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## The Theory Behind the Concept of Socialism: The Case of China

By Mateus Furtado Andrade

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**Abstract-** This paper evaluates the socialist character of contemporary China through the lens of Marxist theory and dialectical materialism. Considering seminal works by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, it is argued that the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) project of a "socialist market economy," while demonstrably distinct from pure capitalism, does not yet constitute socialism. For instance, the reintroduction of capitalist relations was deemed necessary by prominent CCP figures and Chinese intellectuals, including Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jin Huiming, Chen Yun, and Xue Muqiao, as a means to enhance the productivity of the Chinese economy. This enhanced productivity was considered imperative for achieving the future initial phase of socialist development. China's present constitution is an evidence of this process, showing internal contradictions between both modes of production. This is due to the quantitative and qualitative changes that emerged on China's economic and political realms which can signalize a sublation.

**Keywords:** china, socialism, marxism, socialist market economy, dialectical materialism.

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# The Theory behind the Concept of Socialism: The Case of China

Mateus Furtado Andrade

**Abstract-** This paper evaluates the socialist character of contemporary China through the lens of Marxist theory and dialectical materialism. Considering seminal works by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, it is argued that the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) project of a "socialist market economy," while demonstrably distinct from pure capitalism, does not yet constitute socialism. For instance, the reintroduction of capitalist relations was deemed necessary by prominent CCP figures and Chinese intellectuals, including Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, Jin Huiming, Chen Yun, and Xue Muqiao, as a means to enhance the productivity of the Chinese economy. This enhanced productivity was considered imperative for achieving the future initial phase of socialist development. China's present constitution is an evidence of this process, showing internal contradictions between both modes of production. This is due to the quantitative and qualitative changes that emerged on China's economic and political realms which can signalize a sublation.

**Keywords:** china, socialism, marxism, socialist market economy, dialectical materialism.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The question of whether China remains socialist or not is frequently posed. Nonetheless, few pay attention to the own Marxist and Chinese perspective towards the political and economic system of socialism. Given this, is it correct to define China as socialist? Relying on the Marxist definitions of socialism and capitalism, this paper analyzes the consistency of the socialism proclaimed by the Communist Party of China and the inherent capitalist contradictions within the Chinese regime, such as the increasing prevalence of market relations.

## II. METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

The methodology adopted is the case study approach. In simple words, it is a qualitative method whose investigation focuses on the case's context by gathering empirical data over a variety of sources (BAXTER; JACK, 2008, p.544). George and Bennett (2005) argue that case studies are appealing to explore causality because it unfolds the dynamics of particular cases, its mechanisms and the variables that caused a

certain political outcome. In this case, "what causes a country to be socialist?". Likewise, case studies may uncover or refine a theory about a particular causal mechanism (GEORGE; BENNETT, 2005, p.31).

Initially, this paper will establish the definitions of socialism and capitalism through a literature review of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Subsequently, drawing upon the work of authors such as Domenico Losurdo, Elias Jabbour, Isabella Weber, Jin Huiming, Chen Yun and Xue Muqiao, the concept of socialist market economy will be investigated. Finally, this paper will consider some declarations of Chinese leaders and the Chinese constitution. The theoretical framework employed here is dialectical materialism.

## III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Dialectical materialism is the basis of Marxist thought and its application to understand the conditions of change in social reality is referred to as historical materialism. It is an ontology that defines the essence of both nature and human society as matter. Furthermore, matter does not exist as a static entity but rather as a dynamic process. Its existence is determined by its concatenations and manifests exclusively through movement, that is, through dialectics (ENGELS, 1975, pp.57-58).

Both nature and society are governed by the same dialectical laws. And dialectics (movement) operates through three principles: a) The law of conversion of quantity into quality and vice versa; b) the law of the interpenetration of opposites; c) the law of the negation of the negation (the contradiction/conflict/apparent resumption of the old in a higher existence). These laws were first described by Hegel in his idealist mode as a simple law of thought (logic) and not of being (matter), using the concept of *Aufhebung*: sublation, that is, to negate, affirm, and elevate to a new existence at the same time (ENGELS, 2020, p.111).

This perspective stands in contrast to the metaphysical approach, which conceives the phenomena and their conceptual representations as discrete, static, and immutable entities. These are considered individually, one by one, and as inherently given and unchanging. In essence, metaphysical thought understands reality as devoid of dynamism and its concepts are akin to a photo frozen in time, isolated from everything else, and assumed to possess universal validity (ENGELS, 1975, p.57). And how should one

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proceed? Any analysis should consider that each thing (being) possesses qualitative and quantitative characteristics that impact and transform each other, where quantitative changes lead to qualitative changes, gradually, step by step, until a specific point where the contradictions lead to a qualitative leap, that is, the negation of the negation.

Therefore, the transition from capitalism to socialism is not conceived as a sudden break but rather as a dialectical process, that is, it would start from the negation of the negation of capitalism, where socialism would inherit the high points of the preceding political-social order that was negated and overthrown (LOSURDO, 2019, p. 43), and would be an apparent return to the old, with the repetition at a higher stage of certain traits and properties of a lower stage (LENIN, 2017, p. 234). Thus, the new society does not develop through its own foundations, but, on the contrary, brings from birth the economic, moral, and spiritual marks of the old society from whose womb it emerged (MARX, 2023, p.29). This explains the seemingly paradoxical coexistence of capitalist elements with novel and distinctive characteristics within the Chinese experience.

#### IV. WHAT IS CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM

The mode of production is a category that allows us to understand the specific form of interaction between the productive forces and the social relations that hegemonize and shape the material basis of the reproduction of society, for long periods (JABBOUR; GABRIELE, 2021, p.68).

In other words, there is a qualitatively specific, consistent, and stable core, a general and dynamic determination that characterizes a mode of production of a society. It is obvious that for each country there is a certain type of capitalism, but this does not mean that these types are fundamentally distinct: there is the same process that manifests itself in different ways according to the historical and geographical context, but whose content is the same.

What is this content that would define capitalism as one thing, despite its distinct manifestations and apparent differences? Drawing upon key texts such as *The Communist Manifesto*, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, *Capital*, Volume I: *The Process of Production of Capital*, and the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, the core characteristics of capitalism include: (a) the pervasive generalization of the commodity form across all aspects of human life, supplanting alternative modes of social relations; (b) the private ownership of the means of production and the labor exploitation by the owner class; (c) the anarchic nature of production, driven by market mechanisms as currency, price, supply, and demand; (d) the control of the state apparatus by the bourgeoisie; and (e) the

imperative for the ceaseless expansion and realization of capital (MARX, 2008; 2015; 2017; 2023).

These characteristics are necessarily present across various manifestations of capitalism, including neoliberal, Keynesian, economic nationalist/mercantilist regimes, dependent peripheral capitalism and welfare states.

On the other hand, the concept of socialism presents a greater complexity in definition. This is due, in part, to its pre-Marxist origins, where the term encompassed a diverse range of social movements, including some with reactionary or religious tendencies (MARX, 2008, pp.41-50). Marx and Engels, for instance, identified themselves as proponents of scientific socialism, or communism, and did not delineate a distinct intermediate mode of production during the period in which a communist society would become consolidated.

According to their view, socialism constitutes a process initiated by a proletarian revolution and the subsequent seizure of state power. This process entails the socialization of the means of production and the development of social production to a point where social classes become anachronistic. Simultaneously, the consolidation of socialism/communism occurs when:

[...] the anarchy of social production vanishes, the political authority of the state dies away. Men, at last masters of their own mode of social organization, consequently become at the same time masters of nature, masters of themselves — -- free (ENGELS, 1975, p.85).

This intermediate period they define as the first phase of the communist society, a moment when the inequalities persist and one cannot make justice and equality. What changes in this period is the graduate abolition of the right of private property of the means of production (LENIN, 2017, p.118; MARX, 2023, p.31).

From this, the higher phase of the communist society emerges:

[...] after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labor, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labor, has vanished; after labor has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-around development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly — only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs! (LENIN, 2017, pp.120-121; MARX, 2023, pp.31-32).

Finally, Engels posits that the consolidation of communism is concurrent with the withering away of the state and its oppressive nature (LENIN, 2017, p.121; ENGELS, 2023, pp.159-160). For its turn, the one who has made the distinction between socialism and communism is Lenin, more for rhetorical and political

intrigues against anarchists than for theoretical issues (LENIN, 2017, pp.84-88).

He characterized socialism as the "first phase" of communist society, as envisioned by Marx and Engels (LENIN, 2017, p.119). But Lenin's definition allows us for the delineation of the materialist-dialectical process involved in the transition from the capitalist mode of production to the communist mode of production. Thus, there would not be a socialist mode of production per se. Instead, the transition involves a process of qualitative and quantitative transformation (rule 1), characterized by the presence of contradictory elements (rule 2), constituting the negation of the negation of capitalism (sublation/aufhebung - rule 3), wherein socialism inherits and builds upon the advanced elements of the preceding political and social order, while simultaneously superseding it.

This dynamic involves an apparent return to certain aspects of the old order, with the re-emergence, at a higher stage of development, of specific traits and properties from a previous stage. Thus, it is to be expected that some of these characteristics would be present: a) private property coexisting with other forms of property; b) the commodity form, being gradually replaced by other forms that prioritize the free universalization of the conditions of existence; c) the continuity of the law of value despite the planned economy, in contrast to the anarchy of production; d) the control of the State by the proletarian class organized in the communist party; e) the need for the increasingly profound development of the productive forces to overcome those of capitalism.

Since socialism is not a static concept and it has not yet fully developed its own content, not even the Soviet-style central planning of the economy can define it once for all. Furthermore, prices and the law of value still constitute the predominant form of systemic regulation in the short term, since it is what regulates the relationship between productive and unproductive labor (JABBOUR; GABRIELE, 2021, pp.111-112).

Even so, socialism is distinct from capitalism, since there is a legal structure of property that intervenes in the dynamics of the law of value which also undergoes an important role of state economic planning, carried out through state-owned enterprises and indirectly through public finances and other monetary instruments, qualitatively and quantitatively superior to those of capitalist countries, in what Elias Jabbour (2021) called the new economy of projection (*nova economia do projetamento*) and which adapts to a global scenario dominated by the capitalist mode of production. And here there is an additional crucial point that must be addressed: the consolidation of the communist mode of production cannot be achieved within a single nation: it is impossible to consolidate the communist mode of production only in one country: it is

imperative that the new mode of production turns global in order to substitute capitalism.

## V. HOW THE CHINESE DEFINE THEIR GOALS?

According to Losurdo (2019), Engels, shortly before his death, recognized that large-scale industry, a product of capitalist development, was essential for the defense of the revolution against external threats and for the prosecution of war. This realization created a political imperative for nations seeking to avoid domination to develop their own industrial capacity, even if that meant adopting capitalist methods. This predicament highlights the challenge faced by socialists who, upon gaining power, must industrialize their nations to close the gap with more advanced countries. This necessity can lead to a slowing of the socialization of the means of production and an increase in the inequalities and exploitative practices inherent in capitalism (LOSURDO, 2019, p. 59).

Confronted with the precarious circumstances surrounding the victory of the Chinese Revolution, which simultaneously faced both Japanese imperialism and the nationalist forces, Mao Zedong asserted that liberation against colonialism and neocolonialism would only happen with the modernization of the country (LOSURDO, 2019, p. 60). In response to the dilemma, Mao Zedong developed Mao Zedong Thought (Maoism), positing that a phase of "new democracy" was a necessary precursor to socialist transformation. Due to its international character, in the first phase the revolution of a colony or semi-colony is fundamentally a bourgeois-democratic revolution, and in practice its objective is to clear the ground for the development of capitalism; however, this revolution is no longer the revolution of the old type led by the bourgeoisie and which aims at the construction of a capitalist society and a State of bourgeois dictatorship, but the revolution of a new type, led by the proletariat and which aims at the construction, in a first moment, of a society of new democracy and a State of joint dictatorship of the various revolutionary classes (LOSURDO, 2019, p.61).

While the Marxian conception of socialism defines it as a transitional phase, Mao Zedong posited a "transition of the transition," wherein socialism, rather than being abandoned or superseded, became a long-term objective due to the specific geopolitical, economic, and social realities confronting the CPC government. This is so essential for Mao that even during the Great Leap Forward and the drive to establish people's communes, a period marked by a prevailing idealist leftist tendency, he acknowledged the continued utility of commodity-based production as a means of enhancing productivity and promoting economic development (HUIMING, 2017, p86).

Given the fragility of the new system proposed by the revolution, it was not possible for the CPC to implement exclusively socialist ownership, and commodity relations had to exist in certain fields. Based on a realistic view of the very low level of productivity of his time, Mao Zedong emphasized that:

[...] the idea of abolishing commodity-based production and mercantile exchange prematurely, and denying the positive effects of commodity, value, money and price, would be detrimental to the development and consolidation of socialism (HUIMING, 2017, p.86).

Echoing his predecessor's emphasis on development, and capitalizing on the opening created by Nixon's administration to break China's isolation, Deng Xiaoping maintained that genuine political independence required, first and foremost, liberation from poverty. Furthermore, it necessitated bridging the technological gap that separated China from other major powers. In essence, the policy of market opening and reform was essential to gain access to advanced technologies and techniques, integrate into the global economy, and ultimately diminish the power differential between China and core nations, thereby safeguarding its independence and sovereignty against Western influence (HUIMING, 2017, p.87).

Asked about the question of what socialism is and how to build it, Deng Xiaoping replied that the essence of socialism is the predominance of public ownership and the common prosperity of all people. For this, socialism has two requirements: that the economy be controlled by public power and that there be no political polarization. With this in mind, it is fundamental to have the development of the productive forces, the expansion of socialist public property and the increase of people's income (HUIMING, 2017, p.87).

## VI. JUSTIFICATION FOR A SOCIALIST MARKET ECONOMY

In the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, with the ideological and political decline of the Soviet Union, which faced the beginning of its collapse, the question of market-based economic development became paramount for China, largely to avoid isolation within the increasingly neoliberal globalized system.

This change was consciously decided by the party's own leadership, not only due the international impositions, but also because of the unsolved problems within the centralized planned economy of the Soviet Union and its delay compared to western economies: 'the gradual creation of China's dual-track reform relied in part on the experience in market creation by the old revolutionaries and local authorities' (WEBER, 2021, p.71).

In turn, long before the Soviet collapse, still in the revolutionary period, Chen Yun (1995), one of the most important figures of CPC, reveals that the priority

of the revolution was never to achieve an ideal of socialism incompatible with the pragmatism necessary in extreme conditions. Not even the destruction of a historical category like the market, which has been present in the history of human civilization since its beginnings, was an inexorable requirement for the emergence of the new mode of production. For him, the justifications for adopting market socialism and acceptance of a bourgeois class were rational and can be summarized in four points:

1. This policy will contribute to the rehabilitation of the national economy. Most capitalist enterprises were dedicated to light industry in the production of basic necessities; if we have manufactured items suitable for daily use to exchange for agricultural products with peasants, the worker-peasant alliance will be strengthened; [...]
2. It is necessary and in the interest of the State and the people to pay the national capitalists a fixed annual interest of 5 percent on their total capital valued for a period of time after the conversion of industrial and commercial capitalist enterprises into joint state-private enterprises. The national capitalists passed the test of the struggle against the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries and did not oppose the agrarian reform. They joined our efforts in the war to resist US aggression and aid Korea and in economic rehabilitation. They passed the test of socialist transformation, that is, the conversion of industrial and commercial capitalist enterprises into joint state-private enterprises, on a trade-to-trade basis, last January. [...]
3. Most capitalists and their representatives possess production technology and management knowledge. [...] We are building socialism in a vast nation of 600 million people, which requires us to work correctly and prudently. [...] Any error in this work will lead to chaos in the socialist transformation. [...] The cooperative transformation of agriculture and handicrafts and the socialist transformation of capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises are an extremely complicated and fierce struggle involving the entire Chinese people. [...] The four reasons mentioned above show that the redemption policy is beneficial to the State, to the people and also to the working class.' (CHEN, 1995, pp.48-53).

For Chen Yun, the capitalists served their purpose in the Chinese revolution, but not entirely in relation to the Chinese socialist project. A very clear vision was needed of how the revitalization of the capitalist special zones would be carried out and the relationship with the people of those who were "allowed" to profit because, otherwise, there was a very great chance of losing control of the CPC over the Chinese economy and politics.

It is easy to fall into a false equivalence with a counter-revolution when it comes to Chinese reforms, as if relying on the market meant only one thing: bourgeoisie in power. Many times the debates and abstractions of concepts lead to understanding that it was simply a resumption of capitalism, an assault on the communist project, led by a dominant bourgeois class. However, as extensively documented by Isabella Weber,



the reality is that the Chinese Communist Party leadership, well-versed in Marxist theory, were the primary proponents of utilizing market mechanisms to advance the productive forces. They conceived this as a necessary step towards socialist consolidation, a perspective that informed the debates and formulations of economic reforms from the inception of the revolution (WEBER, 2021, p.71).

Another important leader, Xue Muqiao, described the stage in which the Chinese found themselves in 1980 as being too immature and imperfect for the consolidation of socialism, industrialization, and the collectivization of the countryside, since peasants still represented more than 80% of the population. There was still "a long way to go before reaching the first phase of communism envisioned by Marx in his Critique of the Gotha Programme. (MUQIAO, 1986, p.25).

*The Author then Develops the Following Reflection:*

Today, there are still more than two million private farms in the United States, an indication that even in highly developed capitalist countries, the situation after the victory of the socialist revolution will be far more complicated than described in the passages about the first phase of communism in the Critique of the Gotha Programme. China used to be a country dominated by small producers who engaged in partially self-sufficient production through manual labor. To develop China's socialist economy, we must take this context into account and skillfully combine principle with flexibility, rather than dogmatically adhering to the conclusions of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin; mechanically copying their models would lead to the ossification of China's socialist economy. (MUQIAO, 1986, p.25).

Although the trajectory of the Chinese project diverged from the anticipated path outlined by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the Chinese revolutionary experience has nonetheless generated both qualitative and quantitative transformations. Consistent with Marxist theoretical projections, China has, from its inception, prioritized the quantitative advancement of productive forces as a means to achieve a qualitative leap (Aufhebung). This pursuit has involved the strategic implementation of a degree of private enterprise and alliances with capitalist groups, resulting in a hybrid ownership structure blending private and public forms. This approach facilitated the creation of markets, employment opportunities, and, significantly, improvements in the material well-being of the population.

Given these outcomes, it is pertinent to consider the qualitative advancements accruing to the working class as a result of these reforms. After all, China has transitioned from a semi-feudal state marked by severe rural challenges to one that, by 2020, had eradicated extreme poverty. In terms of economic growth in the country, I cite data presented by Elias Jabbour and Alberto Gabriele in China: Socialism in the 21st Century:

China's economic growth from 1980 to 2019 was exceptional: the average real GDP growth rate in this period was 9.2% per year. For more than four decades, the country has grown above the international average, almost uninterruptedly [...]. For more than 35 years, the average per capita GDP growth rate in China reached an average of 9% per year. Per capita income (by Purchasing Power Parity) went from just US\$250.00 in 1980 to US\$8,827.00 in 2018, that is, it grew 36 times! This process was accompanied by a high investment rate, averaging 36.9% of GDP between 1982 and 2011 and above 40% from 2004 onwards (JABBOUR; GABRIELE, 2021, p.143).

## VII. CHINESE SOCIALISM VIEWED BY ITS LEGAL SYSTEM

For Marx, legal relations cannot be explained by themselves, since these relations originate in the material conditions of existence, that is, in Political Economy:

[...] the real basis on which a legal and political superstructure arises and to which correspond determined forms of social consciousness (MARX, 2008, p.47).

A disjunction arises when legal relations fail to adapt to evolving productive structures, thereby impeding development and potentially necessitating revolutionary action to realign the legal framework with economic realities. In the Chinese context, the revolution demonstrably transformed the legal system prior to the full maturation of the economic structure, resulting in a disparity between material conditions and the objectives of the revolutionary project. Consequently, Deng Xiaoping's reforms, including the 1982 constitution, entailed a regression of socializing legal provisions to facilitate the re-establishment of capitalist relations and establish the material preconditions for the initial phase of socialism.

According to the constitution, the People's Republic of China defines itself politically as a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship, led by the proletariat class and founded on the alliance between workers and peasants. For this document, the defining trait of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (article 1) which applies the principle of democratic centralism, which is also applied in all organs of the State (article 3).

In the economy, China defines the foundation of socialism as being the public ownership of the means of production. According to article 6, socialist public property replaces the system of exploitation of man by man, applying the principle: "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work". However, in the same article, it is understood that China is still far from the first stage of socialism, in which public property is not the only one, but the dominant one. This means that diverse forms of property develop, side by side, including capitalist property.



According to Article 7 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, the state-owned sector of the economy is the leading force in the national economy, and the State is charged with ensuring the growth of the state-owned sector and strengthening the public ownership of the means of production. Furthermore, socialist public property is sacred and inviolable, and any appropriation or damage to State and collectively owned property by any organization or individual is prohibited (Article 12).

Regarding the relationship with the private sector of the economy, Article 11 provides that the private sectors of the economy, which constitute an important component of the market socialist economy, shall operate within the limits prescribed by law. The State protects the lawful rights and interests of the non-public sectors, and encourages, supports and guides their development. And thus, the civil right of private property is also inviolable, but the State may, in the public interest and in accordance with the law, expropriate or requisition private property for its use and compensate for the expropriation or requisition (Article 13).

The existence and protection of both properties occur because the State practices the socialist market economy (Article 15) which not only seeks to strengthen and improve the regulation and control of the macroeconomy, but also seeks to continuously raise labor productivity, economic performance and the development of productive forces, by raising the enthusiasm of the working people and their level of technical qualification, promoting science and technology, as well as improving economic management and the operations of enterprises, establishing the socialist system of responsibility to improve the organization of work (Article 14). Finally, and no less importantly, the Republic of China also allows foreign enterprises and other economic organizations and individuals to invest in China and enter into various forms of economic cooperation with Chinese enterprises (Article 18).

## VIII. CONCLUSION

The basis of Marxism-Leninism is the notion that everything operates from the sublation, in the sense that changes in reality and politics only occur through the accumulation of quantitative changes that generate qualitative transformations and vice versa; from the interpenetration of opposites in the same being and in the negation of the negation, that is, the affirmation of the high points of the old being and the innovation of new characteristics that elevate it to a superior existence.

Given the Chinese experience, it is not absurd that there are certain contradictory characteristics of capitalism in its socialism. Correctly, it is almost a

necessity that the new being is born from the old and still maintains certain old qualities, despite a new and distinct existence, even more so if we take into account the political events after the fall of the Soviet bloc.

There is a concrete objective that guides the Chinese Communist Party, this objective is reaffirmed by the Chinese people, on a path starting from the immediate to future projections aiming to reach the primary phase of socialism towards a more advanced phase; where public ownership is the basis that supports other forms of ownership together with a distribution that primarily aims at labor.

It is possible to argue that China today is not a socialist country or does not fulfill all the historical tasks of a so-called socialist country for a number of reasons in its development. However, this debate has been repeatedly stuck in readings without real historical movement, they fail to consider that such historical tasks of socialism are transitory and their characteristics change according to the needs of a specific era.

So, returning to the initial question, China is not socialist, first because even if we use Lenin's differentiation between socialism and communism, socialism is not a proper mode of production, but the process of transforming capitalist relations of production into communism, a process that are yet to occur in China. Second, if we use the concept of Marx and Engels, the Chinese leaders themselves confess that the country has not yet reached the prerequisites for the first stage of socialism. This is because there have been no quantitative and qualitative changes within the material conditions to make the qualitative leap towards socialism. This does not mean that we can say that China has abandoned this objective. Given what has been proposed by the Chinese Communist Party, the declarations of its main proponents and its current constitution, from the victory of the revolution until today, socialism with Chinese characteristics is a coherent socialist project. There is indeed a commitment to socialism, even if in the future there may be political changes in the country that deviate from this path.

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## Activities of the Regulatory State through Urgent Economic and Social Measures in Brazil, Peru and Argentina during Pandemic Times

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**GJHSS-F Classification:** LCC: HJ7461



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



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## INTRODUCTION

The debate on the responsibility of the State is constantly the subject of articles and academic studies. Its need is evident, especially in times of economic, social or health adversity. In 2020, the pandemic caused by the new Coronavirus (Covid 19) once again highlighted the discussion around the State's model of action.

In the first section, the analysis will be carried out from the perspective of two crises of global proportions, one economic that occurred in 2008 and the second, of health nature. Unlike an economic crises, whose measures are financial, health crises require political and social decisions, both to safeguard health and economic aspects.

The approach will be from a perspective of assessing economic and social impact measures. For this reason, the second section will address the State's responsibility and its interventions in Brazil, focusing on this country, and analyzing the actions of other Latin American countries, such as Peru and Argentina, in a comparative law analysis.

The role of the state as protector of fundamental rights and guarantees will be delimited to identify how it can act to contain crises. Thus, in the third section, a study on the different lines of the State's action rate should be taken into consideration for this analysis. The models addressed will be the minimal state, the intervening state and the regulatory state.

The study is based on a qualitative research and its objectives were presented in a descriptive form, since it will seek to describe, explain, classify, and clarify the issue, and exploratory, since it aims to improve ideas through information on the topic in focus.

## 1. GLOBAL CRISES: THE 2020 PANDEMIC AND THE 2008 ECONOMIC CRISIS

All nation-states go through difficult times, regardless of the nature of the crises, which can have a wide variety of origins, including economic, health and social, without prejudice to others with their own characteristics. These are difficult times for everyone who experiences them, and all of them require a rapid containment plan to minimize their negative effects. The two crises covered in this chapter were of global proportions and had social and economic consequences.

In contrast to health crises, economic crises require immediate, urgent measures, but these in turn involve another type of remedial method, whose focus is the stability of the financial system. In this article, we use the financial collapse of 2008 as a parameter for our study. The recipe for bankruptcy and economic decline in this case occurred when the demand for credit became high and banks proceeded with granting loans and financing, most of the time without collateral, in an uncontrolled spiral.

