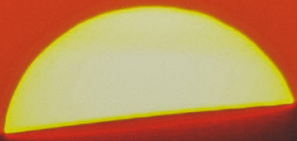


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***Boko Haram Insurgency and the Spectre of Female Suicide Bombers in Nigeria***

Azeez Olaniyan, Ekiti State University, Nigeria

The IAFOR International Conference on the Social Sciences – Dubai 2017  
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**Abstract**

The encounters between Boko Haram and the Nigerian state have been largely nightmarish and calamitous, making it one of the most talked about phenomenon in the recent times. The violent activities of Boko Haram constitute major disruption to the Nigerian state, especially in its task of achieving peace and development. Apart from persistent threats to the peace, stability and developmental aspirations of the country, Boko Haram has also wrecked an unimaginably high level of damage on the country's social fabrics. One of such instance is the sending of young female suicide bombers to unsuspecting members of the public, with tales of death, destruction, displacement, sorrows and tears as consequences. Apparently using indoctrination, intimidation and exploiting the innocence of underage girls, Boko Haram terrorists have inadvertently introduced a dangerous dimension to their violent operations. Indeed, resort to exploiting the innocence of young girls for nefarious activities constitutes an affront on shared social, cultural and religious values of the Nigerian people. And this raises some pertinent questions: what led to the use of young girls for suicide bombings? How do they source for the girls? What are the implications of this trend on the Nigerian society? This paper seeks to interrogate the foregoing questions and by so doing contributes to the discourse on the various dimensions to the Boko Haram insurgency and the implications on shared societal values, peace, orderliness and development in Nigeria and her immediate neighbours.

**Keywords:** Boko Haram, Female bombers, Abduction, Indoctrination, Violence and Nigeria

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## Introduction

Boko Haram insurgency occupies a prime position in the number of security challenges currently facing the Nigerian state (Olaniyan and Asuelimeh, 2014, Agbiboa, 2016). Since the end of the civil war in 1970, no other violence has openly violated Nigerian territorial integrity and recorded more numbers of human and material casualties than the Boko Haram insurgency (Olaniyan, 2015). Indeed, the appearance of the militant group on the Nigerian political landscape has set in motion chains of uneventful events of gruesome proportions, which continue to affect the citizens in their daily existence. One major area of these unpalatable events is the introduction of suicide bombings into the Nigerian society. Prior to the appearance of Boko Haram in the Nigerian state, suicide bombing was something unthinkable. Nigerians are generally regarded as fun-loving people, famous for heavy partying and always scared of death. Suicide is a taboo among the various cultures in the country. But Boko Haram elements changed that perspectives.

Suicide bombing was introduced into Nigeria in 2009 by Boko Haram when it launched suicide attacks on the convoy of the Inspector General of Police as well as the UNDP office in Abuja, killing people and destroying the property. Since then, Boko Haram as a militant group of people has caused devastations through waves of bombings, massacres, suicides and major destructions of infrastructure (Chothia, 2012; cited in Mathew and Fada, 2014). To worsen the situation, they added the specter of female suicide bombings, to the extent that most of the recent suicide acts are perpetrated by young females. This paper interrogates the phenomenon of female suicide bombings by Boko Haram militants. It examines the theoretical aspect of suicide missions, the rationale behind the Boko Haram usage of small girls for the deadly mission, the instanced and the implications on the society.

## Why Suicide Bombing

Suicide bombing has become a weapon of choice which usage has experienced rapid rise as evident in its adoption by 17 terror groups in 14 countries of the world (Zedalis, 2004). Between 1974 and 2016, the world recorded 4669 terrorist attacks, resulting in 41,731 deaths and 105,388 wounded (Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism, 2016). The growing rampancy of the deadly tactics shows the grim situation the world is confronted with. Suicide terrorism is a form of terrorism that dwells largely on using human bodies as weapons of destruction. It is a weapon of the weaker parties when facing forces that are considered stronger (Scot, 2003). Suicide attacks are cruelly efficient means of killing mass number of people at little cost to the killer or the sponsors. In the contemporary times, we have cases of Japanese Kamikaze on Pearl Harbor in the United States that resulted in the death of about 5000 Americans (Scot, 2003:1535), the Irgun of Israel against British colonial government, Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka that introduced suicide belt to terrorism, ISIS of Iraq and Syria that became one of the most brutal usage of suicide attacks in history, Alqaeda Networks in the Middle East and north of Africa, Boko Haram group that has emerged as about the deadliest terror group at the moment; as well as Palestinians attackers in their wars against the Israeli forces of occupation in the West Bank. We have seen the devastating usage of the deadly method by the such other groups as the Taliban in Afghanistan, Hezbollah in Lebanon, FIS in Algeria, Ansaredin in Mali, and several groups fighting against the Assad government in Syria.

For sure, suicide terrorisms are not entirely new forms of warfare in the history of humanity (Victoroff, 2005, Merari and Friedland, 1985). Scot Atran reported how the *Sicari* (Jewish sect of Zealots) employed suicide attacks against the Romans during the latter's occupation of Judea as well as the suicide warfare employed by the *Hashashin* (Islamic Order of Assassins) against early Christian crusaders (Scot, 2003:1534). In the recent time, however, the suicide attacks on Iraqi Embassy in Beirut, killing 28 people in December 1981, seemed to have opened the floodgate for series of suicide missions that were to follow. Such violent ways of attack have featured prominently in instruments in the hands of violent groups around the world, featuring prominently in United States of America, Sri Lanka, Lebanon, Israel, Turkey, Pakistan, Algeria, United Kingdom, Afghanistan, Chechnya, Philippines, etc. (Ibanez, 2014). In the very recent time, there has been several suicide attacks in France, Belgium, Germany and London. The specter of female suicide attacks started in the 1980s and Sana'ah Mehaiddi of Lebanon was believed to be the first female suicide bomber when he detonated a truck bomb on the Israeli convoy on April 9, 1985 in Beirut (Zedalis, 2004). Ever since, the idea of using females for suicide bombing mission has become quite a common practice in the hands of some terrorists. Quite expectedly, these spates of attacks have resulted in the dispatch of several thousands of people to their early graves.

A number of theory has emerged in the quest to grasp the essence of the phenomenon of suicide terrorism. Psychopathological, the oldest theory of terrorism, which is also very popular in media representation of suicide attacks, bother on insanity or irrationality. The theory sees terrorists as insane people who are devoid of any scintilla of rationality (Hacker, 1976, Cooper, 1977). The problem could be a function of psychotic, whereby the person suffers from mental derangement to the point of inability to decipher right from wrong; or sociopathic in which case the persons is aware of what is good and what is bad but chose to do the wrong one (Victoroff, 2005:12). A person afflicted by either of the two cases is not normal. The ruthlessness and remorsefulness of apprehended terrorists give credence to the presence of either psychotic or sociopathic problems. It does not appear normal for someone to kill unsuspecting fellow human beings without having any feelings of humanity. New York Post featured a report of a captive ISIS militant in the war in Mosul who did not show remorse for raping over 200 women and killing over 500 people. He was quoted as saying: "We shot whoever we needed to shoot and beheaded whoever we needed to beheaded...Seven, eight, 10 at a time. Thirty or 40 people. We would take them in desert and kill them...I would sit them down, put a blindfold on them and fire a bullet into their heads. It was normal" (*New York Times*, 2017). This does not seem to come from a normal person; and it lends credence to the psychoanalytical perspectives that terrorists suffer mental problem.

However, some scholars of economic and political science persuasions have identified the rationality in suicide terrorism, hence bringing forth the rational theoretical perspective (Caplan, 2006). According to the theory, suicide terrorism is a deliberate choice, involving organized and extensive planning and the attacker knew what he was about to do. Also, the attacker works towards a goal, which could be drawing attention of government, forcing government to withdraw foreign troops, or seek independence, to create a politico-religious suzerainty or aim to get higher cosmic rewards. That is why it is in the words of Jeff Victoroff, "a practical low-cost strategy through which subordinate groups leverage their power to successfully achieve their

ends” (Victoroff, 2005:15). To Simon Ross, suicide terrorism is more of politics. According to him, “terrorism does sometimes increase the likelihood that perpetrators will reach their sociopolitical goals. The bombings perpetrated by Irgun, a paramilitary group, facilitated the independence of Eretz Israel from the British. Terrorist attacks, committed by the IRA, expedited the formation of the Irish Free State. Furthermore, suicide bombings during the mid-1980s, perpetrated by Hezbollah, enabled Shia to control parts of Lebanon and incited the withdrawal of America, French and Israeli forces. Finally, terrorist acts that were committed by the ANC hastened the dismissal of apartheid in South Africa” (Ross, 2016).

