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Caspian Sea Route Gains

Evolving Decision-Making

} Highlights {

Binary to Preferential Voting

Improvised Explosive Devices

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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By Peter Emerson

The De Borda Institute

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Accordingly, this article first looks at a history of decision-making voting procedures, from the binary (either 'Option X, yes or no?' or 'Option X or option Y?'), to the multi-optional or, better still, preferential; next, it critiques majority voting and considers some of the other, more sophisticated mechanisms, before concluding that a preferential points procedure is actually the most accurate. Finally, the text outlines the beneficial consequences that could accrue from developing such a non-binary political structure; majority voting leads to majority (sic) rule, whereas preferential decision-making could be is the basis of a quantum polity and real majority rule: a non-partisan polity of all-party power-sharing. Such a structure is often used in post-conflict zones, but could also be the basis of cooperation and consensus seeking in the UN's efforts on Climate Change.

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EVOLVINGDECISIONMAKINGEXPLORINGTHESHIFTFROMBINARYTOPREFERENTIALVOTING

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Evolving Decision-Making: Exploring the Shift from Binary to Preferential Voting

Peter Emerson

Abstract- Covid and Climate Change are telling us that we must all work together. But we cannot work well *with* each other, if we are forever taking decisions by voting (for or) *against* each other. By viewing problems in more detail, however, by not oversimplifying our controversies, and then by expressing our preferences on a range of, say, half-a-dozen options, cooperation and collective decision-making are indeed possible.

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I. Introduction

Electoral systems are often discussed… but not so decision-making. The former may be used to elect a single individual, as in a presidential election, or a large number of representatives, as in a congressional/parliamentary contest, and they vary from the simplistic binary vote used in North Korean elections, via many single-preference voting procedures as in first-past-the-post FPTP in the UK and USA, or the relatively unsophisticated forms of proportional representation PR such as the single-preference Dutch version, to the multi-preference systems of ranked choice voting RCV[1] which is used in Ireland and Tasmania, and is becoming more popular in the USA. With sometimes the exception of binary voting, most or even all of these electoral systems – and there are over 300 of them – are regarded as democratic. They can however be compared and ranked from the unfair via the mediocre to the accurate.

Decision-making systems are less numerous, not least because the outcome is usually either just one social choice, a decision, or one social ranking, a prioritisation; so decision-making does not involve PR. The systems nevertheless vary from the binary to the multi-optional, from the single-preference to the preferential. Admittedly, some voting procedures can be used in both functions: at a national level, binary voting is used in elections only rarely (almost exclusively in North Korea)[2] but ubiquitously in decision-making; FPTP is called plurality voting when used in decision-making; the two-round system TRS has just the one name in either role; while the alternative vote AV[3] and approval voting may also be used in both functions. Though fewer in number, these systems may also be ranked on a scale of excellence.

This article is devoted almost entirely to decision-making, a subject all too rarely considered by politicians and/or political scientists. It first reflects on the history of binary voting, its inherent errors, and some of the consequences of the widespread application of this divisive, adversarial and often inaccurate voting mechanism. Asking a resident of Northern Ireland – "Are you Protestant or Catholic?" – or a citizen of Rwanda – "Are you Hutu or Tutsi?" – or anybody during the Cold War – "Are you communist or capitalist?" – was at least unwise. Indeed, "[s]imple majority decisions… cannot be fair in a democratic sense because the imposition of binary alternatives is itself unfair." (Riker 1988: 64.)

A further consequence of binary voting is the way many elected chambers divide into two. And because political parties also use this voting procedure, they too tend to split into opposing wings or factions. Now mathematically, a half of a half is a quarter; 51% of 51% is only 26%; and likewise, a majority of a majority might well be a minority. So majority rule, especially in countries like Israel where all too often the policies of government are those of the extremist wing, rarely exists. (See also para 4.1.) One notable exception is Switzerland, which enjoys all-party power-sharing.

Having critiqued (simple or weighted) majority voting, the text then considers and compares some of the other decision-making voting mechanisms – single

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[1] The European name is the single transferable vote, as in PR-STV; and in Australasia, this system is called preference voting PV.

[2] This electoral system is often used in committees, not least at AGMs when choosing next year's officers.

[3] Otherwise known as RCV or STV; (see also footnote 1).

2

preference systems like plurality voting and two-round voting; the non-preferential approval voting; and three preferential systems, AV, along with the Condorcet and Borda rules. It then presents a scientific analysis of the last named, which is a preferential points procedure. Finally, it discusses the potential benefits that might accrue from a world-wide adoption of this more sophisticated methodology: cooperation and compromise; both of which could help to facilitate the survival of our species.

II.   A Little History

In Greece about 2,500 years ago, "sovereign power was held to reside in the Assembly, and was exercised by majority vote, by counting hands." (De Ste Croix 2004: 75.) Some 400 years later, binary voting was also used in China in "the Court Conference of the Former Hàn Dynasty, [202 BCE – 23 CE] and decisions were based on the opinion of the majority… [which] as a rule, were accepted by the Emperor," (Wang 1968: 176).

Though confined to the male gender, the developments in Greece were profound. Those involved "learned… the powers of the proposer, the rights of expressing an opinion… when to give way and when to stand firm, how long to speak and when to keep silence… how to introduce an amendment, in short the whole of senatorial procedure." (McLean and Urken 1995: 14).

And procedures there must be, of course, especially on contentious issues in which, initially at least, there may well be a majority against *every* proposal. Such was the case recently in the UK, when the British House of Commons was debating its relationship with the EU – the *Brexit* debate. In two so-called 'indicative votes,' the members of parliament voted on eight and then just four options; in both ballots, there were majorities against everything… but they varied, from over 300 members against the most unpopular option, to just six members against the least unpopular. So maybe the last named was the winner.

That, after all, was how Slovenia resolved a three-option referendum in 1996: there were three options, and majorities against all of them… so the winner was judged to be the option with the smallest majority against. In Britain, however, there was only more wrangling, and at that time, no decision was taken.

If and when there is a majority against everything, there might also be a majority opposed to the final result. In theory. The conundrum is overcome by the fact that, as mentioned in the abstract, there are two types of majority vote: a singleton, "Option X yes or no?" and a pairing "Option X or option Y?" With singletons, the outcome might indeed be in the negative; there could well be a majority against everything; with pairings, however, (unless, of course, it's a draw), there will always be a definite outcome. And this is how Britain's Brexit debate was 'resolved': Boris Johnston used a pairing, "Do you want 'his deal' or 'no deal'?" was the question. The latter 'no deal' was the most unpopular of all options, so 'his deal' won. But in a pairing, 'any deal' would have won.

a)   Binary Voting

Reducing complex problems to a stark choice of only two options may lead to unfortunate consequences. Consider, first, the theory, a situation in which 9 voters, all of whom don't like the status quo option S very much, are in dispute as to what might be better: 4 of them propose option X 3 seek to amend this to option Y, and 2 would prefer a different amendment, option Z. The procedure, as laid down by the Greeks of old and still in use today, is utterly dependant on binary voting… which was, after all, the only known voting procedure at that time. Suffice to say, however, that it is based entirely on pairings:

+   choose the more preferred amendment;
+   adopt or reject this preferred amendment to get the substantive;
+   choose either this substantive or retain the status quo.

Let it be assumed that the 9 voters have the preferences shown in Table I.

Table I: A Voters Profile

Preferences	Number of Voters		
	4	3	2
1st	X	Y	Z
2nd	Y	Z	S
3rd	Z	S	X
4th	S	X	Y

Sure enough, there may be singleton majorities against every option: 5, 6, 7 and 9 against X, Y, Z and S respectively. When the pairings are considered, however, X is more popular than Y which is written as $X > Y$, and the full analysis is this:

$X{:}Y$	=	6:3,	so	$X > Y$
$X{:}Z$	=	4:5	so	$X < Z$
$X{:}S$	=	4:5	so	$X < S$
$Y{:}Z$	=	7:2	so	$Y > Z$
$Y{:}S$	=	7:2	so	$Y > S$
$Z{:}S$	=	9:0	so	$Z > S$

According to those ancient and current procedures, the order of voting shall be as shown in Diagram I.

Diagram I: The Order of Voting

```
Y
v         …
Z         v         …
          X         v         …
                    S
```

Therefore, if none of those concerned change their opinions, the vote will proceed as in Diagram II.

Diagram II: The Vote

```
Y
v         Y
Z         v         X
          X         v         S
                    S
```

So having decided, initially, that they did not like option *S*, the 9 then decide, democratically, that they like option *S*? Something is wrong! Furthermore, if instead of the motion being for option *X* while the two amendments were options *Y* and *Z*, the motion moved was for option *Y* with `*X* and *Z* as the two amendments, the outcome, as in Diagram III, would be different.

Diagram III: Another Equally Democratic Decision

```
X
v         Z
Z         v         Y
          Y         v         Y
                    S
```

Or again, in another setting:

Diagram IV: Yet Another Result

```
X
v         X
Y         v         Z
          Z         v         Z
                    S
```

So something is definitely wrong. And that something is the binary vote. In a nutshell, binary voting is manipulable (and often manipulated), especially if, as is the case in this instance, there is a paradox:

$$X > Y > Z > X...$$
$$\text{or}$$
$$X > Y > Z > S > X...$$

first noted by Le Marquis de Condorcet in 1793, and it goes round and round forever!

If there is such a paradox, the final outcome of any procedure can be determined by adjusting the order of voting; and when there isn't a paradox, if there is a majority in favour of an option which is not favoured by the chair, other options can be introduced in order to split that majority and create a paradox… and then the chair can continue to manipulate at will!

III. A Little More History

As implied earlier, majority voting worked fairly well both in Greece and in China – but there were no political parties in those days and no other voting procedures had yet been devised. One of the first to realise that this binary procedure had its limitations, however, was Pliny the Younger in the year 105. (McLean and Urken 1955: 15). In a murder trial in a Roman court of law, the jury had three options: *A* Acquittal, *B* Banishment and *C* Capital punishment. So if the question asked was a binary singleton such as "Execute, yes or no?" the *A* and *B* supporters would oppose the *C* crowd, and if asked "Innocent, yes or no?" *B* and *C* would oppose *A*, and so on. Therefore, if there was no majority in favour of any one option, there would be an impasse.

Some ones, somewhere, were bound to devise other decision-making methodologies such as plurality voting, for which credit goes to Pliny the Younger, and the first to use this in governance were the Chinese in 1197, during the Jurchen dynasty. The debate concerned the possibility of war with Mongolia, but of the 84 "highest officials" involved, "only 5 favoured an attack, 46 were for a defensive strategy and the rest [33] preferred alternating between attack and defence," (Franke and Twitchett 1994: 266).

In Europe meanwhile, in the Middle Ages, approval voting was quite widely used, (McLean and Urken 1955: 22). Then, in 1299, Ramón Llull first thought about preferential voting; a century and more later, in 1433, Nicholas Cusanus invented a preferential points system and, as a result of developments undertaken by Jean-Charles de Borda in 1770, this is now called the Modified Borda Count MBC. The 18th Century also witnessed the emergence of AV and the Condorcet rule. The world's first multi-option referendum was held in 1894 in New Zealand, in a rather unique form of TRS, and a number of other countries have also held multi-option plebiscites. In their parliaments and councils, however, most countries continue to rely on binary ballots; most of the very few exceptions are in Scandinavia: Denmark's *Folketing* frequently uses plurality voting but only on three options; the Finnish and Swedish parliaments use serial voting when debating amendments; and the Norwegians used TRS, but only once.

a) The Bind of the Binary Ballot

Majority voting, however, is ubiquitous: it is used in democracies, theocracies and autocracies, and the consequences have often been horrific. In 1903 the

All-Russian Congress of Social Democrats split into two on a majority vote: 19 to 17, with 3 abstentions (Deutscher 1966: 71); whereupon the winners – not the majority but only the largest minority – 'pretended' they were the majority (*bolshinstvo*) and called themselves the Bolsheviks, while the 17 whom they called the minority (*menshinstvo*) became the Mensheviks. (Later, when Mikhail Gorbachev, who did not speak English, came to power in 1985, western 'experts' advised him to adopt the western democratic norm of majoritarianism, without acknowledging that the Russian word for this polity is 'bolshevism'.[4])

In 1979, Iran became an Islamic Republic on the basis of a referendum, the Shi'a majority voting *en bloc,* a Sunni minority abstaining. China also uses majority voting. In 1989, with tens of thousands of students protesting in Tiān'āmén Square, the CCP Standing Committee under Dèng Xiǎopíng, is understood to have taken a majority vote on the question of military deployment, although Zhào Ziyáng disputes this; (Fenby 2012: 180 and Zhao 2010: 29); it passed, it is said, by one vote, (Emerson 2020: 167).

With the collapse of the USSR, democratisation spread to the countries of eastern Europe: Czechoslovakia split peacefully, but the Balkans exploded: indeed, "all the wars in the former Yugoslavia started with a [binary] referendum," (*Oslobodjenje*, 7.2.1999), as did today's conflict in Ukraine in 2014.

In 1994, the *Interahamwe* launched its genocide in Rwanda with the slogan, *"Rubanda nyamwinshi,"* 'we are the majority,' (Prunier 1995: 83).

Despite this appalling history, let alone the above scientific proof of the divisive, adversarial inadequacies of binary voting, many politicians do not even try to embrace pluralism. Instead, they prefer to control things, and in binary voting, especially if the question asked is a singleton, they are in total control of the agenda. In congressional/parliamentary votes, where the powers that be usually command a majority, the question almost always becomes the answer – and binary voting in western if not universal decision-making is manipulable, just as it is in elections in North Korea (and the comparison goes no further); suffice to say that majority voting, both simple and weighted, is enshrined in Article 97 of Pyongyang's constitution. For better or worse, it's not used very often – Article 92 stipulates that parliament shall meet only once a year, (DPRK 2017: 21-2).

In a summary of the above, binary voting is inadequate; in a modern pluralist democracy, it is inappropriate; on contentious topics, it can be hopelessly inaccurate; and at worst, as noted, it can be and often is a provocation to violence.

b) Multi-option Voting
Multi-option decision-making procedures include:

+ plurality voting, where the voters cast just one preference and in which the outcome is the option with the most 1st preferences, either a majority or maybe just the largest minority.

+ TRS, which is a plurality vote followed if need be by a second-round majority vote between the two leading options from the first round.

+ AV (RCV or STV); this is a series of plurality votes, the least popular option being eliminated and its votes transferred to its voters' subsequent preferences, until one option does get majority support; (NB: a TRS winner may not be the same as an AV social choice).

+ approval voting, which I repeat is non-preferential; voters may 'approve' of as many options as they wish, and the winning option is that which wins the most 'approvals'. The intransigent voter will therefore tend to vote for his/her favourite option only. In analysing this procedure, either the top two 'preferences', 1st and 2nd, may be analysed, or the top three, or even all of them… and of course, if a different counting procedure is adopted, there may well be different outcomes.

+ the BC and MBC, both of which employ a preferential points system, and this, to a greater or lesser extent respectively, can be vulnerable to an irrelevant alternative, (see below).
And

+ the Condorcet rule, which is an analysis of all the pairings: a Condorcet winner wins all of them; if there is no outright winner, the Copeland winner wins most of them; and in yet other scenarios, there might be a paradox.

Consider then the scenario in which 21 voters are bitterly divided, with the largest minority of 6 voters having the exact opposite set of preferences to the 5 in the next largest minority, while the other ten voters are split in their support for the other options, *B, C, D* and *E*.

Their voters' profile is shown in Table II, and while most voters have cast all their preferences, 3 voters have cast only four preferences and 4 only a 1st preference.

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[4] Embarrassed somewhat, back in the 1980s, Moscow coined a new term, *majoritarnost*.

Table II: Another Voters' Profile

Preferences	Number of Voters					
	6	5	4	3	2	1
1st	A	F	B	E	C	D
2nd	B	E		D	D	E
3rd	C	D		C	E	C
4th	D	C		B	B	B
5th	E	B			F	F
6th	F	A			A	A

With singleton majority voting, there is indeed a majority against every option: of 15:6 against option *A*, of 16:5 against option *F*, 17:4 against *B*, and so on. While with pairings – of which there are 15 – *A:B* = 6:15, so *B* > *A*, while *E F* = 12:5, so *E* > *F*, and so on. In this profile, the plurality vote social choice, option *A*, is actually less popular than all the others and loses every pairing in which it may be involved; all the other options, however, win one or more pairings: as noted, *F* > *A*; in addition, *B* > *F*, *C* > *B*, *E* > *C* and *D* > *E*.

A comparison of the various methodologies here discussed is shown in Table III.

Table III: A Comparison

Methodology		Social Choice	Social Rankings					
Plurality voting		A	A-6	F-5	B-4	E-3	C-2	D-1
TRS		F	F-8	A-6				
AV		E	E-11	A-6				
Approval voting	1st/2nd	B	B-10	E-9	A/D-6		F-5	C-2
	1st – 3rd	C	C-12	D/E-11		B-10	A-6	F-5
	All	B	B-21	C/D/E-17			A/F-14	
BC		B	B-77	D-69	E-68	C-67	A-44	F-42
MBC		D	D-63	E-62	C-61	B-56	A-44	F-42
Condorcet		E	E-5	D-4	C-3	B-2	F-1	A-0

In all, therefore, with this particular voters' profile (and many another) the outcome of a democratic vote could be anything at all! So in this (and other) instances, the result depends not upon the preferences of the voters but on the voting rule used!

Of the decision-making procedures listed, the two most accurate are the MBC and Condorcet; after all, they are the only two methodologies here analysed which *always* take *all* preferences cast by *all* voters into account. These two analyses may be compared to a sporting contest: in many tournaments, the champions are the team which wins the most matches (or pairings, for the Condorcet winner}, rather than the team which gets the best goal difference (or points, the MBC social choice). Only rarely do sporting contests rely entirely on a binary procedure, and those that do, tennis for example, seed their competitors. Of the two best procedures, the MBC and Condorcet, the former is the more nuanced, and it has one other noteworthy characteristic: it can identify the option with the highest *average* preference, and an average, of course, includes every (voting) member of the given electorate. The methodology is inclusive, literally. It is non-majoritarian. It is also robust, colour-blind and very accurate.

As in electoral systems, so too in decision-making methodologies: politicians choose that which suits their vested interest. Furthermore, in any multi-optional setting, they are unlikely to support a methodology in which a vote for their 2nd preference might detract from their 1st preference – as is the case in approval voting.

c) The Preferential Points System

When Jean-Charles de Borda proposed his methodology, he suggested a voter's least popular preference gets 1 point, his next least popular option gets 2 points, and so on. In mathematical terms, this may be described as follows:

in a ballot of *n* options, the voter may cast *m* preferences, and needless to say:

$$n \geq m \geq 1.$$

in the count, points shall be awarded to (1st, 2nd … last) preferences cast, according to the rule:

$$(m, m\text{-}1 \ldots 1).$$

rule (i)

Accordingly, in a five-option ballot:

+ he who casts only a 1st preference gets his favourite just 1 point

(and because he says nothing about the other options, they get 0 points);

+ she who casts two preferences gets her favourite 2 points

(and her 2nd choice gets 1 point);

and so on; therefore

+ those who cast all five preferences get their favourite 5 points

(their 2nd choice gets 4 points, their 3rd gets 3 points, etc.).

The option with the most points is the winner, the electorate's social choice.

Even during M de Borda's own lifetime, this *m* rule was changed to

(n, n-1 … 1) or *(n-1, n-2 … 0)*

rules (ii) and (iii)

which, for any one voters' profile, give exactly the same social choice and ranking of course. Unfortunately, these *n* rules have come to be called the Borda Count. What Jean-Charles actually proposed, however, was the *m* rule, (Saari 2008: 197), which today is called the MBC.

The *m* formula encourages (but does not force) the voters to cast many if not all of their preferences; to state not only their 1st preference but also their 2nd and subsequent preference(s), their compromise option(s)… and if everyone does that, then of course it is relatively easy to identify the collective compromise. And that, of course, is what politics is all about. Or it should be.

In effect, a voter's $(x)^{th}$ preference always gets just 1 point more than his/her $(x+1)^{th}$ preference, regardless of whether or not they have cast that $(x+1)^{th}$ preference. So in a five-option ballot, he who casts a full ballot exercises $5 + 4 + 3 + 2 + 1 = 15$ points, whereas she who casts only one preference exercises just 1 point. So it could be said that his influence is much greater than hers; there again, her influence is far greater than that of those who abstain. It must therefore be repeated, the difference is always just 1 point; the MBC is unbiased.

The *n* rules, in contrast, tempt the voter to submit a truncated ballot and, at worst, on a really controversial topic, if everyone does submit just a 1st preference so to give their 1st preference an *(n-1)* advantage over *all* the other options, the whole thing is not much better than approval voting or even a plurality vote.

It might also be noted that if the 4 voters who gave option *B* their 1st preference had submitted not just a partial ballot of one preference but a full ballot of six preferences, then their favourite option *B* would probably have received a more favourable result. So the MBC encourages *all* to participate, and to the full.

d) The Science of Social Choice

In nearly every field of human development, as new ideas have been tested and adapted, most inventions and devices have been modernised and improved. One glaring exception is in the science of decision-making, and despite the invention of more sophisticated voting procedures, the 2,500-year-old binary vote is still the basis of decision-making today, in law, business and politics. A knowledge of the science would doubtless help to promote change, yet "the theory of voting… appears to be wholly unknown to anyone concerned with its practical applications. It is certainly quite unknown to the politicians… [and] experts in political institutions…" (Dummett 1984: 5).

Needless to say, with binary voting, the voter (who does not abstain) has a choice of only two options: either 'yes' or 'no' in a singleton, or at best in a pairing, *A* or **B**. In a three-option ballot, in contrast, the voter may cast a full set of preferences in any one of six ways: *A-B-C, A-C-B, B-A-C, B-C-A, C-A-B* and *C-B-A*. With four options on the ballot paper, there are 24 different ways of voting, while with five options, up to 120 different opinions and nuances may be expressed; thus may societies relish the very natural diversity which is so fundamental to our species. "There's nought as queer as folks," as they say in England's Yorkshire.

i. *Single-peaked Preferences*

The choice offered in a preferential ballot may be qualified somewhat in any poll in which the various options may be listed in, as it were, a logical spectrum. A debate on tax rates, for example, might consider various options, from the lowest to the highest; a tax rate of either 0% or 100% would probably be impractical, so the more normal debate could finish up with, say, five options, for example, 40, 45, 50, 55 and 60%. Needless to say, the list should be balanced and represent all the valid options proposed in the debate which precedes it.

Now he who has a 1st preference for 40% would probably have a 2nd preference of 45, a 3rd of 50% and so on; so his full set of preferences would be 40-45-50-55-60. She whose 1st preference was for 45 might have a set, as shown in Table IV, of 45-50-55-60-40, or something similarly logical, like 45-40-50-55-60. These sets are called single-peaked preferences.

Table IV: A Single-peaked Set of Preferences
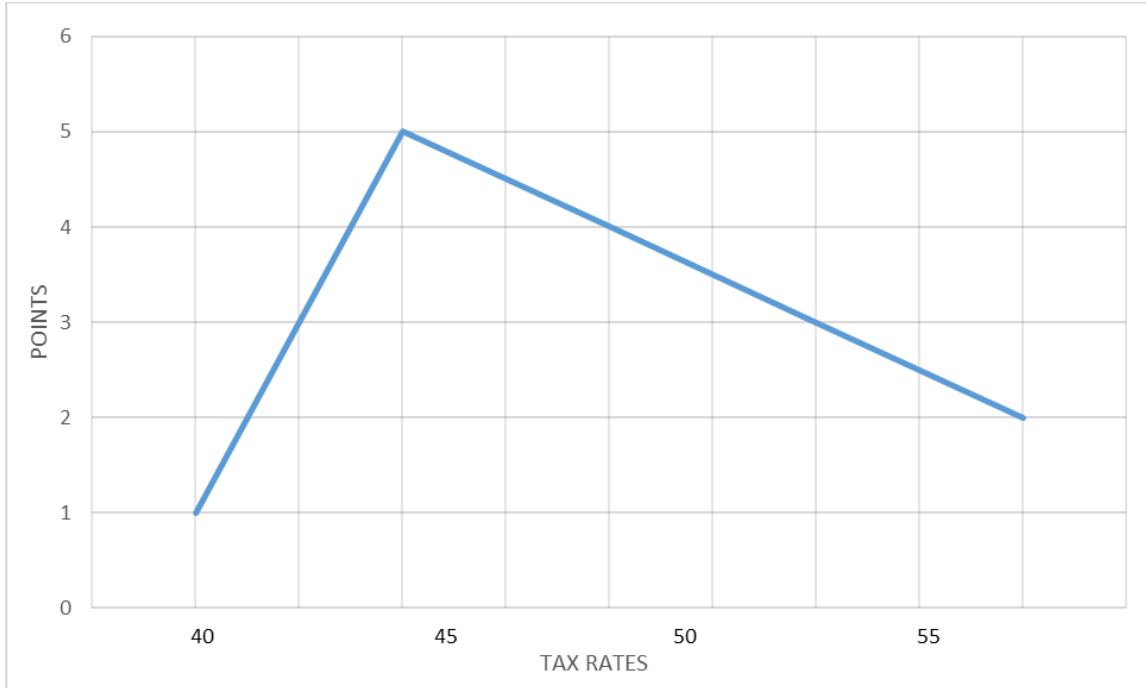
With five options, there are 14 different single-peaked sets of preferences, (Emerson 2022: 99-104). Furthermore, if (most or at best) every member submits a single-peaked set, the collective will of all the voters shall also be single-peaked, *always*! As too would be any consensus. The joys of science!

It would of course be highly unlikely for a politician to have a set of preferences with more than one peak, something like 45-55-40-60-50, as shown in Table V. In a Congress or Parliament where the votes of elected representatives shall be in the public domain, in many debates, most if not all sets of preferences cast will be single-peaked; if not, the members' constituents and/or the press may have some serious questions to ask!

Table V: A Questionable Set
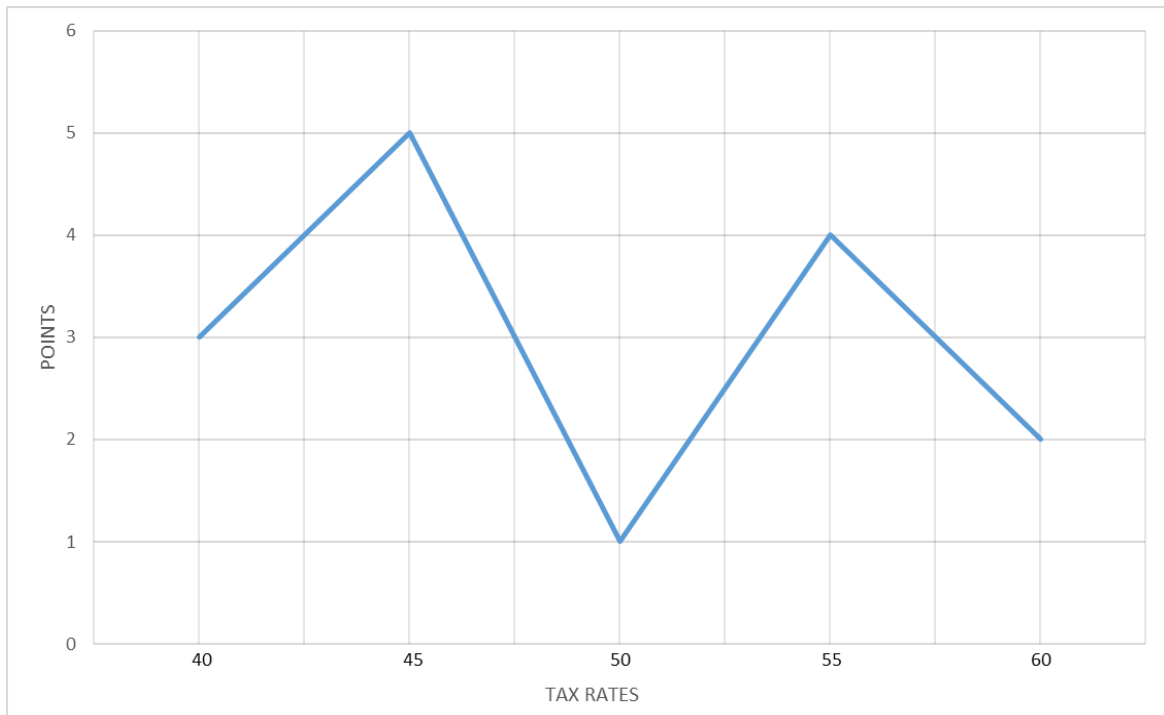
ii. *Consensus Coefficients*

Admittedly, on some occasions, for reasons of conscience or whatever, some members may submit only partial ballots, casting not a full slate of five preferences but only some or, at worst, only one. In which case, calculating the options' *average* preference scores becomes difficult if not impossible. For this reason, and also to make the numbers a little more manageable, consensus coefficients are used. An option's consensus coefficient CC is defined as that option's total number of points received, divided by the maximum possible number of points which could have been received.

With 150 members voting in a five-option ballot, and with everyone casting all five preferences, the highest possible average preference score would be a result for let's say option *A* of 150 in number 1ˢᵗ preferences:

$$CC_A \quad = \quad \frac{150 \times 5}{150 \times 5} \quad = \quad 1.00$$

If everyone gives option *B* their 5ᵗʰ preference:

$$CC_B \quad = \quad \frac{150 \times 1}{150 \times 5} \quad = \quad 0.20$$

And if everyone gives option *C* a 3ʳᵈ preference, or an equal number of 2ⁿᵈ and 4ᵗʰ preferences, or some other equally balanced combination of them all, like 50 each of 2ⁿᵈ, 3ʳᵈ and 4ᵗʰ preferences:

$$CC_C \quad = \quad \frac{150 \times 3}{150 \times 5} \quad = \quad 0.60$$

or

$$= \quad \frac{50 \times 4 + 50 \times 3 + 50 \times 2}{150 \times 5} \quad = \quad 0.60$$

In any vote, if the final outcome gets a CC of less than 0.70, then there is no consensus and no decision should be taken. Instead, as in traditional decision-making in the *barazas*[5] of Africa, the debate should be resumed at a later time, concentrating perhaps on those options which were albeit only slightly more popular. If however:

$$0.70 \quad \leq \quad CC_{WINNER} \quad < \quad 0.80$$

it may be termed the best possible compromise. If

$$0.80 \quad \leq \quad CC_{WINNER} \quad < \quad 0.90$$

it could be called the consensus. And if

$$0.90 \quad \leq \quad CC_{WINNER} \quad \leq \quad 1.00$$

it might well be regarded as the collective wisdom.[6]

IV. An Historical Reflection

As noted, the MBC was developed by Jean-Charles de Borda at the same time as Le Marquis de Condorcet devised his Condorcet rule. After a debate between the two in *l'Académie des Sciences*, the former methodology was adopted in *l'Académie* where it worked fairly well. Unfortunately, some of those involved opted to truncate their ballots, which prompted M de Borda to say that his system, "was only for honest" voters. (McLean and Urken 1955: 40.)

These of course were traumatic times, revolution was in the air, and one politician in particular, the new boss of the now re-named *l'Institut Français*, did not like this preferential format, so he reverted to majority voting… for thus he could control things. Indeed, all too often, in majority voting, the question is then the answer, and "The vast majority of referendums have been sponsored by governments and have produced the voting outcomes desired by those governments" (Butler and Ranney 1994: 261). Shortly afterwards, in 1803, he held his third referendum: he chose the question, he chose himself, and so he became *l'empereur*, a 'democratic dictator' one might say. The vote in favour was 99.7%. The next dictator managed to improve on this performance, and he was an Irishman: Bernardo O'Higgins got 100% when he became *El Supremo* in Chile in 1818. Other dictators soon followed: Adolf Hitler and Frances Duvalier, (Emerson 2012: 147), to name but two.

Not only he but almost all politicians – as noted earlier, democratic, theocratic and autocratic – like majority voting. As often as not, it means that they can choose the question and in many instances, not only in referendums but also in congresses/parliaments, that question is then the answer. Hence the calls by those who want their own particular constitutional settlement for referendums in Ireland, Scotland, Catalonia and Republika Srpska, and hence too the 'false flag' ballots in Crimea, Donetsk and Luhansk wanted by Vladimir Putin. In 2014, (which was also the year of Scotland's referendum), when Putin wanted the people of the two latter regions in Ukraine to be independent (of Ukraine), the word 'Shotlandya' was used by Russian separatists.[7] 'Everything is connected,' to quote the Ukrainian philosopher, Vladimir Vernadsky. In 2022, he changed

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[5] The Kiswahili word denoting a meeting, often of the elders, in which those concerned sat in a circle to debate a dispute until, maybe days later, a verbal consensus was found.

[6] The Speaker may wish to adjust these thresholds, as Congress/Parliament becomes more used to their deployment.

[7] The author, a Russian speaker, was an OSCE election observer in 2014, and in five earlier contests.

his mind: he how wanted these citizens to vote to be incorporated (into Russia)… and sure enough, we are told, the electorates had also changed their mind in exactly the same way!?

V.   A Quantum Polity

A quantum polity is a political structure in which decision-making is based on a non-majoritarian, preferential points voting procedure. A major change would stipulate that, in any referendum and in any vote in the elected chamber, the choice of options on the ballot paper should always be taken by those independent of the executive. So how would it work?

In let us say a five-party congress or parliament, in a debate on, say, the nation's finances, the government of the day might propose its budget. If other parties wish for something different, then, similar in a way to a German constructive vote, (Federal Republic of Germany, 1949: Article 67), they may propose an alternative budget – not an amendment to this or that paragraph, but a complete package, albeit laid out in a similar format. The Speaker shall allow every relevant proposal (which complies with the UN Charter) to be 'on the table' and computer screen, if not too a dedicated website. Next, in the debate itself, participants may suggest amendments, a composite, or even a deletion. Such alterations, however, shall only be adopted if the original proposer(s) agree to such a change.

Thus, during the course of the debate, the number of options in contention may vary. If it all boils down to just the one policy, this may be deemed to be the verbal consensus. If not, the Speaker shall draw up a ballot of at least three or better still four, but seldom more than seven options, to represent the entire debate. Next, if all the proposers whose options are still on the table agree that their particular option has been included – either verbatim, amended or in composite – they may proceed to the vote. Then, if the winning option has passed the predetermined CC threshold, it may be enacted.

a)   Consensus

Binary voting is adversarial. So wherever binary voting is used – i.e., almost everywhere, although one notable exception is in the United Nations' Conferences of the Parties COP gatherings – politics is adversarial, and many elected chambers divide into two. It need not be so.

Since the Kyoto Climate Change Conference in 1997, the COPs have been meeting every year, to discuss the latest proposals to limit, for example, Global Heating, or the destruction of the rain forests, or the melting of the icecaps and the resulting rise in sea levels. Trying to get over 100 countries to agree on anything, however, is difficult. And yet, for reasons unknown, the COPs have thus far failed to even consider any of the above multi-option let alone preferential procedures.

As noted, the MBC can identify the option with the highest *average* preference. Now in every democracy, the people elect the congress/parliament and, if the electoral system is fair and accurate, the will of the elected chamber should approximate to the will of the people. Furthermore, in democratic theory, the elected representative should participate, not only in identifying the will of the House, but also in implementing this democratic will… even if it is not his/her 1st preference.

In debate, every member shall respect the right of others to hold different legitimate viewpoints, all of which, if these opinions and/or aspirations are on the ballot paper, then they have already been recognised by the Speaker as being compliant with the UN Charter. Accordingly, in casting their preferences, members should be able to submit a full ballot, for all the options listed have been determined to be valid. Furthermore, because success in the vote will depend not only on 1st but on all preferences received, every party campaigning for its own policy will have a vested interest in cooperation.

Now if every member does thus state not only their 1st preference but also their *individual* compromise option(s), it is of course possible to identify the *collective* compromise (para 3.3): at best, (i.e., if everyone has cast a full ballot), this is the option with the highest *average* preference. Thus might the words 'majority' and 'minority' fade from the political lexicon. Instead, as is so necessary in these days of Climate Change, politics could be non-partisan, and governance could be real majority rule, that which, as was said above, pertains in Switzerland and which in conflict zones is called all-party power-sharing.

As has been seen in many European countries, choosing even just a majority administration can be problematic. In recent years, parliaments in Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium have often spent long periods behind closed doors, working to concoct an executive - 161 days in 2017 and 298 in 2021 in the first two, while Brussels holds the world records of 541 and 494 days in 2010/11 and 2019/20. In some countries, the resulting administration is not very wholesome: in the UK in 2017, the Tories joined forces with the extremist Protestants from Northern Ireland; in Austria in 1999, the extremist Freedom Party was a member of a right-wing coalition with the People's Party, both on 52 seats, while the bigger Social Democrats on 65 were left in opposition; the Netherlands had something similar in 2010, although its Freedom Party, the third member of a coalition, had no ministerial positions; perhaps the worst instances are in Israel where extremists often wag an already right-wing dog, sometimes as in 2015 with a majority in parliament of only one. (Emerson 2016: 31 *et seq*.)

Pluralism is possible. And maybe, in Israel for example, if the Arab List is sufficiently strong in parliament, it should by right be in government as well. Real majority rule demands all-party coalitions. Switzerland has enjoyed power-sharing since 1959, using what it calls 'a magic formula' so that the five most popular parties in parliament may appoint the seven members of its Federal Council according to the ratio 2:2:1:1:1 and, with one change in the formula to reflect emerging differences in the various parties' electoral fortunes, the magic seems to be working.

In conflict zones, any purely verbal procedure for forming an administration would be protracted at best, so in many instances, a formula has again been adopted: Northern Ireland relies on a d'Hondt interpretation of its Assembly elections, Bosnia shares power in a three-way presidency, and Lebanon ensures all the main religious groupings are in at least one influential position of power. Unfortunately but inevitably, these formulas tend to perpetuate the very sectarian divisions they were designed to mitigate.

A better polity would allow the said jurisdiction's general election to be followed by a second equally open and transparent contest in which the members of the newly elected chamber would (not *select* but) *elect* its executive in a voting procedure called the matrix vote. This involves a two-dimensional ballot paper – and hence the name 'matrix' – on which every member could choose, in order of preference, not only those whom they wanted to be in the executive, but also the department in which they wished each nominee to serve. A matrix vote is PR, so at best, the outcome would be an all-party executive in which every minister appointed would be regarded (albeit maybe only in the consensus of the House) as suitable for his/her portfolio, while every faction in the assembly would be represented in its proportional due. (Emerson 2022: 39-46.)

Given that the matrix vote is preferential PR, any party with 40% of the seats in Congress could expect to get roughly 40% of the seats on the executive and, as seen with RCV in the States and PR-STV in Ireland, this electoral procedure prompts every party to nominate only as many candidates as it thinks it can get elected.[8] Therefore, in voting, there would be no point in any member of this 40% party in voting only for members from just this one party. The vote is also based on the MBC, which means the member would be incentivised to submit a full ballot. Thus every member would be encouraged to cross not only the gender gap and the party divide, but also, in conflict zones, the sectarian

chasm; this, it is suggested, is an essential feature of any good power-sharing polity.

VI. Conclusion

The human race will not survive unless we learn to share this little planet in a sustainable way. As the COPs know all too well, reaching consensus decisions can be difficult. As implied above, with binary voting it is impossible, so the COPs have resorted to a purely verbal procedure which they call consensus… but this sometimes leads to protracted debates if not, at worst, to the application by one or more countries of a veto – the very opposite of consensus!

With preferential points voting, however, with the MBC, cooperation in decision-making become possible. In a real democracy, it could be argued, nothing should happen without consensus. If there is no consensus for oil exploration and extraction in the Arctic, Mr Trump, then there should be none. If there is no consensus for the further destruction of the rainforest, Mr Bolsonaro, then again there should be none. Consensus is not, however, a formula for inaction. These two individuals would find working in a non-partisan administration at least difficult. A structure in which ministers appointed to serve in the administration were those who won the most cross-party support; a structure in which in any dispute, the options to be voted on were not theirs alone but rather a selection chosen independently by the Speaker, would not be to their liking. Indeed, when the most powerful positions in the land were thus no longer to be in politics, ambitious politicians might well confine their goals to the marketplace (which if it too were no longer based on majority holdings and the like, might also not suit their lust for power).

At the moment, however, both in Ireland and Germany for example, there is huge opposition amongst the more established parties to working with the extremists, *Sinn Féin* and the *Alternative für Deutschland* respectively. Their reluctance continues, despite the fact that in Ireland for example, *Sinn Féin* is rising in the polls, and with the support of a few independents perhaps, might even command a majority after the next elections.

But that is almost by the way. The priority for humankind must be a comprehensive agreement on policies required to tackle Climate Change. Hence the need for the above preferential points system of voting. Furthermore, this consensus voting is part of an holistic policy: it can facilitate the resolution of problems both small and large. No majority has the right to dominate; no minority has the right to veto; instead, everyone has the responsibility to come to a collective decision. Nothing else is democratic. Nobody wins everything, but (almost) everybody wins something. Indeed, the MBC can be the very catalyst of consensus.

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[8] A party with three quotas of supporters should best nominate just three candidates. If it nominates six of them, each might get only half a quota of 1st preferences and it would thus fail to get anyone elected, at least in the first stage of the count.

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Security Aspects of Improvised Explosive Devices. The Ukrainian Case Study

By Grzegorz Piela, Stanisław Kowalkowski, Tomasz Całkowski & Patrycja Wojcieszyńska

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Abstract- Though Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) are commonly attributed to attacks carried out by terrorists in the Middle East, IEDs were also used in the Ukrainian conflict and extremely limited research touches upon the issue. There is a hypothesis that IED events were not mainly focused on killing but rather on striking terror and sowing chaos among the local populace to persuade it to withdraw its support for the Ukrainian government. This article presents an analysis of IEDs as a unique weapon, the possible intensions behind their occurrence in Ukraine at a particular point in time, and the methods of identifying IED use in Ukraine based on the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) and the authors' database (TAD). Both the imprecision and uncertainty relative to GTD's classification were discussed, as it served only as the starting point for data evaluation, yielding informative results, although containing little information related to the IEDs directly.

SECURITYASPECTSOFIMPROVISEDEXPLOSIVEDEVICESTHEUKRAINIANCASESTUDY

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

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Grzegorz Piela α, Stanisław Kowalkowski σ, Tomasz Całkowski ρ & Patrycja Wojcieszyńska ῶ

Abstract- Though Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) are commonly attributed to attacks carried out by terrorists in the Middle East, IEDs were also used in the Ukrainian conflict and extremely limited research touches upon the issue. There is a hypothesis that IED events were not mainly focused on killing but rather on striking terror and sowing chaos among the local populace to persuade it to withdraw its support for the Ukrainian government. This article presents an analysis of IEDs as a unique weapon, the possible intensions behind their occurrence in Ukraine at a particular point in time, and the methods of identifying IED use in Ukraine based on the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) and the authors' database (TAD). Both the imprecision and uncertainty relative to GTD's classification were discussed, as it served only as the starting point for data evaluation, yielding informative results, although containing little information related to the IEDs directly.

Keywords: Ukrainian security, armed conflict, terrorism, terrorist attacks, improvised explosive device (IED).

I. Introduction

Contemporary armed conflicts are characterized by the coexistence and permeation of both the military- and non-military threats, often irregular in nature (Denysiuk, 2020). The essence of the activities is to avoid the opponent's strengths and attack their weakest, most vulnerable points, using unconventional means and methods. Significant features of these activities include coaxing the opponent into "unknown" areas, using their strength against them and their vulnerabilities to our advantage, using non-traditional weapons and technologies, e.g. improvised explosive devices (IED), deploying innovative tactics, making use of dissimilarity and disproportionality (relative to weapons available). This results in fatalities, usually among the civilian population, injuries, and adverse impact on the infrastructure and the natural environment (Global Terrorism Database, 2021; Landucci at all, 2015; Burkacki at all, 2017; Kowalkowski at all, 2014; Slawiński at all, 2013). Examples of serious threats to military security include improvised explosive devices (IEDs), used during (and after) operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, which hitherto remain a considerable hazard. Attacks by rebels and heavy loss of life, as well as a great loss of equipment, have contributed to in-depth analyses examining the causes behind the assaults, their circumstances, and conditions accompanying such actions, their precise location, and time.

It needs to be unequivocally stated that present-day armed conflicts are characterized by the coexistence and blending of the military and non-military threats, often considered as having a terrorist nature. Attacks with the use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) provide their users with means of warfare prohibited by law, creating casualties and damaging material assets. Regrettably, the illegal use of improvised explosive devices has been spreading for many years in an uncontrolled manner. IED attacks have taken place in many areas around the globe, causing loss of human life and material consequences. This is indicated by IED attacks in Western countries (e.g. the United States, Great Britain, Northern Ireland, Spain), which are of interest to terrorists (Grant, 2017). Problems of the civilian losses incurred as a result of the use of IEDs during, and in the aftermath of armed conflicts, have been the subject of a number of research projects and publications (Denysiuk, 2020; Betts, 2017; Crane-Seeber, 2011). The prominence of this issue relative to citizen safety, and the constant analysis of threats posed by IEDs, their constant occurrence – even after the analysed period – can be reflected by the fact that in November 2020 at least one death or injury from explosive violence was recorded in 17 countries and territories. One such country is Ukraine (Action on Armed Violence, 2021). The authors themselves strived to identify the approximate number of IED events used in that conflict and to analyse them.

II. Geopolitical Background of the Military Conflict in Ukraine

After 1989, momentum was created towards independence and the emergence of sovereign states in the former countries of the Soviet Union. One such country is Ukraine. The independence process was accompanied by the expectations on the part of many nations and social groups in this region of Europe, related to the desire to regain influence in certain geographical areas. The 2014 annexation of Crimea by Russia can serve as an example here. In this case, despite the highly probable Russian interference, no

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declaration of war was issued on either side (Zapalowski, 2016).

In turn, the armed conflict in the Luhansk- and Donetsk Oblasts (Ukr. *province*), which had been ongoing since 2014, caused a permanent division of Ukraine. Established on February 12th, 2015, the so-called second (Minsk Agreement, 2015) (also known as the Minsk II peace agreement) became only a form of sanctioning temporary separation of the parties to the conflict. This conflict, along with Ukraine's strenuous efforts to regain Crimea, is the key factor contributing to the destabilization process in Ukraine, where the parties to the conflict are the Ukrainian state on one side, and some of its rebellious citizens of Russian nationality living in the Luhansk and Donetsk Oblasts (Zapalowski, 2016).

Despite being a European country, Ukraine faces many malicious acts, such as the quite common use of IEDs against military personnel and persons uninvolved in an undeclared war. There has been an increasing number of attacks with improvised explosive devices in public spaces in recent years. Apart from the overt (as in Crimea) or covert military presence of another state in Ukraine (in Luhansk and Donetsk Oblasts), the parties to the armed conflict, as well as other forces destabilizing Ukraine, have been using combat measures known to terrorists and criminal groups, including improvised explosive devices for several years now. If the factors disintegrating Ukrainian statehood intensify, these weapons (IEDs) will still be quite easy to obtain, construct and use in Ukraine, both against ordinary citizens, public administration officers, as well as military personnel, militia, secret services, etc.

IED attacks on Ukrainian citizens and other feuding nationalities can be carried out both in Ukraine beyond. The use of IED in Ukraine affects the stability of Ukraine itself, but also of its neighbours and even those further away from the country's borders. The threat of IED being used also has a huge impact on the safety of persons living in Ukraine and those visiting the country as tourists, businessmen, or politicians. This country may also serve as a warning to other countries, which currently enjoy a period of peace, both in terms of their social, and military situations. Thus, for other societies, Ukraine can be seen as an example of the need to be prepared for similar occurrences.

III. Theoretical Background of IEDs

Military operations, especially the undeclared ones, as well as the terrorist threats endangering human life and civilian and military infrastructure are a matter of concern for the authorities. The events of September 11, 2001, and military operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, Ukraine, and many other parts of our globe revealed an increase in the impact of armed conflicts on those who are not involved in combat directly – the innocents. Most

often, IED events point to terrorist intent behind their use against human beings. The specifics of IED attacks have been the subject of a considerable number of studies. They rely heavily on expert opinions or an approach to an IED case in the form of an assessment using traditional reliability engineering systems and techniques e.g. (Salmon at all, 2019; Cuesta at all, 2019; Gill at all, 2011; Grant&Stewart, 2017; US Department of Homeland Security, 2021). Efforts expended on the investigation of IED attacks are increasingly supported by a core set of state-of-the-art case analysis methods based on systems thinking (Hulme at all, 2018).

What is an IED? There exists no single, authoritative definition of IED, one which would be accepted worldwide. For example, in NATO IED is defined as a 'device placed or fabricated in an improvised manner incorporating destructive, lethal, noxious, pyrotechnic, or incendiary chemicals and designed to destroy, incapacitate, harass or distract. Note: It may incorporate military stores, but is normally devised from non-military components' (NATO Standardization Office, 2020; US Defence Intelligence Agency. 2008). Different NATO definition is included in another publication, (NATO AJP 3.15C, 2018) whilst a more detailed, academic definition of IED can be found in (US Department of Homeland Security, n.d.; Gill at all, 2011).

The analysis of attacks with the use of IEDs shows that, except for military targets, they are used to conduct attacks on the local populace, national authorities at any administrative level and security forces, international organisations, non-governmental organisations and agencies, structures and infrastructure, commercial institutions, and economic nodes. IEDs are tactical weapons, the impact of which, however, is far wider.

The IED serves a specific purpose as means of warfare for the terrorists. IED attacks are a common terrorist weapon of choice against soft targets. Each year, IED attacks kill and injure more people than attacks with any other weapon, except for firearms (Action on Armed Violence Nigeria, n.d, 2020, 2016; Martin, 2016; Connolly&Clutter, 2010; Valsamos at all, 2019; Burkacki at all, 2017; United Nation, 2012, 2015, 2016; Canadian Department of National Defence, 2020; Annual Report, 2011). This may be due to the fact that IEDs are cheap and relatively simple to design and manufacture, in particular, due to the Internet helping in their design (Grant&Stewart, 2017). Data regarding terrorist attacks are published on the Internet by various organizations e.g. (Action on Armed Violence, n.d.; (Global Terrorism Database, n.d.). Apart from its compilations in databases, data regarding losses incurred as a result of IEDs use is also published in or related to other publications (LaFree&Legault, 2009;

LaFree&Dugan, 2007; LaFree at all, 2017; Miller, 2012). It should be emphasized, however, that the authors of these publications usually base their research on the information contained in the listed, openly available databases.

The Global Terrorism Database which covers over 200 000 terrorist attacks dating back to the 1970s, was used to illustrate the types of terrorist attacks (Global Terrorism Database, n.d.). A meaningful increase in terrorist attacks was recorded both directly prior to and in the immediate aftermath of the annexation of Crimea in the Luhansk and Donetsk regions. IED events were not explicitly mentioned in the types of terrorist attacks group. They probably belong in the *Bombing/Explosion* group, but a noteworthy number of such incidents may be included in the *Unknown* one.