The constant and easy use of credit, combined with the burden of the commitment to pay installments, made it difficult to maintain the settlement of debts with banking institutions, leading debtors to fail to settle their

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commitments to banks. Added to this was the devaluation of commodity prices and their low demand, paving the way for the 2008 economic crisis.

The United States, considered the pivot of the crisis, reacted immediately, and the state provided assistance to banks and other institutions on the brink of bankruptcy. Regardless of the reason, whether to remedy the harmful effects or to avoid social consequences reminiscent of the 1929 crisis, the state once again intervened in private capital.

Brazil was directly affected, resulting in a reduction in international liquidity and credit lines, which consequently led to a drop in household consumption and widespread debt. Not only Brazil, but given the globalized business chain, all countries that had any commercial relations with the United States suffered their share of disadvantages.

Measures had to be taken immediately to contain the crisis, and one of them was to make market rules more flexible to adapt them to the needs of the financial system's recovery, which had collapsed. Adapting because market rules, for example, could easily be modified to facilitate economic flow, and innovating because it would require a new way of thinking about existing markets, such as reversing capital flows. Some of these innovative changes were the way derivatives were traded and the transformation of corporate debts into tradable assets.

However, the most notable actions concern those that involve the direct participation of the State, that is, fiscal policies. In Brazil, the changes were in the fiscal, credit and monetary areas. Changes in fiscal rules are essential for the recovery of the economy and investor confidence. The Brazilian government initially decided to increase the primary surplus target as a remedial measure.

The measures to face the crisis demonstrate the government's concern in maintaining demand capacity with policies to stimulate consumption, which, associated with the macroeconomic solidity provided by the floating exchange rate, the considerable volume of external reserves, the de-dollarized external debt, inflation under control, the primary surplus and lower leverage in the financial system, reduced the exposure of the national financial system to the international crisis, at least initially. (RAMOS, GONÇALVES, 2017, p. 15)

It is important to emphasize that the social impacts suffered in 2008 were different in nature from crises that focus on humanitarian issues, such as health crises. They are reflections of the main cause, which focuses on economic activity, causing society to suffer damages such as high unemployment, lower wages and a low human development index, not to mention the slowdown in growth and the lack of progress on the environmental agenda.

In contrast, the containment of health crises has at its forefront socio-humanitarian concerns and the

maintenance of the population's well-being, and nevertheless, economic stability is a strategic factor in enabling the search for minimum levels of civilization. "The materialization of social rights occurs, therefore, with the implementation of guarantees, for all citizens, of a level of education, well-being and social security, equivalent to the need to compensate for inequalities produced, often, by economic factors" (POMPEU, ANDRADE, 2011).

In 2020, a pandemic began, perhaps one of the biggest in history and certainly the biggest of the century, only equivalent to the Spanish fever epidemic in 1917/18. At the end of 2019, China was faced with a new version of an already known virus, which would soon become known to the rest of the world.

Starting in February 2020, Brazil would experience for itself how fatal and devastating this discovery would be. The new Coronavirus (COVID-19), thus named, quickly spread throughout all Brazilian states, requiring the Government to take quick and effective measures. Data from the epidemiological bulletin of the Health Department of the State of Ceará, dated May 19 of this year, reported a total of 16,792 deaths from Covid-19 in Brazil, 254,220 cases, with 26,951 cases and 1,847 deaths in the State of Ceará alone.

## II. THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF STATES IN THE FACE OF THE 2020 PANDEMIC

### a) *Brazilian Performance*

As seen in the previous section, both crises described brought countless losses to the nations that experienced their most harmful effects, both economically and socially. In Brazil, regarding the 2008 crisis, its measures were more intense for the Federal Government. When related to the States and other Powers, unlike what happened in the 2020 crisis.

In situations like this, the demand for responses comes immediately. At a federal level, the response was not as effective and quick. However, in February, a federal Law No. 13,979, of February 6, 2020, was enacted, providing measures to deal with the public health emergency of international importance resulting from the Coronavirus (COVID 19), responsible for the 2019 outbreak.

The law in question provides basic guidelines on possible actions to combat the virus, despite being limited to vague definitions and concepts on the subject. Its most important definition concerns the acquisition of goods and supplies in the health area without a bidding process<sup>1</sup>, which, given the circumstances, proved to be

<sup>1</sup> Art. 4. Bidding is not required for the acquisition of goods, services, including engineering services, and supplies intended to address the public health emergency of international importance resulting from the Coronavirus as set out in this Law. (As amended by Provisional Measure No. 926 of 2020)

a measure of the most importance. Its main reason is based on the speed with which personal protective equipment (PPE) must be acquired. Its use is essential to maintain the safety of professionals working on the front lines of the fight against the disease.

It is important to emphasize that the right to healthcare is constitutionally protected and established on the Federal Constitution. In the first situation, it is recognized as a social right and in the second it is provided for by the State, which must ensure the means for its promotion to the community, in order to reduce social inequalities. This function is shared by the nation, states and cities. It was based on health protection that the isolation/social distancing measures were justified.

The rules of isolation/social distancing were and still are the most debated measures and the subject of disagreement between the Federal Government and the States, despite being recommended, at various times, by the World Health Organization - WHO. Its controversy involves the suspension of commercial and industrial activities whose purpose is to avoid human contact and the circulation of people, with only activities considered essential remaining in operation during this period. As stated by MAZZUOLI (2020):

There is no doubt that this halt in economic activities has caused multiple losses to the states, especially the less favored ones, hindering their future resumption of growth. According to a report in the newspaper *El País*, a study commissioned by the National Confederation of Services (CNS) indicated that the effects of the coronavirus pandemic and restrictions on the operation of various economic activities could lead to losses of more than 320 billion to the Brazilian economy and cause 6.5 million workers to lose their jobs MAZZUOLI (2020, P. 1-2).

The decision to suspend activities for several labor segments required the Government to immediately assist self-employed and informal workers, in addition to those already registered in the Bolsa Família Program's assistance registry in a differentiated manner, meeting their most basic needs. Thus, the Government granted emergency financial aid consisting of three installments of R\$600.00 (six hundred reais), to be paid over a period of three months, which was regulated by Decree No. 10,316, of April 7, 2020. According to an announcement by the Federal Government, the benefit has already reached approximately 46 million people, totaling an investment of R\$32.8 (thirty-two billion and 800 million reais).

The lack of more energetic attitudes on the part of the Federal Government, which did not consider the local aspect, gave rise to a controversy over the competence to legislate on the subject, despite the fact that the competence is clearly concurrent in matters of health, as provided for in the Federal Constitution. Thus, states and cities began to issue their own rules for containing the virus, rules that took into account the regional nuances of Brazilian locations. The functions of

the public power delimit tasks and are required from entity to entity and by society:

From a mechanism for containing power, the functional organization itself begins to fulfill certain recommended tasks thanks to the attribution of new values. In effect, the community begins to participate, in concert, more directly in decision-making and control - or, at the very least, begins to demand that they be made and controlled in this way - giving rise to proceduralized state action; new spaces for action (regional, national, state, local) emerge, even for the creation of normative application, which are demanding control on the part of the State. (TOMAZ, DIZ AND CALDAS, 2019, p. 4)

In view of the situation, the intervention of the Judiciary has been shown to be necessary, urged to resolve a conflict of jurisdiction. This was expressed, through the Federal Supreme Court, in a precautionary decision issued in the context of Direct Action of Unconstitutionality No. 6341, to the effect that the measures determined by the Federal Government did not remove the jurisdiction of states and cities to issue their own legislation on the matter.

The phase of community contamination, the increase in the number of casualties and the difficulty in acquiring equipment for the hospital network were crucial for the change in the states' attitude the editions of their local norms, having a starting point the measure of containment of the virus with the greatest divergence between states and the Federal Government, namely, isolation and social distancing, already remedied through judicial means carried out by the Federal Supreme Court - STF.

Thus, the state of Ceará adopted social distancing/isolation practices, deciding on the guidelines of international organizations and the contextual analysis of the situation in the state of Ceará itself, issuing, to this end, several state regulations, starting with Decree No. 33,510, of March 16, 2020, which declares a state of health emergency and provides measures to confront and contain human infection by the new Coronavirus.

Soon after the situation got worse, it was decided to issue Decree No. 33,519, of March 19, 2020, which intensified measures to combat human infection by the new Coronavirus, opting for stricter social isolation measures, respectively, such as the closure of several segments of commerce. Subsequently, the Legislative Assembly of Ceará approved State Legislative Decree No. 543, of April 3, 2020, recognizing the Public Calamity in the State of Ceará, followed by several other Legislative Decrees, in the same sense, for several municipalities in Ceará.

Of these positive actions, both state and local, it is important to highlight some that were of great value to society, such as the payment of water and energy bills during the emergency period and the provision of cooking gas to low-income urban and rural residents of



the state. Direct income transfer programs were also instituted through cash assistance for students in the state public school system, with the sole purpose of purchasing food from commercial establishments.

#### b) *Peruvian Performance*

Immediately, upon learning of the first case of Coronavirus in Peru, the following government measures were adopted: suspension of the resumption of classes in schools and universities; prohibition of gatherings of more than 300 people; and quarantine for all arrivals from Asian and European countries with outbreaks of the disease. These measures were very similar to those taken by the Brazilian government, as seen in the previous sections, with the difference being the state autonomies established by the federative pact.

Likewise, given the exponential increase in patients with symptoms of COVID-19, on March 15, with Supreme Decree 044-2020-PCM, the government declared a state of emergency for fifteen days throughout the country, due to the health catastrophe, suspending the rights to personal freedom and movement, inviolability of home and the right to assembly, in accordance with the provisions of art. 137.1 of the Peruvian Constitution.

Several extensions were made, but since March, the government has closed borders - air, land and sea - and interprovincial (interstate) traffic, which can be considered causes of the acceleration of social isolation. In addition to imposing a curfew, the intensity of which varied between regions, it did not affect essential activities. Restrictions on rights and freedoms, not only personal but also social, were limited and restricted by decision of the authorities, as well as by the action of the police and military forces.

For freedom rights, the provisions were stricter. Internal social isolation rules and the prohibition of freedom of movement, with the imposition of a curfew, led the Government to provide for harsh penalties for disobedience of these rules, such as detention of offenders. However, detentions could only last 24 hours until civil identification, in addition to a financial fine. Peruvians who were abroad were assigned repatriation flights.

Regarding social rights, the fight against the coronavirus required the Peruvian health system to have an exponential structure, which it lacked due to historical failures in its management system. This failure required the injection of large sums of money, aimed at improving hospitals and investing in testing. Although the fundamental rights restricted in the declaration of the state of emergency are the rights to freedom and personal security, the right to movement, inviolability of residence and the right to assembly were also relativized, in addition to the right to freely exercise work activities.

Work functions were basically limited to maintaining the supply chain to avoid shortages of primary inputs. Teleworking was adopted in some cases, but the vast majority (almost 200,000 workers) had their employment contracts suspended. In Peru, as in Brazil, financial aid was also granted. This was in the amount of R\$110, to be paid in four installments, divided by social category: Poor according to the law; rural workers; and the universal family modality (for those who do not fit into any of the other categories). Due to the precarious information system and databases, only 75% of the planned amount could be implemented.

In terms of education, in-person classes were also suspended, leading the government to require communication channels to provide one hour a day to support remote classes. In private schools, tuition fees were reduced. The same occurred with public universities.

Given these attitudes, it is considered that, even for there to be restrictions on fundamental rights, these must be included in legal provisions and serve a legitimate purpose. To curb abuses of authority, the Peruvian constitution provides for remedies such as habeas corpus and other protective actions, provided for in art. 200 of its constitution, and raises the possibility of rethinking a structural reform of the Constitutional State to address health emergencies.

In fact, the current Peruvian constitutional system of states of exception includes the cause in the legal determination, but does not specify it as a health cause, nor is it determined by the competent agents, since it limits itself to seeking to guarantee public order, limiting some civil liberties of citizens, proving ineffective from a practical point of view in combating epidemics. To improve the effectiveness of emergency decrees, Professor César Landa Arroyo suggests the creation of a specific legal device to declare a health emergency.

The implementation of a new constitutional system of emergencies due to sanitary catastrophe in general and epidemiological in particular should count on the declaration of a state of exception from the highest level of the Executive Power, with the decision of the President and his Council of Ministers, which would enable him to issue urgent decrees on the ground in economic and financial matters, when required. The national interest is also used to dictate urgent decrees in health and socio-economic matters, in accordance with regional needs or interests, and on national soil. (ARROYO, 2020, p. 23.)

However, the Peruvian state of emergency in the event of pandemics does not allow for the issuance of emergency regulations, such as emergency decrees, that serve the affected populations in their rights to well-being, that is, to guarantee the strengthening of public health services, mobilization of health agents and acquisition and distribution of subsistence goods for vulnerable populations in social isolation due to the health emergency.

The implementation of a new constitutional system of emergencies due to health catastrophes in general and epidemiological catastrophes in particular must have the state of exception declaration by the highest level of the Executive Branch, with a decision by the President and his Council of Ministers, which would allow him to issue emergency decrees not only in economic and financial matters, when the national interest so requires, but also to issue emergency decrees in health and socio-economic matters, as seen in the excerpt cited above, observing regional nuances, with a focus on the most affected, such as the high-Andean areas.

This would, in fact, help to better organize the security forces and adequately manage the crisis, rethinking the democratic state in the face of the crisis. The legal review of the function of the state of emergency would bring about an alliance between containment and social well-being, in addition to financial investment where it is most needed.

#### c) *Argentina's Performance*

In a similar manner, the Latin American countries studied in this article had similarities in their measures to contain the epidemic and implement social actions. The imposition of social isolation, the use of masks, the suspension of work activities and the closing of borders are the common intersections between most countries, denoting the joint effort by the countries.

In Argentina, the Decree of Necessity and Urgency DECNU – 2020 – 297 – APN – PTE of March 19, 2020, initiated the strictest measures to combat the pandemic. Unlike other countries, such as Brazil, these measures were decreed immediately, with a ban on movement on public roads <sup>2</sup>, including travel to work. As of midnight on March 20, people were no longer allowed to travel, not even to their homes, and had to remain where they were.

Inspections were imposed, however, the intensity of patrols to enforce quarantine varied according to the peculiarities of each country. In Argentina, social isolation was monitored jointly by the provinces and the federal government, as in Brazil. Therefore, the strictness imposed in other Latin American countries was not observed, despite Argentine law stating that breaking social isolation constitutes an offense under the Penal Code and provisional detention of vehicles in circulation.

<sup>2</sup> ARTICLE 2.- During the term of the "social, preventive and obligatory isolation", the persons must remain in their usual residences or in the residence where they are located at 00:00 hours on March 20, 2020, the moment in which the measure is being launched. They must refrain from applying for their places of work and cannot travel along roads, roads and public spaces, all with the aim of preventing the circulation and contagion of the COVID-19 virus and the consequent impact on public health and other derivative subjective rights, such as their lives and their physical integrity. personas.

The exceptions, as in other countries, were due to the continuity of activities considered essential. Medical services and professionals who were focused on combating the epidemic could operate, observing health and safety standards. Many activities were exempted from the quarantine rules, in a list much larger than those contained in most Brazilian states, and much less strict than the Peruvian determinations.

The Argentine measures were characterized by the speed with which they were enacted, unlike Brazil, which adopted more lenient measures and later decided to make social isolation and quarantine more rigorous. The Argentine social isolation was marked by the assistance provided to micro and small businesses, independent professionals and health institutions. The price freeze on basic products and rent was of great value in helping families during this period.

Like many Latin American economies, Argentina had its own income distribution program, with a food card for mothers with children up to six years old, which aims to help with child nutrition. During the pandemic, this benefit was extended to pregnant women and people with disabilities. In addition, the cash benefit was granted to all workers, both formal and informal.

### III. STATE RESPONSIBILITY AND THE REGULATORY STATE

Theories about the state's participation in society and in the economic system of governments have been the subject of debate for centuries, sparking heated debates both from those who defend its maximum participation and from those who defend it minimally. Not to mention the moderate defenders, who argue that its action should only be sufficient when necessary.

The concept of the minimal state was initially formulated in the 18th and 19th centuries and defended the theory of minimum state participation, gathering followers to this day. Its ideas of free markets and economic activities carried out by private and unbureaucratic entities may seem very good and effective in terms of market incentives, until the moment when an entity with regulatory competence is needed to remedy a situation brought about at a time of collapse and when social protections are put to the test.

In these situations where collapse was inevitable and unpredictable, the minimal state model would prove to be completely obsolete and incapable of intervening positively, aiming to protect all citizens, to the point of maintaining the unwavering guarantees of the democratic rule of law. There is no compatibility between extreme liberalism and the social protection sought when the interests of the community clash with the interests of profit.

On the other hand, in the opposite direction, the state whose intervention is present in all spheres of





government has also not proven efficient in guaranteeing adequate living conditions while granting markets the necessary freedom for exponential growth. Economic planning, a model commonly chosen by totalitarian states, dissociates the factors essential to market growth, a flaw that does not occur in liberal systems.

The regulatory state has not only doctrinal and historical provisions, but also constitutional provisions, as set forth in Article 174<sup>3</sup> of the Federal Constitution. The determination provides for the supervision and intervention of the state when indispensable. In the economy, for example, intervention is commonly carried out regarding pricing policies or to avoid unfair competition between companies. The obligation imposed on the state, therefore, consists of acting as a regulatory agent for economic activities.

Regardless the government regime, concessions will inevitably be made by representatives and those they represent. A regime becomes inadequate when these concessions are no longer supported by the community. In a capitalist society, there is extreme competitiveness and social well-being is put on the back burner, while in socialism there is a limitation of freedom and substantial failures in economic growth. In both, there are necessary limits imposed for the sake of a common good, whose choice of priorities must be made by a manager who prioritizes essential goods. In the words of F. A. Hayek:

The citizens will be practically unanimous in admitting the exercise of certain functions of the state: about others, there may be the agreement of a considerable majority: and so on, until we reach spheres in which, although each individual may wish the state to proceed in this or that way, the opinions on what the government should do will be almost as numerous as the different people. (HAYEK, 2010, p. 78)

To corroborate the statement that everyone's participation is essential, the Public Administration felt obliged to limit its own spending to maximize and optimize public resources in a maximum representation of the principle of efficiency. Nevertheless, all the social measures listed in this article, such as the payment of water and energy bills, distribution of food and cooking gas, and income transfer, have a high cost to the public treasury and many of these emergency social assistance measures were not included in the budget planning.

The reallocation of resources cannot harm ongoing social actions and should seek a mechanism to balance new actions with those already underway. Therefore, in a joint action by the Legislative and Executive Branches, the Public Defender's Office and

the Court of Auditors of the State of Ceará forwarded a project that culminated in Complementary Law No. 215, April 17, 2020, which provides for measures to contain public spending by the Executive and Legislative Branches, the Court of Auditors and the Public Defender's Office of the State, during the emergency period and public calamity resulting from the pandemic caused by the new Coronavirus.

The Public Prosecutor's Office and the Judiciary, in turn, after approval by their internal bodies, forwarded bills in a similar direction to the Legislative Assembly for budget cuts. The provisions include measures such as the suspension of public examinations, the appointment of successful candidates and the postponement of job promotions. However, it is observed that there is no predominance of budget cuts in sources other than those linked to civil servants' payrolls. Little was said about the privileges of all branches of government, which have long been questioned by society.

Nevertheless, transparency is the main mechanism for monitoring public spending and contracts with special rules for the pandemic period. Data from the Transparency International website, from May 2020, shows that the state of Ceará is in fifth place in the ranking of transparency in emergency contracts, with 73.4 points in the "good" category. First place went to the state of Espírito Santo, and last place went to the state of Roraima.

The fact is, as demonstrated in the previous section, where crises were listed, that the presence of a greater entity is essential in various situations, especially when the need makes those who are most vulnerable cry out, demanding an active position from the responsible power. This, in fact, is one of the dilemmas brought about by the health collapse of 2020, which was not only more damaging to the world in terms of numbers, but also because it required solutions from governments to guarantee society's livelihoods, contain the spread of the virus, and take measures to maintain and recover the economy, all of which were carried out simultaneously.

The example given in the previous section is the economic crisis of 2008, which had a direct impact on citizens' quality of life, with businesses closing, high unemployment, a drop in credit and the consequent drop in consumption and people's quality of life. All this in a social scenario with a high poverty rate. In other words, this segment of society was unable to show economic recovery because it had not yet emerged from its situation of extreme vulnerability. "State regulation, both at the national and international levels, can also play an important role in solving the growth dilemma" (YUNUS, 2008, p. 223).

In fact, the consequential damages are equally harmful to the social security of citizens. There is no attempt to diminish their importance, but what must be

<sup>3</sup> Art. 174. As a normative and regulatory agent of economic activity, the State will exercise, in accordance with the law, the functions of inspection, incentive and planning, the latter being decisive for the public sector and indicative for the private sector.



considered is that these same citizens have the capacity to work and recover, when guided by the State's rules that should regulate economic recovery. In high-risk pandemic crises, this chance for recovery through work force does not have a set date to begin.

It is worth noting that the situations recently experienced by states put to the test extreme concepts about the ultra-capitalist vision, highlighted by some political scientists, such as Robert Reich, and called by the author supercapitalism. In this theory, which highlights what is most liberal and advocates for the minimum state and the maximization of profits, when faced with a crisis, capital disappears from the scene, leaving the humanization of the situation to the regulatory state.

In the liberal system, due to the lack of state presence when necessary to intervene, there are so-called protection gaps. For example, when there are companies that carry out acquisitions and mergers of markets, with such freedom, one over the other, that at a given moment the consumer finds himself helpless when it comes to the pursuit of his rights in regressive actions that have no end. Another example is when insurance companies acquire others, or reinsurance companies. Thus, once again it is necessary a regulation by a state entity that protects the most vulnerable side of the commercial relationship, without its financial contribution, would not even exist.

However, what must be considered of the utmost importance, and never forgotten by society or those who coordinate it, is the capacity for adaptation that, whatever the state model chosen to govern, must exist, and the understanding, of those in power, that the mission is for everyone to be able to grow in harmony, with decent salaries, adequate quality of life and a private sector that is constantly growing.

In these difficult situations, we have a breakdown in the stability enjoyed by a part of society, which suffers from the consequences of a difficult time, but also needs state guidance to guarantee its most basic rights, as fast as possible. In reality, the desired end is to break the cycle of poverty to which many nations are accustomed, leading to catastrophic consequences when the delicate balance of continuity of actions aimed at breaking this cycle is affected.

Ensuring minimum essential rights to those who do not have the economic means to do so has been an interventionist state task that relies on the presence of the state. Establishing guidelines to contain crises, which we referred to in the previous section, are typical normative actions of a state that only appears when its presence is somehow required, such as to regulate essential actions.

The State, as a collective action mechanism that enables the task of intervening in or liberalizing the economy, depends on strong institutions capable of safeguarding the

rights of society and promoting economic development. By defining social values and norms, institutions end up determining social behavior and the conduct of the economy. Therefore, institutions, to the extent that they are inserted in the economic and social structure, reflect a very specific social culture, which legitimizes them and outlines political objectives, so that they adapt to the national reality and generate development strategies. (POMPEU, ANDRADE, 2011, p. 16)

Despite the currents for and against, neither for the minimum state nor for the regulatory state, the state presence is non-existent or utopian, but rather minimal, in the pure sense of the word, maintaining its essential functions, for the first, and moderate, for the second. The fundamental concept is that the notion of social protection must be in line with the ideals defended by a doctrine that is common to all, covering all segments of society, with a focus on the most vulnerable.

Thus, the regulation of essential services in this state model belongs to the public authorities, which exercise it through their regulatory agencies or, depending on the chosen programmatic system. Services such as the supply of electricity, the supply of drinking water and the sale of gas are the examples closest to the Brazilian reality. The granting of these benefits by the public authorities to the low-income population during the Covid-19 pandemic was a powerful instrument used by the regulatory state to those in need.

In addition to the regulatory agencies, it should not be forgotten that in the Brazilian system, as well as in the system adopted in many other countries, it is up to the powers, organized civil society and social control institutions to monitor each other, while respecting the division of functions of each, still in the notion of separation of powers provided for by Montesquieu. The important role played by the federal police in operations to monitor public resources is noted.

The discussion becomes more profound when the state has exclusive jurisdiction over services such as public safety and health. Privatizing these services could take away from society a basic right to those who cannot afford to pay for them, but who do so through mandatory taxation. This reality can only become viable when the standard of living and income distribution of citizens is sufficient to guarantee them a dignified life, ensuring the minimum standards of civilization.

The ownership of these services, therefore, in compliance with the supremacy of the public interest, could not belong to any entity other than the public domain, and the concession, not the privatization of the exploitation of these services, and not their total transfer, would be appropriate. In this way, the power to interrupt the adoption of conduct incompatible with the community continues to be with the highest power, the one responsible for ensuring social protection: the state.



#### IV. CONCLUSION

Both society's and public authorities's capacity for adaptation is demonstrated in difficult situations faced by a state, as well as the strength of a people's recovery and the extent to which their chosen state model is adequate to the response found by the state to the desires of its people. What is learned from these experiences should serve as guidance for future generations and as a constant learning experience for decisions to resolve the current difficult situation.

This article has shown the importance of states acting within their regulatory powers to make decisions that are effective and quick to maintain the quality of life of citizens. In many situations, it can be seen that the non-interference of the state would be absolutely harmful to the guarantee of fundamental rights. The state is the only one that allows guidelines for the implementation of public policies that guarantee social protections. Something that would not have been allowed in ultra-liberal states .

Thus, the actions of the Brazilian states and the Federal Government were fundamental in adapting measures to practical effectiveness; the presence of the regulatory state has proven to be not only effective but also essential. A similar situation was experienced by other Latin American countries, such as the one analyzed in this article, Peru and Argentina. In this sense, two aspects must be considered for the success of recovery: the protection of social well-being and the containment of the spreading factor of the crisis, which, in 2020, was caused by a virus of global proportions.