When viewed from the prism of accounts by arrested terrorists that show little or no remorse, we tend to see their action as not a matter of insanity; but one of choice. However, lofty as the perspective is, the theory of rationality fails to account for the presence of young suicide bombers who are as young as seven years old. Jamie Fergusson showed a video of a teenage boy weeping profusely before driving his bomb-laden vehicle that was given to him by militants, who were seeing goading him to the suicide mission (Fergusson, 2015). Obviously, the poor boy was not acting on any basis of rationality. In most cases, teenage suicide attackers are oblivion of the bombs they were carrying; and are even remotely detonated, showing that these teenagers are also victims (Ochele, 2015). Cases of teenage suicide bombers portray irrational scenario, thereby puncturing the rational choice theory.

Another perspective locates the reason in poverty and lack of education. Supporters of this perspective have located the roots of terrorism and suicide attacks on ignorance and poverty. The argument here is that people that engage in these acts do so out of want and ignorance. Lending his voice to the role of poverty, President George Bush once argues that “we fight poverty because hope is the answer to terror, we will challenge the poverty and hopelessness and lack of education and failed governments that too often allow conditions that terrorists can seize” (cited in Ross, 2003:1536). In the same vein, Archbishop Desmond Tutu argues that “at the bottom of terrorism is poverty” (cited in Ross, 2003:1536). In the contention of Elie Wiesel and Dalai Lama, “education is the way to eliminate terrorism” (cited in Ross, 2003:1536). However, Alan Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, (2002) argues that education and poverty may not really be at the bottom of suicide mission. Their research in Palestine proved that those who engaged in suicide bombings did not come from poor homes, and neither are they illiterates. Majority of them had not less than twelve years of education. This position could be said to be validated by the case of the first suicide bomber in Nigeria. According to report carried by the Blueprint newspaper, the bomber, Abubakar Manga, was a fairly successful business man who left behind a will of four million Naira (\$12,600) for his five children of two boys and three girls (Sajdika, 2012).

A dimension of drug and intoxication was introduced by Femi Ajayi, the then Director of the Nigeria’s National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA). According to him,

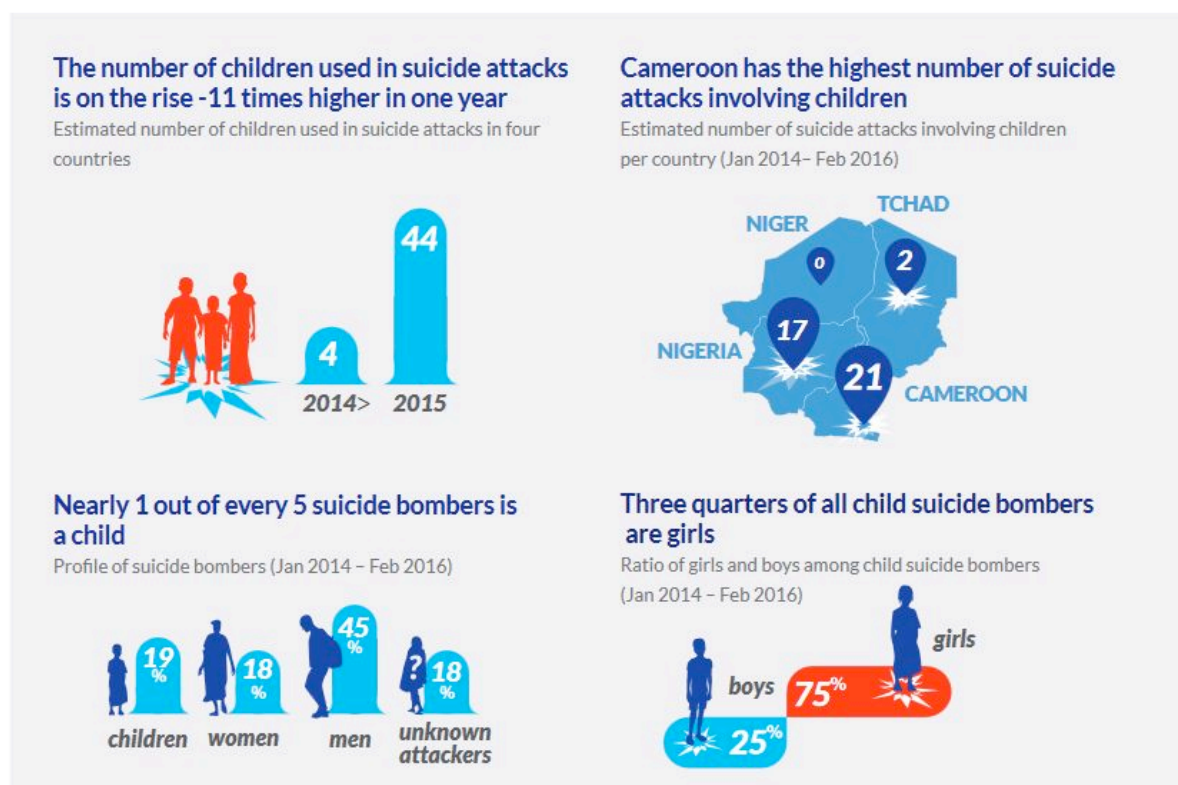
Death in itself is dreaded even though it is a necessary end; but when people subscribe to it happily by bombing, killing innocent lives and creating havoc and ruin, you know it is not normal. The impact of drug abuse is far more damaging than some people assume

because it is related to violent crimes. A man under the influence of drugs is as deadly and unpredictable as a mad man playing with a time bomb (NDLEA, 2012, Abubakar, 2012).

In a feature article in *Christian Examiner*, Gregory Tomlin (2016) reported how drugs form the centerpiece of the activities of Taliban, ISIS and numerous terrorist groups in Syria. The report shows how terrorists not only cultivate and traffic cocaine to raise funds, but equally consume it to enhance their deadly activities, including suicide bombing. The report further indicated how Al Nusra Front, one of the terrorist groups in Syria, operated factory for production of amphetamine drugs for themselves and ISIS. Tomlin further quoted Allan Duncan, a former British sniper as saying: “IS [soldiers] have syringes attached to their clothing so that if they are shot they can give themselves a boost. ... They are high on cocaine and amphetamines. It helps them fight” (Tomlin, 2016). In 2015, the Nigerian army reported the seizure of drugs in raided Boko Haram camps. Sani Usman, the Nigerian Army spokesperson, was quoted as saying: “when the Nigerian military captured their bases and training camps, they never found (the) Qur'an or other Islamic books. They mostly found ammunition, local charms, condoms and all sort of drugs including sex-enhancing ones in their enclaves” (Lacinno, 2015). Again in 2016, the Nigerian army intercepted large quantities of drugs meant for the Boko Haram terrorists (Ibekwe, 2016). The persistent discovery of drugs on the body as well as in the camps of terrorists lend credence to the veracity of the narcotic perspectives. I argue that the case of suicide bomber has elements of all of the above. There are obvious traces of insanity, deliberate choice, poverty, ignorance and drug. Therefore, we need to combine all the perspectives so as to get a grasp of the essence of the phenomenon.

### **Boko haram and female suicide bombings**

As argued heretofore, Boko Haram introduced suicide bombing into Nigeria in 2009. In June, 2014, the sect added female suicide bombing to the nightmare, thereby worsening the situation. The major reason for adding female to the violent campaign has to do with the ease of girls to penetrate crowds of people with little suspicion. Security operatives are mostly on the lookout for young boys, and attentions are seldom paid to young girls (Onuoha, 2015). It is this situation that Boko Haram has exploited for its deadly actions. A report by UNICEF shows an escalation of incidence of child bomber from four in 2014 to 44 in 2015 (UNICEF, 2015, CNN, 2015).

**Fig 1**

Source: UNICEF. 2014. Beyond Chibok: over 1.3 million children uprooted by Boko Haram violence, retrieved from [https://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/files/Beyond\\_Chibok.pdf](https://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/files/Beyond_Chibok.pdf)

The diagram above shows increase in the use of child bombers by Boko Haram. From 2014, it rose sharply from 4 to 44 in 2015. Nearly one out of every suicide bombers is a child. Three quarters of the child bombers are females. Ever since 2015, there has been a rise in the reported cases of attacks carried out by female suicide bombers in Nigeria.