Figure 1 shows the types of weapons used in terrorist attacks – according to the Global Terrorism Database (Global Terrorism Database, n.d.). In the same database, IED events indicated in this group are included as *Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite* and comprise almost 50% of terrorist attacks. A considerable number of such events may have been categorised as belonging to the *Unknown* group.
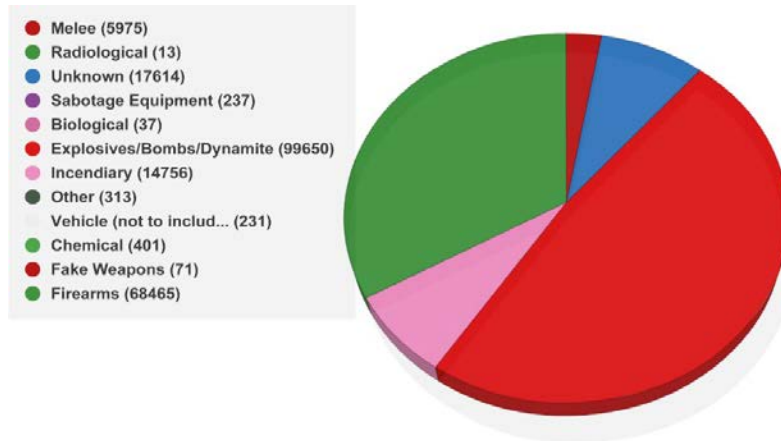
Figure 1: Weapon types of terrorist attacks – according to the Global Terrorism Database (Global Terrorism Database, n.d.).

According to the Action on Armed Violence (AOAV), between October 2010 and the end of September 2020, there have been 28,729 incidents of explosive violence, resulting in 357,619 casualties (263,487 civilians) recorded in English language media worldwide. Of these, 171,732 people were recorded as being from IEDs – a number that includes both civilians and armed actors. 48% of all people killed or injured by explosive weapons globally, then, were harmed by IEDs (Action on Armed Violence, n.d.).

Information on IED events published on the Internet (open network) does not always present all the data of interest to researchers in this narrow field. Some data is difficult to establish or is not known. Some databases are classified. There are also difficulties in identifying specific attacks as those which utilised IEDs.

The IED is a cheap weapon, easy to construct and use, even by a soldier with little training or a rebel fighter. Its construction includes components of various origins, and the amount of explosives is designed to injure or kill persons, damage vehicles, or destroy infrastructure. The tactic of using an IED is also planned. As far as the construction itself is concerned, IEDs generally consist of an initiator, switch, main charge, power source, and a container (Grant&Stewart, 2017).

Any object with explosive properties may be used as IED components, furthermore, the variety of IED design solutions is vast, almost endless. This requires great flexibility, continuous improvement of elements and actions implemented as part of counteracting the use of IEDs (C-IED), and a high level of personnel training, including in the field of IED detection and neutralization (NATO AJP 3.15C, 2018; NATO AJP 3.18, 2018). Descriptions of events with the use of Improvised Explosive Device (IED) in databases are imprecise, making it challenging to create a true picture of threats endangering people's lives and inflicting damage to critical infrastructure. They require seeking out particular events and additional studies of events not listed in the published databases (e.g. in the media).

IV. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The study investigates the use of IEDs in the Ukrainian conflict. To identify, comprehend and analyse IED usage, defining the concept of IED was necessary (NATO APP-06, 2020; US Intelligence Agency, 2008, 2011). In this paper two databases were used: the GTD dataset, produced by the University of Maryland's START Program, and the proprietary database, called the authors' database (TAD), created by the authors of the article.

Organizing the TAD consisted of collecting information on terrorist attacks in Ukraine from various sources, typically articles in the media and newswires – the Internet, television, news agencies, military sources, and others. However, the events selected to be included in the dataset had to have been depicted as such, in which IED was used. In contrast, other incidents involving conventional weapon usage were rejected. The data gathered was sourced in four languages: Ukrainian, Polish, Russian, and English. This information was translated into English when needed. A two-stage data analysis was performed. The first stage included entering the received (acquired) information into the database. Events were assessed using a standardized scheme across all the years (date), a province where an incident (event) took place, an exact spot of an IED event, a description of an incident, and circumstances of a given incident. Each time and for each event the data was saved. During the second stage, based primarily on the description of an event (mainly: who, in what way, and how – issues in question), the data was scrutinised, and the obtained results were presented as six separated variables, including types of events, IED incident (event) types, IED employment method – a delivery system, a method of IED emplacement.

After the coding scheme was finalized, the data collected, and its validity assessed, a variety of data analyses processes were conducted. These analyses were intended to provide an empirical baseline for IED terrorist attacks, as collected from the Ukrainian conflict. To create clear, replicable measurements of IED events, each variable in our analysis was based on information available in an incident-level database (LaFree&Legault, 2009).

Definitions of the main variables used in the analysis are described in Table 1.

Table 1: Definitions of variables and their indicators

Variable Name (groups)	Definition	Indicators (examples)
IED	A device placed or fabricated in an improvised manner incorporating destructive, lethal, noxious, pyrotechnic, or incendiary chemicals and designed to destroy, incapacitate, harass, or distract. Note: It may incorporate military stores, but is normally devised from non-military components.	Home-made bomb, home-made explosives device, explosive-laden vehicle, explosive device dropped by a drone, explosive device
Ammunition	Munitions, ordnance, or demolition charges containing explosives, propellants, pyrotechnics, initiating composition, or nuclear-, biological-, or chemical materials for use in military operations	Bombs, grenades, mines, projectiles, etc.
Unknown	Those devices for which there is no information or the information is not clear	The explosion took place in an apartment

Taking the GTD into account, two-stage data analysis was also performed, however, the first stage was different from that in the case of the TAD approach. The GTD database contains 1745 events which appeared to constitute terrorist attacks, and in which 13 different means of combat were used. These were marked as: biological, chemical, explosives/bombs/ dynamite, fake weapons, firearms, incendiary, melee, nuclear, other, radiological, sabotage equipment, unknown, vehicle (excluding vehicle-borne explosives, i.e., car or truck bombs). To pinpoint terrorist events with the use of IED in the GTD, an advanced search was performed, in which the following variables were selected: Country – Ukraine, Weapon type – Explosives/ Bombs/Dynamite and time: from January 1st, 2012 to December 31st, 2018. Moreover, the expanded results tab was used, where the users could find information related to the type of weapon used. Out of 1703 terrorist attacks in Ukraine, 1155 events involving explosives were identified as various types of bombs of the following types:

- Explosives / Bombs / Dynamite
- Explosives / Bombs / Dynamite, subtype: Explosives / Bombs / Dynamite
- Explosives / Bombs / Dynamite, subtype: Explosives / Bombs / Dynamite, Firearms
- Explosives / Bombs / Dynamite, subtype: Firearms
- Explosives / Bombs / Dynamite, subtype: Firearms, Firearms
- Explosives / Bombs / Dynamite, subtype: Incendiary
- Explosives / Bombs / Dynamite, subtype: Other
- Explosives / Bombs / Dynamite, subtype: Unknown

Weapon type identified as "Explosives/Bombs/ Dynamite" was selected, since GTD codebook defines it as "a weapon composed of energetically unstable material undergoing rapid decomposition and releasing a pressure wave that causes physical damage to the surrounding environment" Global Terrorism Database Codebook, 2019). Accordingly, this definition does not indicate an IED unambiguously. Nonetheless, it does not eliminate it either.

The second stage of the analysis was like that of the TAD because it was not possible to identify those terrorist attacks in which IEDs were used solely basing on the data presented in GTD. Therefore, each event listed in GTD was analysed (1155) in terms of its description (GTD-HOW tab) and the information on the weapons, the type, and the subtype used. As a result of this examination, the events were classified into the following groups:

- attack with IED;
- it is not clear, whether IED was used in an attack; and
- attack (events) involving ammunition usage.

The English dictionary and professional Explosive Ordnance Disposal and Weapons Intelligence Team experience of one of the authors and were drawn on to define attacks with the use of an IED (an event). While *the Oxford Learners' Dictionary* defines the notion of a "device "as a bomb or weapon that will explode" (Oxford Learner's Dictionary, n.d.), *Longman Dictionary* identifies a "device" as a bomb or other explosive weapon (with examples, such as explosive/nuclear/ incendiary, etc. device) (Longman Dictionary, n.d.).

Taking into consideration TAD and GTD and in the context of the presented differences of the variables in Table 1, the photographs from the incident site and their description were the basis for the EDO technicians (researchers) to qualify the type of the incident which took place. The main criteria used to distinguish between IED-related incidents and conventional weapon incidents were the following:

Description on the course of the incident which focused on its nature e.g. direct- or indirect fire (using artillery shells, rockets etc.), a grenade being thrown, shooting with any weapon. In such cases IED incidents were classified as a non-IED events;

The entity fabricating the given hazardous object and its fabrication method: either an arms factory (non-IED) – professional manufacturing, or home-made manufacturing (IED) –,

Two forms of IED presence at the site: either it was found prior to the explosion on following the incident. In former case, the researcher was looking for any mine elements which would be atypical to this weapon. In the later, the most crucial was to locate, either on the photographs or in the description, specific facts or elements which do not belonged to a mine (e.g. radio with wires, electric blasting caps), but are capable of changing the way mine detonated. In those instances, where the IED incident description lacked details which would allow the researcher to qualify the incident either as IED or non-IED type, such events were qualified as non-IED ones or, or if the information was incomplete – as unknown.

To identify IED events, the above understanding of the definition and additional information describing the circumstances of attacks in GTD were taken into consideration. For example, (GTD): "Explosive devices made from 82-mm mortar rounds were used in the attack". In fact, the mortar round was not used, as it was designed. This round was modified in some unknown manner, to make it explode; other devices (e.g. an electric blasting cap, a cell phone, a battery) must be installed to create a new chain of detonation, different from the one designed in an arms factory it. Consequently, the IED was manufactured based on conventional ammunition, but it was no longer a mortar round. Considering these facts, this event was qualified as an IED incident per se.

V. RESULTS

The convergence of place and time.

In the paper, the authors' attention was focused on the incidents (events) in which Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) were used in Ukraine between 2009 and 2019. The authors' deliberations include in-depth case studies of events contained in two databases – the authors' database (TAD) and the Global Terrorism Database (GTD).

The findings discusses the nature of the data collected in these two databases about the number of IED events and where they took place. Across the databases, there was significant variation in the number of terrorist incidents, both as far as attacks utilizing IED are concerned, and relative to other types of weapons being used. During the creation of the TAD, since the research was focused mainly on terrorist incidents in which IED was used, there were not any incidents described in which a type of weapon, i.e., ammunition was utilised. The TAD, however, includes several dozens of incidents related to IED; there are some of them, in case of which the available data was inaccurate and the only available information was that the incident was associated with a terrorist being imprisoned, arrested, or convicted in IED investigations. These incidents are known as "unknown events (incidents)". As far as GTD is concerned, there are no incidents in which IED is identified as a type of weapon. Nevertheless, in the "weapon details" tab there are sometimes pieces of information pointing to IED use in either direct- or indirect way.

Applying the aforementioned definition of IED, Table 2 was drawn, in which the number of the IED terrorist attacks (incidents) is presented for the two databases. These netted 294 IED attacks out of a total of 328 events in the TAD and GTD, with zero IED attacks out of a total of 1155 events included in the later database. *For purposes of this study, 294 and 59 IED incidents were researched in the two databases, respectively.*

Table 2: Databases description

	TAD	GTD
# of Events (attacks with IED)	294	0
# of Events (unknown)	34	0
# of Events (explosives/Bombs/Dynamite)	0	942
# of Events (explosives/Bombs/Dynamite, subtype: Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite)	0	4
# of Events (explosives/Bombs/Dynamite, subtype: Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite, Firearms)	0	4
# of Events Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite, subtype: Firearms	0	178
# of Events Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite, subtype: Firearms, Firearms	0	22
# of Events Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite, subtype: Incendiary	0	2
# of Events Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite, subtype: Other	0	1
# of Events Explosives/Bombs/Dynamite, subtype: Unknown	0	2
Total	328	1155

Once a common definition of IED was applied across the GTD at an event level, case-by-case analysis and identification of those incidents, during which IEDs were used in the attacks, was conducted. Using descriptions and case attributes in the GTD tabs to identify IED or its components across the 1155 GTD incidents, IED incidents were identified. The research shows 59 IED events; 172 events which were classified as being of an "unknown" character, and 924 events that included the use of conventional weapons – ammunition, resulting in an all-encompassing number of 1155 events.

In the process of triangulation, new information was introduced on numerous events – its convergence. When these two databases were compared regarding the dates and descriptions of events they contain, it was found that 33 IED incidents across the GTD database matched events in the TAD. However, there were several cases in which the date of an event is one day back or ahead.

The investigation relating to the number of IEDs used in attacks per annum during the period of 2009-2019 in the TAD, as well as between 2009 and 2018 in the GTD. In the years 2009-2012, no more than 6 events per year were identified. According to the TAD, there were no events involving the use of IEDs in 2013. As far as the IED events in the TAD are concerned, the largest number of IED incidents was recorded between 2014 and 2017. The culmination of incidents occurred in 2015 – when 93 events were noted. In 2016, the number of IED incidents dropped to 44. In turn, this level increased to 57 in 2017, and, subsequently, dropped to below 30 events per year and remained at that level in the following two years.

Taking GTD into consideration, IED events through one decade, the majority of IED events was recorded between 2014 and 2017, when they comprised 90 % of all the incidents, with a similar peak to the one noted in the TAD in 2015, namely 24 events.

In both the databases there are IED events, however, in several dozens of incidents, the identification of IED presence was impossible due to the lack of sufficient evidence (information). Hence the definition of such events as *unknown.* Firstly, the greatest number of GTD *unknown* events took place between 2013 and 2016 – 155 events in total, with the high point in 2015, when 81 were noted. Secondly, in the TAD the *unknown* depicts 34 events in total, with their apex also in 2015 – 7 events.

Considering the administrative division of Ukraine, the analyses revealed the number of IED events by province (location) in both databases. The research results indicate that the prevalent number of IED events took place in the following 6 provinces: Donetsk, Luhansk, Kiev, Odessa (Odesa), Kharkov (Kharkiv), and Dnipropetrovsk. The percentage value of these events is 85.9 % of all the events in the GTD database, and 84.4% of all the events in the TAD. The results show similarity, however, it should be noted that each database has a different total number of events: GTD contains 59 events, whereas the TAD includes 294 events. What is more, there are 9 events in the TAD, where the exact location and province had not been identified. They were marked as an *unknown location*.

Even though the Donetsk and Luhansk provinces experienced the highest rate of IED events, the data indicates that their municipalities were not as heavily targeted as Kiev and Odessa cities were. To sum up the study in the context of location, Figure 2 depicts the number of IED events indicated on the administrative map of Ukraine, as based on the TAD – 285 IED events, keeping in mind the previously mentioned 9 events, the location of which was unknown.
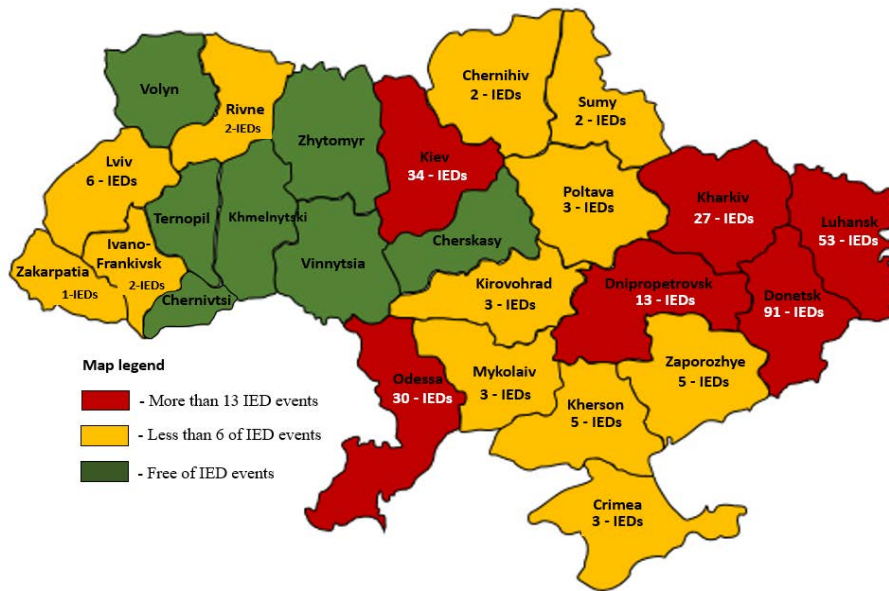
Figure 2: Number of IED events in Ukraine by provinces – TAD.

Taking the TAD into consideration, a detailed analysis was carried out as far as the exact location of IED incidents was concerned. The authors found that most of the events took place in the following cities:

- Kiev province: out of 34 incidents overall, 27 events took place in Kiev city itself,
- Odessa province: out of 30 incidents in this province, 23 events took place in Odessa city itself,
- Donetsk province: 17 out of the 91 events in this province occurred in Donetsk city itself,
- Kharkiv province: 16 out of the 27 events in this province took place in Kharkiv city itself,
- Luhansk province: 9 out of the 53 events in this province transpired in Luhansk city itself,
- Dnipropetrovsk province: out of 13 incidents in this province, 8 events took place in Dnipropetrovsk city itself,
- Lviv province: 4 out of 6 events in this province took place in Lviv city or its suburbs.

Analysis of the dates of individual events (TAD) broken down by months shows that until the mid-2014 (June) IED events occurred sporadically – monthly arithmetic mean of 1 IED event, whereas from July 2014 to January 2015 they were at the level of 1 to 6 IED events – monthly arithmetic means of 3.1 IED events. On the other hand, from February 2015 to February 2016, the average number of monthly IED events was 7.8 events per month, while from March to the end of the year the average value equalled 3.2 events per month. In turn, in the following years, this value was at the level of 4.5 IED events per month in 2017; 2.3 IED events per month in 2018, and in 2019 – 2.1 of those events per month.

VI. DISCUSSION

What is intention behind the IED attacks? Attempt at understanding the phenomenon.

Wars being waged nowadays seem to be more complex than those made in the past, both in terms of the armed conflicts themselves, and those activities which are not directly their parts, such as the defence of the given country's population and protection of state structures.

This contemporary reorganization focuses on engaging in many types of warfare at the same time. The division into large and conventional versus small and irregular wars (armed conflicts), where the former is led by states, and the latter by non-state entities, does not fit in with present-day reality (Hoffman, 2007). The current conflicts – the reality around them – are defined by terms, such as "hybrid threat", "hybrid conflict" and "hybrid war" (Pawlak, 2015; Stoddard, 2020; Harris, 2020; Oxnevad, 2020; Hoffman, 2007; Murray&Mansoor, 2012) where during operations the following conventional and unconventional actions are taken apropos of tactics, weapons and other factors influencing warfare. The term "hybrid war" was popularized by Western media and military experts after the annexation of Crimea. It was then that the state as a subject of international law could conduct a "hybrid war" which blends conventional warfare with new elements of cyber-electronic warfare, drones, radio jamming, usage of sophisticated armament and equipment (Veljovski at all, 2017), as well as IEDs.

Despite significant datasets ((LaFree at all, 2017; Global Terrorism Database, n.d.; Action on Armed Violence, n.d.) and speculation among terrorism researches regarding the state and non-state organizations and attacks launched by the two using

various means of warfare, quantitative and qualitative analysis of events frequently do not identify weapon type used in terrorist attacks precisely. The conducted analyses, however, resulted in a near-complete absence of the study of improvised explosives devices in the Ukrainian conflict, often the analyses included referring to them as booby trap bombs, remote-detonated devices, and so on, excluding some exception in some designated period (NATO Project Github, n.d.). An IED and other synonymous terms seem to be most frequently attributed to terrorist organizations (e.g. ISIS and others) and attacks carried out by such groups or one of the most well-known conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria. However, IEDs were also used in the Ukrainian conflict and extremely limited research touches the issue.

Moreover, the comparison of the number of events with their use relative to the two databases (TAD and GTD) reveals that the number of events utilizing IEDs was the highest in 2015. The question arises, what was the reason for this surge, and the subsequent reduction in the number of such events in following (months) years. If we were to plot the number of monthly IED events on the timeline in terms of events related to the conflict in question, the following observations could be made. The culmination of IED events in 2015 is also related to the launch of an anti-terrorist operation by the Ukrainian side in order to regain control in the state (BBC, 2014), which ended in 2018 (Coffey, 2021). Considering the decrease in the number of IED events in 2018 and 2019, these low values converge with the announced completion of the anti-terrorist operation by the Ukrainian side.

When the military actions in Ukraine are researched from the perspective of the Ukrainian provinces, what can be seen is that the highest number of IED incidents was noted in 6 provinces (plus Crimea) out of the 24. The fact that these provinces include Donetsk and Luhansk – provinces taken over by separatists; Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk – neighbouring provinces, as well as Kiev – the province with the capital city, is of no surprise. However, the sixth province with the highest number of IED events was Odessa. Considering the period of 2009 to 2019, Odessa, after Kiev, is the second province in Ukraine to record the highest number of IED events. Moreover, in 2015, Odessa had the highest number of IED events among all the Ukrainian cities.

The non-linear warfare and reflexive control and thus to the non-conventional measures were related to the number of IED events. The facts are as follows: firstly, Odessa is one of nine seaports characterised by highest container handling capacity in the region (Görçün, 2020); secondly, the natives in the province speak mostly Russian and thirdly, Transnistria (with its capital of Tiraspol) is located several dozen kilometres (approx. 100 km) from Odessa and is a separatist region of the state of Moldova. The fourth point is that Transnistria, like Donetsk and Lugansk, is actively supported by the Russian military stationed in Moldova (Peterka-Benton, 2012). Fifthly, former Georgia's president Mikheil Saakashvili was appointed by President Petro Poroshenko to the post of the governor of the southern Ukrainian region of Odessa (BBC, 2015).

Despite lacking full territorial control, the Russian Federation annexed the Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson, and Zaporizhia oblasts. The Odessa Oblast has not been seized or detached from Ukraine in either 2015 – the year of the greatest number of incidents – or in 2022 and 2023. Security destabilization, caused by terrorist attacks employing aspects of reflective control and non-linear warfare within the Odessa Oblast, has not led to favourable conditions for the Russian Federation to gain control over parts or the entirety of the city (oblast) from 2015 to the present day.

VII. Conclusion

In line with the objectives set out for the study, thanks to the data contained in the GTD and, above all, to the authors own analysis of terrorist incidents in the form of TAD, security aspects of improvised explosive devices in the Ukrainian armed conflict during the period of 2009-2019 could be examined was and a case study was made possible. What results from the findings, is that data presented in the publicly available databases such as GTD, are not particularly detailed. A thorough account of the difficulties encountered when dealing with such databases was presented when comparing these data with the ones from the author's very own research. The former is not correlated with the regions, where armed conflicts occur.

It turns out that such issues can be presented as precisely as possible, and based on such investigations, conclusions can be drawn regarding the impact of the circumstances and conditions behind IED events not only on the security of Ukrainian citizens but also those in countries, whose political and military situation is similar to that of Ukraine.

IED incident type is impacted by a number of factors, but one of the most important is the Counter-Improvised Explosive Devices (C-IED) approach characterized by three complementary pillars: prepare the force, defeat the device, and attack the networks (NATO AJP 3.15C, 2018). This is a defensive view. Responsibility for the identification and disposal of IEDs is borne by the properly prepared services, and depending on the adopted solution, these may include: the police, military forces, national guard, coast guard, etc. Each country adopts its distinctive solution. In the case of Ukraine, the police have the capacity to dispose of IEDs related to typical criminal activities and terrorist incidents. However, the ongoing conflict resulted in C-IED operations, including recognition and removal of IEDs being assigned to Armed Forces of Ukraine (AFU).

Since the 1990s, Ukraine has been working with NATO in a wide range of areas including, peace-support operations, defence and security sector reform, military-to-military cooperation. NATO Trust Fund Project on Explosive Ordnance Disposal and Countering Improvised Explosive Ordnance Devices (EOD & C-IED), destruction of conventional ammunition, small arms and light weapons, and antipersonnel landmines, which may serve as examples of such cooperation here (Maksak, 2021). After the armed conflict broke out, several Slovakian-led NATO countries (Slovak MOD, 2018) supported Ukraine in efforts to increase the ability to counter various incidents with the use of IEDs and other weapons. One of the many implemented projects, in this case around training, is AFU's Demining Centre which organised a successful course on Improvised Explosive Device Disposal (IEDD) transition. In other words, in 2018, the Ukrainian training centre achieved the capability to train future EOD (IEDD) technicians, and thus recognize IEDs and render them safe.

Research shows that, paradoxically, most of the IED characteristics (number of IED used in attacks by year, number of IED used in attacks by province) can be established quite precisely on the grounds of one hundred cases of IED use broadcasted in the media.

To the neighbouring countries and even to the international community, Ukrainian IED events can serve as an example and a cautionary tale that similar events may manifest elsewhere in the world, even in those countries which currently enjoy peace. Thus, Ukraine IED incidents forewarn about the need to be prepared for similar events and make a contribution to further analysis, development of a much larger and even more comprehensive factual database on such incidents, reaching and supporting conclusions, and educating societies on how to ensure safety relative to this type of occurrences in the region, in Europe and other areas of the world.

To provide a comprehensive understanding of the repercussions of IEDs on security in Europe and other parts of the world, the authors are conducting further research not only on Ukrainian matters but also focus their efforts on IED events within the Russian Federation and other European countries, including Central and Eastern Europe. The investigation is carried out in terms of differences, similarities, dependencies, and the impact of the IEDs as one of the factors shaping regional- and global security.

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Group Socialization in the Making of Clustered Regimes

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Abstract- This paper explains the significance of agent interaction and socialization in making institutional clusters by focusing on group agents. Theoretical insights based on Social Identity Theory and cluster regimes concepts link the importance of group agents' language, discourses, interaction, and in-group dynamics. The research results are based on critical discourse analysis, particularly on elite decision-makers and their closest advisors. Empirically, the investigation focuses on the Pacific Alliance group dynamics mechanisms to which they recur. I study a period between 2011 and 2014, particularly considering critical historical junctures by 2007. The research highlights the Pacific Alliance's geopolitical core. I conclude that the Pacific Alliance decision-makers led normative basis already shared and set in-group boundaries to consolidate the image of a clear self-differentiated group reluctant to Chavez's negative influence in South America. Thus, the Pacific Alliance's perception of the Chavist belief system as damaging to the South American domain was a regional driver for its conception.

Keywords: agents' interaction, IR and socialization, clustered regimes, language, pacific alliance.

GJHSS-F Classification: JEL: P16

GROUPSOCIALIZATIONINTHEMAKINGOFCLUSTEREDREGIMES

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

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I. Introduction

The South American political environment of the XXI century represents a clash of belief systems, and political and economic approaches materialized in inter-presidential encounters and diplomatic tension. The region has experienced back-and-forth integration experiences since State building in the XIX century, once territories advanced in their independence struggles. Thus, empirical richness for analyzing those efforts has translated into vast academic literature regarding why (des)integration happens. Instead of wondering why it happens, I go for how it happens. How do agents acknowledge like-mindedness as a critical element that helps them to self-identify within their sub-region and push them to identify *Others* with whom they share standard norms, goals, or strategies? How do group agents interact and frame institutional institutions of regional and subregional nature into more specific ones?

I argue that the Pacific Alliance is the political outcome of a changing process wherein agents play a crucial role because they self-identify their like-mindedness and political and economic drivers that interlink them, thus helping them to create and shape a group image. It implies that agents insert into previous steps of mutual identification, which departure point is a set of norms and rules. For example, President Garcia (Peru) led a regional identification process followed by presidents Piñera, then Bachelet (Chile) and Uribe, then Santos (Colombia). Presidencies acknowledged their like-mindedness before the Pacific Alliance was officially announced in 2011. Since then, strategic elites of public and private nature have interacted through different means to shape the content of a collective identity yet unconsolidated.

The empirical concern mentioned above coincides with a theoretical gap concerning agent interaction and socialization. To address the first steps of group formation, I recur to Social Identity Theory (SIT) on its social psychological dimension. I adopt a qualitative methodology that includes discourse analysis and narratives (Guerra-Barón 2023). I created and analyzed an archive of more than 600 documents (speeches, letters, editorials, interviews, official records, private communications) which sources are the strategic elites (foreign policy, technocrats, business, and high-level international organizations bureaucrats) of Chile, Colombia, and Peru (Guerra-Barón 2023). The archive also includes semi-structured open-ended interviews with agents who participated directly and indirectly and whose ideas influenced the Pacific Alliance genesis and performance (Guerra-Barón 2020).

Empirically I focus on the Pacific Alliance group dynamics mechanisms to which they recur. I study a period between 2011 and 2014, particularly considering critical historical junctures before 2011 that were pyramidal to the group's creation (Guerra-Barón 2021a). Specificity on time helps to recreate strategic elites' engagement with the idea of creating an alliance (about 2007) with a vision that would help to reach a collective understanding of how to overcome frustrated efforts to reach consensus – such as ARCO (Guerra-Barón 2021a).

II. Social Identity Theory and Clustered Regimes

Social theorists (Castells 2010; Giddens 1997) agree on the incidence of globalization on the increasing importance of Identity as a concept and its construction. Castells defines Identity as a process of constructing meaning using materials such as history, geography, (re) productive institutions, and power strategically used

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in political debates. Following Castells' logic, I suggest that those elements trigger a collective identity builder who negotiates its symbolic content and meaning to differentiate between insiders and outsiders. Thus, the process of interaction and systematic establishment and signification between collectivities through which collective identities result (Jenkins 2008).

Social constructivism, a broader analysis category, acknowledges that global structure changes and is a product of a complex process that includes social processes–not only material ones (Braveboy-Wagner 2009). Such multi-dimensionality expresses that norms influence leaders' objectives to engage in blocks and follow institutions set by global players. For example, emerging economies might lead and join alliances among similar partners ready to identify and create a sense of being part of a group ("we"). As Wendt (1999) states, this "social or collective identity gives actors an interest in the preservation of their culture" (1999, 337). However, Wendt's definition of collective Identity is not restricted enough as long as his interpretation does not necessarily mean that all states engaged in blocs, groups, or alliances share a culture per se. What means and matters here is that agents interact and engage in partnerships with similar partners with a similar political and economic approaches based on norms already set and, consequently, shared.

Identity is a concept ontologically erected on two perspectives: a micro sociological theory that explains an individual's role-related behaviors (identity theory: IT). On the other hand, a social psychological theory explains group processes and intergroup relations (SIT). Both perspectives "address the social nature of self as constituted by society" but differentiate mainly on the "relative emphasis placed on roles and intergroup relations" (Hogg, Terry, and White 1995, 255).

Scholars of identity theory stress that the *Self* refers to multiple components (role identities) wherein the notions of identity salience and commitment account for the impact of role identities on social behavior (Ibid.). Sheldon Stryker (Stryker 1987; Stryker and Serpe 1994) formulated this approach to Identity. He focused on the outside (structure) and its interplay with collectivity (Hogg, Terry, and White 1995; Stryker and Vryan 2006).

Social Identity Theory, on the other hand, was first conceptualized in 1979 by a social psychologist (Tajfel 1981) whose work and development (Crisp and Hewstone 2000) had a massive impact on other disciplines that are "intended to be a social psychological theory of intergroup relations, group processes, and the social self" (Stryker and Vryan 2006, 259). Social Identity Theory derives from the tradition of symbolic interaction[1] . It develops a basic

idea: a social category (e.g., political and economic like-mindedness) "defines who one is in terms of the defining characteristics of that category"; in a nutshell, "a self-definition that is a part of the self-concept" (Hogg, Terry, and White 1995, 259). When such a particular social identity becomes a basis for self-regulation in a context, then what was once *Self* becomes an in-group. Thus, a social category describes, prescribes, and evaluates the group and its members who are encouraged to adopt strategies to achieve/maintain within a group and make in-group/out-group comparisons (Ibid.).

Social Identity Theory then allows one to understand how group members set intra-group boundaries by creating images and normative perceptions (categorization) and how members' self-strength as a group through norms following an image building (self-enhancement) and making comparisons in-group/out-group in ways that favor the in-group (Ibid.). Reasonably, interaction is indispensable for so doing. It happens between two or more agents (individuals or collectivities) "acting upon one another in the forms of either a reciprocal or a mutual influence" (McCall 2003, 3), wherein society amounts to a web of interaction (Ibidem). It is precisely on that synergy that psychological theorists focus; on the agents and how they use a social identity to self-locate within a group (Stryker and Vryan 2006). In a nutshell, understanding agent-structure interplay is critical for grasping group identity.

Unequivocally, Social Identity Theory's conceptual richness helps to understand how agents interact with the structure, how it changes, and how different stakeholders build purposive identities to set an in-group-out group image and an out-group projection. That theory also helps to understand how insiders share a social identity that transforms into action when a collective identity rises (Owens 2006).

Collective Identity then is a social category (Abdelal et al. 2009b), a "system of relations and representations" (Melucci 1996, 76), a "social object that is negotiated through interaction" (McCall 2003, 20) that has continuity over time, is differentiated and distinguished concerning other ones and can recognize itself and be recognized by others (Melucci 1996). In that sense, collective identity «is purposefully constructed and negotiated through a repeated activation of the relationships that link particular individuals to particular groups,» but that Identity is not the outcome of interaction only but constant negotiations of self-identification (Owens 2006, 227) as well as actions and its derived effects.[2]

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[1] Thus symbolic interactionism sees society as a web of communication or interaction where persons (or collectivities) influence each other reciprocally; and interaction is symbolic as long

as human interaction is "symbolically defined" (Stryker and Vryan 2006, 4) −something that equally applies to theoretical abstractions as States.

[2] Scholars of IT tradition equally acknowledge negotiation as an intrinsic element of any collective identity (Dusche 2010, 84–87; Späti 2016).

Some IR scholars have adopted Social Identity Theory conceptual richness. Also, constructivists and Europeanists include collective Identity, socialization, and strategic consequences in their work (J. T. Checkel 2007; Katzenstein 1996, 2012) as well as the need to link practices (Adler 2008; Adler and Pouliot 2011) and these with linguistics (Neumann 2002). This relation between language and collective identity has also been highlighted in traditional European political theory as long as language has a fundamental and constitutive symbolic meaning of any identity and "language politics represent a crucial political and social context" wherein collective identities are negotiated (Späti 2016, 4). This kind of literature matters as long as socialization is crucial for forming any collective identity.

The classical definition of socialization roots in sociology and symbolic interactionism and consists of a "process of inducing actors into the norms and rules of a given community" (J Checkel 2007, 6). To do so, agents may learn a role (Type I internalization), or agents may accept community norms or adopt the interests of the community they belong to[3] (Type II internationalization/ socialization), which implies that doing so is just right (Ibidem). Either Type I or II agents use mechanisms[4] connecting institutions to socializing outcomes.

So far, IR constructivism has helped to make questions regarding the role of norms and identities (Adler 2013; J. T. Checkel 2007; Katzenstein 1996, 2012; Prieto 2016; Prieto and Aguirre 2022), while other authors explore the role of narratives in representing identities as a necessary element to explain actions in a historical sequence (Banerjee 2015). Europeanists and some IR constructivists focus on stakeholders and how state elites adopt multiple roles (Chayes and Chayes 1995; Haas 1990).

In summary, SIT and IR modern linguistic constructivists might shed light on discourse's role in setting images, categorizing, and self-enhancing a collective identity. However, public and non-public stakeholders are the ones who structure and socialize discourses. Additionally, as collective identities are narratives (Banerjee 2015; Guerra-Barón 2023) built by identity makers – such as international organizations and forums−, then its socialization and negotiation might be expressed into practices wherein agents' interaction is critical -as recently shown (Guerra-Barón 2023).

It is worth considering that collective identities have ups and downs in their building process, wherein narratives might allow one to highlight identity elements (Banerjee 2015) to update its content. E.g., the collapse of the neoliberal discourse in Latin America brought nationalism back through Hugo Chavez's engagement in socialism (Castells 2010). Thus the narratives of

international cooperation structured by international institutions – such as the International Monetary Forum [IMF], the World Trade Organization [WTO], the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation [APEC] – were articulated regionally by the Interamerican Development Bank (Guerra-Barón 2023). The Peruvian president personally − and his closest advisors – shaped his interpretation of the role the country should play regarding Asia-Pacific connectivity with South America (Guerra-Barón 2021a).

Social Identity Theory traits facilitate analysis of in-group and out-group dynamics by returning to the agent's language and discourses. By discovering these intangible elements to play, it is possible to grasp a fair sense of group formation wherein States are the main actors. In brief, how agents interact with each other and what lies behind such relationships.

For so doing, regional regime complexity offers some insights into the mechanisms that state agents recur for grouping in a complex political scenario. This insight is particularly true regarding Latin America, which exemplifies «an environment where regional governance is currently in flux» (Weiffen, Wehner, and Nolte 2013, 371). Among the various institutional interconnection linkages (embedded, nested, clustered, and overlapping) of regime formation, institutional clustering traits give sense to the South American regional landscape (Young 1996).

Institutional clustering occurs when people in charge of the «formation or operation of differentiable governance systems find it attractive to combine several of these arrangements into institutional packages, even when there is no compelling functional need to nest the individual components into a common and more generic framework» (Young 1996, 5). This definition recalls key aspects to comprehend the regional scheme's formation. First, Young's description suggests that attention shall go to the cognitive element that wonders about the agents behind the inception of the governance system -or its performance. Second is the agents' strategic decision-making involved in such creation or implementation. In short, the cognitive dimension encompasses the strategic will to gather various arrangements into a new institution thus connecting them. Also, the author highlights that institutional clustering is attractive to link economies of scale; hence, its success «requires decisive action» (Young 1996, 12).

An examination of the PA confirms that international organizations' narratives and practices influenced elite PA agent states through a localization process wherein they strategically adopt narratives of global and regional organizations into their territories −through up-bottom dynamics from the presidents throughout respective offices (Guerra-Barón 2023). This paper aims to explain the significance of group

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[3] Or just create new structures based on norms already shared.
[4] Strategic calculation, role playing and normative suasion (Ibidem)

interaction in making institutional clusters by focusing on group agents −notably, the president's role in it.

III. Methodology

As recently detailed (Guerra-Barón 2023), this paper's findings bases on qualitative data processing of an archive containing various discourses (audio, images, videos, speeches, and TV shows, among others).

Critical discourse analysis [CDI] aims to qualitatively and interpretatively recover the meaning of language actors used to describe and understand social phenomena (Abdelal et al. 2009a). The critical dimension lies in associating language and power, highlighting the political extent of the phenomena analyzed (Fairclough y Fairclough 2012). As these authors state, the objective of the method consists of introducing a critical perspective to language for a better understanding of the political discourse and other elements of social life −such as power. Under such reasoning, it is necessary to locate and interpret discourses within the social context wherein they emerge (Wodak 2001).

Following discourse analysis techniques on its critical dimension, I created, analyzed, and codified more than 600 documents from the Pacific Alliance decision-makers directly involved in its creation. Through constant searching and finding, I tracked key agents until I found the most relevant elite-making engaged in the design of the regional scheme. It allowed me to go back and forth between their cosmovision and representations of reality through language. The codification process followed a language-discoursive network that began by identifying specific quotes to create more complex categories represented in networks. Due to the process's complexity and detail, networks demanded establishing language relations facilitated through bottom-up analytical categories. They included quotes (identified as «…»), codes (identified as Δ), memos (identified as ▱), and, finally, networks (identified as ⌘). These analytic categories gather more prominent language clusters built up from recognized quotes. Briefly, networks show more compelling findings without detailing exact phrases or particular expressions.

As this paper deals with the Pacific Alliance elite-makers, results rely heavily on interviews and confidential documents I had access to related to the South American quota of the Pacific Alliance. Considering the research focus on agencies and how the Pacific Alliance agent builders drove along the process, incorporating the political context was not only part of the critical dimension of the discourse analysis −as the literature shows (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012)− but intrinsically essential to determining the

possible reasons of elite agents to engage in another regional scheme.

IV. Agents' Interaction within a Political Milieu

To understand any attempt to form new regional groups in Latin America −or its decline−, it is indispensable to realize that the president's cosmovisions and perceptions straightforwardly affect their country's foreign policy. This phenomenon accompanies the centrality of the political context in regional politics. Each president's representation of the ideal notion of region transversally leads to existing regional integration and regionalization efforts. Therefore, this piece conceives that the regional political landscape is the social context wherein agents interact through language. The agent's storytelling of the Pacific Alliance shows empirically the importance of language structure, personally led by the presidents of the State members and extrapolated in regional schemes, including its objectives, principles, and mechanisms (Guerra-Barón 2023).

V. The Centrality of the Political South American Context

In the XXI Century, the making of Latin American integration efforts characterizes by continuous attempts deeply study and explain by region experts. While some authors refer to a pos-neoliberal phase (Grugel and Riggirozzi 2009) and a post-hegemonic regionalism (Gómez-Mera 2018; Riggirozzi and Tussie 2012), others aim to define it conceptually and empirically (Molano-Cruz and Briceño-Ruiz 2021). Other works focus on agency capacities to explain the incidence of the PA on South American regionalism (De Souza Borba Gonçalves 2023). Undoubtedly, this regional understanding by academics from the South has theoretical implications. As leading authors state, regionalism refers to «The rise of post-hegemonic regionalism in Latin America" by arguing that "institutional structures and cooperation projects are (…) part of a complex set of alternative ideas and motivations» (Riggirozzi and Tussie 2012, 2); highlighting the need for understanding narratives - among other relevant aspects.

It is essential to balance the political significance of the XXI century first decade to comprehend the importance of the PA emergence (Guerra-Barón 2019, 2023). Undoubtedly, it takes us back to the Venezuelan presidency of Hugo Chavez (1998-2013) and his anti-globalization' discourse, one that matched the cosmovision of Fidel Castro (1959-2008) regarding the motivations behind any effort to integrate regionally. These presidents' like-mindedness

concerning the representation of the region crystalized in Castro's support to the Bolivarian Alliance of the Americas (ALBA in Spanish) —an anti-neoliberal bloc devoid of United States influence.

To some extent, Venezuela's 'anti-globalization plot echoed and aligned with Bolivian President Evo Morales (2006-2019). When he brought back the nation as the primary beneficiary of any integration effort by suggesting that ALBA required a complementary purposive element, it consequently adhered to the idea of a Treaty of Trade for the Nation [TCP, in Spanish]. Thus, the ALBA-TCP met the Castro-Chavist plot with the Bolivian storytelling regarding integration, shaping the group with the aspiration of an autonomous and solidary integration idea (Morales 2006). Besides the Bolivian president, his Ecuadorian peer (Rafael Correa: 2007-2017) aligned with Chavez's cosmovision. Morales and Correa shared his "hegemonic aspirations" (Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñán 2015, 116).

Decision-makers' identification with a resemblance to a similar representation of regional development explains much of the never-ending South American process of alienation. Achieving a South American political dialogue has been an old data aspiration in the region. Yet ideological and political divergences intertwine and erode such vision. As a result, different political schemes currently coexist. Without concrete results, the Union of South American States (UNASUR, in Spanish) —currently under a recovery process led by Brazil and followed by Argentina and Chile —and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC, in Spanish) exemplify that situation.

ARCO —a regional intergovernmental scheme and precedent of the PA— undoubtedly met all Latin American countries with coasts on the Pacific Ocean (Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, and Peru). ARCO's geopolitical complexity —explained by opposite ideational approaches of the governments and State capacities— endangered its existence from the beginning (Guerra-Barón 2021a). ARCO was created in a political context that questioned the US presence throughout the region and the adoption of the neoliberal economic model by the US close allies of that moment (Colombia, Chile, Peru, and Mexico) *vis a vis* US strong opponents (Bolivia: Evo Morales; Ecuador: Rafael Correa; Venezuela: Hugo Chavez) (Guerra-Barón 2021a). The Ecuadorian president abandoned ARCO de facto, which exemplified the incidence of motivational factors as explicative reasons for the group's disintegration. However, more demanding compromises regarding rules of origin strongly by Chile, Peru, and Mexico —to a minor extent of Colombia— over the other ARCO State members were heavier risks that these non-risk takers had to avoid (Guerra-Barón 2021a).

Political and economic disagreement within ARCO partially explains President Garcia's invitation to Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, and Panama (excluding Mexico due to difficulties in negotiating a free trade agreement [FTA] with Peru) to engage in an inter-governmental initiative aimed at creating a "deep integration area" (Guerra-Barón 2020) — as Garcia himself named it (Garcia 2013) — facilitated by the fact that those countries, except for Ecuador, already had trade accords with crucial partners (EU, US) (Guerra-Barón 2020). It partially confirms the PA State members' foreign economic policy convergence impact on its creation (Guerra-Barón 2019). However, political inconveniences —not detailed in this piece— rushed the PA project consolidation by 2011.

Instead, ARCO's short existence (2007-2010) regarding an economic understanding of trade and investment paved the way for the PA (Guerra-Barón 2021a). Despite ARCO's objective of engaging in a coordinated strategy to negotiate an FTA among its member States, some high-elite technocrats promoted that aim. Then, ARCO facilitated policy convergence on trade and pushed interaction with Asia through overlapping means (Guerra-Barón 2021a). Colombia hosted the very first experiment of policy convergence among a network of international investment agreements of regional and bilateral reach (Guerra-Barón 2019). Also, ARCO included a multidimensional network of cooperation agreements under trade ministries' leadership and private actors (Guerra-Barón 2021a).

In brief, ARCO survived along with Chavez's ideas spreading through ALBA-TPCs. However, his cosmovision irradiated the regional group ideals, thus deepening tension with Chile, Colombia, and Peru —governed then by pro-neoliberal decision-makers— and clashing with ALBA-TCP ones.

Critical discourse analysis highlighted the regional political drivers that pushed forward the idea of confronting non-democratic ALBA-TCP group practices vis a vis contrasting ones to be represented by the PA. As shown in Figure 1, the political context of South American regionalism triggered the enactment of the PA as a contrasting alternative to ALBA-TCP.
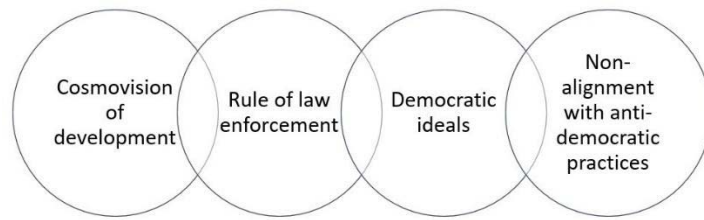
Figure 1: South American political drivers of the PA conception. Own elaboration, based on (Guerra-Barón 2020)

This finding confirms that understanding the PA group interaction is worth examining ARCO's political dimension, not just its geoeconomic nature —thoroughly explained already (Guerra-Barón 2021a). The discovery also ensures that looking at the role of political elements in ARCO'S formation – despite its short institutional existence – is significant. Therefore, 2010 is pyramidal for understanding the PA origin not only for the influence of international organizations' narratives in its conception (Guerra-Barón 2023) but because that year meant the end of ARCO and the birth of the PA (Guerra-Barón 2019). Peruvian President Alan Garcia (2002–2010) led the creation of the PA: a self-identified "non-ideological" group characterized by its members' acknowledgment of democratic values, respect for international law and trade, global governance, pragmatism, and openness. Alone with the quick support of the Chilean president (Michelle Bachelet left La Moneda Palace in 2010), the firm engagement of her successor (Piñera, 2010-2014), and Colombia (Álvaro Uribe: 2002-2010; Juan Manuel Santos: 2010-2014), Garcia led a sub-regional forum that clashed with the predominant anti-globalization and anti-neoliberal discourse of ALBA-TCP.

Within a complex political milieu, the Pacific Alliance emerged as a political and trade-oriented cooperative scheme that brought together like-minded South American states with a coast falling on the Pacific Ocean —and Mexico (Guerra -Barón 2019). Once the idea of building an alliance became concrete in 2011, Chile, Colombia, and Peru aimed to act together as a unit and to engage collectively through overlapped understanding mechanisms –not just cooperation. To that end, shared norms became a departure point that allowed the Pacific Alliance States (including Mexico) to acknowledge each other as like-minded partners that share liberal values, democracy as an ideal government regime, neo-liberalism as an economic model to follow, and full compliance with the World Trade Organization's [WTO] rules and international investment standards (FTAs and bilateral trade agreements [BITs]) (Guerra-Barón 2019).

Literature shows that like-mindedness and norm-sharing by the PA States moved the agreement forward (Guerra-Barón 2018, 2019, 2021a). However, the awareness of Chavez as a negative influence in the region was not the only political motivation for enacting the PA. Also, the perception of high-elite agents (Chile, Colombia, and Peru) about the negative influence of the Venezuelan belief system as damaging to the South American region was a regional driver for the PA conception —additionally, the Venezuelan influence on the Bolivian and Ecuadorian presidents within the Andean Community [AC] (Figure 2).
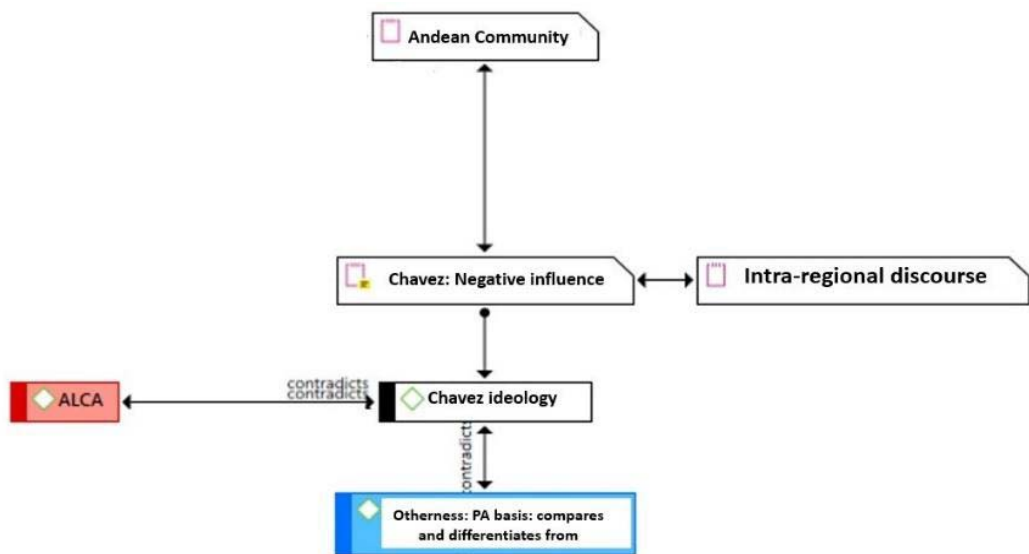
Figure 2: Own elaboration, based on (Guerra-Barón 2020)*. Critical Discourse Analysis. Figure 2 represents the network "Subregional Drivers: "Other" (⌘), formed by other analytic categories: "Chavez: Negative Influence" (⧅), "Chavez Ideology" (△), contradicts by "ALCA" (in Spanish) (△).*

As shown above, Chavez's opposition to the US initiative of creating the Free Trade Area of the Americas is another expression of the Venezuelan leader −a position backed up by Argentina and Brazil. This collective posture straightforwardly contradicted Chile, Colombia, and Peru - plus their financial support to the Inter-American Development Bank [IDB], the Latin American Commission, and the Organization of American States [OAS]. Although FTAA did not trigger the PA, it is a discursive element that stresses the clash of interests and narrative plots (Guerra-Barón 2020).

Last but not least, evidence confirms that high-elite interviewees agreed that ALBA-TCP group practices extrapolation throughout South America gradually deteriorated the region's image externally. As evidence shows (see the blue box, Figure 2), the Chave'z belief system played a decisive role by gathering the presidents of Chile, Colombia, and Peru to straightforwardly acknowledge their commitment to defending a cohesive cosmovision of development −recognizing their particularities (Guerra-Barón 2020). Evidently, behind agents' interaction lie discourses and possible narratives not tackled here.