Defending the state's regulatory activity not its minimal presence means, given the analysis set out in this article, that its active presence in the preparation of regulations and guidelines safeguards constitutional provisions. These must be capable of ensuring the strengthening of society and the effectiveness of the measures adopted, and their provision in the abstract is not enough, but their practical applicability. The granting of benefits that ensure rights involves costs and responsibilities for those who grant them and for those who benefit from them.

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## Rekindled Russia-African Relations and Implication on UN Peacekeeping Efforts in the DRC

By Mahapa Manasa

**Abstract-** The paper is devoted to analysing the impact of rekindled relations between the Russian Federation and its African friends. The Russian Federation has in recent years intensified its interactions with several African countries. The cooperation is rooted in the Soviet era, when the USSR aided most African countries to gain independence. The paper notes that today, Russia's partnership with African countries is becoming increasingly intensive and multifaceted on the economic, political, military and even social fronts. The relations are grounded in the theory of mutualism coined by Proudhon in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. This paper also discussed how rekindled military relations may aid in the pacification of numerous conflicts bedeviling the continent. As a case study, the paper looked at how Russia can help the United Nations in its peacekeeping efforts in the Democratic Republic of Congo by taking advantage of the economic cooperation and military relations between the two countries. In this regard the paper found that economic cooperation based on mutually beneficial and symbiotic relations could help improve the ailing Congolese economy. Furthermore, the provision of military training and modern weapons by Russia may capacitate the Congolese military to deal with the numerous rebels in that country effectively. As a Permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, Russia should help stop the looting of Congolese resources.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The contemporary geopolitical environment has witnessed the Russian Federation challenging the Western hegemonic tendencies globally with Africa being at the centre stage of some of these contestations. Soon after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia's relations with African states went into limbo after having, according to Mahlangu (2024), supported Africa during the Cold War era. This could be interpreted as a manifestation of fatigue from the rigors 'Cold War' epoch. It needed time to recuperate from the bruises (both political and economic) it had obtained during the past epoch. However, after a period of rest, self-introspection and rejuvenation, Russia emerged as a force to reckon with partly because of the military

strength it had inherited from the USSR and partly because it selected competent and focused leaders who wanted to ensure that the country retained its superpower status in the body politic of the contemporary geopolitical environment, to challenge the unipolar world order status (US hegemony). In the same vein, it is worth noting that Africa, has been a recipient of 'dead aid' as postulated by Moyo (2009) leading it to be over dependent on such aid and in perpetual poverty. The West has also exploited this weakness by looting African resources and sponsoring instability and wars on the continent. Donelli (2023) notes that the same cannot be said about Russia which has kept a harmonious, symbiotic and mutually beneficial relationship with most African countries. Issaev et al. (2023) also add that, Africans view Russia as an opportunity to balance between multiple centers of power without being dependent on a single geopolitical actor. Nkuna and Shai (2021) noted that Russia explicitly exposes the destructive and neocolonial role of the West in African countries, which is contrasted with its approach based on the principles of equal cooperation and non-interference. Cooperation between Russia and African countries demonstrates the determination of both parties to safeguard their sovereignty and defend their interests. Thus, rekindled Russia – Africa relations have opened new horizons for mutually beneficial cooperation. Ogunnoik et al. (2021) note that the West assess rekindled Russian interests in Africa as predatory, continually attempting to criticize the Russian military involvement in Africa as a way of bolstering authoritarianism and human rights abuses, when in fact the opposite is true.

One interesting but sad phenomena of African history is the interminable bloody DRC conflict which has claimed millions of lives and internally displaced many persons (IDPs) despite the presence of United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO) in that country (Marc and Jones, 2021). While the international community seems shocked about the devastation of that conflict, it is paradoxical that the will power to pacify the conflict is lacking. The Congolese have repeatedly shown their frustration by staging demonstrations in Kinshasa shouting "imperialists must die". The latest demonstrations were staged soon after the capture of Goma by M23 rebels on 28 January 2025 where embassies of USA, France, Belgium, Kenya and

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Rwanda were looted and burnt. This is a clear testimony of the people's frustration as espoused by the frustration-aggression theory. It is against this backdrop that the paper analyses how the rekindled Russia – Africa relations and indeed its relations with the DRC may impact on the pacification of DRC conflict. Worth noting is that the rekindled Russia-DRC relations present opportunities and challenges for peacekeeping efforts in that country (DRC). While there is potential for strengthening local military capabilities, significant risks are; geopolitical tensions, human rights abuses, and the complexities of integrating Russian support into existing peacekeeping frameworks.

## II. BACKGROUND OF RUSSIA – AFRICA RELATIONS

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was characterised by the scramble and subsequent colonisation of Africa by the Western powers. However, one intriguing phenomenon was that despite being a prominent player during this epoch, Russia did not participate in the “scramble for Africa,” nor did it colonise any part of the continent (Monyae, 2018). The Soviet Union and China played a pivotal role in aiding African countries to unshackle themselves from the yoke of colonialism (Fidan and Aras, 2010). The USSR's foreign policy focused on building relationships with sympathetic socialist or non-aligned countries across Africa. Bassou, (2023) notes that liberation movements such as the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), African National Congress (ANC) and South African Communist Party (SACP) in South Africa, South-West African National Union (SWANU) and South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) in Namibia, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZAPU) in Zimbabwe and Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) in Mozambique among many others enjoyed the Soviet military aid at one time or the other. It also sent weapons, advisors, and other forms of assistance to allies in the civil wars in Angola and the DRC. In the DRC, the USSR leader Khrushchev backed the first Prime Minister of the independent state formerly Belgian Congo, Patrice Lumumba who was murdered (by the CIA) because he leaned to communist 'ideologies. Kachur, (2022) as quoted by Kohnert, (2022) proclaims that, during the Cold War era, the USSR and most African leaders shared a common vision of anti-colonialism, modernization and nation-building suffice, to say this philosophy was not stimulated by the desire to exploit Africa's resources or markets but was purely ideological. The Russia – Africa relations are guided by the theory of mutualism which was coined by Proudhon in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. This theory emphasizes mutual respect, voluntary cooperation, reciprocity and fair exchange of goods and services (Leigh, 2010). Mutualism evolves most readily between members of

different kingdoms, which pool complementary abilities for mutual benefits (mutually beneficial relations). However, the end of the Cold War witnessed a significant reduction in cooperation between Russia as the successor state of the USSR and its former allies in Africa. Monyae (2018) asserts that Russia and China withdrew support to Africa as they both abandoned an ideological - driven foreign policy in Africa in the post-Cold War era. It is opined that, the resurgence of Russia is gradually bringing back rivalries between and among the superpowers in Africa.

It is against this backdrop that this paper analyses the impact of rekindled relations between Russia and Africa and then further explores how it can help the UN in its peacekeeping efforts in DRC (a country bedevilled by endemic conflicts). Ingabire and Kurniawan (2022) point out that the ineffectiveness of the UN in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is due to various problems including challenges that are external and internal to the UN. The expansion of rebel groups is due to the various internal crises in the DRC and its neighbouring countries. Thus, rebel groups thrive because they illegally exploit the mineral resources abundant in the eastern DRC to sponsor their operations (Bokeriya et al, 2024).

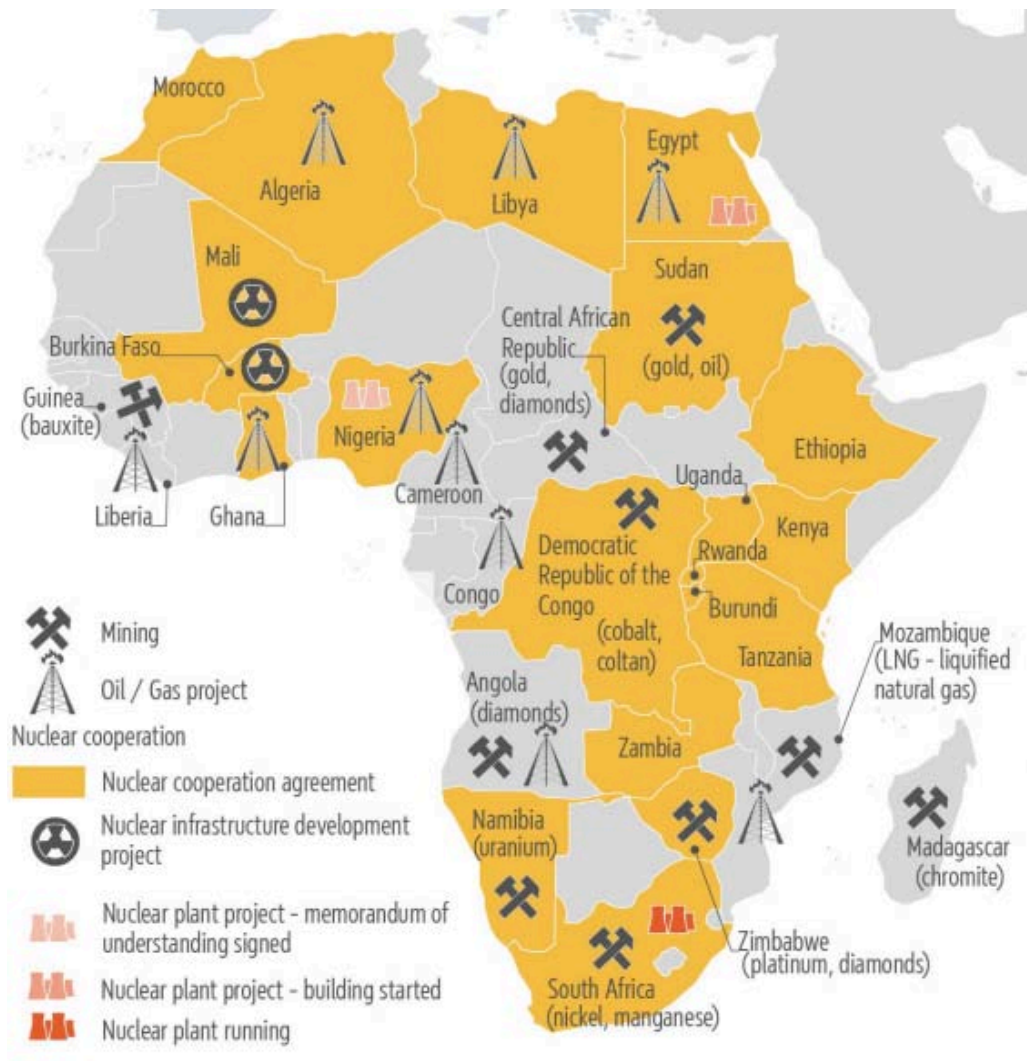
## III. RUSSIAN INTERESTS AFRICA

The collapse of the Soviet Union saw Russia embarking on a paradigm shift in its international relations. Fidan and Aras (2010) posit that the Russian foreign policy in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century was predicated on economic benefits and pragmatism. This notion is further supported by Mahlangu (2024), who also comments that, Moscow pursues a combination of military, diplomatic, and economic interests in Africa. Linded (2023) points out that, Russia employs a two-tier approach in Africa where one is a long-term official approach that focuses on achieving Russia's foreign policy objectives by using traditional political, economic and military-security tools, while another is an unofficial approach that focuses on short-term political and financial gains by using private military corporations (PMCs). The study argues that Russia primarily focuses on weapons trade so as to expand its operational footprint, including the signing of agreements for new military bases. To enhance cooperation with Africa, the Kremlin launched the Russia-Africa Summit in 2019 in Sochi, convening the summit again in 2023 in St Petersburg. Diplomatically, Russia's overarching goal has been to acquire support for its vision of a multipolar world to challenge the West's influence Russia has also vetoed UNSC resolutions targeting African countries considered pariah such as Zimbabwe. Russia's cooperation with African countries has a considerable potential for development. This potential will likely be realized in politics, trade, finance, security, science and

education and culture. Evidence of how serious Russia is in strengthening its relations with Africa are seen through the establishment of three departments in Ministry of Foreign Affairs namely, Middle East and North Africa Department (MENAD), Department of African States (DAS) and Department for Partnership with Africa (DPA) (MID, 2024).

According to Saaida (2023), Russia's engagement with Africa has witnessed a notable surge, marked by increased trade agreements and substantial investments in key sectors (economic, political and military) across the continent. Zakharova et al. (2021) also weigh in noting that particular attention is paid to mutually beneficial trade with some African states that make a certain positive contribution to the Russian trade balance. This is a manifestation of the spirit of mutualism between the two partners (Taiwo and Ademuyiwa, 2024). Critics have attempted to trivialise nascent Russia- Africa Relations and claims that the novelty of Russia's "return" to Africa will nevertheless fade with time and dissolve into the ideological rhetoric about multipolar world (Kalika, 2019). Amusan (2018) also echoes similar sentiments and proclaims that Russia may never garner its economic and political ambition in Africa. This line of thinking is viewed as a song from the old hymn book of neo-colonialists. Conversely, Pichon and Russell (2019) state that Russia is not a powerhouse in Africa since less than 1 percent of its foreign direct investment going to the African continent. Additionally, its \$18 billion in trade with African countries lags far behind the United States' \$64 billion and China's \$254 billion, (Congressional Research Service, 2019). However, accessing valuable natural resources, such as gold, diamonds, uranium, and oil, has remained Russia's priority amid increasing global demand for the inputs necessary for alternative energies and advanced technologies. Africa's vast reserves of critical resources motivate Moscow's efforts as well although Russia has always stated that it considers African countries as equal partners not inferiors which has characterised West-Africa relations.

African countries are thus encouraged to pursue mutually beneficial relationships with those who offer them respect and not the West's master-servant relationship. Dudin et al. (2016), also support this line of reasoning by outlining that Russia should pursue the "Soviet heritage" pragmatic approach which back then did not only leave historical memory about economic help, military and technical support but offered ideological alternatives to the West's way of thinking. Additionally, the attendance of St Petersburg International Economic Forum (SPIEF) by African countries is testament of the two parties' commitment to enhancing mutually beneficial and symbiotic relations.



Source: Caprile and Pichon (2024)

Figure 1: Russia – Africa Energy and Mining Cooperation

Caprile and Pichon (2024) posit that, beyond arms trade, Russia's trade with Africa has increased substantially since 2005. This also applied to the mining sector as indicated in Figure 1 above where Russia has a significant presence in the African mining and energy sectors. It is argued by Western critics that Moscow's 'ambitions' to position itself as an ally to African countries and stoke anti-Western sentiment which may turn the continent into a flash point in the global strategic competition among superpowers. They observe that Russia's support of authoritarian governments, including its backing of a string of coups in recent years, is undermining Africa's democratic aspirations. Meanwhile, it is argued by some that the involvement of Russian private military companies (PMCs) is driving conflict and spurring a growing militarization of governance. These sentiments are echoed by Gvosdev (2019), who claims that evidence abounds that, in a bid to reassert itself as a global hegemon, Russia is discretely embarking on a mission

to undermine public faith in democracy through the manipulation of electoral processes to facilitate the emergence of pro-Russian leaders. The above sentiments are viewed as mere propaganda meant to tarnish the image of Russia in the current geopolitical contestation. Despite the negative Western propaganda, Russian resurgence in Africa, seems to be unstoppable and is a threat to former African colonial masters that are feeling the heat of rekindled Russian influence on the continent, hence the negative views. These criticisms are likely meant to dissuade any countries which may want to have diplomatic relations with Russia at the expense of those which have long benefitted from African resources.

#### IV. MILITARY RELATIONS

As alluded to earlier, after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, Moscow reduced its interaction with most African countries, which void was filled by the US in a unipolar world order. In recent years, Russian diplomacy



has become increasingly intertwined with PMCs, which originated with ex-Soviet troops who independently offered their services to African governments. These mostly provide security assistance to local governments, offering troops, firearms, training, and political consulting. In exchange, Russia secures primarily mining contracts and supply of weapons to host countries (Besenyo, et al. 2024). This is done in the spirit of mutualism. Russia's first African operations began in Sudan in 2017, and the group quickly expanded to the Central African Republic (CAR) and Madagascar in 2018, Libya and Mozambique in 2019, and Mali in 2020. The Deputy Minister of Defence and Andrei Averyanov (a Major General in the Russian Military Intelligence Agency) reiterated Russia's indefatigable commitment to its military operations in Burkina Faso, the Central African Republic, Libya, Mali and Niger. (Global Euronews, 2024).

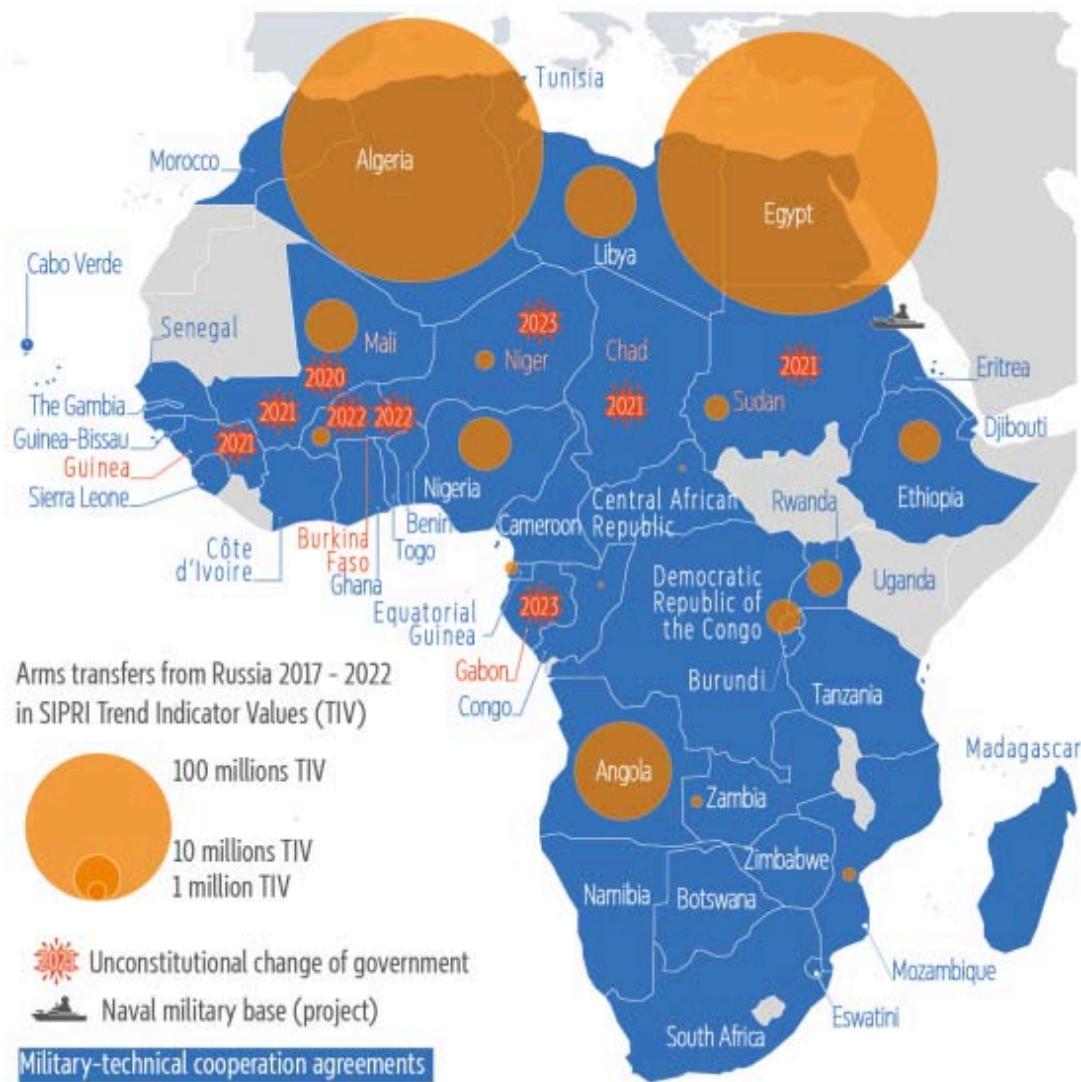
Russia has been deploying peacekeeping troops in various African nations. This approach is part of a broader strategy to assert its influence and redefine peacekeeping standards globally (Hansen, 2024). The Russian military presence in Africa includes the establishing of military cooperation agreements with over 40 African countries since 2014, focusing on arms supply, military training, and intelligence sharing (Kolkova, 2019, Ferragamo, 2023). Russian PMCs have been heavily involved in peacekeeping and security operations across Africa. They provide security assistance to local governments, often in exchange for access to natural resources (Ferragamo, 2023). Russia frames its African peacekeeping efforts as contributing to regional stability, combating terrorism, by providing training, equipment, and logistical support to African nations' armed forces. Shoigu (2023) asserts that the West's activities on the African continent are primarily aimed at preserving the ability to siphon off the natural resources of former colonies by maintaining and sponsoring conflict hotbeds. This is corroborated by Ferragamo (2023), who posits that Russia's strategy includes leveraging anti-Western sentiment and historical ties to gain favour with African nations, positioning itself as a more reliable partner compared to Western countries.

The map in Figure 2 below illustrates the massive inroads made by Russia in its military relations with Africa, in both arms trade and technical-military cooperation agreements. Kolkova (2019) notes that Russia supplies missile and artillery weapons, small arms and automotive equipment to African countries. The author further asserts that most looked-for Russian military equipment in sub-Saharan Africa includes Mi helicopters; Sukhoi and MiG planes; and Pantsir-C1, Kornet-E and Tor-M2E missile defense systems; as well as tanks, armored personnel carriers and small arms. According to the Russian Deputy Defence Minister,

Colonel General Alexander Fomin, Russia is ready to play a key role in "exporting security" to the African continent. This is testament of Russia's renewed interests in Africa are paying off, as more countries are shifting their interests towards Russia, due to its approach treating African countries. President Putin at the Russia Africa Summit in July 2023, highlighted that, Russia's relations with Africa were, "distinguished by stability, trust and goodwill" which he called "a non-discriminatory agenda for cooperation". Russia has thus adopted the use of both soft power to win most African countries' favour. Kolkova, (2019) also postulates that one of the key elements of the new Russian strategy in its rekindled relations with Africa is the assistance in conflict resolution and military-technical cooperation, which allow African countries to strengthen their defence capabilities and sovereignty. The above observations confirm that military cooperation is beneficial to African countries, as it will enable them to counter terrorist threats and other security challenges effectively, suffice to say Africa countries should be encouraged to strengthen their relations with Russia.







Sources: Caprile and Pichon (2024)

Figure 2: Russia-Africa Military Agreements and Arms Trade

Ogunnoiki et al. (2021), as well as Sidiropoulos and Alden (2019), highlight that the Russian president, Vladimir Putin, in the first-ever Russia-Africa Summit in 2019, informed delegates that the Russian Federation had concluded Military-Technical Cooperation (MTC) agreements with 43 African countries to strengthen their armed forces' combat capabilities. Additionally, Russia has extended military training to numerous African countries on both gratis and non-gratis basis for 3 months to 6 or 7 years in the Russian Federation. The DRC is among the over 30 countries that have signed military cooperation agreements with Russia. The DRC aims to diversify its international partnerships beyond traditional Western allies. After a long period of dormancy, a military and technical cooperation agreement was ratified in June 2018, which had initially been signed in 1999 but remained inactive for nearly two decades. This agreement encompasses arms deliveries, military training, joint military exercises, ship visits,

combat aircraft operations, and advisory missions, indicating a deepening military partnership that aligns with the DRC's security needs amid internal strife (Servida, 2024). The DRC's Minister of Defense, Gilbert Kabanda Kurhenga, expressed a strong desire for "multifaceted support" from Russia against armed groups in eastern DRC during his visit to Moscow in August 2022. This sentiment reflects a growing anti-Western sentiment in DRC, driven by perceptions of Western involvement in local conflicts.

By engaging with Russia, the DRC may likely reduce its reliance on Western military support and gain access to modern military equipment and training. Strengthening ties with the DRC will allow Russia to establish a strategic foothold in Central Africa and enhance its global standing. Issaev et al. (2023) believe that the experience of Russian involvement in conflict resolution has played an essential role in shaping a positive image of the Russian "military" presence in

Africa. Russia can provide advanced military technology and training to the DRC, which can enhance the operational capabilities of the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (FARDC).

## V. RUSSIA'S PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS IN AFRICA

Shoigu (2023) argues that the basis for justifying the military presence of former metropolises through multinational peacekeeping contingents is undercut. The role of Russia is invaluable in UN peace enforcement operations due to its vast experience in pacifying terrorist groups. Peacekeeping is a central element of Russian foreign policy. It is a major power and a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. Russia thus plays a vital role in defining the standards by which peacekeeping is and may be done. It is interesting to note that unlike UN funding mechanisms for peacekeeping operations, Russia funds its peacekeeping operations primarily through its national budget. The government allocates resources for military deployments and operations, including peacekeeping missions, often without the same level of transparency or public accountability as the UN (Panova, 2015). Russia's funding for peacekeeping operations is usually tied to broader geopolitical strategies, where financial support may be linked to securing access to resources or establishing military bases in host countries. This arrangement leads to a more transactional approach to funding, where military support is exchanged for political or economic concessions.

The Russian Federation has previously deployed both ordinary peacekeepers as well PMCs as part of its peacekeeping efforts around the world. PMCs often operate in a more flexible and less regulated environment. Badell-Sanchez (2018) offers that in the past two decades PMCs had become more noticeably involved in conflict management, provision of defence and security services, military training and logistical support among other roles. They can engage in combat operations, provide security, and support local forces, sometimes blurring the lines between peacekeeping and active military engagement. This same argument has been attributed to the perpetuation of conflict in the DRC (Bokeriya et al. 2024).