Nigeria recorded its first female suicide bomber in June 8, 2014 when a motorcycle-riding middle-aged female struck at a military checkpoint in north-eastern Nigeria, killing herself and a soldier in the process (Chotia, 2014, Onuoha, 2015). Ever since, it has become a phenomenon. Few examples: On Friday, at least 45 people died and 33 others were wounded in another double suicide attack carried out by female bombers at a marketplace in the town of Madagali. In February 2015, Boko Haram used an eight-year-old to carry out a suicide attack in Potiskum, in Yobe state, and a 10- and 18-year-old pair were involved in a failed July 2014 attack in Funtua, in north-western Katsina state (Punch, Dec 11, 2016). In October 2016, another set of female suicide bombers killed 17 people at a station near a camp for internally displaced persons (Punch, 2016). In November 11, 2016, three young girls with bombs strapped to their bodies were killed on their way to unleash mayhem in Umarari village along Maiduguri-Damboa road (Punch, 2016). On 25 December 2016, two female suicide bombers invaded cattle market in Maiduguri, killing two people in the process (Haruna, 2016). On 17 November, 2016, the police were able to avert attacks on Federal High Court in Jidari Polo area of Maiduguri by two females



and one male suicide bombers (Sahara Reporters, 2016). On 7 November, 2016, two female suicide bombers also killed 30 people in an attack on a local market in Madagali local government area of Borno state (Fulani, 2016). In January, 2017, a young girl carrying a baby in her back detonated explosives strapped to her body, killing herself, her baby and several people in Adamawa state (Daily Nation, 2017). On 15 March, 2017, four young female suicide bombers killed two people in Usmanti area in the outskirt of Maiduguri, Borno state (Daily Nation, 2017). These cases show the rate at which Boko Haram is deploying young girls as suicide bombers, with devastating effects on the society.

### **Sources of the girls**

Abduction has been the major source of girls Boko Haram is using for suicide bombings in its deadly war against the people and the Nigerian state. It is quite difficult to know the number of girls abducted so far by Boko Haram. This has to do with the fact that several cases were either not reported or underreported. Also, several real cases were denied by the government to save itself from embarrassment. In 2014, Boko Haram terrorists abducted over 200 girls in their school dormitories in Chibok town, Borno state. This is often regarded as the highpoint of the abduction saga, and it is the case that caught the international attention, which soon became the face of the atrocities of the group against women. But, according to Nnamdi Obasi, this is just a tiny figure in the number of girls that have been abducted since the appearance of the group in Northeastern Nigeria (cited in Huffington Post, 2016). As reported in the Huffington Post, these include: Abduction of 19 girls in the villages of Wala and Warabe, four months after the Chibok saga. The abduction of 60 women from Kummabza village June, 2014, after holding the villagers ransom for three days. In December 2014, about 200 women and children were abducted from Gumsuri village, just 15 minutes south of Chibok. In March, 2015, about 300 schoolgirls and children were abducted from Damasak, the highest haul by the group. In Madagali village, 14 women and two girls were also abducted (Alfred, 2016). The abduction continues on regular basis.

Once in their nets, the abducted girls are then cajoled, indoctrinated or threatened to embark on suicide mission. A documentary done by Ajazeera channel revealed cajolment and indoctrination tactics often employed by Boko Haram:

They tell women and girls that they will go to paradise if they commit suicide for Allah. So, they ask girls, 'Who wants to go to paradise?' They tell the girls that they will also wear bombs. So, the man straps a bomb to his body and to the girl. They tell the girl, let's do this and we will meet again in paradise. So, the girl goes forward and detonates herself, expecting the man to do the same. But the man does not. He watches her blow herself up into pieces and then goes to the next girl to lure her to do the same thing (Aljazeera, 2016).

A narrative of another girl revealed the use of intimidation and threat of force in dragging the girls to their violent deaths. According to the girl:

I was in the bush when the people some who look like Arabs and some huge black men told me that did I know what is suicide mission, that is one killing himself? I

said no I don't know, they explained it to me and said that if I did plus reciting Sura Albakara I will straight go to Paradise, I declined and told them I will not do it, they now told me that they would dig a hole and bury me alive because that is what they do to all women who refuse to adhere to their demands, and they said they meant what they said, I now complied (Ahmad, 2014)

Majority of the girls are married off after abduction, and those of them that refused to accept the marriage option are forced to go on suicide mission (Worley, 2016). In essence, kidnapping and abduction of girls have ensured steady availability of instruments for suicide mission.

A bizarre case was the donation of a girl to Boko Haram for suicide mission. On 24 December, 2014, security forces arrested a girl suicide bomber who later confessed that she was donated to Boko Haram elements by her father in Kano (Ahmad, 2014). But this has remained a marginal one case incident. The donated girl was then forced to become a suicide bomber, from where she escaped. In addition to that, Boko Haram also has women wing, that carry out domestic chores and act as recruiters, spies, informants and sympathisers, with the possibility of embarking on suicide missions (Daily Trust, 2016, Crisis Group, 2016). It has been established that Boko Haram from inception has been able to attract quite a number of women into its fold. This it had done through inducement, force and indoctrination (Crisis Group, 2016). Yusuf, the founder of Boko Haram, has been able to exploit the grinding poverty in north-eastern Nigeria through philanthropic gestures while advocating for practice of Islam in its puritanical form. This attracted large followers of youths who were already disenchanted with the Nigerian state that has not been able to meet its material need. The blame was that the society has been corrupted by people who had access to western education, hence the name Boko Haram. Within the ranks of the followers were quite a number of women who are either married to members of the sect or out to seek more knowledge about Islam (Crisis Group, 2016). The point here is that there are committed women members of the group who will be willing to embark on suicide mission to attain martyrdom. However, few arrested ones and escapees have attributed their involvements to force and intimidation by Boko Haram terrorists (Pfhanz, 2014).

Freedom Onuoha (2015) identified other likely sources as children of widows of Boko Haram members killed by security forces; who will be motivated by sense of revenge against the security forces; women or girls recruited through their female scouts; children of orphans whose parents have been killed by Boko Haram in the course of their violent activities and sourcing through cartels that are involved in human trafficking. These are largely speculative as no concrete evidences are presented to validate their veracity. What is abundantly clear is that majority of the girls being used for the suicide bombings are forced into doing so.

**Fig. 2: A 13-year old arrested in Kano, with suicide belt strapped to her body**



Source: Daily Post, <http://dailypost.ng/2014/12/13/police-arrests-13-year-old-female-suicide-bomber-kano/>

As shown in the picture, most of the girls are too young to make a rational appraisal of the gravity of the mission they were being sent to do. This is why it has been quite easy for Boko Haram to exploit the girls in pursuance of their deadly objectives.

### **Boko Haram and feminization of terror**

The increasing usage of females as suicide bombers by Boko Haram amounts to what Freedom Onuoha (2015) captured as feminization of terror in Nigeria. However, for a better understanding, the trend should be situated within the context of intentions and motives. The narratives of arrested female bombers indicate clearly that most of them were minors who couldn't make rational decisions; and that their participations in such extreme acts of deadly violence were products of force and intimidation (Pfhanz, 2014). This indicates that the girls are mere pawns in the hands of the terrorists (Anaedozie, 2016:223). This forceful feminization shows some developments. First is

exploitation of female gender by male on the basis of superiority, aptly captured as “exploitative men asserting their hegemonic masculinity” (Anaedozie, 2016: 217). The exploitation of a supposed ‘weaker’ vessel by a ‘stronger’ one is a manifestation of patriarchal culture prevalent in the society. Here, the girls’ choices were not needed. They only had to carry out instructions given by the men. The girls had been conditioned to see the men as the stronger force. Second is the exploitation of younger ones by the elderly. Images of arrested or escaped ones show that they were young girls, much more than their abductors. The elderly Boko Haram elements were able to use the advantage of their advancement in age to force younger ones to commit horrendous crimes against fellow human beings. This tallies with the culture of old ones exploiting the innocence of younger ones. This is what Boko Haram is doing by using the young girls for suicide missions. The third issue is what has been captured as the commodification of the female body and the downplay of their ‘heroic’ role after successful completion of each mission. Normally, Boko Haram do take responsibilities of deadly actions, except in the case where the girls were the bombers (Anyadike, 2016). It then means that they are not regarded as serious martyrs. The worthlessness of the female bombers is aptly captured in the words of Pearson: “they (the girl bombers) have left no videos; their attacks are not claimed; they have no glory. Women and girls have predominantly struck markets, bus depots and civilian gatherings, rather than higher value targets” (quoted in Anyadike, 2016).

## **Conclusion**

The specter of female suicide bombing is a major security challenge in the Nigerian state. Boko Haram violence has resulted in the death of thousands of Nigerians and displacement of several millions of people. It has also escalated hunger and poverty in the region. The Nigerian government has stepped up major offensive against the insurgents. The army has succeeded in degrading the insurgents. The vast swathe of land it once occupied has been retaken and the group has been restricted to a corner of Sambisa forest. On Christmas eve of 2016, Camp Zairo, the major command of the insurgent inside their Sambisa fortress was conquered by the army. This represents a major step against the insurgents. However, this has not stopped the gale of female suicide bombings from happening. Rather, they are increasing and the sect have even devised the strategy of using nursing mothers to perpetrate suicide bombings. This is a dangerous development in the atrocities perpetrated by the militants.

