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We are pleased, in this issue, to continue including the works of students from our partner institutions where our students go to study abroad, and who send students to study on our campus for one semester or one year.

We wish to thank AIU's president, Dr. Norihiko Suzuki, who has continued to support this endeavor. We also wish to thank the staff of AIU Press, especially Yoriko Haseyama, for their help in sustaining this project and making our students' work available to the world.

If you are a student at AIU (whether a full-time AIU student or an international student on study abroad), we encourage you to volunteer your time as an editor for the next issue. We are also always accepting new manuscripts and creative works; so, if you have a work you are particularly proud of, please send it to us (see the call for submissions at the end of this issue)!

With warm wishes,

Paul Chamness Miller, Ph.D. and Cu-Hullan Tsuyoshi McGivern
Faculty Advisors
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Soft Power Bridging the Nations: Bulgarian-Japanese Intercultural Relations Before and After 1990

Nadejda Gadjeva

Introduction

In the globalizing world establishing good relations between countries is highly important. Nowadays there are many global challenges such as overpopulation, diminishing natural resources, and environmental and health issues. Having stable relationships among countries contributes to prosperous mutual cooperation and provides opportunities for common efforts towards various global challenges, as well as for achieving world harmony and peace.

This paper will demonstrate how soft power could promote good international partnerships and serve as a bridge between nations. It will begin with a definition of the concept and its characteristics, highlighting one of the types of soft power-culture. Then, in order to support its thesis, the essay will analyze the case of Bulgarian-Japanese intercultural relations before and after 1990 as evidence for the soft power's effect in establishing prosperous international cooperation. Various intercultural events and activities, as well as the countries' cultural and language promotion on each other's territories, will be observed to demonstrate the nurturing of the friendship during the periods. The paper will also address the contribution of intercultural relations to the maintenance of the political and economic relations of the two countries.

Definition of Soft Power

The term "soft power" was first coined by the Harvard University professor, Joseph Nye, Jr. He defined it as "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments" (Nye, 2004).[1] Later, in his works he also included "the ability to affect others

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[1] Nye, Jr., Joseph. (2004). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: PublicAffairs.

through the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes" (Nye, 2011).[2] While similarly to the hard power, soft power aims to achieve one country's purpose by affecting the behavior of others, it differs in the way of obtaining these outcomes. Soft power uses the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies.

Bulgarian-Japanese Relations and the Soft Power

The case of the evolution of Bulgarian-Japanese intercultural relations before and after the 1990s demonstrates how soft power could be very efficient in establishing a good partnership as well as for achieving the two countries' goals on each other's territories. In general, Bulgarian-Japanese relations have a history of more than 90 years. The first official partnership was created in 1939 when both countries established their diplomatic missions on each other's territories. [3] However, the diplomatic relations were once interrupted in September 1944, because of the communist regime in Bulgaria, and restored again in 1959. In addition, during the two World Wars, Bulgaria and Japan were allies, thus maintaining a good and prosperous friendship. Since the 1970s, highly contributive for the development of the partnership was intercultural exchange and collaboration. Many events and activities were organized and continue even today. Both countries' policies for cultural promotion met great success and political and economic cooperation were also maintained.

Division of the Bulgarian-Japanese Intercultural Relations into Two Periods

The reason for dividing the analysis of the relations into two major periods is because the 1990s had a big impact on Bulgarian international relations and internal policy. The crisis in East-West relations in the 1980s, the growing economic crisis in the Communist bloc, and changes in the political leadership in Moscow played a great

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[2] Nye, Joseph Jr. (2011). *The Future of Power*. New York: Public Affairs
[3] Embassy of Japan in Bulgaria. Bulgarian-Japanese Relations. General Information. July 11, 2015. http://www.bg.emb-japan.go.jp/bg/bg_jap_relations/culture_exchange/index.html

role (Kandilarov, 2009).[4] Bulgaria started a long transition from state socialism to a democratic political system and functioning market economy, which led to certain transformations in Bulgarian foreign policy. The governing parties during this period aimed to incorporate Bulgaria into the Euro-Atlantic military and economic structures, namely the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union. This required many efforts to alter the political and economic systems. The major focus of the nation on these social changes provided a completely different environment for Bulgaria-Japan relations.

Bulgarian-Japanese Intercultural Relations Before 1990s

Initial steps in introducing Bulgarian culture were implemented in 1967, with the assistance of the former President of Tokai University, Professor Shigeyoshi Matsumae, when the Children's Choir of Bulgarian National Radio of academician Hristo Nedyalkov went for the first time to a concert tour in Japan (Takeda, 2009).[5] They were warmly welcomed and received high evaluation as "Angels' Voices". Later, as a highly successful period in the development of the Bulgarian-Japanese intercultural relations was considered the period when Lyudmila Zhivkova was in charge of cultural politics in Bulgaria. At that time, the deep and productive strategy - the so called `cultural diplomacy' was applied in order to achieve long-term cultural influence and thus to contribute to future economic and political relations. Zhivkova visited Japan for the first time during the "Expo' 70" world exhibition. The event is thought to have increased Bulgarian interest regarding its economic and technical collaboration with Japan. According to Kandilarov (2012) [6], participation in the Expo`70 exhibition made Bulgaria aware of the "Japanese economic miracle" and how it could be applied to Bulgaria's economic growth.

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[4] Kandilarov, Evgeny (Кандиралов, Евгений.) (2009). *България и Япония. От Студената война към ХХ1 век. [Bulgaria and Japan: from the Cold War towards the 21st century*]. Sofia: D. Yakov.

[5] Takeda, Tsuneharu. "*Japan and Bulgaria: A Partnership for the Future.*" Lecture of Ambassador Takeda in front of the Atlantic Club. March 24, 2009.

[6] Kandilarov, Evgeny (Кандиралов, Евгений.) (2012). *Людмила Живкова и културната дипломация към Япония. [Lyudmila Zhivkova and the Cultural Diplomacy Towards Japan]* .Novo Vreme, no.11, 89-102.

In the same year of 1970, Bulgaria and Japan signed an Agreement on Commerce and Navigation. In the agreement the two countries granted each other most-favored-nation treatment in the spheres related to trade as well as in the treatment of individuals and legal entities in their respective territories (Kandilarov, 2009).

In the mid-1970s the Bulgarian government made some legislative changes to the rules for foreign company representation in Bulgaria. The aim of the changes was promotion of further development of Bulgarian-Japanese economic relations. After the changes, many Japanese companies such as Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Sumitomo, C. Itoh, Fujitsu, Tokyo Maruichi Shoji, Nichibu Balist, Marubeni, Nissho Iwai, and Toyo Menka Kais opened offices in Bulgaria. In 1977 the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) also established an office, which boosted the trade and economic relations of the two countries.

In 1972 the Japan-Bulgaria Economic Committee for the development of trade, economic, and scientific and technological ties between the two countries was created in Tokyo. The participants of the Committee consisted of a number of large Japanese manufacturers, financial institutions, and trading companies. Nippon Seiko (NSK) president, Hiroki Imazato, was the head of the committee. During the same year in Sofia, Bulgaria-Japan Committee for Economic, Science, and Technical Cooperation was also established in Bulgaria, headed by the Minister of Science, Technologies, and Higher Education, Nacho Papazov.

In the following years, the interest between the countries continued to increase and in 1975, for the first time in the history of the relations between the two countries, the ministers of foreign affairs exchanged letters serving as an intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in science, art, and culture. Under the contract, both governments agreed to collaborate on the exchange of experts, scientists, students, athletes, and others engaged in cultural activities, on the provision of scholarship for education and research at the respective universities and educational institutions, as well as on sharing informational materials, books, magazines, etc.

In the second half of the 1970s, the cultural relations between Bulgaria and Japan continued to deepen. Again, great contribution took place when Lyudmila Zhivkova, Bulgarian Minister of Culture, who visited Japan again in 1975 for the "Expo`75" world exhibition in Okinawa, in which Bulgaria took part. During the event, Zhivkova created various contacts with Japanese public institutions as well as

with private associations and scientific and cultural representatives.[7] In addition, Zhivkova successfully negotiated for the organization of the major exhibition of "Bulgarian Thracian Treasure" in Japan and received great support from the Japanese side.

As a consequence of the visit of Zhivkova in Japan, in 1976 two cultural delegations arrived in Bulgaria. The first one was led by the President of the Japanese Cultural Foundation, Hidemi Kon, and the second one by Professor Namio Egami, a very famous historian and archeologist in Japan. Both visits were focused on the organization of the Bulgarian Thracian Treasure exhibition in Japan. In addition, during Hidemi Kon`s visit, the National Art Gallery together with the Japanese Cultural Foundation arranged the second exhibition of Japanese art in Bulgaria called "Hanga".

In the next years between 1977 and 1981 with the contribution of Bulgarian-Japanese intercultural interactions, economic and political relations also increased. For instance, in 1977 a large delegation of about 60 people led by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade and Industry of Japan, Yugoro Komatsu, arrived in Bulgaria to explore some opportunities for industrial cooperation and joint trade and economic activity in third countries. In the same year, the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Trade, Hristo Hristov, also visited Japan to discuss the possibilities for expansion and balance of trade. In addition, great political expression of the Bulgarian-Japanese relations was the official visit of Todor Zhivkov in 1978 in Japan, the President of the State Council of Bulgaria, for a meeting with the Japanese Prime Minister, Takeo Fukuda. The two countries decided to establish a Joint Intergovernmental Commission for Economic Cooperation, which included working sessions every year and aimed to promote further economic partnership.

After the visit of Todor Zhivkov in Japan, the Bulgarian government made a strategic and detailed program for the development of Bulgarian-Japanese economic relations for the time up to 1990. According to the program, "the strategic direction in the economic relations between Bulgaria and Japan consists in the rational use and implementation of modern and highly effective Japanese

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[7] Such contacts of Lyudmila Zhivkova included the Ministry of Education of Japan, the Japanese Cultural Foundation chaired by Hidemi Kon, the International Foundation of Arts chaired by Masako Oya and many other private organizations, radio and television companies and individuals with significant social and political influence.

technologies, equipment and production experience for the promotion of the quality and efficiency of the Bulgarian economy" (Kandilarov, 2009). In addition, Bulgaria also aimed to strengthen and increase its collaboration with leading Japanese companies of electronics and microelectronics, automation and robotics, heavy industries, chemicals, electronics, and engineering.

In the meantime, Bulgarian-Japanese intercultural relations continued to develop during the next official visit of Zhivkova in 1979 in Japan. The reason for the visit was the big exhibition called "Thracian Art and Culture on Bulgarian Territory." The event had been marked as the strongest Bulgarian cultural presence in Japan. It was arranged in 1979 in Tokyo, Nagoya, and Okayama and attended by more than 220,000 visitors, including Emperor Hirohito and his wife, Crown Prince Akihito, Crown Princess Michiko, other members of the imperial family, as well as representatives from the government and Japanese political, economic, and cultural officials. In addition, along with the exhibition, a scientific symposium with the participation of Bulgarian and Japanese scientists, archaeologists, historians, and artists, dedicated to Bulgarian history, art, and culture was also held. Zhivkova was awarded with the honorary degree "Doctor Honoris Causa" by the Tokai University rector, Professor Shigeoshi Matsumae. Together with the cultural events organization, she maintained active political dialogue with Japanese officials such as Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira, Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda, the presidents of the parliament's both chambers, Ken Yasui and Hirokichi Nadao, and others.

In the following years, the intercultural cooperation between Bulgaria and Japan continued to increase with a variety of cultural activities and events held on both countries' territories.[8]

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[8] In 1979, Bulgaria's participation in the 9th International Children's Art Exhibition in Tokyo organized by the Japan Educational League for UNESCO was a case in point. In the same year, Japan took part in a Festival called International Children`s Assambly "Zname na Mira" in Bulgaria organized by Zhivkova and UNESCO. Japan sent the biggest bell for the architectural composition in Sofia as a gift from the president of the Nihon Denpa Nyusu television company- Yosodji Kobayashi. In addition, 36 Japanese children, including the children choir "Morioka", as well as young artists and poets also took part in the festival. Another event organized at that time was an exhibition dedicated to the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombings.

Since 1979 there have been many Japanese concerts conducted in Bulgaria as well as Bulgarian performances in Japan. At the same time, economic cooperation has been also growing. The official opening of the Nyu Otani Hotel in Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria on May 23, 1979 was a case in point. According to Kandilarov (2012), Japan considered this project as very essential and as it was the first example of successful industrial and technological cooperation between the countries.

From October 17-20, 1979, in response to the visit of Zhivkov in 1978 in Japan, the Japanese Crown Prince Akihito and his wife Crown Princess Michiko visited Bulgaria as the official representatives of Emperor Hirohito. This symbolic, rather than political, gesture was seen as warm and friendly, demonstrating the respectful relationship between the countries.

In general, according to Kandilarov (2009), the 1970s were considered as a highly successful period, a "golden decade" in the evolution of Bulgarian-Japanese relations. The rich intercultural dialogue contributed to the promotion of great political and economic activity between the countries. In addition, the legislative base was broadened, and many new influential Japanese partners were established.

Another significant step in the evolution of Bulgaria-Japan intercultural relations was the "1000 years Bulgarian icon" exhibition organized in 1980 in Japan for two months. It was accompanied with many other additional cultural events. In general, since the early 80s there have been great opportunities for the Bulgarian authorities to intensify and strongly promote intercultural activities to Japan and other countries. The reasons were the numerous commemorative occasions which presented Bulgarian culture abroad. This tendency enhanced the intercultural dialogue and deepened the relations between Bulgaria and Japan.

Big commemorative event for Bulgarian cultural promotion activity in Japan was the 1300th anniversary since the creation of the Bulgarian state. A special program dedicated to it was created in Japan and conducted for five years, from 1980 to 1985. It included various cultural activities which aimed to increase the Bulgarian presence in Japan and the two sides' partnership. For instance, establishment of garden with Bulgarian roses, various concerts, a gift of 1300 cherry

trees from Japan and many others. Various meetings between associations for friendship of the Japanese Parliament with Bulgaria devoted to the celebrations were also organized in 1981. In addition, Japanese media was attracted to visiting Bulgaria, including publicizing and broadcasting the preparation and nature of the anniversary.

Such a fascinating event, attracting much media attention, was the "Days of Bulgarian Literature and Culture." It began with an exhibition called "Old Bulgarian Manuscripts" in the Japan Calligraphy Museum in Tokyo. More than 72,000 people attended the event. In addition, Japanese Prince Akihito with his wife, Prince Hitachi with his wife, Prince Mikasa, and Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi also visited the exhibition.

Together with the "Old Bulgarian Manuscripts" exposition, the Japanese universities Tokai and Soka held three symposiums on the topic "Bulgarian Literature and Culture." Having a big audience of calligraphers, historians, linguists, and students, Bulgarian scholars Angelov, Kuev, and Djurova presented various lectures. The symposiums marked a new step in the development of the scientific and cultural exchange between Bulgaria and Japan.

Due to the great Japanese interest in the exhibition it continued for another two weeks. It was presented in the city of Ashikaga, the center of Japanese classical science, and attended by more than 10,000 people and large media attention. At the same time, the first lectures of a Bulgarian scientist were conducted in Japan in Tokyo University. The seminar was delivered by A. Djurova on the topic entitled "Design of Old Bulgarian Manuscripts: Ornament and Miniature." The lectures were considered by Japanese professors as highly significant for the further development of the Bulgarian studies in Japan.

In response to the "Days of Bulgarian Literature and Culture" dedicated to the 1300th anniversary, there was an exhibition from August 31 to September 13, 1981, called "Japanese Calligraphy and Ink Painting" held in the National Library St. Cyril and Methodius in Sofia, Bulgaria. To take part in the event, a delegation from the Japan Calligraphy Museum led by the president of the Japan Art Academy, Prof. Jiro Arimitsu, and the director of the museum, Tenshu Koyama, arrived in Bulgaria. A movie about the history of calligraphy, lectures on Japanese literature and writing, and demonstrations of calligraphy by Japanese calligraphers were also presented during the exhibition. In addition, in honor of the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state,

Japan Calligraphy Museum donated 30 calligraphic works, the sum of 2 million yen, and a piece of music dedicated to the commemoration. Similarly to the contribution of the "Days of Bulgarian Literature and Culture", the "Japanese Calligraphy and Ink Painting" exhibition was also very beneficial for the further development of the Japanese studies in Bulgaria.

Apart from the exhibition, in the evolution of the intercultural relations there have been a couple of other significant cultural visits from the Japanese side in Bulgaria during the 1300th Anniversary commemoration. For instance, for the celebration of May 24th, the "Day of Bulgarian Enlightment and Culture," a delegation representing the Japanese Buddhist Organization "Soka Gakkai" arrived in the country. It was led by its president and prominent writer, Daisaku Ikeda, who was awarded the honorary title "Doctor Honoris Cause" of Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski" delivering a lecture regarding the cultural interpenetration between the West and the East (Kandilarov, 2012).

For the Japanese cultural promotion in Bulgaria, another Japanese guest in May, 1981, was the president of the center Ikebana International, Ms. Noriko Ono. At the same time, Bulgarian culture and literature continued to enhance their presence in Japan demonstrated by the publishing of Tsuneo Ikeda's books in the publishing house "Konbusha." Many other books such as "Bulgarian History" by Tetsuya Moriyasu, as well as translations of works from Bulgarian language, were also made. In addition, during the celebrations and exhibitions for the 1300th Anniversary in Japan, two Bulgarian musical groups gained great popularity, the Sofia Soloists Chamber Orchestra and the Bulgarian National Radio Children's Choir with artistic director and conductor, Hristo Nedyalkov.

Apart from the big events organized in Japan during the 1300th Anniversary of the Bulgarian state, there have been many smaller but much significant cultural activities since 1981. Almost all Japanese scientific, political, and economic institutions noted the commemoration. According to Kandilarov (2012), it is important to mention the fact that many of the events dedicated to Bulgaria have been arranged by the initiative of Japanese institutions and organizations which demonstrated warm attitude and respect from the Japanese side.

During the intercultural dialogue maintained at the 1300th anniversary celebration program, many political meetings were also

held. The visit of the delegation led by the Deputy Prime Minister of Bulgaria, Georgi Yordanov, in September 1981 was a case in point. In addition, the intercultural activities increased the mutual interest of the countries in each other and the Bulgarian government relied more on Japanese support and the benefits provided by the Japanese economic model. There have been various meetings and negotiations with presidents of major Japanese corporations, including industrial and commercial companies. Another example for promotion of economic cooperation through cultural activities between the countries was the Bulgarian trade exhibition presented under the motto "Bulgaria 1300." However, not only the events in the 1980s, but also the Bulgarian step towards liberalization of economy attracted much interest among Japanese economic circles and led to the creation of six Bulgarian-Japanese joint companies. These corporations included: Fanuc-Mashinex, Atlas Engineering, Sofia-Mitsukoshi, Tobu-M.X, Medicom Systems, and Farmahim-Japan.

In the 1970s and 1980s, contributory to the Bulgarian-Japanese intercultural relations was the promotion of Japanese studies in Bulgaria, as well as Bulgarian studies in Japan (Kandilarov, 2012). Because of the increased interest in Bulgarian studies, various activities related to it were held. The international symposium on cultural exchange issues in 1981, organized by the association for Research of intercultural relations between Japan and East and Central Europe, was a case in point. Part of the symposium was dedicated to Bulgarian-Japanese intercultural relations of the late 19th and 20th centuries.