Sidiropoulos (2019) asserts that Russian peacekeeping efforts in Africa have evolved significantly in recent years, particularly as Moscow seeks to expand its influence on the continent. Its efforts in Africa are a complex and multifaceted, characterized by a combination of stated goals, actual actions, and significant controversies. By engaging in peacekeeping, Russia positions itself as an alternative security provider, appealing to countries wary of Western intervention (Jones and Marc, 2021). It is also interesting to note that

Moscow has articulated its support for 'African solutions to African problems'. In June 2019 Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov stated that Russia had made efforts to solve crises and conflicts according to the principle formulated by the African Union (Sidiropoulos and Alden, 2019). Through its training institutions, it offers UN peacekeeping-related courses to participants from the global south. This is testimony of its commitment to global peace suffice to say Russia can train DRC officers, men and women to sharpen their peacekeeping skills (Russian Training Prospectus, 2024).

## VI. PROSPECTS OF AIDING PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS IN THE DRC

Peacekeeping efforts in DRC have been unsuccessful for over two decades, due to several factors such as complex political dynamics, ethnicity, participation of external players, resources curse and lootable resources among many others (Bokeriya et al. 2024). This paper argues that the active involvement of Russia in peacekeeping efforts in DRC could help bring the conflict to an end based on its experience in Mali, CAR, etc. It is recalled that MONUSCO succeeded the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), on 1 July 2010, in alignment with Security Council resolution 1925 of 28 May 2010, to signify the new phase attained in the nation (Karlsrud, 2015). In 2013 MONUSCO through the FIB, was empowered to employ all requisite measures to fulfil its mandate, which included, among other objectives, safeguarding civilians, humanitarian workers, and human rights advocates facing immediate threats of physical harm, as well as assisting the Government of the DRC in its endeavour toward stability and the consolidation of peace (Reeves, 2016). Despite the UN intervention from July 2010, the conflict in eastern DRC has continued to spike up (Syamkumar, & Kumar, 2025). This conflict has been of great concern not only to the DRC but neighbouring states because of conflict spillover (Berdal, 2016). To show the gravity of the situation M23 rebels had killed 13 South African, 3 Malawian and 1 Uruguayan soldiers in Goma by 28 January 2025 (Kabumba and Banchreau, 2025, Defence Web, 2025). It is important to note that initially, the FIB was effective however, the conflict has been perpetuated by Rwanda's interference. In many ways, the African continent with its unique and diverse nature of conflicts has become a platform for the renewal of the UN peacekeeping efforts through the development of new operational and normative practices and strategies (Bokeriya and Khudaykulova, 2023). Thus, to effectively deal with the rebels the FARDC and its SADC Mission in DRC (SAMIDRC) allies require support from battle hardened comrades from Russia, (a country which has always stood by the side of Africa during times of western oppression).



On 5 March 2024 the Russian government formally approved a draft military cooperation agreement with the DRC which lays out a framework aimed at bolstering between the two countries. This will allow both nations to share and enhance tactical and operational capabilities thus making a significant gesture in military diplomacy. To strengthen the agreement Russia would also help bolster the DRC economy. One respondent noted that the Russia – Burkina Faso relations could be taken as a case study, where Russians have assisted the Burkinabe government revive its economy. This has helped reduce causes of armed insurrection due to bad governance and poor economy. The DRC is rich in natural resources, including cobalt, copper, diamonds, and gold. By strengthening ties with the DRC, Russia could access these valuable commodities, which are critical for various global industries, particularly technology and renewable energy sectors, thereby boosting DRC's industry and commerce. The DRC also faces significant challenges related to transportation, with inadequate road and rail networks. Russian firms could play a vital role in constructing roads, railways, and ports, facilitating better movement of goods and resources. Thus, a strong economic relationship between the two countries will likely influence the security situation in the country, thereby negating the frustration-aggression theory. An improved and stable economy will lead to a peaceful country, which may lead to a prosperous and peaceful DRC.

On another note, Gowlland-Debbas (2015) asserts that resource constraints often hinder the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions worldwide. Despite international support, MONUSCO operates with limited resources, including personnel, equipment, and funding. The vastness of the DRC's territory and the complexity of the conflict require significant logistical and operational capabilities. Resource constraints hinder MONUSCO's ability to deploy personnel to remote and inaccessible areas, procure necessary equipment, and sustain long-term operations. The United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines manual (2008) outlines the impact of resource constraints on peacekeeping missions and guides on addressing these challenges (United Nations, 2008). It is against these resource constraints that Russia would help assist UN peacekeeping operations in DRC, considering that since the Soviet era to present day Russia, provision of resources to weak states has been a trademark of its Russian foreign policy.

The DRC government has often sought military assistance from the Russian Federation to strengthen its armed forces to deal with threats of armed rebels. The supply of military hardware by Russia is seen as an essential element in addressing the threats posed by various armed groups operating in eastern DRC. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the DRC has been

grappling with persistent instability due to armed groups such as M23, which has continued with the alleged support of Rwanda to intensify its activities in East and North Kivu (Bokeriya, et.al. 2024). The UN reported in December 2024 that 3000 to 4000 Rwandese soldiers were fighting alongside the M23 rebels in the DRC and the 'de-facto control' M23 operations. The USA, in the same vein, condemned Rwanda for providing artillery, personnel and logistical support to the latest M23 offensive. Resultantly, the Congolese Army has on many occasions failed to recapture any significant areas which have cassiterite and gold mines as well as coltan deposits from M23. It is interesting to note that M23 reportedly generates over \$800 000 million in taxes from Eastern DRC, causing what the UN described as the 'most significant contamination of supply chain' in the Great Lakes region over the past decade by shipping tin, tantalum and tungsten for export to Rwanda (UN Documents, 2024).

In recent years the Congolese government has increasingly turned to Russia as an alternative source of military support amid frustrations with Western assistance. The military agreement between the DRC and Russia, ratified in 2018, has significantly influenced the DRC's security landscape, particularly in the context of ongoing conflicts and the resurgence of armed groups like the M23. Titeca (2023) notes that this partnership reflects a broader geopolitical shift and addresses the DRC's pressing security needs amid frustrations with Western support. Strengthening Military Capabilities. The military cooperation agreement includes provisions for arms deliveries, military training, and advisory missions, which are crucial for enhancing the capabilities of the FARDC. The of military hardware is essential for addressing the threats posed by various armed groups operating in eastern DRC. Thus, the transfer of knowledge and equipment is appealing to the DRC as it seeks to modernize and capacitate its military. Such cooperation can enhance the DRC's military capabilities but may also complicate the dynamics of peacekeeping efforts if it increases tensions with other factions within the country.

It is opined that DRC's pivot towards Russia also reflects broader geopolitical dynamics in Central Africa (Cameron and Chetail 2013; White 2014). As Russia seeks to expand its influence on the continent, it has positioned itself as an alternative ally for countries like the DRC that are disillusioned with Western involvement in the country. Many Congolese officials view Russia as a less demanding partner than Western nations, which impose stringent conditions on military assistance related to human rights and governance. This perception enhances Russia's attractiveness as a security partner. The author argues that Russia is actively working to expand its influence in Africa as part of a broader strategy to counter Western dominance. Thus, strengthening ties with the DRC would allow



Russia to establish a strategic foothold in Central Africa and enhance its global standing. It can therefore, be argued that, although the relationship is relatively new, historical connections to the USSR, can facilitate renewed military cooperation.

Matusevich (2019) asserts that following the DRC's request to Russia for assistance against armed groups in the eastern provinces, Russia's military has often included sending military instructors to train Congolese troops. This mirrors its operations in other African nations, such as the Central African Republic, where Russia has established itself as a dominant security partner. Additionally, cooperation between Russia and DRC will likely strengthen that country's capability to enhance its chances of bringing about peace. This assertion is supported by the fact that, the DRC-Russia agreement has facilitated significant arms deliveries to the DRC, including a notable consignment in February 2021 that included over 10,000 AK rifles and millions of cartridges. Such deliveries are often accompanied by Russian personnel who help integrate these supplies into the DRC's military operations, to enhance the FARDC's capabilities against various insurgent groups.

The idea of capacity building in weak states is supported by Kimathi et al (2024), who offer suggestions on how MONUSCO could have conducted its peacekeeping mission in DRC. They observe that, MONUSCO could contribute to long-term peace and stability by investing in capacity building and training programs for local security forces, government institutions, and community leaders. By improving local capacities in conflict prevention, resolution, and governance, MONUSCO empowers local actors to take more active roles in maintaining security and addressing root causes of the conflict. The investment in capacity building and training programs is a critical strategy for MONUSCO to contribute to long-term peace and stability in the DRC. By enhancing the capabilities of local security forces, government institutions, and community leaders, MONUSCO aims to empower these actors in conflict prevention, resolution, and governance, thereby fostering sustainable peace processes. Scholarly literature underscores the importance of capacity building in peacekeeping missions. According to Di Salvatore & Ruggeri (2017), effective capacity building enhances the operational effectiveness of peacekeepers by improving local institutions' ability to manage security challenges independently. This approach does not only strengthen the legitimacy of peace operations but also supports state-building efforts crucial for long-term stability (Bellamy et al., 2020). Given Russia's experience in counter-terrorism, it is recommended that the DRC embraces Russian military sponsored capacity building and training programmes. By engaging with Russia, the DRC could reduce its reliance on Western military

support and gain access to different types of military equipment and training. It is observed that peacekeeping operations provide Russia with opportunities to test and demonstrate its military capabilities in real-world scenarios, which can enhance its deterrence posture and military reputation.

Critics argue that, DRC's alignment with Russia could intensify the geopolitical rivalry between Russia and Western powers. As Russia seeks to position itself as a counterbalance to Western dominance in Africa, this rivalry may manifest in increased military and economic competition for influence in the region (Lucas, 2009). The case of Rwanda being an 'African Israel' quickly comes to mind. Rwanda and Uganda have been pampered with military aid from the West, all in a bid to control and influence the geopolitics of the Great Lakes Region. Furthermore, the DRC's military agreement with Russia may lead to heightened militarization, as it receives arms and training from Moscow. This could exacerbate existing conflicts, particularly in eastern DRC, where armed groups like M23 operate. The influx of Russian military support might also encourage other nations to bolster their military capabilities, potentially leading to an arms race in Central Africa further leading to instability in the region in general and DRC in particular. Thus, the DRC's reliance on Russian support could destabilize regional security dynamics. It is argued that as Russia solidifies its alliances in Central Africa, there is a risk of proxy conflicts emerging. Countries like Rwanda and Uganda, which have historically been involved in DRC affairs, may react defensively or aggressively to a perceived increase in Russian influence, potentially leading to heightened tensions and conflict within the region. By and large, the rekindling of DRC-Russia relations could possibly have a positive impact on peacekeeping in the region. Still, it will require careful planning, coordination, and monitoring to ensure that it contributes to long-term peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

## VII. CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that, Russian influence in Africa has been rekindled following the collapse of the USSR. The contemporary geopolitical dynamics have witnessed the resurgence of the Russia Federation. It has gained economically, politically and militarily ground across Africa in recent years, placing the continent at the crux of the growing geopolitical contest between the Kremlin and the White House. The paper notes that the revival of Russia – Africa relations is predicated on mutually beneficial and symbiotic relations and not the master – servant and hegemonic tendencies of America and its Western allies. Africa's alignment with Russia could intensify the geopolitical rivalry between Russia and Western powers. The neo-colonial agenda is still alive, hence the belief that Russia may spoil the West's

uncouth resource looting spree on the African continent. The counterbalance by Russia is viewed by many Africans as an opportunity to unshackle themselves from the chains of neo-colonialism.

Due to threats of conflicts (ethnic or resource) in Africa, there is a need for Africa to partner with a superpower which has the continent at heart. Russia due to its past relations with Africa will find it easy to help Africa solve challenges bedevilling the continent. Russia's peacekeeping efforts in Africa are a complex and controversial subject. Its peacekeeping efforts in Africa are characterized by a blend of military engagement, support for local governments, and a strategic goal of expanding influence. While these efforts are often framed as stabilizing actions, they raise complex issues regarding human rights and geopolitical dynamics. Russia's approach to peacekeeping funding is deeply intertwined with its geopolitical strategies, focusing on maintaining regional influence, securing economic interests, countering Western dominance, and enhancing military capabilities. The paper observes that while the some West critics have raised concerns about human rights abuses, lack of transparency, and the potential for exacerbating existing conflicts, this paper found out that most of these critics are beneficiaries of instability in the DRC. The negative comments are viewed as mere propaganda meant to discredit Russia's efforts to promote mutualism as well as pacification of conflicts in Africa. Pacification of conflicts in Africa especially that of DRC, may only be successful if there is will power among the superpowers to do so. The only hope DRC has is for Russia to use its position as one of the P 5 to proffer solutions in support of UN peacekeeping efforts in the DRC and by implementing terms of military cooperation agreements signed by the two countries. Such actions may help improve FARDC standards so that they may effectively fight the rebels.

## VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

It is believed that this is a more pragmatic approach supported by an African proverb which says, "A chameleon that wants to survive a burning bush must abandon the majestic walk of its ancestors." Thus, if African countries want to survive in the contemporary geopolitical environment, they must abandon old and unbeneficial relations (political, economically or militarily) with former colonial 'masters' and embrace Russia whose policy is predicated on mutually beneficial relations. It is the view of this research that DRC can benefit from Russian PMCs' experience obtained from various missions in Ukraine, Mali, CAR etc to help suppress instability in DRC. The DRC can leverage its vast resources with a country which does not seek to exploit it, but one which respects partner countries. This could help speed up the suppression of foreign funded proxy rebel groups whose aim is to 'milk' the DRC

resources. Deng (2024) found out that EAC Regional Force's mandate was ambiguous, since it did not spell out the force's peace enforcement roles. Secondly, diverging political interests in deploying regional troops portrayed a disjointed intervention as state-centered interests digressed from the bloc's objectives. To avoid this pitfall, it is suggested that Russian PMCs' mandate (if they are to be deployed in DRC) should be clear, to deal with renewed M23 attacks in Eastern DRC. Russia can provide advanced military technology and training to the DRC, which can enhance the operational capabilities of the Congolese armed forces. This transfer of knowledge and equipment appeals to the DRC as it seeks to modernize its military. Considering the vast number of African military students enrolled at Russian military institutions on both gratis and non-gratis basis, DRC needs to maximize on this offer to have its forces trained for both conventional and unconventional warfare, suffice to say this may enhance its peacekeeping effort.

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## Advocacy in Action? Assessing the Effectiveness of UNPO's Efforts for Uyghur Rights in East Turkestan

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**Abstract-** This study assesses the effectiveness of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization's (UNPO) advocacy efforts on behalf of the Uyghur community in East Turkestan (Xinjiang), China. The UNPO, along with other organizations, has sought to raise awareness of human rights abuses - including mass detention, forced labor, and cultural repression of marginalized communities such as the Uyghurs - and to influence policy in support of this cause. Using quantitative survey data from 416 participants, comprising UNPO staff and Uyghur activists, this research evaluates the perceived effectiveness of UNPO's transnational advocacy strategies across key areas: global awareness-raising, political representation, policy influence, and collaboration with other organizations. The results indicate that while UNPO's efforts to raise awareness of human rights violations affecting marginalized communities are acknowledged, particularly through media and public relations activities, its ability to drive substantial policy changes or international legal actions remains limited. Significant discrepancies were observed between the perceptions of UNPO staff, who rated their advocacy efforts positively, and Uyghur activists, who expressed more critical views on the organization's overall impact.

**Keywords:** *human rights, unrepresented nations and peoples organization, transnational advocacy, advocacy effectiveness, political representation, marginalized communities.*

**GJHSS-F Classification:** LCC: JC571



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# Advocacy in Action? Assessing the Effectiveness of UNPO's Efforts for Uyghur Rights in East Turkestan

Murat Sarigözmen

**Abstract-** This study assesses the effectiveness of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization's (UNPO) advocacy efforts on behalf of the Uyghur community in East Turkestan (Xinjiang), China. The UNPO, along with other organizations, has sought to raise awareness of human rights abuses - including mass detention, forced labor, and cultural repression of marginalized communities such as the Uyghurs - and to influence policy in support of this cause. Using quantitative survey data from 416 participants, comprising UNPO staff and Uyghur activists, this research evaluates the perceived effectiveness of UNPO's transnational advocacy strategies across key areas: global awareness-raising, political representation, policy influence, and collaboration with other organizations. The results indicate that while UNPO's efforts to raise awareness of human rights violations affecting marginalized communities are acknowledged, particularly through media and public relations activities, its ability to drive substantial policy changes or international legal actions remains limited. Significant discrepancies were observed between the perceptions of UNPO staff, who rated their advocacy efforts positively, and Uyghur activists, who expressed more critical views on the organization's overall impact. These differences point to a gap between the organization's strategic objectives in advocacy effectiveness and the practical outcomes experienced by the Uyghur community. The study concludes that, despite some achievements, UNPO faces challenges in converting advocacy into meaningful political and legal reforms, particularly in the face of opposition from powerful states like China. Recommendations for improvement include stronger collaboration with other organizations, a greater focus on policy and legal advocacy, and more alignment with the needs of marginalized communities.

**Keywords:** human rights, unrepresented nations and peoples organization, transnational advocacy, advocacy effectiveness, political representation, marginalized communities.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The ongoing human rights violations against the Uyghur people in East Turkestan (Xinjiang), China, have garnered increasing international attention in recent years. Reports of mass detention, forced labor, and cultural repression of the Uyghur population have prompted international organizations and advocacy groups to rally for their cause (Amnesty International, 2021; Human Rights Watch, 2021). In response to these

alarming developments, numerous international organizations and advocacy groups have mobilized to challenge China's actions and advocate for the rights of the Uyghur community. UNPO has been at the forefront of these advocacy efforts, working alongside the World Uyghur Congress (WUC) and other organizations to bring global attention to the plight of the Uyghur people.

While UNPO's efforts to advocate for the rights of the Uyghur community are commendable, assessing the effectiveness of these advocacy strategies is significant for understanding their impact on global awareness and policy change. This paper presents a quantitative analysis of survey data to evaluate how UNPO's advocacy efforts are perceived by different stakeholders, including UNPO staff and Uyghur activists. By analysing key indicators such as the effectiveness of UNPO in raising awareness, influencing policy, and collaborating with other organizations, this study provides insights into the organization's role in advocating for the Uyghur cause.

## II. METHODOLOGY

This study presents a quantitative analysis to assess the effectiveness of UNPO's advocacy for the Uyghur community. A total of 416 participants were included in the study, divided into two main groups: UNPO staff members and Uyghur activists.

The data were collected through a survey designed to measure perceptions of advocacy effectiveness. Survey methods are a widely used approach in evaluating transnational advocacy, particularly when capturing subjective perceptions and opinions. According to Fowler (2014), surveys are effective tools for collecting data from large groups of participants, especially in cases where subjective insights on attitudes and experiences are required.

The survey employed a Likert scale (ranging from 1 = not effective to 10 = very effective), allowing participants to quantitatively assess various dimensions of UNPO's work. The Likert scale is a widely used method to gauge subjective attitudes and is known for its reliability in social science research (DeVellis, 2017).

The survey was distributed through online platforms, making it accessible to participants regardless of their geographic location. Online data collection has been recognized for its efficiency in



reaching dispersed populations, as discussed by Wright (2005). This was particularly relevant for this study, which aimed to reach both the Uyghur diaspora and international activists.

The sample was selected using purposive sampling, focusing on individuals with direct knowledge and experience of UNPO's advocacy efforts for the Uyghur community. Purposive sampling is a technique that allows researchers to focus on participants who are particularly knowledgeable about the topic being studied. As Patton (2015) suggests, this method is highly effective in obtaining rich, context-specific data from informed individuals.

To ensure a diverse and representative sample, demographic information such as age, gender, and professional background was collected. This approach follows the recommendations of Creswell (2013), who argues that diverse sampling increases the generalizability of results and enhances the robustness of conclusions.

The survey explored six key dimensions of UNPO's advocacy strategies:

1. Overall effectiveness of UNPO in advancing Uyghur interests.
2. UNPO's role in raising global awareness.
3. Contribution to Uyghur political representation.
4. Understanding and representation of Uyghur issues.
5. Effectiveness of collaboration with other organizations.
6. Influence on policy changes regarding Uyghur rights.

The collected data were analysed using descriptive statistics, including the calculation of means ( $\bar{x}$ ) and standard deviations ( $s$ ) to evaluate perceptions of effectiveness across different advocacy areas. Creswell (2014) points out that descriptive statistics are essential in summarizing the central tendencies and variability in participant responses. Additionally, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to examine differences between UNPO staff and Uyghur activists. Field (2013) argues that ANOVA is a robust method for detecting statistically significant differences between groups in social science research.

A significance level of  $p < 0.05$  was adopted to identify meaningful differences between the groups. This standard threshold for statistical significance ensures that the observed differences are not due to chance, as emphasized by Field in his work on statistical methodologies in social research.

This study faces several limitations:

*Sampling Limitations:* The use of purposive sampling means that the results reflect the perceptions of a specific group, which may limit the generalizability of findings. As Bryman (2016) notes, purposive sampling is well-suited for studies focusing on expert opinions, but it limits broader generalization.

*Self-Reported Data:* The reliance on self-reported data may introduce bias, as participants' responses are based on their subjective perceptions rather than objective measures. Podsakoff et al. (2003) highlight this as a common issue in survey-based research, which can lead to inflated or deflated evaluations.

*Scope of the Survey:* The survey focused specifically on certain aspects of UNPO's advocacy efforts, such as awareness-raising and collaboration, and may not fully capture the entire range of the organization's activities. Importantly, this research is centered exclusively on the effectiveness of UNPO's advocacy for the Uyghur community in East Turkestan. Advocacy efforts for other UNPO member groups were not considered in this study. Therefore, the results primarily reflect perceptions related to these focal areas and should not be generalized to all of UNPO's advocacy work.

These methodological steps were carefully designed to ensure the scientific rigor of the study. As Bryman and Creswell argue, careful sample selection, appropriate data collection techniques, and rigorous analysis methods are key to producing reliable and valid research findings.

### III. FINDINGS

This section presents the findings from the quantitative survey conducted with 416 participants, comprising both UNPO staff and Uyghur activists. The results offer insights into how different stakeholders perceive the effectiveness of UNPO's advocacy efforts across several key areas, including raising global awareness, political representation, collaboration with other organizations, and policy influence. The analysis focuses on participant responses to key dimensions of UNPO's work, revealing both the strengths and challenges of the organization's advocacy strategies for the Uyghur community. The subsequent tables summarize these findings, beginning with a detailed examination of participants' views on the overall effectiveness of UNPO's initiatives.



Table 1: Participants' views on UNPO

	<u>x</u>	<u>s</u>
Belief in UNPO's effectiveness for Uyghur interests in East Turkestan	6,44	1,85
UNPO's role in increasing global awareness of Uyghur issues	6,61	1,82
UNPO's contribution to Uyghur political representation in East Turkestan	6,50	1,79
UNPO's understanding and representation of Uyghur issues	6,52	1,84
Effectiveness of UNPO's cooperation with other organizations for the Uyghur cause	6,51	1,85
Influence of UNPO's initiatives on policies regarding Uyghur rights	6,54	1,84
UNPO's effectiveness in raising international awareness on Uyghur issues	6,71	2,14
Impact of UNPO's efforts on international legal protections for the Uyghurs	6,80	2,02
Effectiveness of UNPO's media and public relations efforts	6,78	1,95
Quality of UNPO's tracking and reporting on its progress and results	7,50	1,99

### *Perceptions of Overall Effectiveness*

In Table 1, participants gave UNPO a mean score of 6.44 for its overall effectiveness in advancing Uyghur interests in East Turkestan. This moderate rating indicates that while UNPO is perceived as somewhat effective, there is still room for improvement. The score suggests a mixed sentiment regarding UNPO's strategic impact, aligning with Keck and Sikkink's (1998) argument that transnational advocacy organizations often face challenges in transforming high-level initiatives into tangible results on the ground.

### *Awareness-raising Efforts*

UNPO's role in increasing global awareness of Uyghur issues received a mean score of 6.61. This aligns with Sikkink (2011), who emphasizes that awareness campaigns are an essential first step but need sustained political pressure to lead to concrete outcomes. The moderate score reflects that while participants acknowledge UNPO's efforts to raise awareness, there is a sense that more could be done to turn this awareness into actionable change.

### *Influence on Policy*

UNPO's influence on policy regarding Uyghur rights was rated 6.54, indicating a reasonable level of recognition for its policy-related advocacy. However, this score also suggests limitations in UNPO's ability to effect meaningful policy changes, a challenge discussed in Clarke (2008), who notes that organizations advocating against powerful states like China often face obstacles in policy-making arenas.

### *Collaboration with Other Organizations*

The effectiveness of UNPO's collaboration with other organizations for Uyghur advocacy was rated 6.51 in Table 1, showing moderate success. This score suggests that while UNPO has established some partnerships, these collaborations may not yet be perceived as fully effective. Keck and Sikkink emphasize that successful transnational advocacy requires strong, results-driven collaborations that go beyond symbolic

partnerships. The moderate score may indicate room for improvement in fostering deeper, more impactful alliances.

### *Effectiveness in Media and Public Relations*

Participants gave a relatively high score of 6.78 for UNPO's media and public relations efforts, suggesting that the organization is perceived as effective in raising global awareness of Uyghur issues through media channels. Finnegan (2020) discusses the critical role media plays in highlighting human rights abuses, and this score reflects UNPO's success in leveraging media for awareness campaigns.

### *Human Rights and Legal Impact*

The highest score in Table 1 is for the impact of UNPO's tracking and reporting on its progress, with a mean of 7.50. This reflects the organization's strength in monitoring its efforts and communicating them to the public, but it also suggests that participants see more value in UNPO's ability to report on progress than in its direct influence on human rights outcomes. As McConnell (2016) argues, while reporting is important, translating advocacy into legal protections and human rights improvements remains a significant challenge for organizations like UNPO. In addition, the impact of UNPO's efforts on international legal protections for the Uyghur community received a moderate score of 6.80, indicating that while some progress has been made, significant challenges remain.