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***East Meets West: A Glimpse of the Globalization and Internationalization of Innovation and Discovery***

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**Abstract**

Whether be the politicians, businessmen or academics, “globalization” is such a term that is largely used by everyone in the discourse of development. In McLuhanian view, the result of advent of electronic media can be seen as the creation of "global village". In contemporary political and academic sphere, globalization stands for little more than a synonym for the phenomena like the pursuit of classical liberal / free market policies in the era of economic liberalization, the dominance of westernization or Americanization, the Information Revolution, global integration, etc.

The globalization of production technology lies within the native country of different enterprises. For the increasing global segments of industries chain, and the increase in overall knowledge of the economy, the role of globalization is unprecedented. In this framework, the major points have to be discussed.

Moreover, my paper proposes to focus on the role of national borders in totality, and examine the methods or procedures which led to this innovation across industries and countries. For this reason, this paper aims to deal with new facts and points regarding the gradual process of globalization and engaging it with different indicators focusing Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

Internationalization strategies and trends of the activities which take place in the process of innovation will also be examined in the paper. Before the discussion on the border innovation methods and procedures, important practical and theoretical issues will be given fair attention. Before stressing importance on the major policies and their dimensions and instructions for future innovations and discoveries, this paper also throws some light on Global technological issues which have become key factors on the horizon of world economy, polity, and geopolitics, and brought paradigm shift.

**Keywords:** Globalization, Internationalization, Enterprises, technology, Foreign Direct Investment, international policies

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## Introduction

The paper seeks to explain globalization as a harbinger of the West and the East not only in economic and commercial terms but also with respect to policy formulation and political strategies. The thrust of the argument is that communication revolution and technological innovations have bridged the gap between various nation states reducing the World into a global village with the pace with which globalization is marching ahead, the day is not far when the World is bound to witness a single 'global community' where different values can legitimately contest one another in order to evolve a consensus in the larger interest of humanity.

The advent of globalization has altered the entire gamut of international dynamics. The hitherto division of the globe as East verses West remains no more a reality. The cold war has gone, Berlin wall demolished and the entire world has turned 'flat'<sup>1</sup>. States no more remain sovereign in the strict sense of the term as constant inter-state penetration of economic, cultural and political forces have become the order of the day. Scientists have already begun speculating that the day is not far when Sun may rise from the West. The beginning of the process of fusion between the East and the West are to be found in the process of globalization that began in the 1990s that saw the demise of the cold war and the coming together of the East-West ideological blocks.

Perhaps it may not be an exaggeration to postulate that the evolution and growth of global societies is marked by the processes of fission and fusion. The past centuries saw the state of fission whereby the global societies were fragmented into different nation states, representing a variety of cultures, governing strategies and living styles. Nevertheless, the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century witnessed the beginning of the process of global fusion following the onset of the process of globalization.

## Historiography and Growth

In the realm of historiography the roots of globalization can be traced to the pre-World War I period of 1870 to 1914 that witnessed rapid integration of the economies in terms of trade flows, movement of capital and migration of people. The rise of globalization was largely led by technological advances in the fields of transport and communication. The geographical boundaries were marked by very few barriers for the flow of trade and people even without passports and visa requirements.

According to McLuhan<sup>2</sup>, the result of the advent of electronic media can be seen as the creation of "global village". In contemporary political and academic sphere, globalization stands for little more than a synonym for the phenomena like the pursuit of classical liberal / free market policies in the era of economic liberalisation, the dominance of westernisation or Americanisation, the Information Revolution, global integration, etc.

Nonetheless, the period between the first and the Second World War generated restrictions for the free movement of goods and services as the nations believed that

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<sup>1</sup> Friedman, Thomas L.(2005), *The World Is Flat: The Globalized World in the Twenty-First Century*, Farrar, USA

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.livinginternet.com/i/ii\\_mcluhan.htm](http://www.livinginternet.com/i/ii_mcluhan.htm)

they can thrive better under high protective walls. However in the post World War II phase the nation states realized that isolation is not an appropriate option for the growth and development of the nations. As a matter of fact, the underlying philosophy of globalization has been to create a situation where nations and people all over the globe get closer with a spirit of accommodation for their overall prosperity. Although globalization is an ongoing process to realize a global village bringing together the differentiations of East v/s the West and North v/s the South, it has added many innovations and dynamics in present day international relations leading to increased market access, increased access to capital and increased access to technology and information eventually, resulting into income and employment opportunities.

Today, globalization has become a buzz word. Many pursue it as a new world order devoid of barriers or with porous barriers while the critics refer it as a spell of doom and a new incarnation (avatar) of imperialism or the highest stage of modern capitalism. In a realistic sense globalization implies integration of economies and societies heralding towards a global polity.

It is a misnomer to treat globalization as a 21<sup>st</sup> century phenomenon. It is as old as history involving cross migration of people across the great land masses. 21<sup>st</sup> century has only facilitated such migrations and resultant integration through innovations in communication technologies and transport revolution that shrunk the geographical distances in a tremendous manner. While economic, social and political developments in various countries impacts on the firms, economic and national policies, employment markets and individual enterprises, however the growing interdependence of locations and economic units across countries lead to employment opportunities across frontiers.

Trade relations involving people's mobility and migration leading to integration of cultures constitutes the background. During the period of the Roman Empire, the Persian Empire and Chinese dynasty, traces of West getting closer to the East can be found when the silk route starting from china reached the frontier of the Persian Empire and extended upto the Roman Empire. Similarly, the silk route facilitated Muslim merchants not only to export commodities but to export knowledge and technology thus integrating the Muslim world with that of the Mongolian Empire. The Portuguese, the Spanish during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries through their commercial activities brought Europe closer to the Eastern World. In the same vein Pax Romana, Pax Ottoman and Pax Britannica contributed their mite in promoting East West proximity in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Although the process of global integration, globalization in a loose sense of the term, was accelerated in the aftermath of the industrial revolution, nevertheless the two World Wars and the rivalry between USA and USSR resulting into virtual demarcation and competition between the West and the East radically halted the process of global integration. Helsinki heralded a new hope to revisit globalization/global integration where a general agreement on economy, security, trade, energy and humanity between the two blocks was worked out. Subsequently the Belgrade summit of 1977-1978 followed by Madrid summit 1980-1983, Vienna conference 1986-1989 and Paris conference 1990 held between the two powers strengthened the prospects of East- West integration. Further, Copenhagen 1990, Moscow 1991, Prague-Vienna 1992 all added to the easing of tension between the cold War partners thereby paving

smooth way for commercial and economic mobility between the West and the East. The end of cold War leading to emergence of liberalization in Global economy heralded a new epoch in global order that culminated into the process of Globalization.

Scholars document several stages of evolution and growth of the process of globalization. A commonly accepted formulation includes three stages:

Stages	First Stage 1490	Second Stage 1890	Third Stage 1990
<b>Impulse</b>	Nautical developments	Industrialization and its requirements	Multi-National Companies in 1970s, Communication Reform in 1980s, Disappearance of Competitors of the West in 1990s
<b>Process</b>	Profit and then military occupation	Evangelists, then explorers, then companies and finally occupation	Cultural-Ideological effect, therefore countrywide spontaneous effect
<b>Medium</b>	To get the God's religion to the pagans	Burden of the white man, humane mission, racist theories	Highest level of civilization, governance of international community, "invisible hand" of the market, globalization: for everyone's interest
<b>Political Structure</b>	<i>Empires and Colonization</i>	<i>Nation States</i>	<i>Regional and Economic Integrations</i>
<b>Result</b>	<i>Colonialism</i>	<i>Imperialism</i>	<i>Globalization</i>

**Source:** Yaman, 2001.<sup>3</sup>

The first stage 1490 that lasted for over four centuries is attributed to the scientific discoveries and innovation in the western world that prompted the establishment of colonial empires.

The second stage spreading for over a century from 1890 to 1990 in the wake of industrial revolution created imbalances between the industrializing West and traditional rest of the World. It established western domination in market competition at the same time exploitation of raw resources in the colonized world. In fact growing colonial domination was also one of the causes of the First World War. The situation was further altered after the Second World War when a new balance of forces emerged and colonial domination yielded place to the process of decolonization leading to the rise of what has come to be known as the Third World.

<sup>3</sup>Yaman, Süleyman (2001), "Küreselleşmenin Tarihi Gelişimi" [Available at <http://w3.gazi.edu.tr/web/syaman/kuresellesme2.htm>], (Accessed 3.01.2017).  
[<http://foustat.nifustep.no/nifu/?language=en>], (Accessed 3.01.2017).  
[<http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/pid/255>], (Accessed 3.01.2017).

