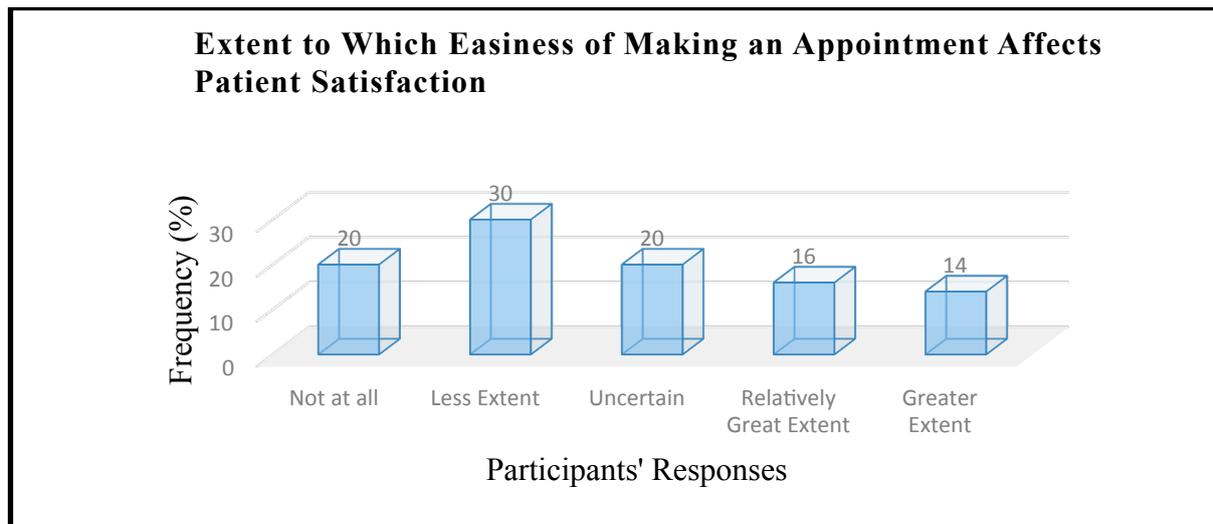
###### 3.2.1.1 Extent to Which Cleanliness of Staff and Practice Affects Patient Satisfaction



**Figure 1 Extent to which Cleanliness of Staff and Practice Affects Patient Satisfaction**

Figure 1 shows that 42% of participants reported that cleanliness of staff and practice contributed to their satisfaction to a relatively great extent while 26% had their response as to a greater extent. These findings concurred with studies done by Tateke et al. (2012), Peprah (2014) and Iloh et al. (2013) which revealed that the cleanliness of the physical environment was an important determinant of patient satisfaction.

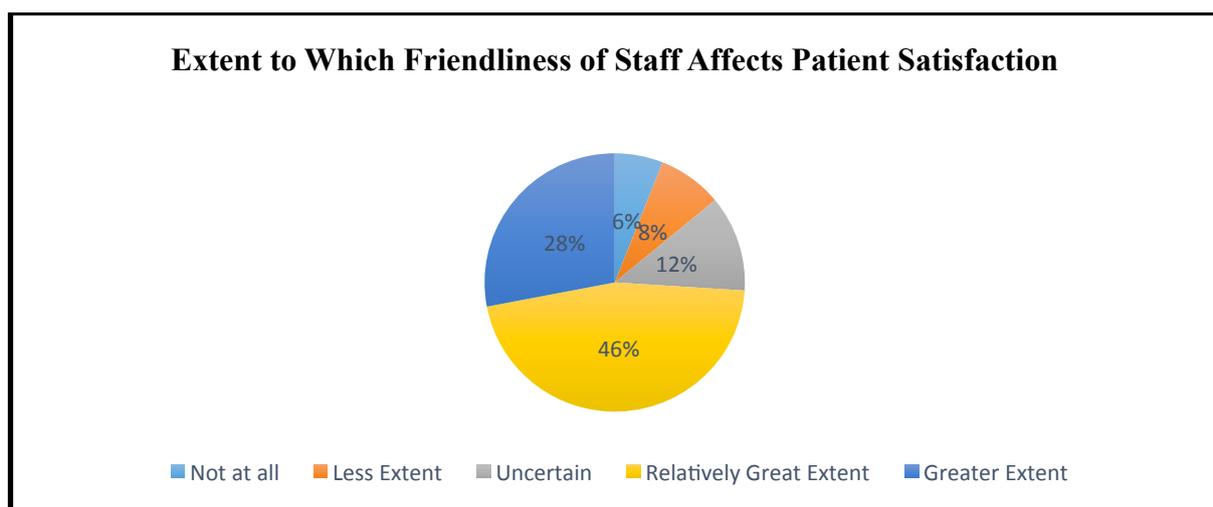
### 3.2.1.2 Extent to Which Easiness of Making an Appointment Affects Patient Satisfaction



**Figure 2: Extent to Which Easiness of Making an Appointment Affects Patient Satisfaction**

Figure 2 shows that 30% of participants' responses were that easiness of making an appointment affected their satisfaction to a less extent. 20% were uncertain and another 20% it did not affect them at all. These findings are at variance with study findings of Raivio et al. (2014) which concluded that easiness of making an appointment had a positive influence on patient satisfaction.