Before mentioned findings allow us to grasp the role that presidents García, Piñera, and Uribe/Santos played when identifying themselves in ARCO and their resilience once that intergovernmental scheme ended — also, these agents' purposive action towards converging in the PA by facilitating institutional clusters (Figure 3).
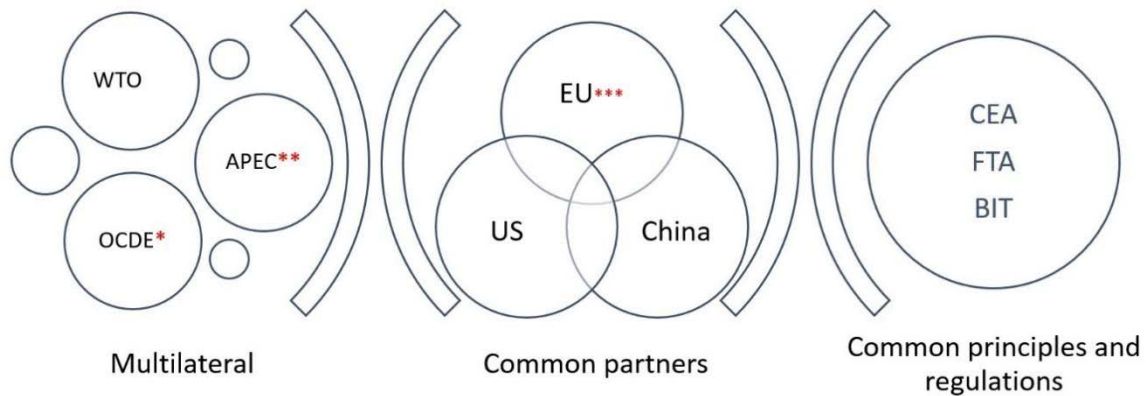
CEA: Complementary Economic Agreement. FTA: Free trade agreement. BIT: Bilateral investment treaties. WTO: World Trade Organization. *OCDE (OECD, in Spanish): Chile and Colombia are member economies; Peru accession is under discussion (2022). ** Due to the moratory declared by APEC, new State members are not allowed. *** Association Agreement (Chile); Multi-Parties Agreement (Colombia, Peru).

Figure 3: Institutional clustering in the Pacific Alliance. Own elaboration, based on (Guerra-Barón 2020).

Such three-fold institutional architecture covered much of the multilateral understanding of trade and investment through liberal leadership of the WTO, adopted in APEC, and further deepened in OECD. Common technical language and interpretation derived from joint agreements with key partners (EU, US) and the PA decision to engage with China −an essential trade and investment partner− were the second in-group decisive element of cohesion. Unsurprisingly, the PA members already achieved a soft level of economic integration through bilateral accords (complementary economic agreements [CEA], BIT, FTA) −except for Peru's aspiration regarding an FTA with Mexico. In a nutshell, Figure 3 shows that in-group regulatory convergence was already achieved.

As I stated somewhere (Guerra-Barón 2023), many scholars describe the South American political context as post-neoliberal, a sort of "reaction against what came to be seen as excessive marketization at the end of the XXI century and the elitist and technocratic democracies that accompanied market reforms" (Grugel and Riggirozzi 2012, 3). Some studies refer to neo-structuralism in the region (Leiva 2008) or a post-neoliberal stage (Burdick, Oxhorn, and Kenneth 2009;

Grugel and Riggirozzi 2009; Macdonald and Ruckert 2009; Peck, Theodore, and Brenner 2009) that questions some countries approach towards development as well as democracy itself after the Washington Consensus (Panizza 2009).

Regardless of the labels mentioned above, evidence shows that the presidents of Chile, Colombia, and Peru distanced themselves from the disseminated notion of the development model extended throughout South America through ALBA-TCP leaders and foreign policies (Guerra-Barón 2023).

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The PA confirms how politics and economics are behind clustered regimes. Evidence shows that the Alliance is a political outcome of a changing process that expresses through language, thus conforming to various story plots and, sometimes, narratives along its formation (Guerra-Barón 2021b). As some authors state, the PA aimed to differentiate from what has been called a 'leftist political activism' (Malamud 2005, 425) rapidly spread throughout the region during the first decade of the XXI century and up till now.

The role of agents has sometimes been left aside in the analysis and their interactions and non-material exchanges. CDA findings show that political and economic dimensions triggered such encounters, paving the way for some South American Pacific countries to engage in other forums mutually. Chile, Colombia, and Peru's presidents interacted through a differentiable and highly distinctive language constructed that contested ALBA-TPC. For so doing, those presidencies and close advisors acknowledged norms already shared and contributed to a new governance structure. Therefore, the PA exemplifies a clustered system that aims to be easily differentiated and whose normative foundations allow it to let WTO/OECD deepen wisely.

Checkel's thought that agents accept community norms because they impliedly acknowledge it as something right −a so -called Type II internationalization/socialization (J. T. Checkel 2007) − is recreated in the PA study. CDA shows that elite decision-makers' cosmovision regarding development was in jeopardy. Therefore, they not only agreed on the creation of a regional scheme but on the dangers that ALBA-TCP's expansion represented. It confirms that political drivers of like-minded representations of development shared by the South American PA members constituted intra-group boundaries through a normative basis already shared in multilateral fora, regional schemes − mainly ARCO −and bilateral accords. Consequently, the PA makers foresee the potential of out-group comparisons.

However, knowing how the PA building process came to life is part of the landscape. What matters the most is the regional narrative that transnational elite makers participated in. As shown in the language network, Chavist plots were pivotal. Still, critical agents and entrepreneur actors were coordinating an intra-regional discourse to contest the disseminated image of a South America led by the Venezuelan leader.

CDA on the PA elite-makers confirmed that regional geopolitical drivers triggered the clustered regime to offer an alternative image of South America, opposite to the one extrapolated by Chavez through the ALBA-TCP. These findings suggest that the presidencies of Chile, Colombia, and Peru coordinated some actions within ALBA-TCP to engage straight-forwardly in another grouping.

In a nutshell, contemplating non-tangible elements−such as language, story plots, and representations−allows possible explanations regarding the importance of interaction and socialization among state agents in IR through Social Identity Theory. Furthermore, a deeper analysis might explain how in-group agents interact and socialize to shape a collective image through cluster institutions. Consequently, normative and shared perspectives of the development model may explain stronger and more demanding connections between agencies. Therefore, behind the PA governance lie geopolitical core elements coherent with geoeconomic ambitions −such as linking South America with regional and global production networks. This finding highlights the role of state elites as image-makers of regional groups. Still, exploring how these agents interacted with private entrepreneurs to engage in coordinated discourses is necessary.

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To What Extent are International Relations Constructed from an Individual Psychological Approach?

By Chiara Rambaldi

Abstract- By challenging a constructivist state-centric tendency and focusing on values/ideas, this paper explores an analysis of the agent-structure argument throughout individual agents' behaviour. Although foreign policy analysts such as Hermann and Hudson previously examined individual psychology, they have done so through generalised analytical categories that lacked methodological strength and did not engage with constructivism. This paper deciphers the genesis of the decisions made by leaders, with a view to managing foreign policy change. Examining the studies concerning individual psychology of personality traits and FPA, it dialogues between constructivism and psychology. By examining Gorbachev's leadership in Soviet foreign policy, a psychological-constructivist assessment allowed the analysis of leaders and their personality traits through norms' internalisation. Drawing on *Whole Trait Theory (WTT)*, this paper approaches a method not yet applied in International Relations (IR).

GJHSS-F Classification: LCC: JZ1305, JZ1306, BF637.P4

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I. Introduction

Psychologists view the individual as the primary unit of interest; thus, psychological arguments tend towards a latent individualism in various disciplines. Incorporating psychological analysis into IR is difficult due to the complexity and range of variables that IR normally evaluates. Political psychology-based decision-making theories, however, have lately seen a rebirth in IR research. Associated research agendas, particularly those linked to the micro dynamics of behaviour in Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) have also elicited growing attention (Hall and Ross 2015). Although the predicament of relating decision-making models at the level of individuals to societal or organizational levels of analysis is ever-present, the challenge of identifying the nuances of change remains a pressing concern for IR. This paper addresses the prevailing psychological-constructivist dichotomy and advances a novel, individual-centric approach to IR. Starting with constructivist thinking, it opens a critical path to the analysis of the micro dynamics of behaviour, specifically by understanding the personality traits of a specific leader in its case study.

a) A Constructivist analysis

Constructivism emerged in IR in the late 1980s. Critiquing prevailing theories, constructivism refers to a

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social model that assesses sets of meaningful practices /behaviours to determine the structure wherein the interactions of actors are developed. In constructivism, the interplay between structure and agency becomes a mutually reproducible structure comprising actors' relationships and the social context at large (Adler 1997; Hopf 1998). Derived from social constructionism in sociology, constructivism specifically aimed to surmount of mainstream realism shortcomings (Chernysh 2010; Wendt 1992). Constructivism accordingly builds on existing IR theories with an emphasis on qualitative forms of interpretation: particularly, Daddow (2013) examines the constructivist essence denoting a theorical marriage between the intersubjective nature of reality, seeing human activities and understandings of those activities as constructions constantly engaged in identities and norms' negotiations. Slaughter (2011) points out that constructivism is significant about the meanings derived from past social practices and beliefs. Finnemore and Sikkink (2001) go a step forward in defining constructivism, referring to a climax of social life and societal change, while simultaneously providing a methodological advance of mainstream IR theories.

Constructivists opine that 'invisible' structures such as national politics and transnational interactions alter rules and norms constitutive of political practices across the international system (Koslowski and Kratochwil, 1995). Nonetheless, constructivists posit a logic of relations between identities and norms and societal expectations, thus setting limits for legitimate conduct (Goldgeier and Tetlock 2001, March and Olsen 1998, Wendt 1999). Ideas and identities matter in shaping behaviours and outcomes; those are not defined by structures of the global power balance or by an 'objective national interest' as different realist positions had asserted.

While some constructivists see the role played by the state as central and the latter as a key unit of analysis, others do not. Some constructivists entails the concept that our observation in the global realm comes from social interactions still dominated by the state. Wendt, a prominent constructivist thinker, suggests "the constitutions of identities and interests [are] more of a say in the explanation for State behaviour and the outcomes that result from the interaction between States in the international arena" (Daddow 2013, p.164-165) and that "anarchy is what states make of it". Wendt criticises realism and then re-reifies the state as central to IR knowledge. Essential for this paper's later

discussion, the contrary view suggests that actors, who *may be states or other actors*, change norms constitutive of political practises underpinning the overarching international system in which states dwell (Koslowski and Kratochwil 1995). Metaphorically speaking, states are also subject to pressures and conflicts which arise from within and without which cannot be reduced to 'national interest'; they are not essentially pawns on a structural game board where states merely create and then comply with tried-and-tested conventions (Koslowski and Kratochwil 1995). Thus, states' interactions further construct norms traceable into international bodies devising new patterns of social processes (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998).

Constructivism therefore is this paper's preferred theory because it advances a view that different units of analysis beyond state-centrism can be key factors in revealing human identities and behaviour, "say[ing] more about us, our collective constructions of international life and our desires than it does about what is happening in the world" (Doty 2000, p.139). By embracing those core principles which aim to examine and dismantle the status quo of state centricism, the paper stresses the importance of identity, norms, and ideas. Therefore, I first argue state-centrism is the inner problem - as any other micro-state actor is approximated to be the state, hiding seemingly insignificant shades and details. The paper advances the alternative constructivist approach, concerning the "internalisation of norms" designed by Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink (1998), Doty and others.

However, Tan (2006) advances conceptual points coalescing with my previous theoretical explanations concerning the principle shared by IR main theories. He suggests that constructivism is less distinct from other IR models than it likes to claim as it shares the same epistemological foundations, because it is still traceable to post 1648 Westphalian. This was because the first positivist theory, Realism, was built around state-centric assumptions. In so far as some constructivist's unit of analysis is taken from rationalist empiricism and state-centricism, it is inadequate: Wendt (1987), a constructivist founder, claims the identity of the state is unquestionable since its identity remains the basis of any analysis in IR. Adler and Barnett (1998) support this argument, emphasising the ontology of states' identities being traditionally units of analysis. This "taken for granted measurement" would explain Wendt's (1987) claims that state order is the dictating structure explaining the global arena's changes.

Contrarily, Doty (2000) claims the discussions on what constitutes the theory's best analytical unit is predicated on a rationalist research agenda. Constructivism emerged after positivist theories but its initial pioneers did not challenge the centrality of the state as the main analytical analysis. "In reifying […] the State […] ideas/norms, constructivism can no longer claim to privilege practice in its analysis of international. Constructivism, […] tends to fall back upon the idealized notion of a 'pre-interactional order'" (Tan 2006, p.254). Inexplicably, state centrism has not gone unchallenged by IR scholars' subdivisions, but their influence in the field was insufficient to advance alternative solutions. As Palan (2000) contends, the state-unit has gained widespread acceptance in the IR system. However, within constructivism, key thinkers share the same linear viewpoint which sees state centrism as the foundations for the following constructivist analysis. Therefore, the state became a universal accepted construction.

Scholars approach the aforementioned claims differently: Tan (2006) credits constructivist subjectivity, addressing concepts and ideas as elements that construct the world; yet, Tan offers no explanation as to how it would be possible to analyse norms and ideas unrelated to structure. He holds the challenge of constructivism lies in determining how institutions influence state behaviour; this paper argues from Tan and others that one needs to go beneath (or 'beyond') state level analysis, taking account of institutions and individuals, but focusing especially on individuals.

Palan (2000) also reminds the state matters but builds on Doty in insisting that it is not the state alone that matters to the exclusion of other social actors in the conversations and practices which construct foreign policies. Equally, Onuf (1989) affirms the international system engages in a social identity construction form. However, even this concept lacks an analytical structure. It is evident that scholars like Onuf (1989) recognise the inadequacy state-centric perspectives such as Wendt (1987) and Carlsnaes (1992). They suggest a focus on practices, language and identity construction are the core of the resolution of the agent-structure problem.

The agency-structure problem has solicited divergent perspectives. Onuf (1989): "States cannot serve as units of analysis from a constructivist perspective, since they themselves are nothing but social organizations […] they are the problem that needs explaining, not a source for explanation. The problem of anarchy, therefore, needs to be investigated within the context of theory and not confused with the daily interaction of states" (p.584). One can build on this critique through Onuf's (1989) claims by arguing that anarchy is what human beings (*pace* Wendt, not states) make of it. Wendt's predilection is to privilege ideas bereft of human experience, "a mockery of human agency, in short" (Tan 2006, p.252) because identity and norms come from given individuals before being applied by states. Therefore, my submission is that different constructivists argue different views but only scholars such as Tan, Onuf and Doty, and also Finnemore and Sikkink, manage the problem of state centricity coherently: maintaining the analytical focus on

state centrisism does not foster a deeper understanding.

Giddens claims the structure of state relations is essentially a methodological device that is unequivocally supported by human agency, the only engine that steers historical and IR events (Giddens 1987; Dessler 1989). Equally, Campbell (1998) claims "the material substrate of agency that remains, [are] the individuals once the constitutive properties of the self are stripped away" (p.220)". Therefore, "agency resides in individual human beings" (Campbell 1998, p.372). Campbell (1998) adds "the mere existence of an alternative mode of being -the identification and the analysis of the State as main unit of analysis to analyse every other microlevel phenomena in the IR system- […] denaturalises the claim of a particular identity to be the true identity" (p.350). Thus, it is imperative to analyse human agents as the drivers of institutionalised structures (Doty 1997).

Doty also argues "the agent-structure problem, far from being resolved, has rather been elaborated on […] but definitely not resolved" (Doty 1997, p.373), because no approach to evaluating individual motivations for actions has been perceived as a potential full analysis. Perhaps, within the purview of constructivism, the solution to the agency-structure problem is to reshape the ontological nature of agents, to collectively synthesise agents and structure. This paper will not try to resolve the agent structure problem; it draws on the debate to identify the centrality of individuals to constructivist explanation, and therefore the value of returning to individual psychology as a field of research. But this analysis leads to an argument that exploring individuals' actions and motive and personalities might be fruitful within a constructivist approach.

b) Differences within constructivist approaches

In this section, the differences within constructivism are discussed beyond those concerned with state centricism, including their divergent definitions of norms and identities. Some constructivists discuss norms as languages of institutional behaviours (e.g. Onuf). Others focus on how norms dictate aggregate behaviour for groups: for Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) the shared norms' international structure explains the construction of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and transnational networks. These institutional structures shape the content of norms and the relationships between identities and values. A common feature upheld by this constructivist subdivision concerns institutions as shaping forces in actors' behaviours. All constructivists are interested in understanding the origins of norms and their role in driving forces for political change. Constructivists explore "rationality, [which] cannot be separated from any politically significant episode of normative influence or normative change, just as the normative context

conditions any episode of rational choice. Norms and rationality are thus intimately connected, [although] scholars disagree about the precise nature of their relationship" (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, p.888-889). This leads to a view that the reasons decision-makers perceive and use to justify actions derive from a process of institutional norm internalisation at state *and* sub-state levels (Hollis and Smith, 1990). This research embraces Finnemore and Sikkink's (1998) norm internalisation process using a heuristic method to investigate the individual level within a constructivist structure and enable its findings to impart meaning to personal traits. However, the study does not deny the importance of other factors, but focuses specifically on the individual/ psychology level. The "starting point is the contention that experience is not neutral, un-interpreted fact and cannot serve as an independent umpire of what theories it is rational to accept" (Hollis and Smith 1990, p.88). Further research would open new avenues for investigation within the constructivist tradition and a long-overdue conversation with psychology.

c) A constructivist-psychological dialogue

This poses the question of the relations between constructivism and psychological approaches, of possible dialogue between the two. While constructivism and psychology have generally been separate fields, constructivist and psychologist scholars share mutual curiosity about identity and human subjectivity. But scholars rarely have conversations on this (Shannon, 2012). Importantly, this will be my analysis: to explain the drivers behind specific leaders' actions that changed the status quo drawing on the psychology of personality. On one hand, "political psychology can provide a micro-foundational basis for understanding" human inclinations; on the other, constructivism provides the "dimension of sociological and cultural forces on such dynamics" (McDermott 2004, p.13), thus paving the way for a nuanced analysis distinct from a state-centric approach. Psychology and constructivism overlap when exploring structures and progress each other when understanding the position of the individual within social structures and vice versa, the paper argues. Having said that, this paper "[is not] the dissident of a self-confident and singular figure claiming to know the error of all previous ways and offering salvation from all theoretical sin" (Campbell 1998, p.351). Although original in focus, the paper is modest in scope: to explore through a single case study using a single theory how a dialogue between constructivism and individual psychology might develop IR research.

McDermott and Lopez (2012) assert linking individual psychology to constructivist theory is a laudable endeavour which can facilitate a deeper understanding of the relationships between human beings as agents and structures: "constructivists may have a hard time admitting that psychological

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processes form the foundation of individual identity; however, it is hard to imagine how individuals come to learn from and assimilate their environment absent an evolved psychology that allows them to process information from the environment from the outset" (p. 201). But no actual work has been done that this author can identify which achieves this in detail. One way to do this is to focus on the personality and character's traits of individual decision makers, discussed below.

Long before the emergence of constructivism, Hermann's (1980) research on foreign policy was impactful. She investigated leaders' traits in relation to their foreign policies actions, focusing on foreign policy orientations. This is valuable as an exposition of foreign policy; it assesses articles, interviews, and newspaper to evince leaders' characteristics and analyse the findings. My research also benefits from Hudson's (2005) assessment of individuals' decision- making processes in foreign policy. Her arguments inspired the thinking here on the "point of intersection [not being] the state, [but] human decision makers. [Indeed,] If our IR theories contain no human beings, they will erroneously paint for us a world of no change, no creativity, no persuasion, no accountability" (Hudson 2005, p.3). However, Hudson's research is entirely focused on individuals' decision-making attitudes in FPA instead of advancing an analysis over the multidimensional personality of individuals. Overall, arguments by FPA researchers such as Hermann, et al., (2001) shape this paper's development.

The paper tests the argument that it is the attributes of leaders that dictate how they will respond to challenges. That represents a particular way of 'doing' FPA which helps contextualise FPA findings, whilst introducing a different methodological approach to analyse policy change. Other approaches from a more behavioural position (McDermott 2004; McDermott and Lopez 2012) might highlight individual brain processes, but do not touch on the social and interactive nature of foreign policy making. Prospect theory elucidates ambivalent choices that involve balancing rationalist forecasts, observing human propensities or aversions to risks (McDermott and Lopez 2012); while attribution theory studies decision-making relationships in political settings by examining human behaviour vis-à-vis dispositional or situational grounds (McDermott and Lopez 2012). Shannon and Keller's (2007) research gets closest to explaining the decision making and norm violation in IR involved in policy change, probing decisions made under the Bush administration during the 2003 Iraq war. However, they focus on hypothesis/ suggestions of specific words and actions extracted from interviews and speeches. They attempt to justify the personal traits of certain leaders by "counting specific words, […] that indicate work on a task or instrumental activity" (Shannon and Keller 2007, p.100).

Such models only entail cognitive devices like methodological/schema experimentations limited to specific research papers, without creating a replicable model which coalesces both disciplines.

Contrarily, this paper endeavours to associate psychology and constructivism by engaging with WTT (Jayawickreme, Zachry and Fleeson, 2019) - a psychological model investigating the personal individuals' traits – which appears compatible with constructivist IR theory. WTT might not be optimal to analyse a leader's personal trait, but my study is innovative, exploratory and wholly original.

II. Methodology

Building on the literature critique, I endeavour to examine how individuals understand how they construct rules, values, and movements, thus creating the consequent (often unforeseen) results affecting the status quo (Putnam and Banghart, 2017). The research design "refers to how best explain … how the world really is" by performing a constructivist-psychological analysis to undertake an innovative measurement of a particular case (Hollis and Smith 1990, p.203).

There was no ethical issue raised in this work, given that the data collection procedure did not engage with any researcher-respondent relationship, and only involved an analysis of sources for unravelling a dialogic truth. This study was devoid of any risk of harm, and did not need to obtain informed consent, safeguarding of rights to withdraw as well as participant privacy, since there were no 'participants' (Gross, Alhusen and Jennings 2012).

The engagement with the paper required an interpretative process of key sources (Farrands, 2010). The hermeneutic filter employed throughout the research was imperative for this analysis to "[reveal] the world as a totality of meanings, references and relations […] illuminated" in a "'world' as a web of involvements with other beings and relations with others" (Odysseos 2009, p.31). Hermeneutics helped to make sense of actors' perspectives rendered meaningful via actors' personal traits and reactions to events, by remaining coherent at all stages. I approached the sources with a rigorous dialogic process, as the aforementioned iterations "reach[ed] [what] other analytic methods cannot touch" (Farrands 2010, p.41), thus providing rigor to the findings. This "implicit dialogue – between the interpretation of [the constructivist and psychological exchange] and the interpretation of the elements of a text … [became] an integral participant in [the nature of knowledge exploration" (Farrands 2010, p.39). To do this, a specific case, Gorbachev's management of change in Soviet foreign policy, and a specific psychological model, have been chosen. For the analysis, a wide range of primary and secondary sources have been used (Lebow, 2017; Riaz, 2019).

The case study is of Mikhail Gorbachev: Soviet Union official, General Secretary of the Communist Party (CPSU), and USSR Prime Minister (1990-1991) (Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia 2021). With a view to attaining optimal results, I employed a process tracing method wherein I broke down complex phenomena to divulge the strategic engagements between agent-structure dynamics for individual analysis. This process tracing enabled an analysis of personal traits and how they might be related to foreign policy decisions and orientations.

As mentioned, WTT (Jayawickreme, Zachry and Fleeson 2019) constituted this research's theoretical model of agency. WTT "distinguishes between the descriptive and explanatory aspects of traits as separate aspects of the whole trait. [Thus,] WTT unites two basic approaches to personality into a single model" (Jayawickreme, Zachry, Fleeson 2019, p.2). This assumes significance as the complex phenomena of social psychology can be reached through a complex classification of human beings' personality traits.

WTT comprises two investigative parts. Firstly, the theory's descriptive parts comprise the identification of a collection of traits, thus building upon the Big-5 Personality Theory which was designed by Goldberg (1990) and constituting the foundations of a frequently utilised personality theory (Zillig, Hemenover and Dienstbier 2002). It includes openness to experience, consciousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism (Cattell and Schuerger 2003). Each trait incorporates other related personality 'fits' as characteristics' cluster. For instance, the 'agreeableness' traits translate not only into generosity and warmth, but also temper and aggressiveness (Ashton et al. 2004). I assessed these five traits by interpreting relevant sources gathering evidence via observation of Gorbachev's Presidency. This appears justified because WTT does not explicitly state stages in life where the evidence must be collected. WTT also does not clarify the genesis of these Big-5 traits, and is primarily concerned with the means for which these factors decree behaviours. A qualitative approach collected these five traits using both recorded actions and Gorbachev's verbal statements during his Presidency. The method which addressed the paper's contextual time framework was the "Ten Item Personality Inventory" (TIPI) postulated by Gosling, Rentfrow, and Swann (2003), which comprises a record of the reverse-scored items. The TIPI was computed onto Dr DeNeui's excel spreadsheet, which plotted scores alongside the traits after automatically updating them (2009). The TIPI excel database required writing a number based on the amount that specific adjective pertaining to the individual. This approach has been used in business and management research (Isaacson, 2012; Long, 2015), but not in IR. The detailed working of this analysis

is tabulated below. These ten adjectives already provided on the worksheet include:

1. Extraverted, enthusiastic.
2. Critical, quarrelsome.
3. Dependable, self-disciplined.
4. Anxious, easily upset.
5. Open to new experiences, complex.
6. Reserved, quiet.
7. Sympathetic, warm.
8. Disorganized, careless.
9. Calm, emotionally stable.
10. Conventional, uncreative.

Heuristically, I assigned a number for all adjective categories examining Gorbachev's personality, although one trait could be applicable more frequently than others. The scale to rate each adjective's category is:

1=Disagree Strongly
2=Disagree Moderately
3=Disagree a little
4=Neither agree nor disagree
5=Agree a little
6=Agree moderately
7=Agree Strongly

After computing the data of these personal attributes, they were synthesized by a report on DeNeui's excel spreadsheet in statistical form (2009). The scores on the TIPI appeared in columnal form were highlighted in green finalize explanatory part of the trait, which was the WTT's first part. The Big-5 analysis were integrated by a trait-behaviour elaboration to filter the analysis within WTT perspective. An interpretative method was used for characterizing the cognitive processes shaping a behaviour; specifically, analysing how Gorbachev's actions were related to Big-5 findings, so assessing how the descriptive analysis of traits concretised into a tangible behavioural explication. By examining the psychological findings through a constructivist structure, psychology no longer lacked a theory of structure, while constructivism was endowed with an explanatory agency.

III. GORBACHEV'S FOREIGN POLICY: A CONSTRUCTIVIST-PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Gorbachev understanding of the contexts of his role commenced on his 1978 arrival in Moscow tasked with overseeing the Soviet agricultural department, becoming the Central Committee Secretary at the age of 47 years (Gallagher, 1991). In 1980, his leadership skills helped him gain membership of the Politburo, becoming

the youngest Senior Secretary (Brown, 1996). Despite his lack of previous influence in the Party (CPSU), his performances in leading sessions of the Politburo got him noticed for probable promotion (Brown, 1996). However, this role went first to Chernenko, who, by Gorbachev's own admission, was better equipped to rule the country (Brown, 1996). An "accident of fate […] saw Andropov's health go into steep decline, just over a year before the same ill fortune caught up with Chernenko, [which] was decisive in ensuring Gorbachev ['s ascendency to power]" (Brown, 1996, p.67). Before Gorbachev's Secretaryship, nobody suspected his desires for radical reforms, given the Politburo was managed by his effective meeting performances in the CPSU. His meeting with former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was pivotal for his election to the Presidency (Brown, 1996).

Gorbachev's election victory in 1985 (Medvedev, 1994) did not find favour with the military because of his view of the Afghanistan débacle (Brown, 1996). Gorbachev's relations with the military remained conflict-prone. Gorbachev's Presidency favoured more political party control and reduced military power via "unilateral troop cuts, budget reductions and a shift in resource allocation away from the military to the civilian sector [which] have caused consternation [...] Implementation of these policies, before achieving arms control agreements with the West, [was] viewed [by the army] as undermining Soviet national security" (Peterson, 1990, p.54). His relationship with the CPSU was equally complex. While this relationship helped him become Soviet leader in 1985, Gorbachev's relationship with the Communist Party was ambiguous. Initially the Party's preferred leader, Gorbachev progressively ruled it. Yet, he would have consistently required the CPSU's approval to attain political reforms. He managed to circumvent conventional Communist practises without directly confronting them. Soon after his ascendancy to power, Gorbachev started to reduce the Party size and its institutions, from twenty to nine, also reducing the number of Politburo meetings from once a week to once every three weeks (Miller, 1993). Through a process of reforms intended to liquidate totalitarianism, he generated a climate wherein it became evident "the system had created, nursed and formed Gorbachev, and yet long-ago Gorbachev had internally rebelled against the native system" (Brown, 1996, p.88).

a) TIPI analytical framework

Extraverted, enthusiastic (item 1)

There is credible evidence to suggest Gorbachev was an extroverted leader. During his ruling time at the Communist Party -11 March 1985 to 25 December 1991 (Robertson, 1982) –it was his enthusiasm, talkativeness, and energetic personality which led him to that openness (Brown, 1996). He invited "economists with various views, patiently listening to them discourse at great length" to consider their suggestions and implemented their advice (Taubman, 2017, p.451). Unlike many of his counterparts, "Gorbachev found it […] gratifying to deal with Western European leaders" (Taubman, 2017, p.475).

His enthusiasm was chronicled Anatoly Chernyaev's diary (2006), who was Gorbachev's closest aide from 1986 onwards, covering myriad roles -from Foreign Policy Adviser to Head of Central Committee in the international department, to member of the Central Committee (Taubman, 2017). Chernyaev spoke of the Soviet leader with an "enormous energy, an insatiable appetite for work, and a great capacity for learning" (Brown, 1996, p.114). The British Ambassador to Moscow, Rodric Braithwaite, described Gorbachev as a "vivid, powerful, lively" leader (Taubman, 2017). Therefore, Gorbachev is ranked 7 in the TIPI scoring system, thus 'strongly agreeing' that he could find "A way to feel elated rather than discouraged [...] [regardless of] the seeming adversity" (Taubman, 2017, p.465).

It is easy to find evidence for Gorbachev's extroversion and enthusiasm; it is harder to find evidence for the second adjective. The sources of his personality lack 'critical, quarrelsome', and no associated situation can be attributed to these qualities. Contrarily, official speeches and records emphasise his vivid talkativeness and listening skills to people with divergent viewpoints, accepting contrary positions and missing bad-tempered attitudes that could depict him as a quarrelsome individual. Thus, the score concerning the second adjectives of Gorbachev's personality has no reasons not to be '1-disagree strongly'.

The third adjectives' category is 'dependable' and 'self-disciplined'. Gorbachev's self-discipline could be ascribed to his working habits, given that he worked 14-16 hours a day (Brown, 1996). Among Gorbachev's characteristics was self-discipline. Taubman (2017) portrays him as a "decent man" with self-discipline. Acts of unpretentiousness are chronicled as the leader's explanation to establish a self-disciplined reputation. This did not extend effectively to economic policies, for the Russian people were increasingly short of necessities, ostensibly due to inept economic policies that jeopardised supplies (Taubman, 2017). If his self-discipline was impactful, his dependability was not without significance. Overall, he received considerable amounts of support throughout his Presidency, although that declined towards the end, specifically in relation to Politburo. The Party initially trusted Gorbachev's reforms, since his reformist proclivities got him the top position at CPSU. Gooding (1990) points out that during the final Presidency years, Gorbachev had to "employ ambiguity, concealment and deception" during the Politburo meetings, with a view to having his reforms approved (p.197). In peripheral areas, people were

disillusioned by the Soviet style of earlier leaders and briefly saw him as change beacon (Brown, 1996). Gorbachev's attempts to reform Russia found favour with people even when not much was achieved. This was demonstrated by the many who listened to the President's speeches and attended his visits among rural areas even after power loss (Gooding, 1990). The Soviets continued to depend on Gorbachev even after his credibility was domestically fragile after the coup. In front of the Russian White House, people expressed their support to the President "cheer[ing] and chant[ing] 'President, President'" (Neef, 2011, p.1). Gorbachev's conflicted dependability and self-discipline are prominent personality traits. His self-discipline is significant, but his dependability so strong. As there are other elements that suggest Gorbachev was overall trusted, the dependable characteristic grade is adversely affected by inconsistency caused by lack of Party support. Accordingly, my general rate to this third adjectives section is 6: 'moderately agree.'

Item 4 related to 'easily upset' and 'anxious' views Gorbachev as averse to public disclosure for his emotions and self-confident appearances to Party members and population (Eaton, 1987). In Medvedev's - senior adviser of Gorbachev - book (1994) he reminiscences an episode concerning President's anxiety, which was intensely caused by the French press warning in February 1989 about the Soviet President's possible resignation attributed to Politburo's relentless criticism. Medvedev documents Gorbachev's irrepressible stress in trying to proffer a solution not to make his reforms fade with his position. Chernyaev discusses similar episodes. He talks about Gorbachev's "anxiety and sadness […], the fear of losing the levers of power" that he was trying to develop a parliamentary culture in a country that was alien to democracy (2006, p.792). Taubman (2017) opines Gorbachev did deal with a lot of dissatisfaction, but added he was able to control his distress by convincing himself it was better to think calmly and rationally. This evidence causes a decline in his score. Accordingly, the heuristic method suggests that the anxious and upsetting feelings best correspond to '5-agree a little' as he could prevail over his apprehensions and maintain the ability to rule the country.

Meanwhile, 'open to new experiences', 'complex', the fifth item, is a pivotal point of Gorbachev's personality. Gorbachev defines himself as complex, always seeking novel ideas, and novel leadership styles to distinguish himself (Taubman, 2017). Yakovlev (1991), the Soviet ambassador to Canada, recalls a conversation with Gorbachev where the latter expressed an urgent need to construct new USSR principles. These proposals were implemented through poorly-crafted reforms that stymied Gorbachev's efforts to build a pluralistic society. His complex personality is evidenced in his first speech in London in 1984, where he outlined

the *Perestroika* -"restructuring" in Russian, indicating political and economic transformations to revive the country's struggling financial condition (Allen, 2001) - and *Glasnost* –which translates into "openness", alluding to the introduction of new policies for the USSR's modernisation in political, economic, and ideological connotations (Brown, 1996). Although these reforms were destined to fail, Gorbachev's tenure was imbued with keenness to bring about reforms. An article dated February 6, 1990 published in *Pravda,* described his trait as "revolutionary in its essence but evolutionary in its tempo" (p.1). Brown (1996) recognises Gorbachev "was a complex politician operating in a complicated political environment" (p.229). However, this "new kind of Soviet leader" referred to by Roberts (1988) signifies a reformist leader who attempted to transform Russia via political pluralist processes was not without opposition. Although the end-results of these reforms was disastrous, the reform approach was not intended to disintegrate the USSR. Therefore, the fifth adjectives category will be '7-Agree Strongly'.

Next, Gorbachev's *reserved and quiet* traits are harder to identify as he was identified by his biographies and his colleagues' memoirs as a talkative person, who could convince people via his speeches. A few instances of his mandate could indicate Gorbachev's personality was sporadically reserved. When conversing with George H.W. Bush in 1989, Gorbachev felt offended by some comments made by his American counterpart, but he showed no signs of distress. He kept a mild attitude towards Bush's remarks (Taubman, 2017). Taubman (2017) describes Gorbachev's reticent approach in terms of complementing his colleagues' achievements. Due to this limited evidence, I categorize Gorbachev's quietness as '5-Agree a little'.

The 'sympathetic' and 'warm' traits were widely reported during his leadership. His cordial temperament made him sensible and amenable to compromise (Taubman, 2017). He often "plac[ed] a high premium on 'personal chemistry'" (Taubman, 2017, p.445) to marry politics with integrity. Averted to violence, Gorbachev aimed to prevent using military force and violence. Examples included efforts to withdraw Soviet troops in Afghanistan, attempts to settle "by political means and through dialogue" the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute (albeit unsuccessfully) (Brown, 1996, p.265), and enabling the Balkan countries to select their own government form. Also, Gorbachev was on cordial terms with his foreign counterparts, particularly Ronald Reagan, George Bush, Margaret Thatcher, Helmut Kohl, and Felipe Gonzalez (Brown, 1996). During his visit to Moscow (1988), Reagan claimed he was "impressed by the […] friendliness of the Soviet [leader], he even disavowed his characterization of the Soviet Union as an "evil empire": "I was talking about another time, another era" (Farnham, 2001, p.239). In wake of this evidence, I believe that the sympathetic and warm adjective

category for Gorbachev's personality corresponds to '7-Agree Strongly'.

The next category of adjectives is 'disorganized', 'careless'. Despite being described as a soft-spoken man, there was some indication concerning his lack of disorganized manners. According to Granim, Gorbachev's apprehension of failing in his efforts to reform USSR made him disregard real circumstances. Granim reiterated Gorbachev would oftentimes underestimate the unbalance of power in the CPSU he was creating trying to make changes in the Soviet system (Taubman, 2017). In his diary dated October 29, 1989, Chernyaev (2006) depicts Gorbachev as unmoved in terms of expressing gratitude to his collaborators. The Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, initially Gorbachev's ally, who later turned into a formidable opponent because of his replacement as Foreign Minister by Eduard Shevardnadze (Kavanagh and Riches, 2013), noted Gorbachev lacked attention to detail, and became increasingly disorganised due to the sheer number of goals he wanted to accomplish (Taubman, 2017). Accordingly, the most appropriate number for ranking Gorbachev's careless/disorganised attitudes corresponds to '5-agree a little'.

The ninth adjective category is 'calm', 'emotionally stable'. In official conversations with Politburo members and during visits abroad, Gorbachev behaved in a controlled manner (Winter et al., 1991). He is not known to have a tendency to rush things up. As noted by Chernyaev (2000) one of his main virtues was to "remai[n] calm, if not entirely confident" even when the USSR and the leader were "put through hell" (p.226-7). Gorbachev rarely counterattacked critics, and maintained his composure. In contrast to Chernyaev's testimonies, Gorbachev's anxiousness sometimes did increase during Politburo meetings. Chernyaev (2000) observed "an increasing loss of orientation and control, giving in to emotions" and "overreacting to the press" (p.228-9). As Taubman (2017) claims, Gorbachev's position prevented him from publicly expressing his real emotions and expected him to maintain total emotional control. Although Gorbachev did often succeed in maintaining his composure, there were times when he gave in to anger. Chernyaev (2006) recorded a conversation between Gorbachev and Genscher - Foreign Minister and Vice Chancellor of Germany where he was "so agitated and bitter, […] unprecedented in its heat […] [beyond] any generally accepted limits for exchange between statesman of such ranks" (p.308). Since, his overall internal battle oftentimes eclipsed his efforts, the conclusion must be that Gorbachev's lack of emotional control must be balanced with '4-Neither agree nor disagree' due to the parallel fluctuations he experienced throughout his tenure.

'Conventional', 'uncreative' are the last adjectives assessed. Overall, Gorbachev went against the norm to build a novel social democratic order, albeit

with inept reforms (Taubman, 2017). As Yakovlev opined, Gorbachev was "transforming the country almost single-handedly" (1991, p.157), since his allies were primarily concerned with the Party's survival. Gorbachev's reformist personality moved him away from the rigid elements of Marxism-Leninism towards a new political pluralism of power without jettisoning all communist principles (Brown, 1996). His attempt to pursue fragile reforms considerably weakened the old communist system without creating the new pluralistic power balance based on principles of communism he sought (Brown, 1996). Although his unorthodox approach liquidated totalitarianism, turning the conventional command economy into a market economy, and challenging the status quo by rejecting violence and force (Taubman, 2017), his visions failed to merge the intended pluralistic parliamentary democracy with the CPSU's monocratic rule, resulting in economic and political instability. Overall, the following definition sums up his leadership: a "visionary who changed his country and the world", although he was unable to accomplish his political, economic, and societal goals (Taubman 2017, p.688). Consequently, the last item of the TIPI score corresponds to '1-disagree strongly'.

b) *Big Five: a description-to-behaviour analysis within Constructivism*

The Big-5 statistical results will be now coded and summarised via an analytical heuristic trait behaviour using an Excel Worksheet. Thereafter, the personality results of the case study have been computed, with the below chart showing the findings:

	Extroversion	Agreeableness	Conscientiousness	Emotional Stability	Openness
Your score	5	7	4.5	3.5	7
	Medium High	High	Medium Low	Medium Low	High
Norms	4.44	5.23	5.4	4.83	5.38
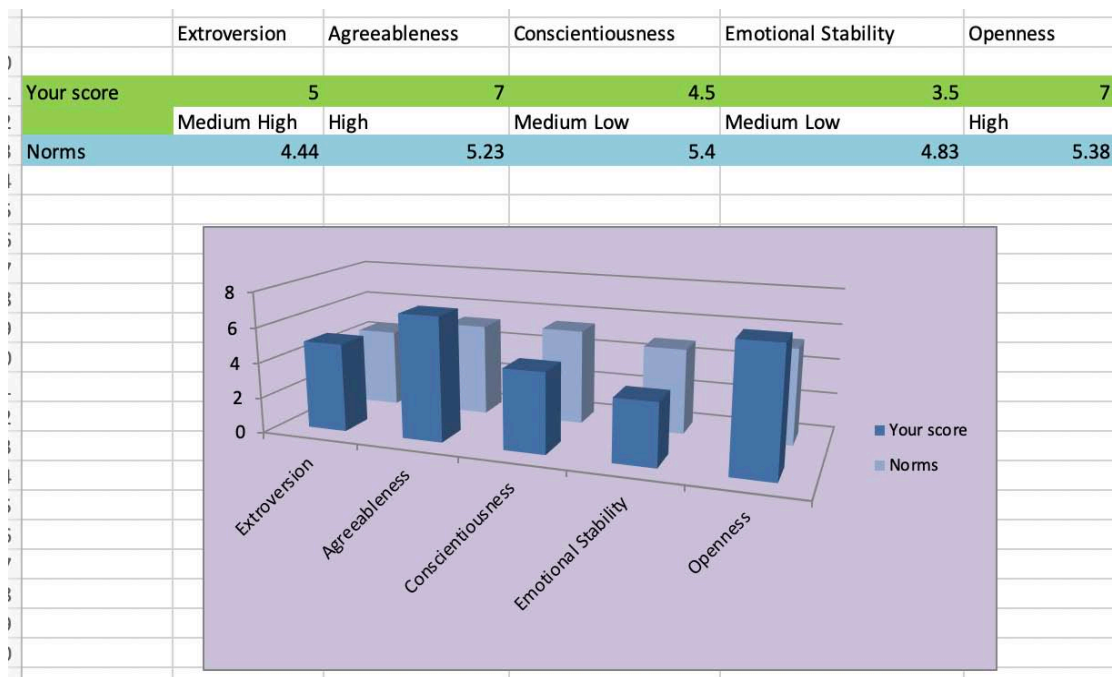
The category of *extroversion* exemplifies the examined person's ability to be talkative, enthusiastic, and outspoken without having to require a specific stimulus to remain socially independent. According to the Big-5, extroversion demonstrated the ability to be active, energetic, outgoing (Long, 2015). The results for extroversion for Gorbachev were 5 against an average of 4.4. To evaluate and apply the elaborative part of WTT-explaining- Gorbachev's extroversion is analysed based on specific situations he was confronted with, wherein he expressed his 'medium-high' level of extroversion.

Gorbachev's deeds demonstrated high extroversion levels in myriad situations. To demonstrate this one can explore Gorbachev's extroversion through the global attention and resultant fruitful ties forged with Western leaders, taking positive measures to dismantle the Cold War. The week he spent in the UK in 1984 was the first such prominent visit reflecting his extroversion. As Gorbachev met with Margaret Thatcher, the press portrayed him as the antagonistic future Soviet Bloc leader (Brown, 1996). Despite the possibilities of escalated tensions, Gorbachev's extroversion helped him develop a positive rapport with Thatcher. His charm and achievement-oriented approach with Thatcher facilitated the establishment of trust and a focused-oriented attitude for cooperation (Brown, 1996) which helped build a "good personal relationship" in British-Soviet affairs. Their meeting went some way to change American-Soviet relations. Gorbachev's medium-high extroversion trait did help him establish positive emotional contacts with Thatcher, who also revealed aspects of her open-minded leadership. Their meeting played a pivotal role in establishing a crack in East-West conflict. At a later stage, the Soviet leader confronted the Cold War boldly and publicly invited Ronald Reagan to Russia for a peaceful meeting. Reagan accepted the invitation based on the positive feedback obtained from Thatcher (Brown, 1996) – who made it seem as if she took the initiative in the Western bloc in relations with him.

Meanwhile, the biggest sign of Gorbachev's extroversion in terms of behaviour was his interaction with President Bush culminating in the Malta Summit (1990). At this point, Gorbachev's extroversion had already elicited international attention. The Soviet leader was successful in forming a positive relationship with both Reagan and George Bush, the American Vice-President later to be President. Gorbachev's informal conversation with Bush in 1987 came to be called the "conversation in the car". Bush accompanied Gorbachev to the airport, which was not a part of the protocol-, and in the car, they had a dialogue which "went far beyond the usual exchange of pleasantries. We [Gorbachev and Bush] agreed that relations between our countries were reaching a new level and that new opportunities were opening up, which must be used to the maximum extent possible" (Gorbachev, 2018, p.1). Both leaders met again during the Malta 1990 summit when Bush became America's President. When Bush became suspicious about Gorbachev's assertive/ talkative personality, Gorbachev's extraversion captured Bush's attention in the summit. Thus, his previously sceptical attitude made way for a warmer personal relationship (Taubman, 2017). Bush agreed on a joint press conference with Gorbachev, showcasing his willingness to work with him. "They were outgoing, passionate, confident in their […] effort" demonstrating the essence of the Big-5 extraversion trait (Long, 2015, p.32).

The Malta summit also emerged as a turning-point in agreement on the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty – a deal which approved the removal of some nuclear missiles along with other categories of weapons (United States of America, 1987). Gorbachev's extroversion continued to impact the connection established with Bush even after their mandates ended, referring to "George and I" having conversations (Gorbachev, 2018, p.4). The extroverted nature identified in my statistical analysis has been translated from descriptive to behavioural terms, demonstrating his ability to influence perceptions by remaining committed to conflict-resolution, and open leadership (Lencioni, 1998).

In the subsequent section, I will evaluate the second characteristic of the Big-5, namely, Gorbachev's agreeableness. In this regard, the psychological domain alludes to humans' altruism, genuine commitment to help others to improve their lives and ethical concerns for the human level (Goldberg, 1990). Gorbachev scored 7 in the agreeableness category in the TIPI analysis, considerably higher than the average 5.23. The agreeableness trait in my case study refers to his consideration for the Soviet population to enjoy a better standard of living, turning down the use of brute force, and giving Germany and the Eastern European populations the freedom to choose their form of government. Gorbachev's concern for human rights was evidenced in the fact that he "had quickly put his own people in [a] key spot" (Shultz, 1993, p.704), and his wish to achieve social harmony in Russia (Pervin and John, 1999). In a 2001 interview he stated the resources spent by previous legislations to create a strong defence system were useless, given that people lacked necessities: "there's no toothpaste, no soap powder, not the necessities for life. It was incredible and humiliating to work in such a government." One of the reasons why the population lacked basic supplies was also due to his ineffective economic reforms. Gorbachev's agreeableness trait along with the Afghanistan withdrawal resulted in his winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1990 (Tubman, 2017).

Secondly, his agreeableness led him to call for the Reykjavik summit with the American President with a view to eliminating many kinds of weapons, finally achieved via the INF Treaty of 1987 banning the use of intermediate and shorter-range missiles (Brown, 1996). Gorbachev's signed agreements signify a commitment only to partial disarmament: he did not interfere with the military mobilisations in countries where Soviet influence was projected on more than one occasion, and he accepted German reunification, but only when it was no longer possible to stop it (Chernyaev, 2000). Soviet management of eastern Europe had primarily been by military force (Brown, 1996). Gorbachev's refusal to use violence as Russian control of East and Central Europe collapsed caused conflict in the CPSU (Taubman,

2017). This led to the collapse of the USSR, the emergence of new successor states, and evoked extreme reactions from the Politburo (Brown, 1996). He "broke with the traditional view of Eastern Europe as a region to be held at any cost […] [on the contrary, he] opened up the road for […] transition from imposed communism to independence and political choice" (Brown, 1996, p.250). Finally, his trait of 'high agreeableness' is mainly emphasized by his efforts to shift the USSR's expenditure resources on defence to use them to provide more living essentials to the Soviets, while seeking personal rapports with foreign leaders with a view to achieving a more harmonious power balance.

Conscientiousness is the third trait of the Big-5, and Gorbachev's analysis of this trait equalled 4.5, being 'medium low' in relation to the average 5.4. In conscientiousness, psychology signifies an individual's ability to be organised and ambitious, self-disciplined in approaching problems and effective in executing tasks (Rothmann and Coetzer, 2003). Gorbachev's 'medium low' conscientiousness relates to his attempts to revive the Soviet economy, because his approach turned out to be unmanageable. According to Brown (1996), Gorbachev dealt with "two contradictory items - improving the system and constructing the system on different principles"; his ambition to have the economy rebuild led "the economic system [to go] from bad to worse under the weight of this contradiction" (p.130), Gorbachev's difficulty lay in the fact that he needed the CPSU to support his reforms to shift to a market economy, which was very unlikely, given that it would have been in violation of the fundamental principles of communism (Taubman, 2017). However, his conscientiousness remained a part of his ambitious reformist mentality the CPSU reluctantly accepted. His ambitions impelled him to pursue an unrealistic market-oriented transformation, given the USSR was unprepared to sustain Gorbachev's liberal views (Isaacson, 2012). Particularly, this can be seen in the strategic practical roadmap absence for economic reform with meticulous worked-out organisation stages. What the country got was miscalculated, trial-and-error processes intended to accomplish economic reforms which failed to achieve a structural overhaul of the underlying framework of the country (Brown, 1996).

Nonetheless, Gorbachev's conscientiousness reflected incoherence: he was, on the one hand, ambitious, in that he did commit himself to take transformative efforts via Glasnost and Perestroika, and there is no reason to think he did not mean this; on the other, he was unable to follow these plans through. His failures facilitated the rise of the oligarchs in 1989 and affected his Presidency, which explains a conscientiousness 'medium low' score of his personal trait.

Gorbachev's 'neuroticism' trait can also be ranked as 'medium low'. Neuroticism refers to people who tend to be nervous, tense, and fearful, whereas low neuroticism scorers reflected a more emotionally stable personality trait (Pervin and John, 1999). Gorbachev's big-5 findings for neuroticism scored 3.5 against an average of 4.83. His emotional stability, despite a degree of neuroticism, is exemplified in the coup of 1991 when was vacationing in Crimea (Taubman, 2017). The coup began on 18 August 1991. He and his family were held by "hard-line Communist elements of the Soviet government and military. However, this coup failed three days after it began" (History.com Editors 1991, p.1). Even as conspirators were conniving plotting, he did not exhibit signs of anxiety: a key personality trait was self-confidence (Shakhnazarov, 1993, p.147). His low neuroticism levels gave him the confidence to give his family reassurance that the situation would soon normalise, although this did create 'moderate stress levels' for Gorbachev (Long, 2015). Gorbachev's low neuroticism levels revealed ability to maintain a calm exterior even amidst a crisis, since he was used to exhibiting "all his tactical manoeuvring to keep hard-liners on the leash" (Taubman, 2017, p.618). Gorbachev's "emotional stability and lack of greediness caused him to act in a rational manner" showing a well-balanced neuroticism trait (Long, 2015).