The third stage beginning 1990 to a great extent resolved the imbalances crept in during the first two stages as a result of internecine conflicts among independent decolonized states in the wake of their competition for development and growth. The third stage witnessed the rise of two powerful blocks engaged not only in ideological conflicts but at the same time a war for economic supremacy giving rise to the emergence of a large number of MNCs struggling to monopolize global resources. This stage also provided a competitive market for the weaker states of the third World. The collapse of the Soviet Union in the back drop of perestroika and glasnost reforms and Fukuyama's propositions of the unabashed march of capitalism provided a solid background for the IMF and the World Bank to prescribe liberalization reforms consequently leading to the rise of globalization.

### **Internationalization**

Today globalization has become both a description as well as a prescription and as such it serves as both a process and an ideology for policy reforms. As a process, "globalization refers to the widening and deepening of the international flow of trade, capital, technology and information within a single integrated global market. Like terms such as "the global village," it identifies a complex of changes produced by the dynamics of capitalist development as well as the diffusion of values and cultural practices associated with this development<sup>4</sup>. As a prescription "globalization" involves the liberalization of national and global markets in the belief that free flows of trade, capital and information will produce the best outcome for growth and human welfare<sup>5</sup>. Some scholars look at globalization as a set of interrelated processes inscribed within the structure of operating system<sup>6</sup>, although others conceive it not in structural terms but as the outcome of a consciously pursued strategy, the political project of a transnational capitalist structure set up to serve and advance the interest of this class. As such there is a major divide in analysis and theoretical perspective<sup>7</sup>. Keith Griffin, a well known proponent of Human Development as defined by the UNDP and an advocate of the radical change or social transformation, on the issue of inevitability of engaging the world states into the globalization process argue that such integration and adjustment is both necessary and possible. What is pertinent is how the forces driving the globalization process can be harnessed to serve the requirements of Human Development<sup>8</sup>.

### **Innovations:**

Today globalization has generated new dynamism in the activities of social and political entities. The information revolution coupled with technological advancements completely altered the lifestyle of the globe per se heralding new social relationships, economic interactions, and commercial relations, regulatory and

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<sup>4</sup> UNRISD, *States of Disarray: The Social Effects of Globalization*, UNRISD, Geneva; Kevin Watkins, *Oxfam Poverty Report*, Oxford, Oxfam, 1995

<sup>5</sup> UNDR, *Human Development: Reports 1992*, New York, Oxford University Press.

<sup>6</sup> Albrow.M, *The Global Age*, Cambridge, Polity, 1996; Amin S, *The Challenge of Globalization*, *Review of International Political Economy* 3(2) 1996.

<sup>7</sup> Keith Griffin, *Global Prospects for Development and Human Society*, *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 6(3), 1995

<sup>8</sup> Griffin, Keith and Rahman Khan, *Globalization and the Developing Eorld*, Geneva, UNRISD, 1992

governing strategies. Human activities crossed national boundaries and there emerged the process of internationalization of human affairs and activities.

The growth of international innovative activities involves different factors - firms and institutions – and processes. A useful taxonomy proposed by Archibugi and Michie (1995)<sup>9</sup> identifies three main categories of the globalization of innovation.

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<sup>9</sup>Archibugi, D. and Michie, J. (1995) 'The globalisation of technology: A new taxonomy', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, vol 19, pp. 121-40

## A taxonomy of the globalization of innovation

Categories	Actors	Forms
International Exploitation of Nationally Produced Innovations	Profit-seeking (national and multinational) firms and individuals	Exports of innovative goods.  Cession of licenses and patents.  Foreign production of innovative goods internally designed and developed.
Global Generation of Innovations	MNEs	R&D and innovative activities both in the home and the host countries.  Acquisitions of existing R&D laboratories or green-field R&D investment in host countries.
Global Techno-Scientific Collaborations	Universities and Public Research Centres	Joint scientific projects.  Scientific exchanges, sabbatical years.  International flows of students.
	National and Multinational Firms	Joint-ventures for specific innovative projects.  Productive agreements with exchange of technical information and/or equipment.

Source: elaboration on Archibugi and Michie, 1995.

As a matter of fact, technology has become the *sine quo non* of business globalization. It has helped in Technology promotes globalization and international trade by removing the impediments such as trade barriers, lack of common ethical standard, transportation costs and delay in information exchange, and help software experts to work collaboratively over the network with companies from around the world.

The globalization of innovation goes hand in hand with the growth and spread of the MNEs and the importance of FDI since the Second World War. An inevitable consequence of globalization is that the economy becomes susceptible to the influence of MNCs. By bringing in new technologies, marketing skills, and organizational techniques, MNCs help in restructuring and adding the much needed dynamism to the stagnant indigenous industrial sector.

Though critics vehemently oppose MNCs on the premise of an unfair competitive edge MNCs get over smaller domestic firms thereby driving them out of business and adding further depression to the already dismal employment scenario, however, as *The Economist* observed:

‘Too many governments see foreign investment as a shortcut to prosperity, bringing in skill, capital and technology to push their countries rapidly from the 1950s to the 1990s. Those governments that rely too heavily on multinationals are likely to look for a foreign scapegoat when inflation heads for triple figures, unemployment fails to drop and demonstrators surround the Ministry’. Thus, MNCs contribute significantly to growth in economy first, by supplying the technology and skills needed to supplement local resources and second, by providing access to international markets.

MNCs are closely linked to DFI. It implies buying or building and operating subsidiaries and wholly or partially owned affiliates on foreign countries. DFI has grown spectacularly since 1945. Although the bulk of it has taken place within the developed world, the pattern is beginning to change with the rapid economic growth in the countries of South and East Asia. This trend is embedded in a broader liberalization movement – covering international trade in goods, external financial transactions, transfer of technology, and, more recently, services and some aspects of labour movement – that seeks to enhance economic efficiency through the elimination of market distortions caused by restrictions or discriminatory governmental measures

The FDI Report 2016 documents the investment trends of 2015, based on figures from data service FDI Markets. After a long period of trailing behind China is now racing past its formidable rival India. India was the highest ranked country by capital investment in 2015 with \$63bn-worth of FDI projects announced. Meanwhile, China saw a 23% decline in capital investment and a 16% drop in FDI projects. Asia Pacific remained the leading destination region for FDI in 2015, attracting 45% of all capital investment globally in 2015. Although the number of FDI projects into the region decreased by 7% the total capital investment increased by 29%.

While coal, oil and natural gas has reclaimed its top spot as the largest generator of capital investment globally, with \$113.5bn of announced FDI recorded in 2015, the once hot renewable energy sector is on the rise again, with project numbers increasing by 50% and capital investment reaching \$76bn. This accounts for more than 10% of all capital investment globally last year. Key trends of foreign investments in different parts of the globe can be seen in the Annexure.



**Scope:**

Globalization has a potential to buttress the freedom of individual by minimizing the state's capacity of operation of his/her ideas and aspirations. It can also expand people's opportunities to acquire knowledge and broaden their horizons by facilitating communication and circulation of ideas. It promotes freedom by strengthening the civil society through wider networking among its actors, using modern information technology. In a nut shell globalization is a comprehensive philosophy and an ideal way of life which is gradually turning the world into a global village, compressing distance, homogenising culture, accelerating mobility and reducing the relevance of political borders.

The phenomenon of globalization, in a swift and a steady manner, is appropriating international relations and entering into the bone and marrow of the social fabric constantly impacting on the economies, cultures, politics and policies in its march to create a synthetic amalgam of diversities called global village or a global unity. Karl Marx, while formulating his theory of class struggle believed that history moving in a dialectic fashion resolves the inherent contradiction in the dominant social order eventually yielding place to a new order of synthesis and in the ultimate analysis the bourgeoisie instrument of exploitation- the state- will wither away to carve a stateless and classless society. The Marxian dream could not materialize as capitalism in the wake of the collapse of its what Lenin called highest form 'imperialism' acquired a new cloak called 'globalization'.

Seen in the Marxian perspective, can it be said that globalization in its penultimate march lead to a classless and stateless social order as visualized by Marx? An examination and deeper analysis of the phenomenon of globalization indicates the ultimately it will end up in to a 'global community'. This evolutionary process towards global community discerns the following:

- Interconnectedness between states, sub-states and non states actors
- Interaction between sub national system and their counterparts in other states and other non state actors beyond the borders of the nation state
- Interlocking network of global regulations where organizations of private and non state also participate
- A sense of 'community' perceptibly developing beyond the confines of the nation state with the underlying consciousness that the World is a single place where diverse values can be consensually homogenised
- The hope to get a global space for democratically articulating grievances

**Conclusion**

Critics of globalization argue that globalization has undermined the sovereignty of nation-states due to the growing number of powerful supranational/supraterritorial forces and ventilated problems such as climate change, MNCs, terrorism, international non-governmental organizations, new communication technologies etc. The counter argument being nation-state is still important and sovereign states continue to operate in an international system rather than a truly global with nation-state losing identity. The rise of China, emergence of right extremism in Europe, the role of the G8/G20 in influencing international relations, conflicts of interest between the US, Russia, Iran, North Korea. China and a host of others, all point to the

continuing pro-active role of nation-states. As such there is no decline in the importance of nation-state, instead, nation-states are undergoing transformation in tune with the requirements of globalization and its complexities.