In general, as a result of the intense intercultural collaboration, the second half of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s were significant for the development of intercultural relations between Japan and Bulgaria, and especially for the increase of Bulgarian cultural presence in Japan. This was the time when Bulgarian rich history, culture, and traditions gained much popularity in Japan. According to Kandilarov (2012), reasons for this tendency could be the specific Japanese mindset and respectful attitude towards nations with great historical and cultural heritage. In addition, thanks to the intercultural cooperation between Bulgaria and Japan, mutual understanding and knowledge about the two countries increased. Together with the promotion of a rich palette of intercultural activities and events in the 1970s and 1980s, the political and economic cooperation of the two sides also succeeded to grow.

Bulgarian-Japanese Intercultural Relations after 1990s

Since the 1990s, the intercultural cooperation between Bulgaria and Japan has continued to increase, but this time with greater cultural presence and promotion of the Japanese rather than Bulgarian side. The economic relations have been also developing, but not with the same speed and prosperity like before the Bulgarian transition to a democratic state.

From 1991, the governments of the two countries began exchanging letters in which they emphasized the mutual cooperation on culture, science, education, and sports. Important for strengthening the collaboration was the establishment of a program for student and scholar exchange between the Ministry of Education in Bulgaria and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), as well as between the two countries' institutions, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski" and Soka University. In order to increase its cultural presence in Bulgaria, in 1991 the Japanese embassy started organizing "Days of Japanese Culture", which aimed to demonstrate various aspects of traditional and modern Japanese customs. While the "Days of Japanese Culture" continues to be held every year, even today, "Days of Bulgarian Culture" have not been so strongly popularized in Japan. Bulgaria organized the event in 1994-1995 with the assistance of Prince Takamado, cousin of the Japanese Emperor and Jelyu Jelev, and also in 1997-1998 with the support of Princess Sayako, the daughter of the Emperor and the Bulgarian president, Petur Stoianov.

Japanese culture was also very much represented with different performers and artists taking part in events in Bulgaria. Such included the "European Cultural Month – Plovdiv' 99", International Ballet Competition in Varna, "Music and Earth International Competition", and many others.

At the same time, according to Kandilarov (2009), Japan provided great support to Bulgaria for cultural, educational, and scientific development. For instance, from 1993 to 2007 the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) sent 245 Japanese volunteers who specialized in various fields. In addition, Japan Foundation and the Japanese government enhanced the promotion of Japanese language studies in Bulgaria. Many scholarships for study abroad in Japan are provided each year to Bulgarian undergraduate and graduate students. Japanese volunteers are also sent to Bulgaria to teach Japanese

language, computer engineering, education studies, marital arts, and others.

After the transition of Bulgaria to democracy, Japanese language studies and literature achieved greater development and popularity in Bulgarian territory. In 1990, Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski" started offering a Bachelor's degree in Japanese language and culture. Later, in 1992, 18th "William Gladstone" High School in Sofia became the first school in Europe which introduced Japanese language as a compulsory subject in its secondary education program. Because of the increasing interest in the language, in 2005, the school also began to offer Japanese language courses in elementary education. As the number of students who were willing to enhance their knowledge about Japan continued to grow rapidly, many other institutions in various cities introduced programs for Japanese language and studies.[9]

Apart from the schools and universities in Bulgaria offering Japanese studies, in June 2003 a non-governmental organization called "Association of Japanese Language Teachers in Bulgaria" was established. It aimed not only to encourage Japanese language education in Bulgaria, but also to strengthen the partnership between the two countries (Kandilarov, 2009).

The Japanese cultural presence in Bulgaria continued to increase with one of the biggest events organized once a year, the Japanese Language Speech Contest. It was first held in 1984 and continues even today. Because of the increasing interest in Japan each year, the event attracts many participants from various Bulgarian cities. The prize for the 1st place in the Advanced level is a trip to Japan, which motivates the contestants and provides them with an opportunity to visit and enhance their knowledge about the country, to establish contacts with various Japanese people and officials, and to present Bulgarian culture abroad.

Apart from the Japanese language and culture promotion, as well as the different events organized by the Japanese side in Bulgaria, Japan provided and still provides much financial support for cultural projects. For instance, in 2002 Bulgaria received 46,300,000 yen for buying audio supplies for the National Palace of Culture in Sofia. Between 1991 and 2001 Japan donated facilities and supplies for the

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[9] By 2007, there have been 7 more institutions offering programs for Japanese language and studies such as Veliko Turnovo University "St Cyril and St Methodius", "Vasil Levski" High School in Ruse, 54th High School in Sofia, and others.

National Library, National Music Academy, "Ivan Vazov" National Theatre and many other cultural institutions.[10]

While Japanese culture promotion in Bulgaria after 1990 was increasing, Bulgarian cultural presence in Japan was not developing with the same speed as during the 1970s and 1980s. As evidence indicates, there was a decreasing number of students taking Bulgarian language courses as well as fewer publications being translated into Japanese from Bulgarian books (Kandilarov, 2009). However, even with a slower pace, the Bulgarian cultural promotion in Japan was still maintained. The universities of Tokai and Soka remained as major centers for Bulgarian language studies. In addition, Bulgarian folklore in Japan continued to gain popularity. The dance groups "Koga" and "Detelina", even today, attract various Japanese people who want to dance, observe, or just have a deeper insight in the Bulgarian culture.

In order to motivate the promotion of Bulgarian studies and culture in Japan after the 1990s, the Ministry of Education and Science of Bulgaria started offering a scholarship to one Japanese university student of Bulgarian studies each year. The scholarship provided the student with the opportunity to study in a Bulgarian university and to enhance his or her knowledge regarding Bulgarian culture. The Ministry also began organizing international seminars for Bulgarian studies, inviting Japanese students every year.

In general, with the Bulgarian transition to democracy, not only the Japanese language and cultural promotion, but also the Japanese technical products such as automobiles and electronic goods increased its presence in the country. While in the 1970s and 1980s very few people in Bulgaria possessed such inventions, however, since 1989, more and more products were introduced in Bulgaria and gained much popularity thanks to their high quality.

After the 1990s, contributory to the good relations between Bulgaria and Japan were the Japanese-Bulgarian friendship associations. Such included the sister-towns "Fukuyama-Bulgaria", established in 2007, as well as "Okayama-Plovdiv", "Japanese Club" in

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[10] Ichihashi Yasuoshi. (2002). *"Нивото на духовното разбиране между двата народа е много високо"[The Level of the Spiritual Understanding between the Two Nations is Very High"]* : Inerview with Ambassador Yasuoshi Ichihashi. Български дипломатически преглед.[Bulgarian Diplomatic Review] , II, 9, pp. 34-37.

Sofia, and "Hiroshima-Bulgaria Association", created in 2005. Very significant was the establishment of Japan-Bulgaria Society in 2001 in Tokyo which represented all existing Japanese associations with Bulgaria. The chairman of the organization was Professor Tatsuro Matsumae, who was also President of Tokai University in Japan. Japan-Bulgaria Society's activity included collaboration on various areas such as culture, education, business, tourism, sport and people-to-people exchanges. It continues to function even today and aims to encourage the mutual understanding, contacts, and exchanges between the two countries as well as to assist in Bulgarian cultural promotion in Japan. The leaders and the members of the association contribute to the development of the bilateral relations as a whole, including the sphere of politics (Kandilarov, 2009).

Essential event planning to strengthen the Bulgarian-Japanese friendship was also the Rose Festival in the city of Fukuyama in Japan. It was first organized in 1994 and since then it continues to be held every year. Thanks to the event, the interest in Bulgaria increased and many Japanese people come to Bulgaria for the annual Rose Festival in the city of Kazanluk.

After the transition period there have been various Bulgarian exhibitions organized in Japan such as "Bulgarian Icons" in 1990, "The Treasures of the Thracian Rulers" in 1994-1995, Bulgarian traditional costumes exposition in 1996-1997, "Contemporary Bulgarian and Japanese Graphics" in 2003, "Golden Civilization of the Ancient Thracians" in 2008-2009 and others in the following years. In addition, Bulgarian music and dance also continue to gain popularity in Japan. Dance ensembles such as "Filip Kutev", "Trakia" and "Pirin" as well as Sofia Philharmonic Orchestra, Bulgarian National Radio Children's Choir and many other singers and groups give performances in Japan in different events even today.

In 2007 Bulgaria joined the European Union, which similarly to the state transition to democracy in 1990, also influenced Bulgarian-Japanese relations. According to Kandilarov (2009), since Bulgaria became a member of the European Union, both countries had to reestablish a new partnership framework on equal terms. The relations between Bulgaria and Japan became mostly dependent on "geopolitical, economic, and to some extent cultural interests of the respective countries in the region" (Kandilarov, 2009). Their relations did not appear as strong. However, as the Japanese Ambassador Takashi Koidzumi in Bulgaria stated during his lecture at the annual

meeting of the association "Nihon Tomonokai" in 2014, despite the impact on the partnership by the Bulgarian transition to democracy and the EU membership, the two countries managed to maintain good and friendly relations[11]. He pointed out as reasons for the mutual respect the sense of closeness and goodwill between the nations. The Ambassador highlighted the great contribution of intercultural exchanges for building the friendship. He put emphasis on the visits of their Highnesses Prince and Princess Mikasa in 1987, her Highness Princess Sayako in 1998, and their Highnesses Prince and Princess Akihito in 2009. Programs for university student exchanges, as well as the Japanese AFS organization's activity for high school students exchanges and home stay were also mentioned. Ambassador Takashi Koidzumi emphasized the role of the current and former exchange students in bridging the nations with their activities in both countries.

Conclusion

The analysis of the Bulgarian-Japanese intercultural relations above demonstrated how efficient soft power was in nurturing their partnership. Although the transition of Bulgaria from state socialism to democracy as well as its membership in the European Union in 2007 influenced the relationship, the countries succeeded in maintaining their friendship due to rich intercultural cooperation. While economic relations have not been developing with the same speed as before 1990, intercultural collaboration continues to evolve with unchanged intensity and new initiatives. First, in the 1970s and 1980s Bulgaria had a greater cultural presence in Japan, but from 1991 the situation became the opposite and Japanese cultural and language promotion strongly increased in Bulgaria. The various intercultural activities, events, and educational exchange programs continue to contribute to the mutual understanding between the people of these nations. Economic and political relations are also maintained. Both countries now enjoy warm

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[11] Koidzumi, Takashi. *"Посрещаме 55-годишнината от възстановяването на дипломатическите отношения между Япония и България"* . *["Celebrating the 55th Anniversary of the Restoration of Bulgarian-Japanese Diplomatic Relations"]*. Lecture of Ambassador Takashi Koidzumi at the annual meeting of Club "Nihon Tomono Kai". July, 2014.

and friendly relations which have the fruitful base for further development and cooperation.

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Model Averaging and Dynamic Regression by Kalman Filter

Shogo Nakakita

1. Introduction

It is most significant and difficult for researchers using regression analysis to select the independent variables and the statistical model. This is known as the problem of model uncertainty and misspecification of the true model makes the estimation biased or ineffective. It is known that fewer independent variables in comparison to that of a true model results in making the coefficient biased, and it is also known that the larger number of variable results in ineffective estimators (Yamamoto, 1995). In order to choose the proper model close to the true model, some information criteria represented by Akaike Information Criterion, Bayesian Information Criterion, and Generalised Information Criterion are proposed and researchers can select good models by choosing the one whose information criteria are minimised (Konishi & Kitagawa, 2004).

As another approach to model uncertainty, model averaging is the method to estimate dependent variables with a weighted mean of models. This method has the aspect of being robust because it does not choose one model but adopts all the models which are efficient to estimate the independent variables. In addition, model averaging provides the information of inclusion probability as a measure for significance or contribution of each independent variable to predict. The research of Sala-i-Martin, Doppelhofer, and Miller (2004) focuses on the inclusion probability and explains which independent variables out of 67 can explain economic growth in 88 countries. Each model used in model averaging in this research is cross sectional, but it is possible to implement the approach of model averaging to time series analysis by adopting the methods of Dynamic Model Averaging (DMA; Raftery, Kárný, & Ettler, 2010) and DMA with Dynamic Occam's Window (DOW; Onorante & Raftery, 2014). DMA with DOW is the model averaging of dynamic regression models by the Kalman filter and it can explain the significance of each variable differently in different time periods; therefore it is useful as the analysis for structural changes in the time series and is applicable to economic analysis.

This paper argues for the use of Dynamic Model Averaging methodology in time series analysis by introducing a theoretical basis. Firstly, dynamic regression using the Kalman filter is explained as a model which is averaged later in the DMA framework. Next, this paper introduces DMA and DOW specifically and proposes the algorithm which generalises FEAR algorithm for DOW in terms of the number of model shifts.

2. Kalman Filter and Dynamic Regression

2.1 Kalman Filter

As the preparation for dynamic regression, this paper discusses state space model and the Kalman filter. The Gaussian linear state space model is specified by the following equations (Petris, Petrone & Campagnoli, 2009). Firstly, θ_t has the normal prior distribution for $t = 0$ written as

$$\theta_0 \sim N(m_0, C_0)$$

with the initial mean m_0 and covariance matrix C_0. For $t \geq 1$, the model consists of the equations

$$Y_t = F_t \theta_t + v_t$$
$$\theta_t = G_t \theta_{t-1} + w_t$$
$$\text{where}, v_t \sim N(0, V_t), w_t \sim N(0, W_t)$$

called the observation equation and the state equation. Kalman filter is the methodology to estimate the state θ_t with recursive computation under the assumptions for the state space model that (θ_t) is Markov chain and conditionally on (θ_t), the Y_t's are independent and Y_t depends on θ_t only. Petris, Petrone, and Campagnoli shows that the parameters of the conditional normal distribution of the recent state θ_t given the observation $y_{1:t-1} = \{y_1, \dots, y_{t-1}\}$ (prediction for the state), the observation Y_t given $y_{1:t-1}$ (prediction for the observation) and the state θ_t given $y_{1:t}$. That is,

Proposition (Kalman Filter): under the condition $\theta_{t-1} \sim N(m_{t-1}, C_{t-1})$,
(1) The one-step-ahead prediction distribution of θ_t given $y_{1:t-1}$ is Gaussian and has the following parameters.
$$a_t = E(\theta_t | y_{1:t-1}) = G_t m_{t-1}$$
$$R_t = Var(\theta_t | y_{1:t-1}) = G_t C_{t-1} G_t^T + W_t$$
(2) The one-step ahead prediction distribution of Y_t given $y_{1:t-1}$ is Gaussian and has the following parameters.

$$f_t = E(Y_t|y_{1:t-1}) = F_t a_t$$
$$Q_t = Var(Y_t|y_{1:t-1}) = F_t R_t F_t^T + V_t$$

(3) The filtering distribution of θ_t given $y_{1:t}$ is Gaussian and has the following parameters.

$$m_t = E(\theta_t|y_{1:t}) = a_t + R_t F_t^T Q_t^{-1}(Y_t - f_t)$$
$$C_t = Var(\theta_t|y_{1:t}) = R_t - R_t F_t^T Q_t^{-1} F_t R_t$$

As a result, these parameters can be computed with the initial assumptions on m_0 and C_0 and the observation $y_{1:t}$ recursively.

2.2 Dynamic Regression as an Application of Kalman Filter

In economics, researchers are sometimes interested in the regime shift of the structure of economies according to specified variables. Okimoto (2010) introduces the threshold model, smooth-transition model and Markov switching model which are capable of addressing these types of shifts in structure. Dynamic regression is one of the models capable of considering time as the variable evoking change in structure. While the coefficients in linear regression are fixed and do not shift, dynamic regression allows the coefficients to shift along with the time series with a certain level of viscosity. The set of equations as expressed by Raftery, Kárný, and Ettler (2010) are then,

$$Y_t = x_t^T \theta_t + v_t$$
$$\theta_t = \theta_{t-1} + w_t$$
$$\text{where } v_t \sim N(0, V), w_t \sim N(0, W_t)$$

where x_t^T is the vector of independent variables and θ_t is the regression coefficient in time period t. This model is equivalent to the Gaussian linear state-space model where $F_t = x_t^T$, $G_t = I$ and $V_t = V$. Hence, the parameters of the prediction distribution of θ_t, Y_t and the filtering distribution of θ_t can be computed recursively as Kalman filter.

In practice, Petris, Petrone, and Campagnoli describe that specification of V_t and W_t is significant for computation as $r = W/V$ for one-dimension observation equations and state equations called signal to noise ratio influences the behaviour of prediction. They can be calculated by MLE and the calculated values are used as constants in Kalman filter. From the viewpoint of Bayesian inference, it is hopeful to assume the prior probabilities for these unknown parameters. Other than them, an alternative solution for these problems is proposed (Raftery, Kárný, & Ettler, 2010).

Firstly, they introduce the notion of forgetting in specification for W_t. In the framework of forgetting, $W_t = (\lambda^{-1} - 1)C_{t-1}$ and

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$$R_t = C_{t-1} + W_t = C_{t-1} + (\lambda^{-1} - 1)C_{t-1} = \lambda^{-1}C_{t-1}$$

where λ called the forgetting factor is slightly smaller than 1. In the second place, the recursive moment estimator of V is revealed as follows:

$$\widehat{V}_t = \begin{cases} A_t \text{ if } A_t > 0, \\ \widehat{V}_{t-1} \text{ otherwise,} \end{cases}$$

where

$$A_t = \left(\frac{t-1}{t}\right)\widehat{V}_{t-1} + \frac{1}{t}(e_t^2 - x_t^T R_t x_t)$$

and this estimator is consistent and converges to V in probability.

3. Dynamic Model Averaging and Dynamic Occam's Window

3.1 Dynamic Model Averaging

The framework of dynamic regression provides a solution for the uncertainty in parameters. However, the same as the ordinary regression framework, there is the problem of uncertainty of the models given by dynamic regression, that is, the difficulty to determine which model governs the system during a certain time period. Dynamic Model Averaging is the model averaging method for dynamic regression (Raftery, Kárný, & Ettler, 2010), and it is one of the solutions for model uncertainty in dynamic regression. The combination of independent variables and coefficients is different among those models and each quantity specific to M_k is expressed with a superscript k.

Raftery, Kárný, and Ettler (2010) and Onorante and Raftery (2014) introduced the dynamic model averaging method for model uncertainty in ARX models:

Initialisation
1. Set $\pi_{0|0,l} = 1/K$ for $= 1, \dots, K$.
2. Assign $m_0^{(k)}$ and $C_0^{(k)}$.

For $t = 1, \dots, T$:
1. (Model Prediction) Evaluate the value of the model prediction equations, which are

$$\pi_{t|t-1,k} = \frac{\pi_{t-1|t-1,k}^{\alpha}}{\sum_{l=1}^{K} \pi_{t-1|t-1,l}^{\alpha}}$$

where α is a forgetting factor whose value is slightly smaller than 1.

2. (Model Averaging) Compute the model-averaged one-step-ahead prediction of the system output, which is

$$\hat{y}_t^{DMA} = \sum_{k=1}^{K} \pi_{t|t-1,k}\hat{y}_t^{(k)} = \sum_{k=1}^{K} \pi_{t|t-1,k}x_t^{(k)T}m_{t-1}^{(k)}$$

where $x_t^{(k)}$ and $m_{t-1}^{(k)}$ are respectively independent variables and one-step-ahead prediction for coefficients $\theta_t^{(k)}$ in M_k.

3. (Model Updating) Evaluate the value of the model updating equations, which are

$$\pi_{t|t,k} = \frac{\omega_{tk}}{\sum_{l=1}^{K}\omega_{tl}} \text{ where } \omega_{tl} = \pi_{t|t-1,l}f_l(y_t|y_{1:t-1})$$

And here, $f_l(y_t|y_{1:t-1})$ is the likelihood of one-step-ahead prediction distribution of model M_l with observation y_t.