'Openness to experience' is the last trait of the big-5 explored. Gorbachev's score was 'high' at 7 against an average of 5.38. This trait gives insights into his reformist mind-set, tendency to solve complex problems, and openness to the vision of a Russia founded on principles of social democracy opposed to ossified ideals of communism (Long, 2015). Gorbachev's reorganisation of the country moved towards Perestroika and Glasnost, but failed to fully achieve "freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association, religious freedom, and freedom of movement" (Brown, 1996, p.318). Gorbachev wanted to bring reforms in the USSR through pluralist politics involving a diluting of CPSU power. As alluded to in 'openness to experience' trait, Gorbachev's willingness to question long-held theories made him pursue unconventional moves (Long, 2015) including the establishment of a "new legislature more like a […] parliament and […] different from the unreformed Supreme Soviet" (Brown, 1996, p. 312).

This trait is also reflected in the "500 days programme", which, despite its apparent weakness, "rejected […] the traditional Communist economic order, its avoidance even of a single mention of 'socialism', and its commitment to speedy marketisation" (Brown, 1996, p.313). His 'openness to experience' trait could be attributed to his faith in cultural variety (Long, 2015), also tracked in his foreign policy. He respected Eastern European countries' ethnic diversity and spoke openly about his acceptance of multi-ethnic civilisations (Brown, 1996).

c) Results and discussion

Ultimately, this analysis demonstrates how an individual's Big-5 can change the status quo shaped by their attributes. The psychological analysis does not pinpoint areas shaping an individual's traits -for example, childhood or past experiences. Yet, since there is paucity of information on Gorbachev's personality beyond his Presidency, the latter gives the examined evidence that demonstrated the how policies and executive decisions can cause historical changes owing to personal attributes. The findings demonstrate it is the leaders' personality, as well as their visceral predilections, which influence what eventually happens and eventual response to challenges, and not the other way around. This research has aimed at developing an explanation enabling a sharper account of foreign policy change via a specific worked through analytic method which has the value of dissolving the psychological-constructivist dichotomy.

IV. Conclusions

This paper has explored one way of doing research looking at individual decision makers' personal traits. The aim is to find a more adequate explanation of foreign policy change than those offered by previous studies of individual psychology. Attempting to advance a new method of grasping foreign policy change, I envisioned an approach shifting attention from state-centricity to individuals, building on its critique of constructivist variations.

Some constructivists understand political and social life as constant changing norms and identities' dynamics negotiated continually. While some constructivists are aligned with other IR theories in upholding the primacy of the state, others demur. It is those scholars this research follows. By arguing the states' construction derives from human interactions, it is possible to move beyond the formulation of the agency-structure problem achieving the need to focus on individuals and to find a psychological approach enabling research grounded in a solid methodology, which, WTT enables.

By examining the psychology of personality, the aim was to clarify the drivers of leaders' actions when they challenge and change the status quo in foreign policy. Given a fully developed constructivist-psychological dialogue is yet to emerge, my focus was on personality studies, with an emphasis on FPA, which analyses leaders' traits pertaining to their foreign policies movements.

Accordingly, primary and secondary materials have been examined in English, Italian few Russian sources. Consistent with the approach, post-positivist

approaches resulted in the embrace of qualitative methodology (empirical not empiricist) involving a case study analysis. The research focused on the personal traits of Mikhail Gorbachev adopting a process tracing approach aimed to illuminate the relations of structural processes with an individual analysis-level. A heuristic method was employed through dialogic and reflective approaches which helped the textual references interpretation of Gorbachev's traits by dialoguing with them while maintaining a rigorous methodology.

WTT provided the theoretical model of agency to elucidate personality characteristics. WTT involves a descriptive and an explanatory approach to these traits, combining behaviours within descriptive trait characteristics into a unique model. Even as the descriptive trait theoretical part is built upon the Big-5 Theory, I collected the five traits of Gorbachev by observing his comportment from the reading, with a view to evaluating the traits' organisations. Thus, the five traits of Gorbachev's personality were recorded and translated into actions organised in a constructivist framework. To undertake the measurement of these Big-5, TIPI was used, which entailed a trace of the reverse-scored adjective-categories, before calculating Dr. DeNeui's excel spreadsheet (2009), which automatically processed scores alongside the Big-5. The TIPI record required a specific number (computed through an interpretative analysis) to correspond to the leader's trait for each adjective listed on the TIPI. These are: *extroverted, enthusiastic* (item 1); *critical, quarrelsome* (item 2); *dependable and self-disciplined* (item 3); *easily upset and anxious (item 4); open to new experiences, complex* (item 5*); reserved and quiet* (item 6); *sympathetic and warm* (item 7); *disorganized, careless* (item 8); *calm, emotionally stable* (item 9); and finally, *conventional, uncreative*. After numbering them depending on Gorbachev's personality, the following scores were achieved: '7- *strongly agree*' (item 1); '*1-disagree strongly*' (item 2); '*6-moderately agree*' (item 3); '*5-agree a little*' (item 4); '*7-Agree Strongly*' (item 5); '*5-Agree a little*' (item 6); '*7-Agree Strongly*' (item 7); '*5-agree a little*' (item 8); '*4-Neither agree nor disagree*' (item 9); and eventually '*1-disagree strongly*' (item 10). After the scores were registered on the TIPI worksheet, the Big-5 five traits were assessed, thereby completing the first segment of the WTT: the explanatory part of the trait.

To combine the Big-5 analysis with the trait-behaviour part of the WWT, I interpreted Gorbachev's actions with a view to assessing how the descriptive study of traits concretise into behavioural patterns. The results derived from the WTT's employment were examined within a constructivist framework drawing from Finnemore and Sikkink's (1998) model of norm internalisation. By maintaining a heuristic approach, I elaborated upon the process of norm internalisation to explore the how individual personality seeks to initiate possible policy change. I reflexively dialogued with the reading to employ a valid constructivist-psychological method to understand how internalised humans' norms lead to new political processes. Through incisive research into Gorbachev's Presidency, his personal traits were identified in how they constructed significant change in Soviet foreign policy in their domestic and international dynamics. The Gorbachev case study avoided state-centrism, positing the individual as one of a range of shaping factors. Overall, the paper offers a distinctive opening to combine constructivist and individual psychological approaches with a specific methodology using WTT which illustrates how some of the problems of a conventional (Wendtian) constructivism can be overcome. No doubt there is further scope for the criticism of this approach, as well as for testing it in other and more diverse cases, but within the scope of this research paper it is sufficient.

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Dravidar Iyakkam Advocated by Thanthai Periyar Contains Nuances of Karl Marx's Communist Manifesto; - Peraringer Anna Embraced it as Legislature and Bharat Ratna Marudhur Gopalamenon Ramachandran Propagated it in his Films and Formalized it as Annaism; thereafter Dr. Jayaraman Jayalalita carried it forward to uphold the Concept of Equity and Social Justice in Tamil Nadu Governance - A Retrospective Reflection

By Dr. P. Sarvaharana , Dr. P. Thiyagarajan & Dr. S. Manikandan

Abstract- Right to live, equity and social justice are watch words that determine quality of life in a society. But Tamil Society witnessed harassment by handful of men who branding themselves as the higher social hierarchy dominated the rest for decades resulting great social inequality. Devaneya Pavanar in his forward to his book entitled "Tamilar Varalaru" published by Poompuhar Pathippagam, states that "there is a concept revolving in the country for the past three thousand years that Brahmins are inherited from God, sanscrit is the mother of all languages and it is the language of Gods and Tamil had lost its rationality; self-respet and self-confidence. Pavanar also states that though British Rule developed the country; the Justice Party uplifted the coman man; the research in language unravels the truth; Periyar however cautioned Tamils; however Maraimalai Adigal taught the Tamils for their emancipation they remain the same. After the Britishers left India the minority Muslims attain separate nation but not the Tamils.

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Dr. P. Sarvaharana [α], Dr. P. Thiyagarajan [σ] & Dr. S. Manikandan [ρ]

Abstract- Right to live, equity and social justice are watch words that determine quality of life in a society. But Tamil Society witnessed harassment by handful of men who branding themselves as the higher social hierarchy dominated the rest for decades resulting great social inequality. Devaneya Pavanar in his forward to his book entitled "Tamilar Varalaru" published by Poompuhar Pathippagam, states that "there is a concept revolving in the country for the past three thousand years that Brahmins are inherited from God, sanscrit is the mother of all languages and it is the language of Gods and Tamil had lost its rationality; self-respet and self-confidence. Pavanar also states that though British Rule developed the country; the Justice Party uplifted the coman man; the research in language unravels the truth; Periyar however cautioned Tamils; however Maraimalai Adigal taught the Tamils for their emancipation they remain the same. After the Britishers left India the minority Muslims attain separate nation but not the Tamils.

The above explains how dominative the upper class were. In this paper how the great social reformer Thanthai Periyar advocated his concept of self-respect and created a social revolution and laid a strong foundation for the social emancipation of the Tamils in the society. The disciple of Periyar, Peraringer Anna made great strides to bring in changes through legislature and his follower Bharat Ratna Marudhur Gopalamenon Ramachandran (Dr. MGR) imbibed the ideology of Peraringer Anna as his political philosophy and ruled the state on the same ideology. The successor of Dr. MGR Selvi Jayaraman Jayalalitha strode the party without altering the ideology for nearly four decades and also ruled the state of Tamil Nadu several times implementing welfare schemes uplifting and raising the standard of living conditions of the poors. The whole gamut of the historic movement more specifically called "Dravidhar Iyakkam" and its penetration in the Tamil Society and the result of economic emancipation it had created made noble laurate Amertheya Sen comment and appreciate the populist schemes implemented. This research paper analysises the position of Dravidar Iyakkam and how Anna formed many of its ideologies into legislation to give philip for social emancipation and how Dr. MGR imbibed it as his political philosophy and given shape to his plans and how the successor Selvi Jayarman Jayalalitha carried forward the party and ruled the sate of Tamil Nadu with her popular schemes. Finally this article also discusses the ordeals made by the producers to reflect the ideologies in certain films acted by Dr. MGR and Selvi Jayaraman Jayalalitha. As a whole this paper studies the heuristic of the social revolution created by a single man who never aspired to rule the state of Tamil Nadu but remain as a reformer alone but his followers occupied power and made political strides to realize the concept of "Equity and Social Justice in Tamil Nadu".

I. Introduction

Internet encyclopaedia states that music provides entertainment and distraction from problems and serves as a way to relieve tension and boredom. Some studies have reported that adolescents use popular music to deal with loneliness and to take control of their emotional status or mood (a).

Entertainment is a form of activity that holds the attention and interest of audience and also gives pleasure and delight. It can be an idea or a task, but is more likely to be one of the activities or events that have developed over thousands of years specifically for the purpose of keeping an audience's attention or enthral them (b). Although people's attention is held by different things, as individuals have different preferences in entertainment, such as storytelling, music, drama, dance. It is an accepted fact that different kinds of performance exist in all cultures. Indeed in ancient times these were supported in royal courts, developed into sophisticated forms and over the period of time spread to the common man as well. The technological advancement made by the media industry is phenomenal and now a day's media has become an indispensable companion in everyone's life and people depends on it one way or the other.

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The experience of being entertained has come to be strongly associated with amusement, so that one common understanding of the idea is fun and laughter, although many entertainments have a serious purpose. This may be the case in the various forms of ceremony, celebration, religious festival. Hence, there is the possibility that what appears to be entertainment sometimes may also be a means of achieving insight which may lead to knowledge explosion. It is not a mere exaggeration to state that cinema or technically known as entertainment has become a powerful tool not only for gratification of sense but also to disseminate message through which the masses can be attracted. It is now necessary to note how Cinema emerged in the world arena.

The former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Dr. Jayaraman Jayalalitha (Puratchi Thalaivi Amma) in her thought provoking speech on the eve of 100th Anniversary of Indian Cinema went on to indicate that "it is not an over statement to emphasize that films are the foremost among all the innovative developments that took place in the civilization of mankind. Before cinema was invented it was music, literature, arts, and dance, drama that were used to entertain and educate the masses. The scientific advancement made in technology from time to time was also used in cinema and that is the reason why cinema is attracting the attention of majority of the masses unlike any other art or entertainment. In short, it can be said that cinema had become an inevitable part of human life. The pride of propagating the stories of puranas, history of India's freedom fighters and the socialistic ideology among the people belong to the media or cinema. It is the cinema that makes one to see at one place the scenic beauty and wonders of far away of the world. The movie industry had created many employment opportunities. To the students and educators, it creates opportunities to learn in multivarious ways. Films greatly help to propagate the political functions, the public works that took place and the welfare schemes offered to the masses" (1).

II. Objective of the Study

Before we deeply go in to the details of the study, it is important to understand the concept of inequality and how equity and social justice would address the issue of mitigating inequality.

Amartya Sen and Jean Dreze in their Book "An Uncertain Glory- India and Its Contradictions" explain the grip of inequality that prevails in India. They say that all countries in the world have inequalities of various kinds. India however, has a unique cocktail of lethal divisions and disparities. Class has a peculiar role in India that separates it out from the rest of the world. They also say that despite a great many pieces of legislation outlawing any practice of caste discrimination India seems to be quite unique both in terms of the centrality of caste hierarchies and in terms of their continuing hold in modern society. They also say that gender inequality, too is exceptionally high in India, particularly in large parts of the northern and western regions, where the subjugation of women is fairly comprehensive. It is the mutual reinforcement of severe inequalities of different kinds that creates an extremely oppressive social system, where those at the bottom of these multiple layers of disadvantage live in conditions of extreme disempowerment. They further say that large proportion of Indian children learn very little at school, and if one were to look at more advanced educational achievements than mere literacy, sharp disparities of class, caste and gender would re-emerge quite forcefully. Percapita expenditure data suggest an increase in rural-urban disparities as well as growing inequality in urban areas. The comparatively affluent in urban areas have been the main beneficiaries of rapid economic growth in India in recent years. Similarly, per-capita income data indicate a growing concentration of incomes at the top, and wealth data, patchy as they are, also point to growing disparities in the post-reform period (2).

This book was published in 2013 and the eminent authors paint a very sorry picture of disparities including gender based. One should imagine what was the position of disparity some 70 to 80 years ago in Tamil Nadu when the great saint among the socialists Thanthai Periyar launched his movement which was known as dravidhar iyakkam.

In the scholarly article Robert L Hardgrave states that socially appealing films were launched in Tamil Nadu right from 1936 which was an infusion to politics. As a young lieutenant of DMK, Annadurai had written a number of dramas as vehicles for social reform and non-brahmin self-respect ideology.

Robert L Hardgrave also states "when the talkie was first introduced in 1931, in the South India around 1500 films were produced in Tamil. Virtually no village in Tamil Nadu was isolated to be beyond the reach of film, and even the poorest laborer can afford the few paisa to

see the latest film (3). It means that cinema in Tamil society has become so popular and reached every nook and corner of Tamil Nadu and became a great entertainer. It was stated that both Congress and DMK used films and actors for campaigning. Gemini Studios produced a political film for the Congress – Vazhga Nam Thayagam starring Shivaji Ganesan and Nagesh. Sivaji and Padmini worked for the Congress party. Despite its efforts, Congress could not counter the DMK's propaganda, which had a long history of using films for political campaigns since its founding.DMK's long-term association with the Tamil Film industry was put to good use in the campaign. MGR's films were used to attack Congress policies and to popularise DMK's positions. Similar to the tactics employed in the elections of 1957 and 1962, film songs and dialogues from *Kaanji Thalaivan* (1963), "Deivathai (1964)*,* "*Padakotti (1964)",* Aayirathil Oruvan", *Enga Veettu Pillai* (1965), *Anbe Vaa* (1966), *Naan Aanaiyittal* (1966), "Mugarasi (1966)", "Petralthan Pillaya (1966)", *Vivasayee* (1967) and *Arasakattalai* (1967) were used for political messaging. Lesser known film stars like Ravichandran and Jaishankar used their films for praising DMK and Annadurai. The DMK put up posters of MGR recuperating in a hospital bed with a neck cast (from his gunshot wounds) all over Tamil Nadu to garner public sympathy and support (4).

It can be seen that films like Ayirathil Oruvan, Mugarasi and Arasakattalai were pared by Puratchi Thalaivi along with Barat Ratna MGR and in this research paper an attempt has been made to extend the research work that certain selected films acted by both Bharat Ratna MGR and Puratchi Thalaivi and explore whether they contain social welfare ideas that can be brought under the doctrine of Dravidar Iyakkam Equity and Social Justice to find out whether:

- To find out and describe the emergence of Dravidian ideologies from Thanthai Periyar who took on his shoulders to alleviate social inequality faced by the Tamil Society and the struggles he had to undergo.
- To find out and describe how Aringer Anna advanced the ideas of Thanthai Periyar and translated them in to legislation when he became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.
- To find out and describe how Puratchi Thalaivar took on his shoulders to project the political ideas of Anna and reflect them in his films combinedly acted along with Puratchi Thalaivi Selvi Jayaraman Jayalalitha and later converted them in to plans for implementation when he ruled the State of Tamil Nadu.
- To find out and describe how Puratchi Thalaivee took upon herself to make the flag fly high in the annals of history of political affairs of Tamil Nadu in continuing the welfare measures and proved worthy

of eminent successor of the torch bearer of dravidar political ideologies in line with her predecessor Puratchi Thalaivar.

a) Hypothesis

It is well-known to the academic fraternity Hypotheses are tentative statements that will add directions to realize the objective of the study. In this study the following null-hypotheses were formulated:

1. There is a significant difference between the ideologies propagated by Thanthai Periyar and the hard way he advocated them in his struggle for establishment of equity and social justice in the Tamil Society.
2. There is a significant difference between the ideologies propagated by Thatthai Periyar and Peringer Anna in shaping these ideologies as laws when he ruled the state of Tamil Nadu.
3. There is a significant difference between Puratchi Thalaivar enunciating the concept of Annaism and how he turned them in to law when he ruled Tamil Nadu.
4. There is a significant difference between Puratchi Thalaive making the AIADMK Flag fly high after the demise of her leader and continuing the welfare measures and proved worthy of eminent successor of her predecessor.

b) Literature Review; Research Gap and the New Area of Research

It is a fact the researchers had already published the following papers owing to the outcome of the Ph.D. research work entitled "Equity and Social Justice – Economic And Social Welfare Ideas Emphasized In Bharat Ratna Dr. M. G. Ramachandran's Film Songs – In Comparison With Contemporary Theories" - Ph.D degree awarded by the Tamil Nadu Open University, Chennai (2022)

The paper entitled *A Study on Bharat Ratna Dr. M. G. Ramachandran's Philosophical Film Songs with special reference to the Socialistic and Communistic Ideas it Contain - An Academic Comparative Analysis with the Theory of Socialism as Propounded by Karl Marx* published in the World Journal of Social USA., Science, Vol. 5, No. 1; 2018. http://wjss.sciedupress.comthe authors contemplate a well-conceived methodology wherein they compared the ideas contained in the selected Tamil Film songs with that of socialistic and communistic ideas more specifically with the theory of socialism as propounded by Karl Marx (5). *In another published work entitled "A Study on the Bharat Ratna Dr. Maruthur Gopala Menon Ramachandran Film Songs that Contain the Ideas of Equity and Social Justice – A Comparative Analysis with the Contemporary Theories More Specifically with the Theory of Socialism as Propounded by Karl Marx"* published in the Global Journal of Human Social Science USA - Year 2018 the

researchers extended such a comparison with certain additional film songs that reflect the same ideas (6). Whereas in another paper entitled "*A Study on Bharat Ratna Dr. Maruthur Gopalamenon Ramachandran's Film Songs that Denounce the Practice of Corruption - A Novel Comparative Analysis with the Theories of Corruptive Behaviour,* published in the Journal of humanities and cultural studies R & D, USA, the authors using the same methodology compared the ideas of denouncing the practice of corruption as contained in certain MGR film songs with the theories of corruptive behavior (7). In another paper entitled "*A Study on Bharat Ratna Dr. M. G. Ramachandran's philosophical film songs with special reference to the educational ideas it contain An academic comparative analysis with the theories of education (both India and abroad) a retrospective reflection*" Journal of humanities and cultural studies & D, USA compared the educational ideas as contained in the selected MGR film songs with that of educational ideas of the world (8). In another paper entitled "*A Study on Ethical Values as Contained in Bharat Ratna Dr. M. G. Ramachandran's Selected Film Songs – An Academic Comparative Analysis with Contemporary Theories of Ethics*" published in the *International Journal of Research In Commerce, Economics & Management (India),* the ethical ideas as contained in the selected MGR Tamil film songs were compared with the theories of ethics (9). In the paper entitled "A Retrospective Reflection on the Life History and the Philanthropic Attitude of Bharat Ratna Dr. Marudhur Gopala Menon Ramachandran – A Bird's Eye View" the authors not only traced the history of Dr. MGR but also the ordeals he made and the charitable mind of the Hero of the research topic (10) was dealt with.

All the above papers leading to the research work of the identified topic were based on the film songs of Bharat Ratna Dr. Marudhur Goplamenon Ramachandran (Dr. MGR) that contain socially relevant ideas. It is a fact that there are no research work found to indicate whether the films acted by Dr. MGR contain socially relevant ideas.

Prof. R. Thandavan, conducted a research on All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam: A study; Madras University, (1983), Unpublished Ph.D thesis wherein the author had dealt with the origin and growth of the party founded by Dr. MGR and this goes to explain the democracy advocated by Dr. MGR and the progress the party made and mitigate the suffering of poor's in Tamil society (11). Harriss, Barbara (1984), Meals and noon meals in South India: Food and Nutrition Policy in the rural food economy of Tamil Nadu State, Occasional Paper 31, East Anglia: School of Development Studies, P.16 deals in length about the famous Noon Meal Scheme implemented by Dr. MGR in 1983 (12).

c) The Scope of the Research Work

As per the above objectives, this research work should necessarily portray: -the life and struggles of Thanthai Periyar, Peraringer Anna, Puratchi Thalaivar and Puratchi Thalaivi to understand their strugglesin realizing the ideologies of dravidar iyakkam that witnessed the social transformation and how Bharat Ratna MGR took pains to reflect the ideas of dravidar iyakkam in the selected movies. Finally, how certain ideologies were converted in to popular plans to emancipate the common people in terms of economic well-being by Peraringar Anna, Bharat Ratna MGR and Jayaraman Jayalalitha.

Before an attempt has been made to narrate and describe the nuances of the research work on the above line it is necessary to understand how the great work of Karl Marx's especially his Communist Manifesto came handy when compared with the ideologies of dravidar iyakkam. The following table compares these social reform concepts:

The Communist Manifesto	The Main principles of the Self-Respect Movement are	Annaism can be Brought under the Following Pointers
Abolition of Private Property.	No one is great or inferior by their birth.	A casteless and classless society
Heavy Progressive Income Tax.	Women should be given equal rights on par with men.	sale of all essential commodities should be taken over by the government,
Abolition of Rights of Inheritance.	Till such time the eradication of differences that arise due to cast and religion, people should be given representation through a cast based reservation system; both in education and employment opportunity, consistence with the percentage of population of each community in the society.	Right to recall
Confiscation of Property Rights.		
Central Bank.		Confiscation of properties of corrupt people,
Government Ownership of Communication and Transportation.		ceiling of income like land holdings
Government Ownership of Factories and Agriculture.	The various rituals that were blindly followed by the people, including the belief without reasoning, should be routed out from the society.	withdrawal of currencies below 100
Government Control of Labor.		inclusion of English in the eighth schedule of the Constitution to safeguard the interests of the

Corporate Farms and Regional Planning. Government Control of Education.		Anglo-Indian community decentralization of powers between center and states Government takeover of heavy industries and mills Coffee, tea and rubber plantations should be nationalized.

Interpretation of the above table is dealt separately in the later part of this research work and it is imperative to understand how Karl Marx the greatest social reformer formulated the idea of communism otherwise the present research work would pale in to insignificance. A detailed introduction about Karl Marx is given in the latter part of the paper just before the methodology."Slavery does not merely mean a legalized form of subjection. It means a state of society in which some men are forced to accept from others the purposes which control their conduct" - "Equality may be a fiction but nonetheless one must accept it as a governing principle"- *Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (13). Origin of Dravidar Iyakkam.*

Before we go in to the details of a conspectus study to unearth whether films combinedly acted by MGR and Jayalalitha contain socialistic ideas with special reference to dravidhar iyakkam and the endeavor made by the three stalwarts to rule Tamil Nadu and implement welfare schemes to uplift the poor with a view to establish welfare measure of equity and social justice, it is imperative to understand from where such an important social reform organization emerged and it is equally important to understand the life history of Thanthai Periyar, Peraringer Anna, Puratchi Thalaivar MGR and Puratchi Thalaivi from whom such a great social reform handed down and sustained.

d) Periyar's Early life Influenced Self-Respect Movement

The thought on the great concept the "self-respect" evolved by Thanthai Periyar is not born merely after he became popular. Perhaps it was inborn in Thanthai Periyar's inner-consciousness and one has to understand the life he led from his childhood and the various troubles he had to marvel that had shaped his attitude to boldly question the fundamental problems faced by the common man in the name of caste which had differentiated and certainly alienated the dis-advantaged men and women.

Erode Venkata Ramaswamy most respectfully regarded as Thanthai Periyar by his followers for whom he was the only savior; whose philosophy looked so inviting to them to keep their heads held high in the society and brought dignity to their lives as well. Periyarwas born on 17th Sep. 1879 to Venkatan and Chinnathayammal. Periyar's father Venkatan was known for his hard work and honesty. He was poor and started his career as a laborer and rose to the stature of a

richest merchant far superior to his fellow merchants in Erode which was a big market place at that time.

It was indicated by Thanthai Periyar in the book written by himself entitled "Auto-Biography written by Thanthai Periyar (14). That Thayammal was a very close relative to his father who had already lost her husband and living without children. It was she who made a plea to obtain one of the children so that the properties belong to her will be enjoyed by the child.   Since Periyar's elder brother was so sick, his parents decided to send Peiryar to Chinna Thayammal. Therefore, Periyar was brought up by his relative Chinna Thayammal. She gave all the freedom and liberty to him and never imposed any restrictions; that had enabled Periyar to grow as a ferocious fellow. Periyar opposed anything and even confronted with the elders belong to his neighborhood. Though Chinna Thayammal received complaints from several people around her house, she never opposed Periyar nor did she try to tell him what he was doing wrong? This exaggerated character of Venkadan was also brought to the attention of his father who often visited Chinna Thayammal but he too did not venture to caution Periyar.

Periyar further states that he was sent to school: "it was a thatched hut admeasuring 16 feet long and 9 feet bredth wherein about 50 students between the age group of 5 to 13 would study. There too he had indulged in the same manner and he confirms that "treachery at house, creating unnecessary disputes in the street, infighting at school exaggerated speech without caring for the opinions of people around were the endless behavior of himself.

Periyar further states that after his elder brother's health had improved and with the insistence of his mother the heir-ship with his aunt was broken and he was brought to his parent's house. There also he was sent to a municipal school and studied up to IV standard and he wrote IV form primary examination after being vaccinated to prevent small pox and paying rupee one as examination fee. Those who passed this examination will become clerk in the government organization. His name was published in the government gazette being successful in the examination. As the teachers could not bear his incriminating behavior they had decided to dispel him from the school and requested his parents to take him back home. Periyar further states "(in his own words) after withdrawing his admission his father gave him few jobs in the whole sale house run by him. He had

to write address on the packages, conduct auction of the raw materials and liaise with the merchants who visit the wholesale house. As he was the son of the owner these merchants were friendly with him and he used to indulge in friendly arguments and confrontations with them too. In the words of Periyar "If one has such wild argumentative power coupled with basic knowledge of law he is considered as clever lawyer. No matter whether such a person is good or honest but he will become an intelligent speaker. As I desired to become such a frantic speaker, I practiced deliberate confrontations to understand the will of the people to opposing it. In course of time this had become my nature. In 1890's our house had become rich and my parents had become ardent followers of vaishnavism many learned persist and pandits who are well versed in vedas and puranas used to come and stay for three to five days at our house. I used to indulge in confrontation with them and opposed their philosophy right, left and center. They used to be kind with me tolerating my nuisance and this routine had resulted in confrontation against sastras, puranas and against the concept of God finally opposing Brahminism and I formed an incessive jealous about Brahmin's luxurious life. This had not in any way affected my relationship with the Brahmins whom I had friendship nor did they considered me as their enemy. Ordinarily I formed a notion of Brahmins and Tamils in 1900 itself. When I used to indulge in speech or while in arguments and decision making this would become predominant in my mind". Rest of the narrative about the great Periyar can be found in the recent publication of the author's i.e. *"Equity and Social Justice – Economic And Social Welfare Ideas Emphasized In Bharat Ratna Dr. M. G. Ramachandran's Film Songs – In Comparison With Contemporary Theories"* published in GJHSS Volume 22 Issue 5 Version 2022

But the authors were humbled by what was written by Hard Grave about the noble history of Thanthai Periyar and also how he revolted against the congress with his reformation thoughts that had led to the foundation of Dravidian movement. A synopsis of his original writing is reproduced below:

Hard Grave states that the roots of the Dravidian movement may be traced back to the anti-Brahmin conflicts of the early part of the century (19th Century):
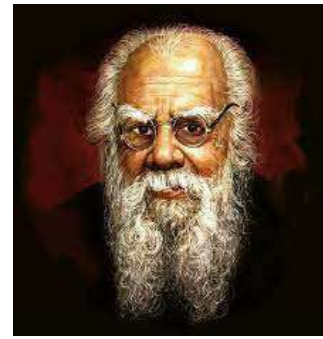
E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker Respectfully known as Thanthai Periyar

Hard Grave says that following World War there emerged one of the most dynamic and colorful political leaders South India had ever produced, E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker, known as Periyar, the Great Sage. Although an ardent opponent of Brahmin power, Naicker was drawn politically toward the Congress, joining the non-cooperation movement in 1920 and campaigned vigorously for prohibition and for the use of homespun (khadi), and served two terms of imprisonment. Elected Secretary of the Tamilnad Congress Committee, he soon antagonized the Brahmin leadership of the Congress in Madras through his satyagraha at Vaikom for the opening of the temples to Harijans. Naicker's protest against caste discriminations in an orphanage operated under Congress auspices and his advocacy of reserved seats for non-Brahmins in the Council won little favor with the leadership of the provincial Congress Committee.

Hard Grave further states that Naicker bolted the Congress and attacked it as a tool of Brahmin domination. In 1925, he organized the "Self-Respect Movement," designed as a Dravidian uplift movement, seeking to expose the Brahmin tyranny and the deceptive methods by which they controlled all spheres of Hindu life. He attacked Hinduism as the tool of Brahminical control and carried on active propaganda in an attempt to rid the people of Puranic Hinduism and wean them away from the religious ceremonies requiring the priestly services of the Brahmin.

Hard Grave also states that Periyar denounced caste observances, child marriage, and enforced widowhood, and attacked the Laws of Manu, which was the basis of the entire social fabric of caste and is "totally inhuman". Naicker returned from a trip to the Soviet Union in 1931, more firmly convinced than ever that materialism was the answer to India's problems, and openly advocated mass revolution and the overthrow of the Government. Tempered somewhat by imprisonment for sedition, Naicker joined the declining Justice Party. It is very clear that Periyar was not convinced about his ideology of self-respect and have more force to materialism as he could see that his social reform thoughts largely concide with what Karl Marx's

Communist Manifesto as it advocates equity and social justice.

Hard Grave also says that under the Congress Ministry of C. Rajagopalachari in l937, the Hindi language was introduced to the South as a compulsory subject in schools. Taking this as an affront to Tamil culture and its rich literary tradition, Tamil patriots reacted with violent protest, and Naicker, ready to exploit the opportunity, waved the black flags of rebellion in his first anti-Hindi campaign. The agitation against the imposition of Hindi inflamed the non-Brahmins against the Ministry and brought Naicker to the forefront. The campaign, which brought the death of two agitators in police firings, forced the Government to change Hindi from a required to an optional subject in schools. The following year, l938, while in jail for his anti-Hindi campaign, Naicker was elected President of the Justice Party.

Hard Grave further says, that under Naicker's leadership, the party resolved that Tamilnad should be made a separate state, loyal to the British Raj and "directly under the Secretary of State for India". This demand for a Dravidian State soon became the fundamental issue of the Justice movement, giving a new lease of life to what had been a dying party. The Justice Party was reorganized under Naicker's guidance in 1944 as a highly militant mass organization and was renamed the Dravida Kazagham, or Dravidian Federation. Naicker, who in the l930's had visited the Axis countries as well as the Soviet Union, declared that "members of the Kazagham should wear black shirts whenever possible, as a symbol of the present down-trodden condition of the Dravidians". The organization of the party was to be based upon units in each village, taluk, and district. The objective of the DK was proclaimed to be the achievement of a sovereign independent Dravidian Republic, which would be federal in nature, with four units corresponding to the linguistic divisions (Madras, Kerala, Mysore, and Andhra), each having residuary powers and autonomy of internal administration. *The party proclaimed its opposition to the British, and Naicker called upon DK members to renounce all titles conferred by the British and to resign all offices connected with the National War Front. This action greatly enhanced the prestige of the movement, on both state and national levels.*

Hard Grave also says that as in the Self-Respect Movement, one of Naicker's basic objectives was to remove all "superstitious belief" based upon religion and tradition. No member was allowed to wear the sectarian marks of faith across his forehead. Members were urged to boycott the use of Brahmin priests in ceremonies. He campaigned vigorously for widow remarriage and inter-caste marriage, and the "reform" marriage rites of the DK gained wide acceptance among the non-Brahmins of Tamilnad. The ceremonies and rites of passage at which Brahmins officiated came to be despised by the Dravida Kazagham, and the Hindu religion was denounced as an opiate by which the Brahmins had dulled the masses so that they might be exploited and controlled. Atheism became virtually a cult among the Kazagham members. They took pains to destroy and desecrate the images of sacred Hindu deities, such as Rama and Ganesa, and the Ramayana and other Sanskrit epics were distorted to the political ends of the party.

The above are what were written by Hard Grave in his scholarly publication. However, the concept of "Self-Respect" as enunciated by Periyar (i.e. tan-maanam or suya-mariyadai in Tamil Language) is traceable in ancient Tamil literature. Indeed, self-respect was acclaimed as the virtue of high valor in Tamil society. The ancient classical Tamil literatures speak volumes about the rule of the kings who upheld the concept of self-respect. These Kings had a leading principle (i.e. to protect every citizen of his country) and they regarded the people as their own-self. Indeed, they treated the sufferings or injustice caused to the people as their own, and maintained close relationship with the common people of their country. Though the nation was ruled by a dynasty, the rights of every citizen were given utmost importance and thereby equity and social justice prevailed in the society. For example, Manuneedhi Cholan was a righteous King of this lineage, who ruled his country with justice and honesty. One day his son Veedhividangan, on his way from the temple runs over a calf by his chariot. The mother of the calf, "the cow" pulled the bell that was kept at a common place to alert any injustice meted out by the citizens. Hearing it, the King immediately ordered that his son be punished, the way the calf was killed. Despite the advice of his counsels, the King was firm and punished his son. This depicts the fact how dispassionate, virtuous and unprejudiced king Manuneedhi Cholan was (15).

Periyar discovered that if and when the belief in rituals (i.e. "Vaideegam or Prohitam") is routed out the slavery position of the countrymen could not be changed. The self-respect movement was extremely influential not just in Tamil Nadu, but also overseas. The main principles of the Self-Respect Movement are (Prof. Anbalagan):

- No one is great or inferior by their birth.
- Women should be given equal rights on par with men.
- Till such time the eradication of differences that arise due to cast and religion, people should be given representation through a cast-based reservation system; both in education and employment opportunity, consistence with the percentage of population of each community in the society.

- The various rituals that were blindly followed by the people, including the belief without reasoning, should be routed out from the society.

Tamil Nadu was the only state, under the Dravidian rule, that gave 100 per cent reservation to all communities including brahmins since 1928. When the Indian Constitution was introduced in 1950, citing fundamental rights, certain brahmins, filed a writ in Madras High Court challenging the reservation policy pursued in Tamil Nadu. High Court of Madras invalidated the reservation policy. State Government appealed to Supreme Court. But Supreme Court confirmed the invalidation of the reservation policy. Social Revolutionary Periyar started agitation against the judgment of Supreme Court and mobilized the people for the agitation. Except Brahmins, all non-brahmins joined the struggle. Periyar announced that on 14th August (1950), there will be total agitation in Tamil Nadu in all sectors and all sections of people including students, teachers, doctors, govt. servants joined the struggle.

The Central government was forced to react on this agitation and the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Law Minister Dr. B. R. Ambedkar brought through the first amendment of the Indian Constitution by inserting Article 15 (4) that enabled the Governments to provide reservation in education for BC, SC and Minorities. Article 15 (4) was inserted and the term *"socially and educationally"* found a place in the Constitution. It must be noted that the Indian Constitution as introduced in 1950, did not have provision for reservation in education. There was only Article 16 (4) providing reservation in jobs. It was Periyar's struggle that paved way for reservation in education not only for the people of Tamil Nadu but to the entire BC, SC, ST and Minorities throughout the country. Aringer Anna (C. N. Annadurai) and Perum Thalaivar (Great leader) Kamaraj were in support of this struggle of Periyar (16).

The above are about Thanthai Periyar's life history and how single handedly he advocated the self-respect movement. It should be noted here that Periyar had renounced to occupy the post of Chief Minister though opportunities knocked his door and remained as a stalwart of a great force of self-respect movement dictating terms to the rulers how should they govern, and this had a lasting effect on successive parties sprung from this social movement and attain political power. The first one being Peraringer Anna to from the party called DMK and become famous that captured power in the state of Tamil Nadu. It is now imperative to narrate about Anna – how an ardent disciple of Periyar floated the political party and ruled the state with proven probity in public life.

Peraringer Anna - The Torch Bearer of Periyar's Ideology

Many of the narrations under this heading were from the wonderful book written by Alakiya Pandian entitled "Peringer Anna Atchil Amarntha Kathai" Kumaran Pathippagam (kumaranpathippagham@gmail.com) Tamil book (17).

III. Birth and Early Life of Anna

Anna was born to Bangaru Ammal and Natarajan on 15th Sep. 1909. His parents (a middle class family) named him Annadurai. It was Ramsamani Ammal (Anna's aunty whom Anna called as totta) who sent Anna to school run by missionaries. A shrewd but obedient student at the same time possessed admirable brilliance and talent. Anna used to be number one not only in his studies but also in punctually attending the classes and he never took leave. These ensured him to secure first prize every time. Anna was master of all subjects excepting Mathematics. In Maths alone Anna failed twice in the SSLC examination. This had made his parents to worry and Anna made serious attempt and completed it.

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a) *Anna's Hobbies*

Anna used to watch dramas enacted in the streets in his child hood days. These street dramas mainly on the puranas were organized during the nights in the open place of the streets. Anna used to accompany his totta (anty) and carefully watched them while others asleep. Anna formed interest to remember every character of the dramas and later tried to enact the same at his house along with his friends. Attracted mostly by the drama of Harichandra, Anna tried to enact the same under a tree along with his friends. Anna remembered every conversation of the drama and tutored his friends wherein he himself donned the role of the hero. His voice reverberated the surroundings.

b) *A Clerk but Continued Studies*

Anna's family wanted him to take up a job as they needed financial support. Anna got a clerical post in the office of corporation, Kanchipuram. The Educational Trust of Pachaiyappan came forward to extend assistance for higher education to Anna thereby

he joined intermediate at Pachaiyappan college, Chennai. Anna hired a small house near his college and lived along with his aunt (Totha) there. Because of constant disturbance at the surrounding Anna decided to study during the late nights. Day times he went to Connemara Library where he was immersed in studies forgetting himself. Anna passed intermediate i.e. PUC with first class and decided to join a two years B.A. degree and take up a job due to the condition prevailed at home. But it was the Principal of the College respected Chinnathambi Pillai's financial support that hadenabled Anna to join B. A. (Hons.). Anna took economics as the major, history and political science as minor. Anna got married to Rani at the age of 21, i.e. in 1930 under the insistence of his parents while he was at study and completed his studies by 1933.

Anna used to spend his time either in the class room or in the library that made his friends to comment him as an insect of books. Anna jovially replied "insect of books is better than an ordinary insect on the mud and I desire to be an insect of books". Anna could be found either in the class room or in the library. He read books of current interest including religious books like Thevaram, Thiruvasagam, Bagavat Gita, Kuran as well as Sangam literary books like Tholkapium, Silapathigaram, Manimekalai etc. His scholarship had grown abundantly and he used to participate in the oratorical competition representing Pachayappas' College and won every competition. Anna became popular and attracted the crowd's attention by his admirable talk on topic of political importance mostly the concept of social justice. Anna was growing with glory of self-discipline, scholarship above all speaking eloquently and writing par excellence. Sometimes his own professors thought that Anna was copying from the writings of others but they later understood the brilliance, originality and intellectual acclimatization of Anna. With the help of his Professor Varadarasan, Anna was able to meet eminent persons like Mu. Varadarasanar, Maraimalaiadigalar, Jeevanandam and regularly attended their public meetings that had enabled him to understand the current political scenario. After his post-graduation Anna was searching for jobs, however, was attracted by Thanthai Periyar's self-respect movement. Anna used to attend the meetings organized by this movement and became its active office bearer and also delivered several public speeches. He also attended public meetings of other parties like congress and Justice Party. Finally, Anna could get a job of a translator of the forum of trade unions. His job was to translate the speeches delivered by Trade Union leaders of other states from English to Tamil. The new found job was interesting but his family members never liked it. They insisted him to search for jobs as per his qualification. Because of their constant persistence Anna decided to take up an English teacher's job at Govinda Nayakkar School near China

Bazzar. This new found job did not lost long as Anna could not tolerate the attitude of the management and often succumbed to confrontation that led to quit the job.

When Anna was desperately searching for a job his friend gave a recommendation letter to a Magistrate for a clerk post. Next morning Anna went to the district magistrate and gave a chit by writing his name, reading the name the magistrate rushed out of the house and wanted Anna's recommendation so that he can become a judge as Anna was a noted and famous speaker of justice party which was ruling Madras Providence at that time. Anna promised the magistrate for the help sought and went away.

Finally he decided to meet Sir Raja Muthaiah Chettiar for a job as a teacher in the school run by him. Chettiar wanted Anna to become his assistant and also deliver public speech on behalf of the justice party and promised to give double the salary of a teacher. Anna never liked the idea to become an assistant to a rich man and walked away. Thereafter Anna never tried for a job.

Anna witnessed a great menace that had happened before his eyes i.e. the local congress men were collecting huge sums of money in the name of "Thilagar Suyaraj Nidhi" and using it for their personal needs. Anna become furious and met Jawaharlal Nehru and gave a petition narrating how the local congress leaders were misusing the funds for their personal needs. Thereafter Anna decided to take up politics and joined the self-respect movement of Thanthai Periyar since both congress and justice party was the only two other parties existed during those days and they were not serving the benefit of the common man and the poor's. Congress walked away from contesting election by citing various reasons and this had turned advantageous to Justice Party which came to power and ruled Tamil Nadu.

Justice party wanted Thanthai Periyar to join their movement but Periyar refused to accept the offer as he found this party a hand full of rich men. Chittur Diwan Bagadhur Munuswamy was ruling Tamil Nadu under whom PT Rajan and Kumaraswamy were serving as Ministers. When leaders of Justice Party were showing their authority over English language Anna showed his eloquency in Tamil language that was greatly admired by the general public. Simultaneously, Anna used to deliver lectures in the Colleges on chosen topic of the organizers and amazed the gatherings. Anna was fielded as the candidate of justice party and opposed the congress candidate in the Bethanayagan Pettai in the corporation election against Balasubramaniya Mudaliyar. Anna took advantage of the above corruptive practice and exposed the scam all over Tamil Nadu. This startled not only the people around the area but the congress men grew angry against Anna and great speakers like Thiru Vi Ka

retorted "if there is a stray dog dead in a garden that should be removed from the place, similarly the practice of corruption in the so called nidhi collection should be weeded out that does not mean the entire congress party is corrupt. Next day Anna spoke, if the garden was affected by the bad smell due to death of the stray dog indeed the garden needs to be removed. This was a fitting reply by Anna. The people in that area wanted Anna to bring electricity for the temples of the area but Anna said that there are houses where electricity is not there. If I am elected, I will try to electrify the poor houses and then try to fulfil your demands. However, Balasubramaniya Mudaliyar was elected.

In the same year i.e. in 1935 Anna happened to deliver a scintillating lecture at Thirupur at the Sengundhar Youth Conference under the Presidentship of Thanthai Periyar. Periyar was greatly inspired by the speech of Anna which was centred on social justice as propagated by him. Thathai Periyar was a most popular leader of India at that time. However, Anna was a mere speaker, belong to Justice Party. Periyar asked Anna's education and his future plan. Anna told Periyar about his education and his future plan would be active politics. This answer impressed Periyar and Anna was elated on meeting his political icon Periyar.

Anna used to think about this important meeting with Periyar again and again. Thoughts chased in the mind of Anna about what was he doing; what are his political ideologies and who was his political leader? He found himself an odd man out in the Justice Party as a mere speaker. That party was only giving its voice for the people of Tamil Nadu, after it is being defeated by the Congress and Congress was ruling the Madras presidency. The Justice Party was forging hands with Social Leaders like Thanthai Periyar to defeat the Congress party. There were no prominent leaders in the Justice party to command respect of the general public. Anna felt that Thantai Periyar alone would be a suitable leader to Justice Party.

As usual Anna used to participate in the political meetings and deliver lectures in his own style in Chaste Tamil. In the colleges Anna spoke about literature among the students and earned name and fame among them. One day after delivering an inspiring talk before the students of Annamalai University a participant posed a very important question to Anna in the following manner:

Sir, you talk about the sufferings of the poor's of the state very emphatically but you are there in a party consisting of rich men. Anna answered; it is to attract young man like you to join the party and make it stronger to oppose the oppression and sufferings of the poors I remain in the party. The young man Narayanaswamy was none other than Navalar Nedunzheiyar.

c) Anna was Arrested

Introduction of Hindi as a compulsory second language in the studies in 1938 brought trigger of intolerance among the Tamil loving fraternity more so in the midst of prominent Tamil leaders like Thanthai Periyar. Periyar took this opportunity to unite the people against Congress to weed it out from Tamil Nadu. The protest spread as forest fire among the common men. Anna went from place to place in the State to inspire people by his thought provoking speeches on the nuances and danger that a wait on implementation of the Hindi language among the Tamil Speaking society. What is the danger Anna envisioned is the question.

Inspired by the speeches of Anna, people joined the protest in large numbers that had resulted in the Congress government to arrest Anna and sent him to prison for four months where Anna met his leader Thanthai Periyar. Anna's long dream to associate directly with Thanthai Periyar became a reality. These two greats exchanged ideas. It was during this period the leaders of Justice Party took an important decision of making Periyar as the leader of Justice Party. When Periyar was released, he took over as the leader of the Justice party. Periyar made Anna as the Associate Editor of a prominent daily the Viduthalai. His salary was Rs. 50/- per month. This paved the way for Anna to write against the ruling party and vehemently criticize the British rule. Once Anna wrote against the poor administration of Lord Reggin, who was the Governor General of Madras Presidency. The enraged Governor General wanted regretting corrigendum to be given by Anna. But Anna refused to do so; the matter went up to Periyar, he said that there is nothing wrong in Anna writing against the Governor General.

In 1940 during the conference held at Thiruvaroor Periyar came to an emphatic conclusion about Dravida Nadu and it should belong to Dravidars. Neither the Britishers nor the North Indians should govern the Madras Presidency consisting of Dravidars. Ki. Aa. Po. Viswanathan the Secretary of the Justice party demanded accounts from Periyar. Periyar made Anna as the Secretary of Justice Party. This move of Anna becoming the Secretary of the Justice party surprised the other leaders in the party who were aiming to stripe off the powers of Periyar and Anna. Anna became popular deservingly as he has both talent and prominence to the helm of affairs of a strong political party and also Anna vindicated the idea of the leader of the party in every sense of sincerity. In 1942 Anna started a newspaper called "Dravida Nadu" and published it from Kanchipuram. This newspaper disseminated the idea of the claim of separate Dravida Nadu. Again Anna worked tirelessly to write essays about separate Dravida Nadu and was actively supported by Thantai Periyar. This impregnable combination did not lost long as Anna supported the movement of Mahatma Gandhi more specifically

Gandhi's idea of "moving Britishers out of India". This was not liked by Periyar. However, their relationship continued. The domination of other leaders who disliked the combination of Periyar-Anna was so severe and it brought considerable qualm in the mind of Periyar. It was at this juncture Anna proposed the following four resolutions which got the assent of Periyar:

1. The situation of hate is prevailing among the general public when they hear the name of Justice Party and thereby it should be named as Dravidar Iyakkam.
2. As the general public thinks that the leaders of the Justice Party are doing subservient service to the Britishers in order to weed-out the feeling of the leaders of Justice Party it should renounce the awards bestowed on them by the Britishers like Diwans, Bagadurs and Sirs.
3. If this political party is aimed to serve all the people - the leaders should not use their community name as suffix to their names like Mudaliars, Chittiyars and Pillais etc.,
4. They should also renounce the honorary positions given by the Britishers such as Honarary Consultant etc.

Periyar liked this idea and thereby named it as Anna's Ideas and floated it as an agenda before the General Body meeting and it was approved after 36 hours of debate.

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The old lions of justice party announced that their group alone reflect the true nature of the party and functioned separately as they had money power. As majority of the general public stood by the side of Periyar the Dravidar Kazham became popular and it gave new lease of life to Anna as its prominent lieutenant to Periyar and it became a powerful movement indeed. The functioning of a separate entity as Dravidar Khalagam gave new lease of life both to Periyar and Anna. Added to this Periyar announced a separate Dravidar Nadu and he went to the northern part of India to meet the congress leaders to convince them to agree to the idea of separate Dravidar Nadu. He took Anna with him. Their sojourn came to a virtual failure as none of the congress leader supported the idea of Periyar for a separate Dravida Nadu excepting the fact that they met Mohamed Ali Jinnah who was most successfully pioneering the idea of separate Pakistan from India. Their meeting was fruitful and Jinnah told Periyar that Anna was a born leader. Periyar agreed to the view of Jinnah and casually said that Anna is intelligent. Finally they met Ambedkar and returned.

d) The Tirade of Wearing Black Shirt

In the year 1946 Periyar wanted his followers (i.e. thondar padai) should wear black upper cloth i.e. black shirt to mark the sufferings of the poor Tamils in its own Presidency. Anna opposed this idea and vehemently argued with Periyar about the ramifications of adopting such a move; as it is the discretion of the person to wear different colour of shirts and if someone creates a social crime wearing the black colour shirt the blame will fall on us. However, Periyar did not heed to this and stood firm on his idea. A small difference of opinion took a dangerous form and people belong to the same organization took sides and talked ill of others. Anna realized the division and consequences and requested his supporters not to organize public meeting to wage war of words thereby a great commotion of fighting among the same party men came to an end to the dismay of congressmen who were enjoying such a tirade. The congress then made a law prohibiting wearing of black shirt by the party men of Dravidar Khagam. Periyar organized a meeting in protest of the ban and waiting for Anna to come. Anna though came late but attended the meeting by wearing a black shirt this had put an end to the difference of opinion. In the same year Periyar organized a conference inviting his party men. About 50000 party men attended the conference. Suddenly goondas and rowdies entered the arena and disrupted the meeting but they were all thrown out of the meeting place. Anna announced "let the government arrests me for violating the law".