### 3.2.1.3 Extent to Which Friendliness of Staff Affects Patient Satisfaction

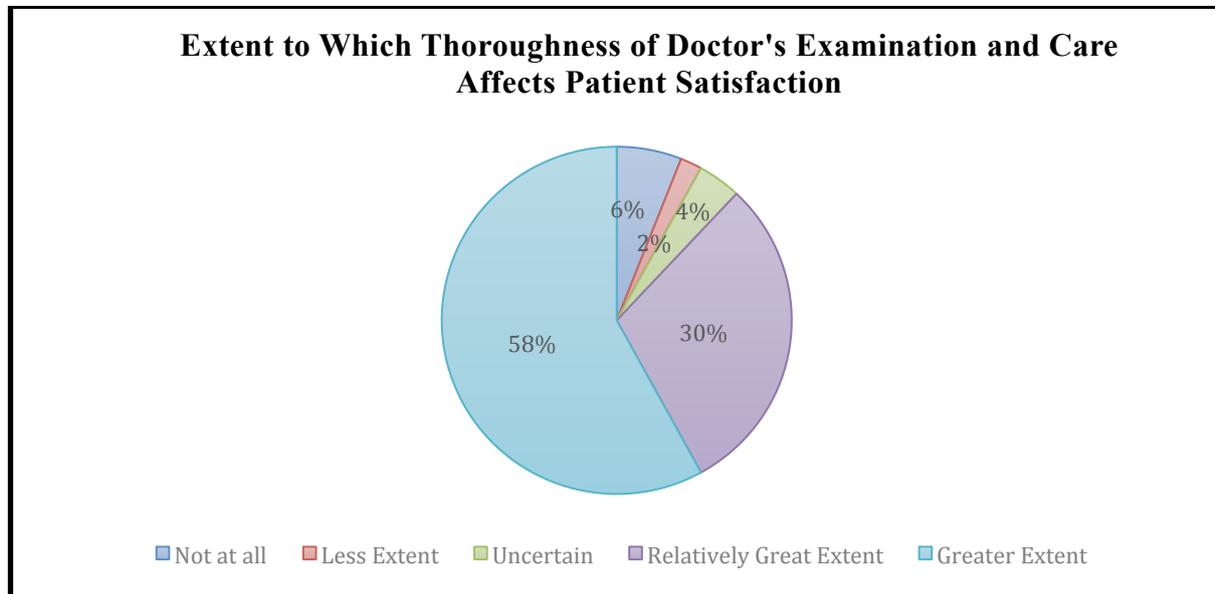


**Figure 3: Extent to Which Friendliness of Staff Affects Patient Satisfaction**

Figure 3 shows that 46% of participants reported that friendliness of staff contributed to their satisfaction to a relatively great extent while a further 28% reported to a greater extent. A

study by Van de Ven (2014) also concluded that staff courtesy contributed positively to patient satisfaction.

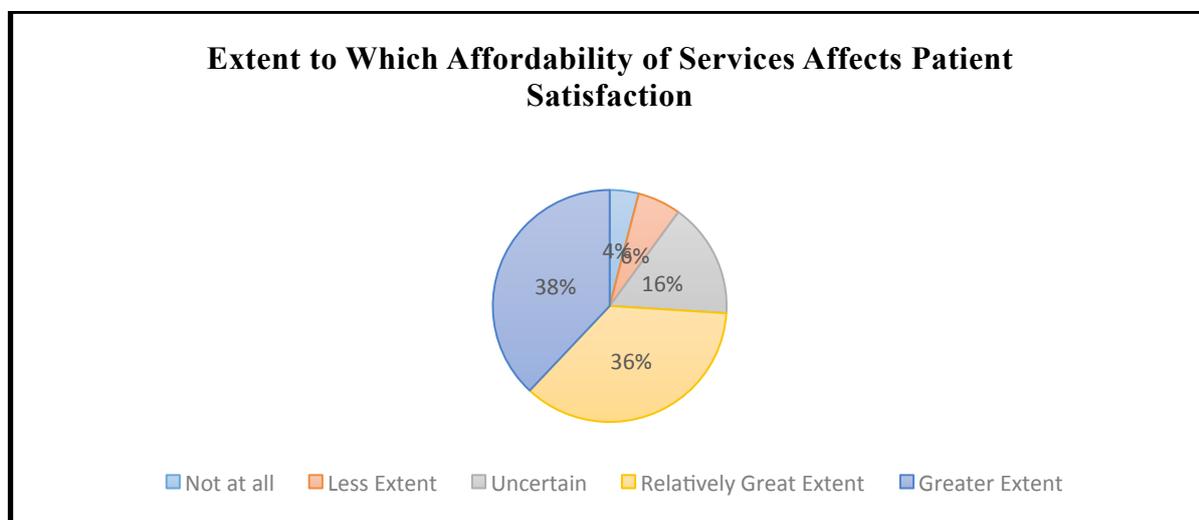
**3.2.1.4 Extent to Which Thoroughness of Doctor’s Examination and Care Affects Patient Satisfaction**