Table 2: Comparison of Participants' Views on UNPO according to Role

	Role	n	$\bar{x}$	s	Min	Max	F	P	Dif.
Belief in UNPO's effectiveness for Uyghur interests in East Turkestan	UNPO staff	134	8,25	0,92	5	10	180,113	0,000*	a-b
	Uyghur activist	145	5,78	1,47	1	9			
UNPO's role in increasing global awareness of Uyghur issues	UNPO staff	134	8,34	0,94	5	10	166,919	0,000*	a-b
	Uyghur activist	145	6,06	1,46	1	9			
UNPO's contribution to Uyghur political representation in East Turkestan	UNPO staff	134	8,24	0,89	6	10	175,502	0,000*	a-b
	Uyghur activist	145	5,92	1,40	1	10			
UNPO's understanding and representation of Uyghur issues	UNPO staff	134	8,35	0,91	6	10	189,459	0,000*	a-b
	Uyghur activist	145	5,86	1,48	1	9			
Effectiveness of UNPO's cooperation with other organizations for Uyghurs	UNPO staff	134	8,33	0,90	6	10	182,625	0,000*	a-b
	Uyghur activist	145	5,83	1,48	1	10			
Influence of UNPO's initiatives on policies regarding Uyghur rights	UNPO staff	134	8,33	0,93	6	10	175,344	0,000*	a-b
	Uyghur activist	145	5,83	1,53	1	10			
UNPO's international awareness-raising on Uyghur issues	UNPO staff	134	8,87	0,85	6	10	207,690	0,000*	a-b
	Uyghur activist	145	6,05	1,63	2	10			
Impact of UNPO's efforts on international legal actions for Uyghurs	UNPO staff	134	8,88	0,64	5	10	236,872	0,000*	a-b
	Uyghur activist	145	6,21	1,50	1	9			
Effectiveness of UNPO's media and public relations efforts	UNPO staff	134	8,73	0,71	6	10	207,484	0,000*	a-b
	Uyghur activist	145	6,23	1,37	2	8			
Quality of UNPO's tracking and reporting on its progress and results	UNPO staff	134	9,46	0,68	7	10	258,822	0,000*	a-b
	Uyghur activist	145	7,26	1,12	2	10			

\*  $p < 0,05$ *Perceptions of Overall Effectiveness*

Table 2 shows a notable difference in how UNPO staff and Uyghur activists perceive the organization's overall effectiveness. UNPO staff gave a mean score of 8.25, while Uyghur activists rated it significantly lower at 5.78. This gap in perception reflects what Keck and Sikkink describe as a common challenge for transnational advocacy networks, where internal actors may have a more optimistic view of their strategic impact, while those affected by the advocacy may feel that these efforts have not sufficiently translated into concrete outcomes.

*Awareness-raising Efforts*

In terms of awareness-raising, UNPO staff rated their efforts very highly (mean score: 8.34), while Uyghur activists were more critical, with a score of 6.06. This difference suggests that although UNPO has successfully raised international awareness through events like the Brussels Demonstration (UNPO, 2018), Uyghur activists may be concerned that these efforts have not resulted in significant on-ground changes, a common issue discussed by Chen (2014) in the context of advocacy for marginalized communities.

*Influence on Policy*

The influence of UNPO's initiatives on policies regarding Uyghur rights was also rated significantly higher by staff (mean score: 8.33) than by activists

(mean score: 5.83). Keck and Sikkink argue that while international advocacy can influence global discourse, achieving actual policy changes, especially against powerful states like China, is difficult. This gap reflects the broader challenge of translating international advocacy into tangible policy reforms.

*Collaboration with Other Organizations*

UNPO staff rated the organization's collaboration with other groups at 8.33, while Uyghur activists gave a lower score of 5.83. This suggests that while UNPO values its partnerships with organizations like the World Uyghur Congress, Uyghur activists may feel that these collaborations are not achieving the necessary impact. Bob (2005) highlights that symbolic partnerships are often not enough to bring about meaningful change.

*Effectiveness in Media and Public Relations*

The effectiveness of UNPO's media efforts was rated highly by staff (8.73) but less favourably by activists (6.23). While UNPO has succeeded in gaining media attention, as noted by Finnegan, the lower rating from activists suggests that these efforts have not yet translated into real change for the Uyghur community, reflecting Keck and Sikkink's assertion that media campaigns need to be followed by sustained advocacy for tangible outcomes.

### *Human Rights and Legal Impact*

UNPO staff rated the organization's impact on international legal actions with a high score of 8.88, while activists provided a more modest rating of 6.21. This discrepancy highlights the challenge of achieving

meaningful legal outcomes, especially in cases involving powerful states like China. As Sikkink discusses, legal advocacy often takes time, and while UNPO may be making progress, Uyghur activists may not yet see the results on the ground.

*Table 3:* Participants' views on the Impact of UNPO's Efforts on Human Rights in East Turkestan

Impact of UNPO's initiatives on human rights in East Turkestan	n	%
No observed impact	38	9,13
Increased global awareness of human rights violations due to UNPO's efforts	155	37,26
Policy changes or international support resulting from UNPO's initiatives	226	54,33
Direct support to affected communities from UNPO's actions	118	28,37
Improved visibility and representation in international forums through UNPO's advocacy	95	22,84

*Note:* Participants were allowed to select up to two options in this question.

### *Perceptions of Overall Effectiveness*

In Table 3, 54.33% of participants believed that UNPO's efforts led to policy changes or international support, which is a positive indication of the organization's overall effectiveness. However, 9.13% of respondents saw no observed impact, suggesting that while UNPO is making some headway, its efforts may not be as widely felt as intended. This is consistent with Keck and Sikkink's findings that international advocacy can sometimes struggle to create on-the-ground impact in challenging political environments.

### *Awareness-raising Efforts*

A significant portion of participants (37.26%) credited UNPO with increasing global awareness of human rights violations in East Turkestan. This finding supports the notion that awareness-raising has been one of UNPO's key strengths. However, Pils (2022) argues that awareness alone is insufficient without concrete legal and political actions, and this is reflected in the fact that only 22.84% of participants saw improved visibility in international forums.

### *Influence on Policy*

The data from Table 3 shows that 54.33% of participants acknowledged that policy changes or international support resulted from UNPO's initiatives. This is a promising figure and suggests that UNPO has had some success in influencing policy, despite the challenges outlined by Clarke in advocating against a powerful state like China. However, the remaining 45.67% of participants did not observe significant policy outcomes, indicating that there is still work to be done in this area.

### *Collaboration with Other Organizations*

The effectiveness of UNPO's collaborations was not explicitly highlighted in Table 3, but the overall sense of progress in terms of policy changes suggests that

these collaborations may be yielding some results. However, the limited visibility reported by participants (only 22.84% seeing improved representation) suggests that UNPO's partnerships with other organizations might need to be strengthened for greater impact. Tarrow (2005) highlights that successful transnational activism relies on strong and focused partnerships that prioritize common goals and tangible outcomes.

### *Effectiveness in Media and Public Relations*

Although media and public relations were not the primary focus of Table 3, the fact that 37.26% of participants recognized UNPO's role in raising awareness suggests that the organization's media efforts have been somewhat effective. This aligns with Keck and Sikkink's argument that media visibility is an essential component of advocacy, but as only 22.84% saw improved international visibility, it indicates that media efforts alone are not enough to create significant policy changes.

### *Human Rights and Legal Impact*

The fact that 54.33% of participants observed policy changes or international support as a result of UNPO's efforts is a strong indicator of its positive impact on human rights. However, 9.13% noted no observed impact, reflecting the ongoing challenges in achieving real-world legal protections, as highlighted by Sikkink. While the advocacy efforts may be effective in raising awareness and building international support, translating this into legal protections for Uyghurs in East Turkestan remains a challenge.

## IV. DISCUSSION

The findings of this study provide insights into the perceptions of both UNPO staff and Uyghur activists regarding the effectiveness of UNPO's advocacy efforts. While UNPO has made notable progress in several

areas, the results indicate significant challenges that the organization faces, especially in translating its advocacy strategies into tangible outcomes on the ground. The following discussion interprets these results in the context of existing literature, considering the methodological findings from the study.

#### *Perceptions of Overall Effectiveness*

The disparity between the perceptions of UNPO staff and Uyghur activists regarding the organization's overall effectiveness is one of the most striking findings. Table 2 highlights a significant gap, with UNPO staff giving an average score of 8.25, while Uyghur activists rated the effectiveness much lower, at 5.78. This gap reflects a common challenge in transnational advocacy organizations, where internal actors, such as staff members, may have a more favourable view of their impact due to their involvement in strategic planning and decision-making. On the other hand, those who experience the outcomes of these efforts directly, such as the Uyghur activists, may have more grounded and critical perspectives, particularly if they do not perceive immediate or tangible improvements in their situation.

This finding is consistent with broader challenges faced by transnational advocacy organizations, as noted by Keck and Sikkink, who argue that while advocacy networks can shape global norms and awareness, translating these efforts into meaningful policy changes often proves difficult, especially when opposing powerful state actors like China. Clarke similarly notes that geopolitical constraints frequently limit the ability of advocacy organizations to achieve substantive political outcomes, a challenge that is evidently present in the case of UNPO's efforts for the Uyghur community.

#### *Awareness-raising Efforts*

UNPO's efforts in raising global awareness about the human rights violations in East Turkestan were generally rated positively, particularly by UNPO staff, who gave an average score of 8.34 (as shown in Table 2). This suggests that the organization has been successful in bringing international attention to the plight of the Uyghur people, a vital first step in any advocacy campaign as noted by Sikkink. However, the more moderate score from Uyghur activists (6.06) indicates that while awareness has been raised, this has not yet resulted in meaningful changes on the ground.

This finding aligns with Chen, who argues that awareness campaigns must be followed by sustained political action to effect change. The lower scores from activists suggest that the global attention brought to the Uyghur issue through UNPO's media and public relations efforts has not yet translated into concrete actions that address the human rights violations in East Turkestan.

#### *Influence on Policy*

The influence of UNPO's advocacy on policy regarding Uyghur rights presents one of the most critical areas of analysis. The study shows a notable difference in perception between UNPO staff (mean score: 8.33) and Uyghur activists (mean score: 5.83). This gap highlights the challenges of achieving policy change, particularly when advocating against a powerful state like China. As Keck and Sikkink and Clarke suggest, while transnational advocacy networks can successfully raise awareness and exert pressure, achieving policy changes in international contexts, especially those involving influential states, is a complex and often slow process.

The findings from Table 3 reveal that only 54.33% of participants felt that policy changes or international support had resulted from UNPO's efforts, suggesting that while there has been some success, there is still significant work to be done. The fact that 45.67% of participants did not observe substantial policy changes highlights the difficulty UNPO faces in securing concrete policy outcomes. This challenge is exacerbated by the geopolitical and economic power of China, which has stymied efforts by advocacy organizations to achieve substantive international action.

#### *Collaboration with Other Organizations*

UNPO's collaboration with other organizations was perceived as moderately effective by both staff and activists. The moderate score of 6.51 in Table 1 suggests that while UNPO has established some partnerships, these collaborations may not yet be yielding the level of impact needed to effect real change. As Bob points out, symbolic partnerships are often insufficient in generating meaningful outcomes; effective collaborations require deeper engagement and more sustained, results-oriented efforts.

Moreover, the lower score from Uyghur activists (5.83 in Table 2) indicates that the current level of collaboration may not be meeting the expectations of those directly affected by the advocacy efforts. Strengthening these partnerships, particularly with organizations like the World Uyghur Congress and other international human rights groups, could help UNPO enhance its capacity to address the specific needs of the Uyghur community.

#### *Effectiveness in Media and Public Relations*

UNPO's media and public relations efforts received relatively high scores from both staff (8.73) and activists (6.23). This suggests that the organization has been successful in utilizing media to raise awareness about the Uyghur issue, as discussed by Finnegan. However, as Keck and Sikkink argue, while media visibility is important, it must be accompanied by sustained advocacy efforts that push for tangible outcomes. The lower rating from Uyghur activists



suggests that while media attention has been effective in raising global awareness, it has not yet led to significant policy changes or on-the-ground improvements for the Uyghur people.

#### *Human Rights and Legal Impact*

The most significant area where UNPO's efforts are perceived positively is in its ability to monitor and report on its progress, with a mean score of 7.50 in Table 1. This suggests that participants value UNPO's transparency and communication of its advocacy efforts. However, the more modest ratings on the organization's impact on international legal protections (6.80) reflect the broader challenges in converting advocacy into legal outcomes. As Sikkink points out, legal advocacy often takes time, especially when dealing with entrenched state interests and complex international legal frameworks.

The fact that only 9.13% of participants in Table 3 reported 'no observed impact' from UNPO's efforts suggests that while progress has been slow, there are signs of movement in the right direction. However, the overall challenge remains: how to turn increased awareness and international support into concrete legal protections and human rights improvements for the Uyghur people.

## V. CONCLUSION

This study provides a comprehensive quantitative assessment of the effectiveness of UNPO's advocacy efforts for the Uyghur community. The findings offer a nuanced understanding of how UNPO's strategies are perceived by both internal stakeholders (UNPO staff) and external stakeholders (Uyghur activists), highlighting several key strengths and areas for improvement.

Firstly, the results show that UNPO has been successful in raising global awareness of the human rights violations faced by the Uyghur people. Both UNPO staff and activists recognized the organization's ability to attract international attention to the Uyghur cause. This finding aligns with the literature on transnational advocacy, which emphasizes the importance of awareness-raising as a foundational step in human rights campaigns.

However, while awareness has been successfully raised, the study reveals significant challenges in translating this awareness into concrete policy changes. The disparity between the perceptions of UNPO staff and Uyghur activists - particularly regarding the effectiveness of policy advocacy - highlights the difficulty of achieving meaningful outcomes, especially when advocating against a powerful state like China. Only 54.33% of participants reported seeing policy changes or international support as a result of UNPO's efforts, suggesting that there is still considerable work to be done in this area.

Moreover, collaboration with other organizations has been identified as an essential but moderately effective aspect of UNPO's advocacy. While partnerships have been established, the findings indicate that these collaborations may not yet be fully optimized for impact. Strengthening these alliances, particularly with key stakeholders such as the World Uyghur Congress and other international human rights organizations, will be essential for advancing more impactful advocacy outcomes.

The media and public relations efforts of UNPO were generally rated positively, reflecting the organization's success in leveraging media platforms to amplify the Uyghur cause. However, as noted by both activists and staff, media efforts alone are insufficient without sustained political action. As Keck and Sikkink argue, while media visibility is an important tool for advocacy, it must be accompanied by strategic actions aimed at achieving tangible legal and policy outcomes.

One of the most significant challenges highlighted by the study is the gap between awareness and legal impact. While participants appreciated UNPO's transparency and ability to track and report on its progress, there is a clear need for the organization to focus more on converting advocacy efforts into concrete legal protections for the Uyghur community. As Sikkink discusses, legal advocacy often requires time and persistent effort, particularly when facing entrenched state interests. UNPO must continue its efforts to push for international legal actions that hold China accountable for its human rights violations.

Based on the findings, several key recommendations can be made for UNPO's future advocacy strategies:

**Strengthen Collaboration:** UNPO should prioritize building deeper, more results-driven partnerships with other organizations, particularly those with the political influence and resources to advocate effectively at the international level. While UNPO has already established important relationships with organizations like the World Uyghur Congress, other human rights groups, international institutions such as the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU), its collaboration efforts should be enhanced.

The current focus should shift toward fostering partnerships that are action-oriented and strategically designed to achieve tangible, long-term outcomes for the Uyghur people. Collaboration with international bodies like the UN and EU offers the opportunity to shape global discourses, but greater coordination and joint action with other transnational actors are essential for converting advocacy into measurable policy impacts.

Additionally, effective collaboration requires aligning with partners who possess the necessary political leverage to influence decision-making processes within institutions like the UN Human Rights



Council and the EU Parliament. For instance, these collaborations should aim to advocate for stronger human rights resolutions, push for international investigations, or impose sanctions on violators of Uyghur rights. UNPO should work to cultivate alliances with international legal organizations, policy-makers, and influential governments that are in positions to implement meaningful diplomatic or economic pressure on states like China.

A key aspect of improving collaboration is also setting clear, measurable objectives with each partner organization. These goals may include specific policy shifts, initiating legal proceedings against human rights violators, or strengthening media and public relations efforts to sustain international pressure. UNPO's work in the UN and EU provides a foundation, but there is room for deeper, results-driven partnerships that not only raise awareness but also lead to political representation, sanctions, and legal protections for the Uyghur and Tibetan populations.

*Focus on Policy and Legal Advocacy:* While UNPO's awareness campaigns have been effective in bringing global attention to the human rights violations in East Turkestan, there remains a significant need to translate this awareness into concrete policy and legal outcomes. Raising international consciousness is only the first step; to bring about lasting change, UNPO must intensify its efforts to influence policy at both the national and international levels. This requires a strategic shift towards engaging more deeply with international legal frameworks, as well as advocating for the implementation of binding resolutions, sanctions, and other enforcement mechanisms against states violating human rights.

To achieve this, UNPO should prioritize working more closely with international legal experts, human rights lawyers, and policymakers who are positioned to push for stronger legal actions. Partnering more effectively with organizations such as the International Criminal Court (ICC), the International Court of Justice (ICJ), and human rights bodies like the UN Human Rights Council, UNPO could advocate for legal cases that hold perpetrators accountable for crimes against humanity, such as the reported mass detentions, forced labor, and cultural erasure of the Uyghur people. Strategic litigation, combined with a robust international legal campaign, could pressure states and international bodies to adopt tougher measures against those committing rights violations.

Additionally, UNPO should focus on securing political support for international sanctions, including economic and diplomatic measures, targeting those responsible for human rights abuses in East Turkestan. Working with sympathetic governments, especially those within the European Union and other democratic coalitions, could enhance the chances of introducing

sanctions or legal mechanisms such as Magnitsky-style laws<sup>1</sup> that target individuals and entities involved in the repression of Uyghur population. These efforts should be aimed at applying sustained pressure on China, urging it to comply with international human rights norms and potentially altering its policies through economic and diplomatic consequences.

*Align Strategies with Uyghur Activists' Needs:* The disparity between the perceptions of UNPO staff and Uyghur activists, as indicated by survey data, highlights a critical gap in how advocacy efforts are experienced and evaluated by those on the ground. While UNPO staff may view their work in international forums and awareness campaigns as effective, Uyghur activists often express concerns that these efforts do not sufficiently address the urgent and practical needs of the Uyghur community. This discrepancy highlights the importance of ensuring that advocacy strategies are more closely aligned with the real-world concerns and priorities of Uyghur activists, who face the direct consequences of China's repressive policies.

To bridge this gap, UNPO must strengthen its communication channels with Uyghur activists and community leaders, ensuring that their voices are central to the development of advocacy strategies. One way to achieve this is by establishing regular consultations with Uyghur activists to gather feedback on the organization's priorities, messaging, and tactics. These consultations would allow UNPO to adapt its advocacy to better reflect the immediate needs and demands of the Uyghur community, such as amplifying calls for the release of detainees, halting forced labor, and protecting Uyghur cultural identity.

Additionally, by integrating the lived experiences and first-hand knowledge of Uyghur activists, UNPO can make its campaigns more contextually relevant and impactful. Activists on the ground often have a clearer understanding of the challenges faced by their communities and can offer practical insights into how international advocacy can support local resistance efforts. Strengthening this collaboration would ensure that advocacy is not only conducted in international arenas but is also grounded in the everyday realities of Uyghurs facing repression.

UNPO could also consider co-developing specific campaigns or initiatives with Uyghur organizations, such as the World Uyghur Congress, to ensure that its strategies are better attuned to the community's evolving needs. This joint effort could involve working on projects such as documenting human rights abuses, providing legal support to Uyghur refugees, or amplifying Uyghur voices in international

<sup>1</sup> Magnitsky-style laws refer to legal frameworks that allow governments to impose sanctions on foreign individuals and entities responsible for human rights abuses and corruption. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Magnitsky\\_Act](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Magnitsky_Act)

media. By directly involving Uyghur activists in the design and execution of these initiatives, UNPO can help foster a sense of ownership and agency within the community, while ensuring that the organization's efforts have the greatest possible impact.

*Expand Political Alliances:* Given the significant geopolitical challenges of advocating against a powerful state like China, expanding UNPO's network of political allies is critical to advancing the cause of the Uyghur people. China's economic influence, strategic partnerships, and political leverage within international organizations present formidable barriers to advocacy efforts aimed at addressing human rights abuses in East Turkestan. To counter these challenges, UNPO must broaden its alliances by actively engaging with a wider array of sympathetic governments, international organizations, and key UN bodies capable of exerting meaningful diplomatic and political pressure on China.

To achieve this, UNPO should strategically identify and cultivate relationships with governments that have a demonstrated commitment to human rights and are willing to challenge China's policies, even at the risk of economic or political repercussions. Countries that have already taken a stand on human rights violations, such as the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and members of the European Union, are natural allies in this effort. These nations have imposed sanctions or taken diplomatic actions in response to China's treatment of the Uyghurs, and further collaboration with their governments could help amplify pressure on Beijing. UNPO could work closely with these governments to coordinate joint advocacy efforts, such as presenting unified resolutions at international forums, applying economic sanctions, or supporting legal actions against Chinese officials implicated in human rights abuses.

Additionally, UNPO should seek alliances with other countries and regional blocks that have a growing interest in human rights advocacy but have not yet taken a strong stance on China's actions. This includes engaging with countries in the Global South that might have historical ties to anti-colonial movements or a strong record of supporting self-determination, as they could become valuable advocates for the Uyghur cause within multilateral organizations. By diversifying its base of political support, UNPO can build a more global coalition that spans different regions and political systems, thereby increasing the legitimacy and scope of its advocacy.

Beyond national governments, UNPO should also focus on building stronger partnerships with key international organizations and human rights bodies. The United Nations Human Rights Council, the UN Special Rapporteur on Minority Issues, and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights are essential

platforms where the plight of the Uyghurs can be raised at the highest levels of global diplomacy. By working more closely with these bodies, UNPO can push for stronger investigations into human rights violations, support fact-finding missions, and advocate for urgent international responses. Furthermore, UNPO should advocate for the appointment of special envoys or rapporteurs dedicated to investigating and reporting on the human rights situation in East Turkestan. Such efforts can help increase the visibility of the issue and maintain international pressure on China.

In addition to working with sympathetic states and international bodies, UNPO must also engage with non-state actors and global advocacy coalitions. Building alliances with global NGOs, think tanks, and civil society organizations that focus on human rights, international law, and minority rights can further amplify the Uyghur cause. These organizations often possess the expertise and influence needed to mobilize public opinion, generate media coverage, and support legal actions in international courts. By forming coalitions with these groups, UNPO can ensure that the Uyghur issue remains on the global agenda and that advocacy efforts are coordinated, comprehensive, and effective.

Moreover, engaging with diaspora communities and leveraging their international networks can provide additional support to UNPO's political strategies. Uyghur diaspora communities, along with Tibetan and other marginalized groups represented by UNPO, can serve as powerful advocates, helping to raise awareness and influence public policy in their host countries. Coordinating with these communities to launch advocacy campaigns, participate in international conferences, and engage with policymakers can help solidify political alliances and increase the global impact of UNPO's work.

In conclusion, this study highlights both the strengths and limitations of UNPO's advocacy for the Uyghur community. While the organization has made significant strides in raising awareness and collaborating with international actors, its impact on policy and legal outcomes remains limited. Moving forward, UNPO must focus on strengthening partnerships, aligning its strategies more closely with the needs of Uyghur activists, and pushing for more concrete policy changes at the international level. By addressing these challenges, UNPO can enhance its effectiveness and continue its vital work in advocating for the rights and freedoms of the unrepresented people.

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## Law and Social Progress

By Vadim V. Antonchenko

*Abstract- Background:* The problems of social progress, the directions of development of the state and law have not lost their relevance since the birth of human civilization. The reason for this study is the need to detect patterns in the genesis of the state and law, to determine the nature of their development. The author sets himself the task of revealing philosophical and legal ideas about the progressive evolutionary development of the state and law, ensuring the well-being and security of the individual and society.

*Materials and Methods:* Considering the development of the state and law, the author uses the method of state-legal modeling, as well as comparative legal and historical-legal methods that allow assessing the main features of social progress associated with the search and provision of universal values that are supranational in nature.

*Results:* The uniqueness and uniqueness of each community, caused by natural, cultural, historical, religious and other factors, do not devalue the steady trend of the development of society towards the rationalization of public life, democratization and humanization of political regimes, the expansion of the rights and freedoms of citizens. Modern concepts of law as a special connection of the individual with the state endow the property of universality of human rights, and the legal concepts of freedom, equality and justice underlie their recognition and protection.

*Keywords:* state, law, progress, social well-being, social values, political regime.

*GJHSS-F Classification:* LCC: JC571, K3240



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*





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**Conclusions:** Modern standards of progress are inseparable from the concepts of freedom, equality and justice and can be acquired by society only in conditions of civil consent. Progressive in the genesis of the state and law is the direction of their development, which frees man and society from irrational, based on ideological misconceptions, religious, class and other prejudices, rules of behavior.

**Keywords:** state, law, progress, social well-being, social values, political regime.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The theoretical significance of the problems of civilizational progress in its relation to the socio-political structure of society was reflected in the arguments of ancient thinkers of the Antiquity era. In modern times, this issue has been explored in their works by the theorists of European social and philosophical-legal thought I. Kant, G. Hegel, K. Marx, N. Y. Danilevsky, O. Spengler, A. Toynbee and others. The purpose of this work is to identify criteria for social progress that correspond to modern ideas about what is proper in public life and political and legal reality.

Social progress is understood as a global process based on the achievements of politics, law, science and technology, the development of society from lower to higher states. This process is not linear

and is burdened by various deviations (regression) related to historical, cultural, religious and other circumstances that generate significant unevenness in the cultural, social and technological development of various States and peoples. An inseparable element of social progress is also the development of theoretical and legal knowledge as a progress of ideas, theories and views on the proper structure of society, the state and law. People's ideas about the role and place of the state and law in the political system of society, state-legal processes and phenomena, the deontology of interaction between the state and the individual have a direct impact on culture, economics, spiritual life, well-being and security of society.