In the process of model averaging, each model updating equation in the last period powered by a forgetting factor is the weight of each model. The forgetting factor is to raise the probability of "revival" of models which have been ineffective in prediction of past time periods but are going to be effective in following periods; therefore, this parameter controls the robustness of the prediction.

3.2 Dynamic Occam's Window

In most cases, it is not even sure which model should be included in the set of models in dynamic model averaging. Therefore, it is significant to construct the method which includes valid models and excludes those which are invalid in the process. Dynamic Occam's Window is the method which includes the neighbouring models of the initial set of models in a certain time period and chooses the valid models among them with the model updating equations of the dynamic model averaging for the set of the models in the initial set and their neighbouring ones (Onorante & Raftery, 2014). It assumes that the governing models shift gradually to neighbouring models in each time period. The advantage of this method is that it is possible to compute the inclusion probability of each independent variable in each time

period; therefore, it can be the measurement of significance of independent variables in the system.

Onorante and Raftery suggest the FEAR algorithm composing of the steps of forecast, expand, assess and reduce for implementation of dynamic Occam's window:

Initialisation
1. Separate the sample $t = 1, \dots, T$ into a training sample $t = 1, \dots, T_r$ and a forecasting / evaluation sample $t = (T_r + 1), \dots, T$.
2. Set an initial population model $M_0(T_r)$, a threshold $C \in (0,1]$
3. Start with $M_0(T_r)$ and an initial set of weights $w_{T_r|T_r,k}$.

For $t = (T_r + 1), \dots, T$:
1. (Forecast) Use the models in $M_0(t-1)$ and the weights $w_{t|t-1,k}$ to perform dynamic model averaging $\hat{y}_t^{DMA}$ (Raftery, Kárný & Ettler, 2010).
2. (Expand) Expand $M_0(t-1)$ into a larger population $M_1(t)$ including all $m_k \in M_0(t-1)$ and their neighbouring models.
3. (Assess) Upon observing y_t compute for all $m_k \in M_1(t)$ the weights $w_{t|t,k}$, normalised to sum to 1 over $M_1(t)$
4. (Reduce) Define the final population of models for time t, $M_0(t)$, as those in $M_1(t)$ that are in Occam's Window, namely
$$M_0 = \left\{ m_k \in M_1(t) : w_{t|t,k} \geq C \max_{l:m_l \in M_1(t)} w_{t|t,l} \right\}.$$
End for

However, even the proper initial population model $M_0(T_r)$ is uncertain in implementation. As one of the solutions for this uncertainty, the following applied version of FEAR algorithm can be considered:

Initialisation: set a starting set of models $M_{0,T_r}(0)$, a threshold $C \in (0,1]$, and a limit of the number of trials N.

For $n = 1, \dots, N$,
1. (Expand) Expand $M_{0,T_r}(n-1)$ into a larger population $M_{1,T_r}(n)$ including all $m_k \in M_{0,T_r}(n-1)$ and their neighbouring models.
2. (Assess) Upon observing y_{T_r} compute for all $m_k \in M_{1,T_r}(n)$ the weights $w_{T_r|T_r,k}$, normalised to sum to 1 over $M_{1,T_r}(n)$

3. (Reduce) Define the population of models for n-th trial, $M_{0,T_r}(n)$, as those in $M_{1,T_r}(n)$ that are in Occam's Window, namely

$$M_0 = \left\{ m_k \in M_{1,T_r}(n) : w_{T_r|T_r,k} \geq C \max_{l:m_l \in M_{1,T_r}(n)} w_{T_r|T_r,l} \right\}.$$

4. If $M_{0,T_r}(n-1) = M_{0,T_r}(n)$ or $n = N$, set $M_0(T_r) \equiv M_{0,T_r}(n)$ with regarding it as the convergence; if not, proceed to the next expand process.

End for

This approach can be applied to other time periods in forecast/ evaluation samples. When a researcher has a belief for the maximum number of independent variables whose inclusion can be switched from the models in the last time period, that number can be reflected as N which is the limit of trials in the above computation. This algorithm generalises the original FEAR algorithm as the special case where $N = 1$:

Initialisation
   1. Separate the sample $t = 1, \dots, T$ into a training sample $t = 1, \dots, T_r$ and a forecasting / evaluation sample $t = (T_r + 1), \dots, T$.
   2. Set an initial population model $M_0(T_r)$ with the above algorithm, a threshold $C \in (0,1]$, a limit of shift N.
   3. Start with $M_0(T_r)$ and an initial set of weights $w_{T_r|T_r,k}$.

For $t = (T_r + 1), \dots, T$:
   1. (Forecast) Use the models in $M_0(t-1)$ and the weights $w_{t|t-1,k}$ to perform dynamic model averaging $\hat{y}_t^{DMA}$.
   2. Set $M_{0,t}(0) \equiv M_0(t-1)$.

   For $n = 1, \dots, N$,
      1. (Expand) Expand $M_{0,t}(n-1)$ into a larger population $M_{1,t}(n)$ including all $m_k \in M_{0,t}(n-1)$ and their neighbouring models.
      2. (Assess) Upon observing y_t compute for all $m_k \in M_{1,t}(n)$ the weights $w_{t|t,k}$, normalised to sum to 1 over $M_{1,t}(n)$.
      3. (Reduce) Define the population of models for n-th trial, $M_{0,t}(n)$, as those in $M_{1,t}(n)$ that are in Occam's Window

$$M_0 = \left\{ m_k \in M_{1,t}(n) : w_{t|t,k} \geq C \max_{l:m_l \in M_{1,t}(n)} w_{t|t,l} \right\}.$$

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4. If $M_{0,t}(n-1) = M_{0,t}(n)$ or $n = N$, set $M_0(t) \equiv M_{0,t}(n)$ and start the next forecast process in sample $t + 1$; if not, proceed to the next expand process for $n + 1$.

End for

The larger parameter N, which can be called a shifting parameter, does not necessarily result in better predictions especially after large shocks in observations because the models should be too adaptive for those shocks. DMA reflects the past prediction likelihood for its model updating equations and model prediction equations; therefore, there is the probability that the models fitting the observation in shocks well but those in other samples poorly remain the population while they do not predict with enough efficiency. It can be a solution for this sort of situations to set a lower forgetting parameter α in model prediction equations where a large shifting parameter N is chosen.

The parameter N works almost identically to forgetting factors, but it is distinctive in terms of allowing large shifts and researchers mainly concerning the inclusion probability can manipulate this parameter and examine which variables are significant by each time period.

5. Conclusion

This paper analysed the method of Dynamic Model Averaging (DMA) as model averaging in time series and suggested algorithm generalising FEAR (Onorante & Raftery, 2014) in terms of the number of model shifting in one time period. The DMA with DOW and the generalised algorithm is expected to perform better than DMA with DOW and original FEAR algorithm by Onorante and Raftery in terms of Mean Square Errors (MSE), Mean Absolute Errors (MAE) and Maximum Absolute Errors (MAX) because of its ability to explore better models.

These methods contribute to not only to the problem of model uncertainty, but also causal analysis by specification of inclusion probabilities. Especially, the generalised algorithm will enable DMA to be applied in broader contexts and researchers to examine inclusion probabilities for time series data with long blanks or situation where large model shifts can be considered. As the modification, vectorisation of N which corresponds to time series and allowing different model shifts in each time periods can be considered for the time series data with blanks.

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Foreign Domestic Workers in Japan: Confinement of Women or Recognition of Shared Femininity?

Yuki Wada

Introduction

As indicated by the World Economic Forum's global gender gap report, which ranked Japan 105th out of the 142 countries surveyed (World Economic Forum, 2014), female participation in education, politics and business has not actively been encouraged in Japan. In an attempt to remedy this situation, the incumbent Prime Minister Shinzō Abe has repeatedly stressed the need for creating a society in which "all women can shine" (Abe, 2014). The 2014 "Promotion of Women's Participation and Working Style Reform" seemed to suggest that Japanese families should outsource their domestic work to foreign workers, mainly from Southeast Asia, in particular the Philippines or Indonesia, in order to facilitate greater participation by Japanese women in the workforce, and in society in general. If the act to revise the National Strategic Special Zones is enacted, Indonesian and Filipino domestic workers will begin performing domestic work in households in Kansai area by the end of 2015 (Asahi Newspaper Digital, 2015).

Certainly, it appears as if Japan is trying to take steps to achieve gender equality by emancipating women from housework, while also trying to deconstruct the traditional gender dualism. The idea that "masculinity is overwhelmingly associated with rationalization and femininity is associated with the irrational" (Adkins, 2005, p. 235) has ignored female contributions and put their experiences and social relations outside of modernity. However, it is crucial to be aware that Japan is now trying to compensate for the care deficit created by Japanese women's increased integration in the labour market by importing female workers from overseas, but also of the problems this could cause for those who seek genuine gender equality. Theoretically, outsourcing work to migrant workers should bring benefit to both the sending and the receiving countries. In fact, this sort of migration has historically aided some women in the receiving countries in building their careers, and has also made it possible for some women from the

sending, primarily developing countries, to financially support their families at home, thus improving their lives by giving them increased opportunities to provide for their families. On the other hand, many migrant women, including Filipino entertainers in Japan and au-pairs in Western countries, have, and still continue to fall victim to human trafficking, sexual abuse, or other forms of exploitation.

This paper explores whether or not it is possible for Japan to become a society in which "all women can shine," transcending their gender, class, and ethnicity, by importing female migrant workers to Japan, specifically Filipino and Indonesian domestic workers. First, this paper examines previous problems which have arisen as a result of female migration, as well as possible issues which might arise if Japan accepts a larger number of female Indonesian and Filipino migrants. Then a look at theoretical issues related to this problem is presented, and finally this paper attempts to answer the research question "will accept foreign domestic workers in Japan lead to confinement of women or recognition of shared femininity?"

Stigma and Victim Hood Confining Migrant Women to Their Body

Femininity is often associated with words such as "caring," "loving," "supportive" or "altruistic," and these attributes have historically been regarded as the typical attributes of women. As women's integration into the labour market was facilitated by neoliberal capitalism, Filipino women who moved as entertainers to Japan, as domestic workers to Hong Kong, or as au-pairs to Denmark and Norway, promoted their femininity by migrating. This phenomenon is referred to as "commodification of femininity" in this paper rather than "commodification of care" as defined by Enrenreich and Hochild (2002) because their term does not encompass the characteristics of labour which has been historically done by women. These women's femininity has often been encroached upon as some of them have fallen victim to exploitation, seeing their status change to that of a commodity so that it could meet the varied demands of a market economy.

Historically migrant women have often been portrayed as sexually immoral. McLintock (1995) and Stoler (1995) point out that immigrant women were distinguished from white middle class in Prussia, and regarded as the "degenerate classes" (p. 59), lacking in sexual morality. This view was held both in the metropolises and in the colonies from

the late 19th century till the early 20th century. This nationalistic distinction between moral citizens and "degenerate classes" is still prevalent in the discourse of neoliberal capitalist modernity, and contributes to the unacceptable commodification of femininity. For example, during the economically optimistic period in Japan between the 1970s and 1980s, many Filipino women came to Japan as entertainers and sold "love" and "care" by engaging the customers, who were mostly blue-collar workers who felt out of place in the capitalist society where the norm of Japanese masculinity was strictly articulated, in conversation. However, the economic recession in Japan in the 1990s saw these women met with the demand to provide their customers with many new services, including sexual relations (Faier, 2008). This was a result of the misuse of the "loving" and "caring" aspects of femininity caused by changes to the market demand.

This change lead to Filipino women being looked down upon and saw them pejoratively called *japayuki*, which literally translates as "people who travel to Japan," but which is used to refer to migrant prostitutes from Southeast Asia, and caused them to increasingly be regarded as "immoral and desperate: willing to do anything for money" (Faier, 2009, p. 91). The stigmatization of Filipino women in Japan has been occurring in many different forms. Even if they quit their hostess jobs and get married, they have still needed to perform the duty of a good *oyomesan*, which is translated as "bride" in English, to get rid of the stigmas in order to be accepted by the community members or their in-laws (Faier, 2009). Due to the demographic shift in Japan resulting from an ever-aging population, the Japan and Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement was signed in 2008, and this act has seen some Filipino workers moving from one highly gendered sector of the labour force, namely the adult entertainment industry, to another equally gendered sector, the care work sector. Many of these women have tried to get rid of the stigma surrounding Filipino women by performing care work which contributes to Japanese society, but some of them still suffer from the distinction which still persists between national citizens and "degenerate" classes, and have been branded *japayuki*. It has been said that "it will be troublesome if they build 'intimate' relationships" (Suzuki, 2009, p. 12).

While migrant women are often portrayed as members of an immoral, degenerate class, they have also been seen to frequently fall victim to trafficking or sexual abuse, seeing the "supportive" and "altruistic" factor of femininity misused. These two discourses are the

same in essence, but the discourse of victimhood emphasizes what happens if "people are transferred against their will" (Schrover, van der Leun, Lucassen, & Quispelp, 2008, p. 11). For one thing, the fact that Filipino entertainers have offered customers sexual services despite the fact that they are trained or educated as dancers and singers have made some Japanese people think they are "immoral and desperate: willing to do anything for money" (Faier, 2009, p. 91), but at the same time this situation has made some Japanese people sympathize with their plight. Whether they are entertainers in Japan, au-pairs in European countries or domestic workers in Hong Kong, they have migrated to these countries by their own free will for the specific purpose of sending remittances back to their families in their home countries. They are able to do this by commodifying their femininity. However, when they realize, after they have arrived in their new home country, that they are expected to perform different tasks than they thought before they left home, their migration turns out to be "against their will" (Schrover, van der Leun, Lucassen, & Quispelp, 2008, p. 11). As a consequence of the capitalist market stretching the concept of femininity too far, their feminine traits of being "supportive" and "altruistic" end up being misused, and migrant women end up generified as "submissive," "self-sacrificing," and "inferior" people.

The discourse of victimhood sometimes helps women, but also restricts their choices (van der Leun, Lucassen, Quispel, & Schrover, 2008). It is true that the basic human rights of migrant women have become the subject of the most intense global debate due to the articulated victimhood discourses, as illustrated by the fact that human trafficking of Filipino entertainers came to be considered a serious issue after Japan was placed on the Tier 2 Watch List on the 2004 trafficking in Persons Report (U.S Department of State, 2004). However, as Berman (2003) points out, the current sex-trafficking discourses can be also seen as a means of vilifying immigration and justifying anti-immigration policies. In fact, rather than protecting this group by developing laws and regulations, or social safety nets, the Japanese government has imposed restrictions on Filipino women's possibility to immigrate to Japan by curbing the issuance of entertainer visas (Head, 2005), thereby depriving many Filipino women of job opportunities and violating their rights, while also depriving both them and their families of an opportunity to prosper financially.

While migrant women are deprived of access to economic resources and rights of self-determination, this has been placed outside the purview of modernity and confined them in their body as "Third-world women". The victimhood or criminality discourses regarding migrant women have added further negative value to the feminine emotional and physical care work which has already been underestimated and underappreciated because women have performed it for free in the past. Japan is now contemplating outsourcing domestic work to foreign workers from Southeast Asia, in particular the Philippines or Indonesia, in order to facilitate greater participation by Japanese women in Japanese capitalist modernity. Japan has made the decision to outsource this work to domestic workers from Southeast Asian countries in order to create a society where "all women can shine". But if Japan continues to stigmatize femininity and women who have traditionally performed this work, this might end up leading to further gender inequality, because this could not only stabilize or strengthen typical gender role generalization and segregation, but feminine work could also begin to be regarded as degenerate and immoral by even women.

The Significance of Outsourcing Domestic Work for Gender Equality in Japan

However, Japan might be able to stop it and contributes to increasing awareness of the decentness of feminine labour while supporting women who want to pursue their careers by treating domestic workers decently as subjects who contribute to the world economy by doing feminine jobs.

Diversification of Japanese Women's Life Courses

To believe that one is a woman is almost as absurd and obscurantist as to believe that one is a man. I say 'almost' because there are still many goals which women can achieve. Therefore, we must use 'we are women' as an advertisement or slogan for our demands. On a deeper level, however, a woman cannot 'be' […] In 'woman', I see something that cannot be represented, something that is not said. (Kristeva, 1981, p. 137)

In classical social theory, women are often depicted as unable to transcend their corporeality as seen in Simmel's theory women occupy

a zone of "being" rather than a zone of "becoming" (Adkins, 2005). As Kristeva (1981) put it, various women should not be defined as the same "women," but there still remains a strong tendency for women to be excluded from modernity just because of their sex, and thus it is sometimes necessary to use a slogan such as "we are women." As a matter of fact, in Japan the idea that having the 3K, *kekkon*, *kodomo*, *katei*, which are translated as "marriage," "children," and "household" in English, is the only way a woman can be happy has been endorsed, and this has "housewivized" educated women. On the other hand, marriage is seen as something which enables men to "settle down" and pursue their desired life courses. This has kept women from pursuing their careers and dreams and has confined women in their gendered body.

However, by emancipating some Japanese women from housework, acceptance of domestic workers could expand Japanese women's life choices and help some Japanese women challenge themselves to "become" what they want to be rather than being "women" who have been constructed by their society. Indeed, becoming housewives should be left as an option because there is diversity in "women" and their desires, but it should not be the only accepted form of happiness that all women have to pursue, because each woman is different, as is each man.

That being said, some people might argue that only upper-class families can afford to use domestic work help services and thus this cannot lead to full empowerment of women. However, if these women take part in economic, social, and political life where women's perspective has been missing, women's life will be enriched because women have certain "embodied, embedded, and habituated aspects of identity" (Adkins, 2005, p. 237) in common regardless of their financial situation. For one thing, due to the biological difference between men and women, working women might face similar issues at their workplace. This situation cannot improve as long as the situation where women's perspectives are disregarded persists.

Quantification of Feminine Work

Our lives are supported by not only the market economy but also domestic work and voluntary work. This kind of unpaid, mostly, feminine, work has played an important role and has had economic value through the reproduction of labour power. The demand for this

work will certainly increase due to the increase in life expectancy and the expectation of a higher quality of life in old age. However, domestic work has been underestimated due to the lack of concrete results, and this work has been thought of as a burden on the capitalist society and has been consigned to women.

Marxist feminists argue that this is also an exploitation of labour by the capitalist society, and has defined labour, which Marx defined as "a commodity" which "exists only in [the] living body", to include unpaid feminine work (Barret, 1989, p. 272). The Wages for Housework campaign has been promoted by these Marxist feminists ever since the 1970s and spread from Italy to the world in different ways. In Japan, a survey regarding housework was conducted among 416 married women aged 20 to 59 in 2015 and it showed that they think performing housework is worth 160,000 yen per month (Mynavi News, 2015).

Although the wage of 160,000 yen is not a sum arrived at through any scientific means, it is of importance to note that the acceptance of foreign domestic workers means that traditionally unpaid feminine work is recognized as labour power that is an integral part of the market economy that should be paid. This does not only mean that due to the quantification of housework, increased respect is paid to domestic work, which has been traditionally done by women, but it could also cause more men to recognize the worth of this work and compel them to help perform it. As Holter (2005) points out, the notion of femininity and masculinity are closely connected to the gender role division that is promoted in capitalist societies, and the structural different experiences between men and women have strengthened the idea of the different natures of men and women. However, if feminine emotional and care work is increasingly evaluated with every entry of a foreign domestic worker into the Japanese labour market and into a household, this could create a society where both men and women could share femininity and masculinity rather than a society where women gain masculinity by devaluating their femininity.