**Figure 4: Extent to Which Thoroughness of Doctor's Examination and Care Affects Patient Satisfaction**

Figure 4 shows that 58% of participants responded that thoroughness of doctor’s examination and care affected their satisfaction to a greater extent while 30% reported to a relatively great extent. This confirms the expectation confirmation theory by Richard L. Oliver (1977) which contends that post purchase satisfaction is influenced by expectations (Tsao 2013).

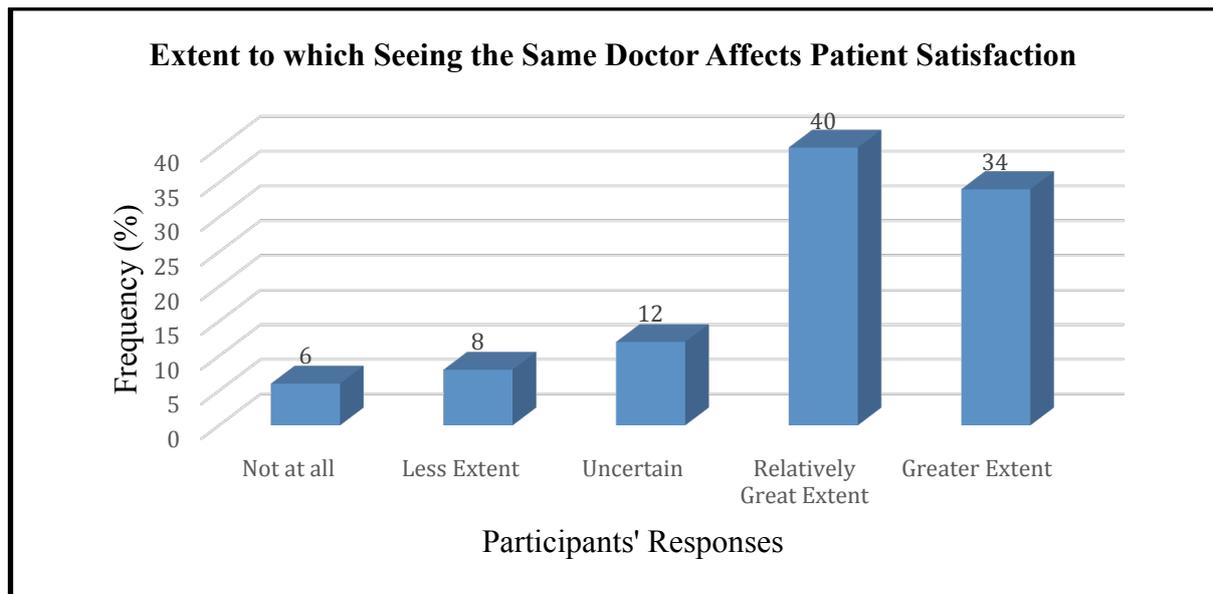
**3.2.1.5 Extent to Which Affordability of Services Affects Patient Satisfaction**



### Figure 5: Extent to Which Affordability of Services Affects Patient Satisfaction

Figure 5 shows that 38% of participants responded that affordability of services contributed to their satisfaction to a greater extent while 36% chose to a relatively great extent. These findings concur with earlier literature by Mosadeghrad (2012) which contends that the more affordable the services are, the better the patient satisfaction.