However, the government revoked the law thereby the back shirt became uniform of dravidar khazham.

e) Anna the Bernadsaw of South India

Anna used to write essays and dramas. Anna wrote a drama by name Ore-Iravu (one-night). And this drama was successfully run at Madras. One day Kalki saw this drama and said that Anna is the Bernadsaw of south India. In one of the public meeting Thiru Vi Ka exclaimed that so far in Tamil Nadu only Thiruvika writing and Thiruvika form of Tamil has been in existence - in future, I will not be surprised if Anna way of writing will come in to being. Anna raised funds for Pavender Bharathidasan through the members of the party and organized a function to hand over Rs. 25000/- to Pavender. In a function Anna handed over the money to Pavender. However, Pavender insisted Anna to start a political party with the money meant to be given to him. Anna convinced Pavender and requested him to go all over the country and compose wonderful poems and do service to Tamil Literature. Periyar did not attend this function as he never gave importance to the develop-ment of Literature and his aim was to uplift the people in the society. Thereafter Anna did not attend few meetings organized by Thanthai Periyar this had resulted in spreading news across the party cadre that these two leaders have misunderstanding among them. In few meetings where Anna attended slogans were shouted against him by the loyalists of Periyar and Anna's loyalists had also raised slogans in support of Anna. This had happened few times and Anna stopped attending the meetings of his party. Incidentally Periyar organized a conference in Tuticorin wherein Anna was expected to give his talk. Anna did not attend the conference; with the result the rift between these two had worsen. Periyar told the gathering that he does not require intelligent people to his party and fools are enough. Few press persons to know the reaction of Anna sought his opinion about Periyar's statement. Anna replied it is true that our party needs fools because they will become intelligent. Such is the greatness of Anna who never had negative attitude and gave respect to his opponents.

The Britishers announced the grant of independence two months before and leaders of congress party were busy in preparing the list of ministers. Ki Aa Po Vishwanathan prepared a list including Anna as one of the Minister and published it in the daily. The inclusion of the name of Anna brought a pleasant surprise to Anna himself as congress men considered Anna as a common leader. However, Anna replied that since he could not work in the Congress party he is tendering his resignation.

f) Independence the Day of Darkness

While the country was celebrating the grant of independence on 27th July 1947 Periyar announced the day of Independence should not be considered as a happy day infact it should be treated as a dark day as Tamils had not achieved the separate Dravida Nadu so far. This announcement not only surprised the party men but also Anna. Anna gave a statement that "it is not appropriate to measure a wonderful happening that was witnessed by the world merely by the objective of our party and regarding the day of independence as a dark day. One should not denounce the grant of Independence, if we do so, it will make the perception of the general public that the Justice Party has been working in alignment with the Britishers comes true. Therefore, I raise on this occasion to vehemently state that the day of Independence is going to dispel the two centuries of foreign rule of atrocities indeed is the happy day not a dark day. Even if the party is going to dispel me, I will fight for social justice and separate dravida nadu on my own. This statement surprised many in the party and Periyar did not expel Anna from the party.

g) Hindi Protest United Periyar and Anna

Just after independence, the state government announced that Hindi should be taught in the schools. This had enraged not only the Tamil loving leaders but also the general people. Both Periyar and Anna issued joint statements in protest of the notification of the government and great many protests were taken place. The party workers stopped taking sides and happily indulged in the general protest and strike. On top of it, Anna wrote against the announcement of the government in teaching of Hindi language. The government demanded a penalty of Rs. 3000/- till such time the publication of the Dravida Nadu is suspended forth with. Anna sought the help of the party workers who came forward to rescue Anna and sent money. Anna paid the penalty and started publishing Dravida Nadu. When the case that was pending before the court came up for hearing the court decided against the plea of the government and Anna got back the money and he promptly returned the money to the persons from whom he received the amount.

In 1948 Periyar organized a conference in protest of Hindi propagation and made Anna as a special guest of honor. In the conference Periyar announced that he had served the society for 50 years and become tired and wished to pass on the mettle to Anna who is young and fit to lead the party this has got the onerous support of the party workers and they were overwhelmed by the announcement. But things went on the other way. Anna was neglected and slowly losing his respect in the party. Periyar had other plans. He gave a statement that he had no faith on anyone in the party and in view of this he is going to identify his attendant as his life partner so that the party and its wealth will be in tact as his close aides have swindled thousands of rupees. This enraged the party men more so Anna. On top of it Periyar gave a statement that someone in the

party wants to kill him. This statement was unimaginable and Anna had to approach the court to file a defamation case against Periyar. Periyar's lawyer informed the court that the statement of Periyar never points the name of Anna thereby Anna withdrew the case.

Finally Periyar arranged for his marriage with Maniammai on 9.7.1949 and thereby Anna had to come out from Periyar and started his own party the Dravida Munetra Kazhagam on 17.8.1949 at Robbinson Park, Chennai with the primary objective of

1. Social reform
2. Equity in public wealth
3. Political freedom

The congress government again imposed the law of making Hindi as the compulsory subject in the school curriculum. This announcement had provided necessary impetus to the newly formed party by Anna who organized state wide protest and the congress government had to withdraw its legislation. Thereafter the congress government banned the book written by Anna entitled "Arya-Maya". It imposed a penalty of Rs.700/- failing which rigorous imprisonment will have to be undergone. Anna refused to pay the penalty and was sent to jail. Again, the congress government banned the book published by Thanthai Periyar entitled "Ponmozhigal" and imposed the same punishment with that of Anna. Incidentally Periyar and Anna were put in the same jail in adjacent rooms. They never met nor did they spoke. Prolonged protest all over the state made the congress government to release both the leaders.

Thereafter the general elections were announced Anna made it a point as his party was newly formed it will not contest the election; however, it will support individuals who has faith in the ideology of his party. Apart from congress and Communist party there are two other parties by name Workers Party and Common-wheels Party. Prominent persons belonging to these two parties approached Anna to support their candidature. Anna supported them. In the election no one won majority surprisingly the persons who sought the support of Anna won the election in plenty. This gave Anna the confidence that his party too gained ground in the public arena. In reality after independence congress could not gain majority in Tamilnadu to form the government and it was a great insult to congress party. Prime Minister Nehru called Rajaji in person and requested him to find ways and means to form the government with the support of the independents who are nearly 40 in numbers. It was the cleverness of Rajaji that had attracted many from the independent candidates to join congress party to form the government. This move of independents who had won the election with the support of Anna surprised many including Anna. Anna was furious and protested in front of the houses of the independents. Anna planned for an agitation keeping the following three agendas in mind:

1. Against the policy of the state government which announced that the students have to practice the work being done by their fathers
2. Rename the name of the railway station from Dalmiya to Kulithalai and
3. Denounce the insulting word of the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru who had criticized the DMK party as nonsense.

Anna made an appeal to his party men that they should indulge in agitation with the three profound ideologies i.e. Kadamai, Kanniam and Kattupadu (Duty, Dignity and Discipline). Anna also insisted his party men not to indulge in violence in any manner and should abide by the cannons indicated by him.

Anna and Nedunzhelian were arrested before hand and sent to jail. Many of the party workers were also arrested and put in the same jail where Anna and Nedunzhelian were kept. In the jail Anna was ready to do service to his party men but they refused the idea of Anna and co-operated with the police. Meanwhile the congress government imposed a penalty of Rs. 500/- or three month's rigorous imprisonment. Anna refused to pay the penalty and thereby arrested and sent to jail. There was wide range of agitation owing to the arrest of Anna. The party men decided to show black flags to the congress leaders, Ministers including the Prime Minister of India. Time elapsed Anna came out of the prison. But the agitation did not stop as majority of the party men believed that there was truth in Anna's conviction and ideology especially "Kulakalvi". The legislative assembly also enraged with heated exchange on the concept of kulakalvi and there was a voting for Kulakalvi. 137 supported the bill and 139 were against the concept of Kulakalvi and thereby the legislation failed in the assembly and the same was withdrawn. But the opposition demanded resignation of the Chief Minister as he lost the confidence of the House. Rajaji faced moral ignomiony and planned to step down. This move paved the way for Karmaveerar Kamarajar to become the Chief Minister succeeding Rajaji. The words uttered

by the great Rajaji that he will crush the DMK just like the mosquito has paled in to insignificance. Kamaraj who never supported the bill of Kulakalvi and was apposing Rajaji has become the Chief Minister after Rajaji stepped down. Once again the Dravidian concept of equity and social justice has been regained.
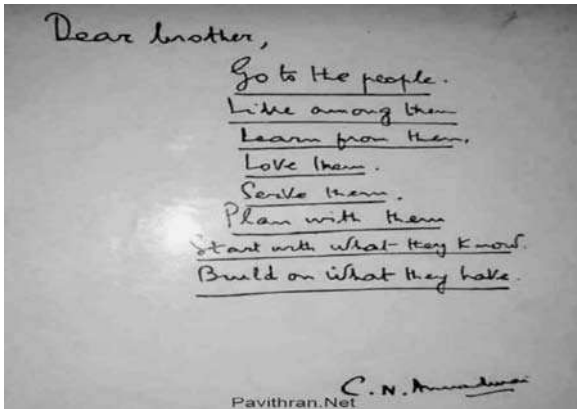
Kamaraj too under-estimated the DMK and openly exclaimed Anna to contest the election and face the legislative body. Anna said that he is waiting for the day to step in to the Assembly. On 21st Aug. 1956 Anna established the women's wing of the party anointing Smt. Satyavani Muthu as its leader and Anna's wife Smt. Rani Annadurai had become the deputy leader. In the same year Anna organized a conference at Trichy just to know the opinion of the party workers whether to contest in the fourth coming elections. Efforts were made to go for voting by the party workers. As many as 56,942 have voted for contesting the elections and only 4203 were against contesting elections. While announcing the results Anna sought the support of his party workers to contest the election.

Efforts were made to defeat Anna in Kanchipuram even by Thanthai Periyar. Even Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru went to the extent of exclaiming that "Even if the sky has to fall down, we will not part with a small piece of land. We have already parted with Pakistan, such partisan should not happen and let us not allow another Pakistan to part with. Nehru spoke keeping in mind the claim of Dravidar Nadu of DMK. Anna announced the following national policy to face the election:

1. States should have autonomous power to have self-governance
2. Works should be nationalized.
3. Native language should be the language to impart knowledge
4. The Centre should avoid prohibition of Tamil Nadu in the five year plans
5. Defense expenditure of the central government should be reduced.

Anna's national policy was widely invited and acknowledged by the people of Tamil Nadu.

Anna defeated his congress opponent Dr. Srinivasan by more than 10,000 votes. Congress got 151 seats and formed the Assembly. DMK headed by Anna won 15 seats and entered the assembly. The DMK party were subjected to criticism as it got only 15 seats with the meagre members it cannot impact the progress of the congress government inspite of the fact that DMK was the second highest votes apart from Congress. Congress secured 49,13,374 as against 16,53,435.

Anna never bothered the criticisms levelled against his party by the congress as well as by Thanthai Periyar and went ahead in voicing for the down trodden people's equal rights and welfare and gained their supports including the youths as they were mesmerized by the thought provoking speeches of Anna. This can be witnessed in the results of local body elections wherein DMK won 45 seats against 36 seats won by the congress party. This development was seen the deterioration of Congress party in Tamil Nadu. But there existed growth of misunderstanding between EVK Sampath and Anna with the result Sampath has to part with DMK and started a new party by name Tamil National Party along with Kaviyarasu Kannadasan. In the 1962 general election for the assembly though DMK bagged 50 seats its leader Anna was defeated in Kanchipuram similarly the Tamil National Party did not win a single seat and his leader EVK Sampath was also defeated. Thereafter the Tamil National Party was merged with congress. But Anna was elected in the Rajya Saba election and become MP. Political leaders in the north regarded Anna as the leader of nonsense party in accordance with Jawaharlal Nehru's views. But Anna's thought-provoking speeches in the Parliament not only silenced these men but made them to admire him. To quote Anna's maiden speech in the Parliament he said "I came from a part of India belong to an unique community called dravidar. I am proud to call myself as dravidan. That does not mean that I am averse to people belonging to other states of India. As the English

poet Robert Burns exclaimed "Every man should be respected because, "A man is man for all that". When I say that I belong to Dravidar community, it has got a very ancient heredity and culture. Once Anna was giving a long talk in the Parliament opposing the implementation of Hindi one member belong to the northern part of India not only opposed the speech of Anna but also giving example that Hindi is being implemented all over India because it was spoken by majority of the population in India. Anna patiently asked a question to this member. You adopt peacock as national bird inspite of the fact we have crows available in plenty. The member sat silent. Thus Anna became popular in the north too by his shear intelligence and accommodative nature.

Anna went on to stage a dharna due to soaring price rise at the collectorate of Vellore on 19.7.1962 along with his party men and was arrested and sent to jail for six weeks. Meanwhile the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru sent a telegram to Anna to join the meeting convened by him due to the war with China. Anna immediately replied stating that his party will stand by the side of the Prime Minister and the decisions taken by him to safeguard the sovereign and security of the country. Anna went to the extent of informing Nehru that his party will collect money for this purpose. Anna collected huge sums of money which includes the liberal donation given by Puratchi Thalaivar M. G. Ramachandran to the tune of Rs. 75000/-. Thus Anna always deeply rooted in terms of national integrity. Like Anna there are other leaders in the northern part of India who had also claiming separate nation that made the Prime Minister to enact a law that whoever claims separate nation that party cannot contest in general election. This had made Anna to retreat from the claim of Dravida Nadu. Incidentally after the Chinese war Jawaharlal Nehru became sick and ultimately passed away. Before Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru passed away he wanted Kamarajar to take active part in the Central politics and thereby Kamaraj quit the post of Chief Minister on 1st Oct 1963 thereby Baktavasalam became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu on 2.10.1963.

When Kamarajar anointed Lal Bagadur Shastri as the Prime Minister he passed a legislation on 26.1.1965 that Hindi Language is made as the national language. Anna announced that 26th Jan. as black day and requested that black flags should be hoisted at every house in Tamil Nadu. But congress government arrested Anna on 25th Jan. 1965 fearing state wide opposition by the DMK. This time the students of Annamalai University went on to a strike and agitation wherein police opened fire and one student by name Rajendran died on the spot. This had infuriated the entire student community of the state and they went on to wage dharna in front of Railway Station and they also stopped the trains and set some of the train ablaze. They then went on a similar rampage of post offices.

These agitations became so intense and police had to resort to firing and thereby 24 people have lost their lives on 10.2.1965, subsequently 31 people were shot dead. For three days post offices and railway stations were not functioning with the result the central minster came and requested Anna to speak to the student agitators and stop the agitation. Anna made an appeal to the students thereby the agitation came to an end. The 1967 general elections were announced. Anna had become so popular among the people especially among the youths. Anna approached MGR and asked him about his plans. MGR said that he will give the amount that he is going to get for a movie. In turn Anna requested MGR to give the days of call-sheet of a movie and show his face before the public and he will surely win the elections. Anna also wanted MGR to contest the election in the Alandur constituency. MGR agreed to do so but fate had other designs that MGR was shot and severely injured and was admitted in the hospital. Entire Tamil Nadu witnessed sadness but Anna pasted the wall poster of MGR with a huge bandage around his neck throughout Tamil Nadu that had garnered the victory votes for the DMK. Indeed, DMK bagged 151 seats which made congress to get only 49 seats. From then onwards it was a struggle for congress to come to power in Tamil Nadu. Surprisingly, Anna did not contest in the assembly election but own the south Madras constitution as an MP. Anna had to resign the MP post to become the Chief Minister and then became an MLC to retain his Chief Ministership. Anna went to his political mentor Thanthai Periyar and took his blessings. Periyar was surprisedand praised Anna for his modesty. Anna further said that I will place this victory at the feet of Periyar. The following are the great efforts made by Anna when he ruled the state of Tamil Nadu:

On July 18 1967 Anna placed a bill to name the Madras Presidency as Tamilnadu.

On 6.3.1967 Anna made two language formula i.e. Tamil and English as the language of Tamil Nadu assembly.

He made self-respect marriage as a law.

He made the buses as state owned beyond 170 kms; Reduced the ministers salary from 1000 to Rs. 500/-; Abolition of liquir sale by the Government; Second Tamil World Conference; One measure rice for one rupee; Abolished hand rickshaw

Introduced Tamil words in place of the following popular words:

Chennai Maganam = Tamil Nadu; Secretariat = Thalamai Seyalagam; Satvamejayathe = Vaimeye Vellum; Akasavani = vanoli; Driver – ottunar; Conductor = nadathunar; Sri = thiru; Srimathi = thirumathi; Kumari = selvi; Namaskaram = vanakkam; Akrasanar = avaithalaivar; Kariyadarasi = seyalalar; Bokishadhar – porulalar; Abedshakar = vetpalar; Abedsha parthiram = vetpumanu; Vivaga

subamukurtha patrika = thirumana alaipu; Karnapooshana patrika = kathani vizha alaipu; Ruthu santhi patrika = manjal neerattuvizha; Kiruhapravesa patrika = puthumanai puguvizha alaipu; Atcharaabiyasam = yeshutharium vizha; Makara sankaranthi = pongal pandikai

When Anna introduced his first budget speech on 17th July 1967 it contained the following:

- No tax for the cultivable lands
- Gold medal to those who conduct intercast marriage
- Buses are made national
- There are no new taxes levied on the poors.

In 1965 Arignar Anna walking from Assembly as CM of Tamilnadu

An eminent economist Sri. Ramaswami Mudaliar said: "those who draw the central budget should come down and take lessons from Anna's budgetary projection".

Anna was a great writer then only he became a political leader. His stories, poems, essays, pudinam (short stories), Novels, drama and film story writing made him an all round personality of acclaimed writer and made the Tamil fraternity to turn towards his side by his revolutionary movie Velaikari in 1949. When the movies were centred on their stories with puranas and ithihasas and yester year kings Anna's movie the Velaikari made the producers to think of producing socially relevant movies. The phrases like "sharpen your mind rather than sharping your knife; "law is a dark room and the arguments of the lawyers are lamp but the light of the lamp never goes to the poors". Thereby all the following movies can be subjected to research whether they contain the concept of equity and social justice:

Or Iravu; Sorgavasal; Nallathambi; Nallavan Valvan; Ethayum thangum ithayam; Rangoon Radha; Thaimagalukkukattiya thali; Kathal jothi; Vandikaran Magan.

Anna wrote dramas before writing film stories. His first drama was entitled Chandrodayam. He enacted this drama in 1943 at North Arcot he was the director and screen play writer and actor in this drama. Anna wrote his first short story in 1933 when he was studying in the college; it was published in the Tamil Magazine "Ananda Vikadan" wherein his name was indicated as "sowmian" the Tamil year of his birth. Like wise Anna had the following twenty-two nick names:

Sowmian, Barathan, Kalan, Began, Veeran, Otran, Nakeeran, Tamil Thondan, Vardhan, Kuruppon, Samadharman, Vazhipokkan, Tamil Anban, Koshu, Barathi, Kuil, Bharat, Venus and Manimozhi.

h) Anna's Dramas were

Chandrodayam, Shivaji Kanda Hindu Samrajyam, Nallathambi, Sorgavasal, Kadhal Jothi, Oryiravu, Velaikari, Kannayirathin vulagam Pavayin Payanam, enbaoli, Rotti thundu, Neethi Devan mayakkam.

Anna's other writtings

Thabikku madal – 316; Essays – 560; Dramas – 114; Short dramas – 18; Pudinangal – 6; Short stories – 118; Kavithaigal - 77; Writings in the newspapers – more than 1000. Anna's Rangoon Radha has been translated in French Language.

Anna was afflicted by a dreadful disease cancer in his liver and he suffered unbearable stomach pain. He was taken to America for a better treatment in September 1968 even Smt. Indra Gandhi who was visiting US on official trip went and saw the medical treatment given to Anna in the New York Memorial Hospital. Anna wrote a letter to Thanthai Periyar on 10.10.1968:

Salutations unto Periyar who possess great love and affection towards me!

My health and body condition is steadily improving. I do not experience pain. However, I could not feel hungry and I am becoming lean day by day. As advised by Dr. Millar I will take rest for a month and return to India on the first week of November.

I could visualize your sadness in the Chennai Hospital and at the Airport therefore I am writing this letter to indicate more clearly that the situation of sadness had completely receded and I profusely thank you for the affection towards me.

Anna addressed his last meeting on 1.12.1968 after the Act of naming Tamil Nadu was enacted on 22.11.1968. Thereafter Anna unveiled the statue of NS Krishnan on 14.1.1969 at T. Nagar. It was said that N. S. Krishnan's last public address was when he unveiled Anna's Statue.

It so happened that a person in Kumbakonam was suffering from certain brain disease and medicines were not available in India at that time. Doctors advised the family to get that medicines from US so that the patient can be saved. The family rushed to the Secretariat and approached the Chief Minister's office for help. The message was sent to Anna. Anna got that medicine and sent them to the family thereby the person at Kumbakonam was saved but not the sender of the medicine. Fate approached Anna with his dreadful hands and laid its Icey hand on Anna on 02.02.1969. Though Anna was no more however one can witness his ideology in the political philosophy announced by Bharat Ratna Marudhur Goplamenon Ramachandran (Dr. MGT).

i) Life and Character of Bharat Ratna Marudhur Gopalamenon Ramachandran (Dr. MGR)

Bharat Ratna Marudhur Gopalamenon Ramachandran (MGR) is well known by the three letters MGR and also popularly known as Puratchi Thalaivar (Revoluaionary leader), Ponmana Chemmal (Golden hearted) and Makkal Thilagam (foremost among the people). Unable to continue his education early in life i.e. while he was studying in 3rd standard at the Government school of Kumbakonam (Anaiyadi School) MGR approached his uncle Narayanan who was working with Madurai Original Boys Company to help him to join the troop. MGR's salary was four and half rupees per week. More over the company provided food and shelter within its premises. The company also had amenities to practice conventional Indian martial arts like silambum, stic fighting, wrestling, body building etc. MGR and his elder brother M. G. Chakrapani met stalwarts like PU Chinnappa, Nadippu Chemmal M. K. Radha and the great intellectual comedian revered Kalaivanar NS

Krishnan. It is this man i.e. Kalaivaner helped MGR when MGR was in dire-state without chances in Cinema. Others who helped MGR in terms of need was M. K. Radha and director Raja Chandra Sekhar. From a stage actor MGR got a chance to act in a movie called Sathie Leelavathi in 1936 thereafter MGR acted in movies like Erusakothirargal, Thatchayagnam, Mayamachindra, Prahaladhan, Veera Jagadeesh and Rajamukthi simultaneously acting on the stage in drammas. It was the great NSK and Raja Chandrasekar advised MGR to learn Silambam. Silambam is a weapon-based Indian martial art that originated in the Indian subcontinent i.e. South India. Tamil Sangam literature mentions this technique. Silambam's official international body is the World Silambam Association (18). This style is mentioned in Tamil Sangam literature 400 BCE (5). It was quoted in the Wikepedia that in quite a number of his movies in 1950s and 1960s, M. G. Ramachandran (MGR) incorporated silambam fighting scenes, to popularize this ancient martial art; the movies include *Thaikkupin Tharam*, *Periya Idathu Penn*, *Mugaraasi* and *Thanipiravi* (19).

Though MGR learnt the art with great determination that had enhanced his acting skills but fate was not graceful enough to show mercy to crown him as a hero in the Tamil film industry. MGR never gave up his confidence to the chosen path of cinema and the time had come to announce to the fans of Tamil Nadu to identify MGR as the savior of poor's; a hero to establish truth more particularly with a charisma to save the pride

of women hood of the Tamil society through his movies like Malaikallan later Nadodimannan. The various impeccable dialogues, the songs containing meaningful lyrics points one thing i.e. among his efforts of emancipation of the Tamil Society, is a great representative of the poor's; a person who could be depended at the time of distress by both friends and foes alike.

Peraringer Anna wanted MGR to go for election campaign. Though MGR agreed to go for election campaign cancelling the call-sheet given to movies like Arasa Kattalai, Adimaipen and Kaval Karan - he was gunned by M. R. Radha on 12.1.1967 however, could escape with the grace of God. He could not go for election campaign. But as indicated above DMK headed by Anna used MGR's photo effectively at all the constituencies of Tamil Nadu which had served as a passport to gain votes and DMK had won in 137 seats out of 174 seats it had contested. Anna wanted MGR to be in the Ministry but MGR had different ideas and could not accept (20).

After Anna was anointed as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, MGR acted in the three movies promised by him. The only set back MGR had was that the bullet that went inside his ear had reduced his voice and he could not pronounce the words properly. However, MGR determined to spoke in his own voice that made the general public to admire him. So long as Anna was at the helm of affairs of Tamil Nadu, MGR's influence in the political arena was predominant. Who thought that Anna would die two years after he was anointed as Chief Minister? The dreams that Anna had towards making Tamil Nadu a state of equity and social justice; moreover, translating the ideology of Thanthai Periyar paled in to insignificance. The DMK had to find a leader from among the front-line; it may be Nedunzhelian or Mu.Karunanidhi. Since MGR was a great friend of Karunanidhi – Kalaiger and Mutamil Aringer outlived the others and become the Chief Minister of Tamil nadu.

The freaks of fate indeed are inscrutable that MGR was removed from the party post of Treasurer including the primary membership on 14.10.1972. There was chaos in Tamil Nadu and party workers came to the streets to openly support MGR. Several seniors and four sitting MLAs' such as S.M.Durai Raj, Ku.Chelliah, Sounderapandian, G.R.Edmond, later stalwarts like K.Kalimuthu, G.Viswanathan, Kovai Chezian, CP Velappan joined MGR. All these overwhelming supports made MGR to start his political party i.e. AIADMK in 1972. *Those who are interested to know more about MGR's personal life can read the article published by the same authors in the paper entitled "A Retrospective Reflection on the Life History and the Philanthropic Attitude of Bharat Ratna Dr. Marudhur Gopala Menon Ramachandran – A Bird's Eye View" the authors not only traced the history of Dr. MGR*

but also the ordeals he made and the charitable mind of the Hero of the research topic (21).

j) MGR's Political Philosophy

Dr. MGR political ideology can be found in various speeches; especially the speech made by him while launching AIADMK party in 1972. One can witness the firm conviction of MGR who relied on what his political mentor Peraringer Anna had enunciated. Dr. MGR introduced these ideas in the form of Annaism as his political philosophy and made determined efforts to translate them in to action. A careful reading of the following excerpts from the speech made by Dr.MGR while launching his party AIADMK in 1972, would prove the point that MGR carried forward the wisdom made known by his political mentor the great Peraringer Anna and the social welfare ideas reflected in his film songs, as his political ideology and tried to translate them to a constructive plan called the people's plan and did justice to uplift the poor's, the destitute and the women folk of Tamil Nadu. Let us see the translation of the famous speech made by Dr. MGR in Tamil (translated version in English is given below) *indeed this speech is being listened by millions of his party comrades even today that gives them the solace they look for*). I could not control my emotion when MGR, Kannadasan and my mother passed away was the words of the legendary music director M. S. Viswanathan such is the impact MGR had with him (22).

Beloved Elders and Esteemed Ladies (the Embodiment of Eternal love), Proudful Tamilians and my Blood's Blood Brothers.

Amarar (ever-living) Anna use to say that, "the justice pronounced by the common man, is the justice to be advocated by the legislators". This is what was pronounced as the philosophy of people's rules by the social pundits. People's governance is that which is established by the people, for the people by the people themselves. The foundation for this governance is the right to vote. The wonderful palace that is to be built on this everlasting foundation is good government. Such a government that governs the people is the people's government. Those who take responsibility to rule the people under such governance not only be efficient but should be an embodiment of goodness. Not only be eloquent in their speech but be eloquent in honesty. Not only be iron-hearted but possess the heart of benevolence. Not only to show their pride's sway but possess the heart to exhibit mercy.

Such representatives of the people should be purity personified and possess the attitude of service to the people and treat themselves one among the common man (i.e. the poors) and should not try to overpower them. They should consider that the political power is an opportunity given to them to serve the people and not to misconstrue and display their supremacy over the people. This is the political wisdom given by Peraringer Anna.

Those who commit injustice to the poors will certainly be punished one day or the other by the people themselves. When Peraringer Anna assumed the charge as the Chief Minister, he announced 1 Kg rice per rupee. But the officials around him told Anna that there will be deficit in the budget to the tune of Rs. 8.00 crores and wanted to scrap the scheme. But Anna asked the officers to find out how best they can mitigate this revenue burden rather than stopping the welfare scheme. When it comes to collection of revenue, it is not how the revenue is to be collected, rather it is important from whom the revenue is to be collected. When it amounts to evolving appropriate plans to spend the revenue so collected, it is imperative to think, which part of the people it is intended to benefit. Indeed such an equitable political thought has been accepted as equitable economic plan. I therefore owe to give importance to such a political ideology that is called the *"Annaism"* and give a clean government which is free of corruption that treats the poor of the state as its comrade and should be praised and appreciated by the learned, and I determine to face any amount of sacrifice to make the AIADMK as a party which has the lineage of leaders who are embodiment to marvel such sacrifices.

The government to be formed by AIADMK will try to remove ups and downs in the society. It will follow the unique philosophy of a sole community that would follow the principle of a unique God. It will strive to uplift the socially and economically backward people and alleviate them to the higher strata of life – "economically, educationally and politically". It will also strive to uplift the workers of the unorganized sector like the *koolys*, the *agricultural labors* the *weavers* who struggle day in and out. Plans will be enacted to establish equitable economic development, which will result in creating job opportunities according to one's ability and gain wages according to the work performed by them.

My government will also find employment to the agriculturists who suffer without employment during the rest of the year i.e. after his cultivation activity. Importance will be given in the planning to less developed areas and appropriate plans to develop these areas will be taken up and completed. It will also try to replace the villages into big cities and small cities and create adequate facilities in the villages and create a feeling in the minds of the rural people not to migrate to cities.

It will also create avenues for the educated to engage in different kinds of employment and plans in this direction will be evolved to achieve planned economic growth. Steps will be taken to glorify the Tamil Language all over the world as was exclaimed by the national poet Magakavi Subramanya Bharathiyar who praised the Tamil Language as "I could not find as sweet and as enjoyable Tamil anywhere. I will strive to safeguard the integrity of India. The country could not achieve development as half of the population who are ladies and who did not have equal share on par with men. We talk about women's education, women's emancipation, women's employment. However, it is imperative to understand that we and the country will progress only when women in the society attains equal rights. Noble hearted Gandhi, Thanthai Periyar, the Saintly Rajaji and Amarar Anna used to reiterate the concept of women's emancipation in the society. To turn their dreams into reality AIADMK will strive for. In order to establish such a government and to call such a government as the people's government I seek your blessings and support.. Vanakkam… Long lived Anna's Fame. Annaism can be brought under the following pointers *(23)*.

- A casteless and classless society
- Sale of all essential commodities should be taken over by the government,
- Right to recall
- Confiscation of properties of corrupt people,
- Ceiling of income like land holdings
- withdrawal of currencies below 100
- inclusion of English in the eighth schedule of the Constitution to safeguard the interests of the Anglo-Indian community
- Ddecentralization of powers between center and states
- Government takeover of heavy industries and mills
- Coffee, tea and rubber plantations should be nationalized.

k) A Bird's Eye view of Amma's Personal Llife

Born on 24 February, 1948 at Melukote, Pandavapura Taluk, Mandya district, Mysore State, Jayaraman Jayalalitha had her earlier education at Bishop Cotton School at Bangalore and thereafter at the Presentation Convent, Chennai. She had to stay away from her mother in Mysore and longed for her mother's love; that became more predominant in her when she was shifted to Chennai. She chose to be alone always because of her straight forwardness. Though her class-mates in the Presentation Convent decried her by quoting her mother's smaller role in the films (not the role of a heroine) she silenced them by her noble character of obeying the commands of her teachers and topping in all the subjects. This approach made her critiques to think twice before they try to decry her.

(*ThiruKural verse 69). English (explanation of the above verse):* The mother becomes extremely happy after hearing her son praised by the nobles as a virtuous person. This happiness is greater than when she begot him. - This becomes equally true to daughters as well.

Acting in the films was not a cup of tea for Amma - nor did she like it; neither that of her mother's wish. Her mother Smt. Sandya Jayaraman was a great sacrifier who had taken upon herself to cinema just to support her children's study after the demise of her husband Sri. Jayaraman. Jayaraman otherwise was a very rich man whose father was a doctor at the Palace of Mysore Maharaja. It seems he had spent the wealth lavishly and it had evaporated in course time and he passed away all of a sudden.

Sandhya however refused many times to send her daughter to act in movies when several chances knocked their door. It was indeed fate that came in the form of opportunities that never seemed to leave Amma who otherwise had great dreams either to become a doctor or an IAS officer or even a lawyer. In the interview with Simi Garwale, Amma told had she not ventured into either cinema or politics she would have done research like Amirthya Sen. Always fate wins, because it knew that Amma is destined to become a famous heroine who is going to carve a niche in setting great standards as an actress by her flawless acting (putting her heart and soul) in every role she played in more than 140 films including Telegu, Malayalam, Hindi and English. Indeed Amma was a versatile singer and a classical dancer too. Later, she also became a writer with several published short stories and novels at her credit. Politics was not an accident to Amma as she herself exclaimed which can be found in the message sent by her to *Divya Films G Chokkalingam, who took pains for the re- release the movie Ayirathil Oruvan in digital form after a gap of half a century* (her own words):

"It will not be an exaggeration to say that Aayirathil Oruvan has laid foundation for my entry into politics...it was my first film with MGR ... the film gave me an opportunity to meet and interact with him...and this film has left with me an unerasable life-time experience,". September 1 marked the 175th day celebrations of the screening of the digital version of the movie. Amma further said that "This film enjoyed the successful screening of over 100 days in 1965 now it has crossed 175 days it shows that the movie has withstood the test of time...even now, it attracts present generation too to

the theatre this has proved that Aayirathil Oruvan has achieved what the new films have failed to".

Amma has imbibed with great intellect, agile, alert above all graceful that attracted attention of both intellectuals and the ordinary too. For example, there was a situation in the movie called Pattikada Pattanamma wherein a folk dance had to take place. The music director the great MSV sung the tune to one of the greatest lyricist. Kaviyarasu could not conceive the "Pallavi" of the song for three days. The hero Chevalio Shivaji called MSV on the third day and asked him whether the song is ready – He replied in the negative – then Sivaji murmured the following and wanted MSV to sing it before Kaviyarasu:

Kettukodi urumi melam - Pottukodi Kobathalam: Pathukkodi Unmamakitta - Pattikattu Ragathalam.

With great hesitation MSV recited the above before Kaviyarasu and he was startled and accepted the same as Pallavi and wrote the Charanam for the rest of the song in his own classical manner. When it came to the release of audio Shivaji revealed to the public that it was Ammu (Jayalaliha) who wrote the Pallavi. Such is the cleverness and agility of Ammu who comes up with suggestions at the time of need. *This was reported by none-other than MSV himself in Mega TV "endrum MSV" telecasted on Sunday the 30th Aug. 2020 (24).*

l)   Did not Like Acting and nor Interested in Politics

It was reported in the weekly magazine Kungumam dated 16.12.2016 that the late Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu J. Jayalalitha, is a different administrator. Starting from Tamil Nadu up to New Delhi she fore-shook the power centers to everyone's surprise. Cinema, Politics then ruling the state marking the stamp of authority in every of her chosen pathis indeed bewildering. There are in-depth meaning in the interview given by her to the former actress Simi and Karanthapper. Born out of her inner-self, whenever we listen to these interviews it touches our heart. There are places wherein, it shows a peculiar Jayalalitha which were not witnessed at any other place. She said that "whenever and wherever I was seen as calm and composed because I keep my feelings inside me. I never allow them to prevail so that others can witness it". I never loose temper at public place, nor cried, I am firm that my feelings are not for public display. How it is possible because I have great determination and self-discipline. Politics had certainly changed me as a mentally powerful person. Whatever you see Jayalalitha is not like those days. I was not like this always. I was a shy type never wished to see strangers nor watched by them. I hate being watched by strangers during the period of my youth. I have been mis-understood sooner I ventured in to politics. I have faced criticisms a lot. All the worlds is a stage and all are acting in different characters at different times. But I remain differently. I

am not like any other politician. The play of politics expects great acting's. I have acted before the camera a lot but not in real life.

Congress Leader and Tamil Nadu CM K. Kamaraj Greets Jayalalithaa at a Dance Recital.

Every political leader's life consists of ups and downs and everyone's life is like this too. People cannot win for ever nor loose too. My political life is a very bold one. Unlike, any cinema story it had got lots of twists, turns, trials and tribulations too. I have become infuriated when I faced unprecedented happenings. I am also an ordinary person had I not displayed such feelings then I would not have been considered as an ordinary person. But you will learn to control and hide your feelings when you become a political leader. I used to love to be alone- my first desire is to read books - When I was young, I desired to receive books instead of any other gifts on the eve of my birth day.

I grew in my grandma's house when I was in Bangalore. It was difficult to stay away from my mother. I used to cry wanting the presence of her when I was in Bangalore. When I look back my life, I have spent very less time with my mother. I could not experience the full amount of affection of mother as I had expected. I lost my mother at the age of 23. My mother was my world. She alone protected me but taught nothing. I could not manage my family, either to maintain my bank account or how to sign a cheque; or to pay tax, why I do not know how many servants existed in my house. Why I did not know how much salary I was receiving. I realized myself to be an innocent child left in the forest after tying its eyes. People around used to capitalize me as I was so innocent. People from the elite society used to down play me as my mother was an actress. To silence them I used to obtain first mark in all the subjects. When I left the school all the teachers gave me the title "Best outgoing student of the year". I considered it as a great honor in my life and proud of myself even today. Those days, I used to cry because of the criticisms now I learnt to give back. I give more than the criticisms levelled against me. I used to be No.1 in south India as an actress. I used to work hard to excel in the field. In dance and in acting though I disliked them. Acting came to me naturally. It can be said that I am a born

actress. I never copied anyone's style, I adopted my own style. Similarly, though I disliked politics, people used to tell me that I am a successful political leader. If you consider any thing as a challenge, you can face it with interest. I have astonished upon seeing my ownself. I too had the same dreams as a school goer. I admired Nari Contractor and used to go to Chepauk just to see him play. I also used to admire Shami Kapoor the Hindi Actor. I used to watch his movie *Junglee* (1961 film) even today. During his playing days, Contractor was considered a glamour boy of Indian cricket. I could not witness unconditional love. I could not think whether there exists such an unconditional love. It exists in books, novels, poems and films. Even if it exists in reality, I did not face it. I did not meet anyone whom I could marry. However, I had the urge to get married. Like other teen agers I also dreamt about the Prince Charm. Had I got married at the age of 18 even if it is an arranged marriage, I could have accepted it happily and started my family life and lived along with my Childrens? Never would have moved out of the house at all. But whatever we expect did not happen. I never had a feeling that I did not have a whole family. I enjoy the freedom of my own. Witnessing failure of marriages and deserting parents by the children I am not worried about not getting married. I feel happy indeed. I like this life, I have the freedom of taking decisions on my own and need not live just to make some-one happy, I like this freedom (25).

m) Innocent Jayalalitha

Beginning of her film career, Ammu used to read books when she was alone in the sets. She never stood up to pay respect to MGR or Nambiar when they later arrived to the sets. Such behavior born out of innocence was noticed by her critiques and pointed negatively to MGR. MGR understood that careless comments were passed about Ammu and ignored it. Ammu understood these lacunae very soon and begun to respect the elders as was the custom. I (K. P. Ramakrishnan) also acted as a slave in the first movie Ayirathil Oruvan and could easily watch the various important scenes that took place. The first scene was a song Nanamoo – Jayalalitha was little hesitant to act in closeup shots with MGR and it was MGR who taught her how to act in close scenes forgetting the fear complex.

As an Aartist, Jayalalithaa Receives an Award from Tamil Nadu Chief Minister C. N. Annadurai.

Before entering to politics Jayalalitha helped MGR to raise funds by arranging various dance concerts. In 1970, it was in Nagercoil Jayalalitha performed a dance concert under the presence of MGR that had helped the builders to build Kalaivanar Arangam. In the same year at Madurai for the Sourastra College funds, Jayalalitha performed a dance concert in the presence of MGR and the collections were given to the college authorities. Similarly, to construct a stadium at Trichy Jayalalitha performed a dance concert in the presence of MGR, a huge amount of Rs.10.00 lakhs were raised in the single concert by Jayalalitha that was used to construct the stadium. Jayalalitha enacted a dance concert "Kaveri thantha Kalai Selvi" at Salem in the presence of MGR and the collection of Rs.5.00 lakhs were used for the cause of the party. All these made Jayalalitha as a versatile personality to enter in to the portals of politics that too with the blessings of MGR.

n) In Politics as Puratchi Thalaivi

It was MGR whose farsightedness to lead the party after his demise brought Ammu in to the political arena, though numerous other heroines acted with MGR. MGR wanted Ammu to scale great heights in the party cadre. MGR used to obtain feed back from the then Head of the Intelligence Sri. Mohandas about the speeches made by Jayalalitha in the party meetings and expressed his happiness and I as his personal body-guard used to admire the keen interest of MGR on the progress of Jayalitha in the party. Noting the great talent and instantaneous speeches of Jayalalitha during the bye-election of Thiruchendur, MGR decided that he need not go from place to place to answer the questions raised by the opposition leader Sri. M. Karunanidhi and sent Jayalalitha for this important task. MGR asked us to accompany Jayalalita in her tours and also requested the Senior Journalist Solai also to accompany.

Finally MGR decided to send Jayalalitha to the Indian Parliament as the Raja Sabha MP because of her scholarship in multi-language and leadership qualities. MGR was extremely happy to note the progress made by Jayalalitha in the Parliament – these developments are witnessed by persons like me who were his personal body guards. *It was MGR who ordered the party cadre to replace the prefix Selvi to Puratchi Selvi Jayalalitha and*

thus after the demise of MGR the respected terminology Puratchi Thalaivi came in to existence and it was not superimposed by any one including Jayalalitha.

Only a true well-wisher knows the intricate talent, patience and perseverance above all dedication to serve the countrymen without any reservation - Padmasree Cho Ramaswamy Iyer being a great friend for life time of Amma boldly predicted Amma to be the future Prime Minister of India in 2015. Perhaps she deserves so.

In the 1984 assembly election it was Jayalalitha single handedly travelled every nook and corner of Tamil Nadu and grabbed victory for AIADMK when MGR was actually hospitalized in Brookelyin. Party cadres and senior leaders surrounding MGR wanted Jayalalitha to be removed from party post and not allowed to go for election campaign. MGR dismissed such demands with a stout look or with a faint smile. Such persons after Jayalalitha became the Chief Minister fell at her feet and Jayalalitha shown motherly affection to them and made them ministers in her cabinet, such quality in a woman indeed rare.

Though Ammu was brought to the political scenario and protected by MGR till his existence, after the demise of MGR it was Jayalalitha who faced the challenges by her shear braveness and took bold decisions till she was anointed the Chief Minister – such a political experience and handling extra-ordinary political turmoil rests only with Jayalalitha in the annals of political history of Tamil Nadu. K. P. Ramakrishnan records that even while MGR was alive it was Jayalalitha who withstood the arrows of hate by the DMK and within the AIADMK cadre leaders who wanted to remove her from the political scenario.

Simi Garewal: 'I realised I was talking to a highly intelligent woman. I knew from my research that Jayalalithaa was a brilliant student - but her articulation and clarity of thought amazed me. No fumbling or searching for words to express herself. She never evaded any question. She was very frank and honest. There was sincerity; there was humour; there was pathos and pain'.

o) MSV Interview about Amma

It seems the great lyric writer Kaviyarasu Kannadasan, appeared in the dream of MSV and asked him to install an idol of himself. He advised MSV to organize a music consort to collect money. The consort was held and money was collected that was sufficient to order for the idol of Kaviyarasu to be made. He was searching for a proper place to install the idol but the space identified was in a famous area and could not afford with the money at hand. At this circumstances MSV decided to approach the then Chief Minister, Puratchi Thalaivi Amma. Who had immediately agreed to pass orders for the possession of the said land for installation of the idol. Amma graciously agreed for every one of the cinema fraternity to attend the function

including that of late Kalaigner Karunanidhi. This shows the magnanimity of Amma (26).

K. P. Ramakrishnan States the Following in his Book that: (27)

Amma did not write her biography, there are few books available to portray the noble history of Amma. Amma also gave only few interviews the following is one such interview given on 7.1.1973 to Vikadan: the English translation is given below:

1. Are you interested to take part in active politics? What will you notice importantly before you enter into agreement of a movie?
   I look in to the story and my part involved in it. I also notice the director of the movie.
2. It is said that you do not have that much movies now a days? What is the reason do you think for this?
   Who said this – I have movies to act every day without taking rest.
3. What will you think about the movies acted by you and failed?
   There was very less movies that failed among the movies acted by me. I never think of the failed movies; however, I will introspect the reason for the failure of the movie. If you taste victory alone in life, it will bore you. We need failures at times in life so that we can take more risks, the victory that is obtained after marveling difficulties alone will taste good.
4. Can you criticizethe tamil cinema fraternity.
   Will it not be disgraceful if I criticize the Tamil cinema fraternity as it alone granted me life and comforts.

The above are only a brief of about Puratchi Thalaivi Amma those who would like to read more about Amma may refer our article entitled *"An Heuristic Study on Puratchi Thalaivi Dr. Jayaraman Jayalalitha Who had acted as Heroine with Bharat Ratna Dr. Marudur Gopala Menon Ramachandran in the 28 Classical Tamil Movies, Many of Which are Reflecting Dravidian Ideology. Global Journal of Human-Social Science*, 21(A5), 67–173". https://doi.org/10.34257/GJHSSAVOL21IS5PG67

Thus as per the objectives the life and struggles of Thanthai Periyar, Peraringer Anna, Puratchi Thalaivar and Puratchi Thalaivi were discussed in a nutshell and how dravidar iyakkam had emerged and its objective has also been narrated along with Annaism as enunciated by Pratchi Thalaivar. It is now imperative to find out how Puratchi Thalaivar took upon himself the task of propagating the ideas of dravidar iyakkam in his films. To understand this we should understand MGR's success formula and thereafter the movies undertaken for this study for the intersection proposed. Let us now move on to the success formula first.

p) MGR's Success Formula
In the words of MGR: One day a producer of a movie asked my opinion, on how to take a love scene in a particular movie, as I was the hero. The scene was that "myself and the heroine should share the moment of love and romance". I told him, that the story of the movie is yet to be finalized then how can we now come to a conclusion about the love scene to be taken. The love scene should match with that of the story, the song to be sung and the tune as well. The producer told me, that he will send the recorded version of the song so that I can come up with suggestion. Such peculiar situation never occurred in the film "Nadodi Mannan". The title song was written by Na. Muthukoothan. He is a member of the political party I belong, and thereby the political ideology coincided. He also wrote another song "Sammathama (is it ok)". This song is a reflection of equity between husband and wife. It also contained eternal truth i.e., if poverty occurs, the family should share the food among themselves as the birds do. Similarly, for the other songs written by Sri. Baskaran and Kavinger Suradha, I clearly shared my views that made them to compose the songs. The song like "Thadukkathe Ennai Thadukkathe (do not stop me)" was written by Sri.Athmanadhan is a reflection of people who blindly follow certain sophistry. For example, a man who never tries to secure a job, but blames the fate for his unemployment! The super hit song – Thoongathe Thambi Thoongathe (do not sleep oh brother), written by Pattukottaiar – is not written for the children alone. It was intended for those who do not care to realize the sufferings of the common man but pretends to do so. Another song written by Pattukottaiar – Kaduvelanthenna machan (what is the use of cultivation) is the reflection of the ideology of the political party DMK. I spent good amount of time with lyric writer Sri.Lakshmanadoss to write the song "Vulaipathila Vulaippai Peruvathilla" (it is indulging in work or extracting work happiness arise). As he was new to this field, he struggled hard to complete the lyrics in accordance with my thinking. Especially, I wanted him to introduce certain new thoughts such as - happiness will never arise to the giver or to the receiver of alms; but it lies when everyone works on the basis of their skill and live in harmony with the wealth equally divided among themselves. So far, the Philosophers claim that the giver attains happiness when he gives and sees the receiver *enjoys* what is given. But I wanted to propagate an idea in the song that no one should be there in the country neither to give nor to take and everyone should have their basic necessity fulfilled without seeking it from someone else. The lyrics such as "pattathile pathavivuyarvathile" (i.e. attaining degrees and getting greater elevation in jobs) one may not attain happiness - such message is a warning message to the Ministers and the officials who are occupying higher positions in the society but do nothing to improve the conditions of the people. Mr. S. M. Subbiah Naidu wonderfully composed these songs. *Thus, in this movie - the story,*

the lyrics and the tunes of the songs together reflect the message that gave impetus for the success (28).

The above narration proves the point, that Dr. MGR had his own vision about a movie and followed such an uncompromised formula to every one of his movies. Indeed, that had resulted in attainment of the status of Matinee idol the secret of his success in the annals of history of Tamil Cinema. What is this Matinee idol and how MGR had gone beyond this concept is narrated here under.

q) MGR beyond Matinée idol

Matinée idol is a term that was generally used to describe about the male artists who are adored to the point of adulation by their fans. *Matinée idols* often become the subject of parody during the height of their popularity, an example being Stan Laurel Spoofing Rudolph Valentino in his film *Mud and Sand.* This phenomenon reached its height from the 1920s to around the 1960s in Hollywood (29). Cult films are defined by audience reaction in the form of elaborate and ritualized audience participation, film festivals, or cosplay. Cinephiles argue that over time, the definition had become more vague and inclusive, as it drifted away from its earlier stricter views (30).

Unlike the above concept of Matinee idol or Cult films Dr. MGR followed a different kind of methodology based on his own perception, that made him to attain, the state of charismatic personality of professional probity, and stands tall in the annals of history of Tamil cinema with no parallel.

To substantiate the above fact, one must consider, the following press conference given by Dr. MGR:

Question: Sir, it seems that you had refused to act in movies as you were supposed to utter the names of Gods? As an actor, are you not supposed to accept whatever role is given to you in a movie?

Answer: There is no truth to substantiate the contention made out by you. First of all, it is true that I had declined to act in two movies. However, the newspaper published only a borrowed part, which is not true. God exists in everyone. You pray a particular God; I am praying another God. Is there greater God than mother herself! I pray my mother's photo. I also pray God that was worshipped by my mother. Praying or worshipping is personal to an individual. When comes to profession, is it not your duty to reflect the correct perspective to the people? Is it not your duty to guide the general public on the right path? Similarly, I am an actor; I have a duty attached towards the general public. Only literates can read the newspapers. However, educated, illiterate, men and women, including children are watching the movies. The people who watch movies outnumber those who read newspapers. Therefore, I do not want to spread false message among the people. You should not misunderstand me. I am an actor, and you should allow me to do my duty as an actor. I did not refrain from the agreement by merely refusing to pronounce the name of God. For example, the story i.e *Kathavarayan*, I have no faith in the tantric scenes in the movies. My-

own uncle was a tantric, and I know the nuances of tantric. You cannot produce mango out of tantric tactics, and that was the reason why I did not wish to propagate such a sophistry to the masses in the movie. *I rank as the big actor with huge fan followers, many of whom are children, and they follow me as their hero, I do not wish to instill wrong notions in their minds. Since they are the future wealth of the nation, I refrain from acting in such movies though I recorded my protest in a very polite manner.*

Take another movie by name *Lalithangi*, it was designed in such a way that the hero hates the entire women-hood in the society as prostitutes. Finally, he falls in love with a dancer and changes his views. I never liked the idea of criticizing the women hood in such a degrading manner; moreover, I did not like the climax scene therefore I refused to act in that movie.