Expansion of Life Choices of Migrant Women

As discussed earlier, the victimhood or criminality discourses regarding migrant women have confined many of them to their body as "third-world women" while also violating their human rights and depriving them of the right of self-determination. However, have these women always internalized themselves as weak, submissive, and

inferior? The experiences of Filipino entertainers reveal that while their actions have been restricted by the social-, economic-, and gendered structures of Japanese society, they also have made choices that they think are best to accomplish their goal of financially supporting their family in the Philippines and they have even succeeded in changing the way in which the Japanese community around them regards them. For example, Faier (2008) pessimistically states that Filipino women who used to work at hostess bars need to make a concerted effort to be good, "traditional Japanese" brides in order to build a good rapport with their husbands and in-laws, and in order to get rid of the negative stereotypes of Filipino women in Japan. This description, however, can be interpreted to mean that their unwavering identity as trans-national daughters or mothers has driven them to do this. Here another aspect of femininity as opposed to "weakness" or "submissiveness" can be seen. This is well illustrated by the Japanese phrase, *haha wa tsuyoshi*, which is translated as "mothers are strong." This mindset could explain why feminized migration has never stopped but has taken illegal forms despite tightening migration restrictions caused by the victimhood discourses and the fear of exploitation (van der Leun, Lucassen, Quispel, & Schrover, 2008).

It has been often argued that physical distance between migrant women and their children makes both parent and child suffer (Hoschild, 2001). In 2015, Norway, in fact, stopped accepting au-pairs who have children, arguing that physical attachment is the best way of motherhood. But this is merely enforcing their ideals of motherhood on migrant women while also victimizing them and disregarding their wishes to be good mothers who know what they should do for their children. In fact, Dahl and Spanger (2010) interviewed two sex workers in Denmark and revealed that one woman was able to be "physically absent but emotionally present" by conducting Skype motherhood, while another woman was "physically present but emotionally absent" (p. 129). It is next to impossible to assert that physical attachment is an, not to mention the most, integral part of good motherhood. Furthermore, considering the fact that Norwegian Right Party has proposed to cut the funding for the au-pair centre, which has helped au-pairs with legal aid and information (Sandvik, 2014), at the same time as implementing these restrictions, the decision about both the au-pair centre, and the tightening of regulations of au-pair eligibility, can be interpreted as a victimization of au-pairs caused by a desire to justify anti-immigration policies. In Japan, the image of good mothers

has often been seen, especially by media, as housewives who take care of their children at home, but will Japan also impose its traditional values on migrant women and confine them in their gendered body while attempting to diversify the life courses of Japanese women?

Although migrant women tend to be portrayed as victims or objects that are controlled by a repressive social structure, it is of importance to note that migrant women have exerted their agency to make their lives and that of their family better, and that they have the potential to make social changes. For one thing, a Filipino domestic worker in Hong Kong named Xyza Cruz Bacani won a prestigious 2015 Human Rights Fellowship for her documentary photography that fosters empathy, engagement, and positive social change (Amrith, 2015) after a Hong Kong couple was convicted of abuse of an Indonesian domestic worker (BBC, 2015). Bakani is the very subject who goes beyond the body of "Third-world women" and crafts her own life worth living by taking pictures, and her pictures capture various aspects of foreign domestic workers' experiences which stand in contrast to the traditional negative stereotype of them as victims of global capitalism or the global care chain, or members of an immoral class of people. Filipino women in Japan have also crafted their identity by internalizing themselves as subjects who contribute to Japanese society. For example, because English is one of the official languages in the Philippines, some of the Filipino people in Japan have felt they are useful and valuable when Japanese people ask them to deal with foreign customers. This suggests that they could contribute to English education in Japan and come to themselves as important members of society if Japan is willing to outsource this work to Filipino domestic workers as has been done in Hong Kong (Aida, 2014). Furthermore, across the globe foreign domestic workers themselves have taken part in grassroots activities to change situations where foreign domestic workers have been exploited. In Hong Kong where public organizing is tolerated for immigrant workers, foreign domestic workers in cooperation with human rights groups have gained rights to negotiate salaries and working hours (Suzuki, 2009). In Lebanon, a domestic workers' union has recently been launched, and in the United States, the theatre and the arts offer domestic workers channels for self-expression (Amrith, 2015). In Japan, Filipino entertainers and Japanese citizens in Akita prefecture have organized public activities and created a place where Japanese and Filipino people positively affect one another by supporting Japanese language courses and holding an

annual Christmas party for cultural exchange (Yamanaka & Akiba, 2013). Therefore, foreign domestic workers are not coming as agency-less objects who are exploited or stigmatized by global capitalism or the global care chains, but subjects who craft their identity and lives and have the potential to change society for the better.

The Road to Gender Equality in Japan: Decent Conditions for Domestic Workers

Whether acceptance of domestic workers will contribute to gender equality or will continue to contribute to the devaluation of femininity depends on whether Japan treats the domestic workers who perform it as decent workers. In the "Memorandum on Questions Regarding Acceptance of Foreign Domestic Workers" (Fukushima, 2014), several important questions regarding this issue were asked with respect to the actual situation of domestic workers in foreign countries, and the answers which were filed by the government show its current attitude towards the protection of foreign domestic workers who migrate to Japan.

In the Memorandum, it is clearly stated that the Labour Standards Act applies to domestic workers migrating to National Strategic Special Zones, and this has significant meaning because it guarantees these workers a minimum wage, maximum weekly hours, and other basic rights. In Japan, many immigrants from developing countries participating in a so-called "skill training system for foreigners" had already been exploited until 2010, as the Labour Standards Act did not apply to them while they were trainees for the first year (Ministry of Health, 2012). Indeed, Article 116 (2) of the Labour Standards Law states that "this act shall not apply to businesses which employ only relatives who live together, nor to domestic workers." But in the Memorandum, the government presents the viewpoint that domestic workers coming to the National Strategic Special Zones are supposed to do housework based on service contracts between a specific agency and service users. Therefore, they are protected by Article 116 (2) of the Labour Standards Act because they are not *kaji-shiyounin*, domestic workers, who are employed directly by the host families.

However, it is crucial to bear it in mind that the commodity of femininity has historically been misused so that it could meet the various market demands of a market economy. Although it is stated that the Labour Standards Act applies to domestic workers coming to

the National Strategic Special Zones, the government holds the view that an amendment of Article 116 (2) is not needed. This implies not only that domestic workers who are not employed in the National Strategic Special Zones are not protected by the act but also that foreign domestic workers coming to the National Strategic Special Zones could also be excluded from the act if the market demand for direct employment of foreign domestic workers increases, provided that this is seen as more convenient. As illustrated by the statement by a homemaker service company that would like to ask the government to exclude foreign domestic workers from the restrictions regarding minimum wages in order to facilitate participation in the market economy by females (Takenobu, 2015), the capitalist demand and promotion of mass-consumption of cheap commodities is diametrically opposed to the protection of workers' rights. Au-pairs, which were originally participants in a cultural exchange program, have therefore been used as a channel of cheap domestic labour into Western countries. In order to prevent the recurrence of the historical exploitation of femininity and women across space and time, the need for amendment of the Article 116 (2) is self-evident.

As foreign domestic workers might find themselves in vulnerable situations for various reasons, the need for the establishment of an investigative organ, and the creation of concrete plans stopping human rights violations is also apparent. The Japanese government answered that this will be discussed based on a specific guideline which is still in being completed. This means that what is written in this guideline is important for insuring decent working conditions for domestic workers. As opposed to Filipino care givers in Japan who work in socially visible places, foreign domestic workers work in a peculiar environment where they can often find voicing grievances difficult due to their highly closed and private work place. In fact, there are cases of migrant domestic workers all over the world who have been subjected to physical or sexual abuse, deprived of their rights, and forced to work many hours without breaks. For example, the news that Erwiana Sulistyaningsih, an Indonesian domestic worker, had been abused by her employers for as long as 8 months in 2013 drew international attention. She was also robbed of her passport and was not paid wages (BBC, 2015). Indeed, domestic work should be conducted by the migrating workers based on a service contract between them and a specific agency, as this would better secure their rights, and ensure that these rights are more readily understood by the public. However, even

though it is clearly stated that they are protected by the Labour Standards Act, this does not necessarily mean that this act will be enforced for these types of domestic workers.

Therefore, it is of importance to include compulsory guidance sessions about the contents of, and the rules regulating, the work, the provision of information about inquiry centres, and the establishment of rules prohibiting non-transparent contract labour in the guideline now being drawn up. In addition, in order to make this possible, the government should let labour organizations and human rights advocacy groups take part in the process of making the guideline as Fukushima (2015) suggests. For example, the Asia-Japan Women Resource Centre and the Labour Lawyers Association of Japan argue that Japan first and foremost needs to re-organize its national laws and ratify the ILO 189 convention before it can start to accept foreign domestic workers. The ILO 189 convention is the first international standard which aims to improve the working conditions of domestic workers, who are often excluded from labour and social security laws due to the conditions under which they perform their work, and this act was passed in 2011. In the Memorandum, the Japanese government present its view that it is of necessity to discuss carefully whether to ratify the ILO 189 convention or not because there are some points to be discussed regarding harmonization of national laws and the convention. But even if Japan does not ratify the convention, the contents of the ILO 189 convention, which was adopted to combat issues of exploitation of domestic workers across the globe, should be included in the guideline as labour human rights groups and labour organizations insist.

Conclusion

Domestic work, and other types of what is regarded as feminine work, has been underestimated both historically and culturally in Japan and other places despite the social, economic, and cultural value of this work. As women are increasingly integrated in the labour market, migrant women have increasingly taken over this type of feminine work. Capitalist market forces have extorted the concept of femininity as a commodity in order to make it meet various types of market demand, and consequently many migrant women have been exploited and the feminine work they perform has been further stigmatized. However, a human is not mere object with an arbitrarily

defined identity, who is confined to his or her gendered, classed, and raced body. Acceptance of domestic workers could stimulate both men and women's agency and give them more choices; this could not only enable more women to seek a career in our modern world with its traditional emphasis on masculinity, but could also cause feminine domestic work to be recognized as decent work which is worth doing for both men and women. To foreign domestic workers, the increase in job opportunities in Japan would make it possible to make the lives of both themselves and their families better in both the material and spiritual sense. Whether Japan will become a society where "all women and [men] can shine" or where women and femininity are misused and abused depends on whether Japan can guarantee decent working conditions for domestic workers so that migrant domestic workers can accomplish their goals and dreams, without facing the risk of exploitation, while also allowing all women across time and space to be proud of their femininity. Specifically, the Japanese government should modify Article 116 (2) of the Labour Standards Act, acknowledge the worth of domestic labour, which has traditionally been conducted by nameless women across globe, and respect the basic principles of the ILO 189 convention in the guideline which is currently being completed.

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Notes

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Science and Religion in Conflict

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With science and religion each pushing to have a stronger influence on individuals, inquiries on a potential impossible interaction between the two seem completely rational. The rise of science and religion pushes for both parties to argue on precise social policies based on their own judgment of the situation. Such debate between the two disciplines is often intense as both science and religion are seen as personal because both can be found all around us in nearly all moments. If Christian authorities argue against homosexuality, they often do so by using the Bible as their basis, thus trying to prove that homosexuality goes against the laws of nature, while scientists on the other hand may or may not argue that homosexuality exists in nature by conducting scientific research based on the observation of the world around us in order to defend that point view. In order to make sense of such an interaction between science and religion, which raises the question of a potential unending conflictual relationship because of their opposite epistemologies, it is essential to ask where is the fundamental conflict? With the purpose of responding to this intricate inquiry, I shall first explain the assumptions underlining such a question. Second, I shall argue that the conflict lies in their overlapping interests and their incapability.

In order to establish the foundation for any argument, the issue must be cleared of any misunderstanding before the argument is exposed, and, in the case of this essay, major assumptions underlie the inquiry explored. Indeed, the concepts of religion and science must be clarified as should be the assumption that a conflict exists. As exposed above, science and religion are everywhere in society. While it would have been of true interest to expose the conflict through uncovering societal conflicts behind the relationship between science and religion, it is of greater interest to understand the true nature of this conflict; therefore, it is essential to appreciate the complexity of the two terms central to this essay. Indeed, Mano Singham argues that the roots behind the existing misunderstanding of the different instance of conflicts between science and religion are to be found in our efforts to "(…) lump everything under a single label – either science or religion."[1]

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[1] Mano Singham, "The Science and Religion Wars," *The Phi Delta Kappan* 81, no. 6 (2000): 426.

Elite science, popular science, elite religion, and popular science are the four subgroups argued for by Singham following Lanston Gilkey's recommendations. [2] Singham contrasts elite science with popular science. As stated by Singham, "elite science encompasses the consensus belief structures of the scientific establishment as represented in the departments of science at universities and research institutes and as published in mainstream scientific journals,"[3] while popular science "represents the widely held beliefs of people in superstition, astrology, magic, witchcraft (…) and the like, all of which can be categorized as what I have called fringe beliefs."[4] As such, elite scientists are often naturalists and argue that "each and every physical phenomenon must have a scientific explanation (…)."[5] Opposing elite science are popular scientists "(…) who believe these things view as quaint the notion that everything must have a scientific explanation." Following the same vision of a divided science, Singham points out that religion is also fractured in two.[6] Indeed, Popular religion "(…) incorporates beliefs in a personal God, a creator who can and does intervene when and if the creator sees fit, and thus can be induced to intervene to change the course of everyday events by prayer and other supplications," whereas "elite religion represents those views held by theologians of mainstream religions. (…) This view holds that, while a creator exists, the creator does not directly intervene to change the course of everyday events, thus violating scientific laws."[7] Singham's definition and subsequent distinction of the different types of religion existing in practice are worth mentioning because they offer the reader an alternative to a Manichean view of the relationships between science and religion. Indeed, as they don't necessarily contradict each other, interactions and exchanges between all subcategories of science and religion tend to be peaceful with the exception of those between elite science and elite sciences.[8] As such, the fundamental conflict between religion and popular science is nonexistent as both can make sense of observable facts that cannot be understood through the prism of science. For example, while popular scientists might argue that we

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[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.427.
[8] Singham, 427.

can't observe miracles, and as such they can't be studied in the sciences, these same scientists might explain things that exists in reality through religion; therefore, using both science and religion to explain the world we live in. However, the conflict lies between elite science and religion as their views contradict each other.

Although Singham claims that only elite science and elite religion enter into conflicts, other authors rejected such a claim and asserted that there is no conflict. While authors have not understood the complexity of either science or religion as terms that encompass different opinions and without making the distinction between elite science and religion, the true issue with the arguments opposing the assumption that there is a conflict resides in the fragile structure supporting their arguments. Indeed, authors taking this position might be divided into two categories: those who bluntly argue that there is no fundamental conflict and those who state that religion and science have worked together. Annette Yoshiko Reed argues that "the astronomical and cosmological materials in the classical rabbinic literature point to the possibility that Rabbis were actively involved in developing and cultivating scientific traditions in Late Antiquity."[9] However, the Jewish tradition did not try to advance science as tool of understanding but rather used scientific knowledge to advance its own understanding of the world. Indeed, such a dishonest scheme has been exposed in Reed's text as the author argued that "the *Book of the Watchers* (3rd c. B.C.E.) *uses* Enoch to proclaim the cycles of the stars and seasons as paradigms for human ethics. [Emphasis added]"[10] Furthermore, pointing out how science and the Jewish tradition have worked at a certain pint to advance the view and support science does not prove that science and religion are in conflict. Moreover, Secular scientists have also pronounced on this issue and have argued that both science and religion are unconnected. Defending this point of view, Stephan Jay Gould claimed that since religion and science treat different aspects of human life, no conflict shall emerge. Indeed, for Gould "there is a consensus that science and religion are separate (…) [since] 'science treats factual reality, while religion struggles with moral reality.' "[11] Likewise, Richard G. Olsen argues that science and

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[9] Annette Yoshiko Reed, "Was There Science in Ancient Judaism? Historical and Cross-cultural Reflections on 'Religion' and 'Science'," *Studies in Religion* 36, no. 3-4 (2007): 484.
[10] Reed, 470.
[11] Singham, 429.

religion do not share the same concern as "theological accounts address a different kind if meaning than scientific ones, focusing on the significance of events in terms of relationships between the human and the divine." [12] Nevertheless, no consensus as exposed above exist among scientist, as Mikael Stenmark rightly argues that science, until recently, has not been interested in a "soteriological goal," but it has developed to include matters typically studied and explained by religion. The author shows how the renowned evolutionary biologist, Richard Dawkins declared " 'So where does life come from? What is it? Why are we here? What are we for? What is the meaning of life?' (…)". [13] Stenmark's point exemplifies the close interaction of science and religion and shows the intricacy of this issue as in theory if religion is only interested in supposed morality and science in factual evidence, then the two disciplines should not interfere with each other; however, in practice, religion covers the realm of science as morality incorporates factual proofs and science interferes in morality. Indeed, if Olsen's argument that religion and science was indeed true, then science would have not faced resistance form religion when scientists attempted to expand their knowledge to genetics; however, in practice it is not the case as moral reality and factual reality are interrelated. Finally, on the issues of separateness and complementarity, James D. Proctor argues that some thinkers disagree with the existence of a complementary and peaceful bond between science and religion. In fact, Proctor goes as far as to claim that "for them [those who argue for such a complementary link], the issue is indeed one of science versus religion, reason versus faith, realism versus idealism, matter versus spirit." [14] As such, the author exposes how certain authors argue that religion and science are in conflict because they impact the same world. Proctor relates this situation to how two bandits battle for the same small town as there can't be two outlaws in the same town. [15] His arguments are worth mentioning since they truly expose the reality of religion and science. Indeed I would add that authors who argue that

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[12] Richard G. Olsen, *Science and Religion, 1450-1900: From Copernicus to Darwin* (Westport: Greenwod Press, 2004), 6.
[13] Mikael Stenmark, *How to Relate Science and Religion: A Multidimensional Model* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B.Eerdmans Publishing, 2004), 30.
[14] James D. Proctor, "Introduction: Rethinking Science and Religion," in *Science, Religion, and the Humain Experience,* ed James D. Proctor (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3.
[15] Ibid, 5.

science and religion are separate miss the point that both religion and science are both studied and put into practice by humans. It is people that make of science and religion what they are. Consequently, science and religion exists in the same realm and discus identical domains. Science and religion try to explain the reality we are living in as a way to push us to understand the complexity of our realty. By that I mean that science and religion offer us a way to understand the things that we are struggling to rationalize in our minds. It is challenging for example, to understand what the meaning of life is; both science and religion argue that they have the necessary tools to answer this inquiry. Therefore, the fact that religion and science exists in reality at the same time and covers the same domains since factual evidence and morality are intimately related is also the interests of science to expand its understanding and that of science to spread out its ideas to the largest number of people creates the clash and makes it the first building block of the fundamental conflict between the two disciplines.