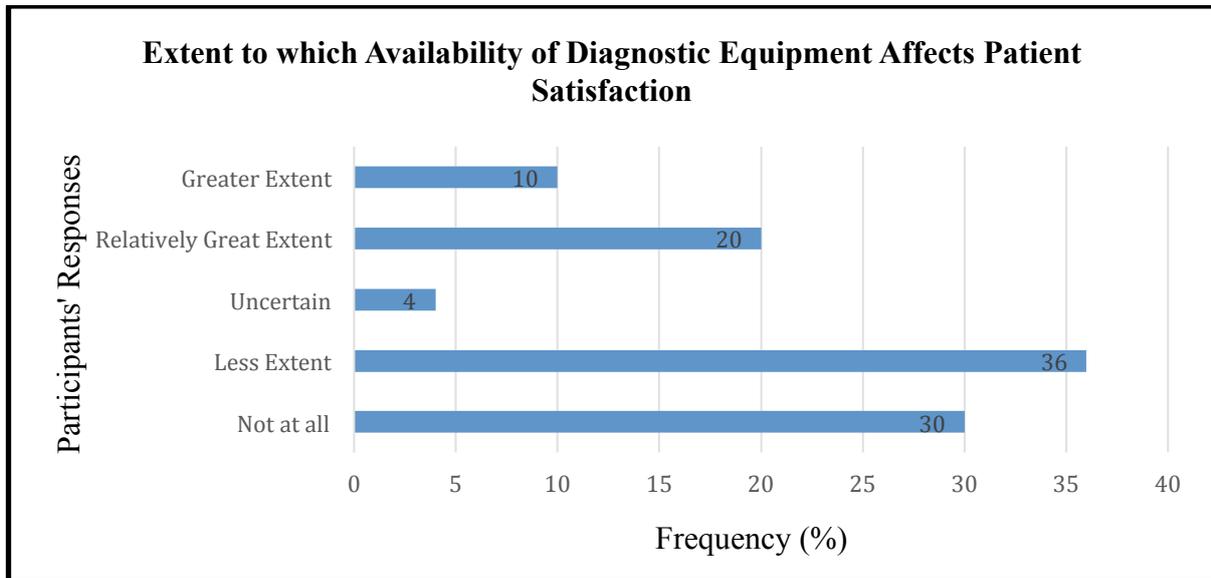
#### 3.2.1.6 Extent to Which Seeing the Same Doctor Every Time Affects Patient Satisfaction



### Figure 6: Extent to which Seeing the Same Doctor Affects Patient Satisfaction

Figure 6 shows that 40% responded that seeing the same doctor every time contributed to a relatively great extent to their satisfaction while 34% responded that it contributed to a greater extent. These findings concur with findings of a study done by Ye et al. (2016) which concluded that patients who were seen by the same doctor were more satisfied than those who saw different doctors.

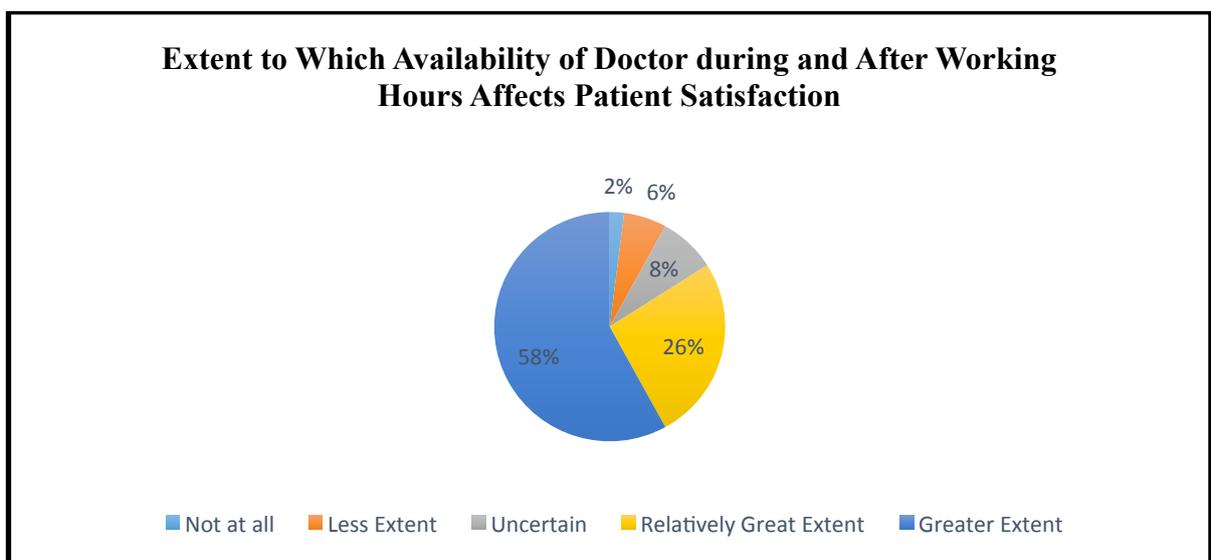
### 3.2.1.7 Extent to Which Availability of Diagnostic Equipment at the Practice Affects Patient Satisfaction



**Figure 7: Extent to which Availability of Diagnostic Equipment Affects Patient Satisfaction**

Figure 7 shows that 36% of participants responded that availability of diagnostic equipment at the practice contributed to their satisfaction to a less extent while 30% reported that it did not affect them at all. These findings disagree with the results of a study by Arshad et al. (2012) which concluded that more diagnostic equipment would help improve patient satisfaction.