The doctrine of state sovereignty is a multi-dimensional phenomenon that coalesces into a unity in different degrees. The principles equality between states and non-intervention in matters that are essentially seen as domestic matter are the fundamental basis for dealing with International affairs. At the practical plane International mutual cooperation is an essential element in the post-modern era. Issues such as industrial expansion, world economic crises, Human Rights violations, developmental disparities, environment degradations, Terrorism and wars have to be addressed through Cooperative effort.

It is no denying that International relations are moving toward a global redressal model where sovereign states as a collectively has a new role to play.

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## **Appendix**

### **FDI REPORT 2016**

#### **Key trends in 2015 include:**

- The number of FDI projects into Africa in 2015 increased by 6%.
- Inward investment into the region consisting of Russia, the Commonwealth of Independent States, and Central Eastern and South-Eastern Europe was the only region to witness and increase in FDI across project numbers (6%) capital investment (12%) and job creation (13%).
- India replaced China as the top destination for FDI by capital investment following a year of high-value project announcements, specifically across the coal, oil and natural gas and renewable energy sectors

#### **Asia-Pacific**

##### **Key trends in 2015 include:**

- While the number of FDI projects into Asia-Pacific decreased by 7%, the total capital investment increased by 29% to \$320.5bn.
- India replaced China as leading recipient of capital investment in Asia-Pacific with announced FDI of \$63bn, as well as an 8% increase in project numbers to 697.
- China suffered a 23% decline in capital investment and a 16% drop in FDI projects.
- FDI into Indonesia by capital investment increased by 130% to \$38.5bn as a result of multiple metals, chemicals and coal, oil and natural gas projects.
- Pakistan increased its capital investment figure by 147% to \$18.9bn backed by energy-related major investments, including Rostec's plans to invest in a \$2.5bn gas pipeline.
- The top three countries for capital investment, namely India, China and Indonesia, accounted for almost half (49%) of FDI in the region.
- The total number of FDI projects out of Asia-Pacific decreased by 1% to 2802, which was offset by a 13% increase in capital investment.
- Outward capital investment from China decreased by 10%, while project numbers increased by 7% to 486.

#### **Europe**

##### **Key trends in 2015 include:**

- FDI into Europe by project numbers fell by nearly 9% in 2015, following on from a decline in 2014.
- The UK and Ireland both witnessed increases in FDI, with project numbers rising 3% and 4%, respectively.
- FDI into Finland by project numbers rose by 23% in 2015, reaching 127 announced projects.
- The Czech Republic experienced an increase in FDI across project numbers (33%), capital investment (54%) and jobs (36%).

- The number of recorded projects in France and Spain continued to decline in 2015, falling 1% and 19%, respectively. However, the amount of capital invested in the countries has increased by a respective 24% and 13%.
- Turkey gained momentum in 2015 with project numbers rising 47% to 147 and capital investment reaching \$5.8bn.
- Capital investment in Serbia almost doubled to \$4.4bn following a United Arab Emirates-based real estate investor committing to jointly invest \$3bn in the country.
- Despite Europe declining as a source of FDI projects, capital investment from the region increased 7% to \$258.5bn.
- Companies from the UK, Germany and France collectively account for more than 50% of FDI projects from the region.

### **North America**

#### **Key trends in 2015 include:**

- FDI into North America increased in 2015 by nearly 10%, with total inward capital investment of \$68.8bn. Project numbers declined by 6% to 1734 FDI projects.
- The US was the top destination in the region, with 88% of the continent's FDI projects and 87% of capital invested.
- The top Canadian state for FDI in 2015 was Ontario, as it was in 2014, with 6% market share of North American FDI projects.
- The top three states for outward capital investment were California, New York and Texas, which invested \$15.9bn, \$14.4bn and \$12bn, respectively.
- Texas, which ranked sixth in 2014, rose to become the third most prolific outward investor in 2015.
- Canadian provinces are represented twice in the top 10 table for outward FDI, with Ontario accounting for 8% of outward capital investment and Alberta ranking 10th, accounting for a further 4%.

### **Latin America and Caribbean**

#### **Key trends in 2015 include:**

- FDI into Latin America by capital investment dropped in 2015 to \$70.2bn with 13% fewer projects. The number of jobs created by FDI in the region increased, however, by 4% to 237,277.
- The top three destination countries for FDI by capital investment in the region were Mexico, Brazil and Chile, which attracted \$24.3bn, \$17.3bn and \$9.7bn, respectively.
- Brazil managed to maintain its capital investment levels in 2015 with a decline of only 0.2% despite a 17% decline in the number of FDI projects to 268. A decline across the region as a whole has allowed Brazil to increase its market share from 19% of total inward capital investment to 25%.
- The value of FDI destined for Jamaica increased 175% in 2015 with project numbers increasing by 27%.
- Puerto Rico experienced a decline in FDI projects (45%) and capital investment (73%) in 2015.



## **Middle East and Africa**

### **Key trends in 2015 include:**

- FDI into the Middle East and Africa by project numbers increased by 0.6% in 2015.
- The United Arab Emirates retained its position as the top FDI destination by project numbers, accounting for 24% of projects.
- Bahrain recorded strong inward FDI growth during 2015, entering the top 10 by project numbers for the first time since 2012. It also saw a 143% increase in outbound projects.
- Capital investment in Uganda rose to \$4.6bn following a joint investment in the coal, oil and natural gas sector by a Russia-based investor.
- Africa recorded 156 more FDI projects than the Middle East in 2015, a figure that has widened by 98% compared with 2014. It also continued to dominate job creation with 95,387 more jobs created than in the Middle East.
- South Africa was the top African destination for inward FDI by project numbers, continuing a long-term trend.
- Saudi Arabia was the top country by capital investment in the Middle East, with \$9.8bn recorded in 2015.
- The Middle East and Africa region was responsible for \$59.8bn in outward capital investment, up 54% on 2014.

## **Sector analysis**

### **Key trends in 2015 include:**

- Coal, oil and natural gas has reclaimed its top spot for FDI by capital investment globally, with \$113.5bn of announced FDI recorded in 2015.
- Real estate continues to recover in 2015, with FDI project numbers up 6% and capital investment up 17% to \$96.6bn.
- Within the top five sectors by project numbers, business services was the only sector to witness growth, with 1413 projects recorded in 2015.
- FDI into aerospace rose marginally, with 154 projects recorded at a value of \$5.8bn.
- Financial services experienced one of the biggest declines, with project numbers falling 29%.
- Investment into the software and IT services and communications sectors dropped in 2015, with capital investment figures falling to \$22bn and \$46.2bn, respectively, mirroring the decline in project numbers.



***Analysis of Bataan Tourism Industry: Bases for Extension Programs of Faculty and Students of Bataan Peninsula State University***

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**Abstract**

This paper entitles “Analysis on Bataan Tourism Industry: Bases for extension activities of selected faculty and students of Bataan Peninsula State University”, aimed to assess and evaluate the knowledge ability and level of appreciation of the selected barangay officials and residents equally distributed in the 11 towns and 1 city in Bataan, Philippines. Study used the descriptive method and qualitative method of research were the respondents consisting of 30 barangay officials and 6000 residents were chosen at random. The tourist destination were categorized as historical places, natural made places of attraction and beaches and resort. Almost all of these categorized tourist destinations exclusively found in Bataan were considered in the study. Important findings showed that the barangay officials and the residents were knowledgeable and appreciative in Mt Samat as one of the historical places in Bataan while the other historical places, natural made places of attraction and beaches and resorts they were less knowledgeable and they were less appreciative. Result of the study implies that there were three major problems besetting the tourist industry in the province namely; entrepreneurial skills to market the product, insufficient government funding to upgrade level of standards and tourism entrepreneurial skills mismatch the target clientele. The BPSU Tourism faculty and students through its extension activities will plan program of activities that may improve and advance the tourism industry particularly in the province of Bataan.

Keywords tourism industry, tourism program, extension activities

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## Introduction

The tourism industry, in any given country is considered to be a vital part of its economic growth. Tourism as a system creates new avenues for employment and income not only for the government but for private entities as well. Furthermore, it provides higher impetus on investments by creating financial benefits through earnings from foreign exchange. Thus, the tourism industry is highly profitable and undoubtedly the single largest industry in the world that contributes vast amounts of revenue in any given country.

Moreover, Foster (2000) viewed that tourism industry has grown exponentially to the point that it is now recognized as a significant international player in the world market. Tourism is a dynamic industry which generated millions jobs for the world's economy. Tourism equates to big business as tourism is increasingly considered a viable income alternative to traditional agricultural and resource-based industries.