Sharing the same goals does not necessary condemn the two discipline to an eternal conflict; However, it is the fact that significant dissimilarities in epistemologies that actually makes science and religion incompatible in the real world, and thus prone to endless conflicts. Indeed, if science and religion would understand reality through the same epistemologies, it would be possible to bring together the two; however, several attempts to bring together science and religious have been made but only ended up creating confusion as mixing opposite epistemologies creates illogicalities. As a response to such hazardous endeavors, authors have insightfully pointed out the invalidity of such efforts. As authors analyze such position, the fundamental conflict between the science and religion comes to light. Indeed, James H. Fetzer finds fault with David Ray Griffin's attempts to reconcile evolution and atheism and shows how different and thus incompatible science and religion truly are. "The problem, as I see it, is that Griffin embraces minimal naturalism, according to which natural events have natural causes and natural effects, but also accepts divine influence as 'variable, differing both in content and effectiveness from event to event'" argues Fretzer. [16] Griffin's endeavors have been disastrous because his positions are inconceivable by the particular ways of knowing of neither science nor religion. Indeed, Fetzer heavy-

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[16] James H. Fetzer, "Evolution and Atheism: Has Griffin Reconciled Science and Religion?" *Synthese* 178, no. 2 (2011): 394.

handedly disapproves of Griffin's attempt to reconcile science and religion and shows how different and thus incompatible science and religion truly are as he criticize Griffin's try to bring together in the same hypotheses both scientific and religious ways of knowing. Indeed in an effort to simplify his criticism, the author exposes this intellectual masquerade by revealing how significant the illogicality of Griffin's argumentative appeal truly is. "If there is a G-factor whose presence or absence affects events during the course of the world's history, then the outcomes that occur in the presence of G may differ from those that occur in its absence. Either G-factors make a difference or they do not. There is no third way," rightly argues Fetzer.[17] Besides, other authors have, in trying to argue for the absence of conflict, presented the dissimilar character of science and religion. Indeed, assuming that there is no there is no contact between science and religion, Olsen claimed that "science is "descriptive" and "interpretive", "while religion is prescriptive."[18] Yet, as has been shown above, science and religion have indeed the same goal and domain of existence. Olsen's argument indirectly exposes how science and religion are epistemologically unrelated. Indeed, science is most interested in describing and interpreting the world through logic and observation whereas religion is most interested in giving rules explaining the reality basing their argument on faith. Therefore, it is essential to pointing out where the conflict lies to contrast between what construct the conflicting ways of knowing.

Science perceives observation and logic as its main ways of knowing whereas religion seeks to understand reality by basing its argument on faith. Indeed, religion assumes the existence of a supernatural power. In order for religion to exist, faith must be at its core. Faith is essential to religion since it is through the individuals' belief that they will interpret the reality they live in. Unless someone has faith in the trueness of the divine message then all religious texts that structure religion are only books like all others. It is faith that structures the understanding of religion. Religious individuals know something because they are confident that the understating of reality given in the divine message is true. In contrast, science understands reality by means of observation and logic. In regards to logic and science, logic must be present, as a way of knowing, in order for science

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[17] Fetzer, 394.
[18] Olsen, 6.

to advance. Logic, which the Merriam-Webster dictionary argues is "the power of comprehending, inferring, or thinking especially in orderly rational ways," is central to science because by using reason scientist are able to understand and make sense of all other ways of knowing. Indeed, in order to analyze and interpret what is happening the individual must be actively researching the truth using logic as the way to refute invalid influences. In addition, although logic is of significant importance to science's understanding of the world, it is observation that is the fundamental way of knowing for science. Undoubtedly, observation is essential to science as individuals are, from a young age, pushed to discover objects and people by using their senses. The matter in which a child observes up close a flower it never saw is extremely similar to that of a scientist observing an unknown bacterium in a laboratory. Indeed, both use their senses to make sense of a new entity that they are observing with fascination; therefore, it is valid to claim that because scientists are first individuals, before anything and thus use their senses in their daily lives, sciences have been impregnated with this type of knowledge. Moreover, science without observation would be empty. By that I mean that if science would ever disregard observation as a way of knowing it would lead scientists to become foreign with their environment. Forgetting to address the complexity of our world filled with sensations the individual experiences thanks to our ability to see, hear, taste, smell and touch would fall short in attempting to understand and know the complexity of the world. Dr. Dr. Gerald Goldstein, who belongs to the 'Western –secular science tradition', explored and criticized the loss of the use of observation through the senses. Indeed, he argued that "'it's quite conceivable that in our attempt to be scientific, some of our powers of observation have atrophied'" [19]

Scholars and authors have examined the relation between science and religion; however, few have understood where the conflict lies or have even saw the existence of a fundamental conflict. Assuming that there is a fundamental conflict between elite science and elite religion, not only does it reside in the fact that both exist in the same realm and answer individuals' questions on the same domains but most importantly in the fact that religion and science are epistemologically

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[19] John F. Avedon, "Tibetan Medicine: The Science of Healing," in *Fields of Reading: Motives for Writing,* 4th ed., ed. Nancy R. Comely et al. (New York: St Martin's Press, 1994), 281.

incompatible. Indeed, science and religion exists in our reality and both are capable of answering our interrogations related to the world we live in; however, neither science nor religion is able to understand the other as they do not share the same epistemologies permitting them to see the world. While science is based on observation and logic, religion is based on faith. And as science's and religion's epistemological bases are contradictory, no attempt to reconcile them can succeed. It will result in the same chaos as if two football teams played against each other with different rules in mind.

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Power Asymmetry Between the European Union and Africa in Trade Negotiations

Swapnil Mishra

The economic goals of colonialism were to provide the maximum economic benefit to the colonizing power at the lowest possible prices. Prior to the "Scramble for Africa" era, the African economies were thriving in the area of trade. Europe was still rapidly developing so it needed the raw materials that Africa had in abundance. The Atlantic slave trade stimulated an increase in trading brought about by European demand for slaves. However, this increase in international trade subjugated the indigenous African economy to the interest of Europe.

The slave trading system substituted European manufactured products in place of local African-made products that were sold in Africa in exchange for slaves. Moreover, the governing powers established policies and instituted trade controls that redirected all African trade to the global export market. Hence, there was an emerging pattern of Africa as a source of exporting raw materials internationally, and only as a consumer of imported goods. This pattern of uneven trade persisted into the period of colonialism and is evident even today.

Post-colonization, there was an array of trade deals made between Europe and the African, Caribbean and the Pacific Group (ACP) of countries to encourage free trade and development. In terms of policy, structural adjustment in the 1980s revolutionized a fundamental shift from administrative to market means of resource allocation. This change was less dramatic in a lot of the former French colonies where the maintenance of a convertible currency had allowed the government to avoid some of the additional price and quantity control which had been formerly imposed in the British colonies outside the franc zone.

The first ever trade deal established between Europe and its former 71 colonies in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific region was the Lomé convention in February 1975 in Togo. Its main characteristics were equality between partners, respect for mutual interests, sovereignty, interdependence, and the right of each member to determine its own policies. However, major disturbances on the international stage and key social, economic and political changes in

the ACP nations such as the spread of poverty, increasing instability and potential conflict amongst countries forced the need for a restructuring of cooperation. This gave rise to the Cotonou Agreement which included radical changes and more ambitious objectives, whilst still preserving the "acquis" of 25 years of ACP-EU cooperation. The changes included a more strategic approach to cooperation focusing on poverty reduction, new trade partnerships, and improved financial cooperation, alongside an enhanced political dimension.

Additionally, as a response to regular criticism that EU faces owing to discriminating and non-reciprocal preferential trade agreement incompatible with WTO rules, it has established an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) that creates a free trade area between the European Union and the African, Caribbean, and Pacific Group of States (ACP). The EPA warrants that about 80% of a country's market should be open to European goods and service, once signed. In return, ACP countries receive customs-free access to the European market. This has led many African countries to believe that they have no option but to sign the EPA agreement or lose preferential access to the EU market. Considering this fact, the EU progressively tightens its policies that threaten to remove low-developed country preferences available under EU-ACP Programs.

Hence, many African countries are reluctant to sign the agreement as they fear to lose their competitive trade advantage to European companies. This essay will examine the continuous surrender of African economies to fad European economic policies owing to asymmetrical power relations and the lopsided economic trade policies the European Union has established to capitalize on the vulnerability of Africa's economy whilst considering the France-Niger uranium trade deal case

Owing to lopsided trade agreements between some European powers and their former colonies, major European economic powers such as France have developed systems like "Françafrique", which is a system of domination to keep control of raw materials in Africa to strengthen its economic and geostrategic position. France has established itself as the world's largest net exporter of electricity owing to its very low cost of generation through which it gains over 3 billion euros per year. It derives about 75% of its electricity from nuclear energy, which is the greatest share of the total domestic electricity generation from nuclear power in the world. For this, it utilizes about

12,400 tonnes of uranium oxide concentrate per year for its electricity generation.

However, there was no guarantee that France's domestic sources would be enough to satisfy all French needs and uranium mined from its own territory was expensive to produce. Thus, France pursued an exploration of uranium in all former French colonies of Madagascar, Gabon, Morocco, Niger, and Canada. From the year 1975, France started to import more uranium from abroad than its produced on its own soil.

As foreign mining became more cost-effective, domestic mining started to decrease in 1989. Seeing the benefits derived from mining in a foreign land, France decisively shifted to foreign supplies of uranium in the 1990s after domestic production reached its peak at 3,720 tonnes in the year 1989. To obtain even cheaper uranium ore from foreign mining, France turned to its former colony Niger in Africa. Niger provides Africa's highest-grade uranium ores producing 7.5% of world mining output. It is also the world's fourth-ranking producer of uranium.

Despite a shift in the geopolitical climate, France was still reluctant to let go of its grip on its former colonies as it could potentially make huge profits from its present system of economic monopoly, and to secure access to strategic resources to retain its international status. Consequently, Niger became a protruding source of obtaining natural uranium for France.

By the year 1964, France has secured a preferential access to Nigerian uranium through a bilateral defense agreement in the year 1961. The French geological survey first discovered uranium in Niger in the year 1957 in the northern town of Arlit. When Niger gained independence in the year 1960, France began uranium trade negotiations with its former colony. Most of the uranium that is produced in Niger is exported to France to sustain its electricity production.

Uranium deposits that are found in the Congo, Gabon, and Niger, have allowed France to evade potential geopolitical landmines linked with uranium mined in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Canada and Australia, nations that are alleged as orientated towards or managed by the United States, which is France's trade rival in Africa and internationally. Another threat to French interests is the resource-hungry China, which has an increasingly expanding footprint in Africa that extends over 24 billion USD in loans since the year 2003.

Niger ranked 186 out of 187 on the human development index in the year 2011. As France enjoys electricity, local communities in uranium mining towns of Niger suffer from pollution, health issues, lack of adequate education and unemployment. France generates 50% of its electricity support through Niger uranium export. But citizens of Niger derive little to no benefit from France's control of their nation's uranium resources, as over 60% of the population lives below the poverty line and consistently reports of radioactive contamination of water, air, and soil by multinational mining operations. Local and international environmental activists have suggested that uranium mining in Niger is a case of exploitation which has risked lives of some 80,000-people living around the uranium mining towns of Akokan and Arlit.

Issues pertaining uranium mining and its effect on the local population has been a major source of social and economic debates and some violent conflicts in Niger. The locals are enraged at the fact that business has not fully established adequate and appropriate measures to safeguard the health of locals as well as the environment, which is harmed from the negative impact of uranium mining. Moreover, the local community is also disappointed with the government's failure to effectually regulate companies operating in the area, which allows them to get away with contaminating the land and their water sources which in turn affects the health of locals. Although there have been some environmental regulations set up there is not enough information base upon which to commence the needed remediation efforts critical to the region.

Recently, a documentary by Al Jazeera and an investigation carried out by Greenpeace raised concerns about the health effects of Niger's uranium mines. Greenpeace claimed that radiation around the mines is 100 times the World Health Organization's prescribed safety levels. Some local NGOs along with important and extremely vigilant local civil society groups have expressed their concern that water used in the towns surrounding the times has been contaminated, but the mine exhaust release radon into the air which affects the air quality. At the same time, tonnes of nuclear waste is left behind in the area.

The Franco-African pacte colonial was established to make sure that Africa's economic decisions are made with French interests at heart and that post-colonial Francophone markets were allotted to French companies and traders. Out of all the resources accessible to France, uranium was of perhaps the greatest importance, as it not only

offered economic value but also military and political value, which reified France's standing as a worldwide force. At the time of colonialism, France not only sought to rule states but also indoctrinate their citizens at the same time.

By the year 1965, even after the formal acknowledgment of independence, many present Francophone African heads-of-state pushed for a French cultural dominance, as they were former members of the French parliament. While France relied on the African continent for resources, Francophone Africa counted on French contributions for its sustenance. Omar Bongo, the former Gabonese president, is popularly reported to have said, "Gabon without France is like a car with no driver. France without Gabon is like a car with no fuel."

The leading uranium mining company in Niger is "Areva", which is the second largest uranium producer in the world with a 16% global market share in the year 2011. It derives approximately one-third of its uranium from just two mines in Niger. Areva's mining activities comprise the exploration, extraction, and processing of uranium ore and the reclamation and monitoring of sites after they have been mined. After new uranium deposits are identified, the financial and technical viability of mining those sites is evaluated. After its verified, the uranium ore is mined using various extracting methods are deployed according to the deposits specific characteristics, such as open-pit mining, underground mining, or in-site recovery.

Areva's two major affiliates in Niger, Cominak, and Somaïr, have various tax advantages, such as exemptions from VAT, duties and even fuel taxes, which is used in staggering amounts. Being the country's leading private-sector employer, Areva has made safety a key component in its actions and has tried to apply a prevention policy to ensure workers' safety. Over time, Areva developed a strict adherence to regulations concerning radiation exposure levels. It has also come up with an innovative health policy for its employees and the local population by instituting numerous public health initiatives. Its social policy in Niger includes programs for education, health, local economic development and emergency aid.

However, the reality is far from the truth. Arlit, one of the two major mining sites in Niger is a dusty and neglected region. It regularly weathers desert sandstorms and barely receives any benefit from the mineral wealth it sends to Europe each year. According to Arlit's Deputy Mayor Hassan Hamani, "There are neighborhoods which go without water for three weeks at a time, and there are schools where

the pupils have to sit on the floor or study in straw huts." According to the Nigerian Mining Minister Omar Hamidou Tchiana, "the Nigerian government wants to increase uranium revenues to at least 20% of the budget, from just 5% at present. For the past 40 years, Niger has been one of the world's largest uranium producers, but it's still one of the poorest countries on the planet and at the same time, Areva has grown to be one of the world's largest companies. You see the contrast?"

Around 2,000 mine employees in Arlit live in neat real estates which have restaurants and a clubhouse, whereas the rest of the town is in extreme poverty with unpaved streets and makeshift mud-brick houses. Some NGOs and government officials regularly point out the high levels of corruption as a reason for poor service facilities. The local government that benefits from a 15% share of the royalties' tax under the 2006 mining law, claims that its payments are overdue by more than two years.

In the year 2010, Areva mined a total of 114,346 metric tonnes of uranium, which provided an export value of 2.3 trillion CFA francs (over 3.5 million euros). However, from that sum, Niger was only given 300 billion CFA francs, about 13% of the total exported value. Hence, it is quite astonishing that Niger is not deriving any benefits of the revenue from this extraction, being the world's fourth-largest uranium producer and a strategic supplier for Areva and France. To counter this problem, social activists in Niger have started legal action into a uranium deal, known as "Uranium-gate" based on a 2011 transaction between Areva and companies both in Niger and abroad on allegations based on money laundering, misuse of public funds, forgery and conspiracy to defraud.

Thanks to the exploitation of the French African colonial territories, the massive-scale development of French civilian and military nuclear power have been possible. Likewise, the "French energy independence" is also a myth spread by the French state as even before the closure of the last uranium mine on French soil in the year 2001, the fuel for French nuclear plants was largely imported. In the past, for instance in the year 1974, when Nigerian President Diori made an attempt to quote higher uranium prices, he was overthrown by a military coup which was enacted under French authorities.

Regardless, Niger's economy is heavily dependent on its massive uranium reserves and at the same time, its people are one of the world's poorest. If Niger chooses to call the uranium trade deal off with France and Areva, it could have huge negative repercussions. Hence,

Niger is caught between its vast mineral wealth on one hand, and the rampant poverty on the other, that its government is failing to reassess and negotiate with France.

Over the years, there has been a growing concern about the Sahel region of Africa, in which al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and other Islamist militias have been residing. The United States has since increased its military presence in the region, including in Niger to monitor terrorist activities. Recent announcements from Paris suggest that France is also reorganizing and expanding its military capabilities in Africa with additional bases in Mali, Chad, and Niger.

In order to continue its uranium trade with Niger in the future with fewer bumps, France should be looking into involving the local people more in decisions related to management of the use of land and water resources to respect the United Nation's Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People. Additionally, it should set up a fund for all ex-miners and locals living in close proximity to the mines. This could be done through setting up a retrospective assessment of radioactive doses incurred, a long-term health monitoring system carried out by independent medical organizations and providing monetary compensation for the damage caused.

At the moment, Niger could look at some potential solutions to curb the ongoing lopsided trade negotiations between itself and France. African leaders should be insisting on agreements that do not require them, to open such a large proportion of their markets so quickly and reject the negotiation of issues that have already been rejected by the WTO. It should also reject EU's demand that any future trade benefits that African nations might want to give to major trading economies such as the Asian tigers must also be given to the EU.

Additionally, Niger could benefit from a short but an immediate suspension of all mining projects until an independent health and environmental assessment which takes responsibility to both the host nation and the population affected is comprised of all Areva's activities in the region. There should be an expectation that Areva conforms to the French regulations of the impacts of mining. It should make sure that Areva ensures rehabilitation of mining sites after extraction and a cleanup of nuclear waste from operating sites. This should include control of radioactive waste, a collection of waste metal, securing safe water for the local population and a payment of taxes or contributions to host states.

The Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) are incomprehensible free trade agreements established by the EU to force ACP nations to eliminate trade barriers to almost all EU imports. These agreements expose family farmers and new domestic industries and businesses to direct and unfair competition from powerful European corporations, which could drive a lot of farmers off their land and cause mass unemployment amongst new small-scale business owners. Many ACP nations have come out against such an agreement since African civil societies have been calling on their leaders do not tolerate any form of negotiation from the EU. Consequently, the EU has threatened to reinstate higher duties on ACP export products and to lower aid in case they choose not to sign EPAs before the end-of-year deadline.

In conclusion, despite both parties need for each other, Europe has always had additional power to set the terms for this trade exchange. The current set of negotiations in the next coming years of exploitation by both French as well as Nigerian elite ministers may slightly increase Niger's gain from the trade of its extensive uranium resources. However, if history and the current balance of power are to go by, it is the Nigerian people that will continue to miss out on the fair share of revenues they deserve through trade. The amount of money France pays for the uranium is so low that it almost fails to show in the official figures. In France, one out of three light bulbs are lit though Nigerian uranium whereas in Niger, around 90% if the population has no access to electricity. Hence, the trade relationship between France and Niger has always been unequal and will continue to be so for some time going by the current trend.

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Interpreting German Expressionism

Vincent Razzano and Hilary Smith

German expressionism cinema has distinct and defining qualities to it which position the genre in a unique place. The years of German expressionism cinema, beginning with *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (Robert Wiene, 1920) and ending in 1930, were a product of World War I which left Germany desperate and in struggle. This genre originated as an interpretation of life as it was in Germany following the war, and when combined with what film as a medium was capable of, the realistic aspects of German expressionism were able mystify and exaggerate what the conditions were, all the while offering a deeper and more emotional interpretation. With the minds of directors such as Robert Wiene, F. W. Murnau, and Fritz Lang, the films produced during this time not only offered insights into the state of Germany, but became a lasting film technique and style that has been the staple of directors who came after its origination. The most prominent of these directors is Tim Burton. With certain key aspects of these films such as theatrical emphasis, heavy white makeup, and the setting in which the films take place, Tim Burton has had a successful career replicating and reinterpreting the styles of German expressionism cinema. Although the underlying meanings may be different, both the early films in this genre and Tim Burton's productions have many similarities. This essay will highlight those similarities, while also pointing out differences between the two. I will argue that while there are obvious and definitive similarities, the underlying implications, causes, and meanings between early German expressionism films and Tim Burton's productions are different.