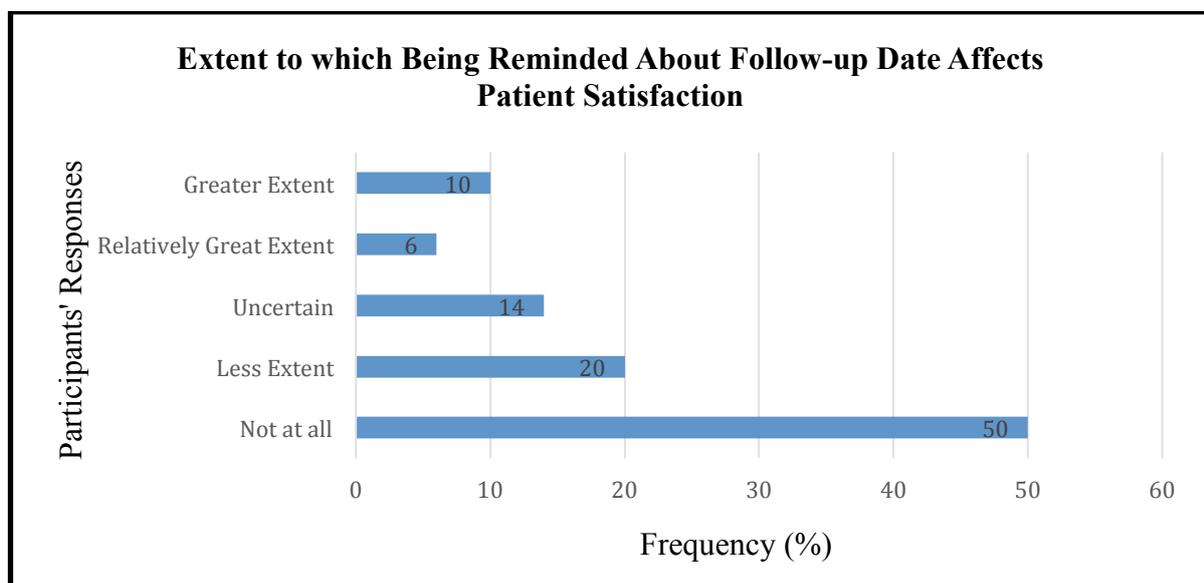
### 3.2.1.8 Extent to Which Availability of Doctor during and After Working Hours Affects Patient Satisfaction



### Figure 8: Extent to Which Availability of Doctor during and After Working Hours Affects Patient Satisfaction

Figure 8 shows that 58% of participants responded that availability of doctor during and after working hours affected their satisfaction to a greater extent while 26% were affected to a relatively great extent. This concurred with earlier literature by Altin and Stock (2015) which stated that the doctor's availability to provide a service during and outside the normal working hours is an important determinant of patient satisfaction.

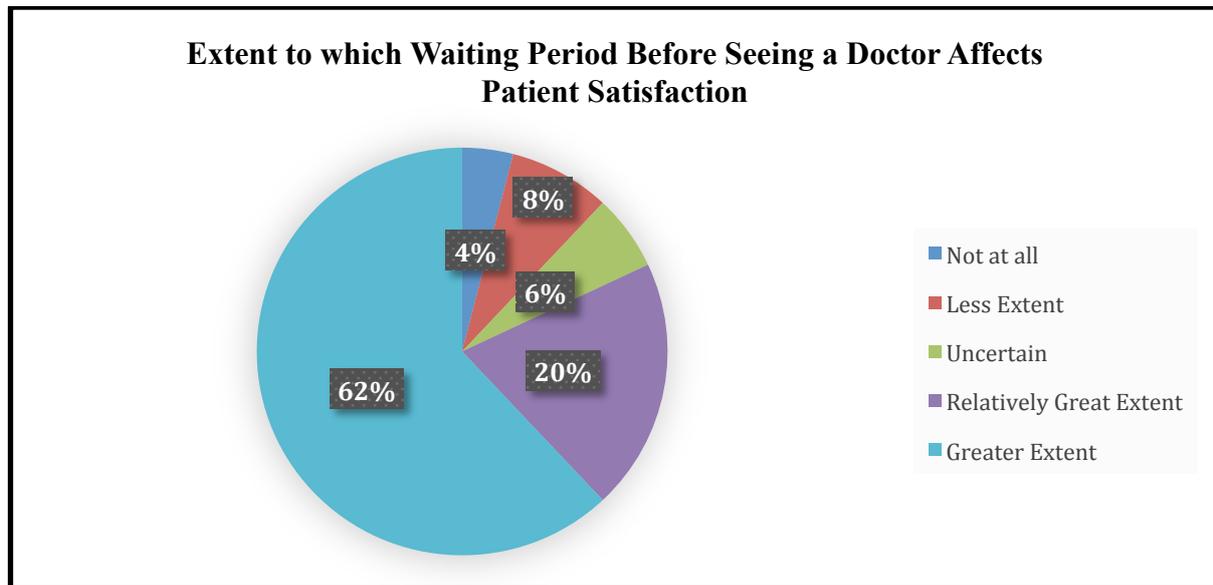
#### 3.2.1.9 Extent to Which Being Reminded about Follow-up Date Affects Patient Satisfaction