However, no matter how great maybe the contributions of the said industry, still there are certain issues and concerns that are needed to be addressed. In fact, there are associated impacts from tourism. Indeed, rise of tourism in a particular locality if unplanned could pose several challenges on the management resources, the environment and even the visitors of some tourist destinations.

The Department of Tourism in the Philippines has its new slogan from “WOW Philippines” to “It’s more Fun in the Philippines”. According to Jimenez (2012), the Tourism Secretary, the new slogan is easily understood, competitive and differentiated. It does not only invite visitors to see what’s in the Philippines but to join the fun, knowing that the Filipino hospitality will spell the difference.

According to Shay (2012), the Philippines is famous for its tropical island beaches, natural scenic and adventure tourism, scuba diving, golf, heritage and historic tourism. Environmental tourism and whale watching are popular and many new opportunities await development. The good tourism is there, it needs investment and development, and the government has committed to close down the worst kind and promote the good.

Central Luzon is now the third biggest contributor to the national economy with 9.1 % share of the GDP in 2010. In 2011, the region posted the highest Gross Regional Domestic Product growth in the country at 11.9%, higher than the National Capital Region at 7.5% and CALABARZON Region at 5.6%.

(<http://manilastandardtoday.com>)

According to the Department of Tourism Regional Head Ronald Tiotuico “Central Luzon domestic visitor arrivals made it to the millionaires’ row as figures gathered from hotels and other accommodation entities showed a total of 2 million visitors in 2012—the second time in a row that the region hit the millionth mark. Last year, the region garnered a high at 1.7 million arrivals.” (<http://www.sunstar.com.ph>) As a result of the diligent reportage of Local Government Units, the region now belongs to the elite cluster of regions that have reached the millionth mark. Among the top-most

visited provinces in the region include Subic/ Zambales and Clark, Angeles City, Aurora, Bulacan, Bataan, Tarlac and Nueva Ecija.

Bataan shares 20,285 visitors in 2008 and 2009, around 20,685 visited the province. Mayor Jose Enrique Garcia III expressed confidence that the tourist arrivals in province of Bataan will reach 100,000 every year beginning 2011 with the establishment of new landmark projects. (balita.ph) However, this number of 20,285 indicates that Bataan shares a very small amount of tourist visitors in Central Luzon. Considering its strategic location, historic origin beautiful resorts and beaches, Bataan could attract tourist more than the figures stipulated by City Mayor in that news. It is posited in the study that there are some barriers that jeopardize the growth of tourism industry in the province of Bataan.

### **Historical Background**

Bataan is one of the provinces in Central Luzon Philippines. Its capital is the City of Balanga. It is bounded on the north by the provinces of Pampanga and Zambales, to the south, the now famous West Philippine Sea, the cause of territorial conflict between China and the Philippines, to the west, Subic Bay to the north-west, and the Manila Bay to the east.

Historian Cornelio Bascara documents that the province of Bataan was established in January 11, 1957 by Governor General Pedro Manuel Arandia out of territories belonging to Pampanga and the corregimiento of Mariveles across Manila Bay.

Bataan featured prominently during World War II. Prior to the 1941 Japanese invasion, the US Army stored nearly 1,000,000 US gallons (3,800 m<sup>3</sup>) of gasoline there. Shortly after the Japanese Army invaded the country in December 1941, the combined US and Filipino forces were being gradually overrun and General Douglas MacArthur moved his troops to the Bataan Peninsula in an attempt to hold out until a relief force could be sent from the US. Japanese forces started a siege of the peninsula on January 7, 1942, and launched an all-out assault on April 3, a few months after the Battle of the Points.

The Battle of Bataan represented some of the fiercest fighting the Japanese participated in up to that point in World War II. General Douglas MacArthur was the overall commander at Bataan, and he ordered a fighting retreat. MacArthur left the Philippine Islands, famously announcing that "I shall return." He left Major General Edward King and Lieutenant General Jonathan Wainwright behind to surrender the U.S. and Philippine forces. It was the largest surrender in American history. The majority of the American and Filipino forces surrendered on April 9 and was forced to march more than a 1000 kilometres (62 mi) from Bataan to Tarlac, which became known as the Bataan Death March.

The Imperial Japanese Army initiates the Bataan Death March, forcing 60-80,000 American and Philippine prisoners of war to walk much of 60 miles to Camp O'Donnell.

The IJN first forced the prisoners to march to Bataan's capitol. It is during this time the infamous Pantingan Massacre occurred, when nearly 400 Filipino officers and noncommissioned officers were executed. From Balanga, the IJN marched the prisoners to a rail station at San Fernando. Most all the prisoners were denied food and water, resulting in the drinking of foul standing water; diseases like dysentery decimated the captured men. They were denied medical supplies and assistance. Men too weak to continue the march were executed. At San Fernando, the prisoners boarded unventilated rail cars with no toilets. The rails took them to within 9 miles of Camp O'Donnell, the last leg of the Bataan Death March.

The exact death toll of the March may never be known. Several of the officers deemed responsible for the March were found guilty of war crimes after World War II and executed by firing squad.

### **Methodology**

This study used the quantitative and qualitative method of research. The survey questionnaire was used as the main tool for data gathering combined with interview method to establish veracity and to gather pertinent information necessary in the accuracy and completeness of data collected. Bataan has a total population of 1, 114, 174. The target was selected using random sampling choosing 30 barangay officials and 500 residents each from the eleven municipalities and city in the province of Bataan. A total respondent reaches to 360 for barangay officials and 6,000 for residents. Frequency counting and percentage computation were used to establish profile of the respondents. Mean computation was used to determine the level of knowledgeable ability and appreciation of the respondents in the different tourist spots in the province.

## Result and Discussion

Table 2. Frequency distribution of the Profile of the Respondents

Profile	Officials		Residents	
	f	P	f	P
<b>Age</b>				
16-22	82	22.78	583	9.72
23-29	129	35.83	850	14.17
30-36	59	16.38	866	14.44
37-43	23	6.39	817	13.61
44-50	36	10	1151	19.17
51-57	23	6.39	1001	16.67
58-64	8	2.22	533	8.89
65-71			116	1.94
72-78			83	1.38
Total	360	100	6000	100
Mean	31.10		41.49	
<b>Sex</b>				
Male	177	49.17	2667	44.44
Female	183	50.83	3333	55.56
	360	100	6000	100
<b>Length of Service</b>				
0-5 years	310	86.11	3467	57.78
6-11	38	10.56	1967	32.78
12-17	12	3.33	450	7.50
18-23			116	1.94
	360	100	6000	100
Mean = 0-5 years			Mean = 0-5years	

Table 2 displays that for the barangay officials majority or 35.83% belongs to the age bracket of 23-29 years old and only 2.22% are in the age bracket of 58-64 years old. The average age for barangay officials is 31.10. As to sex 50.83% are female, in terms of length of years rendering as 86.11% of the barangay officiald had served their post from 0 to five years and least on 12-17 years.

The same table reflects that for the residents of Bataan majority or 19.17% are in the age bracket of 44-50 years old, closely followed by 16.67% belonging to the age bracket of 51-57 years old and the average age for the residents is 41.49 years old. As to the length of time they stayed in their present job majority or 57.78% are in their job from 0- 5 years closely followed by 32.78% o 6-11 years and the average length of service is from 0 – 5 years.

Table 3. Knowledgeability of the target clientele on the different tourist spots in Bataan.

Historical Place	Barangay Officials		Residents	
	Mean	Descriptive Equivalent	Mean	Descriptive Equivalent
Abucay Church	3.47	Less knowledgeable	3.15	Less knowledgeable
Mt. Samat	4.15	knowledgeable	3.60	knowledgeable
Zero Kilometer Death March	3.27	Less knowledgeable	3.59	knowledgeable
Bataan First Line of Defense	3.60	knowledgeable	3.35	Less knowledgeable
Bataan Death Marker	3.01	Less knowledgeable	3.33	Less knowledgeable
Virgen Milagrosa	2.85	Less knowledgeable	3.49	Less knowledgeable
<b>Natural Made Places of Interest</b>				
Bataan Natural Park	2.82	Less knowledgeable	3.14	Less knowledgeable
Dunsulan Falls	2.75	Less knowledgeable	3.23	Less knowledgeable
Pasukulan Falls	2.68	Less knowledgeable	3.21	Less knowledgeable
Sibul Spring	2.89	Less knowledgeable	3.27	Less knowledgeable
BAlong Anito	2.96	Less knowledgeable	3.22	Less knowledgeable
San Miguel Mountain Peak	2.64	Less knowledgeable	2.95	Less knowledgeable
Mariveles Volcano	2.68	Less knowledgeable	3.09	Less knowledgeable
Tarak Ridge	3.05	Less knowledgeable	2.96	Less knowledgeable
Mt. Natib	3.03	Less knowledgeable	3.13	Less knowledgeable
<b>Beaches and Resort</b>				
Bataan White Corals Beach Resort	3.24	Less knowledgeable	3.09	Less knowledgeable
Camaya Coast	2.93	Less knowledgeable	3.30	Less knowledgeable
Montemar Beach Resort	3.33	Less knowledgeable	3.29	Less knowledgeable
Villa Imperial Beach Resort	2.63	Less knowledgeable	3.25	Less knowledgeable
Baptist Camp	2.87	Less knowledgeable	3.13	Less knowledgeable
Anvaya Cove	2.94	Less knowledgeable	3.14	Less knowledgeable
Morong Star Beach	2.85	Less knowledgeable	3.09	Less knowledgeable
Sinagtala	2.75	Less knowledgeable	3.16	Less knowledgeable
Peninsula De Bataan Hotel and Resort	2.73	Less knowledgeable	3.11	Less knowledgeable
Las Cazas de Acuzar Heritage	3.25	Less knowledgeable	3.47	knowledgeable