It is important to determine what the distinctive qualities of German Expressionism are. They can be seen fairly easily in three movies that really represent this period in film. *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari,* as mentioned before, *Metropolis* (Fritz Lang, 1927), and *Nosferatu* (F. W. Murnau, 1922), all hold the characteristics of the topical genre to be true and consistent through the duration of German Expressionism. Possibly the most prominent of all the characteristics is the acting style. In the soundless era of film, German expressionism films required a lot from the actors in order to convey the film's message to the audience. With only being able to read the dialogue on screen between seeing the characters speak, it would be difficult for the

audience to follow the story or to feel the full effect if actors were too subtle and sly in their acting. As a result, actors treated these films as more of a theatrical production where they spoke with their body movements and expressions. In *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, the Somnambulist Cesare is caked in white makeup, which is emphasised by the use of the iris shot, illuminating his face against the otherwise dark background and clothing. This provides heavy contrasts and allows for the audience to see rather than hear the characters and judge them on whether they are protagonists or antagonists. Along with the makeup, Cesare's portrayal is overly emphasized, especially in the sequence where he kidnaps Jane and carries her through the town only to eventually drop her and walk away. It is the style in which he does so that is deserving of attention. He emphasizes the style of walking so as to convey his condition as either asleep or awake. By the time that he drops Jane, his walking style changes to look as if he is sleepwalking, possibly in hope of being thought to have abducted Jane while asleep. This theatrical style is evident in other films during this time too.

In *Metropolis*, during the scene where there is a shift change and one set of workers is exiting the elevator while another group is entering, it is clear for the viewer to see how defeated the group who has finished their shift is by their slow pace and low-hanging heads. By viewing this scene, one can have a greater understanding for how a shift of working deep down in the metropolis can affect a worker's morale. Dialogue is not needed to explicitly state the conditions at work because the actors convey it in the style of acting that is particular to German expressionism.

In *Nosferatu*, the acting aids in making the film horrifying and exciting. While Max Schreck, the actor who plays Count Orlok, follows suit with his acting style and very dramatically portrays the films antagonist, it is the character of Ellen whose theatrical presentation truly embodies German expressionism. She is seen twisting and turning in her bed while she sleeps and screaming hysterically when Nosferatu comes into the picture. Screenwriter Henrik Galeen's original script held:

> Oddly-broken lines. Prolific use of exclamation marks, words in capitals, and letter-spaced lower-case matter. [a] staccato rhythm. with its incomplete sentences, clauses, phrases and idiosyncratic punctuation," as film critic Lotte Eisner remarked. (Koller)

Knowing this, the theatrical style of acting that the actors portrayed can be more easily understood as a mixture of both planned

in the script, and the need to compensate for having no sound. This distinct characteristic also helps to represent Germany after "The Great War."

As Ian Roberts said in *Introduction: Immanence, imagination, and immortality*, "Cinema is, after-all, primarily a medium of escapism, where reality is put on hold for an hour or two as the viewer sits in a darkened room and consumes the images projected onto the screen," (Roberts, 2008: 3). While this holds true for the fact that anyone who watches a film enters a new reality that cannot be identical to our own given the different interpretations of all who worked on producing the film, what we see on screen can, to an extent, be a representation of reality. Roberts also cites Siegfried Kracauer as saying "films are the mirror of the prevailing society," (Roberts, 2008: 5). These two vastly different interpretations of cinema can help us to understand what its purpose is and how viewers can use cinema.

At the time of German expressionism, Germany had suffered greatly from World War I and was suffering economically, governmentally, and their morale was extremely low (Trueman). Cinema, serving as a relief on the economic circumstances, also served to represent the morale of its people. *The Cabinet of Dr. Calagari* for example tells the story of individuals who are losing their grip on reality and slipping into madness. Most scenes in this film are against very strange and exaggerated backgrounds such as the town with slanted pointy houses or the fair with closely located tents and strangely winding staircases. This could be in some way a representation of what the disarrayed state of Germany at the time of production was. Roger Ebert said of the film's director Robert Wiene that "He is making a film of delusions and deceptive appearances, about madmen and murder, and his characters exist at right angles to reality. None of them can quite be believed, nor can they believe one another," (Ebert). This disassembled and conflicting landscape is certainly reflective of Germany during the time of production, and so film becomes a way of provoking emotional and alternative interpretations of reality.

Metropolis, a fantasy thriller depicting the working class as pawns in the entirety of live, is also an interpretation on reality. When we see the city itself in all of its grandeur, the viewer can develop a sense of appreciation for the amount of rebuilding Germany faced as a result of the war. While the story of this film may involve many unrealistic characteristics and themes, the purpose is to exaggerate and expand

reality to its limits so as to provide a scary but thought provoking take on real life.

Carrying out the traditional styles and characteristics of German expressionism is Tim Burton. A few of his films which are most illustrative of German expressionism are *Vincent* (1982), *Batman Returns* (1992), and *Edward Scissorhands* (1990). Tim Burton's style of directing has a creepy undertone, often unsettling, and very much inspired by German expressionism. *Vincent*, for instance, is a short six-minute animation that by facial features, lighting, and the use of shadows, takes characteristics directly from the styles of 60 years earlier. Title character Vincent has a white face, the lighting creates sharp contrasts and emphasises particular qualities on Vincent's face, and shadows are eerie and violent black figures on the wall. Even the story follows suit with some of the movies from the original time frame of German expressionism, as Vincent is a young boy with an alter ego that is extremely frightening and opposite of who Vincent is. This would be Tim Burton's first crack at German expressionism, and would lead to many more films that fall into the same genre. This film is also black in white, which is against the technology of Tim Burton's time, but he justifies this by saying the film "just happens to be shot in black and white, and there's a Vincent Price/Gothic kind of thing that makes it feel that way," (Frierson).

Batman Returns has many of the same characteristics such as the white powdered face of Penguin, gothic styled setting, and violence. For the setting, Burton was given freedom to "create a world that was virtually stunning. He uses the tall, dark gothic architecture to draw the viewer into the dark world of crime and vengeance in which Batman resides" (Andac). Possibly the most obvious homage paid to German expressionism and or Fritz Lang is when Burton chose to incorporate a very similar backdrop in *Batman* as was used in *Metropolis*.

In *Edward Scissorhands*, there is obvious German expressionist qualities. The white powdered face as has been consistent with every film so far, and lighting, such as in the scene where Edward is discovered abandoned in his master's lab. We see Edward in the corner of the attic in the shadows, but as he approaches the Avon lady we see his white face full of scars, and his black clothing and long scary scissor hands. The lighting is important because it is indeterminate as to whether Edward is good or bad at that point in time. There are many

similarities between this film and those of the German expressionism time.

The difference, however, between Tim Burton's films and the films that seem to have inspired him are in the reasoning behind them. As mentioned before, German expressionism films are thought to have been a result of the aftermath of World War I. Tim Burton did not produce his films until the 1980s, and so he belongs to the postmodern movement. Burton's films, while far removed, "mirrors much post-World War Two's mass culture, particular the cultural landscape of his home in Southern California" (Frierson). Although both early German expressionism films and Tim Burton's films deal with post-war context, Burton is far removed from the time of World War II, leading me to believe that his inspiration for producing films in this style are more due to having a unique perspective on life where he can form strange interpretations and scenarios that are different from reality. He embodies German expressionism, so why would he not exploit the opportunity to present something so true to himself. His films are very niche and specialized in type, and this is why he makes the films rather than as a representation or reconstruction of reality in response to the war. Besides this, the similarities are clear and obvious.

German expressionism is a specific style of film in which realities are twisted and rearranged so as to convey particular meanings. The genre is trademarked by certain characteristics and qualities such as acting styles, makeup designs, and the overall mise-en-scène. Dark, bizarre settings, with white caked faces sticking out in contrast to their backgrounds, and theatrical acting define this early genre in cinema. Tim Burton directs and produces his film in this genre, but not in the same spirit of those that came before him. As someone producing films over fifty years later than the trademark originals, Burton is doing so because the style is akin to his imagination and the life he lives. German expressionism films are up for interpretation, making them timeless and requiring deeper analysis. Needless to say, since the films in this genre are so unique, they can be appreciated by a wide variety of viewers.

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Filmography

Batman Returns (Tim Burton, U.S., 1992)
The Cabinet of Dr. Calagari (Robert Wiene, Germany, 1920)
Edward Scissorhands (Tim Burton, U.S., 1990)
Metropolis (Fritz Lang, Germany, 1927)
Nosferatu (F.W. Murnau, Germany, 1922)
Vincent (Tim Burton, U.S., 1982)

Sociological Understanding of the Arab Uprising

Mohamed Reda Benkhadra

Since gaining their independence in the 1950s and 1960s, Arab countries have begun to establish political regimes that would allow them to perpetuate their authorities in a position of strength and maintain control over the resources their countries benefit from (Hinnebusch, 2014). The peoples waited decades, until 2010 when a movement of social protest of great magnitude touched the Arab region, demanding more rights, social equality, freedom, and democracy, but especially the end of these oppressive regimes. The spark of this great Arab surge began in Tunisia, then spread beyond the borders and barriers to arrive in Egypt, Syria, Libya, Bahrain, and others (Khashan, 2012), with different slogans but carried by the same message—that of change desired by all youth from the Maghreb to the Mashriq. A domino effect was created over time to end up having all the peoples of the Arab region go out on the streets and make their voices heard loudly.

The media, and more particularly social networks, have played a major role in the development of these Arab revolts, better informing than traditional media, which can often be biased and propagandist (McGarty et al., 2014). Like the rest of the changes taking place in other societies and communities, this has become a raw material of study, and has interested researchers in humanities and social sciences, to decrypt and analyze real causes and sociological aspects of these societal events. The socio-cultural problematic to be tackled is the following: since when have the Arab peoples united on the same goal, that of social progress? Historical sociology is defined as a way to understand this correlation, between historical and societal transformations, while studying the means and structures available to each society. In this case, the desire for change and the growth of online platforms, in order to end up with a conclusion about how these societies develop over time.

Raymond Hinnebusch (2014) noted that historical sociology is positioned as an essential aspect in order to conceptualize and understand the Arab societal evolution on the sidelines of the uprisings that occurred in 2011. It starts from a historical observation that studies the evolution of state systems and regimes in the Middle East and North Africa region and their correlations with societies and local

populations. In other words, this branch of sociology analyzes and exposes historical macrosocial data to relate them to the phenomena that concern individuals. In our case, three time phases explain the Arab uprising (Hinnebusch, 2014). The first goes from 1920 to 1970, which is characterized by the presence of oligarchic regimes still under European domination and dependence – mainly French and British –, which revived a formal protest of the local elite and a revolt of the middle class and peasant. The same period included between 1950 and 1970 the era of Pan-Arabism that reacts against the imperialism and the oligarchy, which absorbed the elitist protest while introducing social reforms, as in Egypt with Gamal Abdel Nasser who praised the establishment of an authoritarian populist republic. This unleashed a great instability through attempt coups and student revolts. The second phase, going from 1970 to 1990, was when all the Arab regimes whether republics or monarchies embarked on a consolidation of their interests through both traditional and modern practices such as bureaucracy, clientelism and nepotism, with the aim of countering people who challenge governments and authorities. Finally, the period between 1990 and 2010, that of dependence and authoritarianism post-populism, which is a direct consequence of the domination of liberal capitalism encouraged by the West. This has led Arab countries to overdevelop themselves beyond the real means of their economic systems, leading to indebtedness and, above all, favoritism of foreign executives and investors instead of encouraging competent people at the local level (Hinnebusch, 2014). Starting from the observation that generally the pressure generates the explosion, it is certain that this accumulation of previous legacies has contributed to the amplification of a reaction that is quite normal on the part of the street as regards the exclusions of which it has been the object for decades.

Opposition movements within authoritarian regimes are particularly in small numbers and especially divided, in most cases they are secretive and work underground, their leaders frequently live abroad, either forced or by choice (McGarty et al., 2014).

Following the fact that these opponents take refuge abroad, their countries of origin are in a position where they do not exercise any authority on them and use illegitimate means to repress and threaten them beyond geographical borders (Moss, 2016). The question is to know how the regimes enforce this transnational repression. Theoretically, according to Moss (2016) this is done in an easy way, thanks to the existence of institutional extensions such as embassies

and consulates, or in other cases concede to threats of violent reprisals against him and the well-being of his family in the country of origin. Suspicious opponents denouncing excesses on the part of local authorities, daring to speak on human rights issues are usually the most confronted with this kind of treatment.

In order to understand more about the political mobilization of Diasporas in their national affairs, Dana M. Moss (2016) conducted between 2013 and 2014 a sample of interviews with 140 people, 64 Libyans and 76 Syrians, residing in the United States and in Britain. They were selected with three means; social networks and media to find known activists, contacts found during research, and networks of chosen people. Subsequently, these series of interviews gave an output of seven characteristics: sex, generation of immigration, minority status (ethnic or religious), host country, age during the beginning of the revolution, activities against the regime, and the cause of immigration (repression). As for us, the last three points will light up our study. About 59.4% (38 out of 64) of Libyans surveyed were aged between 25 and 44 at the start of the revolution, while Syrians accounted for 54% (41 out of 76); also, half of the Libyans were forced to emigrate because of state repression either on their own or with their family, Syrians were about 24 out of 76 (31.6%); on the other hand among the 140 people 32 were directly involved in collective efforts against the regimes of their respective countries, sixteen in both sides. These shocking numbers show not only that young people have been expelled, but also an impressive activity of these people living abroad towards the improvement of their countries of origin, which has repressed them for essentially political reasons.

One of the main keys to the success of the opposition or dissent movements is to be broad and unifying in order to establish a cohesion of the individual initiatives. This can only be achieved in this era with the use of the technology to use for the transmission of messages in order to mobilize and recruit potential supporters to the cause, since public gatherings are prohibited by these regimes that oppress, in addition, from the socio-psychological point of view the only means against oppression are united actions that aim to find alternatives to achieve social change (McGarty et al., 2014). Social media has also helped Diasporas to be informed on the progress of the popular revolt through a follow-up hour by hour.

The Tunisian revolution has brought Arab protest movements into a new era, that of the twenty-first century, especially with the use of

new supports essentially technological; sociologically speaking, this is a special case never witnessed before. Youth involvement and participation also gave to these events another destiny, the change. As reveals McGarty et al. (2014), a simple video taken in the marginalized city of Sidi Bouzid (Tunisia) changed the course of the history of a whole country, and since then of a whole region. To understand how it has contaminated all the Arab people to end up with uprisings; we must return to December 17, 2010 when Mohamed Bouazizi, a Tunisian street vendor self-immolated to denounce the excesses of local authorities who confiscated his tools of work. On the spot people gathered to show their anger, a telephone camera took in video what was happening, and once put on YouTube the video reached 152 894 views in a few days, in this same video and from the third minute at least six other phones took from the same place the same sequence (McGarty et al., 2014). Faced with the media silences of Tunisian television, YouTube ultimately inspired people to go out into the street, since the only source for covering these events were social networks. It also allowed for an enlargement of the scale, and a growth of popular opposition to the regime of Ben Ali (McGarty et al., 2014).

The exchange, sharing, and free circulation of videos on the Internet encouraged the Egyptian people to do the same thing a few days later against Mubarak's power. The first protests took place in Tahrir Square, where with the same dynamism that in Tunisia videos have circulated in mass but in large numbers, knowing the fact that Egypt equals nine times the population of Tunisia. A video taken on January 25, the date of the protests in Tahrir Square, lasted one minute 46 seconds received almost 439,000 views in three days, mostly from mobile phones. This new phenomenon, according to the words of McGarty et al. (2014) encouraged the growth of a form of diffusion of dissent, which allowed the construction of a digital bridge between youth activists in the Arab world via these online platforms that gave rise to a kind of regionalization of facts. This beginning of youthful consciousness has contaminated the rest of the countries, which we can cite case by case to illustrate this awakening of the youth who led the battle in the front. As in Yemen, where students took the lead in protests and demonstrations to end corruption and demand transparency and dignity; Syria, where young women and children were kidnapped and raped after drawing tags against Bachar El-Assad as well as in Libya where a young lawyer Imane Obeidi suffered the same fate for her positions; this handful of examples show to such an

extent that the sense of mobilization and good sense have advanced popular uprisings by bringing them a new breath and new blood (Khashan, 2012).

Overall, the Arab uprising did not necessarily change the reality of things. As reveals Valbjørn and Volpi (2014), there are two ways to interpret the post-upset, either by saying that everything changed or that nothing changed. The Arab Spring has certainly triggered a new wave of abuse and excess from regimes because of military interventions and riots (Hinnebusch, 2014), in order to counter the materials used by youth opponents as in Tunisia where the government censored YouTube and blocked servers established in that country, and in Egypt where the Mubarak power had paid men, called Baltagiya – hatchet men –, to fight the political opposition in every way, which led to attack by horses and camels on February 2, 2011 (McGarty et al., 2014). As a matter of fact, uprisings of Arabs do not re-write basic rules of the political life, since ancient approaches of regime were still present anyhow (Hinnebusch, 2014), in other words the mobilization brought something new and fundamentally in opposite old manners were still happening (Valbjørn & Volpi, 2014). Everyone, ranging from local to international perspectives, had predicted that the successive collapse of regimes will help populations to shape years of marginalization, but the reality shows that authoritarian regimes matters via the counter-revolutions.

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Facilitating Active Learning in Japanese Public High Schools

Kanako Miyashita

Introduction

This paper will examine two high schools in Japan that are incorporating active learning. By conducting a case study in these schools, the researcher will convey possible changes the Japanese public schools can make to promote active learning in the existing teaching environment.

The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) announced that the Japanese national curriculum will be revised starting in 2020 to incorporate active learning in Japanese high schools (MEXT, 2015). MEXT defines active learning as "an educational style, where students are active participants. The methods are discovery learning, problem-solving learning, experiential learning and research learning. They can be done through group discussion, debate and group work" (MEXT, 2015, p. 37). However, the discussion on active learning needs to be expanded more to clarify the mechanism of introducing the new teaching environment. The Japanese educational system has been established upon the national curriculum that enables the smooth transition for students to enter universities through elementary and secondary education. As it bridges students to universities, the research focuses on installing active learning in the Japanese high school education.

In reality, there are some schools in Japan already working to promote active learning. One example shown in this paper is an International Baccalaureate (IB) school that teaches students with a curriculum offered by the IB Organization (IBO). Another example in this paper is a traditional school that teaches students without the national curriculum. The researcher will examine these two schools and then the results will be compared to Japanese public schools that teach students with the national curriculum. These comparisons will be used to discuss changes that are needed in the teaching environment of Japanese public schools in order to promote active learning.

Context

The IB school, established in 2005, integrates education from elementary through high school. The high school, with a student population of approximately 200 acquired an IB teaching license in 2011, but only about 30 students per year receive permission to be involved with the IB curriculum.

The traditional school, established in the 19th century, integrates education from junior to senior high school. It is a boys' private school, offering their own version of active learning. All 900 students enrolled in the high school are involved in active learning and they choose their own subjects from specific course groups such as math, social studies, science, and arts. They also have extracurricular learning as a part of the curriculum.

The third context that will be examined are Japanese public high schools in general that teach students with the national curriculum, which is not active learning.

The outcome of the case study will clarify the mindset of the teachers teaching in active learning and non-active learning systems. In addition to the mindset, curricula, facilities, and educational resources will be considered to determine the feasibility of performing active learning in Japanese public high schools.

Methodology

The general content of the IB curriculum was obtained primarily from the IBO website (IBO.org, 2017), while specific information includes the researcher's personal experience as an IB student.

Both the content of the curriculum and the methodologies of the traditional school were obtained from the official website (www.azabu-jh.ed.jp) and a book about this school. The author of the book is a non-fiction writer, who researched this school for the first time.

Case Study 1 and 2

In this section, the examples of active learning in the IB school and the traditional school will be examined based on three categories: assignments, learning materials, and extracurricular learning. The

education in the traditional school will be compared to that of the IB school to illustrate some common points in active learning.