#### Figure 9: Extent to which Being Reminded About Follow-up Date Affects Patient Satisfaction

Figure 9 shows that 50% of participants did not believe at all that being reminded about their follow-up dates had any effect in their satisfaction while 20% reported that it affected them to a less extent. Management at the centre may need not waste resources contacting patients reminding them about their follow-up dates as this would not have any positive effect on patient satisfaction.

### 3.2.1.10 Extent to Which Waiting Period before Seeing a Doctor Affects Patient Satisfaction

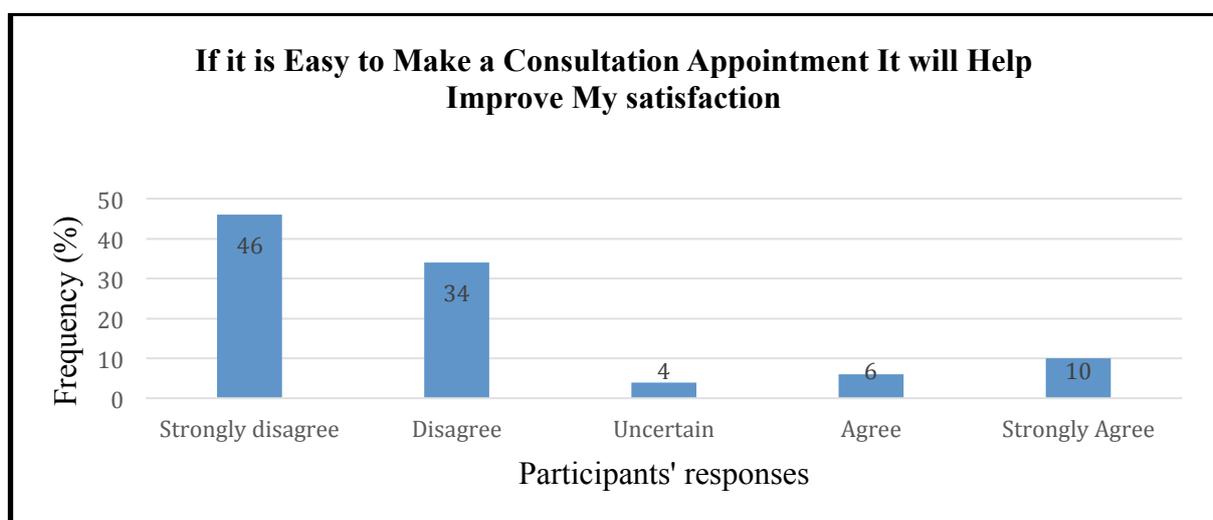


**Figure 10: Extent to which Waiting Period Before Seeing a Doctor Affects Patient Satisfaction**

Figure 10 shows that 62% of participants reported that waiting period before seeing a doctor contributed to their satisfaction to a greater extent. This concurred with findings by Raivio et al. (2014) which showed that waiting period before seeing a doctor was an important determinant of patient satisfaction.

### 3.2.2 How Patient Satisfaction can be improved at the centre

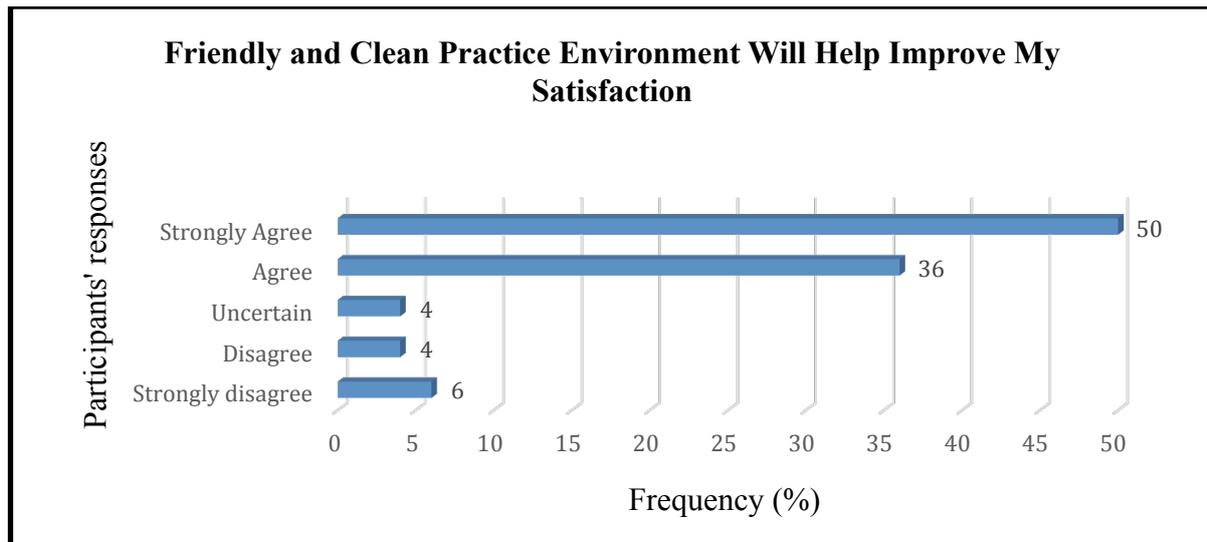
#### 3.2.2.1 If it is Easy to Make a Consultation Appointment It will Help Improve My satisfaction