## II. MATERIALS AND METHODS

Discussions about the methods and tools that the state can use to ensure a high level of social well-being and an optimal state of individuals, social groups and society as a whole (Medvedeva, 2018) require defining criteria for a progressive state and direction of development of the political and legal system.

The concept of well-being, representing a self-assessment of conditions significant to an individual (health, material prosperity, security, etc.), has such a subjective perception and multidimensional character that, having come to the attention of ancient philosophers, it has not received a generally accepted definition to this day (Aristotle, 1983). Social well-being aggregates economic, social, cultural and other factors that determine the absence of risks and threats to normal life and reality satisfying individuals (Shaminov, 2003; Jahoda, 2011). Well-being was the main characteristic of a full-fledged and productive human life at any stage of the historical development of society. If in societies that had no idea of the social purpose of the state, the rule of law and human rights, such reality correlated with the conditions for human survival, then in a society that has adopted modern standards of democracy and a welfare state, it also includes the socio-cultural needs of a person for self-realization.

The concept of progress in the development of the state is inextricably linked with the definition of positions on two conceptual issues of philosophy in general and philosophy of law in particular. The first of them is related to the question of the very possibility of a regular and progressive development of society in general. The second relates to the search for universal values that determine the points of reference on the scale of civilizational development, methods and

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principles of the exercise of state power and the ultimate goal in the existence of the state. The search for answers to these questions was started. Kant, who suggested that the history of mankind has not only a permanent progressive direction, but also a final goal in the form of gaining freedom and a just structure of society (Kant, 1966).

### III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

History does not know societies and states in which the social and legal reality would be perfect. At the same time, the progress of civilization is undeniable. According to G. Hegel, the progress of the state (and the peak of the historical process) It consists in ensuring freedom through socio-political institutions. The prerequisite for progress is the primacy of philosophical and legal ideas in relation to legal reality. The development of law and the state, following the ideas of the common good, should be subject to theoretical concepts; Philosophical teachings that have elevated man should dispel the inertia of traditionalists, who are satisfied with the existing order (Hegel, 1990).

In the 21st century, despite all the achievements in science, technology and the social sphere, attempts to mythologize mass consciousness are still ongoing (and not unsuccessfully) in some countries. The very possibility of legal progress is called into question, or it is associated with phenomena of the "historical and national archetype", "cultural code", "legal environment", etc. that do not exist in reality. Taking into account such mystified factors based, among others, on religious misconceptions, power dictates, vices in education, lack of information, etc., serves, in essence, the purpose of justifying political and legal systems based on traditional principles of unfreedom, inequality, and injustice that have developed over a long period of time.

Man is irrational by nature. This is explained by the finiteness of human life, which arises and, as a rule, does not stop at the will of man, his defenselessness to dangers and diseases, the imperfection of the human psyche, the complexity (or impossibility) of exhaustive scientific knowledge of the real essence of things and phenomena, forcing resort to transcendental practices. Social reality is also not characterized by rationality: there has always been and continues to be imperfection of the social order, injustice in the distribution of resources and income, social conflicts and wars.

Only collective intelligence as a property of interaction between recognized authorities, the bearers of new ideas, can counteract the irrationality of man and the human community. The joint development of knowledge-based ideas is able to overcome individual cognitive distortions and limit irrationality. Symbiotic intelligence, by expanding the possibilities for interactions between people capable of producing ideas, increases the array of social knowledge. In this

case, a collective solution is more effective than the best of individual solutions (Flew, 2007).

The entire history of human civilization and the development of states represents a movement from an irrational state towards rationality, from an inhumane reality towards humanism. Despite the tragic events of the twentieth century, associated with the world wars and many local conflicts that claimed millions of human lives, humanity's progress from an irrational state to a rational one, from cruelty and inhumanity to humanism is obvious.

This movement is based on the awareness of the rationality of freedom, equality and justice not for selected classes, social strata and groups, but "for all", and is objectified in the political institutions of various states that choose the democratic path of development (Fukuyama, 2007). States whose legal reality consists in moving from slavery to freedom, from discrimination to equality, from chauvinism to internationalism, from the cult of war to nonviolence, from slavery to freedom, from authoritarianism to democracy, from the rule of force to the rule of law, clearly show a clear advantage in the well-being and security of people's lives.

Indicators of the state's progress (average life expectancy and its quality, and the level of income of the population, access to education and medicine, etc.) directly correlate with the real existence of democratic institutions that ensure equal access to government for citizens, and liberal discourse in politics and law. The regressiveness of undemocratic political regimes has been repeatedly and comprehensively proven by human history: states whose law and mechanism do not create conditions for coordinating the interests of various social groups, do not strive for rationality and humanism, but reflect religious, national, class or other segregating essence, are incapable of effective development. Thus, the conditions for the progress of the state and, at the same time, its criteria are: the measure of human freedom, the recognition of the individual's right to a decent life, the protection of citizens, the real ability of citizens to participate in government, the subordination of the state and its political elite to law.

Ideas about progress in the public and individual consciousness are inseparable from assessing the social structure to the extent to which it corresponds to the specified values and the goals derived from them. The measure of a State's progress is the degree to which its legal system perceives values that are considered universal, i.e., of absolute importance to the vast majority of citizens, regardless of time and geographical limits.

A comparative analysis of the main macroeconomic indicators reflecting general trends in the development of states with different political and legal regimes shows that the greatest successes in the economy, which plays a crucial role in the development of society and forms the basis of all social relations, are

achieved by countries in which human rights and freedoms are not only proclaimed the highest value, but also filled with real content.

Values related to the principles of freedom and equality of citizens before the law and aimed at achieving social harmony are highly correlated with the postulates of liberal ideology, which proclaims the supremacy of human rights and advocates minimizing government interference in the life of society and its constituent individuals. Liberal values are based on rationalism, which originates from the philosophy of Socrates, who believed that before people can know the world, they must know themselves (Nersesyants, 1996). Rationalism as a method based on the liberation of the individual and society from a mystified view of reality, including in the political and legal sphere, allows not only to perceive the appearance of things and phenomena, but also to penetrate into their essence.

Rational thinking requires the participation of the mind in the realization of the experience gained. Hence, religious values cannot be recognized as universal. There are thousands of different religions and their denominations on Earth today. All of them, at least, do not show goodwill towards non-believers, and, at worst, they call on their followers to destroy supporters of other views on the world order (Zelenkov, 2007). This is confirmed, for example, by the Arab-Israeli conflict, which has lasted for decades and claimed thousands of lives. It is based not on rational, but on religious reasons, and is essentially a clash between two civilizations at different levels of social and state development. This example also shows that more progressive States are those whose political and legal systems are able to curb the dangerous manifestations of herd (religious and other) instincts of the population.

The postulates of influential secular ideologies that make the "value" of an individual dependent on his belonging to a certain social stratum, class, stratum and do not define as the highest value of any person and his rights cannot be recognized as universal.

Universal values, as well as the achievement of their corresponding goals, are incompatible with any kind of undemocratic political regimes. The degree of discrimination and violence based on gender and race, nationality, belonging to a religion or denomination, social group, worldview and ideology characterize not only the magnitude of the regression of law, but also is an indicator of the degradation of the entire society. Attempts to restrict personal, civil and political freedoms under the pretext of expediency, legality, security, etc. They cannot serve the stated purposes, since they contradict the ontology of law and its deontic logic. Inhumane events related to social and military conflicts that cast doubt on the progressive direction of the development of the state, law and human civilization as a whole, become possible as a result of the destruction of axiological components in the legislation and legal

practice of some states. Public and individual consciousness is the basis of the corresponding legal reality. The denial of the humanitarian character of law, the normative consolidation of false sociological theories is a sign of defects in public legal awareness and legal culture. This inevitably leads to a deep regression of society and the state (Germany, 1933-1945), threatening not only serious social upheavals, but also global catastrophes. Axiological rationality, expressed through universal basic values mediated by the natural law concept of legal understanding, does not come to the fore in everyday legal activity. However, at critical moments in human history, it becomes in demand and becomes dominant (the Nuremberg trials of 1945-1949).

The history of the development of various states and political systems shows that the more traditional the legal system is and tends to reflect on political, ideological, religious or other similar dogmas, the less success a society has on the path of social progress, stability, security and social harmony (Antonchenko, 2022; Antonchenko, 2023). The degree of political, civil, socio-economic freedoms and cultural rights is directly reflected in the level of development of the sphere of innovative scientific and practical achievements. Social freedom and social progress create a powerful impetus in the development of science and technology, the introduction of advanced innovative solutions in everyday life. It is obvious that the methods of exercising political power, the attitude of the state towards the recognition and observance of human rights and freedoms, and political freedoms directly affect the entire range of indicators of society's development, determining not only the progress of social institutions, but also technical and technological progress.

The development of the State is inseparable from the evolution of law. These processes are dialectically related: they have mutual influence and are mutually conditioned. Progress in the development of law is primarily related to the humanization of legislation, law enforcement and the entire legal reality. The classics of social and political-legal thought, who compiled philosophical teachings on personality, society, state, law and morality for mankind, saw progress in fair civil governance based on unconditional respect for the individual, individual rights and law in general. The categorical imperative of I. Kant's deontic moral philosophy (Kant, 1995), which is a way of assessing the motives of an act, essentially boils down to a well-known everyday rule: "Behave towards others the way you want others to behave towards you." At the same time, it took centuries for this simple formula, which defines the moral foundations of law and the state, to become the property of European public consciousness and the political and legal activities of states.

There is a widespread opinion in legal science that a unified understanding of the progress of law is

hardly possible due to fundamental differences between the models of development of legal relations (Soviet, socialist, Western liberal, fascist, etc.), different doctrinal approaches to values, and differences in the social and spiritual "lining" of statehood (Mordovtsev A. Yu. and others, 2018). Proponents of such a denial are right, but only in a narrow sense: legal progress within the framework of a single political system and from the point of view of a separate society (social group, stratum) may indeed have significant differences and even a negative sign (i.e., be a regression) in comparison with the ideas of "progressive" in other states.

Critics of the general civilizational and universal understanding of the progress of law do not miss the opportunity to refer to the law of Nazi Germany, which, according to German lawyers of that time, was assessed as a "qualitative breakthrough in power relations" because it brought obvious positive changes in the system of power and government. The collapse of the Third Reich, however, only confirms the principle of the existence of universal values and rights: – universal values (life, health, freedom, equality, security) objectively exist; – their existence cannot be limited to a single state, party, political system, class, and ideology; – the progressivity of law is determined by the degree to which legal norms correspond to universal values. It is no coincidence that the controversial intellectual legacy of Karl Schmitt, one of the most prominent critics of liberal democratic ideas, is linked to his service to the Nazi regime (Guzikova, 2015).

The depravity of the ancient formula *Auctoritas, non veritas facit legem*<sup>1</sup> is confirmed by the whole human history. The overbearing assertion of criminal (from the point of view of natural law) values; their consolidation in legislation; propaganda, appropriately influencing public awareness of justice – all this determines the criminality of the goals of state development, as well as the means and methods of achieving them. Ultimately, this leads to the collapse of the political system, the destruction of the state, which, in turn, generates extremely negative consequences for society and incalculable disasters for citizens.

The progress of law is reasonably understood as the development of the legal system, which, by qualitatively improving the legal reality, serves the interests of achieving new socially significant goals (Barsukov, 2004; Malko and others, 2013). Humanity first discovered these goals in the era of the European Enlightenment, which questioned the existing order of power and traditional institutions. Thus, the revision of the role of religion in Western European culture in the 18th century, which has always been one of the most influential factors in the public consciousness, gave a powerful impetus not only to scientific, philosophical and

social thought, but also to social and technological progress.

Later they were formulated in the trinity of "freedom – equality – fraternity", which became the motto of the Great French Revolution. The ideas of liberalism, which oppose clericalism and absolute power, proclaiming the highest value of the rights and freedoms of every person from the oppression of the state, religion and traditions, are universal and, therefore, undoubtedly progressive. A law based on these ideas, giving them the properties of formal certainty and guarantee by the State, will also be progressive. Libertarianism of the twentieth century (V. S. Nersesyants, V. A. Chetvernin et al.), continuing the traditions of classical liberalism, formulated a modern approach to understanding law, linking it with values and goals: "law as formal equality", "law as freedom", "law as justice" (Nersesyants, 1997). Speaking of law, it should be understood that it itself, as such, is evidence of progress. The dialectical interrelation of natural law and positivist doctrines of legal understanding is an instrument of progressive transformation of public life. From this point of view, non-progressive law is not law, just as positive law, in isolation from its objective legal essence, can be illegal. This approach to the progress of law sets a vector for improving legislation that can be considered progressive: everything that frees a person from oppression, increases the level of his well-being and security is progressive. This conclusion is valid in any society, regardless of the specific conditions: national characteristics, historical situation, general and legal culture, and other factors.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

Civilizational processes follow a certain pattern that influences the development of society, the life and worldview of people. Political power, constitutionalizing law as a special institutional phenomenon, determines a certain political regime; its nature has a direct impact on the well-being of individuals and society. the state of law and order, legal awareness and legal culture. Despite the negative social transformations that have taken place in the history of mankind and have occurred in recent times, related to violence, wars, arbitrary rule, ideological and religious misconceptions, the development of the state and law has a progressive character.

Within the framework of a social system, it is possible to achieve the individual well-being of one person or an insignificant group of people, but this situation is typical of hierarchical societies of the past, characterized by social inequality, lack of civil and political freedoms. General social well-being is possible with mutual consideration of individual and public interests, achievable only in a social rule-of-law state that ensures openness in the relationship between the individual and the political system (Bukina, 2015).

<sup>1</sup> "It is not truth that creates the law, but power"



Modern standards of progress are inseparable from the concepts of freedom, equality and justice and can be acquired by society only in conditions of civil consent. Progressive in the genesis of the state and law is the direction of their development, which frees people and society from irrational rules of behavior based on ideological misconceptions, religious, class and other prejudices. Perfect public administration does not exist either in theory or in practice.; The progress of the political and legal system is a constant process of freeing an individual from unnecessary measures of state coercion, while simultaneously and permanently seeking social consensus based on multiculturalism and pluralism. In a progressive state, it is universal values based on rational ideas that determine the goals of state-legal construction and the essence of government institutions, and influence legislation and law enforcement. The universality of values and the degree of rationality of ideas are tested by the socio-economic achievements of the state, which underlie the well-being of its citizens. Since human rights and freedoms are universal values, the state of legal reality, according to their recognition and protection by the state, characterizes the level of its development and indicates a certain degree of its political, legal and social progress (regression).

True law is always progressive. The right to freedom, equality and justice, embodied in the form of law, is a condition for the harmonious development of society and the stability of the state; legislation that does not express the desire to achieve these goals is neither legal nor, moreover, progressive. The history of mankind's existence shows that civilization develops in a directed way: from a state in which a person was a resource for achieving goals set by powerful elites to a position in which he is "the measure of all things" (Volkova, 2019). The function of a progressive state is to ensure this direction of development of society.

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## Rethinking the Search for Permanent Peace in Africa's Fragile States: the Governance and Service Delivery Outlooks

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**Abstract-** Rethinking and pursuing permanent peace in fragile African states constitutes predominant complexities and challenges. Fragile states in Africa experience a continuum of cyclical violence, political instability, and socio-economic underdevelopment despite international interventions through peacebuilding and foreign assistance. The enduring political fragility portrays the fundamental failure of governance systems and systemic public service delivery, perpetuated by socio-economic inequality, exclusion, and citizen disillusionment.

This paper disparagingly evaluates and analyses the overriding peacebuilding paradigms. Its argument is based on assessing traditional and externally imposed models that have overshadowed mainly the central domestic governance structures and the significant contribution of legitimacy, local ownership, and institutional resilience.

Examining the historical and contemporary dynamics, the study reveals that driving conflict and undermining sustainable peace range from neo-patrimonial state practices, state elites' interests, and systemic corruption, downgrading the key demographic groups and basic social and economic infrastructures.

**Keywords:** *state fragility, governance, social infrastructure, social capital, state and leadership, traps and vulnerabilities, and theories.*

**GJHSS-F Classification:** LCC: JZ5584.A35



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# Rethinking the Search for Permanent Peace in Africa's Fragile States: The Governance and Service Delivery Outlooks

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**Abstract-** Rethinking and pursuing permanent peace in fragile African states constitutes predominant complexities and challenges. Fragile states in Africa experience a continuum of cyclical violence, political instability, and socio-economic underdevelopment despite international interventions through peacebuilding and foreign assistance. The enduring political fragility portrays the fundamental failure of governance systems and systemic public service delivery, perpetuated by socio-economic inequality, exclusion, and citizen disillusionment.

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Examining the historical and contemporary dynamics, the study reveals that driving conflict and undermining sustainable peace range from neo-patrimonial state practices, state elites' interests, and systemic corruption, downgrading the key demographic groups and basic social and economic infrastructures. The study reveals the profound structural weaknesses that plunge Africa's fragile states into vulnerability traps.

Concluding from the empirical evidence and detailed case studies from countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, and the Central African Republic, to mention a few, the paper discovers how governance failures limited access to service delivery, such as justice, poor education, health, physical infrastructures, and social capital. The analysis postulates that peacebuilding efforts will remain unpredictable, short-lived, and susceptible to reversion without transformative change in fragile states' governance and service delivery.

Therefore, the paper calls for a decisive approach—from reactive, security-focused interventions to proactive, governance-centred strategies rooted in inclusive political settlements, civic participation, decentralised decision-making, and long-term institution-building. The paper stresses that peace involves establishing political and administrative structures characterised by transparency, accountability, responsiveness, and equity.

The paper proposes a new conceptual framework for rethinking sustainable peace in Africa's fragile states, contributing to the growing discourse on good governance and robust service delivery. It provides concise

recommendations as the fundamental and foundational pillars for creating social resilience and peaceful states.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Fragile states consistently struggle to deliver essential public services, such as healthcare, education, infrastructure, and security, due to a combination of internal vulnerabilities and external pressures that collectively erode the government's capacity, legitimacy, and authority. The research, therefore, investigates and analyses the state fragility, the social traps and rethinking political fragility through the search for sustainable peace in fragile states. The traps and vulnerabilities of African states' fragilities, as well as the search for permanent peace, necessitate a robust rethinking and philosophical understanding of a new paradigm shift in governance and social cohesion. Political fragility threats have consequently entrenched the delivery of good governance, socio-economic dividends, and the building of social infrastructures and capitals (UNDP, 2023).

Fragility and its associated vulnerabilities have contributed to political instability, weak governance, socio-economic constraints, and the prolonged suffering of humanity in fragile African states, leading to stagnation in the poverty cycle. Most fragile states are plagued by poor governance and service delivery outlooks. As forecasted by the International Futures forecasting system, it is likely that "ten countries will remain in fragility traps beyond 2050 (Cilliers & Sisk, 2013)." Countries such as Comoros, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Republic of the Congo, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and Togo are the most affected states by perpetual and prevalent conflict and fragile political transitions.

The perpetually unfolding discourse of political fragility needs rethinking and remains to be explored through peacebuilding, good governance, service delivery, and state leadership. The search for permanent peace underscores that displacement, destruction, lawlessness, and corrupted social capital have far-reaching consequences, continually trapping the



transitioning of fragile states from the cyclical continuum of political vulnerability shocks (*Bereketeab, 2017*).

Political fragility emerges as a shocking consequence of the adverse effects of failing to implement a constitutionally based peace agreement, adopted as the roadmap constitution to establish governance and perform the duties of state sovereignty (*De'Nyok & Adea, 2024*). The contextualisation of African political fragility affects the development of states' social infrastructures and capitals. The fragility and its vulnerabilities have far-reaching consequences and severe underdevelopment that jeopardise the economic outlook and hinder social infrastructures, such as schools, healthcare facilities, roads, information and communication technology, electricity, and housing. The fragility and its vulnerabilities also affect social capital, encompassing trust, networks, and shared norms, leading to conflict, instability, and weak governance (*Lennox, 2024*).

The state's fragility impacts are the causes that weaken social cohesion, which is essential for building the fabric of social goods among the state's citizens, including civility, good governance, and accountability. For instance, social infrastructure investment improves access to basic education, healthcare, and clean drinking water (*The Global Economy, 2025*). More importantly, strengthening governance by establishing effective governance structures and building social cohesion between citizens and the state creates positive social inclusion to address social inequalities, promote social justice, strengthen social capital and establish resilient communities (*De'Nyok, 2025*).

Fragile states are bogged down by multiple constraints resulting from the fragility of conflict-affected situations (FCS). The multiplicities of FCS pose risks to socio-economic development, sustainable peace, and national governance pillars. Persistent high economic downturn characterises the FCS states, declining human capital capacities, and widespread vulnerabilities associated with limited institutional capacity, political instability, and widespread displacement (*Cillier & Sisks, 2013*). Scholars have projected that by 2030, 59 per cent of the world's poorest people will live in countries affected by fragility and conflict. These impacts result from severe food insecurity, vulnerability to climate change, corruption, bad governance, socio-economic deficiencies, limited social infrastructure, human capital, and social cohesion (*World Bank, 2024*).

In furtherance to the attestation of the fragile state, rethinking through the search for sustainable peace, good governance, social accountability, state stability, infrastructural investment, social capital, and human capital remains a limitation. Africa's fragile state has enormous marathon work to do. The catalyst for rethinking permanent peace and political stability lies in building and establishing social capital, investing in

infrastructural development, and fostering social cohesion. Therefore, the research provides a conceptual framework to rethink how the conflict-prone, fragile state can achieve positive social, economic, political, and environmental well-being trajectories to obtain the authority, capacity, and legitimacy to build sustainable peace and effective governance (*De'Nyok, 2023*).

## II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research review synthesises existing literature with no specific methodology detailing data collection or analysis procedures. The methodological approach involves reviewing relevant literature from academic journals, books, reports, and other scholarly sources. The review process includes searching databases using specific keywords related to state fragility, governance, social infrastructures, social capital, state and leadership, trap and vulnerability, and theoretical context.

To ensure the inclusion of diverse perspectives, the search criteria are inclusive, and the review Researcher is a diverse and interdisciplinary Scholar. Articles and documents that provide insights into the conceptual frameworks, theoretical perspectives, empirical studies, case analyses, and practical implications on rethinking the search for permanent peace in Africa's fragile states and the governance and service delivery outlook were analysed.

The methodology follows a systematic approach to identify key themes, trends, and gaps in the literature. Data synthesis involves organising and summarising findings from the selected sources to develop a coherent narrative that addresses the review's objectives. The methodological review ensures that a careful selection of sources, critical analysis of their relevance and quality, and transparent reporting of findings are quality assured. The research methodology is firmly rooted in the guidelines for conducting literature reviews and synthesising evidence, producing credible and insightful interpretations of the literature on state fragility, governance, social infrastructures, social capital, state and leadership, trap and vulnerability, and theories.

## III. LITERATURE REVIEW

### a) Overview of the Key Terminologies

*State fragility*, as described in political science discourse, refers to a state's governance system's inability to cope with shocks and vulnerabilities (*Bertocchim & Guerzoni, 2011*). This includes the state's weakness in functioning and delivering services, maintaining legitimacy, and having a deficient capacity and authority to govern. The lack of good governance functions is a cause of state instability, and the inability to deliver tangible goods and intangible services (*De'Nyok, 2023*).

The state's key indicators can identify deficiencies in state governance and the resulting instability. These include the state's inability to enforce the rule of law to protect its citizens, its capacity to provide essential services such as healthcare, education, infrastructure, and social welfare, and its legitimacy in inspiring political confidence in its governance and adherence to the rule of law. These indicators contribute to dissatisfaction and weak governance (Fund for Peace, 2019).

The repercussions of state fragility led to adverse consequences, such as economic decline, social unrest, political instability, and armed conflict, characterising the state as a failed state that has failed to perform its core functions, including maintaining statehood and a semblance of governance. Rosvadoski-da-Silva et al. (2021) argue that it is paramount to differentiate the view of state fragility from a one-dimensional to a comprehensive, multidimensional approach. The authors state that fragility encompasses authority, legitimacy, and capacity as key dimensions, allowing for an evolutionary view of such conditions in relation to the necessities of right to legal sovereignty, territorial integrity, and constitutional statehood (De'Nyok, 2023).

In the context of a political transition, moving away from fragility to state stability and functional government, the apparatus of good governance becomes the foundation for political confidence to restore and strengthen the core policy functions of the transitional government. These apparatuses include the elements of inclusive and accountable governance, building resilient economies, providing social infrastructures, and fundamental social capital through a peace agreement, which is a constitutionalised peace agreement based on the mutual political interests of the negotiating elites (Fook, 2012; De'Nyok, 2024).

The presence of *good governance* enables the adaptation to build resilience against the shocks and vulnerabilities of conflict and state instability, thereby establishing a more stable, secure, and prosperous environment for citizens' civility (UNDP, 2025). Studies have revealed that by 2030, 80 percent of the population in Sub-Saharan Africa will live in a fragile state. This is due to a lack of good governance, characterised by weak institutions that do not execute or provide essential services and infrastructure to citizens, and pervasive poverty that will continue exacerbating living standards.

*Social capital* refers to the networks, trust, and cooperation between citizens within a community. These social capitals are categorised as structural, cognitive, and relational, building connectivity through trust-building, networking, and bonding. Social capital involves individuals' relationships, networks, and trust within a community or society. The bonds connect people, facilitating collaboration, sharing resources, and

building mutual support. Therefore, having substantial social capital is linked to better community health and social benefits (Claridge, 2014).

However, the fragile state struggles from the social fabrics of structures, cognition, and interrelations within the communities of the transitional government implementing the peace agreement. Of course, during the periods of political fragility, the community's social network, trust, cognitive, and relational aspects are eroded by the conflict, leading to the spread of social evils among citizens, depriving them of economic benefits, connectivity, and community engagement (Claridge, 2024).