Question: if you change the story of the movie as you like, what will happen to the producer who are supposed to invest huge sums of money?

Answer: Nothing will happen; the movies that were released after my suggestions run well. For example, the various scenes that were changed in accordance with my suggestions in the movie *Madurai Veeran,* attained success (this movie ran in 40 theatres in Tamil Nadu for 100 days). In the movie, *Malaikkallan* also the producer accepted my suggestions. The movie, Alibaba also my suggestions were well taken. It is my request, that people should not come to a conclusion that I convey my political ideologies in the movies. I am an

artist, and I am duty bound to express my views and the producers are availing my expertise. The irrelevant scenes that were taken with a view to make profit by cheating the public should be curtailed (31).

Such a determined efforts put in by Dr. MGR made his films ever green for example, the Hindu Tamil daily dated 9th July 2019, reported the following:

54 years after the release of the movie "Ayirathil Oruvan". It might have been 39 years since his last film released and 30 years since he died. But the legacy of the legend, M. G. Ramachandran, more so identified with the famous three letters 'MGR', lives on and doesn't seem to be coming to an end anytime soon. She further goes to emphatically say that "*MGR's spectacular rise in movies should be attributed to his wisdom for carefully ascertaining the right script for himself. The lead protagonist was always portrayed as an epitome of virtue who raises his voice for the downtrodden and ensures that justice prevails in the end. The scripts were message oriented for the society, at the same time; they had a mother-son relationship, brother-sister bonding, philosophical songs apart from sensuous heroines, who would romance MGR in colourful costumes during scintillating duets*".

This researcher goes one step further to add that MGR scans through the lyrics of the songs and sits with the lyric writers and brings the best out from them and that is the reason why his film songs contain full of socially acclaimed content. He also sits with the composer of music to finalize the tunes for his film songs. The realistic fight scenes wherein MGR shows his prowess by means of sward, silambam and stic - rolling, fist by means of hitting the opponent with full force to make them roll on the floor etc. (32).

The weekly Tamil Magazine, "KUMUDAM" had published several articles under the title of "Ayirathil Oruvan (one in thousand)" in memory of Bharat Ratna Dr. Maruthur Gopala Menon Ramachandran's (Dr. MGR) centenary celebrations, wherein, celebrities who had associated with Dr. MGR, shared their experiences. It becomes important to refer Kavinger (Poet) Na Muthulingam who recorded his perception about Dr. MGR. Na Muthulingam, a popular lyricist of Tamil Cinema, had written, more than 1500 film songs including number of songs for MGR films. Muthulingam states "like Purachithalaivar (i.e. Revolutionary Leader "Dr. MGR") his songs are also immortal". It is Dr. MGR, who gave importance to aesthetics to tunes, and construction of new and meaningful words in the songs, and that is the reason why Dr. MGR film songs stands tall; generation after generation (Muthulingam. Na.). He further states, that it was very difficult to get MGR's concurrence and finalize songs in his movies. Some songs were accepted by him on a single day. At the same time, it took moths to get the songs accepted by

Dr. MGR. Muthulingam, further states that he wrote three songs for MGR's movie "Madhuraiyai Meeta Sundara Pandian" and it took months for him to get consent from Dr. MGR. Again, in his essay chapter, in the book Editedby Sabitha Joseph (2014), Muthulingam reiterates that -as MGR wanted to introduce good ideas in his filmsongs that will serve useful purpose to his fans hepaid enormous attention, to the lyrics of his film songs.Muthulingam quotes "after MGR became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, the daily Washington Postexclaimed that it was because of popularity gainedthrough his philosophical songs MGR was able tosnatch such a victory (Muthulingam. Na 2007). Muthulingam further states, that MGR used to advisehim in the following manner (in the words of MGR):

"Even when you write songs relating to sad news for the movies, you should not use incomplete words (sentences)". When Pattukottaiar writes, sometimes, incomplete sentences would occur however, it will not happen to Kannadasan. Therefore, mix Pattukottai and Kannadasan in your writings'. In the movie "Indrupol Endrum Valka (live liketoday for ever)" the original first song was different andwhat had taken place was different. The first song was "pathai mari ponavare payanam yenge sollunga" (i.e. deviated from your chosen path where is your journey). Director Sridhar told that the meaning of this song will coincide with the situation of the story. But MGR advised not to write incomplete concepts. After this advice only, I wrote the super-hit song Anbukku Nan Adimai, Tamil Panbukku Nan Adimai – (I am slave to eternal love and Iam slave to the ethical values of Tamil Language).

One should also consider the following version contained in the book written by Sabbetha Joseph entitled Puratchithalaiver MGR's success formula.

Dr. MGR used to pay utmost attention to his film songs. His film songs become so popular, because he had translated the experiences he gained in life, as ideas to his songs. He used to sit with the lyric writers and music composers and made them to toil till such time he is convinced of a particular lyric and tune. It seems, the great composer M. S. Viswanathan enacted 25 tunes to a particular song. Director K. Shankar (who was a famous director for several of MGR films) reiterates the same in his essay entitled "Why MGR songs become hits"? One of the reasons why MGR songs become popular is that MGR wanted to translate what was practiced and experienced by him, as songs for his films (33). For a film "Ninaithathai Mudippavan" the lyric writer Maruthakasi wrote the following stanza: On earning money and gold people will forget where they come from – let them go in their way. Dr. MGR did not like the last line and asked the writer; what do you mean to say by writing this last line, do you indeed point out the mistakes committed by them. Then the writer

changed the line into: - "if they wish to go shutting their eyes, let them go". Appreciating the suggestion, MGR approved the corrected version of the lyrics, and it was included in the song. It is therefore, not a mere exaggeration to state that Dr. MGR knows the lyrics of the song including its meaning and the purpose for which it was written for his movies though of course he never composed the songs nor did he give voice over.

The above narration prove the point, that Dr. MGR had associated with eminent and peers like Kaviyarasu Kannadasan, Kavinger Valli, Marutha Kasi, Pottukottiar and Na. Muthulingam and others and it is because of such interaction he was able to cull, the best out from these legendary and thereby many of his film songs were centered on the concepts, of rights and upliftment of poor, social inequalities and the need for decentralization of wealth; weeding out corruptive practice, and inculcating moral values in the society *(34). Even the romantics songs never severed from the virtue attributed to chaste love by Tamil Literature i.e. acham, madam, nanam, payirpu which forms essential ingredient for chastity of womenhood in accordance with the most sacred grammar book the Tolkapium. It is a fact that MGR film songs always glorify women-hood. It is held that women of Tamil culture should imbibe the four basic nature i.e. acham, madam, nanam and payirpu. Acham means fear while Nanam means shyness; madam means though a woman knows the truth but keeps silent as if she does not know; Payirpu means when she happens to be touched by person other than her husband, she develops an attitude of aversion (35).*

The facts indicated above in the matter of elimination of certain unwanted scenes in movies, certainly, differ with the concept of either with the Matinée Idol or with the Cult films and establishes the fact that Dr. MGR followed his own conviction to pursue goodness that had resulted in production of outstanding movies, to mention a few Nadoodi Mannan, Ayirathil Oruvan, Adimaipen and Ulagam Sutrum Valiban etc. Among them there are movies that were produced and directed by himself. These and many other movies not only bear testimony of excellent story and meaningful dialogue but also for the outstanding songs with meaningful lyrics.

r) Karl Marx the Greatest Social Reformer

Karl Marx (1818-1883) was a German philosopher, political economist, historian, political theorist, sociologist, communist, and revolutionary, whose ideas played a significant role in the development of modern communism. Marx in the Communist Manifesto that was published in 1848 exclaimed that "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." Marx argued that capitalism, like previous socio-economic systems, would inevitably produce internal tensions which would lead to its destruction. Just as capitalism replaced feudalism, Marx believed socialism would, in its turn, replace capitalism, and lead to a stateless, classless society called *Pure Communism* (36).

In this pure communism Marx expects men would live a life of equality. Marx denotes that the condition precedent for the foremost historical act is the production of material life itself and when the needs relating to food clothing and shelter are fulfilled by means of gratification man tries to create new needs and there is no end to such needs and gratification as he denotes men as a "perpetually dissatisfied animal" (37).

History of the world reveals that the members of the aristocracy and the church had owned the means of production, and the peasants worked for the aristocracy. With the onset of the Industrial Revolution, Marx thought that the working poor will rise financially and socially. However, this did not happen and to his dismay aristocracy was replaced by the capitalists and Marx calls them *Bourgeoisie*.

The working class who was once peasants were replaced as wage earners under the capitalist and Marx calls them as *Proletariat*. Marx believed that capitalism which is inherently unfair, since workers under this system were becoming poorer and poorer and were alienated. And in this vicious circle of *Alienation* the workers are becoming distanced or isolated or both from their work, resulting not only a feeling of despondency but they have certainly become powerless and thereby could not feel free to develop their skills and go beyond the pale of the shackles of bondage as industrial workers.

s) Marx's greatest finding "the Alienation"

Imagine a capitalist society that consist of majority of laborer's who are powerless and suffer from despondency and they are artificially made to depend on the business men who assumed feudal power in the society. *To alleviate this alienation Marx propounded an unequivocal theory and wanted capitalism to be replaced by a socialist system that will make people equal and thereby their needs met.*

t) The Meaning of Alienation

Lewis A. Coser hails that according to Marx *Alienation* may be described as a condition in which men are dominated by forces of their own creation, which confront them as alien powers. The notion is central to all of Marx's earlier philosophical writings and still informs his later work, although no longer as a philosophical issue but as a social phenomenon (38).

Marx Asked: In what circumstances do men project their own powers, their own values, upon objects that escape their control?

What are the social causes of this phenomenon?

Marx is of the view that all major institutional spheres in capitalist society, such as religion, the state, and political economy, were marked by a condition of

alienation and that the various aspects of alienation were interdependent and came to a conclusion that *Objectification* is the practice of alienation. Just as man, so long as he is engrossed in religion, can only objectify his essence by an *alien* and fantastic being; so under the sway of egoistic need, he can only affirm himself and produce objects in practice by subordinating his products and his own activity to the domination of an alien entity, and by attributing to them the significance of an alien entity, namely money. Therefore, it is the state's responsibility to guarantee its citizens the fundamental freedom and regard each individual as equal whether he is rich or poor. Such a state that assures such a liberty is truly democratic.

u) Materialism

Delinking morality or moral and spiritual upliftment of a person (perhaps Marx leaves to the consciousness of the individual) Marx studied the relationship and importance of money in man's material life. Here Marx's opines that money is the alienated essence of man's work and existence; the essence dominates him and he worships it and it is not an exaggeration to say that money has enslaved men due to the intrinsic and imperative physical needs. It is difficult to imagine the monotonous material life of human being without money and that is the reason why Marx called man's material life as the economic life. Marx's says that in this economic life majority of the manpower are made to work as industrial workforce to earn for their livelihood. Marx emphatically says that the workforce is oppressed by a handful of capitalists who are few in percentage when compared to industrial workers. They try to dominate them in all spears of life i.e. economic, political and social. Marx therefore concludes that the alienated industrial worker's freedom of choice has been freezed by the Industrialists. He therefore feels it necessary that "the state which is the intermediary between men and human liberty" just as Christ is the intermediary to whom man attributes all his own divinity and all his religious bonds, so the state is the intermediary to which man confides all his non-divinity and all his human freedom and therefore the state is duty bond to create an atmosphere wherein everyone is equal and he says that "as the contradictions of capitalism become greater, more intense, and less amenable to disguise, neither the state nor ideology can restrain the mass of the workers, white and blue collar, from recognizing their interests (becoming "class conscious") and acting upon them.

The overthrow of capitalism, when it comes, Marx believed, would proceed as quickly and democratically as the nature of capitalist opposition allowed. Out of the revolution would emerge a socialist society which would fully utilize and develop much further the productive potential inherited from capitalism. Through democratic planning, production would be directed to serving social needs instead of maximizing private profit. It should be understood that maximum social benefit would be attained only by serving the social needs of the majority and maximizing private profit would create a huge gap between haves and have nots. The final goal, toward which socialist society would constantly build, is the human one of abolishing alienation. Marx called the attainment of this goal "communism".

v) Man is Perpetually Dissatisfied Animal

Lewis Coser, opines that Karl Marx was a socialist theoretician and organizer, a major figure in the history of economic and philosophical thought, and a great social prophet. Karl Marx hailed that the quest for a sufficiency in eating, and drinking for habitation and for clothing were man's primary goals at the dawn of the race, and these needs are still central when attempts are made to the complex anatomy of modern society. But man's struggle against nature does not cease when these needs are gratified. *Man is a perpetually dissatisfied animal.* Delinking morality and moral and spiritual upliftment of a person, Marx studied the relationship and importance of money in man's material life, and came to the conclusion, that money is the alienated essence of man's work and existence; the essence dominates him and he worships it.

It is not an exaggeration, when we say, that money has enslaved mankind due to the intrinsic and imperative physical needs. It is rather difficult, to imagine the monotonous material life of human being, without the concept of money and that is the reason why Marx called man's material life as the economic life and in this economic life Marx opines that majority of them are made to work as industrial labour to earn for their livelihood. They are oppressed by the capitalists (industrialist) who are few in percentage when compared to industrial workers and try to dominate them in all aspects of their life i.e., economic, political and social. Marx concludes that the alienated industrial worker's freedom of choice has been freezed and dominated by the Industrialists. *He categorically emphasizes that "the state is the intermediary between men and human liberty" just as Christ is the intermediary to whom man attributes all his own divinity and all his religious bonds, so the state is the intermediary to which man confides all his non-divinity and all his human freedom and therefore the state is duty bond to create an atmosphere wherein everyone is equal (39).*

The above are core and essential ingredient of Karl Marx's philosophy of socialism that establishes the fact of equity and social justice. A society that does not provide avenues for its entire people to prosper would naturally become a breeding house of inequality and social deprivation would occur. If majority of its people are made to deprive by a handful of men's intelligent domination as was explained by Marx above indeed is a case for consideration of principle of social inequality

and the solution enunciated by him to mitigate though known as socialism or communism there is no reason why it cannot be brought under the doctrine of equity and social justice in accordance with what Thanthai Periyar's evolution of Dravidar Iyakkam.

IV. Methodology of the Study

It is proposed to bring the sum and substance of each movie under a Context. Thereby each context will contain the synopsis of the story (synopsis of the story has been written after viewing the full content of the moive which is available on the U-Tube. The U-Tube address is also given under each context so that it can be verified). A Table indicating the details of the movie; cross verifying whether the movie contains the following pointers arrived at and the conclusion of the movie (i.e. how the hero establishes truth after marveling all the troubles).

V. Grounds for Comparison

Communism is also described as "Revolutionary Proletarian Socialism" or "Marxism," is both a political and economic philosophy (Lewis A. Coser. (1977). At the request of the Communist League, an activist group they were members of, Marx and Engels together authored *The Communist Manifesto*. The main goal of *The Communist Manifesto* was to focus on class struggle and motivate the common people to riot. Even more so, it was designed to envision a model government, whose economics would destroy the upper class – freeing the lower class from tyranny. According to *The Communist Manifesto*, Communism has ten essential planks as indicated in the table below which compares the ideology of Dravidar Iyakkam and Annaism:

The Communist Manifesto	The main principles of the Self-Respect Movement are	Annaism can be brought under the Following Pointers
Abolition of Private Property.		A casteless and classless society
Heavy Progressive Income Tax.	No one is great or inferior by their birth.	sale of all essential commodities should be taken over by the government,
Abolition of Rights of Inheritance.	Women should be given equal rights on par with men.	Right to recall
Confiscation of Property Rights.	Till such time the eradication of differences that arise due to cast and religion, people should be given representation through a cast based reservation system; both in education and employment opportunity, consistence with the percentage of population of each community in the society.	Confiscation of properties of corrupt people,
Central Bank.		ceiling of income like land holdings
Government Ownership of Communication and Transportation.		withdrawal of currencies below 100
Government Ownership of Factories and Agriculture.		inclusion of English in the eighth schedule of the Constitution to safeguard the interests of the Anglo-Indian community
Government Control of Labor.	The various rituals that were blindly followed by the people, including the belief without reasoning, should be routed out from the society.	decentralization of powers between center and states
Corporate Farms and Regional Planning.		Government takeover of heavy industries and mills
Government Control of Education.		Coffee, tea and rubber plantations should be nationalized.

a) Intrepretation of the Above Table

As can be seen above that Dravidar Iyakkam's ideology which is original and orginated from Thanthai Periyar is based on the regional requirement of Tamil Nadu. Periyar thought that through these ideologies the down trodden people of Tamil Nadu can be emancipated and made to enjoy equal rights on par with others in the society which is nothing but equity and social justice as advocated by the great Karl Marx. Annaism is just an extension or elaboration or fine tune of the concept of dravidar ideology to give a political outlook and to implement the same wherever possible.

Apart from the dravidhar ideology above, it is also incumbent to find out the goodness and virtue

propagatedin the movies. The following pointers are added in order to simplify the concept of cross verifying whether the selected movies contain them:

- Voicing against the social atrocity in the society (towards the poors).
- Symbols of dravidar iyakkam.
- References on dravidar political ideology
- Philosophical Songs containing social emanci-pation, the practice of virtue in the society
- Heroine's helping hand to the hero in establishing the truth.

Context-1: Aayirathil Oruvan

b) Synopsis of the Story

(written after viewing the movie in U-tube i.e. https://www. youtube. com/watch?v=MI9O2XqhRlA)

Manimaran (M. G. Ramachandran), is a traditional i.e. Ayurvedic/Siddha doctor living in the country called Neidhal Naadu with his Attendant Azhagan (Nagesh). He discovers a medicine which can cure any kind of poisonous serpent bite. A crew enters Manimaran's house pleading him to cure the injury sustained by a rebel against the dictator (Manohar) of Neidhal Naadu. Manimaran after arguments agreed to treat the patient but was stopped by the ruler's policemen. They threw a charge on Manimaran i.e. helping the rebel is an offence and summoned before the dictator. After a great war of words that marks meaningful dialogues such as: "En Athikarathin alathai ne arivayo (do you know the scepters sway of my authority) ungaludaya athikaram enna silapathikarama (your power indeed is silapathikaram" the king sells them as slaves to the island called Kanni Theevu ruled by Sengappan.

An ayurvedic doctor Manimaran becomes a salve in Kannitheevu. Here the hero Manimaran changes his ideology of a doctor to cure dreadful diseases to that of obtaining freedom for his country men from the tyranny rule of the dictator of Neidhal Naadu (Manohar). Manimaran becomes the leader of the slaves and fights for their rights.

Incidentally the Princessof Kanni Theevu the nice of Sengappan falls in love with Manimaran afteran incident of saving and rescuing her from being trapped under a falling tree. Later, the island was attacked by pirates headed by its leader villain M. N. Nambiar. As Sengappan's troops were not present at that point of time, he pleads Manimaran to help him to route the Pirates from their invasion. Manimaran demands freedom from slavery in return to the proposed help of fighting with the pirates and to save Kanni-theevu. Though Manimaran with the help of his friends rescues Kannitheevu from the Pirates by driving them away after a dreadful fight, Sengodan refuses to free them from their bondage.

Manimaran hatches a plan and escapes along with his friends and manages to board the ship of the Pirates. After a fierce fight Manimaran tells the leader of the Pirate that his intention was not to kill him but to escape to his native place to save his country i.e. Neidhal Nadu from the tyranny of the dictator. Though the villain Namibar, agrees to drop them at neithal nadu – but after taking them to his island he tries to captivate them and threatens Manimaran that he will kill all his friends who are now in his jail and tries to nail them from the top of the roof. Manimaran agrees to be part of the Pirate's business just to save his friends. His duty was to swindle from the ships that passes on the sea and bring wealth to the Pirate's Captain (Nambiar). But Manimaran asks his friends to wage war with such pirate ships not to assault the merchantry ships that was intended for trade.

The disappointed princes Poongodi wanted to go for a sea voyage to overcome the distress caused by the absence of Manimaran in the Kannetheevu. His uncle instructs the voyagers to place the flag meant for Pirate's. Manimaran goes for the business of swindling and finds Poongodi in the ship that was invaded by his troop. It was a great surprise to Poongodi who finds his beloved Manimarana thief heading the Pirates. Manimaran saves her and brings to the pirate's island. But Nanjappa the close aid of the captain reveals the truth to the captain. The captain (Nambiar) a womanizer wants to marry Poongodi andasks the officials to sell her in the open market. He offers 1 lakh gold coins but Manimaran rescues her with the maximum bid price of 2 lakh gold coins which was a surprise and Poongodi goes to the house of Manimaran.

As mistook by Poongodi that Manimaran was changed to a thief, Poongodi could not find the peace that she was enjoying at Kanni Theevu and was depressed by a sense of feeling of cheated by Manimaran and behaves roughly with him. The Pirates Captain Nambiar's desire on Poongodi did not wane away. With the cruel idea vituperated by his attendant Nambiar attempts to make Poongodi as his but with the intervention of the Captains wife Poongodi agreed to act as the wife of Manimaran and thus made the attempt of the captain futile. Manimaran decides to send Poongodi to Kannetheevu and asks his close attendant to carry Poongodi to Kannetheevu to be handed over to Sengoden. In the conversation of the plan to be executed Poongodi learns the nobleness of Manimaran who was merely acting as a Priate (thief). She never wanted to leave Manimaran thereafter and tries to behave properly.

Manimaran plans to escape from the Pirates bondage and wage a war with the dictator to save his country. In the meantime the Captain hatches a plan to kill Manimaran thereby he can marry Poongodi. Manimaran comes to know about the plan and there ensues a great solo fight between Manimaran and

Captain (Nambiar). In the sword fight of high order between MGR and Nambiar Manimaran becomes victorious. The leader offers the entire land to Manimaran as was the custom i.e. it becomes the possession of one who wins the leader in a fight. But Manimaran refuses to accept the offer and informs that his only aim is to free his countrymen from the dictator (Manohar) of Neidhal Naadu. Nambiar promises to help MGR in his fight against the dictator. After a planned attack Manimaran saves the life of the dictator and even went to the extent of refusing to accept the country. MGR leaves Neithal land to practice his medical explodes for the services to mankind - after appointing the Captain (Nambiar) as Neithal Lands commander in Chief.

The first movie of the successful pair continued in politics as well. If the movie is screened in any theatre it yields collection because MGR himself is ayirathil oruvan (40).

The comedy of Nagesh adds feather to cap of this movie. He not only makes the audience to smile but rendered meaningful dialogues emulating the character of the Hero and portrays how wise and honest the hero Manimaran was that helps the heroine Poongodi to change her opinion on the hero. Nagesh also enlightens the slaves the sacrifice made by the hero to save their lives and wipes off the bad illusion created in their mind about the hero. With his versatile acting skill Nagesh makes the audience to watch each of the scenes with wonder. The next wonder in the film Ayirathil Oruvan is the last movie paring the two music legends MSV-TKR (i) Paruvam Enathu Padal (ii) En Endra Kelvi (iii) Odum Megangale (iv) Unnainan Santhethen (v) Nanamoo (v) Atho antha paravaipola vala vendum are wonderful lyrics written by Kavinger Vali and Kannadasan which was aesthetically composed and made the songs ever green.

Sl. No.	Name of the Movie and its historical details	Voicing against the social atrocity towards the poors in the society.	Symbols of dravidar iyakkam	References on dravidar political ideology as advocated by Thanthai Periyar	Philosophical Songs containing social emancip-ation and the practice of virtue in the society	Heroine's helping hand to the hero in establishing the truth.
	Aayirathil Oruvan *	1	2	3	4	5
1	Directed by P.R.Pandulu Produced by Padmini Pictures Written by K. J. Mahadevan R.K.Shanmugam (dialogues) Starring M.G. Ramachandran and Jayalalithaa – Main roles. M. N. Nambiar, Manohar, Nagesh and Madhavi Krishnan in supporting roles. Music by Viswanathan & Ramamorrthy Cinematography V. Ramamoorthy Edited by R. Devarajan Release date 9 July 1965	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes – she helps the hero when Sengappan wanted to drive MGR out of the island the heroine Thenmozhi asks him to remain in the island to use him as a doctor. Also helps the hero in nursing the injury caused to the King at the end of the movie and goes along with the Hero to do medical service to the society when the hero surpasses the chance of ruling his mother nation.
Positve Outcome of the Movie						
Manimaran (MGR) saves his country from the tyranny and frees his countrymen to live without fear. This story has become immortal as it stands the test of time. In the Hindu Tamil daily dated 9th July 2019 it was reported that 54 years after the release of the movie "Ayirathil Oruvan", how a film should be taken to make successful will vary from hero to hero, story to story, time after time. But a formula that was in existence is called MGR formula and it never failed is also the pride of MGR. Such is the intricate mixture the movie Ayirathil Oruvan".						

*https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aayirathil_Oruvan_(1965_film)

c) *Interesting Facts Relevant to this Movie*

   i. *Amma about MGR*

I am greatly indebted to MGR in the cine field. Our first meeting itself was a thriller. I have been acting in few pictures in Kannada before I actually acted in Vennira Adai. Pandulu had planned to produce the film "Ayirathil Oruvan" making MGR as its hero. It was Pandulu Sir's desire that I should act in the movie Ayirathil Oruvan and he passed on this news to MGR. It was said that MGR wanted to watch the Kanada movies where I acted and finalize the heroine only after that. I also watched the Kannada movies along with MGR. After the screening of the movies MGR turned towards Pandulu and shook his head. I was elated with joy first time in my life. Perhaps this assent marked the historic moment of this great pair coming together to act in outstanding socially relevant movies and prevailed in politics as well.

The movie is known for its great screen play and dialogue written by R. K. Shanmugam which was his first assignment with MGR. This is not only the first movie for Amma but also for the Producer P. R. Pandulu and the script writer R.K.Shunmugam. Let us see how it happened (41).

The weekly Tamil Magazine, "KUMUDAM" had published several articles under the title of "Ayirathil Oruvan (one person in thousand)" in memory of Bharat Ratna Dr. Maruthur Gopala Menon Ramachandran's (Dr. MGR) centenary celebrations wherein celebrities who had associated with Dr. MGR, were requested to share their memories and experiences by way of articles in the magazine. It becomes important to refer two articles appeared in the above famous weekly magazine dated 12.4.2017; 19.4.2017 and 26.4.2017 which is an interview given by R. K.Shanmugam who is no more now – he was 80 years when he gave this interview. The excerpts are reproduced below:

There is a special place for Puratchi Thalaivar's mass movies i.e. Ayirathil Oruvan. Historical dialogue that took place in the movie was written by R. K. Shunmugam. Crossing the age of 80 years lives along with his wife in Royapettai we met him:

I served in only one company i.e. PR Pandulus's Padmini Pictures. I never went to any other company in my life time. If I like one thing in life I never switch over to other company and I tried to live there with all honesty - that was my attitude. Pandulu took 15-16 movies with Sivaji. Big movies like Veerapandia Kattabomman, Kappalotiya Tamilan, Karnan, Krishnadevarayar. Muradan Muthu was the last movie wherein Shivaji was engaged. Due to pre-commitments Shivaji could not come for the dubbing. Pandulu went to the shooting spot of Sivaji and brought him to the recording theatre straight – that was the affection and relationship these two had. After this movie these two could not come together to take new movies. It was during this time someone told that K. J. Mahadevan has a good story and wanted Pandulu to look in to this for a possible movie creation. We asked him to come and tell us the story – we liked the story and when this story was narrated to Venus Krishnamoorthy, he said Pandulu this story will certainly suit MGR. Please handover the story to me, I will make this movie with MGR, I will finance to you for any other movie. Pandulu reacted -come may what – oh brother, I will make this movie with MGR! We were shocked and asked Pandulu Sir - you were producing movie with Sivaji so far why do you want to change. In business such things will happen. But Venus Krishnamoorthy told Pandulu: it is very difficult to produce movie with MGR; it is something like keeping an elephant at house and feed it. It will be impossible. Pandulu replied:- I have really fed Elephants, horses and camels in the movie Karnan. I do not have experience with MGR let me see.

The above messagesomehow went to the ears of MGR and he himself called us. Myself Pandulu along with two other assistants visited MGR at his Lloyds Road bungalow. MGR welcomed us ceremoniously. When Pandulu wanted to tell the story MGR said Anne (big brother), I know you have produced big movies. The thought that you wish to produce a movie with me as a hero itself is enough. I agree to act in the movie without listening to the story. I am prepared to receive advance for the movie and make my commitment today itself. Realizing the fact that Pandulu is not prepared to pay advance on the spot MGR said you need not give it in lakhs but sum of Rs.10000/- is enough. Pandulu looked at our face - we know that he did not have a single penny in his pocket – realizing this MGR instantaneously said why are you hesitating: you may give a thousand rupees. We felt embarrassed and hesitated again MGR said OK you give me Rs.10 or Re. 1/-. To be very frank our owner Pandulu never keeps money in his pocket and we also did not have money at that time. Then Pandulu asked me to find out whether our driver has any money. Luckily he had Rs. 10/- all one rupee notes. I took that notes and gave it to Pandulu- Pandulu Sir told - why are you giving it to me – give it to MGR because your hands are considered to be lucky. I gave one rupee to MGR, MGR took it after placing it in his eyes. He said I will act in this movie you can tell me the schedule of suiting and I will come to the suiting spot.

We have started our activities after paying the one rupee advance to MGR. Our director Pandulu promised me at the time of the previous movie Muradan Muthu that I will be writing the script for the next movie. It so happened that I have to write script for MGR in Ayirathil Oruvan. I went and told Pandulu Sir - I never expected this to happen and I am really afraid to write script for MGR as I believe that he has his own persons to write script according to his taste and preference. But Pandulu said you will have to write; there is no other choice. Then I said that I will write script for six or seven

scenes that too the confrontation between MGR and Nambiar in the movie. We will send it to MGR and if he is satisfied then I will write the script; otherwise MGR can have his own choice of script writer. Pandulu agreed and the scripts were sent to MGR. To quote one of the war of words:

Nambiar: Matham Konda Yanai Yenna Seiyum Theriyuma? (What will the mad elephant do you know?)

MGR: Sinam Konda Singathidam ThotruVodum (it will run defeated by the angry lion).

We were waiting for the assent of MGR. But till the day of the suiting there was no answer from MGR about the scripts written by me. On the day of the suiting MGR has to come to Vahini Studio. Afraid as I was, went to the nearby Murugan Temple and prostrated before the deity to save me from MGR and went to the suiting point and was sitting at one corner. MGR entered the suiting arena with his costumes to the consternation of everyone. Afraid as I was just could not understand what will be the reactions from him about my scripts. I thought it will be a great relief if MGR finds my script not suitable but to the contrary MGR asked Pandulu - where is the script writer he simply showed me to MGR. MGR said where wereyou all these years. I read all the seven scripts seven times they were very nicely written. I was relieved and there begun our association. After completing Ayirathil Oruvan Pandulu produced films with MGR Nadodi, Thedivantha Mappillai, Ragasiya Police 115 – Pandulu asked me to write script for these movies and MGR wanted me to write scripts for movies like Mugarasi, Kannithai, Thalaivan, Neethikku Thalaivanangu, Nalla Neram, Pallandu Valga, Rikshakaran. When MGR became the Chief Minister, he made me the Chairman for the Agricultural Marketing Board. MGR never let anyone who had associated depending on him. The house where I live also allotted by MGR only. After allotting the house a phone call came to my house from the driver of MGR asking whether I was sleeping. I said I will go to bed only by 11.00 p.m. Just a while after someone was tapping the door of my house. When I opened the door, it was MGR the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu standing in front of my house in disguised attire no one could identify him. I was unable to offer a cup of milk to him and even to offer him a proper seat- MGR sat on the floor and he offered me ice-cream bought for me and that was MGR (42).

ii. *The Stamp of Impeccable Quality*

The stamp of impeccable quality, that was maintained in the story, lyrics and tunes of songs, makes Puratchi Thalaivar Dr.MGR fans to watch his movies even after 29 years of his demise. For example, super-hit movie like the Ayirathil Oruvan, which commanded respect in 1965 had been restored and released throughout Tamil Nadu in 120 theatres in the year 2014-15. Despite several new films seeing the light of the same day, the freshly minted 49-year-old blockbuster opened in over 120 screens all over the state. In a near packed standalone downscale cinema hall in Chennai, many who turned up for the noon show seemed to have already seen and savored the film when it was released first in 1965. In the 14-seater box, where the ticket rate is as high as Rs. 50, almost everyone should be over 50 years. *It started during the title scene and then went onduring the mellifluous song sequences and somemoments of 'meaningful' dialogue delivery*. As a film, that should have been ahead of its time, in terms of technical-excellence and also in creating a do-gooder image for MGR, Aayirathil Oruvan portrays its swash buckling hero as a committed leader of the people, ready to make any sacrifice for his followers. The movie also saw its leading woman, J Jayalalithaa, giving a sterling performance with impeccable dialogue delivery. The crowd savored every moment, fully engrossed in the action and drama and enjoying the melodious music, tapping their foot, and swaying their heads. No catcalls, no hooting's, no loud comments and no jokes. The crowd was there to watch the movie (The New Indian Express).

The ever green Dr. MGR and Dr. J. Jayalalitha's combination

After 49 years this movie ran for 175 days – a record in Tamil Cinema

The then Hon'ble Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Puratchi Thalaivi J.Jayalalitha, in her message sent to Divya Films G Chokkalingam, who took pains for the rerelease of this movie in digital form after a gap of half a century says:

"It will not be an exaggeration to say that Aayirathil Oruvan has laid foundation for my entry into politics...it was my first film with MGR ... the film gave me an opportunity to meet and interact with MGR...and this film has left with me an unerasable life-time experience,"

Madam further stated that "September 1 marked the 175th day celebrations of the screening of the digital version of the movie. This film enjoyed the successful screening of over 100 days in 1965. Now it has crossed 175 days.. it shows that the movie has withstood the test of time...even now, it attracts present generation too to the theatre….this hasproved that Aayirathil Oruvan has achieved what thenew films have failed to,"– (The New Indian Express) (43). It is a fact that there are several MGR film songs that glorifies women-hood. It is held that women of Tamil culture should imbibe the four basic nature i.e. acham, madam, nanam and payirpu. Acham means fear while nanam means shyness; madammeans though awoman knows the truth but keeps silent as if she doesnot know; *Payirpu* means when she happens to betouched by person other than her husband, shedevelops an attitude of aversion (44).

Context -2: Chandhrodhayam

d)   Synopsis of the Story

(written after viewing the movie in U-tube i.e. https:// youtu.be/ROu-uUyg4gM)

The hero Chandran (MGR) works as a reporter for a newspaper known as Dinakkavarchi (daily attraction) which was owned and run by Duryodhana (MR Radha) wherein Alwar (Nagesh) was also working as a still photographer whose wife was Ahalya (Manorama). Ponnambalam (Asokan) a Zamindar and a widower whose only daughter was Devi (Jayalalitha). Devi who is supposed to lead a luxurious life cannot choose her own food in the house nor have a dip in the small pond of her garden house. The servant maid belovedly called as Lakshmi Aaya (Pandari Bai) by Devi was cheated by Duryodhana and deserted her. Lakshmi Aaya bore a female child by name Kamala (Bharati Visnuvardhan) and leaves her in the hands of a married couple who was bereft of a child.

The story goes like this "the hero saves Kamala from her death noose and assures his help as an elder brother". Prodded by fate Kamala was molested by a Zamindar Parandaman (Nambiar).

Ponnambalam wanted his daughter Devi to get married and finds a match – the match was none other than Parandaman the land lord whose family was equal in status with that of Parandaman. Devi hates to get married and runs away from the bungalow in the midst of a night and some how manage to reach the city wherein Parandaman founds her standing on the streets and tries to carry her away in the car. But the press reporter Chandran who was investigating an accident happens to see the rude behavior of Parandaman with Devi and intervenes and saves Devi from the hands of Parandaman. Chandran wanted to accompany Devi to her house but she says that she was an orphan and has no place to go. Chandran takes her to his house for the day and decided to leave Devi in a ladies home the very next day. But Devi refuses and continues to live in Chandran's house she says that she would commit suicide if she is pestered further. It was the hero who fights for the rights of Kamala as well as Devi to join her father. In course of time Devi and Chandran falls in love. Finally the hero achieves what he wanted to have i.e. makes the father of Devi to realize the truth that Devi was faultless and fights with the villain Paranthaman to get Kamala married to him. Finally, Ponnambalam wants the hero to marry his only daughter by which time the hero MGR makes Duryodhanan to realize his mistake and agrees to take the hands of Lakshmi and also requests Chandran to run the newspaper. Thus, the name of the newspaper changes from Thina-kavarchi to Chandrodayam the name of the movie. The movie ends in a happy note. The heroine acts like an innocent girl but makes a huge impact on the unassailable role given to her. It is the opinion of the researcher this particular role is most suited to Dr. Jayaraman Jayalalitha.

Sl. No.	Name of the Movie and its historical details	Voicing against the social atrocity towards the poors in the society.	Symbols of dravidar iyakkam	References on dravidar political ideology as advocated by Thanthai Periyar	Philosophical Songs containing social emancipation and the practice of virtue in the society	Heroine's helping hand to the hero in establishing the truth.
	Chandhrodhayam*	1	2	3	4	5
	Directed by K.Shankar Produced by G. N. Velumani Starring M. G. Ramachandran J. Jayalalithaa, M.R.Radha, Nagesh, Manorama, M.N.Nambiar and S.A.Asokan. Music By M.S.Viswanathan Cinematography Thambu Edited By K.Narayanan Production Company Saravana Films Release Date 27 May 1966	Yes – the hero gives shelter to the poors in the car shed of the company which was not liked by the owner resulting in heated exchange of equity and social justice concept.	Yes	yes	Two philosophical songs (i) Budhan yesu Gandhi piranthathu boomil etharkaga (ii) Kasikkupogum sanyasi un kudumbam ennagum neyosi.	No
Positve Outcome of the Movie						
MGR the hero brings the age old news paper which was publishing unwanted information to the public becomes a daily that would publish news for the general improvement of the society and also makes Namibar to marry the girl whom he had molested and also makes the Pannaiyar to change his attitude towards her daughter. Finally he also changes the attitude of Duryodhana (MR Radha) and makes him to accept his wife. These are the good things brought in by the hero.						

*https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chandrodayam

e) *Interesting facts*

It was reported in The Hindu dated 9th Jan 2016 Blast from the past: Chandhrodhayam (1966) that this film was a re-make -The 1934 Hollywood classic, "It Happened One Night", directed by Frank Capra, won several Oscars and was one of the biggest hits of the time. After World War II, this film was remade by his friend William Wyler as Roman Holiday, with Gregory Peck and Audrey Hepburn in lead roles. It Happened One Night was naturally remade across the world, and in Hindi, it was produced by AVM under the title, Chori Chori, starring Raj Kapoor and Nargis. Interestingly, Roman Holiday was also remade under the title, Nau Do Gyarah (Dev Anand and Kalpana). AVM made the film in Tamil too- Chandhrodhayam- with MGR and Jayalalithaa in the lead roles. The film was directed by editor-turned-filmmaker and producer K. Shankar, who also made Hindi movies. It was produced by the successful G. N. Velumani, under his banner Saravana Films, and music was by M. S. Viswanathan. Chandhrodhayam had impressive cinematography by Thambu (C. V. Ramakrishnan)- the climax fight between M. N. Nambiar and MGR, especially, was appreciated, for being shot with the use of just one light source: a rolling, broken small table lamp. The film was edited by Shankar and K. Narayanan, with lyrics by Bharathidasan

and Vaali. One song, titled 'Kaasikku pogum sanyasi', rendered by MGR and Nagesh, was a hit. *Remembered for:* Excellent acting by MGR and Jayalalithaa, and cinematography by Thambu (45).

The hero teaches a lesson to the heroine about the character to be imbibed by the women of Tamil Nadu i.e. acham, madam, nanam and payirpu in this movie. The heroine obtained a national award as the best actress award for her most praise worthy acting in this movie.

Chennai: An injured man with a plaster cast around his neck sitting shirtless on a hospital bed with his hands in obeisance. This photograph of MGR being treated for a bullet wound was the most extensively printed poster for the 1967 Madras state elections. The DMK ensured that the iconic snapshot of him was splashed across the state. And political analysts still argue if it turned the tide in favour of the 20-year-old party struggling to find its bearings. On January 12, 1967, MGR fans were awaiting the release of Thalaivar's new film Thaikku Thalaimagan. MGR had released nine films the previous year including major hits like Anbe Vaa. The city was in a festive mood with Pongal and more importantly, the state assembly elections were in a month's time. Many would not believe their ears as the news floated by word of mouth - superstar MGR had been shot by fellow actor MR Radha in Ramavaram at 5 pm. Within hours, 50,000 people made it impossible for any vehicle to navigate and the police had to forcefully clear the crowd away. People were seen crying in the streets. Shops were closed. Livid fans on a rampage pelted stones on vehicles and a group of MGR fans vandalized Radha's house. The bullet had entered near MGR's left ear and lodged behind the first vertebra. Doctors were apprehensive that displacing it would cause further impairment. (A few months later, when MGR coughed, that piece came out and he went on record and said it was God's grace. His atheist party had no comment to offer). MGR gained consciousness the following day. And in his first electoral feat, he won by a margin of 27,000 votes without even campaigning. But his voice was seriously affected by the shooting. With two movies - Arasa Kattalai and Kavalkaran - waiting for release, the cinema world was watching with bated breath whether his celebrated career would come to an end. Arasa Kattalai already had MGR's dialogues recorded and it went smoothly. There was a thoughtful submission by others for using a dubbing artist for Kavalkaran but MGR was adamant. He said, "For this movie and in future also, I will use my own voice. If not, I'll stop acting in movies." MGR made efforts to regain his voice. He practiced speech while standing in neck-deep sea water. But still, in Kavalkaran there was noticeable slurring of words and mispronunciations. But his legion of fans encouraged him by making it a bigger hit. Though stand-up comedians imitated his speech for decades, MGR went on to speak in his voice for 42 movies and make political speeches in elections and legislature.

Context -3: Nam Naadu

(Written after viewing the movie in U-tube i.e. Synopsis of the story: https://youtu.be/qztLG-1eB_U)

Dharmalingham (S. V. Ranga Rao) portrays himself as dharma-prabhu (philonthropher) but cheats the people in the town of his area. The hero's elder brother Muthaiya (T.K.Bhagavathi) works under Dharmalingham and lives in the house given by the owner i.e. Dharmalingam. The hero MGR (Durai) works in the Revenue Department of the State Government as a clerk and Nagesh was a co-worker working under the hero. The honest hero never tolerated with any of the atrocities caused in the society. The heroine is introduced as a tender coconut selling girl. It is a fact that normally heros appear with the title song but in this movie the heroine is introduced with a song – she drives a hand pulled cart carrying tender coconut with an unblemished song about the tender coconut's taste and how every part of the tender coconut after consumption of its water is being utilized by people in the society is meticulously covered in the song and the heroine effortlessly pulling the cart with agile speed and intermittent dance are praise-worthy especially she displays patents while pulling the cart is something to admire. As a leading actress with extraordinary dancing skill we witness amazing dancing styles displayed by Amma one can see in the movie Kudiyirunda Kovil the solo dance performed by the heroine to the song Paduvor Padinal Ada thondrum was considered extraordinary by the pundits and critics. But displaying

pattern while pulling the cart can only be done by an experienced is very lucidly displayed by the heroine should be considered extra-ordinary indeed.

The hero intervenes in a confrontation wherein a person after consuming tender coconut fails to give money and promises to bear the expenses of that person and asks the person to go away immediately. After consuming two tender coconuts the hero asks – how much I need to pay – One rupee eighty paisa replies the heroine – the hero finds his purse too was stolen and expresses this in a very disparaging manner – heroine catches his collar and asks him to remove his shirt in lieu of the money to be given by him. The hero gives his wrist watch and goes away. She keeps the wrist watch in a box along with the day's collection and goes to sleep.Her brother an alcoholic takes all the cash including the writst watch. He loses all the money and the wrist watch too in the gamble and returns home the next morning in a drunken state. To her consternation the heroine finds the wrist watch missing along with the money too and ascertained from her brother that he had stolen them and lost it in the gamble.

The heroine makes a promise to her God "Lord Muruga" that unless she gives back the watch by earning day in and out she will not eat full to her stomach and works here and there to save money. But next day the hero meets her and demands his watch by paying the money and finds that she does not posses the same and leaves the place after scolding her. The heroine meets MGR at his office entrance with the money she had saved; tries to explain and gives the money but the hero is in a fit of rage scolds and calls her a thief. But the heroine explains the circumstances and pleads that she is not a thief as she does not know how to steel and tells the fact as to how she had managed to save the money by performing part time sundry jobs without even taking proper food. The hero understands the honesty of the heroine and praises her for the honesty practiced by her and refuses to accept the money as the money was hard earned by her. But the heroine bends on giving the money back to him. The money was received by the hero with great hesitation, the hero however asks the heroine to meet him the next day at the same place (Park). The hero comes with a silk saree and gives the pack to her. She was surprised and asks why he had bought a wall clock – the hero says it is not wall clock but saree. The heroine asks whether it is for his wife – the hero says that he is not married and it was for her only he bought the saree. She asks why should he buy the saree for her. The hero says it is because of the honesty that she was carefully guarding and practicing it effortlessly which is inbornis a rare quality indeed. The heroine accepts after great hesitation.

Thus begun a bondage with these two wonderful personalities without knowing the fact both will become Chief Minster of Tamil Nadu in the future.

Very rare indeed to find such personalities who vindicates his policies in the movies and practices the same in the real life – these two are no exception.

Dharmalingam runs a school wherein he did not pay salary to a teacher for more than six months. The teacher rushes to the house of Dhamalingam pleading for his salary as everyone in his house was starving without food but he was driven out. He falls down in faint on the way side. The hero rescues the teacher and takes him to the government hospital, where he could not be saved as the doctor refuses to treat him stating that he do not have medicines to treat him. The hero finds even in the government hospital the doctor takes bribe to treat the patients. He rushes to Dharmalingam's bungalow and found all the four so called social workers (i.e. Dharmalingam, Aalavandar, Punniyakodi, the doctor S. V. Ramdas) were engaged in a party consuming alcohol and the hero confronts. Alavandar and Punniyakodi wants to murder the hero with the use of their goudas but Dharmalingam stops it saying that the hero will be afraid of his brother through whom he can surrender him. The hero rushes home finds the photo of Dharmalingam on the wall and breaks it - by that time his brother arrives and asks Durai to tender apology to Dharmalingam. Durai refuses and he drives him out of his house.

Durai then goes to the local park where Alamelu the heroine takes him to her place and provides shelter. The locals wanted Durai to contest in the election and become the councilor. Durai not only becomes the Councellor but also elected as Chairman of the township. An honest person like Durai works day and night for the welfare of the people. But the Councilors approaches Durai to allow them to accept bribe but Durai refuses to entertain their plea. By that time Durai sends notices to Dharmalingam, Alavandar, Punniyakoti and the doctor for their suspicious business practice cheating the general public. Dharmalingam approaches the hero and pleads him not to take action on them and offers Rs. 10000/- as bribe – the hero refuses and asks Dharmalingam to get away from his residence. Dharmalingam hatches a plan and buys the Councilors; with the result the hero loses his Chairman post. The hero goes to the house of Dharmalingam and he was beaten badly there. Dharmalingam orders that the hero should be placed at a public spot so that the people should know how powerful Dharmalingam was. Here also the heroine saves the hero.

The hero takes a pledge that he will take revenge against the four traitors. He approaches the CBI and disguises himself as a gold merchant and some how makes the four villains to fall his track.Tender coconut seller the poor woman now becomes companion of gold merchant and plays a completely different role standing by the side of the hero and unearths the place where the hero's brother was jailed by the Pannaiyar. Finally, the hero identifies the four cheaters to the police and thereby

teaches a lesson to the four cheaters of public and brings back normalcy in the area.

S l . N o .	Name of the Movie and its historical details	Voicing against the social atrocity towards the poors in the society.	Symbols of dravidar iyakkam	References on dravidar political ideology as advocated by Thanthai Periyar	Philosophical Songs containing social emancipation and the practice of virtue in the society	Heroine's helping hand to the hero in establish-hing the truth.
	*Nam Naadu **	1	2	3	4	5
	Directed by C. P. Jambulingam Produced by B. Nagi Reddy M. G. Chakrapani Written by Swornam (dialogues) Story by Mullapudi Venkata Ramana Starring M. G. Ramachandran Jayalalithaa Music by M. S. Viswanathan Cinematography Konda Reddy Sundar Babu Edited by C. P. Jambulingam G. Kalyanasundaram D. G. Jayaraman Production company Vijaya International Distributed by Vijaya International Release date 7 November 1969	Yes the hero has been driven out of his house by his own brother. The heroine offers shelter in a slum area – the hero voices against the atrocity caused to the poors.	Even the hero's purse red and black colour which is the symbol of DMK flag.	Yes in the song Vangaiya Vathiyar Ayya the concept of thanmanam of Thanthai periyar contains.	Yes	Yes the heroine makes the hero to stand in the local body election and assists him throughout the movie to fight against all odds.
Positve Outcome of the Movie The hero takes pledge that he will take revenge against the four traitors. He approaches the CBI and disguises himself as a gold merchant and some how makes the four villains to fall in his track. The heroin becomes companion of gold merchant and plays a completely different role marveling great difficulties for the success of the hero. Finally the hero establishes truth and makes the public happy.					

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nam_Naadu_(1969_film)

Context -4: En Annan

f)   Synopsis of the story

(Written after viewing the movie in U-tube i.e.https://youtu.be/lad2TgkZmFk)

Ranga (MGR), the Elder Brother, Vijaya Nirmala as Thangam, Ranga's sister. Ranga owns a rickshaw and leads a life from the earnings of the rickshaw. He educates's his sister and also sends her to higher education. She fell's in love with R. Muthuraman (Murali) who is a doctor and gets him married with the consent of his beloved brother Ranga. Ranga's father Velappan (T.K.Bagavathy), who was employed as Manager at a mill, and was sent to jail on a murder case of killing Karunagaran by poison. Actually it was treachery hatched by Nayagam (M.N.Nambiar) and Dharmaraj (Asokan) and they put the blame on the manager Velappan. Rangan and his uncle's daughter Valli (J.

Jayalalitha) were in love with each other. There was a general feeling in the mind of Valli's elder brother Thengai Srinivasan to get married to Thangam but it did not happen and he wants to spoil the life of Thangam. He goes to Dr. Murali's house and breaks the age old hear-say that it was Thangam's father who killed Karunagaran (S.M.Thirupadhisamy) this creates ripples in the family and guilty of marrying the daughter whose father was a killer of his father and thus results in breaking of the matrimonial life of these two. Thangam returns home. Having known the reason for the return of his sister Rangan goes to Valli's house and beats his brother like anything. Due to this he is sent to jail where he meets his father and comes to know the truth behind the killing of Karunagaran. The heroine takes care of the sister of the hero when he was in jail. The heroine even goes to the bride's house and asks for the rights of a woman as a wife but fails to unite them. The hero

comes out of the jail and plans the course of action with heroine and with the help of heroine's brother he joins the house of Dharmaraj as a servant along with the heroine. He unearths the truth from the son of Dharmaraj – Cho Ramswamy whose role is both innocent comedian and also plays heroic deeds at times. In the

year 1970, it was one of the super hit movies of MGR and ran 100 days in Chennai, Madurai and Trichy. The film is a remake of the Telugu film *Poola Rangadu* (1967), which itself was loosely based on A. J. Cronin's novel, *Beyond This Place* (46).