Learning Materials

Technology is used to facilitate learning in the IB school. For example, a website called "Edmodo" (www.edmodo.com) is an effective communication tool for teachers and students. Teachers can share additional learning materials and make announcements, while students can take the test, submit files, and ask questions anytime. Another example is "Virtual Labs," a website, which students can experience high-level virtual scientific experiments (An MHRD Govt of India Initiative, n.d.). It is used when the school does not have sufficient apparatus or when the experiment seems dangerous. Through the use of technology, the school expands learning opportunities for students, therefore, most of the students have their own laptops to get access to visual and audio materials that can facilitate understandings at any time.

On the other hand, the traditional school provides tangible learning materials such as books and apparatus. The library is equipped with more than 80,000 books with 2,500 books added annually (Kanda, 2014, p. 165). The school adds books even when there is a request only from one student. They judge whether there will be a positive impact on the student and the school, including future students. Furthermore, the school puts emphasis on experiential learning, so there are 6 science labs available for students.

Another factor that intensifies active learning is textbooks. In the IB curriculum, there are IBO-accepted textbooks, but not for all subjects. For example, teachers can choose which reading material to use, including novels, poems, and scripts of a play, based on the requirements from the IBO. Students read them in advance, then discuss the content or make presentations on what they feel about the content.

Unlike the IB school teachers, the traditional school teachers have less constraint in choosing which materials to use because they receive only a skeleton outline of course curriculum from the school. For example, one English teacher uses speeches and autobiographies because he prioritizes getting students interested in the content over teaching the language (Kanda, 2014, p. 115). In this way, students can familiarize themselves with natural English.

Assignments

Assignments are also one important component of the active learning curriculum. The uniqueness of Extended Essay (EE) in the IB curriculum is that students conduct an independent, self-directed research project (IBO.org, n.d.). EE is a two-year supervised essay, which students are responsible, with the supervisor's advice, for conducting thorough research. The essay itself is not the deciding factor of passing the IB program but is reflected in the overall grade.

The traditional school has a similar assignment to EE called "修論 (*shuu-ron*)," which directly translates as "master's thesis." It is from the "contemporary" class, which is a combination of geography and social studies, so students write a supervised paper on course-related topics. This assignment intensifies the quality of learning outside the classroom; for example, students can access relevant books in the library, and there is a student who visited a distant museum to have a discussion with researchers (Kanda, 2014, p. 127). After the submission, the essay is graded; but unlike EE, they are published and shared among students.

Extra-Curricular Learning

IB education asks students to work on a Creativity, Action, and Service (CAS) activity. Students can join the community outside of the school to enjoy sports, volunteering, and arts under the supervision of either the school IB teacher or someone from the community involved. Similar to EE, supervisors do not comment much on the content of the activity, but unlike EE, they check a reflection sheet to monitor student progress.

In the traditional school, there is a class for extracurricular learning called the "visual workshop," where teachers and guest lecturers can teach any content outside of the core curriculum. There are about 70 unique subjects to excite students, including "building robots" and "watching American movies," that are offered throughout the semester for consistent learning (Azabu Gakuen, 2017, para. 11).

Analysis

This section will illustrate how the examples of active learning from the previous section influence students and teachers.

Learning Materials

The examples of learning materials in the IB school and the traditional school exhibited that their methodologies are not constrained. Both curricula have clear objectives to meet, but there is a high degree of freedom in teaching style. Due to this reason, teachers take responsibility in creating engaging classes because students' attitudes towards the subject can be dependent on that. By teachers acknowledging this fact, they experiment transforming various materials into teaching resources, embodying their commitment in teaching. The attractive classes and sufficient learning materials foster student curiosity as the first step for autonomous learning.

Assignments

The significance of EE and *shuu-ron* is the limited teachers' intervention in students' work. The most interaction occurs at the planning stage of the theme, where the framework of the research is decided. Students can then conduct research independently, while they can still rely on supervisors when needed. In this way, teachers can promote students to challenge their abilities.

Teachers also learn in this system. As supervisors are selected based on the familiarity of the theme, teachers have to update their knowledge to guide students as reliable learning partners. Consequently, teachers nurture responsibility and strengthen the sense of professionalism.

Extra-Curricular Learning

The extracurricular learning in the IB school and the traditional school make teachers aware that learning takes place outside of the classroom too. The CAS activity in the IB course offers interactions with the outside community for students to realize their roles in the society. In the same way, the "visual workshop" educates students not only to have academic knowledge but also wide interests in their surroundings. In both education systems, students become socially aware, finding opportunities to learn in their everyday lives. By teachers recognizing that the goal of education is to let students fulfill their own curiosity, they can value teaching contents that are not designed to help learners pass university entrance exams.

The commonality in both active learning environments is inclusiveness. Even if the topics of study contain content not specifically related to core curriculums, students are encouraged to study freely within and outside of the school. Therefore, active learning in the two schools is about expanding the range of learning to outside of the school.

Bringing Public Schools into the Equation

By analyzing the influence of active learning towards students and teachers, it became clear that their perception towards education is an essential factor to activate students' autonomy. This section will first examine the mindset of IB teachers, which is influenced by the workshops they take. Next, the mindset will be compared to that of public school teachers, which in this case is influenced by the university entrance examination.

The Mindset of the IB Teachers

In IB education, teachers are recommended to participate in two-and-a-half day workshops with various themes to deepen understanding of the IB curriculum for their professional development (ibo.org, 2014). The workshops are held worldwide to enable IB teachers from various learning environments to exchange opinions and intensify their identities as IB teachers. The workshop indicates the importance of teachers having knowledge and dignity to maximize learning using the curriculum.

The Mindset of Public School Teachers

Public school teachers' understanding of education is based on the university entrance exam system.

Since 1978, the Japanese university entrance system has been centralized through the unified examination. The content has been revised several times and today, the exam is known as the "center examination" (All About, Inc, 2017, para. 1). This has a negative impact on the Japanese teaching environment because the questions are all multiple-choice and students take the tests relevant to the major they are interested in studying (Benesse Corporation, 2017, para. 3). More importantly, the curriculum is constrained to match the requirements

of the center examination, and, therefore, teachers teach and students study to prepare for this examination. Many universities use this center examination in conjunction with their own original test as the only two deciding factors to accept students (Kawaijuku Educational Information Network, 2017, para. 1). Therefore, all national and public university applicants and 80 percent of the private university applicants take this exam (Benesse Corporation, 2017, para. 1). The center examination has negative repercussions on the Japanese teaching environment because it narrows Japanese public school teachers' understanding towards education.

Hino (1988) presents, "once a practice is accepted as a tradition, it becomes a norm" and "the longer history the tradition has, the stronger the norm is" (p. 52), as the Japanese teaching environment has been practicing center examination for 40 years. Consequently, the norm constructed around education is optimized to allow students to enter universities through the centralized curriculum. This is a constraint that discourages teachers to make changes in the Japanese public school system, even if they have an aspiration in reviewing the traditional teaching system. Moreover, most Japanese high school teachers are in their forties (MEXT, 2014). This implies that the current teachers have never been educated in active learning methodology and they have less understanding of teaching methods other than the traditional system. Thus, the combination of changing the mindset and the curriculum is important in breaking the norm.

Promoting Active Learning

There are several ways in which public schools can promote active learning. The most important change is about teachers' understanding of the concept of the active learning. As a supplemental factor, schools can also review tangible elements.

Understanding Active Learning

It is recommended for teachers to realize that the goal of secondary education is not the university entrance exam. The teachers in active learning environment share the idea that school expands students' choice of study and teaches them to become autonomous learners. They also encourage students to engage in communities outside of school, preparing them to become an important member of society.

On the other hand, the norm makes teachers in public schools see the secondary education as the bridge that leads students to universities. They need a change in the traditional university entrance system so that the new curriculum has some space to teach contents that are not for the center examination. As the MEXT is now revising both the national curriculum and the center examination (MEXT, 2015), there is an opportunity for teachers to alter their current understanding of education. The changes in the center examination include adding essay questions for students to express their opinions and accepting the scores of private English tests such as TOEFL to allow students to take the test that best fits their ability (Benesse Corporation, 2017). Both revised examination and national curriculum will be used from the year 2020 (MEXT, 2015). These changes can be positive academic changes for public school teachers to recognize that the goal of learning is not the university entrance exam, but preparing students to become autonomous learners in the society. In addition to this, changes can be made in the teaching environment to support the effective conduct of active learning. These are outlined below.

Facilities. Classrooms can be designed to increase interaction between teachers and students. The active learning environment is inclusive, as it does not consider teachers as the only resource of knowledge. In the same manner, it fosters students to interact with others to cultivate understandings. In order to implement this idea into the educational environment, the existing classroom design with the dichotomy of teacher and students needs to be reviewed. For example, the classrooms in the IB school have tables joined together to form an island or the shape of a donut to facilitate discussions. In some classes, teachers join the discussion. These orientations naturally trigger conversations between students and teachers, letting them equally value each other's opinions.

Assignments. Assignments can be reviewed to encourage students to express opinions. Under the current university entrance exam system, students can memorize the answers to get high marks, regardless of the level of comprehension. In contrary, writing tasks like EE and *Shuu-ron* encourage students to express unique ideas and deepen them. At the same time, research makes students capable of developing opinions based on reason, making them confident in their statements. Therefore, by students working on writing assignments, they nurture critical thinking abilities that are applicable when they enter the diverse society.

Computers. Computers can be introduced in schools. The IB school and the traditional school are both private schools with enough resources to enrich the academic environment. Having said that, public schools (budget allowing) can still expand the range of education by focusing on facilitating online learning systems. As an example of the IB school suggested, there are numerous learning opportunities online, such as Edmodo, Virtual labs, and electronic books, which remove the obstacle of finance. The feasibility of this change is comparatively high as it corresponds with the governmental plan of making programing a compulsory subject in both first and secondary educations, starting in the year 2020 (Mynavi Corporation, 2017).

Conclusion

The researcher examined two high schools in Japan that are educating students with active learning style. The outcome was compared to the educational environment of public schools to convey possible changes the Japanese teaching environment can make to incorporate active learning.

There was a limited source of information, especially on the IB curriculum, that the researcher had to rely on the personal experience for some contents, which made it difficult to make the comparison between the IB school and the traditional school. Despite this, it is clear that public school teachers need to alter their perceptions; aiming students to become autonomous learners in the society, instead of aiming them to pass the university entrance examination. Additionally, several changes can be made in school facilities, assignments, and the format of education.

Although these solutions cannot readily be applied to public schools, the ideas conveyed in this paper will be a guiding principle when considering the introduction of active learning in the Japanese public teaching environment.

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What are the Reasons the National Front Has Succeeded in French Society?

Yoshiaki Nagata

Introduction

Brief Background of National Front

The National Front is the right-wing French political party founded in 1972 by Jean-Marie Le Pen that has imposed antisemitism, anti-immigration, Euroscepticism upon the French society, causing huge issues in France.[1] "According to Jean-Marie Le Pen, rests on its total identification with French culture and identity, which he claims are inadequately or incorrectly represented by all political parties and the media."[2] This party was originally founded based on the support from Neo-fascism supporters. Until the 1970s, it had less than 1% of the support from the French citizens. During the 1980s and 1990s, its existence was gradually known by the French. After 2000, the deteriorating situation in European society gave some advantages to the National Front to share its ideology. In 2011, Marine Le Pen, the daughter of Jean-Marie Le Pen, took over the head of the National Front. She kept a distance from the party's ordinary idea of neo-fascism that her father had imposed, which succeeded to gain more support from the citizens, indicated by the fact that she "won 18 percent of the vote, the highest-ever first-round total for a National Front candidate" in the 2012 presidential election. This party has become known in the world as promoting neo-Nazism, but over the past ten years, it has increased in support in France by changing its political ideology towards more neutral sides.

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[1] Michael Ray, *National Front: Political Party, France* (The U.K.: Encyclopedia Britannica).

[2] Pierre Bréchon & Subrata Kumar Mitra, *The National Front in France: The Emergence of an Extreme Right Protest Movement* (New York: Comparative Politics, Ph.D. Programs in Political Science, City University of New York, 1992) 64.

Significance of National Front

Parties play a "role for the expression of interests, as "active intermediaries" between the citizen and the government."[3] While the National Front has been ordinarily underestimated in terms of anti-democratic character, it has played an important role in absorbing people's dissatisfaction towards the government. Thanks to this party, their dissatisfaction has been influential on French politics through a legitimate way, which has had some positive outcomes in French society. As the National Front has gained its political power and existence in French politics, the mainstream parties started to cooperate with each other against the radical right-wing party. Voting for the National Front is the criticism towards the obscured politics and dissatisfaction of the unchanged situation in the society. Thanks to the increased political power, not only at the national level but also at the local level, the National Front has had access to politics under the compromise with the right party.[4] Besides the influence on the mainstream politics, the significance of the party has been explained mainly in two aspects: freedom of speech and democracy.

The National Front has contributed to making a better situation where people can express their ideas freely. Thanks to the increased popularity towards those parties especially from western European countries, people feel much freer to disclose their support for those parties than before. The reason why it started to be easier to show support is attributed to the increased popularity of the radical right ideology. The ideology of the right-wing populist parties is spread by the other far-right parties such as the anti-immigration Alternative for Germany, the Dutch anti-Islam Freedom party, and Italy's anti-EU Northern League.[5] Additionally, the National Front has been willing to cooperate with the other parties in legislative ways. One of the important actions was, in 2007, the formation of the party group whose name was Identity Tradition, Sovereignty. The incentives of the formation seemed to gain approximately €1 million in public funds. Its policies were mainly about anti-immigration, anti-EU constitution and

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[3] Piero Ignazi, *The Crisis of Parties and the Rise of New Political Parties* (The U.K.: SAGE Publications, 199l) 549.

[4] Hainsworth, *The Extreme Right*, 111.

[5] Nicola Slawson, *Marine Le Pen leads the gathering of EU far-right leaders in Koblenz* (The U.K.: The Guardian, January 21, 2017).

anti-Turkish EU membership. The members from the National Front occupied the biggest part of this group. Soon after the formation, nevertheless, the party was dissolved by efforts from the mainstream parties who worried that the funds would be used for their radical right movements. Even though this action was blocked, the recent popularity of those far-right wing parties has made it difficult for the mainstream parties to prevent their action all over Europe. The more they are popular, the more their ideas are recognized, which helps those supporters get more opportunities in order to share their opinion.

Furthermore, this party has contributed to democracy to absorb more citizens' voices into politics. The democratic milestones of the National Front are the influence on French elections and the change of mainstream right-wing ideology. The party's idea has attracted those who have not agreed with policies from mainstream parties and have chosen the National Front as representatives to influence their ideas to the French society. The party also has had a significant influence on the French presidential elections. From the late 1980s, the National Front continued to gain from 10 to 20 percent of the voters' support in the first round of the French presidential elections. Especially, in 2002 and 2017, it acquired large numbers of support from citizens in the first round (The first round is based on the proportional electoral system, then two of the candidates who get the most support can proceed to the second round). In both elections, the National Front candidates proceeded to the second round to decide the president of France. The common interesting point for both elections is that the candidates opposed to the National Front's candidate gained considerable support from the electorate. In 2002, Jacques Chirac, the winner of the second round, got 82.21% of support against Jean-Marie Le Pen, the candidate from the National Front.[6] In 2017, Emmanuel Macron gained 66.10% of the votes against Marine Le Pen in the second round.[7] These two candidates received more votes from the citizens compared to 2007 and 2012 elections when mainstream candidates competed. Considering these results, the National Front seems to have had an influence on the unification of the electorate between mainstream right and left-wing parties. Moreover, in response to these favorable situations towards the National Front, the mainstream party also more clearly started to adopt the policy and ideological idea of the National

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[6] *Résultats de l'éction présidentielle 2002* (Ministére de L'intérieur).
[7] *Résultats de l'élection présidentielle 2017* (Ministére de L'intérieur).

Front in order to acquire the votes from National Front supporters. In 2005, Nicolas Sarkozy was appointed the Minister of the Interior and he formerly stated "concern for ordinary decent French people and for the lower paid, as opposed to those on social medical care."[8] In 2007, his party, *Union pour la Majorité Présidentielle* (UMP), seemed to successfully acquire the votes of the National Front electorate. During his presidency, the National Front suffered a decrease of votes in local elections. While the National Front was struggling to manage and enlarge its support, the National Front succeeded to have an influence on the UMP by means of inclining its policy. This example shows how much the existence of the National Front is recognized by the other parties. It is no longer one of the small parties in Europe.

Research Question

Overall, the National Front has achieved a crucial role and certified their position in French society. The more it succeeds, the more people criticize and protest against this party. Even though its roles are not highly evaluated by the majority of the citizens in the society, why has it successfully gained support from French citizens?

Literature Review

The reason why the National Front has been successful is argued mainly from Euroscepticism, the economic situation, and immigrants which have had a huge impact on European society. These three factors have been considerably influential on French society even before the foundation of the National Front. Especially after the Schengen agreement was confirmed under the European Union, issues about immigrants have worried French citizens. The reinforced liberalism and increased expense for immigrants under the European Union have oppressed the French economy. This phenomenon is proof that every single factor is complicatedly mixed and affecting the French society. This paper focuses on how these three factors have affected French citizens and what kinds of reactions French people have taken as a result.

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[8] Paul Hainsworth, *The Extreme Right in Western Europe* (The U.K.: Routledge, 2008), 121.

Euroscepticism

The origin of the European Union originates from post-World War II. The French authorities in that time decided to establish communities with other European countries to develop their society broken by the war and to stop the power of Germany through multilateral cooperation. France has benefited from the European Union and vice versa. The principal policy of the European Union is based on liberalism in order to maintain a healthy economic system, which has an influence on the French society to some extent. There are numbers of people who feel dissatisfaction towards the European Union. Those people have opposed the distance between the policy makers in Brussels and the people in France. After the many challenges faced in Europe such as the increase of refugees and the European economic crisis, some of the European Union member states are unwilling to resolve problems with other countries.[9] Compared to other countries such as the U.K. and Germany, France has a good system for social security focusing on family, children, and unemployed people.[10] The increased numbers of immigrants, however, make burdens in French society to continue enough social welfare systems. One of the examples of French governmental action to help immigrants is the assimilation of children who have a foreign background. In France, there are numbers of school that have immigrant classes in order to help those children to adjust to French society.[11] Even though the educational procedure seems to be successful, there are still numbers of young people who cannot get jobs because of their immigrant background.[12] Their dissatisfaction goes to the French society and eventually increases instability in the society. This fact makes the image of immigrants worse and quite a few French citizens started to disagree with European Union politics which seemed to put the burden on the French society. In 2007 European Election, the National Front gained 24 out of 74 seats assigned for France in the European parliament. In

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[9] Daniel Boffey, *Rising Euroscepticism 'poses existential threat to EU'* (The U.K.: The Guardian, March 3, 2017).

[10] Norman Flynn, *Fiscal policies, social spending and economic performance in France, Germany and the UK since 1970* (The U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2009) 36.

[11] Julia Masuda, *Iminnsyakai France de Ikiru Kodomotachi (Children living in French immigrant society)*, (Japan: Iwanami-Shoten, 2011) 26 & 64.

[12] Angelique Chrisafis, *Immigration: France sees tensions rise five years on from Paris riots* (The U.K.: The Guardian, November 16, 2010).

addition to Brexit, the European Union is facing a difficult moment to maintain a balance for the demand of the member state countries.