*Social infrastructures* refer to the physical assets that facilitate an institution's service delivery, including road networks, telecommunications, electricity, health and education facilities, and government offices. For instance, fragile states suffer from a lack of space to deliver essential services to their citizens. Social capital plays a significant role in fostering and maintaining social standards by creating space for interaction and interrelationships (Nelson et al., 2022).

The *state and leadership* are intertwined terms. A state refers to a political unit with defined boundaries and authority, while leadership involves the control and direction of individuals within that state, executing crucial roles for the state's stability, economic development, and building international relations with other states (Seashore Louis et al., 2008). Countries trapped in political fragility experience shocks from human-made circumstances or unbearable leadership crises, and coping mechanisms are designed to detect and formulate strategies and policies to address the causes of political fragility. On the other hand, vulnerability is a weakness or flaw in a system's resistance and resiliency to coping mechanisms, particularly in governance (OECD, 2025).

In the long run, political fragility leads to a 'conflict-vulnerable state,' a condition that perpetuates political instability, undermines institutional and administrative capacity, and renders physical infrastructures non-functional. It also hampers human development, leading to demographic instabilities characterised by large cohorts of youth without access to livelihoods, abject poverty, and reduced life expectancy or high infant mortality rates (OECD, 2025).

#### b) *Philosophy behind African Conflicts in Fragile States*

The philosophical thinking behind political fragility in the Sub-Saharan African state context is closely tied to power dynamics, political identity, resource scarcity, and systemic inequalities. These factors limit and exacerbate the capacity to deliver primary services, authority to govern, and legitimacy to gain recognition. Consequently, the theory's analysis provides a comprehensive understanding of the *political economy*, *social contract*, conflict, peace, and *political*

identity, as well as the consequences resulting from political fragility.

#### i. Political Economy Theory

Political economy theory is a social science that deals with the complexities of the interrelationship between the political system of governance, institutions, economic development, and power transactions. The transaction of power and political decisions has a far-reaching influence on the development and outcome of the state's economic outlook (Adam & Dercon, 2009). This is, conversely, confirmed by the power of decision-making based on the pragmatism of state elites, social accountability, and national sovereignty interests, both domestically and internationally.

The renowned political economy scientists, like Adam Smith and David Ricardo, argue that "*Political Economy belongs to no nation; it is of no country: it is the science of the rules for the production, the accumulation, the distribution, and the consumption of wealth*" (McLoughlin, 2014). The argument postulates the intricate interaction between politics and economics through establishing government policies, institutional mandates, and the power of influence to establish an economic system, fair wealth distribution, resource allocation, and better societal well-being (Frieden, 2020). For instance, most scholars in the discipline of political economy have a comprehensive understanding that political economy is not just the interaction between politics and economics but also involves the production, distribution, and consumption of resources.

Nevertheless, the application of political economy replicates a pessimistic approach in the conflict-affected states. The drivers of conflict always deter the fairness and accountability of governance associated with the distribution of wealth, production, and the transaction of power and influence, under the custodian of state elites who are the leaders of the transitional government implementing resource distribution and governance reforms. Political fragility affects the pathway to economic development of the sub-Saharan African countries (Adam & Dercon, 2009).

Why is that so? The state elites in the transitional governments of fragile states often focus on embodying self-interest and gaining legitimacy to exercise authority and capacity to dominate the political and economic scene. This embodiment of self-interest mainly exploits the factors of production, such as land, labour, and capital, to be controlled by the state elites in power. Thus, this results in an orthodoxy of poor governance and marginalisation of participatory citizenry by undermining egalitarianism (Frieden, 2020).

Consequently, sub-Saharan African states face challenges in the political economy that impede their efforts to tackle the factors contributing to their political fragility. These challenges could be addressed by effectively utilising resources to build a state's social

infrastructure, social capital, and governance principles. The limitations of state-building through available resources often create a trap and vulnerability in fragile states. Stakeholders excluded from the state elites' rules experience systemic malpractice stemming from the misappropriation of resources, thereby leading to the prevalence of conflict and violence. It can be concluded that the political economy theory has a minimal effect on fragile states in Sub-Saharan Africa (McLoughlin, 2014). This minimal effect is surpassed by the control of resources by state elites in decision-making power.

#### ii. Social Contract

Social Contract Theory is a political philosophy derived from an explicit or implicit agreement between the people and government officials, organised through a secret ballot or consensual agreement. It is the basis on which electorates elect their representatives to the government to represent the citizens of their respective constituencies. The fundamental principle of representative democracy, rooted in the social contract, is that a few individuals are entrusted with government decision-making on behalf of their electorates (De'Nyok, 2023).

Thomas Hobbes reveals that the historical view of the Social Contract is primarily due to his principal work, *Leviathan*, published in 1651, which posits that "man's life in the state of nature" is one in which man "voluntarily surrendered all their rights and freedoms to some authority by this contract, who must command obedience" (Lasker, 2017). According to Hobbes, "the legality of the social contract was for man to have self-preservation and self-protection". The ideology emphasises the sovereignty of citizens' rights and authority, and freedom discourages individualism, materialism, utilitarianism, and absolutism.

Therefore, discussants linking social contract to state fragility and social contract theory originated from the "state of nature," where citizens live under lawlessness with no subduing authority, humans are anarchists with limited justice and sovereignty are besieged by anarchism through the state of nature (De'Nyok, 2023). For instance, as a result, the state of nature leads to the acceptability and foresee ability of social contract theory, where individuals submit voluntarily to the authority.

In contemporary systemic governance, social contract theory represents a form of governance contractualism between citizens and elite power holders chosen through an electoral process, where in power-holders are entrusted with the legitimacy and authority to govern. In contrast, political fragility also actualised state formation through the state of nature, while the social contract matched the political transitions where functional and structured governance principles are established (De'Nyok, 2023).



### iii. Political Identity Theory

Scholars argue that political identity is a multidisciplinary study that encompasses and explores individuals' sense of belonging, shaping their political, social, economic, ideological, and constructive views toward social well-being (Koehler, 2024). The theory has complexities with varying dynamics, as individuals experience and practice evolving political development and social contexts.

The complexities of political identity involve identifying and polarising individuals into three key categories: *social categorisation* - people identified as members of the same ideology or political party; *social identification* - people adopt an identity as a political grouping by internalising norms, values, and behaviours; and *social comparison* - people compare their political group with others, resulting in discrimination. Political identity theory aggravates individual polarisation and hostility between political groups, particularly regarding ideology, governance, and social and economic interests. For instance, in a fragile state, state elites possessing the power of decision-making dominate politics, economics, and hold high social status (Koehler, 2024).

The political identity categorises citizens into ethnicities and political interests, leading to ethnographic conflict and resource misappropriation by the influential blended association of their respective ethnic affiliations. Political analysts assert that the root causes of conflict and violence in fragile states are primarily linked to political identity, resulting from social categorisation, identification, and polarisation of specific political group members, particularly in fragile states of Sub-Saharan Africa (UNDP, 2025). To contextualise, in fragile states of Sub-Saharan Africa, conflict and violence revolve around the ideology of ethnicities, creating marginalisation, favouritism, social inequalities, and governance issues due to the preference of one ruling ethnic group over others (OECD, 2025). Consequently, this ideology has intensified political fragility and increased service delivery deficiencies, failing to ensure and maintain security, good governance, social equity, and address systemic inequalities.

## IV. DISCUSSIONS

With a consciousness of the exploratory and analytical research, it is paramount to review why fragile states failed. Fragile states struggle persistently to deliver essential public goods and services, such as healthcare, education, infrastructure, and security (Mony Masterpiece, 2023). The failure to deliver essential services has been linked to internal vulnerabilities and external pressures that affected the government's capacity, legitimacy, and authority. Fragile states are commonly trapped in a vicious cycle of conflict and

violence, resulting from weak institutions, political instability, widespread corruption, and severe financial burdens, which leads to systemic governance failure and a decline in public trust (Lennox, 2024).

The failure of fragile states is associated with a severe lack of institutional capacity. For instance, in fragile states, public institutions experience dysfunctional roles or non-existence. Government ministries and agencies function with minimal human and financial resources. Typically, staff lack professional training, obsolete operational systems, and compromised internal control system policies (Cillier & Sisks, 2013). As a result, governments are inept at formulating coherent policies, allocating resources effectively, or ensuring basic accountability. The planning and implementation of public goods and services are disorganised, and monitoring systems are inadequate to track performance or outcomes (Fooks, 2012).

State instability is a central factor that undermines service delivery and governance. In a fragile context, the contestation of political power is often perceived as unstable and violent, rather than through democratic or constitutional processes. Additionally, Civil wars, insurgencies, coups, and internal political conflicts can deconstruct or disassemble the bureaucratic apparatus and create ubiquitous insecurities (OECD, 2025). In such disorganised environments, the priority of the ruling state elites shifts from serving citizens to securing their own political survival, legitimacy, and authority. To emphasise further, in a fragile state, most public resources are diverted toward military spending, elite patronage networks, and regime protection, rather than being invested in building infrastructure, funding schools, or maintaining public health systems (De'Nyok, 2025).

Corruption is prevalent and deeply embedded in the institutions of fragile states. This lack of adequate resource management and weak rule of law enables state political elites and public officials to siphon off public resources with unrestrained fear of consequences. For example, funds predetermined for hospitals, schools, roads, and clean water projects are regularly misappropriated. To illustrate and externalise, government positions are assigned based on favouritism, and public servants allegedly demand informal payments from citizens in exchange for services (UNDP, 2025). As a result, access to primary services becomes a privilege reserved for the dominant ethnic or political affiliates; hence, this action weakened the social contract between the government and its citizens, reinforcing disillusionment and deepening fragility.

Furthermore, a heavy reliance on foreign aid has contributed to the fragility of states and their poverty, as well as government abdications of responsibilities in delivering services. Although





international assistance is vital for immediate humanitarian relief, it also inadvertently weakens the government in prioritising its resources carefully (OECD, 2025). For instance, total reliance on external donors depresses domestic revenue collection and lessens the government's accountability to its population. Nevertheless, donor-driven agendas fragment public policy, leading to unpredictable programs and replicated efforts. Fragile states cannot generate adequate and predictable revenues to finance sustainable development and maintain basic public services without a substantial tax base and comprehensive fiscal management (World Bank, 2024).

Another factor that contributes to fragility is ethnic, religious, and regional divisions, which can hinder service delivery. Fragile states typically possess fractured societies where historic grievances, marginalisation, and identity politics influence governance and service delivery (Björkman & Svensson, 2009). In such contexts, service provisions favour certain groups while excluding others; the fragmentation fuels the perceptions of injustice and exacerbates tensions. Favouritism, discrimination, and exclusion in public policy underpin cycles of poverty and alienation, further weakening national unity and state institutions' legitimacy (The Global Economy, 2025). Conversely, the cumulative vulnerabilities of fragile states result in a significant breakdown of the state's ability to fulfil its fundamental responsibilities. Citizens living in fragile states regularly suffer from poor health outcomes, low educational attainment, insufficient infrastructure, and prevalent insecurity. The lack of reliable services perpetuates poverty and underdevelopment and contributes to continuous cycles of violence and displacement (Frieden, 2020).

Nonetheless, the ineptitude in fragile states to deliver primary services service from acutely set of interconnected challenges such as institutional weakness, political upheavals, endemic corruption, financial fragility, social fragmentation, and external reliance on foreign aids need to be tackled through technical know-how and sustainable investment by reconstructing resilient state institutions, encouraging inclusive governance, strengthening civil society, and safeguarding all citizens regardless of identity. Addressing these interconnected multi-barrier challenges innovatively creates equal access to basic services that underpin a stable and functioning state. Without such comprehensive and robust efforts, fragile states will continuously remain dysfunctional and unstable (Fund for Peace, 2019).

Governance and service delivery serve as transformative and foundational pathways to rethinking and reemerging the pursuit of permanent peace and sustainable development in African fragile states. Rethinking and reemerging sustainable peace through service delivery directly confronts and addresses the

structural drivers of conflict that have long plagued the continent, including political exclusion, economic marginalization, social inequities and inequality, and institutional failure. For instance, millions of citizens in the fragile Sub-Saharan African state struggle to access basic services and fair representation in governance systems, which define the relationship between marginalised citizens and the state elites (Bereketeab, 2017).

In many fragile African states, conflict arises from ideological disagreements or power struggles among political elites and the enduring erosion of social cohesion, political legitimacy, and trust between governments and citizens. Examples of such states include the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Chad, Sudan, Somalia, Niger, and South Sudan, among others (OECD, 2025). In a conflict situation affected by political fragility, the state ceases to be viewed as a legitimate authority when it consistently fails to provide essential services, ensure justice, protect human rights, or deliver pathways to social and economic mobility. Therefore, the state becomes synonymous with dysfunction, indifference, or repression. This rupture in the social contract creates abundant ground for widespread discontentment, fuelling cycles of rebellion, violent extremism, and political instability (Cilliers & Sisk, 2013).

Rethinking permanent peace, therefore, requires a paradigm shift: moving beyond the traditional tools of conflict resolution, such as ceasefires, peace agreements, and state-elite high-level negotiations, to focus on the mechanisms that build peace. Governance and service delivery significantly impact peacebuilding as the core component for experimenting with social cohesion repairs (Frieden, 2020). When governance structures are inclusive, transparent, and accountable, and basic public services are delivered equitably and effectively, the conditions and drivers of the conflict are fundamentally transformed. Peace becomes more than an agreement—a lived experience of dignity, justice, and opportunity (Lennox, 2024).

In this context, redefining the governance role is not merely a formal operation of state institutions, but also an inclusive exercise of authority that reflects the will and needs of the citizens. For instance, in African fragile states, governance has been understood by narrow state elites who use political power to entrench and exclude others. This entrenchment creates a systemic inequality and grievances. The exclusionary systems are sustained through corruption, patronage networks, and the deliberate marginalisation of particular ethnic, regional, or religious groups (World Bank, 2024). To build and realise sustainable peace and governance, practitioners should formulate a process that empowers rather than excludes and promotes meaningful participation of all citizens, especially women, youth, and historically marginalised

populations. For instance, the empowerment should focus on decentralizing power, strengthening local governments, ensuring fair representation, promoting civic engagement, and instituting robust checks and balances. When the citizens participate in decision-making, investing in social capital, and defending the peace, it becomes the nation's future (OECD, 2025). More importantly, service delivery is far more than a technical function of the state—it is a daily affirmation of its commitment to its people. Therefore, access to healthcare, clean water, education, electricity, and public safety are the fundamental rights and prerequisites for human development and peace sustenance (De’Nyok, 2023).

In a contextually fragile state where services are absent, unreliable, or inequitably distributed, community members are always discouraged in the state's capacity and integrity. The deficient and dysfunctional service vacuum is commonly exploited by non-state actors, such as armed groups, criminal networks, or extremist organisations, who provide parallel services and, in doing so, win public support and legitimacy (De’Nyok & Adea, 2024). Therefore, rebuilding the state's credibility requires a systematic and people-centred approach to service delivery that ensures fairness, quality, and responsiveness. Hence, the availability of services provides a conducive environment where citizens can equitably and transparently address their immediate human needs, reinforces social cohesion, reduces tensions, and restores the population's trust in public institutions (UNDP, 2025).

The interdependent bonding of governance and service delivery makes them powerful complementary components. Thus, effective governance is necessary to design and implement inclusive and equitable service delivery systems, and conversely, providing quality services builds confidence in governance systems, reinforcing political legitimacy. The complementarity of governance and service delivery forms the bedrock of what scholars call "positive peace"—a peace that encompasses more than the end of war and embraces justice, equality, and opportunity (OECD, 2025). All the fragile states in Africa have historical legacies of colonialism, authoritarian rule, and economic exploitation that left deep divisions; therefore, achieving peace demands more than rhetoric. Rethinking permanent peace requires a deliberate and sustained investment in state-building from the bottom up, centred on citizens' needs and aspirations rather than elites' convenience (Nelson et al., 2022).

Furthermore, strengthening governance and service delivery enables fragile states to shift from reactionary, crisis-driven peacebuilding to proactive, long-term transformation. In addition, peace processes in Africa's fragile states have been dominated by externally brokered peace agreements, prioritising power-sharing among warring factions while sidelining

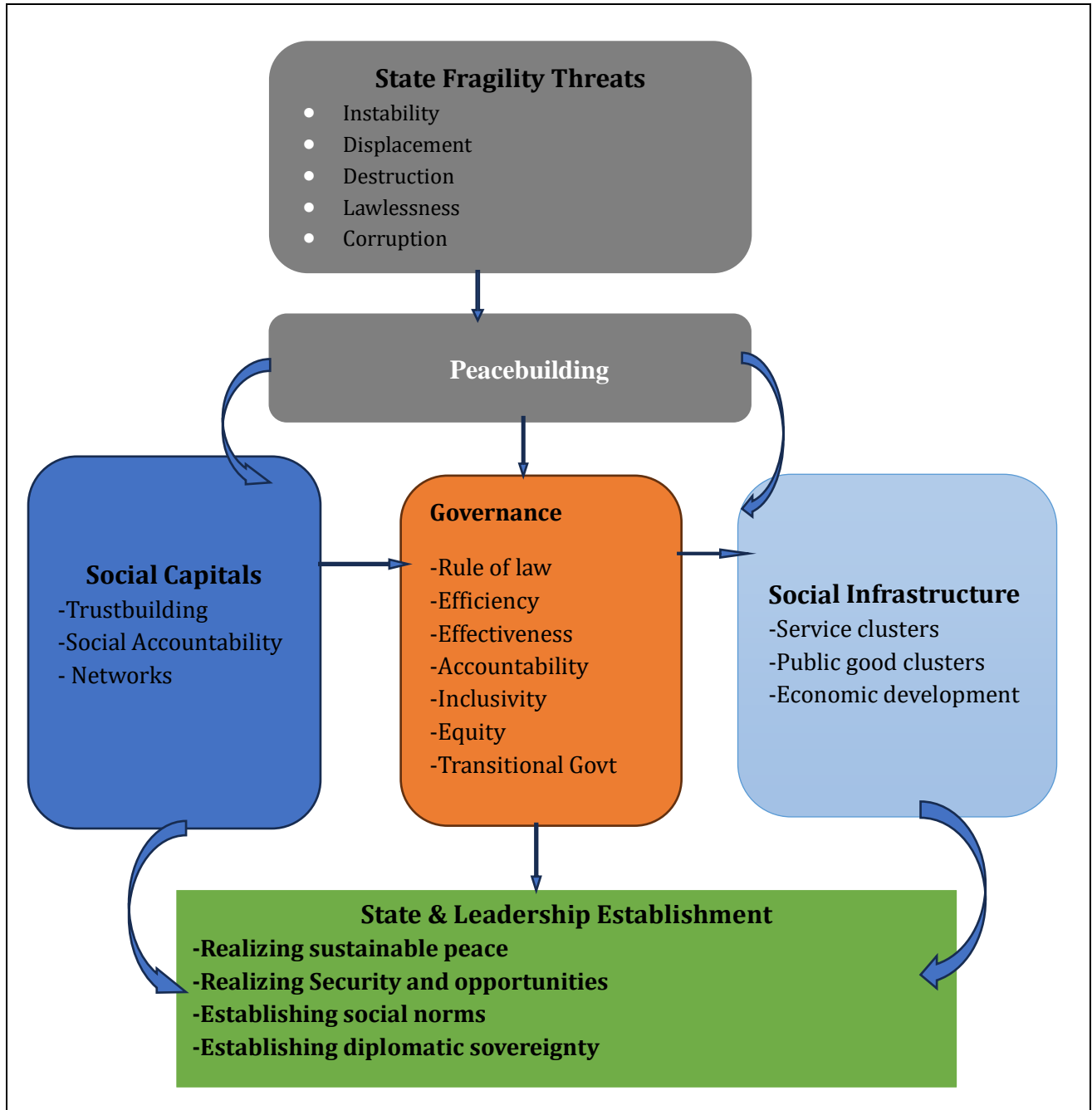
the grievances of ordinary people (UNDP, 2024). For instance, fragile states like the DRC, South Sudan, and many sub-Saharan African countries have experienced brokered peace agreements controlled by state elites. The state elites' top-down settlements temporarily ceased violence but rarely prevented the systemic injustices that caused conflict. In contrast, building institutions that deliver fairly and function accountably assists in healing historical root causes of conflict, reduces intergroup tensions, and provides a sustainable path to development. This approach is a testament to the fact that peace is not a single event or agreement, but a continuous process of strengthening relationships between citizens and the state through fairness, dignity, and shared responsibility (UNDP, 2024).

Ultimately, governance and service delivery are not bureaucratic necessities or development goals but peacebuilding imperatives. Governance and service delivery represent the tangible expression of a state that values and protects all its people. In Africa, fragile states remain trapped in cycles of violence, under-development, and institutional decay; therefore, rethinking sustainable peace through this dual lens is timely and necessary. Good governance and service delivery will enable a breakthrough from the past and offer a roadmap for a future where peace and inclusive social order are experienced by the citizens (Seashore Louis et al., 2008).

In conclusion, the realisation of peace through social infrastructures and capital peace dividends deliveries permeates a future where citizens trust governments and services as the cornerstone of society's social cohesion, and every individual feels a sense of belonging and hope regardless of ethnic identity or geographical affiliation. That is the kind of peace Africa's fragile states need and deserve; governance and service delivery are the most effective, sustainable, and empowering paths to achieve it (McLoughlin, 2014).



a) *The Proposed Conceptual Framework*



i. *Conceptual Framework Interrelations Explanation*

Social capital, governance, social infrastructure, state establishment, and leadership interrelatedness have a philosophical and foundational dimension to transforming states from political instability to sustainable resilience. These interrelatedness dimensions encourage a holistic system that regulates state national identity and political legitimacy. The interrelated factors synergise the difference between a flourishing society and one that breaks down under the heavy weight of lawlessness, displacement, corruption,

and destruction. For instance, this transformation's core is social capital, which comprises trust-building, social accountability, networks, and peacebuilding.

Fragile states' trust is often the first casualty of war, repression, or systemic neglect. Rebuilding trust is the most crucial step toward recovery, reconstruction, rehabilitation, and restoration of the public's political confidence in the state's ruling elites. According to the *World Bank (2024)*, nearly 70% of people in low-income, conflict-affected countries distrust their government, compared to less than 30% in stable, high-income

democracies. This distrust freezes civic engagement and weakens the state's legitimacy.

In reality, trust building is more than just a moral imperative—it is a strategic necessity. Building trust between political elites and ethnic affiliates fosters cooperation among citizens, encourages participation in government, and nurtures the belief that change is inevitable. Trustbuilding is linked to social accountability, enabling communities to monitor public spending, demand transparency, and hold leaders responsible for their actions (*Brezzi et al., 2021*). For instance, a randomised controlled experiment in Uganda found that community-based monitoring of health service providers led to a 33% reduction in child mortality and significant improvements in service delivery (*Health and Human Rights Journal, 2015*). Such outcomes demonstrate how trust and social accountability create responsive governance.

Networks ranging from grassroots organisations to faith-based institutions serve as the conduit through which trust and accountability flow, connecting citizens to these institutions. For instance, in the conflict-affected state of the Central African Republic, local peace committees and civil society coalitions have played a fundamental role in mediating disputes and facilitating local governance where the state is absent (*Brezzi et al., 2021*). Social networks are indispensable to peacebuilding as they provide platforms for dialogue, reconciliation, and the reintegration of internally displaced populations; thus, without social networks, the social fragmentation that fuels cycles of violence cannot be repaired (*Brezzi et al., 2021*).

More importantly, the magnitudes of social capital are directly determined and shaped by the quality of governance. Good governance is not a luxury but a social infrastructure stabilising state politics. For example, a functioning rule of law safeguards justice and impartiality, ensuring that citizens, state elites, and officials are accountable. In addition, the judicial systems of fragile states are often weak, and impunity fuels corruption and violence. According to Transparency International, corruption levels are ten times higher in fragile states than in more stable ones, creating widespread mistrust and economic stagnation (*Transparency International, 2025*).

Therefore, effective governance requires efficiency and effectiveness in delivering services. The failure of a state government to provide basic public goods, such as education and healthcare, merely results in a political failure that antagonises citizens and deteriorates state legitimacy. When governance structures systematically exclude specific groups based on ethnicity, region, or gender, this creates an opportunity for insurgency and rebellion. For example, in Nigeria's northeast, decades of marginalisation and lack of investment were key drivers behind the rise of Boko Haram (*Bukarti, 2021*). Thus, inclusivity and equity are

equally vital to resolving ethnic graphic conflict and marginalisation.

Moreover, in the event of state leadership transition, whether in post-conflict or post-authoritarian settings, transitional governments have an opportunity to reorganise the national agenda trajectory. However, their success should be centred on embodying inclusive governance, restoring public trust, and restructuring strong institutions (*De'Nyok & Adea, 2024*). For instance, transitional arrangements in countries like Tunisia, during the Arab Spring, featured the importance of a broad-based dialogue and constitutional reform in laying the groundwork for sustainable peace (*Kéfi, 2021*).

In addition, governance becomes visible and tangible through social infrastructure—the most direct means citizens access the state's social capital dividends, such as schools, hospitals, and clean water systems. Access to social amenities is a symbol of political stability and an indicator of a government's commitment to its people. When social amenities are poorly managed, the state is perceived as either weak or illegitimate. For instance, according to UNDP, 80% of conflicts in fragile states are driven by grievances related to misallocating service delivery and resources (*UNDP, 2025*).

Statistically, public goods such as transportation, energy, and sanitation stimulate economic activity and social interaction, breaking the isolation and fragility. Therefore, investments in economic development to empower youth employment and rural enterprise discourage circumstances that lead to militancy, crime, and mass migration. For instance, every 1% increase in youth unemployment correlates with a 2% increase in the likelihood of political violence in fragile settings (*OECD, 2025*). Thus, economic opportunity is not only a development issue but also a peace and security imperative.