Sl. No.	Name of the Movie and its historical details	Voicing against the social atrocity towards the poors in the society.	Symbols of dravidar iyakkam	References on dravidar political ideology as advocated by Thanthai Periyar	Philosophical Songs containing social emancipation and the practice of virtue in the society	Heroine's helping hand to the hero in establishing the truth.
En Annan *		1	2	3	4	5
	Directed by Pa. Neelakandhan Produced by T. Govindarajan Screen play by Sornam Starring M. G. Ramachandran Jayalalithaa M. N. Nambiar S. A. Ashokan R. Muthuraman Music by K. V. Mahadevan Cinematography V. Ramamoorthy Edited by C. P. Jambulingam Production company Venus Pictures Distributed by Venus Pictures Release date 21 May 1970	The title song of great philosophical import the hero vindicates his tendency uplift the poors.	Yes The statue of Anna is shown in the title song	Yes they show the statue of Anna at the title song.	Yes There is a great song Kadavul Yen Kalanan – manam kallaipona manithargalale which will be interpreted.	Yes She helps the hero in his endeavour to bring out the truth. When the hero was in jail for a brief period the heroine even tries to bring in amicable relationship with the hero's sister and her husband.
Positve Outcome of the Movie: The hero finally unearth's the truth that made Dharmaraj as the criminal and the father of the hero released. The way in which the heroine stood by the hero and assists him to discover the truth and the display of great acting and dancing skill of the heroine are praiseworthy.						

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/En_Annan

Context -5: Engal Thangam

g) *Synopsis of the Story*

(Written after viewing the movie in U-tube i.e.https:// youtu.be/RDeKRsI72OU)

The hero MGR (Thangam) is a truck driver whose assistant was Cho Ramaswamy Iyer. His friend Moorthy (AVM Rajan) a drunkard meets Thangam after several years. He was in a drunken state at that time. Thangam asks him to sleep outside his house that night and he will meet him the next day. Moorthy escapes from Thangams house after molesting the blind sister Sumathi (Pushpalatha). As usual goes to his night duty carrying heavy loads in the truck along with his assistant. On the way during the midnight robbers stopped a car driven by a maiden lady i.e. the heroine Kaladevi (Jayalalita). The hero saves her from the

robbers and also leaves her to her residence and the affection of intimacy started. The heroine's father was a police commissioner (V. S. Raghavan). After getting this unexpected treatment wherein she lost her virginity, the sister of the hero Sumathi decides to commit suicide. But an old lady (the mother of Moorthy) saves her; meanwhile Thangam comes there and takes a promise from his sister not to commit suicide at any point of time in her life. The old lady while breathing her last takes a promise that he should change her son Moorthy from his wrong doings. The hero meets Moorthy in the train and brings home and gets his sister married to him. To his surprise the hero finds Moorthy is being black mailed by a gang especially in a murder case. The hero sacrifices his fair name and asks Moorthy to give his dress and asks him to take care of his sister. Thus the

hero becomes a criminal wanted in a murder case. The hero lives in hiding and tries to find out the truth i.e. the gang which threatens Moorthy. In the meanwhile, the gang never left Moorthy to live with his wife. It captivates him and takes them to their custody. Thangam struggles hard to find out the truth with the help of the heroine. It was a very long battle sometimes results in failure as well. But the determination of the hero and the commitment of the heroine they were able to overcome

the evil force of identifying the gang consisting of Selvaraj (S. A. Ashokan) and Marthandhan (R. S. Manohar). These criminals and anti-social elements portray themselves as nobles in the society. Selvaraj is a Bank owner and Marthandam is a business man in the eye of the public but they do all sorts of illegal activities and do underground work which the hero cleverly unearths and finally captures them too.

Sl. No.	Name of the Movie and its historical details	Voicing against the social atrocity towards the poors in the society.	Symbols of dravidar iyakkam	References on dravidar political ideology as advocated by Thanthai Periyar	Philosophical Songs containing social emancipation and the practice of virtue in the society	Heroine's helping hand to the hero in establi-shing the truth.
	Engal Thangam *	1	2	3	4	5
	Directed by Krishnan-Panju Produced by Murasoli Maran M.A.-M.P. Written by Murasoli Maran M.A.-M.P. Starring M. G. Ramachandran Jayalalitha Music by M. S. Viswanathan Cinematography S. Maruthi Rav & Amirtham Edited by S. Pandjasamy & S.Muthu Production company A.V.M. Distributed by La Megala Pictures Release date 9 October 1970	yes	There is a speech by Anna himself on small savings. Anna gives away prize to MGR in the movie.	Yes	Yes	Yes She helps the hero in his endeavour to establish truth.
	Positve Outcome of the Movie Thus the hero makes his sister happy by releasing her husband from the clutches of the tryrants. Like other movies; in this movie also the Hero brings in dialogues that portray the ideology of Dravidhar Iyakkam such as: There is a speech by Anna himself on small savings. Anna gives away prize to MGR in the movie.					

**https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Engal_Thangam*

Context -6: Annamitta Kai

h)   *Synopsis of the Story*

(Written after viewing the movie in U-tube i.e. https://youtu.be/QKxriNpwPYI)

The movie begins with the hero Durairaj (MGR) offering oblations to his departed mother. He is waiting for the servant maid to visit him so that he can take lunch along with him. But news comes that the expected person has gone out of station on an emergency. Durairaj forces his servant to take the food first because it was the day of his mother's anniversary. A man enters the house of Durai and goes to the kitchen to fetch food

as he was so hungry. He was caught and brought before the hero. Realizing that he needs food MGR offers sumptuous food to him. After this they started speaking various things and the man sees an advertisement wherein it was mentioned that Sadasiva Bhoopathi met with an accident long ago and his son Durairaj the only heir apart of the wealth left by Sadasiva Bhoopathi is requested to come and administer the estate and other belongings. The news of death of Sadasiva Bhoopathi has enraged the anxiety of the new comer and he was ecstatic with joy to pronounce the death of Sadhasivan. But MGR was not happy he asks why should you be happy on someone else's death

because Sadasivan is my father. This information unites the two as the new comer introduces himself as the son of Sadasivan and his name is Selvaraj (M. N. Nambiar). He is born to Sivagami Ammal (Pandari Bai) who was brutally treated by the estate owner Mr. Sadhasivan that made Selvaraj to experience untold sufferings in life. It was the turn of the hero Duraraj also to state the difficulties his mother undergone and ultimately died and he left the estate and it was his grand-father who educated him and he got a good job and lives comfortably. However his mother Lakshimi (S. N. Lakshmi) at the time of her demise took a promise from him that he has to find out Selvaraj and his mother and give them their share and take care of them. Durairaj further says that the time has come to fulfill the promise made to his mother and asks Selvaraj to act as Durairaj and be the owner of the estate that alone will make him happy. It was agreed – both goes to the estate and Selvaraj was introduced as Durairaj and he was anointed as the lone owner of the vast luxurious estate.

The heir apparent, the hero Durairaj has become a koolie and lives along with the labourers and try to improve the standard of living condition of the laborer's. Initially the labour group wherein the heroine lives mistook the hero to be spy to the owner but later realizes the genuine-ness of the hero who works for the betterment of the poors and they fall in love with each other.

The comedy scenes enacted by Nagesh, Manorama and VK Ramaswamy are praise worthy which goes well along with the story. The story takes a turn when the hero finds the house owner wherein he resides happen to be the mother of Selvaraj. The hero invites Selvaraj to come and accept his mother but he refuses however the hero tells he alone is her son. In another incident he saves an old man being beaten by the envoys sent by the Manager of the estate. It was the Manager (Kannaga Rathnam (R. S. Manohar), Kalpana's father) who was the main culprit, who hatches plans after plans to aggrandize the entire property of the estate belong to Sathasivam through mischievous manner. It was the hero who discovers every plans of the Manager right from deceiving Sathasivam that he had shot dead the Union leader and driving him out of the estate; agreeing to give his daughter to Selvaraj so that the properties would come to him; trying to kill Sathasivam who is now roaming around the estate and also trying to kill the mother of Selvaraj who is now in the custody of Durairaj. In the midst of all these tribulations the Hero gets the benefits to the laborers of the estate by forcing Selvaraj that their father is alive and in his custody and his mother will receive her eye-sight any moment. In the midst of all the trials and tribulations the love affairs of hero and heroine also continues-in one single song it was revealed to Dr. Kalpana (Bharati) that both Durai Raj and Seetha are in love not as assumed by her. Besides marveling to save the life of Selvaraj from Ladha, girl from Burma who was the girl friend of Selvaraj who had deserted her and now trying to get Dr. Kalpana married. *It was a trying circumstance to face and the hero comes out of the web of crisis as the sun emerges out of the dark clouds fighting the odds fighting with the enemies too. An all round family movie with great story, screen play, scintillating songs above all the fight scenes were very thrilling and live. The hero achieves the promise made to his mother that he will unite the family.* The movie ends with few lines of the great song Anna mitta Kai. Nammai akki vitta kai; Unnai ennai vuyaravaikkum ulagamellam vala vaikum anna mitta kai.

Sl. No.	Name of the Movie and its historical details	Voicing against the social atrocity towards the poors in the society.	Symbols of dravidar iyakkam	References on dravidar political ideology as advocated by Thanthai Periyar	Philosophical Songs containing social emancipation and the practice of virtue in the society	Heroine's helping hand to the hero in establi-shing the truth.
	Annamitta Kai*	1	2	3	4	5
	Directed by M. Krishnan Nair Produced by M. S. Sivaswamy Written by A. L. Narayanan Screenplay by G. Balasubramaniam Story by G. Balasubramaniam Starring M. G. Ramachandran	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes She helps the hero in his endeavour to establish truth.

Jayalalitha Bharathi M. N. Nambiar Nagesh Pandari Bai Manorama Music by K. V. Mahadevan Cinematography K. S. Prasath Edited by K. Narayanan Production company Ramachandra Productions Distributed by Em. Gee. Yaar. Productions Release date 15 September 1972					
Positve Outcome of the Movie					
It was a trying circumstances to face and the hero comes out of the web of crisis as the sun emerges out of the dark clouds fighting the odds fighting with the enemies too. An all round family movie with great story, screen play, scintillating songs above all the fight scenes were very thrilling and live. The hero achieves the promise made to his mother that he will unite the family. The movie ends with few lines of the great song Anna mitta Kai. Nammai akki vitta kai; Unnai ennai vuyaravaikkum ulagamellam vala vaikum anna mitta kai.					

*https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Annamitta_Kai

Table of Confluence

Sl. No.	Name of the Movie	Voicing against the social atrocity towards the poors in the society.	Symbols of dravidar iyakkam	References on dravidar political ideology	Philosophical Songss containing social emancipation, the practice of virtue in the society	Heroine's helping hand to the hero in establishing the truth.
1	Aayirathil Oruvan	√	X	X	√	√
2	Chandhrodhayam	√	√	√	√	√
3	Puthiya Bhoomi	√	X	√	√	√
4	Nam Naadu	√	√	√	√	√
5	En Annan	√	√	√	√	√
6	Engal Thangam	√	√	√	√	√
7	Annamitta Kai	√	X	√	√	√

Intrepetation of the Table of Confluence

The above table is a cross verification of the 7 movies under each context and they reflect that:

- Table 2, 4, 5 and 6 indicates that all the pointers are covered in the movie
- Table 1 indicates that it coincides only with three pointers
- Table 7 indicates that it coincides with four pointers

Therefore it is proved in the study that the hero MGR an epitome of virtue who raises his voice for the downtrodden also ensures that justice prevails in the end. The scripts were message oriented, reflecting the cultural value of Tamil society. It is also proved in the study that theheroine gives a helping hand to the hero to establish truth and justice in the society in almost all the movies under research.

MGR chose the profession of acting in drama at the age of five – went on to cinema the powerful media and established name and fame and become a bacon in the annals of history of world cinema and recognized by the pioneer none less than GEOFFREY NOWELL-SMITH *The Oxford History of World Cinema who hailed that* "The choice of individuals to feature has been inspired by a number of overlapping criteria. Some have been chosen because they are obviously important and well known, and no history of the cinema would be complete without some extended treatment of their careers. Examples in this category-- taken more or less at random- include *D. W. Griffith, Ingmar Bergman, Marilyn Monroe, and Alain Delon. But there are other people-- the Indian 'megastars' Nargis or M. G. Ramachandran, for instance -- who are less well known to western readers but whose careers have an equal claim to be featured in a history of world cinema"*.
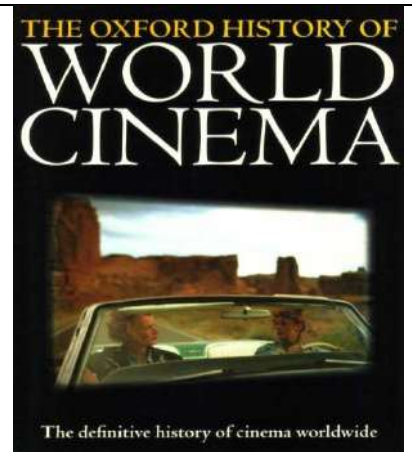
This research work has proceeded from whom the great and wonderful dravidar iyakkam had emerged and how Peraringer Anna took pains to give legislative powers to many of its ideologies and Puratchi Thalaiver took it in his political sojourn as his political philosophy and Puratchi Thalaivi carried it forward the torch that was carefully guarded by her and it is now essential to narrate the various Welfare Schemes introduced by Dr. MGR followed by his follower Dr. Jayaraman Jayalalithaas the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. The accolades made by noble laruate Amerthya Sen and others to establish the fact that the three toiled to lay strong foundation for attainment of the great concept of equity and social justice in the economic endeavor of Tamil Nadu.

It is not out of place to state that after becoming the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu Bharat Ratna Dr. Maruthur Gopalamenon Ramachandran continued the above ideologies to a great extent and implemented various welfare schemes for the integrated growth of Tamil Nadu, especially towards the upliftment of poor's including the women. A snap-shot of the schemes implemented by him are given below:

- He ordered 20 kg of rice to be given through Public Distribution System through TUCS and reduced the rate of rice to Rs.1.75/- per KG. MGR is the reason for the development of PDS system in Tamilnadu.
- He introduced scheme for assistance to the destitute women for their marriage expenses.
- MGR developed Hosur as an industrial estate that had resulted in the development of Bangalore city.
- MGR focussed on women welfare and he introduced women-centric buses.
- In 1980s MGR took strict action against Naxalites He gave a free hand to the police to go against the naxals and till today there is no nasalism in Tamil Nadu. Now Tamil Nadu is free from Terrorism!
- M. G. R implemented lot of freebies but to whom it was really needed. Freebies including Sewing machine for ladies etc.
- M. G. R opened Vandalur Zoo, the largest zoological garden in India.

- M. G. R created *Tamil University* in Thanjavur.
- M. G. R conducted 5th *Tamil World Conference* in Madurai.
- M. G. R established six new Universities such as Mother Therasa Women's University, Bharathiar, Bharathidasan, Tamil University, Alagappa University and Anna University of Technology
- MGR even concentrated on the preservation of heritage buildings and monuments, such as temples, historical sites and so on. This in turn led to a boost in tourism.

Schemes for Children
- Mid-Day meals scheme – about 1,98,990 staffs are working throughout Tamil Nadu most of them are widows. About 62,43,662 children are availing this benefit from 60,000 Nutritious Noon Meal Scheme Shelters (Sathunavu Koodam).
- Free Uniform, Free Text books, Free tooth powder, Free chappals for school going children's.

Employment Schemes
- One employment per family
- Incentive to the educated unemployed
- Equipment to the self employed
- Self-employment.

Schemes for the Women
- Marriage assistance to the widows and the destitute
- Gold for the mangalyam
- Service Centres for the women
- Hostels for the working women
- Welfare houses for the children and mother

Schemes for the Poor's
- Constructed 30.00 lakh houses for the down trodden
- Free electricity for the poor's

Self-Sustaining Schemes
- Provided drinking water facilities
- Created water resources
- Provided Link Roads

- Constructed small bridges
- Medical shops in Rural areas
- Burial Grounds for the Adi-Dravidas.

Schemes for the Peasants

- Free electricity for the small farmers
- Concessional rate of interest for the rest of the farmers those farmers who are unable to repay the loan
- Crop Insurance
- Pesticides and seeds at concessional rates

Schemes for the Workers

- Accidental insurance
- Pension coupled with gratuity
- Interim relief after accident
- Housing schemes for the fishermen and weavers
- Life insurance to Building labourers, rickshaw pullers, koolies and pension scheme for them

Schemes for the Elderly

- Monthly financial assistance
- Every day Mid-day meals
- Free dresses twice a year

i) *Revolution made in Education Sector by MGR when he was the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu*

Just before MGR's rule, the Pre University Course (PUC) was in existence. The students have to study upto 11th standard in schools and then move to PUC in Colleges under the Universities. MGR accepted the recommend-dation of Lakshmana Swami Mudaliar's Committee and abolished PUC system. Instead MGR introduced a new scheme of +1 and +2. The classes for this section arerequired to be undertaken in the schools itself. This had created a revolution in the education system of Tamil Nadu. When the number of universities were less, the aspirant who went to PUC education was less, in fact the opportunity in getting admission towards PUC was difficult at that time. This made the students who hail from the Villages had to stop their education at the SSLC level itself. Before introduction of +1 and +2 the enrolment in the colleges and Universities in Tamil Nadu was only nine thousand the admission to +1 was increased to leap and bound; presently about 9.00 lakh students wrote +2 examinations. If one looks at this angle the abolishment of PUC opened up avenues for greater enrolment in the +2 system and thereby aspirants towards higher education or number of pupil who can enter into the portals of University system increased many fold and thereby the literacy towards higher education has also increased.

When the demand for collegiate education came in to existence, MGR established more arts and science colleges including polytechnic Institutions. Towards the Engineering Education MGR evolved a formula which was popularly known as MGR-Formula wherein it was required to deposit Rs. 25.00 lakhs with the government to start a Private Engineering College. 50% of the seats should be given to Government. The remaining 50% of the seats can be filled by the college authorities. Since not many investors came forward, may be out of fear (i.e. what will happen if adequate candidate did not enrol). It was Pollachi Na Mahalingam and Ramco Cement Proprietor Ramasubramania Raja came forward to establish engineering colleges. The Vellore Institute of Technology (VIT) and Kalasalingam Engineering Colleges came later. To encourage greater penetration of private institution a policy decision was taken from the Government side to sell government lands at lesser price. The Private Engineering Institutions were emerged only on such facilities created by MGR Government and made an explosion towards higher education. Bharat Ratna Maruthur Gopalamenon Ramachandran made all these possible within a span of his tenure as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu during the span of 10 years and left an un-erasable and impeccable mark in the minds of common man of Tamil Nadu even braving his health problems (47).

Finally, it is the firm belief of Dr. Maruthur Gopala Menon Ramachandran that nationalization of wealth of the country can eradicate corruptive practice in the society. Perhaps this concept might have made him to write a WILL of testament of his property. Through the WILL, which was registered on January 18, 1987, MGR had appointed senior advocate N. C. Ragavachari as its executor. He had named a relative M. Rajendran to succeed Ragavachari after the latter's lifetime. It is worth noting the intention of Dr. MGR which is important to the subject matter of this research endeavor: Broadly dividing his properties into two Dr. MGR, in his WILL, made it very clear that he did not have any other legal representative except his wife Smt. V. N. Janaki. Even Smt. V. N. Janaki was given only a life estate, apart from certain articles. MGR divided his vast properties - including the 6.47 acre Ramavaram estate, which was the nerve center of Tamil politics during his three tenures as Chief Minister - into two parts, granting his heirs and wife a life estate, but also stipulating that the majority of them be used for philanthropic purposes. This had resulted in the creation of a home and school for the deaf and dumb at Ramvaram in 1990, as well as the MGR Janaki College of Arts and Sciences for Women in 1996, with the former funded by the income derived from his property in Chennai's salubrious Saligramam area, Sathya Gardens. The WILL states that the shares of Sathya Studio Private Ltd would go to the AIADMK. In the event the party gets divided or dissolved, the shares would go to the 'MGR Oomai Illam Trust'. There is no right of sale or alienation or encumbrance of Sathya Studio Private Ltd, which was named after his beloved mother. Justice Sundresh exclaimed, "*The testator is none other than the former Chief Minister of the State, who is known to be a philanthropist par excellence* (48).
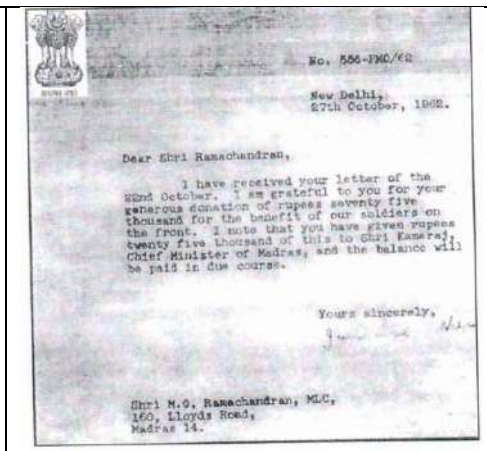
j) *As Chief Minister Dr. Jayaraman Jayalalitha implemented the following schemes*

Bharat Ratna Dr. Maruthur Gopalamenon Ramachandran (MGR) the then Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu wanted Jayaraman Jayalalitha as his successor to lead the party, and strongly believed, that Amma had the fire power, to lead the party from the front. To a question a senior Minister; MGR said, every creation, will have a future dissolution, and when there is a development, there should be recession. After me, to take our objectives further, and sustain its development and fame, Ammu alone can do it. If I hand over the reign of this party to others, I will be doing a great discredit to Anna quotes in his book Balu Manivannan, "MGR Nadippum Arasiyalum" Summadu Publications, 2015, (pp 75). This prediction, had become a reality, when MGR was admitted in Broklyn Hospital, USA, Amma single handedly campaigned Tamil Nadu Elections and made AIADMK victorious.

k) Amma's Political March

1987- 24th Dec. Ammu stood by the side of the body of MGR for two days without taking food nor did she sleep crying all the times and said I lost whatever I possess today, I too wish to leave my body- but because MGR took a promise from me on his mother's photo that I should remain in the party to take the workers and the party together after his demise. It is due to the fact I am living. To fulfill his ideology and desire, I determined to do. With the same determination Ammu lead the party as its general secretary for nearly 28 years and alighted AIADMK to power four times i.e. in 1991; 2001; 2011 and 2016. 2014:-during the Lok Sabha Election Madam made her party to stand alone and won 37 seats and grabbed as many as Rajya Sabha seats totaling to 50 MP seats to the Parliament which is considered to be a greatest achievement ever made in Tamil Nadu.

l) The Following are the Top Welcomed Schemes of AMMA's Rule

Firmly rooted for the implementation of Mandal Commission report, which was later adopted by the V. P. Singh led government in 1990, the iron hearted *Revolutionary Leader SelviJ. Jayalalitha during her tenure as the Chief Minister of TamilNadu* adopted the 69% reservation for the other back ward classes that earned her the title of "*Woman Saviour of SocialJustice*".

Amma Unavagam (Canteen); Amma Kudineer (Water); Chennai Small Bus; Amma Pannai Pasumai Shops (Nugarvor Kootturavu Kadai) In Chennai (Farm Fresh Consumer Outlets); Health Insurance For Srilankan Tamil Refugees; Free Mixie, Grinder & Fan; Monthly Pension For Transgenders; Amma Tnfdc Fish Stall Chennai; Free Rice (20kg) For The Poor; Free Laptop For Students are the schemes announced by Amma for the welfare of the poors and she was known as mother of welfare schemes. The following are the brief synopsis of the schemes.

i. *Mother of Welfare Schemes*

Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Jayalalithaa has to her credit a whopping 18 populist schemes. Every 'Amma' product or service is either free or heavily subsidized. They might have cost the state exchequer but have benefitted crores of people, especially women, in the State (49).

ii. *The Cradle Baby Scheme*

The 'Cradle Baby' scheme and the 'Girl Child Protection' scheme were shrewd political moves on the part of ex-Chief Minister Ms Jayalalitha. Recognising the popularity importance of these schemes, Jayalalitha periodically enhanced the incentives. Her government also introduced other programmes for the improvement of women's status, such as exclusively recruiting women as primary school teachers in the state, and making primary education compulsory for all children (50).

iii. *Laptop for the Students*

Another very important scheme which acclaimed wider popularity was giving free laptops to all the students studying in the state-run higher secondary

schools or colleges. This had created greater impact on the education and information revolution among the student community. From 2011-12 to 2016-17, 38,53,572 numbers of laptop computers were procured

and supplied to the students and it was aimed to supply a further 15,66,022 number of laptops by October 2019 (51)

In the research article entitled "Thalikku Thangam Thittam" the author indicates that "4 grams of 22 carat gold coin" is given to each beneficiary for making 'Thirumaangalyam' (sacred symbol made out of gold). Since 2011, 6,67,125 girls were benefited and 2191.94 kg of gold at a cost of Rs. 622.31 crore has been distributed. All the beneficiaries were from the Below Poverty Line (BPL) i.e. only economically poor's were benefitted from this scheme. It could be further noted that those girls of the Tamil Nadu who have completed their 10th standard will get Rs. 25,000/- for the marriage and those girls who have completed their graduation or Diploma will get Rs. 50,000/- financial support for marriage. Totally 1.70 lakh women were benefitted by this scheme (52). Likewise the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister J Jayalalitha's Canteens in the city are so popular. They are being utilized from IT executives to rickshaw drivers.

iv. *Medical Insurance Scheme for the Poors*

This Scheme was launched by the Government of Tamil Nadu in 2014 with a noble ambition to provide free medical and surgical treatment to the members of any family whose cumulative annual family income is less than Rs. 72,000/- with a only condition of producing an income certificate issued by the revenue department. The scheme intended to provide medical coverage up to Rs.1,00,000/- per family per year on a floater basis for the following ailments:

Cardiology and cardiothoracic surgery; oncology; nephrology/urology; neurology and neuro surgery; ophthalmology; gastroenterology; plastic surgery; E.N.T; gynaecology; haematology.

Later the Government extended the financial limit from Rs.1.00 lakh to Rs.1.50 lakhs. There are two other covers apart from the hospitalization which are meant for Follow-up Treatment and Additional Diagnostic procedures.

This holistic health insurance scheme aimed towards welfare measure for the poorest of the poors not only show benevolence and extraordinary care taken on the poors of the economy that reflects the ideology of Dravidar Iyakkam which aims for equity and social justice to prevail in the society but also enabled the people who live below poverty line can enter into the portals of corporate medical centres otherwise they could not imagine to do so.

Besides the above, steps were taken by the Government to arrange for free health camps by network hospitals through an user-friendly system which assures that all the eligible patients can avail this facility without any hurdle. The relevant website of the Government gives all the information besides a 24 hour Call Centre has been set up with sufficient manpower with toll free help line. The Toll-Free Line (1800 4253993) is competent to answer the query in the vernacular language. Importantly, the official website of the Health Department of the Government that gives statistical details bewilders, wherein the number of beneficiaries crossed the target level of 1.5 crores population belonging to below poverty line covering the entire districts of Tamil Nadu. The above are the salientfeatures of the Amma Medical insurance scheme whichwas in operation from 2014 onwards floated with a viewto cover the economically poor of the society (53).

The 2014 victory of Mullaiperiyar dam case in Supreme Court in May 2014 that allowed Tamil Nadu to raise its water level to 142 feet that had greatly helped the agricultural community. Canteens with subsidized food called Amma Unnavagam for the homeless. Apart from the mid-day meal scheme, Amma introduced breakfast meals across government schools and the agile care taken to mitigate power shedding through solar energy including providing 200-750 units of free electricity to handloom and power loom weavers rose the eyebrows of the opposite parties. Amma was lauded

for ensuring huge investments, in the two-day Global Investors Meet in Sep. 2015 as she achieved a towering task of investment to the tune of Rs. 2.42 lakh crores. According to the government website, 4 grams of gold with Rs 25,000 towards marriage assistance have been given to 86,676 educated poor women, andher return to power (successfully for the consecutivesecond time) she increased the quantity of giving goldfrom 4 to 8 gms. Rain water harvesting, the cradle babyscheme and total ban on all lotteries including onlineand killing of dreaded poacher and sandalwoodsmuggler Veerappan are hall mark of excellentadministration displayed by this eminent Chief Ministerwho worked on the three syllables "*Peace*"-"*Wealth*"and "*Welfare*".

Like Wise Amma water, Amma baby care kit, Amma Grinder, Mixie, Table Fan, Amma Pharmacy had created social awareness among the down trodden people who live in below poverty line that had mitigated their financial burden to a great extent and could lead a life of minimum comfort otherwise they will be staring at heaven to fulfill their basic needs.

VI. ACCOLADES OF AMARTYA SEN

It is an accepted fact that the explosion made by the Dravida Iyakkam had resulted in social changes that had benefitted the comman man that made noble laurate Amartya Sen to record his accolades in the *2013 book, An Uncertain Glory: India and its Contradictions. Amartya Sen and Jean Dreze devote a number of pages to Tamil Nadu's progress over the past 30 to 40 years in terms of social development. The authors place much emphasis on how Tamil Nadu, along with Kerala and Himachal Pradesh, had achieved some of the best public services among most of India's states as a result of constructive state policies.While Sen and Dreze do not specifically name or credit any politician or leader for this, Bharat Ratna Dr.Maruthur Gopala Menon Ramachandran and Puratci Thalaivi Dr.Jayaraman Jayalalithaa – as 12th,13th, 14th and 18th , 20th, 22nd, 24th and 26th Chief Ministers of the state respectively (54).*

a) *The Following Excerpts from the Book on Tamil Nadu's Development Trajectory are Reproduced (Verbatim) here under for more Clarity and Understanding*

Tamil Nadu is another interesting case of a state achieving rapid progress over a relatively short period, though it started from appalling levels of poverty, deprivation and inequality. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s official poverty estimates for Tamil Nadu were higher than the corresponding all-India figures, for both rural and urban areas (about half of the population was below the Planning Commission's measly poverty line). Much as in Kerala earlier, social relations were also extremely oppressive, with Dalits (scheduled castes) parked in separate hamlets (known as 'colonies'), generally deprived of social amenities, and often

prevented from asserting themselves even in simple ways like wearing a shirt or riding a bicycle.It is during that period that Tamil Nadu, much to the consternation of many economists, initiated bold social programs such as universal midday meals in primary schools and started putting in place an extensive social infrastructure – schools, health centers, roads, public transport, water supply, electricity connections, and much more. *These experiences of rapid social progress are not just a reflection of constructive state policies but also of people's active involvement in democratic politics. The social movements that fought traditional inequalities (particularly caste inequalities) are part of this larger pattern. These social advances, the spread of education, and the operation of democratic institutions (with all their imperfections) enabled people – men and women – to have a say in public policy and social arrangements, in a way that has yet to happen in many other states.* Sen and et al wonders there is no evidence that the cultivation of human capability has been at the cost of conventional economic success, such as fast economic growth. On the contrary, these states have all achieved fast rates of expansion, as indeed one would expect, both on grounds of causal economic relations and on the basis of international experience (including the 'east Asian' success story). While many of their big social initiatives and achievements go back to earlier times, when these states were not particularly well-off, today Kerala, Himachal Pradesh and (to a lesser extent) Tamil Nadu have some of the highest per capita incomes and lowest poverty rates among all Indian states. Economic growth, in turn, has enabled these states to sustain and consolidate active social policies. Indeed Sen and etal had commended upon the PDS system and health care schemes implemented by the Government of Tamil Nadu headed by Puratchi Thalaivi Manbumigu Amma that can be verified in the above wonderful book by the two great authors. The above are what were opined by Jean and Amertya Sen. It is quite appropriate here to quote what was said by Puratchi Thalaivi Dr. Jayaraman Jayalalitha, the former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu (55).

We hear stories about the war between Devas and Asuras, in the heaven in the Puranas. Thereby the winners and losers will also differ. The Asuras (demons) were complaining everywhere, that Lord Brahma was favouring the devas by offering elixir to them; thereby they attained the state of deathlessness. Hearing this complaint, Brahma called the demons and offered cup of elixir to each demon, with a stipulation that they should consume the elixir without bending their elbow. The demons tried their level best; but, could not succeed. Finally, Brahma called the Devas, and gave the elixir to each of them and stipulated the same condition. The devas thought for a while, and each one sat in front of the other, and feed the elixir to the other deva who was sitting exactly

opposite, thus all the devas could consume the elixir. This may be a story but there is an undisputed fact behind it (i.e. "if you wish to give it to others, you will certainly get it") this is real socialism. Bharat Ratna Dr.MGR followed the policy of giving it to others and stands tall in the annals of history of philanthropy in Tamil Nadu.

b) *Puratchi Thalaivi Dr. J. Jayalalitha Further states (in her own Words about MGR)*

People enjoy happiness by praising MGR as Ponmana Chemmal, Puratchi Thalaivar; Makkal Thilagam, Idayakkani. The three syllables MGR itself is a mantra. These three syllables give us mental strength when we think about it; and when we chant, it gives courage. In the film industry and in politics, it is our leader Puratchi Thalaivar who planted the victory flag. We can see great people in the history of every country, who work for the upliftment of the poor and oppressed day in and out. MGR is not only equivalent to such leaders of the world, but has qualities beyond these great leaders. When we think of such historical leader, who has been gifted to us by God himself, we are elated with tears of joy in our eyes. He stood as the heart's fruit (Idayakkani) of Peraringer Anna, who was responsible for the growth of DMK and stood as its root and nourishment. The pride goes to Puratchi Thalaivar MGR, who worked day in and out to alight DMK Party to the throne to rule Tamil Nadu.

To establish equity and justice in the society, to provide education to all; to provide mid-day meal to every school going children; to provide justice to the down trodden and deprived people; to weed out corruptive practice in the society; to drive out bad elements from the society; and to establish peoples rule thereby enabling the benefits of the development activities to reach the unreached and to attain these through peaceful means devoid of violence MGR entered politics.

In politics and in administration the changes MGR made have entered in the annals of history and stands as a silent revolution. It is because of the popular schemes that were implemented by Dr. MGR during his rule in Tamil Nadu he lives in the hearts of people even this day.

Planting, propagating, imbibing the path propounded by Peraringer Anna MGR excelled as a revolutionary leader due to his political philosophy, charitable mind especially the upliftment of the poors carefully guarding the portals of Dravida ideology lived a life of dispassion even writing down his properties bought when he was an actor for the welfare of the nation and shined as a rising moon in the horizon of heaven and obtained the highest civilian award of India the covetous Bharat Ratna and live in the hearts of his fans as a demi-God of chastity evwn today.
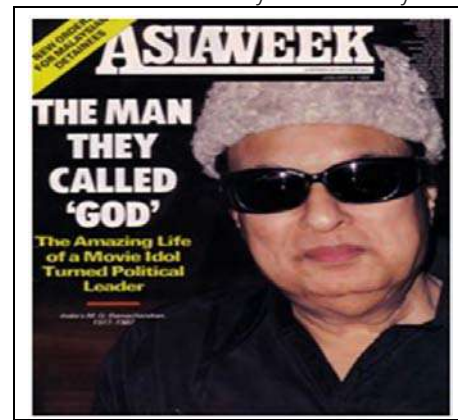
c) *Testing of Hypothesis*

In this study the following hypotheses were formulated and as per practice the hypotheses needs to be accepted or rejected which have been carried out as follows:

Hypothesis	Acceptance/Rejection
1. There is a significant difference between the ideologies propagated by Thanthai Periyar and the hard way he advocated them in his struggle for establishment of equity and social justice in the Tamil Society.	The initial stage of the above research work broadly establishes the fact the struggle of Thanthai Periyar right from his childhood days towards emancipation of the down-trodden that made him to pronounce the great concept of "Than Manam" – Self Respect that had led to a great explosion of a waking call of the oppressed in the society and therefore this Hypothesis is treated as not accepted.
2. There is a significant difference between the ideologies propagated by Thanthai Periyar and Peringer Anna in shaping these ideologies as laws after when he ruled the state of Tamil Nadu.	The second part of the research work above establishes the fact how Peraringer Anna was attracted by the movement of Thanthai Periyar and how he had become famous by joining the social reform movement of Dravida Kazhagam and how he carried forward the ideology even though he had disassociated from the movement and forming his own party the Dravidar Munetra Khazhagam, how he gave fillip to the ideology as legislature when he was anointed to power as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and thereby this Hypothesis is to be treated as not accepted.
3. There is a significant difference between Puratchi Thalaivar enunciating the concept of Annaism and how he turned them in to law when he ruled Tamil Nadu.	The third part of the research work describes about the struggle of Puratchi Thalaivar and how he had vindicated the ideas of his leader Peraringer Anna as Annaism and how he had given direction to the plans when he ruled the state of Tamil Nadu as its

		Chief Minister so that the ideology as carried by Anna from Thanthai Periyar are given shape as legislature and thereby this Hypothesis should be treated as not accepted.
4.	There is a significant difference between Puratchi Thalaive making the AIADMK Flag fly high after the demise of her leader and continuing the welfare measures and proved worthy of eminent successor of her predecessor.	The final part of the research work describes how Puratchi Thalaive struggled hard to be at the helm of affairs of the AIADMK party and continued the welfare schemes advocated by MGR and also given new directions towards social emancipation of the downtrodden, the poor students and the peasants and thereby this Hypothesis should be treated as not accepted.

d) Concluding Arguments

This research work not only establishes the fact i.e. what was found by Robert L Hardgrave in his scholarly article that socially appealing films were launched in Tamil Nadu right from 1936 which was an infusion to politics but also gone beyond the fact that movies five decades ago were not merely produced for entertainment, fun and frolic butuphold moral fabric of the society that gives the avowed scope of cultural heritage wherein the people of the society would maintain standards of life that was enunciated by the ancients nuances of which could be found in the great works like Tholkapium, Purannooru, Agananooru to the consternation of societies in the world.

It is also established in this research work that the propagation of self-respect ideology in the cinemas indeed attained success and paved the way for social emancipation towards attainment of equity and social justice in Tamil Nadu. In this important social movement and the undisputed work of Thanthai Periyar whose ideology on dravidar iyakkam followed by Pararinger Anna, Bharat Ratna Marudhur Gopalamenon Ramachandran and Jayaraman Jayalalitha rewrites the history of Tamil Society and become a beacon that stands stall in the annals of the history of Tamil Nadu. In this respect the research paper assumes importance which carefully describes the sequence of historical and political movement that laid the foundation for a state of equity and social justice and thus become a northern star in the horizon of political philosophy.

Finally, one should acknowledge why Amma ventured into politics brushing aside her life time ambition she undertook to help her leader. The following speech of Amma would smoothen the bruised hearts of millions of her followers (56):

I never came to politics on my own. It was puratchi thalaivar MGR who brought me to politics. I was not interested to join the political party. It was Puratchi Thalaiver MGR who brought me to this party and made me its member. Before the demise of Puratchi Thalaivar – he told me one thing that you should make a promise to me - I asked him what is it about? After my demise you should not leave my partymen what ever problems that comes to you and however difficulties you need to marvel – you should not leave my party men. You should be guarding my partymen – in turn they will guard you too. I am in this party as Gen. Secretary just because of the promise I made to Puratchi Thalaivar and I have nothing personal to be achieved and I have nothing to do at all. That is the reason whenever our party came to power, I enacted plans as a mother would do to its child.

Jayalalithaa, who was appointed a member of the noon-meal scheme committee by MGR in 1984, serves food to a child.	1986 – in the month of July in the all India MGR mandram convention held at Madurai to commemorate the 10th year completion of AIADMK in power in Tamil Nadu Ammu handed over 6 feet Sceptere made out of Silver to MGR and took the blessings of MGR, the picture above depicts the same.

Thus, the picture pasted above only emphasizes that both the leaders are eminent, powerful, lived their life for social transformation with an ultimate aim of establishing equity and social justice of Tamil Nadu and become the savior of social justice.
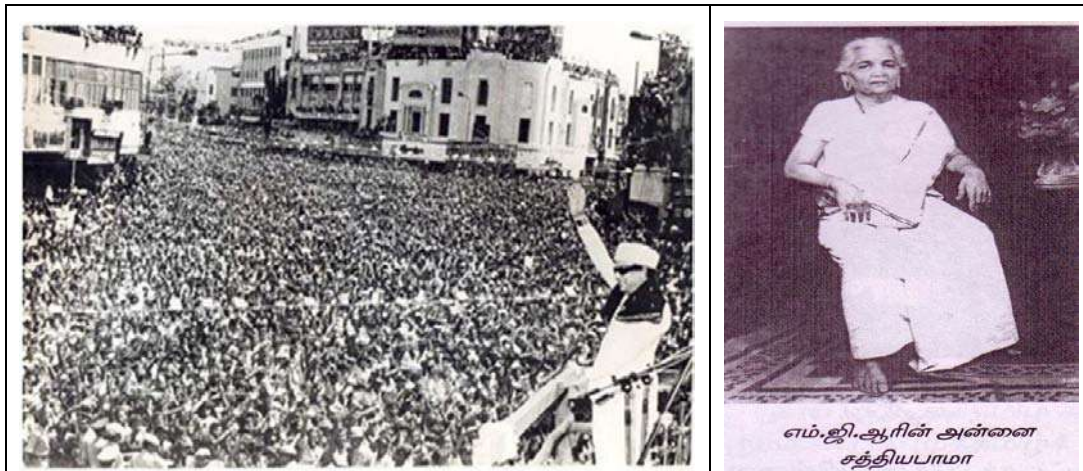
This Paper is Dedicated in Memory of Late Smt. Sathyabama – the Beloved Mother of Bharat Ratna Marudur Gopalamenon Ramachandran

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The Role of Good Governance Regarding Waqf in Achieving Sustainable Development: A Case of Bangladesh

By Md. Mohidul Islam, Ferdausur Rahman & Tunku Salha Tunku Ahmad

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Abstract- Good governance of charity foundations in Islam, specifically waqf, plays a significant role in achieving sustainable development. The substantial proportion of total waqf is still lying dormant across the world till now. The aim of the study is to obtain a better understanding of the problems related to waqf governance and its characteristics. An exploratory research design which uses depth interview is carried out on the authority which is responsible for the implementation of waqf governance in the region of south-east Asia particularly in Bangladesh. The findings showed that legislation and inefficient management are among the possible impeding factors for good governance of waqf. The paper, therefore concludes with the employment governance on waqf distribution that may be the effective model for achieving the Sustainable Development goals of Bangladesh through charity fund before 2030 easily; side by side Bangladesh can be the role model of entire world.

Keywords: quality of life, waqf governance, sustainable development.

GJHSS-F Classification: *UDC: 338.24*

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Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

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Md. Mohidul Islam α, Ferdausur Rahman σ & Tunku Salha Tunku Ahmad ρ

Abstract- Good governance of charity foundations in Islam, specifically waqf, plays a significant role in achieving sustainable development. The substantial proportion of total waqf is still lying dormant across the world till now. The aim of the study is to obtain a better understanding of the problems related to waqf governance and its characteristics. An exploratory research design which uses depth interview is carried out on the authority which is responsible for the implementation of waqf governance in the region of south-east Asia particularly in Bangladesh. The findings showed that legislation and inefficient management are among the possible impeding factors for good governance of waqf. The paper, therefore concludes with the employment governance on waqf distribution that may be the effective model for achieving the Sustainable Development goals of Bangladesh through charity fund before 2030 easily; side by side Bangladesh can be the role model of entire world.

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I. Background of the Study

The ward Waqf comes from the Arabic root verb waqafa which signifies—causing something to stop and standstill‖. It also defines as holding or keeping. In shari'ah, waqf is defined as —holding a maal (property) and prevent the usage for the purpose of issuing benefits continuously to represent truth objective or the good of charity‖(Aziz, Johari, & Yusof, 2013). Therefore, waqf is an Islamic institution which existed since the time of the Prophet Muhammad saw. It brings together both the spiritual and materials elements. Based on its nature, waqf actually acts as the catalyst for economic growth as well as the human development, provided that the institution is systematically and optimally implemented. Socially, waqf enables the birth of responsible and accountable citizens which will eventually promote sustainable development (Latif 2018). Waqf institutions could enhance socio-economic contributions of Muslims in many ways. The models of Islamic banking and finance have been linked with the institutional and welfarist concept of sustainability development (Ferdausur Rahman, Ahmad, & Islam, 2023).

There are a few hadiths that support the concept of waqf. One was mentioned by the Prophet (p.b.u.h): whence a child of Adam dies, his/her deed comes to an end except for three things; running and continouos sadaqah, knowledge that benefits (others) and a righteous child who pray for him or her. Second, when Umar bin Al-Khattab went to the Prophet (p.b.u.h) and said "Messenger of Allah! I got a land in Khaibar. I never got a property more precious to me than this. What do you advise me?" The Prophet (p.b.u.h) said, "If you want you can make habs on (bequeath) it, and give it as sadaqah (charity); provided that it should not be sold, bought, given as a gift or inherited". Then, Umar gave it as charity for the poor, relatives, slaves, wayfarers and guests. There is no harm for the person responsible for it to feed himself or a friend from it for free, without profiting. Third is when All the Prophet's (p.b.u.h) companions proclaimed their land as waqf. This evidenced through narrations and report by Thabit Bin Anas Jabir Bin Abdullah and Ibn Hazm (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2013). Allah (SWT) says in the Holy Quran: 'those who spend their wealth (in Allah's cause) by night and day, in secret and in public, they shall have their reward with their lord. On them, shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve' (Sura: Al-imran, verse: 274); 'By no means shall you attain Al Birr (piety, righteousness-here it means Allah's reward, i.e. paradise), unless you spend (in Allah's cause) of that which you love; and whatever of good you spend, Allah knows it well.' (Sura: Al-Imran, Verse: 92); and 'Verify those who give sadaqat (i.e. zakat and alms), men and women, and lend a goodly loan, it shall be increased manifold (to their credit), and theirs shall be an honourable good reward (i.e. paradise).' (Sura: Al Hadid, Verse: 18). Based on its nature, waqf actually acts as the catalyst for economic growth as well as the human development, provided that the institution is systematically and optimally implemented. Socially, waqf enables the birth of responsible and accountable citizens which will eventually promote sustainable development. A waqf is under the context of charity "sadaqah". It is an inalienable religious endowment in Islamic law, typically donating a building or plot of land or even cash for Muslim religious or charitable purposes with no intention of reclaiming the assets.The donated assets may be held by a charitable trust. The grant is known as mushrut-ul-khidmat, while a person making such dedication is known as wakif, a donor (Ariff, 1991).

Waqf, since it was introduced by the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) in 622 Hijrah by giving away seven orchards that have been given by a man called Mukhairiq after his death to Rasullullah s.a.w for the

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purposed of Muslims society in Madinah (Khaf, 2003), the practices is still continuing and evolving with the times and across the Muslim country. Until today, the glorious of Waqf institution that have been achieved during the glory of the Ottoman Empire is still being spoken by the Muslims community all over the world. During that day, every society basic needs such as providing the health services, education, orphanage center, mosques, shelter and residences was provided by Waqf institutions. The practices of Waqf have been continued and followed by other Muslims country and one of it during the middle of the nineteenth century were a half size of land in Algeria has been donated as agricultural land while one-third in Tunisia in 1883 and one-eighth in Egypt in 1949 has been donated by the authority of the caliphate for the education and health purpose in order to fulfill needs of the society during that time (Cizakca, 1998). What have been written in history has showed that Waqf was not only seen as a mechanism in providing the basic needs to the needy but including in redressing. socio-economic inequities and as one of the social security system which will help individuals and public to ease the financial burden of a country thus enhancing the quality of life among the society in accordance with the requirement of Shariah (Abdullah, 2018). Following some countries are highlighted about waqf system:

First, waqf in Turkey. Waqf in Turkey are managed by Directorate General of Waqf and some are managed by mutawalli. Under the Turkish legislation, waqf must have a board of management and must be audited every two years. The Directorate-General received 5% of net income of waqf as the cost of supervision and auditing. The Directorate-General is appointed by the Prime Minister and is under the office of Prime Minister. Waqf services cover the health care, education and social (Babacan, 2011).

Second, Waqf in Egypt. At the beginning, waqf in Egypt was in the form of waqf for families and khairi waqf (waqf for public interests). In the form of waqf for families, waqif may take back the properties which have been given for waqf purpose or may change its use, but waqif is not allowed to withdraw the properties for the benefit of himself or herself. In the khairi waqf, waqif cannot either withdraw the properties or change its use. Due to some problems arising in the implementation of Waqf for families, it was decided that this type of waqf was removed, including waqf muaqqat (limited time waqf) which was included in the waqf for families. Egyptian government manages waqf in detail and the waqf is always developed according to the circumstances. For instance, the Egyptian law of waqf allows the change of farmlands for good purposes, and the economic institutionss are authorized to develop the outcome of agriculture for the people's economic improvement. The waqf law which is based on the Islamic sharia is regularly revised in accordance with the

existing situations and an institutions specially handles waqf and its development was established in 1971 (Furqon, 2012).

Third, waqf in Kuwait. The government of Kuwait established a waqf foundation 'aamm Kuwait' or Kuwait Awqaf Public Foundation in 1993, managing waqf and its projects for people. This waqf foundation has distributed some helps, among others are scholarships for disadvantaged students, clothes for the poor, water supply and food during the holy month of Ramadhan for the poor (Ramli & Sulaiman, 2006).

Fourth, waqf in Qatar. Law no. 8/1996 on Waqf, Chapter IV, Qatar government allows mobile and immobile goods for waqf, such as shares, securities and banknotes. Islamic law still the basis for the implementation of waqf. Even the money waqf can be invested at Islamic banks and the in stamen outcomes can be used for the needs or mauquf alaih(Çizakça & Murat, 1998). Studies on waqf problems and solutions have been conducted in previous study and stated the use of waqf lands is to provide a help for people's welfare as a worship to Allah SWT and the use of this waqf land should be conducted in the form of waqf pledge. Waqif have responsibility for the supervision and the use of the lands. Based on the studies, the waqf lands have yet to function properly for the public interest. The solution to this problems that must be authorized legally (Budiman, 2011).

It is a very important instrument in the economy of the Muslims since it is promised to be given the consent from Allah swt (al Haddad, 2008). Iman Abu Hanifa said that the legal meaning of waqf is the detention of a specific thing in the ownership of waqf and the devoting of its profit or products "in charity of poors or other good objects". While Iman Abu Yusuf says that waqf signifies the extinction of the waqif's ownership in the thing dedicated and detention of all the things in the implied ownership of God, in such a manner that its profits may revert to or be applied for the benefit of mankind. The above elaboration is reflected in the sayings of Allah saw which is mentioned in Surah al-Imran verse 92: Never will you attain the good [reward] until you spend [in the way of Allah] from that which you love. And whatever you spend – indeed, Allah is knowing of it. (in Quran 3:92) The governance of waqf properties in Malaysia is under the supervision of each state's jurisdiction, that is the State Islamic religious Council (SIRC). According to Zulkifli (2008), it is estimated that there are 35,727 hectares of waqf land in existence in Bangladesh, out of which 20,735.61 acres are registered. However, as at 2009, there are 9,937 hectares of waqf land, worth RM 1.9 billion has yet to be developed

The main objective of this paper is to study the alternative solutions to poverty alleviation other than the public policy by the government. The main focus is however to see how an instrument modeled using cash

waqf as a source of fund can stand up against the other available alternative, namely microfinance institution. The study brings forward the potential that the model has in terms of how much poverty can be reduced and the amount of money can be saved by the government (Zuki & Md., 2012). By comparing cash waqf model and the microfinance institutions model side by side, it can"t be helped but to notice how cash waqf model proves to be a viable alternative instrument in combating poverty. It manages to answer most (if not all) questions that have been raised against the microfinance institutions as a poverty alleviation solution. Thus this section will be concluded with the list of why cash waqf should be considered in sustainable development (Zuki & Md., 2012).