Economic Situation

France is one of the countries that has been in trouble with employment issues. The French unemployment rate has not been resolved for decades. The unemployment rate has hovered around 9% in France in recent years (other statistics shows over 10%), which is much higher than Germany and the United Kingdom.[13] In 2016 data, 44.4% of unemployed people have been experiencing long-term unemployment (Long-term unemployment points out the people who have not worked for over 12 months even though they are willing to work).[14] Among the electoral of the National Front, there is a large number of the people who have decided to vote for the National Front since the employment situation has not changed. The French government has tried to improve its situation by the advancement of neo-liberal economy, but which has not provided enough wealth for those who have criticized but for those who already possess large wealth. Additionally, many people from the working class tend to vote for the National Front because they are one of the groups which gains influence depending on the economic situation. In order to improve French economy, the government also tried to reform some laws related to the working situation. Initially, employees in France are strictly protected by the laws, which is one of the reasons for the difficulty in improving the unemployment issue. In recent years, the previous president, François Hollande, introduced some corporate tax reductions and tried to change the law.[15] On the contrary, he faced significant opposition of his bill and at the same time, his support rate declined to 4%, the worst number in French Fifth Republic president history, which made it difficult for the government to change the economic situation.

As the immigration issues and economic situation worsen, the National Front finds people more favorable to them. Since the foundation of the National Front in the 1970s, the speed of globalization has been accelerating, which has left some people behind

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[13] *Unemployment rate* (OECD, 2017).

[14] *Long-term Unemployment* (OECD, 2017).

[15] Hugh Schofield, *France economy: Francois Hollande does business* (The U.K.: BBC News, November 21, 2012).

the development of the society. The dissatisfaction of those people has mainly supported the success of the National Front.

Immigrants

The most serious issue in France which has influenced people is that of immigrants. France has accepted immigrants for a long time since World War II, in order to boost the number of workers mainly from Northern Africa to support the French economy. As time passed, however, those immigrants coming from Islamic countries started to make issues in French society in terms of secularism and terrorism.

In France, showing religious symbols are severely regulated based on its secularism system called "Laïcité." [16] There are mainly three examples such as bans for headscarves, niqabs (a full-face Muslim veil) and burkinis (the swimsuit for Muslim women), which are all used for hiding their skin. Firstly, in 2004 wearing headscarves was banned in state schools, and in 2011, Nicolas Sarkozy prohibited French people from wearing a niqab in all public places in France.[17] After the Nice attack in 2016, 15 towns facing sea sites adopted the prohibition of wearing burkinis.[18] The dissatisfaction of some Muslim immigrants increased because of numerous restrictions towards Muslim culture. Some Muslim and other minority students were expelled from their schools because of the religious restrictions in classes. The increase of French secularism mainly derived from recent Islamophobia.[19]

Since the late 1940s, France has accepted immigrants largely due to Algerian independence. France has also been one of the countries where many of the families have a background of immigration and migration in the past. In recent years, instability caused by increased immigration have been a focus. Even though there were some protests by immigrants to express their dissatisfaction towards the French government, a different type of violence, such as terrorist attacks, has emerged in French society. France is one of the countries where their

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[16] Riva Kastoryano, *Religion and Incorporation: Islam in France and Germany* (New York: Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc., 2004), 1239.

[17] Angelique Chrisafis, *French PM calls for the ban on Islamic headscarves at universities* (The U.K.: The Guardian, April 13, 2016).

[18], Ben Quinn, *French police make woman remove clothing on Niece beach following burkini ban* (The U.K.: The Guardian, August 24, 2016).

[19] Ahmet T. Kuru, *Secularism and State Policies toward Religion: The United States, France, and Turkey* (The U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 133-134.

citizens left for the Middle East to cooperate with the jihadist group, the Islamic State (IS). Some of them who have returned or those who have been inspired by IS cooperated with terrorist members and conducted terrorist attacks. These terrorist attacks, such as the Charlie Hebdo attack and the Nice attack, reinforced the worry of the French citizens towards Islamic immigrants. Two weeks after the terrorist attacks in a town close to Rouen, two Islamic State-linked militants killed the priest in the local church.[20] France has been targeted by the IS and lone-wolf attackers. Most of the attackers are from Muslim countries or having a Muslim background, which reinforces the stigma towards Muslim immigrants. In response to these terrorist attacks, the security level in France has been significantly raised. Those terrorist attacks have legitimized the statement of the National Front and the mainstream parties have also faced dealing with these issues.

Location & Significance of the Research

Besides the main reasons such as Euroscepticism, the economic situation, and immigrants, there are other factors why the National Front has gained its support in French society. There are two important factors that have helped in increasing support for the National Front: the success in the European Parliament Election and the French Fifth Republic political systematic failure, called cohabitation. The European Parliament Election has given the chance for the National Front to reflect that dissatisfaction with politics. The success of the election has reinforced the significance and justification for the existence of the National Front in French politics. Additionally, cohabitation forced the mainstream right and left-wing parties to compromise each other to conduct the governance, which gave the citizens the susceptibility and unclear difference between those mainstream parties. This paper focuses on how the European Parliament Election contributed to the continuation of the National Front and how the cohabitation affected mainstream parties.

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[20] Riccardo Dugulin, Impact of France's evolving terrorist threat (The U.K.: Global Risk Insights, August 11, 2016).

Hypothesis

Besides the ideas argued in the literature review, the rise of National Front can be reasoned from the successive political existence of the National Front in the European Parliament Election and the cohabitation as the French political systematic failure under the French Fifth Republic.

Methodology

Literature and data reviews are utilized in this paper in order to clarify the significance of the European Parliament Election and the cohabitation in the success of the National Front.

European Parliament Election

Basic information. The European Parliament Election started in 1979 under the Euro Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and it has continued under the European Union (EU). This election has been undermined as the second-order election in member countries, which means "secondary to the main (national) electoral contest."[21] This is because the main purpose of elections is so that the winner can have the right to control the administration, but the European Parliament Election has not allowed candidates to have such a right. Additionally, the issues dealt with in the European Parliament are more likely to be large scale issues such as the environment so it is difficult to attract electoral attention compared to national elections since the issues decided in national congresses directly influence their lives. Furthermore, the European Parliament election is often used to punish the present governments by voting for the opposite groups against the parties which control the government.[22] In fact, radical right and radical left parties tend to get more support in the European Parliament Election than in national elections. In 2014, the European Parliament Election, the radical right-wing parties in France, the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Greece acquired the biggest support in each European Parliament Election, which shows that this tendency

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[21] Simon Hix & Michael Marsh, *Punishment or Protest? Understanding European Parliament Elections* (The U.S.: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Southern Political Science Association, 2007) 495-496.
[22] Hix & Marsh, *Punishment or Protest,* 495-496.

has not only happened in France but also in the other member countries.[23]

Table 1. The Number of Seats the National Front Gained in Two Different Elections

European Parliament Election		French Legislative Election	
1984	10 seats	1986	35 seats
1989	10 seats	1988	1 seat
1994	11 seats	1993	0 seat
1999	5 seats	1997	1 seat
2004	7 seats	2002	0 seat
2009	3 seats	2007	0 seat
2014	24 seats	2012	2 seats
2019	unknown	2017	8 seats

French European Parliament election is conducted every 5 years based on the proportionate system. This election has provided good opportunities for the National Front to display its actions to the public. It was the 1984 European Parliament Election that for the first time the National Front got attention from the media. In this election, this party which used to gain less than 1% of support for every election succeeded in receiving 11% of all votes and gained 10 seats in the European Parliament (see Table 1). After this election, the National Front continued to send around 10 representatives to European Parliament until the 1994 European Parliament election. The European Parliament election has been a favorable place for the National Front. In the 2014 European parliament election, the National Front gained 24 seats out of 74 seats assigned to France, which was the largest number of the seats among the French parties. Following the National Front, the UMP, the mainstream right-wing party, gained 20 seats and the socialist party subsequently gained 13 seats.[24] Even though the National Front has been small power in French national congress, the success in the

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[23] Hirotaka Watanabe. *Gendai France: "Eiko no Jidai" no Shuenn, Ohshu heno Katsuro* (Contemporary France: The end of "the Glorious Era" and the way to European integration), (Japan: Iwanami-Shoten, 2015) 256.

[24] Kim Willsher & Anne Penketh, *Front National's success not surprising to heartland supporters* (The U.K.: The Guardian, May 27, 2014).

European Parliament kept them attracting the attention of the media and the citizens.

The Systematic Political Failure, Cohabitation, under the French Fifth Republic

Basic Information

Under the French Fifth Republic, there is one president and one prime minister, the same as the Fourth French Republic; however, the president possesses stronger power under this system. In the law, neither the citizens nor the national parliament has the right to force him to resign. The president's authority over the government is superior to the parliament. He also has the right to choose the prime minister, to conduct a referendum in order to pass a certain bill without an agreement of the parliament, and to conduct the legislative election one year after the previous election. In particular, when the president recognizes that France faces a severe situation that the fundamental national functions do not work such as national independence, protection of the land, he has the right to control legislative and executive power and to stop some laws temporally based on his thought. [25] The president is chosen by the citizens under the presidential election which consists of two rounds of elections. After the presidential election, the prime minister is appointed by the president considering the majority of the party ruling in the French parliament. The parliament has the right to execute the vote of no confidence in the cabinet so the president needs to choose the prime minister from the majority group of the parliament. Therefore, the president and the prime minister can be chosen from different parties, which makes it difficult to control the balance of their government because of the ideologies that they believe are different. The power of the president is superior to the power of the prime minister, and because of this system having been created by Charles De Gaule, who had strong leadership, the president tends to prefer the prime minister to follow the president's ideas, otherwise, there would generally be issues between the president and the prime minister.

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[25] Hirotaka Watanabe, *Furansu Gendaishi: Eiyu no Jidai kara Hokakukyouzon he* (France Contemporary History: From the age of hero to coexistence of conservatism and progressivism), (Japan: Chuokoron-Sha, 1998) 102-103.

General Observation Toward Cohabitation

The advantages of a divided government are in the dimensions of control and representation, such as preventing an abuse of power both by conducting more balance policies and by checking and balancing from the two different ideological parties of governance.[26]

On the contrary, in general, a divided government is not preferred because of its characteristics. Under the French Fifth Republic, it is expected for one majority political group to occupy the seat of the president and the prime minister simultaneously, which is more likely to secure the society:

> In a unified government, one party or a coalition of parties holds control over the policy-making process across the separated institutions sharing power. The political opposition thus remains essentially without policy influence. Since fewer veto-players are engaged in the policy-making process under unified government, this regime is often considered to be more efficient than divided government.[27]

While the cohabitation situation between the opposite parties' president and prime minister could possibly happen, the situation was not formed until 1986. Many scholars warned the fragility of the government because the initiative power to control the government was divided between the major different ideology groups, which was assumed to cause arguments, coalitions, and compromises in the government. [28]

History of Cohabitation in the French Fifth Republic

There have been three cohabitation periods to date. The first cohabitation was recognized by the citizens with surprise. It was between 1986 and 1988 under the left-wing president, François Mitterrand. While Mitterrand from the left party remained in the position of president, he chose Jacques Chirac who was the leader of the majority right-wing groups in the national congress. Helping Chirac's characteristics come in line with those of Charles de Gaulle,

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[26] Thomas Gschwend and Dirk Leuffen, *Divided We Stand: Unified We Govern? Cohabitation and Regime Voting in the 2002 French Elections* (The U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 693.

[27] Gschwend & Leuffen, *Divided We Stand*, 693.

[28] Gschwend & Leuffen, *Divided We Stand*, 693.

this government faced challenges in deciding how much initiative either the president or the prime minister should take. During this cohabitation period, the president yielded to the legislative approvals to the prime minister such as private school issues and industrial policy, however, he also refused many ordinances suggested by the prime minister and his right-wing supporters.[29] As time passed by, however, the power division between the president and the prime minister started to become clarified, which is that the former role is focused on foreign policies and fundamental national policies and the latter role is focused on domestic scenes.[30] There are some concrete examples of their disparities in controlling political initiatives:

> The battle over the conduct of French diplomacy began with the surprise announcement in April 1986 that the prime minister, without having consulted the Elysée, had decided he would join the president at the Tokyo summit of industrialized nations. The Japanese, taken aback, were not too cooperative, and Chirac was not given a seat for the official dinner on the first day. The prime minister then decided to leave Paris a day after the president, using a regular flight to make the point that with a retinue of eighty-seven people, Mitterrand's use of a Concorde was a bit extravagant. In Tokyo, Chirac in his meeting with Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone suggested that the president of the Republic no longer defined French foreign policy and that his role was only formal. While there was later on the part of Chirac's staff a "clarification" of that statement, the following month the prime minister publicly criticized the president's position on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) as too negative. However, the president's policy remained unchanged.[31]

The president has stronger power than the prime minister so whenever the president and the prime minister have trouble, the prime minister usually needs to compromise or take the burden. When they are in trouble, the prime minister sometimes conducts a vote of confidence in the parliament to gain credibility and prevent the president from dismissing himself. Additionally, those two leaders' confrontation also extended to the appointment of the important positions:

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[29] G. Gopakumar, *Trends in Contemporary French Politics* (India: Indian Political Science Association, 1991), 391.

[30] Gopakumar, *Trends in Contemporary French Politics*, 391.

[31] Jean V. Poulard, *The French Double Executive and the Experience of Cohabitation* (New York: The Academy of Political Science, 1990) 262.

Other results of cohabitation were a good amount of disagreement and deadlock over the nomination of ambassadors. Here, the problem was compounded by the fact that after 1981 the Socialists began to make political appointments rather than choose career diplomats as had always been the tradition in France. The first instance of such disagreement occurred over the replacement of Eric Rouleau, a Socialist appointee, as ambassador to Tunisia. The president used his prerogative to refuse to put the question on the agenda of the Council of Ministers. Thus, cohabitation had a nefarious effect on the filling of both important diplomatic and administrative posts.[32]

As these examples show, cohabitation has caused the coalition between the president and the prime minister in their governance. Under the coalition, the president no longer secures his power as much as he had before under the unified government. While many processes need his approval, he also faces the necessity to compromise his ideas.[33] In the beginning of the cohabitation, the situation was positively recognized by the public, but the expectation declined sharply from a high of 71 percent in October 1986 to 36 percent in February 1987.[34] In the 2002 legislative election, anti-cohabitation was imposed as the worst situation to conduct the policy for the government by the mainstream right-wing groups in order to refrain the left-wing votes. Under the three-time experiences of cohabitation, people seemed to be aware of the effect under the cohabitation so "a vote for a right party in the legislative elections was also a vote for unified government. Every vote for the left can correspondingly be seen as a vote for divided government."[35] While the mainstream parties used the cohabitation situation as a measure for preventing the electoral who votes for the opposition political party, the citizens started to realize that there was no clear difference between mainstream right and left-wing parties. During the 1980s, the rate of those who thought there was no clear difference was considerably increased until about 50 percent of citizens and it was over 60 percent in 1990s.[36]

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[32] Poulard, *The French Double Executive*, 262.
[33] Poulard, *The French Double Executive*, 262.
[34] Poulard, *The French Double Executive*, 263.
[35] Gschwend & Leuffen, *Divided We Stand*, 696.
[36] Jiro Mizushima, *Populism toha Nani ka?* (What is Populism?), (Japan: Chuokoron-Sha, 2016) 74.

The time when the rise of the National Front started overlaps with the period when the cohabitation happened. In the 1986 French legislative election, when the cohabitation between the mainstream right and left wing occurred, the National Front acquired 35 seats in the French national parliament. Even though this success somehow attributed to the election system change, the introduction of the proportionate election system by the left-wing president to prevent right-wing groups from gaining large numbers of the national congress seats, it was still the outcome of the dissatisfaction towards French mainstream politics.[37] From the next election, the proportionate system was abolished to prevent the rise of the National Front. After the 1986 legislative election success, the National Front had not gained more than 2 seats until the 2012 legislative election (the National Front gained 8 seats in 2017 legislative election), but it has continued to secure more than 10% of the support subsequently.

Conclusion

Overall, the European Parliament Election and the cohabitation situation have been important factors to lead to an increased popularity of the small political group which has strong characters that are difficult to be accepted by the French citizens. The European Parliament Election has contributed to the parliament activity of the National Front and the cohabitation system has obscured the difference between the mainstream parties by putting the two different ideology groups under the same government. Even though the main reasons are attributed to the issues of Euroscepticism, the economic situation, and immigrants, these two factors are also important to consider as the reason for the success of the National Front.

Implications

Numerous incidents and coincident conditions have been influencing the present popularity towards the National Front. Undoubtedly, the main reason is increased immigration. The National Front has imposed anti-immigrant policy since its foundation. In the response to the escalated security issues in France, the mainstream parties also face the necessity to change their security policy which is

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[37] Hirotaka Watanabe, *Furansu Gendaishi*, 230.

usually relevant to immigrants. Many challenges in internal and external society make some people's dissatisfaction match with what the National Front has insisted. Under the party's development, the cohabitation in the French Fifth Republic and European Parliament Election have helped the National Front to overcome considerable challenges to be popular. Without a doubt, the National Front now has included a strong power in French politics and the similar tendency has also emerged in other western countries. The implication of the National Front rise is one of the important factors to comprehend the present context in European politics.

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For the Misfits

Hariz Fadhilah

To the prophets of eccentricity:
Ginsberg, Kerouac, Bowie et al.

This is for the children of the moon, who glisten in the
   dark of diamonds,
This is for the *putras* and *putris* of night, who became
   exiles from the common light became hysterical
   became mystical in the crooks of oblivion,
This is for the mad they call misfits, who burn and burn
   and burn and burn like holy white flames of hydrogen
   heavens

I pray for you…

I pray for you to show blinded fools, who're sedentary
   who're sick with hate who're sinful of solemnities,
   I pray for you to have the courage to show them…
To show them how your chest burns as gorgeous as
     a million stars in nothing!
I pray for you to face fiery liars, who lurk in the day who
   with lips of ignorance spit on your faces hot spits of shame!
Shame on them! For they fail to fathom, that you are
   God's visionary avant-garde…
I pray for you to show norm-horny soul oblivious
   singular-minded mechanical-carcasses your potential
   infinity…**You are infinite and you will prove**
        them!

The fools… The cynics… The condescending cons…

You will not heed them…
    You will not feed them…
        You will show them…

In time, O you will show them your truth!

You will show them that you came from the fine
   shining dust of your cosmic mother!

You will show them how you are free…That they are
   prisoners of their self-made narrow-minded mental
   madness!
You will teach them…For you are the forgotten oracles!
   You were the ones who forgot…

I pray for you…
   I pray for you…
      I pray for you…

I pray for you, to defend your insanity…
   Defend…
      Defend your precious insanity!

And I pray you make them **glare!**

I pray for you to will and hope, for these are the
   elements of *maha* greatness!

I pray for you, brothers and sisters…
I too pray for the time to come…
      And the fools will agape!
         And the cynics will be stunned!
            And the condescending cons will be confounded!

I pray for you so that you may break the chains of misfit
   samsara

I pray for you, within the dim light of now…
   I pray for you, to will and hope,
I pray for you, for you are hope…for you are the flames
   of future…for you are the fiery lighters of a brighter now

Know that I pray for you…
   O great gleaming misfits, forgotten,
   hidden and unseen…

O I goddamn pray for the night you burst free like
    electric flames rising high, twinkling, marveled upon,
    in the bright obsidian sky…

Maladaptive Imagination, 2007

K. J. Thompson

Because you're a child,
Still a teenager,
In a make-believe world,
Reluctant to give up fantasy
And science fiction novels and tetrasodium iodine,
And face an uncertain, doubtful future
You see the universe
in your backyard
While everybody else sees
Dead twigs and leaves.
You see a door
in the forest
While your father says,
"It's just a tree."
You see a hero
at the supermarket
Polishing her sword,
While your mother says,
"Pay attention! The line's moving."
You seem strange, that maladaptive brain
But you're much more capable than you'll ever think.