### Figure 11: If it is Easy to Make a Consultation Appointment It will Help Improve My satisfaction

Figure 11 shows that 46% of participants strongly disagreed that easiness of making a consultation appointment would help improve their satisfaction and another 34% disagreed. These findings concur with the findings by Wetmore et al. (2014) which concluded that less satisfied patients believed they had longer waiting times when booking appointments.

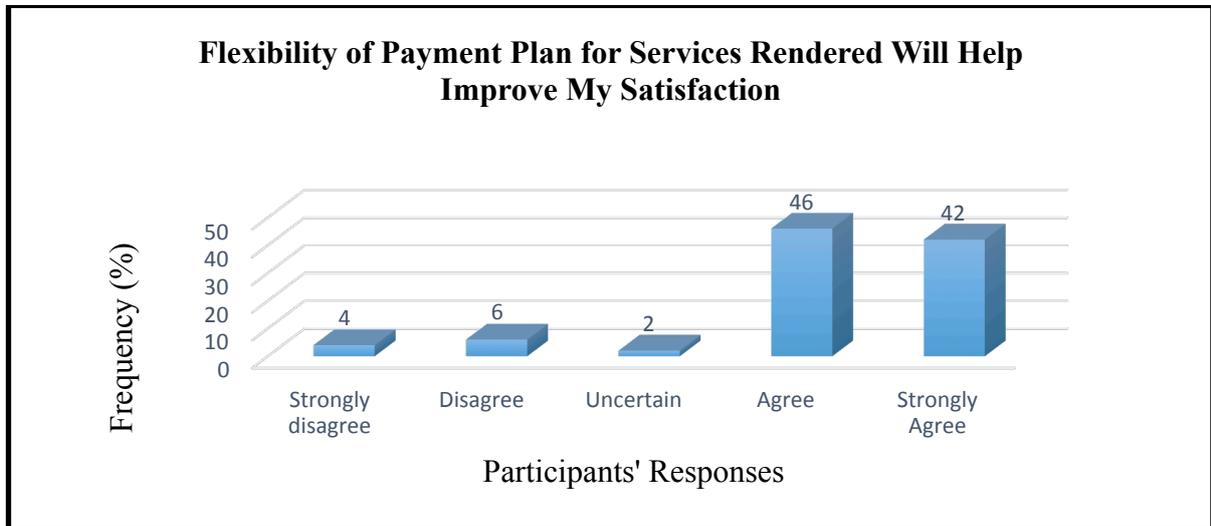
#### 3.2.2.2 Friendly and Clean Practice Environment Will Help Improve My Satisfaction



### Figure 12: Friendly and Clean Practice Environment Will Help Improve My Satisfaction

Figure 12 shows that 50% of participants strongly agreed that friendly and clean practice environment would help improve their satisfaction while another 36% agreed. These findings concurred with studies done by Tateke et al. (2012) and Iloh et al. (2013) which found out that friendly and clean practice environment helped improve patient satisfaction.