II. Literature Review

Waqf is mostly known as donation to the community. The main characteristics of waqf are irrevocability, perpetuity and inalienability. Irrevocability means that the donor has no power in dismissing the donation at any time. Perpetuity means the donation given are last longer. The declaration is made between the donor and receiver and it is robotically legitimately binding. For inalienability, it means the donation should be not sold, given as gift or being inherited (Iman & Mohamad, 2014). In addition, waqf consists of two categories which are general and specific. General means a donor waqf something without a specific purposes or specific people while specific means a donor waqf something with a specific reason towards specific individuals. It is pleasant to note here that, on account of waqf, its reality does not come in light of financial issues, rather waqf has been there at the unique reference point of Islam since the season of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) until the last Ottoman Empire (Çizakça & Murat, 1998). Meanwhile, "Right" infers that Islam dynamically indicate the commitment of the general public, especially the rich, to donate effectively in battling poverty in term of zakat and waqf (Ahmad, 2015). Then again, waqf as a intentional part founding is a systematized charity planning to convey wellbeing managements to poor people, it can be as properties, (for example, land, building, vehicle and so on) or, turning out to be more frequently now, which is cash waqf. Additionally, waqf is well-known as a fixed title of a possessed resource from disposition and portion of its advantages for a particular reason or purposes. Waqf is a happily charity considered in term of permanency. Consequently, the benefit cannot be rejected; nor its proprietorship exchanged. Just its benefits are to be utilized for the specific purpose(s), which is (are) basically charitable in nature. In this sense, waqf is a never-ending charity and this unendingness is its ultimate trademark. The charitable purposes of waqf customarily included instructive

organizations, orphanage, streets, religious foundations like mosques, burial grounds among other public facility (Sadeq, 2002).

The Islamic waqf idea empower the owner of property to settle his for the consumption of beneficiary's perpetuity. Waqf is recognized once the proprietor (waqif) makes a declaration that the pay of the property is to be saved forever for a specific reason. Waqf can be said to be a part of family law. The laws identifying with the waqf are a important piece of Islamic law (syariah). It has relations with different sectors of law and humanity, for example, legacy, wills, endowments and marriage, subsequently waqf are generally managed as a feature of family law. There are two types of dimensions in the institution of waqf which are making donation of waqf and management of waqf. Usually, a successful individual will make a donation of waqf as an act for charitable which has been belief by him/herself. For management of waqf, it actually depends towards the term of waqf itself. Occasionally, a voluntary giving is made by mutawalli or someone who is reliable in order to take a good care of the waqf property. Management who is dedicated also seldomly being ask to look at the waqf property (Ferdausur Rahman et al., 2023).

a) The Waqf and its factors with economic relationship

Waqf is a charitable foundation. It improves by the effect of moral and religious motivation. The words charities have permanence and continuity, so that people can benefit from them for years, generations or even centuries. It should also be noted that the Islamic definition of Waqf makes its assets cumulative, in the application to the principle of perpetuity in Waqf. It means that a Waqf properties may not be sold or disposed of in may form, i.e. a Waqf properties remains in the Waqf domain perpetually and any new Waqf will be added to that domain, implying that the Waqf properties are only liable to increase. They are not permitted to decline since it is illegal to consume the properties of Waqf or to leave them idle by any action of neglect or transgression (Zain, Noor, Ramlan, & Samah, 2017).

Figure 1: Waqf product in Bangladesh

Prophet Muhammad ordered Muslims to maintain their environment when he said in a prophetic hadits: "If any Muslim plants a tree or sows a field, and a

human, bird or animal eats from it, it shall be reckoned as charity from him" (Imam Ahmad). In other hadits, he said, "If the day of resurrection comes upon any one of you while he has a seedling in hand, let him plant it" (Al-Bukhari). Many Muslims believe that waqf is solely for religious matters. Little do majority of the them know that waqf can benefit all level of society, As to rid away this misconstrued understanding of waqf, it is imperative to understand what waqf means in this new era of modern world (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2013). Waqf in general can be identified into three types which are All'qar (irremovable assets), Al-Manqul (removable assets) and Waqf Al-Irsod. The irremovable assets refer to any assets that cannot be moved, relocated or changed. In MAIS, the institution has dealt with irremovable wealth such as land for agriculture, school building, mosques and orphanage (Aziz et al., 2013).

Cash waqf is the main instrument in collecting waqf funds. Cash waqf is a product that allows people to donate cash without having to have fixed assets such as land. In Malaysia, some of the products introduced by the waqf institutions are gold waqf, takaful waqf and the Quran waqf. Cash waqf encourages people to do charity with no limitation on the amount of waqf and people can even join the cash waqf with the lowest amount of RM 10. One of the roles of cash waqf in the Islamic community is being used for da'wah1 infrastructure development, which is a social assistance for the Muslim community economic development (Azri Ahmad, 2008). Cash waqf investment will be able to generate multiple profits and can produce a lot of waqf properties in the form of a new permanent property (Hasan, 2015). The laws of the "waqf" offer the expansion of the wealth to become the "waqf"'s objects, not only limited to non-moveable wealth but also moveable ones such as money, gold, vehicles, securities, intellectual possession, rental right, and the other moveable ones agree with the Islamic laws. Regarding non-moveable things which can be "waqf's objects not only limited to land possessions but in the article 16 of the laws of "waqf" stated that "the rights of the land agree with either the listed or non-listed applied laws". Therefore, the rights of land which become the "waqf" objects such as one's possession, the right of building use, the right of business use, the right of using, and the right of mansion possession (Medaline, 2018). It is expected that with a proper mechanism of waqf financing provided by Islamic financial institution, it is able to benefit many parties in getting financing facilities as well as for investment purposes that may attain the both objectives of this world and hereafter (Aziz et al., 2013). So far, we have already explained that it is very hard to get loan for development of Waqf land. So, it is the best solution to use cash waqf money in this sector (Chowdhury, Ghazali, & Ibrahim, 2011).

Ahmad (2015) focused on waqf- based micro financing on the pattern of the Grameen Bank. He also suggested to protect against withdrawal risks, the MFI can use takaful and profit-equalization reserves to give depositors competitive returns. The traditional former lenders faced with borrowers whom they do not personally know the exposing them to very high risks due to the inherent screening problems faced by the newspaper or radio etc and encouraging people to come forward with a helping hand. It is the right of the waqf donor to instruct the Islamic Bank, where his/her money will be invested that is whether SME, or Microfinance or Land development etc. So if they want, they should be allowed to enjoy this right, in fact the bank will provide some good suggestions (Chowdhury et al., 2011). Basically, profit should be distributed according to the donor's will. However, if he assigns the responsibility to the bank, then it can be distributed in three ways:

1. To charities such as mosque, madrassa, poor, social activities, training of youth, marriage for poor girl, religious education etc.
2. To management includes maintenance, managerial expenses and future development and capital enhancement.
3. To marketing because when there is any natural disaster or illness etc then through publicity by television, radio or newspaper it is always easy to raise donated fund. So through proper marketing policy it is possible to encourage people to endowed more cash waqf (Chowdhury et al., 2011).

i. *Small and Medium Enterprise (SME) loan*

Waqf fund should be used to provide loan to small and medium enterprises due to the fact that SME is an emerging sector in underdeveloped and developing nations. If these sectors are neglected then it would be impossible for these nations to make economic development (Chowdhury et al., 2011). The paper has developed ICWME-I model as a source of financing for micro enterprises. This model is expected to provide financial services by using cash waqf fund and involved the participatory contract between non-profit organization and micro enterprises. In addition, with the proposed model, there will be no collateral requirement, interest rate and other stringent requirements which usually imposed by existing conventional financial institutions (Thaker, Mohammed, Duasa, & Abdullah, 2016). The common parties involved for waqf to be valid are: founder (Waqif), beneficiary (Maukuf Alaihi) and donated property (Maukuf). First, the founder must be mature and has a sound mind. He must donate on his will and he owns the property he wants to donate. Second, the founder must specify in the waqf deed who shall benefits from his proclaimed waqf. The beneficiary can be specified as individual or general philanthropy to the society. Third, the donated

property must be something that can be donated where its ownership rightfully belongs to the founder. Lastly, a lafaz is undertaken to validate the waqf agreement (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2013).

In present, it has proved around the globe that Micro Credit and Safety Net Program are not successful in reducing poverty and income inequality. In this context, Waqf can be one of the vital alternatives alongside Zakah because early history indicates free education, scholarship, orphanage, free treatment etc as provided by Waqf based institutions. But current scenario shows that, Waqf based institutions are not growing at a considerable level (Ahmad, 2015). Most of the 17 developmental goals of the SDGs comfortably match with the long-term objectives of shariah and there is good scope for the stakeholders of awqaf to develop waqf-based development plan in line with the framework of SDGs. Additionally, it finds that the global awqaf enjoy sufficient financial capacity to help muslim majority countries to realise some of the most relevant and urgent maqasid-oriented SDGs in a timely manner (Abdullah, 2018). An efficient waqf governance should help to preserve valuables either in the form of cash or non-cash fixed asset earned from voluntary but permanent distribution of wealth in an Islamic society (Latif, Din, & Mustapha, 2018).

Figure 2: Waqf distribution area of Bangladesh

Waqf as a charitable institution in Islam is expected to play its significant role to carry out environmental protection and therefore to ensure a more sustainable development in the country. This paper tries to elaborate potential of waqf institution for environmental protection and to reveal advantages and benefits of making waqf a means for environmental protection (Aziz et al., 2013). In this religious approach, waqf as a charitable institution in Islam is expected to play its significant role to carry out environmental protection and therefore to ensure a more sustainable development in the country (Budiman, 2011). Most Muslims are familiar with the concept but do not really understand the definition and meaning of waqf along with its process, law, administration and management of it. Waqf is standardly known as benevolence instruments where the profit is used to improve the welfare of the unfortunate society (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2013). There are many papers written on the participation of Islamic financial institutions in providing

fund to develop waqf properties. Here, it is evidenced that developing waqf properties are not small matters in hand. All parties should lend their hands to be realize what Rashid (2011) expressed as "only sky is the limit in the waqf development (Ibrahim & Ibrahim, 2013). From Islamic scholars, it can be concluded that sustainability from an Islamic perspective is a balance in the use of natural resources for the economic, social, and spiritual benefits of the past, present, and future. In short, sustainability is balanced, fair, and continuous in all aspects of human life, including spiritual and physical. There are seven principles of sustainability as proposed by Khan (2001) which is to avoid waste; establishing rules, and evaluating oneself through history; maintaining a balance in the thinking, actions, and the usage of resources; accountability in governance and administration; creating equity and justice in the economy and business; purification of the soul (tazkiyyah); and conversation and development of resources in the service for humans and other beings(Hassana, Baharib, Azizc, & Doktoralinad, 2020). In Islamic culture, Waqf is as one of the successful entrepreneurship patterns or permanent Islamic almshouses that require using simultaneously business skills and entrepreneurial innovation and using the profits for eliminating poverty and social welfare strata. In addition, by developing the Waqf and charity activities, benevolence, and prosperity in parallel with the private and, the expenses of the transitional government will be reduce. And major needs of the society in the field of education and training fields, higher education, health and treatment that are heavy burden for the government can be done by NGOs and people which will foster the movement cycle of development in parallel with development in public and private sector (Sulaiman & Zakari, 2015).

Waqf administration in Bangladesh is an Islamic discipline that is dynamic, socially beneficial and socially autonomous organization. This organization was formed according to the Bengal Walk for Act of 1934. According to Walk F Ordinance-1962 Wavkadfar. The main goal of this organization is to promote the development of walk-through education, pollution control and proper management along with the implementation of the objectives. Consequent to the Walks Ordinance Constitution Act 2013 and the Walks (Transfer and Development of Assets) Act 2013. Innovative operations of Kazaldoir to make services delivery fast and efficient. In order to become a vital beneficiary country, Bangladesh will continue to pay its dues to the importance of global cooperation.

Table 1: Shows the distribution of waqf Revenue, taka in lakh, Main & Local working place

SL	Particulars	Target	Amended Bazet 2022	6 month's income & expense	Bazet Allotmented 2021-2022	Actual income / expense 2021-2022
a	Revenue					
1	Collection	1,710.92	1,710.92	440.50	1,710.92	881.30
2	Allotment by Govt.	750	750	36	75	75
3	Collection by others	84	84	42	84	92
b	Main & Local working place					
1	Total Expenses	857.80	857.80	389.05	857.80	857.80
2	Balance	1012.12	1012.12	129.45	1012.12	190.50
C	Country Budget					
1	Revenue Budget	1862.92	1862.92	518.50	1869.92	1048.30
2	Developed Budget	1862.92	1862.92	518.50	1869.92	1048.30

Sources: Annual report of Bangladesh Waqf Office

Table 2: Collection of wafq in taka (lakh)

Fiscal Year	Target of Collection	Actual Collection	Collection Rate
2021-2022	1,710.92	881.30	51.51%

Table 3: The Waqf of Funding, Expenditure and Advancement in Annual Scholarship Scheme in 2021-2022

Years	Amount of Allotment (TK)	Expenses (TK.)	Rate
2021-2022	75,00,000	75,00,000	100 %

The waqf is not only the spiritual and religious aspect but also an important issue which has influence on the economic, political, community, educational and social development. As waqf institution covers a wide range of issues from economic to the social aspect of the human development, it can be attributed as one of the prime tools to uplift the pride, dignity and supremacy of Islam (Chowdhury et al., 2011). In Islamic culture, Waqf is as one of the successful entrepreneurship patterns or permanent Islamic almshouses that require using simultaneously business skills and entrepreneurial innovation and using the profits for eliminating poverty and social welfare strata. In addition, by developing the Waqf and charity activities, benevolence, and prosperity in parallel with the private and, the expenses of the transitional government will be reduce. And major needs of the society in the field of education and training fields, higher education, health and treatment that are heavy burden for the government can be done by NGOs and people which will foster the movement cycle of development in parallel with development in public and private sector. Many widows are facing financial constraint due to their low income and financial difficulties. Therefore, cash waqf can be used to transform many less privilege widows across Malaysia financially, socially, and religiously. The stated instruments and models can be applied to empower needy widows in Malaysia in order to reduce their financial challenges and constraints. The paper proposes strategies through which Cash Waqf can be used for the creation of resources and tools for empowerment of widowed women such as through educational funds, creation of employment opportunities, and provision of tools for entrepreneurial activities (Amuda, Razak, & Ahmed, 2016).

In present, it has proved around the globe that Micro Credit and Safety Net Program are not successful in reducing poverty and income inequality. In this context, Waqf can be one of the vital alternatives alongside Zakah because early history indicates free education, scholarship, orphanage, free treatment etc as provided by Waqf based institutions. But current scenario shows that, Waqf based institutions are not growing at a considerable level. If we really want to do something for the needy and the poor, we have to revive this much needed institution (Masoud 2015).The role of waqf is to provide housing, medical facilities, mosque, stimulate economic activity, economic development, orphan welfare and poverty. There are various types of waqf introduced to expand the waqf activities among Malaysians, such as the concept of cash waqf and land waqf. Cash waqf is defined as as a charitable endowment established with cash capital (Çizakça & Murat, 1998). Waqf is capable of promoting entrepreneurship with interest-free loans from the cash waqf institutions which will help to assists the poor. This is different with land waqf where land or building is donated and developed for charitable causes. The profit from it will be shared to the needed ones. Cash waqf and land waqf should be managed properly so that they will not be wasted and left idle (Hasan, 2015). The success of Waqf as a source of socio-economic

financing in Islamic history in developing a country by providing the social and public goods to the society have been a major factor for Waqf practices to be retrieved back today. In order to exterminate the poverty, depending in Zakat alone is not enough. Waqf can be an alternative in solving the socio-economic problem of the Ummah which covers the issues such as poverty, inequality and rising cost of living as well in promoting the social wellbeing in the society. (Atan & Johari, 2017). Waqf has played the role to facilitate kinds of either religious or social activities, such as places for worship, for travelers, for science, for schools, for scientific papers making, for water supply and for the needs. At the time of Bani Umayah and Bani Abasiah, waqf's role was not only to build places of worship or of education, but also it provided the operational cost for knowledge, for library, for education, for scholarship, for teachers'

and lecturers' welfare and for other educational staff. This shows the significant role of waqf for people's needs in facilitating the religious, social and academic activities (Huda, Rini, Mardoni, Hudori, & Anggraini, 2017). By implementing all basic rules, the waqf implementation can be conducted by using the waqf lands for higher economic activities or by chanelling the money waqf to productive economic agencies that will be eventually invested for job vacancies (Çizakça & Murat, 1998).

Figure 1 explain about the Waqf posseses among to the social function. The Almighty Allah originates people with various characters and abilities. Hence, there are various conditions and environments among people can improve gradually his/her life style with the helping process.
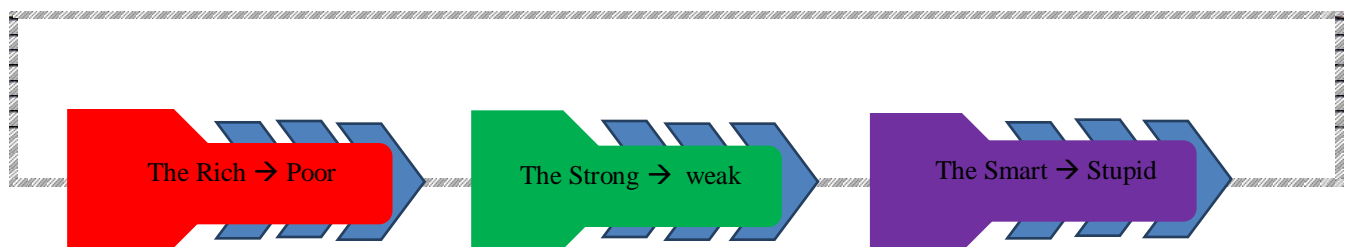

Figure 1: The Waqf possess among to the social function

Among those abilities, the rich should help the poor, the smart should help the stupid and the strong should help the weak. By doing this, people can make themselves closed to Allah and interactions among people can keep on moving that waqf agencies should be developed professionally and honestly. Furthermore, it can be used optimally for social needs; for instance, for the improvement of Islamic education and hospitals, for the empowerment of people's economic and the development of infrastructures of worships. A number of waqf goods, especially lands and buildings, are opportunities to improve people's economic in the future(Huda et al., 2017).

b) Waqf and its Governance

According to Aisyah, Ismail, Sulaiman, Cahyo, and Sup (2022) the word 'governance' in Arabic means al-hakimiya that identifies a higher degree of moral social order to which all decision-making structures and 'authority' ought to submit. Normally, good governance practices will contribute in the making of efficient organizations (Mohammad Mohidul Islam, Bhuiyan, & Kassim, 2019). The Quran and Sunnah gave an outline of governance under different circumstances. Laws established by the Holy Quran, and sayings and practices of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) emphasize on habitual practices, customary procedures, actions, norms, and usage sanctioned by Islamic tradition. Islam emphasizes justice as fairness, non-discrimination and equity in order to ensure balance and harmony in every aspects of life. As stated in the verse (4:135) of the Holy

Quran, "O ye who believe! Stand out firmly for justice, as witnesses to Allah, even as against yourselves, or your parents, or your kin, and whether it is (against) rich or poor: for Allah can best protect both". The leadership is summoned to act in fairness, justice and bring good to the wellbeing of the ummah. Therefore, it is important for new policies to be imposed on Islamic organizations, on the basis of public interest (al-masalih al-mursalah), be it profit or non-profit organizations, as long as it is Shari'ah complaints and conforms to the public wellbeing (Aisyah et al., 2022).

In Bangladesh, risk prone crisis is high to development perspective(Md Mohidul Islam, Bhuiyan, Kassim, & Rasli, 2022), whereas waqf properties are under the governance of each state's jurisdictions, that is the State Islamic Religious Council (SIRC). Zulkifli, Ismail, Osman, and Ambali (2022) states that waqf affairs are the responsibility of each state. The courts recognize Shari'ah as the governing law of the property for Muslims including waqf. Section 25 of the Civil Law Act 1956 stated that the administration of Muslim's property shall be in accordance with the Islamic Law. There are 14 State Islamic Religious Councils, one for each of the 13 states in Malaysia and one for the Federal Territory. The government of Malaysia has formed the Department for Zakat, Waqf and Hajj on the 27th March 2004, with the aim of making the administration of zakat, waqf and hajj systematic and effective. This department however does not have the authority to administer and manage waqf properties, but

rather plays as a planning coordinator and observes the waqf matters (Rahman, Ahmad, & Islam, 2023; Zulkifli et al., 2022). Zulkifli et al. (2022) further added that has formed Yayasan Waqf for the sole purpose of identifying the underutilized assets of awaqf and planning for their development in coordination with the SIRC of each state. In actual fact, this is a good move the investment of waqf land could be supported by the federal or state government or statutory bodies or financial institutions. Of utmost importance is the ability of the waqf institution to choose the most supporting and suitable methods of financial schemes for any of its investment project. Islam demands its followers to practice altruism in the name of justice and brotherhood. One way of implementing this is through waqf practice among Muslims. Altruism is the willingness to do things that bring advantages to others. It is the practice of disinterest and selfless concern for the well-being of others. The main problems related to waqf administration in Malaysia are the inefficient management of waqf assets and the unsystematic waqf management systems within the states in Malaysia. They further elaborated on the growing concern of mismanagement in these institutions, such as frauds and inefficiency, may discourage the potential waqf donors to support such practice (Aisyah et al., 2022), and most of waqf properties are mosques, religious places, Islamic school and cemeteries and very few of waqf lands generate income to the Islamic Religious Councils. Example is the income derived from monthly rental of waqf properties managed by the authority of

territory only contributed a sum of TK. 15,745 utilized the benefits of the waqf concepts. Yassin et al. (2013) stated that the lack of effort of Muslim scholars and jurists during the last two centuries has caused the impediment of waqf properties. Otherwise, successful waqf governance will generate wealth to Muslim countries, which will indirectly contribute towards the economic growth and sustainability.

Waqf and its model of assets distribute in figure 1 describe the waqf is the one form of charity that is long-lasting because it has the characteristics of perpetuity. The donors make a donation which is in a form of a building where the benefit from the donation will be given to those needy ones who will benefit for a long time. Besides that, zakat is similar to waqf as its benefits is directed towards the beneficiary specifically. Philanthropy is aimed at those who are in needs physically and mentally, either poor or low income households. The poor in the mainstream economy is today widely perceived as a relative and multi-dimensional, dynamic phenomenon (Dema Moreno & Díaz Martinez, 2012; M., H., & W., 2008). Although poverty can be mitigated by policy interventions, Islamic institutions related to philanthropy and personal relationships may be a significant player. Personal relationships either family or nonfamily based would certainly compliment the role of formal and non-formal institutions (Bank, 2003). Amongst the identified issues in Waqf Unit are:
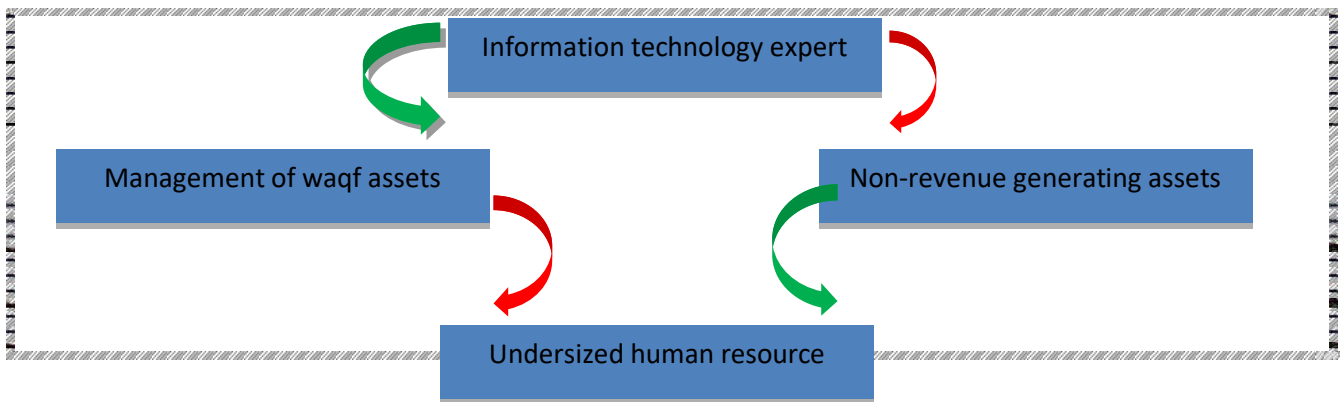

Figure 2: Management of waqf

A strong belief would spur an individual to perform religious obligations. It is inclusive of the commitment to carry out religious obligations such as performing daily prayers, fasting in the month of ramadhan and performing hajj. In addition, being spiritually adequate is another important factor in this dimension because in many cases, the feeling of inadequacy is widely common among the poor despite receiving zakat aid from the authorities. Governance that is contribute to risk reduce as well sustainable (Md Mohidul Islam, Bhuiyan, Kassim, & Rasli, 2021)Waqf that is needed to maintain the governance.

Secondly, physical self needs are physical needs in daily life such as healthcare and nutrition, quality of dwelling or living place, amenities, utilities, clothing and transportation. The prophet SAW mentioned that the worldly life is tillage for the hereafter. Thus, it is imperative for a Muslim to preserve his/her life as it has big impact in the hereafter as mentioned the verse below. We have seen and have heard: Now then send us back: we will work righteousness: for we do indeed (now) believe‖ (32:12).

Thirdly, knowledge or mind development is essential in developing the intellectual level and skills of

individuals. Knowledge is an important aspect of human beings as it gives guidance for the correct way of thinking according to teachings of Islam. This is why Islam attaches great importance to knowledge and education. When the Quran began to be revealed, the first word of its first verse was 'Iqra' that is, read: "Read! In the Name of your Lord Who has created (all that exists). He has created man from a clot (a piece of thick coagulated blood). Read! And your Lord is the Most Generous. Who has taught (the writing) by the pen. He has taught man that which he knew not". (96: 1-5). Education is thus the starting point of every human activity. Allah created man and provided him with the tools for acquiring knowledge, namely hearing, sight and wisdom as mentioned below: "And Allah has brought you out from the wombs of your mothers while you know nothing. And He gave you hearing, sight, and hearts that you might give thanks (to Allah)" (16:78).

Fourthly, posterity or offspring are an important element of human needs. Besides having family, parenting skills and the ability to develop knowledge and skills in children today are essential in the current socioeconomic settings. Having children is a fundamental condition for the continuity of human life. The number of children in a family depends on a few factors such as the age of parents, genetic composition and climate (Tabash & Dhankar, 2014). In this matter, Islam has stressed the importance of safeguarding of the life of children regardless of their gender as mentioned by Quran: Finally, wealth accumulation such as possession of fixed assets and durable goods, the ability to generate income or revenue from economic activities and expenditure on food and non-durable goods. Excess wealth is usually interpreted as a sign of the favor of Allah, while poverty is viewed as a sign of His displeasure. In fact, both conditions are trials from

Allah as mentioned below. Now as for man when his lord trieth him, giving him honour and gifts, then said he, My Lord hath honoured me. But when he trieth him, restricting his subsistence for him, then saith he (indespair), My Lord has humiliated me.‖ (89:15-16). In preserving the interest of muslim ummah who was ignored by his family and society, zakat shall be given to him in term of sponsoring Islamic education (faith), healthcare and nutrition (life) and also business capitalization (intellectual). Besides that, parenting skills and the ability in developing the knowledge in children (posterity) today is also important. This approach may increase their life quality as well as faith. As a return, they have to give back the benefits (wealth) they had received to the societies.

Waqf is to protect something such as building a affordable houses for the needy ones from being taken by a third person. Besides, waqf can be done in many ways in ensuring that it enhance wellbeing of muslim ummah which is by providing water for public consumption (life), providing Islamic institutions (faith) such as ―pondok‖ for those who want to learn more about Islam (intellect), help those handicapped and the poor, building bridges, provide wealth accumulation in term of financing orphanages and the marriage of young people in need wealth (Zuki & Md., 2012). The main question remains how zakat and waqf would be able to enhance wellbeing of muslim ummah based on basis of maqasid syariah. It would require proper planning and implementation to alleviate each element of wellbeing. Scholars and practitioners should work together to execute effective distribution methods that would be able to alleviate inner and outer fulfilment from the syariah perspective, driving towards a peaceful life, named as Hayat-e-Tayyaba (Sulaiman & Zakari, 2015).
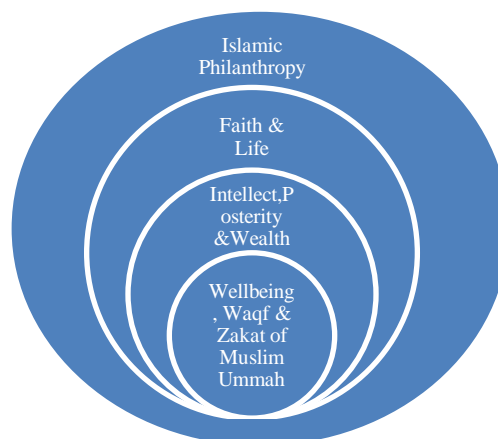
Islamic Philanthropy

Figure 3: Element of Islamic Philanthropy in Enhancing Wellbeing

III. Methodology

The methodology of this article is based on qualitative research on document study and opinion of all instruments correlated to waqf. To achieve the objectives, the study has been designed on the basis of reviewing some current literatures on the subject, gathering information relevant to the study from prior

publications, journals, reports, research papers, website of various organizations and all other secondary sources of data that are useful for this study. The desire of this approach is to search the conceptual instrument of waqf and their recurrence and practice to collect data among some of researcher's ideas. To achieve the aim of this study, which is to shed light for a better understanding of the problems related to the role of waqf governance in achieving sustainable development, a qualitative research design is adopted. This is a non-conclusive study and exploratory in nature. Initially, a literature study was done to determine the possible reasons of existing problems pertaining to waqf governance. Then, in order to obtain a clearer picture of the problem at hand, a qualitative primary data is collected by using depth interview as the tool and was executed during a case study on State Religion Board. Depth interview is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews to explore the respondents' perspectives on a particular idea or situation. It is a loosely structured interview. It allows freedom for both the interviewer and the interviewee to explore additional points and change direction, if necessary. A depth interview is preferred in this study since we are aiming for detailed information. Furthermore, this technique offers opportunity to capture rich, descriptive data. And it can be used as a standalone research method or as part of a multi method design. Nevertheless in this research it is used as part of the methods, to complement the initial literature study done. However, the limitation of this research technique is that depth interview could be prone to bias. Additionally, since this is a qualitative non-conclusive research, generalization of the result is not able to be made. The findings from depth interview in this study, is not generalizable to other state religious boards.

a) *Qualitative Method : Case Study*

i. *Indomitable Genius-1*

Asma Khatun, a student of Islami University, dept. of Law. His father is a hawker and mother is a house wife. His homeland is Dinajpur with - decimal land. She has two sisters, no brother and total five family members. Basically, she is a child of a poor family. Her father' income is per month only Tk. 4,000. She stays at university hall which is 25 kilometers far from kushtia city and 23 kilometers from Jhinaidah city. So staying at university hall she has to earn some money by teaching some school students from kushtia which is very challenging. She gets scholarship from Moral Parenting Trust but it is not sufficient so she is continuing her tuitions. As a female student it is not so easy task to continue her tuitions by taking this type of pressure of 50-kilometer journey from shekpara to kushtia city (up down). But she is doing this to fulfill the dream of her respected parents. Because after completing her student life with full of straggle she wants to do something for the poor people which may be helpful for the sustainable development of our country. Side by side her moral parent donates two times under independent project (shabolomby project) which is described in following

Table 2: History of Asma Khatun's Shabolombi Project

Year	Charity from moral parent	Self-fund	Total	Activities
2021	8,000	0	8,000	Purchased two goats. After 8 months one goat and 3 kids tk. 21,000 and she gives this amount to her father's business.
2022	5,000	0	5,000	Invested to her father's business. With the revenue of her family is running smoothly.

a. *Challenges*

1) Scholarship amount is insufficient. One student cannot run his/her study by this little amount of scholarship.

2) Moral Parenting is donating only brilliant and poor student with handsome CGPA from previous public examination. But there are many university students they could not spend more time for the study and earn good CGPA because of poverty but they were brilliant students.

3) Every moral child has to prepare and send report to the moral parent and to the office as well but there are some moral children who have no smart phone and Wi-Fi facilities, in addition, their parents care takes independent projects at their village. In maximum cases parents are poor as well as illiterate so it is tough to send the report with pictures after every two months.

4) There are many Zakat payers in our country have no clear concept about recipients and distribution system. So they give shari, lungi, cloths, blanket in the month of Ramadan and other sessions by which real Zakat receivers are not benefiting like poor students.

5) There are some rich people who are capable for paying Sadaqah (Zakat, Infaq, Qardhul Hasana, and Waqf Wasia). But they do not have clear idea regarding Sadaqah and its distribution system even the benefits of waqf. Otherwise, they are reluctant about waqf or charity.

b. *Suggestions*

1) Moral Parenting Trust should increase the amount of scholarship so that one can give support any to one student/entrepreneur understanding everything e.i. one donor should support one student fully and bear all expenses so that a student can continue his/her study without any tension.
2) Moral parent can relax the reporting system like it may be quarterly or bi-annually. So that moral child can send the appropriate report with relax.
3) Moral parent should select the student not considering the previous result they can select the student based on their poverty and necessity so that actual poor and struggle students can enjoy the benefits from the moral trust.
4) The Rich and capable Muslim should learn about Sadaqah clearly and distribute properly.

c. *Aim in life*

I want to do something for the poor people because everyone should do everything for the welfare of the people. Because the life is for other and for parents.

Rich men govt. servant and solvent people should do like this type of work, so that huge employment can be generated.

ii. *Indomitable Genius-2*

Borhan Hossan, a student of Biotechnology, Islamic University, Kustia. His father is a farmer and mother is a house wife. His homeland is Rangpur with 4.5 decimals land and the amount of cultivable land is 8/10 decimals. She has one sister and total four family members. Basically, he is a child of a poor family. His father's monthly income is not remarkable. He stays at private hostel and his per month cost is tk. 5 to 6 thousand. Moral trust gives him per two-month tk. 2,700 i.e per month tk.1, 350 so he has to take extra money from his father which is not so easy. In the meantime, his moral parent donates three times under independent project (shabolomby project) which is described in following table:

Table 3: History of Borhan's Shabolombi Project

Year	Charity from moral parent	Self-fund	Total	Activities
2020	7,000	0	7,000	Pigeon Farming
2021	6,000	0	6,000	Pigeon Farming.
2022	5,000	0	5,000	Pigeon Farming. With the revenue of Pigeon Farming his family is running smoothly. Now in my firm the number of pigeons is huge, he cannot count. He is very happy with this scholarship and this independent (shabolomby project)

a. *Challenges*

1) Scholarship amount is insufficient. One student cannot run his/her study by this little amount of scholarship.
2) In my university area tuitions are not available from where I can earn some money.
3) We are very poor so it is very tough to bring extra money from my family.

b. *Suggestions*

✓ Moral Parenting trust should increase the amount of scholarship so that one can give support any to one student/entrepreneur understanding everything i. one donor should support one student fully and bear all expenses so that a student can continue his/her study without any tension.
✓ The Rich and capable Muslim should learn about Sadaqah clearly and distribute properly.

c. *Aim in life*

I want to be a university teacher. So After completing graduation from Bangladesh I would like to go to any developed country for higher study. I want to do something for the poor people because everyone should do everything for the welfare of the people. Because following the 90% theory from Dr. Mahbub the founder of Moral Parenting Trust. Under 90% theory Dr. Mahbub said if you expend your total income for your family, it will not be enough or human demand has no limit. So, you should expend the 90% income for your family and remaining 10% for other poor and needy people.

IV. FINDING AND ANALYSIS

In Bangladesh extreme poverty line that have represent to 24.3 percent, while marginal poor rates fell down by two-thirds of 12.9 percent, based on bottom line poverty that is measures of poverty using the international poverty line of $2.15 a day show comparable trends (Bank, 2003), so in the country there are a huge number of people who are still suffering from their basic needs. Whereas, Waqf can be a benchmark alternative to cope with poverty, Bangladesh is a country where majority percent is Muslim population. Hence the charity system is very popular with common that is recover of poverty and leads to SDG so waqf can also be effective in terms of gaining SDG goals. Waqf (mandatory Sadaqah) is the third pillar out of five pillars of Islam. So as a Muslim majority people of Bangladesh are more or less follow the procedure of waqf. There are some people who are underprivileged in the society are

waqf payer, according to the study we can call them the moral parent on the other hand the people who are poor students i.e. waqf receiver can be called the moral child. In addition, a group of persons who are responsible to care takes the moral child and their self-reliant project on behalf of Moral Parenting Trust is called advisors. After every two or three month moral child (entrepreneur) submit report to his moral parent to the advisor and Trust. It is mentioned here that 60% charity donate their waqf and 40% moral parent donate voluntary Infaq (charity) in this self-reliant project who are called moral parents (donor). Extreme poverty line are getting waqf from the privileged people are called entrepreneur. On the basis of demand and supply that are also some people or institutions which are considered as intermediary task for the waqf payer and receiver such as local mosque, community leader, etc.

V. Conclusion

The aim of the paper is to examine the good Governance regarding Waqf in achieving sustainable development by enhancing wellbeing among households are through Islamic philanthropy. Waqf brings together both the spiritual and material elements. Based on its nature, waqf should be able to act as the catalyst for economic growth as well as the human development, if the institution is systematically and optimally governed. However, despite possessing the potential of improving the society, a substantial proportion of total waqf is still lying dormant across the world. New frameworks and models for waqf governance have been proposed by several scholars but as yet to be tested. Socially, waqf enables the birth of responsible and accountable citizens which will eventually promote the quality of life. A society that possesses quality of life will help to promote sustainable development. The waqf authority may consider various financial schemes and instruments appropriate to waqf real estate development. Strongly proposed the SIRC to set up its waqf corporate entity in the form of waqf holding or a waqf development corporation. He believes that the establishment of the waqf development corporation would enable the SIRC to arrange various finance schemes for the investment of waqf land. Then the councils will not be exposed to liabilities arising from a particular development. The hope is for the indoctorinism of professionism and to ensure effective management of waqf land. There are four main ideas which can be applied for the improvement of waqf institutions, namely internal financial control, transparency and reporting, management of funds and code of Good Governance. Besides, there is a need concerning legal reformation of waqf, whereby the government of Muslim countries should consider to re-evaluate waqf acts. Furthermore, educational institutions have a role pertaining to educate people to be aware of

creating better people with better quality of life. Then the attention to waqf institutions gradually can be improved. Hopefully, the findings of this research could help in improving the performance of waqf institutions in the future and they will be able to promote sustainable development especially among the Muslim communities.

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Caspian Sea Route Gains Traction in Changing Regional Dynamics

By Biswarup Baidya

Introduction- Aimed at boosting connectivity and cargo transportation between Central Asia and South Caucasus, Kazakhstan Government on June 23rd 2023 announced establishment of a jointly owned logistics company along with Azerbaijan and Georgia. A bilateral agreement was signed during Kazakhstan Prime Minister Alikhan Smailov's visit to Baku with his Azerbaijani counterpart Ali Asadov. Georgia, is expected to sign the agreement soon. The company's primary goal is to transfer freight between China and Europe using the Trans-Caspian International Transport Route (TITR), which is also called as the Middle Corridor. It also aims to reduce transportation tariffs and increase connectivity efficiency by streamlining procedures with digital means. This route seeks to reduce delivery time between Chinese territory and Europe from current 18-23 days to 10-15 days.[1] A large part of the rail traffic from China and Central Asia to Europe passes through Russia.

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Biswarup Baidya

I. Introduction

Aimed at boosting connectivity and cargo transportation between Central Asia and South Caucasus, Kazakhstan Government on June 23rd 2023 announced establishment of a jointly owned logistics company along with Azerbaijan and Georgia. A bilateral agreement was signed during Kazakhstan Prime Minister Alikhan Smailov's visit to Baku with his Azerbaijani counterpart Ali Asadov. Georgia, is expected to sign the agreement soon. The company's primary goal is to transfer freight between China and Europe using the Trans-Caspian International Transport Route (TITR), which is also called as the Middle Corridor. It also aims to reduce transportation tariffs and increase connectivity efficiency by streamlining procedures with digital means. This route seeks to reduce delivery time between Chinese territory and Europe from current 18-23 days to 10-15 days.[1] A large part of the rail traffic from China and Central Asia to Europe passes through Russia. However, due to sanctions imposed on Russia following the Ukraine crisis, Central Asian and South Caucasian countries seeking for alternative routes. The TITR, or Middle Corridor is therefore gaining popularity as a key East-West link and holds immense potential to boost economic growth across the regions.[2]

II. Middle Corridor and Changing Regional Dynamics

Source: www.middlecorridor.com

The Middle Corridor is a multimodal transportation corridor that runs from China through Kazakhstan, partially through Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, and across the Caspian Sea to the Black Sea via Azerbaijan and Georgia. From there, two routes reach Europe via Turkey and Black Sea. It consists mainly of around 4,250 km of rail lines and approximately 500 kilometers of waterway.[3] Since the Ukraine crisis, cargo volumes via the Middle Corridor has more than doubled as compared to 2021, reaching 1.5 million tons in 2022, while shipping volume along the conventional Northern Route via Russia decreased by

Author: e-mail: biswarupofficial97@gmail.com

[1] (2023, June 22). Air flights increase and Trans-Caspian International Transport Route development: 10 documents signed during visit of Alikhan Smailov to Azerbaijan - Official Information Source of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Retrieved August 4, 2023, from https://primeminister.kz/en/news/air-flights-increase-and-trans-caspian-international-transport-route-development-10-documents-signed-during-visit-of-alikhan-smailov-to-azerbaijan-24512

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[3] Walter, W. (n.d.). *Challenges and opportunities of the Middle Corridor – German Economic Team.* German Economic Team. Retrieved August 24, 2023, from https://www.german-economic-team.com/en/newsletter/challenges-and-opportunities-of-the-middle-corridor/

34%. According to analyses by German Economic Team, the transit volume might increase to between 15 and 18 million tonnes by 2030.[4]

The Middle Corridor has become an appealing economic route for Central Asian and South Caucasian countries not just because it provides a direct link to Europe via Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Georgia, but also because it reduces the reliance on Russia and Iran. For that reason, several countries in Central Asia and Caucasus regions such as Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Georgia, have expressed support for the Middle Corridor, leading to collaboration among various business consortia focused on improving speed and ease of transportation across these regions.

Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan, which are mainly involved in the Middle Corridor transit, are also strengthening their connectivity through the development of various ports including Aktau Seaport of Kazakhstan and Alyat Seaport of Azerbaijan.[5]

Similarly, Uzbekistan is also interested in engaging with Azerbaijan in efforts to expand connectivity in the Caspian Sea region for developing linkages with Europe through the "Middle Corridor".[6]

The government of Kazakhstan has taken steps to further improve ties with Turkey, the European Union, and China to diversify its trade routes.[7] Earlier in March 2023, the 'Kazpost' Kazakhstan's national postal service, 'WEA Transport GmBH' a German rail company, and 'Huapengfei Company Limited' a Chinese domestic logistics provider signed a memorandum on March 2023 to address the logistical issues on the Middle Corridor.[8]

China has also been seeking new routes to Europe, alternative to the China-Europe Railway Express, which uses Russian lines such as the Northern Corridor that connects Russia and China's Pacific ports to Europe. In February 2023, representatives from the Chinese and Kazakh railway industries signed a bilateral agreement regarding cargo transportation via rail through the Middle Corridor.[9] The agreement focuses on exchanging information about freight movements utilizing advanced technology, coordinating activities at container ports, improving physical connections, and enhancing transcontinental travel capacity across the Middle Corridor.

III. Why Middle Corridor is Important for Kazakhstan?

The development of the TITR, or the Middle Corridor and Central Asian regional cooperation are most important agenda for Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan believes that the TITR route holds significant potential for the involved countries as this corridor links the Central Asian and Caucasus's key economic hubs to each other and connects Central Asian landlocked countries to other Eurasian and global markets. As the biggest economy in the region, Kazakhstan is turning towards the Caucasus not only to further strengthen partnerships but also to seek support for the TITR, along with Azerbaijan and Georgia.

From a Kazakhstan's perspective, the Middle Corridor presents an opportunity to boost energy exports to Europe. After the Russian-Ukraine crisis, there is a clear demand in Europe for alternatives to Russian energy, the EU is looking for more energy imports from Central Asia. Kazakhstan, along with other Central Asian countries and even Caucasian countries like Azerbaijan, want to expand its energy export.[10] In 2022, German crude oil imports from Kazakhstan was at 8.2 million tons, which was 10% higher than the previous year, and likely to increase in 2023. Kazakhstan supplied 90,000 tons of crude oil to Germany through the sanctions-exempt Russian pipeline Druzhba's southern branch during February-April 2023, replacing Russian supplies.[11] Kazakhstan also reached an agreement with Azerbaijan in early 2023 to annually ship up to 1.5 million tons of Kazakh oil through the South Caucasus, most of it bound for Europe. Kazakhstan hopes to transfer 1.5 million tons of oil (Approx 2-3% of Kazakhstan's total oil exports) to Europe by 2023 via the Middle Corridor, as part of its attempts to diversify transport routes.[12] For

[4] Ibid

[5] (2023, June 17). The rise of the Middle Corridor: What is India's response? | ORF. Retrieved August 22, 2023, from https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/the-rise-of-the-middle-corridor/

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[10] NAKHLE, C. (2023, June 2). Kazakhstan may improve the EU energy security. GIS Reports. Retrieved August 16, 2023, from https://www.gisreportsonline.com/r/eu-energy-security/

[11] Kumar, V. (n.d.). *Central Asia, the new corridor - Gateway House*. Gateway House Indian Council on Global Relations. Retrieved August 4, 2023, from https://www.gatewayhouse.in/central-asia-the-new-corridor/#_ftn6

[12] Abbasova, V. (2023, July 14). Kazakhstan Increases Oil Exports via Azerbaijan. *Caspian News*. https://caspiannews.com/news-detail/kazakhstan-increases-oil-exports-via-azerbaijan-2023-7-13-16/

Kazakhstan, the Middle Corridor can bring foreign investments, profits, create jobs, improve country's international image, and give an opportunity to diversify its economy.

Additionally, cultural ties between Kazakhstan and the Caucasian countries are strong, particularly between Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, given their shared Turkish heritage. Kazakhstan and some Caucasian states also share membership of several organizations, including the Organization of Turkic States, the Eurasian Economic Union, and the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Turkey, also interested in the development and usage of the Middle Corridor. On May 10th 2022, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan during his meeting with Kazakh President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev in Turkey, both the president discussed the importance of the Middle Corridor and said both the country is willing to enhance cooperation and implement joint infrastructure projects to capitalize the potential of this transport corridor.[13]

For the EU the Middle Corridor is a potential trade route to reach expanding markets of Central Asia and the Caucasus region. Countries like Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Georgia can help to mitigate the Europe's energy needs by supplying Oil and Gas through the Middle Corridor. German President Frank-Walter Steinmeier during his visit to Kazakhstan in June 2023 described the Middle Corridor as an alternative transport route for goods between Asia and Europe that is geared to the future.[14]

IV. Challenges

There are several challenges around the Middle Corridor that needs to be addressed to make the route popular among freight transporters. The underdeveloped infrastructure and transfer services, border-crossing delays are among the bottlenecks. The Middle Corridor has played a relatively minor role in world commerce so far compared to the Northern Route due to limited capacity and higher costs. Despite the significant increase in trade volumes, currently the Middle Corridor's capacity can only cover less than 10%

of the transport traffic between the EU and China, and it is more expensive as compared to the Northern Corridor. China is one of the biggest investor in the Central Asian region, it is investing heavily in infrastructure and connectivity projects including the TITR. For developing the TITR to its full potential Chinese investments and cooperation might play an important role, but taking in to account China's current economic slowdown there is a possibility that it can impact the developments of the new trade route if Chinese economic growth continues to reduce.[15]

V. Conclusion

The geopolitical and geo-economic attractiveness of the Middle Corridor is that, it is a short and secure route, approximately 2,000 kilometers shorter than the Northern Corridor, which passes through Russia.[16] The Middle Corridor helps in mitigating the risks, uncertainties, and sanctions connected with transit through Russia. Several multinational logistics companies are already using the Middle Corridor.[17] Both Western Countries and China view the establishment of alternative routes through the Middle Corridor as an opportunity to expand their influence. Due to recent changes in political conditions following the Russian-Ukrainian crisis, it appears that the Middle Corridor is getting attention, and its usage may increase because of current regional dynamics.

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[13] *Joint Statement of President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Kassym-Jomart Tokayev and President of The Republic of Türkiye Recep Tayyip Erdoğan On Enhanced Strategic Partnership — Official website of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan*. (2022, May 10). Akorda.kz. Retrieved August 4, 2023, from https://www.akorda.kz/en/joint-statement-of-president-of-the-republic-of-kazakhstan-kassym-jomart-tokayev-and-president-of-the-republic-of-trkiye-recep-tayyip-erdoan-on-enhanced-strategic-partnership-104238

[14] Kumar, V. (n.d.). *Central Asia, the new corridor - Gateway House*. Gateway House Indian Council on Global Relations. Retrieved August 4, 2023, from https://www.gatewayhouse.in/central-asia-the-new-corridor/#_ftn5

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1. Authors must go through the complete author guideline and understand and *agree to Global Journals' ethics and code of conduct,* along with author responsibilities.
2. Authors must accept the privacy policy, terms, and conditions of Global Journals.
3. Ensure corresponding author's email address and postal address are accurate and reachable.
4. Manuscript to be submitted must include keywords, an abstract, a paper title, co-author(s') names and details (email address, name, phone number, and institution), figures and illustrations in vector format including appropriate captions, tables, including titles and footnotes, a conclusion, results, acknowledgments and references.
5. Authors should submit paper in a ZIP archive if any supplementary files are required along with the paper.
6. Proper permissions must be acquired for the use of any copyrighted material.
7. Manuscript submitted *must not have been submitted or published elsewhere* and all authors must be aware of the submission.

Declaration of Conflicts of Interest

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- Words (language)
- Ideas
- Findings
- Writings
- Diagrams
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- Illustrations
- Lectures

- Printed material
- Graphic representations
- Computer programs
- Electronic material
- Any other original work

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2. Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.
3. Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

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The corresponding author should mention the name and complete details of all co-authors during submission and in manuscript. We support addition, rearrangement, manipulation, and deletions in authors list till the early view publication of the journal. We expect that corresponding author will notify all co-authors of submission. We follow COPE guidelines for changes in authorship.

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

Acknowledgments

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

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PREPARING YOUR MANUSCRIPT

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

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

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

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

Structure and Format of Manuscript

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

A research paper must include:

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

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

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

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

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

Format Structure

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

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

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

Author details

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

Abstract

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

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

Keywords

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

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

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

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

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

Numerical Methods

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

Abbreviations

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

Formulas and equations

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

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

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

Figures

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

PREPARATION OF ELETRONIC FIGURES FOR PUBLICATION

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

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

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

TIPS FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PAPER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

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

Final points:

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

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

The discussion section:

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

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

General style:

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

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

Mistakes to avoid:

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

Title page:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Introduction:

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

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

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

Approach:

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

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

Procedures (methods and materials):

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

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

Materials:

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

Methods:

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

Approach:

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

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

What to keep away from:

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

Results:

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

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

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

Content:

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

What to stay away from:

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

Approach:

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

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

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

Figures and tables:

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

Discussion:

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

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

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

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BY GLOBAL JOURNALS

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

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