A capable and visionary state and leadership establishment is paramount to coordinate and transform societies and their political governance. Socially contracted Leaders must prioritise realising sustainable peace through reconciliation, reparative justice, and inclusive policies. State leaders must work toward realising security and opportunities by not only ensuring the absence of conflict but also the presence of supportive livelihoods and decent dignity. This means that establishing social norms that discard violence and encourage civic responsibility is central to correcting the behaviour of both institutions and citizens for sustainable peace (*Nelson et al., 2022*).

Equally, establishing diplomatic sovereignty as a means for a state to negotiate, collaborate, and stand at an equal level in the international arena is vital. Fragile states usually depend heavily on external assistance. This external assistance must be complemented by internal sovereignty built on legitimacy and citizen



participation. For example, a country like Rwanda has demonstrated how strong leadership and local ownership of development attract foreign investment while maintaining an independent domestic policy (Mugabekazi, 2024).

Therefore, the conceptual framework variables are intended to converge, tackling the core threats of fragility: instability, displacement, destruction, lawlessness, and corruption. To exemplify, a state with functioning institutions, engaged citizens, equitable services, and visionary leadership is inherently more resilient. The state absorbs shocks, resolves conflicts without violence, and offers hope instead of despair. In contrast, states that fail to integrate these components remain vulnerable to collapse. For example, Yemen's failure to establish inclusive governance and deliver essential services directly contributed to a civil war that displaced over 4.5 million people and plunged the country into one of the world's worst humanitarian crises (OECD, 2024).

Last but not least, the path from fragility and its vulnerability traps to political stability and good governance is neither linear nor straightforward, but it is achievable. Neutralising political fragility requires a robust, strategic, integrated paradigm shift approach, harnessing the power of social capital, strengthening governance, investing in physical infrastructures, and cultivating ethical and visionary leadership. These paradigm shifts and pragmatic approaches are sequentially built: trust builds accountability, accountability improves governance, governance enables service delivery, services reinforce peace, and leadership sustains the entire cycle. Finally, the proposed conceptual framework forms the foundation for a peaceful, equitable, and resilient state capable of overcoming the systemic threats of fragilities and its vulnerability traps.

## V. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, achieving permanent peace in Africa's fragile states requires a transformative shift in how peacebuilding, governance, and development are conceptualised and implemented. Historically, many peacebuilding efforts throughout the African continent have been fixated on shallow ceasefires, power-sharing agreements, and post-conflict elections at the expense of addressing the structural and systemic factors contributing to state fragility. These interventions, although they seem successful in halting immediate violence, have failed to address the root causes of conflict, including institutional weakness, exclusionary governance, socio-economic inequality, and the persistent failure of the state to meet the needs of its citizens.

Fragility in Africa is not merely the absence of peace but also the persistent ineptitude of the state,

which abdicates its basic responsibilities to deliver critical services such as education, health, security, infrastructure, and justice. For instance, in many fragile states, public institutions exhibit weak governance or are overly politicised to function effectively. Citizens often perceive the state as disengaged or a predatory actor, rather than a reliable provider of services and protector of rights. This disengagement causes widespread disillusionment, undermines social cohesion, fuels recurring cycles of unrest, rebellion, and violent extremism, deepens divisions, and perpetuates fragility. Thus, governance and service delivery are fundamental instruments of building a fragile state. As public services become equitable, efficient, and inclusive, citizens and state elites are bonded together to safeguard security and social cohesion.

Finally, rethinking the pursuit of permanent peace in Africa's fragile states requires strategic paradigm shifts and a pragmatic approach from short-term stabilisation to sustainable transformation. This traditional peacebuilding approach requires reversing elite-driven political settlements with envisioned inclusive governance models prioritising local agency, citizen participation, and institutional resilience. Sustainable peace cannot be imposed from the top down or outside; it must be owned by the grassroots who grapple with the realities of African political fragility.

## VI. RECOMMENDATION

### a) *Enhance Local Ownership and Inclusion*

To achieve peace, the participation efforts of traditional leaders, grassroots movements, community-based organisations, youth, and women must be relentlessly sought, as they are the key architects of peacebuilding and the governance process. This means that bottom-up solutions must be locally driven, reflecting diverse perspectives and cultural contexts. Thus, building peace from the bottom up enhances legitimacy, ownership, and the likelihood of long-term success.

### b) *Strengthen Public Institutions and Promote Accountability*

Robust institutions are the foundation of peaceful and resilient states in which Fragile governments invest in solidifying administrative capacity, the rule of law, and transparency. This solidified administrative capacity includes permitting independent judiciaries, strengthening parliamentary oversight, and creating effective anti-corruption bodies. For instance, public service delivery should be professionalised, depoliticised, and monitored through citizen feedback mechanisms to ensure efficiency and equity. Political will is not just a matter of technical assistance; it is essential to drive these reforms.

### c) *Enhance the Quality and Equity of Basic Service Delivery*

Access to primary services is mainly a development issue, central to peacebuilding, and disparities in education, healthcare, clean water, electricity, and transportation are usually mirrored in the socio-political divides that fuel conflict. In simple terms, governments and development partners must ensure that service delivery systems are inclusive, needs-based, and reach remote and marginalised populations; thus, investing in human capital and infrastructure encourages both a peace dividend and a development imperative.

### d) *Integrate Peacebuilding with Broader Development Strategies*

Peacebuilding must be mainstreamed into national development planning and budgeting processes by aligning peace efforts with poverty reduction strategies, infrastructure development, economic reforms, and job creation. In addition, root causes of state fragility, such as land disputes, identity-based exclusion, and intercommunal tensions, should be overtly tackled through long-term planning that balances immediate needs with structural transformation.

### e) *Strengthen Regional and Continental Cooperation*

Conflict and fragility infrequently remain confined within national borders. According to the MENA Report (2024), the African Union (AU) and Regional Economic Communities (RECS) must strengthen their capacity for early warning, conflict prevention, and post-conflict reconstruction and recovery. A fragile state must encourage more robust implementation of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and the African Governance Architecture (AGA) to support democratic Accountability and governance reforms. Cross-border cooperation on issues like arms trafficking, migration, and natural resource management is critical in managing the adverse effects to minimise regional drivers of fragility.

### f) *Reform International Engagement and Peacebuilding Approaches*

The international community must recalibrate its engagement in fragile African states by providing long-term donor-driven projects through country-led strategies that support systemic reform and institutional capacity building. Foreign aid conditionalities should encourage inclusive governance and social Accountability rather than perpetuating state elite bargains. Moreover, tailored peacebuilding financing should be more flexible, predictable, and responsive to locally identified priorities.

### g) *Invest in Evidence, Data, and Adaptive Learning*

Effective governance and peacebuilding need sound strategies and continuous learning. For instance,

National statistical agencies and research institutions must invest in producing disaggregated data that informs policy and monitors progress. International actors and governments must support adaptive programming that evolves in response to changing contexts and lessons learned. A strong knowledge base is essential for identifying what works, where, and why in fragile and conflict-affected settings.

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## New Perspectives for Curricular Development of Dual Education

By Silviu Gîncu & Elena Movileanu

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**Abstract-** Curricular development has always been a widely discussed issue in society. Considering the specifics of technical vocational education, curricular development is carried out only in partnership with the private sector. When representatives of the private sector lack sufficient resources to engage in curricular development, the educational environment is unable to create vocational training offerings that align with the trends of market economy development. In this article, we aim to address the subject of curricular development from the perspective of dual education, which takes place through close cooperation between educational institutions and representatives of the private sector. The article covers topics such as: the fundamental principles of curricular development in dual education, the structure of the vocational training process (Curriculum Plan) for dual education, the benefits of dual education for students, economic units, educational institutions, and the state. We believe that the topic addressed will be of interest to both the educational and private sectors, at both national and international levels.

**Keywords:** *apprenticeship, curriculum, economic entities, education, labor market needs, technical professional education.*

**GJHSS-F Classification:** LCC: LC1045



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# New Perspectives for Curricular Development of Dual Education

## Noi Perspective de Dezvoltare Curriculară a Învățământului Dual

Silviu Gîncu <sup>α</sup> & Elena Movileanu <sup>σ</sup>

**Abstract-** Curricular development has always been a widely discussed issue in society. Considering the specifics of technical vocational education, curricular development is carried out only in partnership with the private sector. When representatives of the private sector lack sufficient resources to engage in curricular development, the educational environment is unable to create vocational training offerings that align with the trends of market economy development. In this article, we aim to address the subject of curricular development from the perspective of dual education, which takes place through close cooperation between educational institutions and representatives of the private sector. The article covers topics such as: the fundamental principles of curricular development in dual education, the structure of the vocational training process (Curriculum Plan) for dual education, the benefits of dual education for students, economic units, educational institutions, and the state. We believe that the topic addressed will be of interest to both the educational and private sectors, at both national and international levels.

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### 1. INTRODUCERE

Actualizarea actelor normative ce vizează curriculumul în învățământul profesional tehnic (ÎPT) [1, 2] oferă noi premise pentru dezvoltarea curriculară a ÎPT și a învățământului dual. La o distanță de 10 ani de la demararea reformei curriculare, peste 90% din programele de formare profesională din ÎPT dispun de curriculum aprobat [3].

Pentru învățământul profesional tehnic, învățământul dual oferă noi oportunități mediului privat de a beneficia de un sistem competitiv de formare a forței de muncă. Este de menționat că potrivit [4, art.3] „învățământul dual este o formă de organizare a învățământului profesional tehnic, în cadrul căruia instruirea teoretică se realizează la instituția de

învățământ profesional tehnic, iar cea practică – la unitate”.

În literatura de specialitate sunt prezentate diverse studii și analize la nivel național [5 - 7] și internațional [8 - 12] care abordează învățământul dual cu unul dintre modele de succes de formare a forței de muncă în acord cu necesitățile acesteia.

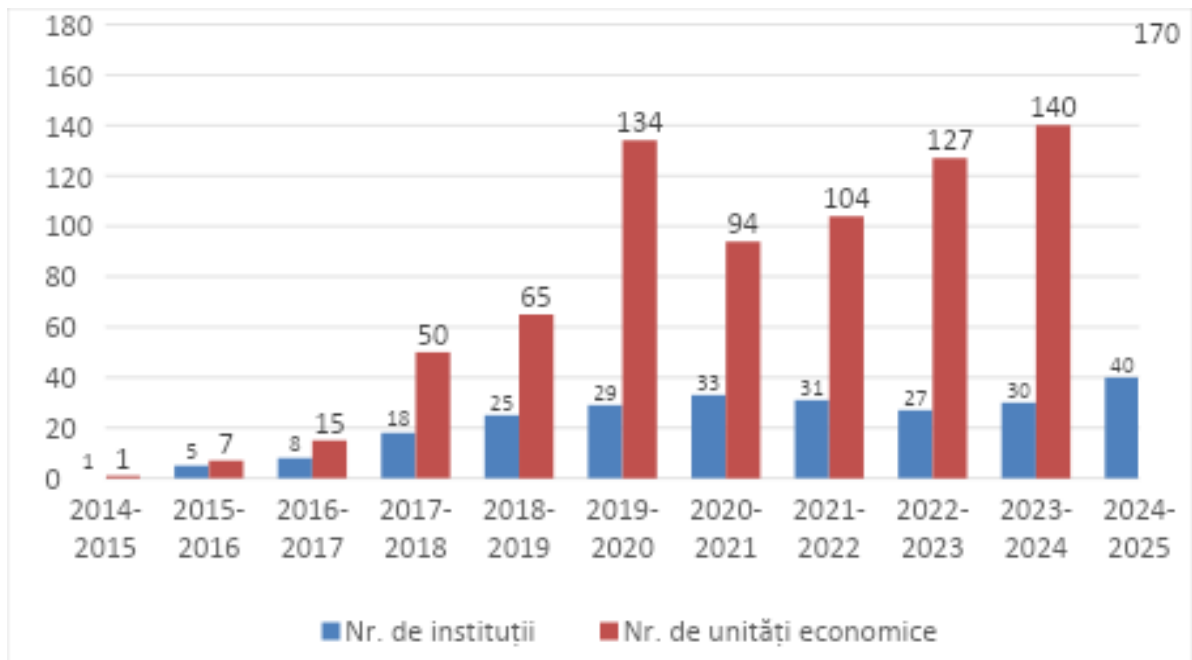
Învățământul dual în Republica Moldova se realizează din anul 2014 și în timp a cunoscut o evoluție ascendentă a numărului elevi, instituții și unități economice implicate în realizarea învățământului dual. Astfel dacă în anul 2014 învățământul dual a fost realizat în parteneriat dintre o instituție de învățământ și o unitate economică, în anul 2025 numărul acestora a crescut semnificativ (Figura 1).

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Sursa: elaborat de autor în baza [3,5]

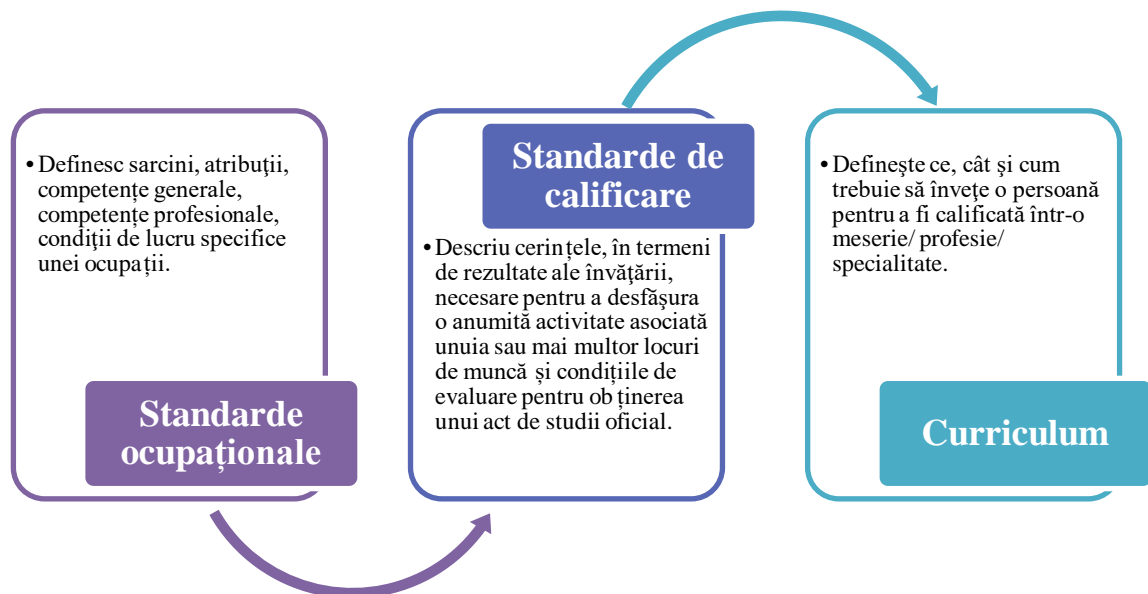
Figura 1: Evoluția Numărului de Parteneriate în Învățământul Dual

## II. SCOPUL LUCRĂRII

Scopul general al lucrării constă în prezentarea perspectivelor de dezvoltare curriculară a învățământului dual. Un accent aparte va fi pus pe aspectele metodologice de dezvoltare a programelor din ÎPT dual.

*Principiile Fundamentale Ale Dezvoltării Curriculare în Învățământul Dual:* În acord cu misiunea învățământului profesional tehnic, care „constă în dezvoltarea potențialului uman prin formarea muncitorilor și tehnicienilor înalt calificați pentru a asigura calitatea

vieții, creșterea durabilă a economiei și bunăstarea poporului” [3, pag. 22], documentele curriculare necesită a fi elaborate în strânsă legătură cu reprezentanții pieței muncii. În vederea asigurării unui mecanism eficient de corelare a necesităților muncii cu conținuturile programelor de formare profesională, prevederile cadrului normativ se fundamentează pe asigurarea unui mecanism care să asigure un sistem de formare a forței de muncă din ÎPT în acord cu necesitățile pieței muncii.



Sursa: elaborat de autor în baza [1, pag. 23-24]

Figura 2: Legătura Dintre Necesitățile Pieței Muncii și Conținutul Curriculumului



Deși la nivel de acte normative există un mecanism care să asigure că necesitățile pieței muncii se regăsesc în programele de studii, sunt situații în care piața muncii nu reușește să își formalizeze necesitățile în bază de documente, iar mediul educațional este în imposibilitate să asigure o formare a viitorilor specialiști în acord cu tendințele de dezvoltare a pieței muncii.

Având în vedere că pentru a realiza învățământul dual, unitățile economice trebuie să dispună de personal calificat „maistrul-instructor al unității este obligat să dețină cel puțin 20 de credite de studii de formare psihopedagogică” [4, art. 16, alin 2)], maiștri-instructori ai unităților economice reprezintă o resursă cheie care pot să contribuie la fortificarea legăturii dintre necesitățile pieței muncii și documentele curriculare.

*Planul de Învățământ în ÎPT Dual:* Având în vedere particularitățile care sta la baza realizării învățământului dual, din perspectiva locului de instruire a elevului procesul de formare profesională din ÎPT se realizează în instituția de învățământ (partea teoretică) și partea practică în unitățile economice. Această abordare oferă pe de o parte costuri reduse unităților economice în formarea unui specialist în domeniu, din considerentul că partea teoretică este realizată de către instituția de învățământ profesional tehnică și totodată oferă elevului oportunitatea de a exersa practic în condiții concrete de muncă pe utilaje și echipamente din cadrul unității.

Din punct de vedere formativ, Planul de învățământ în ÎPT dual este structurat în 3 componente după cum urmează:

- *Formarea Generală:* În cadrul aceste componente elevului urmează ai fi formate cunoștințe și dezvoltate abilități care sunt esențiale în diverse contexte profesionale, nu doar în domeniile tehnice. În acest sens curriculum urmează a fi conceput ca fiind flexibil și posibil de organizat în funcție de cerințele înaintate de către reprezentanții pieței muncii și de nevoile specifice ale elevilor, asigurându-se o pregătire bine echilibrată. Formarea generală nu este doar un suport pentru dezvoltarea profesională, ci și pentru cea personală, pregătind elevii să fie cetățeni activi și implicați în comunități.
- *Formare de Profil:* Este esențială în sistemul dual, deoarece îmbină învățarea teoretică cu activitățile practice, facilitând aplicarea imediată a cunoștințelor. Modulele sunt structurate pe domenii specifice, permițând elevilor să acumuleze cunoștințe solide și să dezvolte abilități practice relevante. Programul include stagii de practică în companii, unde elevii pot observa și participa activ la procesele de lucru reale, învățând de la profesioniști din domeniu. Această componentă stimulează o adaptabilitate crescută a elevilor, care învață să se descurce în diverse situații profesionale și să soluționeze probleme. Colaborarea dintre instituțiile de învățământ profesional tehnic și

companii asigură că elevii sunt pregătiți conform standardelor și cerințelor din industrie.

- *Formare Opțională:* Oferă elevilor posibilitatea de a explora discipline care nu sunt obligatorii, dar care pot îmbunătăți profilul profesional și competențele lor. Prin această componentă, se dezvoltă o mentalitate deschisă și o disponibilitate pentru învățare continuă, esențială în contextul economiei naționale. Formarea opțională nu doar că extinde cunoștințele elevilor, dar contribuie și la dezvoltarea abilităților interumane și a unei rețele profesionale diverse.

În acord cu prevederile Cadrului Național al Calificărilor, în ÎPT sunt următoarele categorii de programe de formare profesională care se realizează și prin învățământ dual:

- Formarea profesională tehnică secundară duală - este orientată spre îmbinarea instruirii teoretice cu cea practică în condiții de muncă. În acest, sens circa 70-80% din timpul de instruire practică elevul îl petrece în cadrul unității economice. Programele respective au durata de doi ani de pentru elevii care sunt absolvenți ai studiilor gimnaziale și un an de studii pentru elevii care sunt absolvenți ai studiilor liceale.
- Formarea profesională tehnică postsecundară/ postsecundară notetieră duală - vizează oferirea unei pregătiri specializate elevilor, ajutându-i să dobândească cunoștințe teoretice și competențe practice în cadrul companiilor. Din punct de vedere temporal, această formare se realizează proporțional între instituție și agentul economic.

Precizăm că învățământul dual are un impact pozitiv asupra participanților implicați în proces: elevi, instituții, unități economice și autorități publice. În continuare ținem să scoatem în evidență principalele beneficii ale învățământului dual (Tabelul 1).

Tabelul 1: Beneficiile Învățământului Dual

Beneficii pentru elevi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Posibilitatea de a identifica o meserie bine plătită și solicitată de piața muncii;</li> <li>Acumularea experienței de muncă în cadrul unei unități economice de prestigiu;</li> <li>Condiții moderne de exersare a abilităților practice și posibilitate de a utiliza în practică echipamente performante;</li> <li>Bursă și remunerație lunară;</li> <li>Șanse reale de angajare după absolvirea studiilor, etc.</li> </ul>
Beneficii pentru unitățile economice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Posibilitatea de a participa la formarea profesională a specialiștilor conform necesităților;</li> <li>Acces direct la specialiști calificați;</li> <li>Costuri reduse pentru recrutarea și integrarea personalului în cadrul companiei;</li> <li>Compensarea de până la 50% din cheltuielile efectuate pentru realizarea învățământului dual din parte statului, etc.</li> </ul>
Beneficii pentru instituțiile ÎPT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Parteneriate viabile cu sectorul privat;</li> <li>Programe atractive de formare pentru elevi și pentru piața muncii;</li> <li>Costuri reduse pentru instruirea elevilor, etc.</li> </ul>
Beneficii pentru stat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sistem atractiv de instruire a forței de muncă;</li> <li>Reducerea șomajului;</li> <li>Sustenabilitatea dezvoltării economiei naționale;</li> <li>Reducerea costurilor pentru instruirea forței de muncă, etc.</li> </ul>

### III. CONCLUZII

Învățământul dual este un model reușit de bune practici din perspectiva asigurării pieței muncii cu forță de muncă care să corespundă așteptărilor companiilor unde instituțiile de învățământ și agenții economici se reunesc pentru a-și realiza obiectivul comun. Această abordare oferă premise pentru elaborarea și dezvoltarea de produse curriculare care să ofere oportunități atât pentru elevii care se instruiesc precum și pentru companiile care urmează să angajeze absolvenții în câmpul muncii.

Considerăm necesar ca instituțiile cu competențe în domeniu pregătirii forței de muncă să își concentreze resursele pentru a dezvolta și construi parteneriate prin învățământ dual, or această formă de instruire oferă cea mai scurtă cale de asigurare a pieței muncii cu brațe de muncă corespunzător calificată și creează premise pentru dezvoltarea economică a țării.

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ASSOCIATE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL is the membership of Global Journals awarded to individuals that the Open Association of Research Society judges to have made a 'substantial contribution to the improvement of computer science, technology, and electronics engineering.

The primary objective is to recognize the leaders in research and scientific fields of the current era with a global perspective and to create a channel between them and other researchers for better exposure and knowledge sharing. Members are most eminent scientists, engineers, and technologists from all across the world. Associate membership can later be promoted to Fellow Membership. Associates are elected for life through a peer review process on the basis of excellence in the respective domain. There is no limit on the number of new nominations made in any year. Each year, the Open Association of Research Society elect up to 12 new Associate Members.





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Career

Credibility

Exclusive

Reputation



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Career

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Reputation



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Career

Credibility

Reputation

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Career

Financial



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Career

Credibility

Reputation



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Credibility

Financial

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ASSOCIATE	FELLOW	RESEARCH GROUP	BASIC
<b>\$4800</b> lifetime designation	<b>\$6800</b> lifetime designation	<b>\$12500.00</b> organizational	<b>APC</b> per article
<b>Certificate</b> , LoR and Momento 2 discounted publishing/year <b>Gradation</b> of Research 10 research contacts/day 1 GB Cloud Storage GJ Community Access	<b>Certificate</b> , LoR and Momento <b>Unlimited</b> discounted publishing/year <b>Gradation</b> of Research <b>Unlimited</b> research contacts/day 5 GB Cloud Storage <b>Online Presense</b> Assistance GJ Community Access	<b>Certificates</b> , LoRs and Momentos <b>Unlimited</b> free publishing/year <b>Gradation</b> of Research <b>Unlimited</b> research contacts/day <b>Unlimited</b> Cloud Storage <b>Online Presense</b> Assistance GJ Community Access	GJ Community Access



# PREFERRED AUTHOR GUIDELINES

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

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

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

Authors should submit their complete paper/article, including text illustrations, graphics, conclusions, artwork, and tables. Authors who are not able to submit manuscript using the form above can email the manuscript department at [submit@globaljournals.org](mailto:submit@globaljournals.org) or get in touch with [chiefeditor@globaljournals.org](mailto:chiefeditor@globaljournals.org) if they wish to send the abstract before submission.

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Authors must ensure the information provided during the submission of a paper is authentic. Please go through the following checklist before submitting:

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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.

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It is required for authors to declare all financial, institutional, and personal relationships with other individuals and organizations that could influence (bias) their research.

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Authors are solely responsible for all the plagiarism that is found. The author must not fabricate, falsify or plagiarize existing research data. The following, if copied, will be considered plagiarism:

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- Ideas
- Findings
- Writings
- Diagrams
- Graphs
- 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 human 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 human 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 through which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

## INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

### **Key points to remember:**

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

### **Final points:**

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

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

### **The discussion section:**

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

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

### **General style:**

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

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



### *Mistakes to avoid:*

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

### **Title page:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Approach:**

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

### **Introduction:**

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



*The following approach can create a valuable beginning:*

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

#### **Approach:**

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

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

#### **Procedures (methods and materials):**

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

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

#### **Materials:**

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

#### **Methods:**

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

#### **Approach:**

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

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

#### **What to keep away from:**

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



**Results:**

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

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

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

**Content:**

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

**What to stay away from:**

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

**Approach:**

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

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

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

**Figures and tables:**

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

**Discussion:**

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

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

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



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

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

#### **Approach:**

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

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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<b>References</b>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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