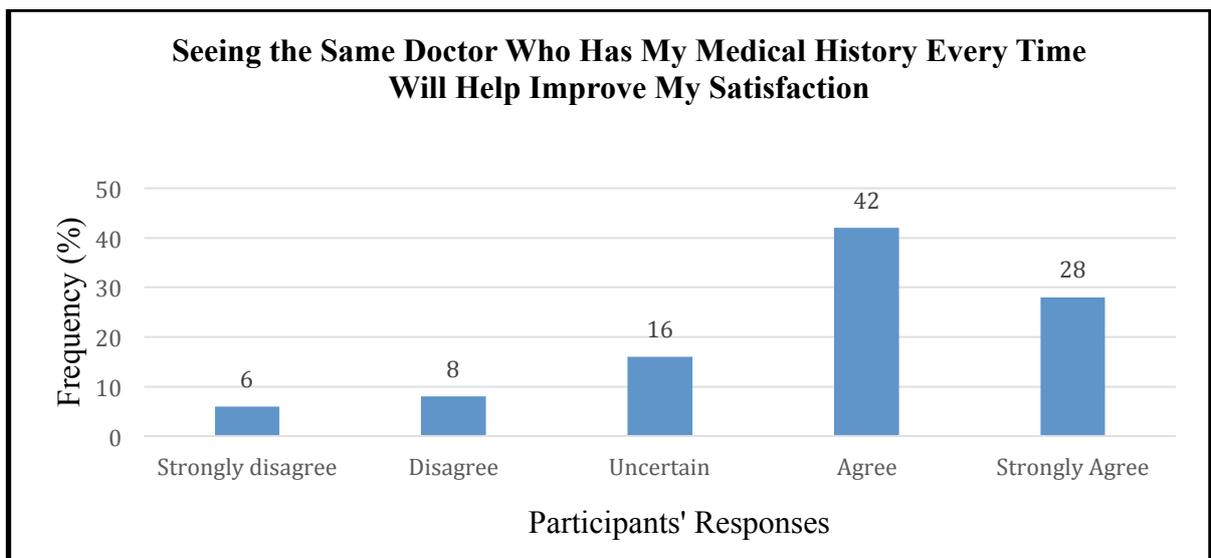
### 3.2.2.3 Flexibility of Payment Plan for Services Rendered Will Help Improve My Satisfaction



**Figure 13: Flexibility of Payment Plan for Services Rendered Will Help Improve My Satisfaction**

Figure 13 shows that 46% of participants agreed that flexible payment plans for services rendered would help improve their satisfaction and another 42% strongly agreed. An earlier study by Sanjeewa & Serevirathne (2017) concluded that if flexible payment plans were availed to patients, dissatisfaction levels could be reduced.

### 3.2.2.4. Seeing the Same Doctor Who Has My Medical History Every Time Will Help Improve My Satisfaction



### **Figure 14: Seeing the Same Doctor Who Has My Medical History Every Time Will Help Improve My Satisfaction**

Figure 14 shows that 42% of participants agreed that seeing the same doctor every time would help improve their satisfaction while 28% strongly agreed. These findings concur with an earlier study by Wetmore et al. (2014) which found out that 60% of completely satisfied patients reported seeing their usual doctor always, almost always or a lot of the time.

## **4. DISCUSSIONS**

The sample size of 50, though convenient, limited the study as the practice sees at least 20 patients a day. Lack of similar research at the practice before limited the study on literature review. The study was also limited to one practice in Namibia so therefore it was not possible to generalise it to all patients in Namibia. The questionnaire was written in English and this made it difficult for non-English speaking patients to participate in this study. However, arrangements were made for the receptionists to assist such patients to understand the questions. Some participants might have misunderstood the questions while others might have answered favourably for fear of reprisals from the practice staff.

The findings from the study showed that factors that affected patient satisfaction to a greater extent were thoroughness of doctor's examination and care, availability of doctor during and after working hours and waiting period before seeing a doctor. The findings also showed that patients satisfaction at the centre could be improved by making sure that the staff are friendly, consultation appointments are easy to make, practice environment is friendly and clean, payments plans are flexible and patients see the same doctor every time.

The study concurred with earlier research that the following factors affect patient satisfaction to a greater extent: (a) waiting period before seeing a doctor (b) availability of doctor during and after working hours and (c) thoroughness of doctor's examination. However, the study was at variance with earlier research on the availability of diagnostic equipment as an important determinant of patient satisfaction. 36% of participants reported that it affected patient satisfaction to a less extent while 30% reported that it did not affect patient satisfaction at all. Based on these findings, the researchers made the following recommendations to management:

- Reduce waiting period before patients see a doctor. This can be reduced by purchasing an electronic filing system so that reception staff can quickly retrieve patients' files.
- Doctors should spend adequate time examining patients, explaining to patients their conditions and directions for use of medication prescribed.
- Doctors should be reachable after working hours to attend to emergencies. This can be achieved by making sure that they have a practice cell phone after working hours where patients can reach them in cases of emergencies.

- The practice should make sure that patients see the same doctor whenever they are attended to at the practice. This can be done by use of a booking system. In the event that the patient's usual doctor is not available, this should be explained to the patient and they should be given a choice of seeing the available doctor or waiting for their usual doctor if it is not an emergency.
- The practice environment and staff should always be clean. The practice environment can be kept clean by installing ceramic tiles on the floor which are easier to clean. For staff to remain smart, the practice should buy a washing machine which can be used at the practice to wash their uniforms as well as practice linen. The practice should also provide adequate uniforms for its staff members.
- Doctors at the practice should show to care about their patients. Incentives can be provided to doctors who rate highly on patient care feedback.
- Practice staff should go for customer care courses so that they can attend to clients in a friendly way.

### **Acknowledgements**

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