Among the historical places in Bataan, the Barangay Officials were knowledgeable in Mt. Samat and Marker for Bataan First Line of Defense which is presently located in Mariveles as noted by the computed mean of 4.15 and 3.60 respectively. However, these group of respondents were found to be less knowledgeable in other historic spots like Abucay Church, Zero Kilometer Death March, Bataan Death Marker, and Virgen Milagrosa as reflected by the computed mean of less than 3.5 in all the mentioned historical places.

Using the same table, Residents of Bataan were knowledgeable in Mt. Samat and Zero Kilometer Death as two of the historic places in the province, but they were less knowledgeable in some other historical places not mentioned.

The two groups of respondents were both knowledgeable in Mt. Samat and the Marker of the Death March because it is repetitively mentioned and studied in History related subjects by students from elementary to tertiary education. Another reason that may also contribute why in these two historical places the respondents



were knowledgeable is the annual celebration of Bataan Day which is held in Mt. Samat and in the Marker of Death March.

However, the Abucay Church being one of the oldest church in Bataan and the Shrine of Virgen Milagrosa in Orani were two of the most famous churches in Bataan which were frequently visited by thousands of Roman Catholic Devotees specially during Lenten Season in the tradition of Visita Iglesia and yet the residents and the barangay officials were less knowledgeable. In particular, Abucay Church can be considered as one of the oldest church in the Philippines even older than University of Santo Tomas which is the oldest university in the country and yet few Bataenos knew this.

For the natural made places of interest namely; Bataan Natural Park, Dunsulan Falls, Pasukulan Falls, Sibul Spring, Balong Anito, San Miguel Mountain Peak, Mariveles Volcano, Tarak Ridge, and Mt. Natib were all less known to the Barangay Officials as reflected by the computed mean of less than 3.5. Similar observation of less knowledgeable were also noted to the Residents of Bataan as shown by the computed mean of less than 3.5 in all the mentioned natural made places of interest.

Result of the study reveals that the Bataenos could be considered stranger in the place of their residency in terms of identifying places of interest which they were less knowledgeable. This could be attributed to the lack of information campaign in disseminating information about Bataan's scenic spots and natural places of interest. The researcher visited the office of the Tourism Industry to ask for some flyers or brochure that will showcase this tourist spot but none was available and according to them they are still in the process of producing.

The same Table displays that both the Barangay Officials and the residents were less knowledgeable in some of the beaches and resorts found in Bataan namely; Bataan White Coral Beach Resorts, Camaya, Coast, Montemar Beach Resort, Villa Imperial Beach Resort, Baptist Camp, Anvaya Cove, Morong Star Beach Resort, Sinagtala, Peninsula De Bataan Hotel and Resort and Las Casaz de Acusar as reflected by the computed mean of less than 3.5 in all the beaches and resorts found in the province. Bataan is considered to be one of the most beautiful provinces in the country, because of its beautiful beaches and resorts which could be made comparable to other provinces that are regarded as tourist destination of the country. Result of the study revealed that Bataenos were not yet aware and had not fully explored the beautiful sceneries of the province. Some of the reasons given by the respondents why they were less knowledgeable in some of our tourist destinations is the cost that will be spent in going there, they really did not know that these beaches and some respondents particularly the barangay residents were less knowledgeable on the existence of these resorts and beaches because of their locations which were too far to be reached. While others said that the roads leading to these resorts and beaches were not yet developed and is not yet passable for some type of vehicles.

Table 4 presents the appreciation of the respondents on the prospective tourist attraction in the province of Bataan.

<b>Tourist Attractions</b>				
<b>Historical Places</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Descriptive Equivalent</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Descriptive Equivalent</b>
Abucay Church	3.47	Less appreciated	3.32	Less appreciated
Mt. Samat	4.11	appreciated	3.57	appreciated
Zero Kilometer Death March	3.52	appreciated	3.31	Less appreciated
Bataan First Line of Defense	3.06	Less appreciated	3.48	Less appreciated
Bataan Death Marker	2.99	Less appreciated	3.52	appreciated
Virgen Milagrosa	2.78	Less appreciated	3.54	appreciated
<b>Natural Made Places of Interest</b>				
Bataan Natural Park	2.98	Less appreciated	3.19	Less appreciated
Dunsulan Falls	2.78	Less appreciated	3.28	Less appreciated
Pasukulan Falls	2.66	Less appreciated	3.12	Less appreciated
Sibul Spring	3.19	Less appreciated	3.25	Less appreciated
BAlong Anito	2.94	Less appreciated	3.18	Less appreciated
San Miguel Mountain Peak	2.67	Less appreciated	2.84	Less appreciated
Mariveles Volcano	2.56	Less appreciated	2.70	Less appreciated
Tarak Ridge	3.16	Less appreciated	2.97	Less appreciated
Mt. Natib	2.92	Less appreciated	3.05	Less appreciated
<b>Beaches and Resort</b>				
Bataan White Corals Beach Resort	3.26	Less appreciated	3.26	Less appreciated
Camaya Coast	2.83	Less appreciated	3.35	Less appreciated
Montemar Beach Resort	3.20	Less appreciated	3.32	Less appreciated
Villa Imperial Beach Resort	2.54	Less appreciated	3.26	Less appreciated
Baptist Camp	2.64	Less appreciated	3.13	Less appreciated
Anvaya Cove	2.97	Less appreciated	3.22	Less appreciated
Morong Star Beach	2.83	Less appreciated	3.10	Less appreciated
Sinagtala	2.94	Less appreciated	3.10	Less appreciated
Peninsula De Bataan Hotel and Resort	2.81	Less appreciated	3.18	Less appreciated
Las Cazas de Acuzar Heritage	3.26	Less appreciated	3.74	appreciated

From Table 4, the barangay officials shows appreciation in some historical places in Bataan namely; Mt. Samat and the Zero Kilometer Death March as reflected by the computed mean of 4.11 and 3.52 respectively of the mentioned historical places. However, majority of the barangay officials shows less appreciation in some of the historical places used in the study like the Abucay Church, Bataan First Line of Defense, Bataan Death March and Virgen Milagrosa in Orani as reflected by the computed mean of less than 3.5 in all the historical places mentioned.

Table 4. Mean Computation on the Appreciation of the Respondents about Prospective Tourist Attraction in Bataan

For the barangay residents they appreciated Mt. Samat, Bataan Death Marker, and Virgen Milagrosa as historical places with the computed mean of 3.57, 3.52 and 3.54 respectively of the historical places mentioned. Whereas, Abucay Church, Zero Kilometer Death March and Bataan First Line of Defense were perceived to be less appreciated as reflected by the computed mean of less than 3.5 in all the historical places mentioned.

An interview with the Barangay Officials revealed that they showed less appreciation in these two churches, the Abucay Church, and the Virgen Milagrosa as historical places because they perceived that these places were for worship and frequently visited for pilgrimage and they had no knowledge on the contribution of these two churches in the history of Bataan. As for the markers of the death march the Barangay Officials commented that these markers were oftentimes neglected in the celebration of Bataan Day. They suggested also that the importance of each of markers must be thoroughly discussed and be given emphasis so that the history of death march will be greatly appreciated and will pass on to the future generations so that its history will remain into the hearts of Filipino people especially the Bataenos.

As for the residents they less appreciated the Zero Kilometer Death March for they were confused if the death march really started in this place. They appreciated Virgen Milagrosa as a historical place because of the number of devotees who frequent this place but not for its historical contribution.

Further analysis of Table 4 displays that the respondents and the barangay officials both showed less appreciation in the entire selected natural made places of interest namely; Bataan Natural Park, Dunsulan Falls, Pasukulan Falls, Sibul Spring, Balong Anito, San Miguel Mountain Peak, Mariveles Volcano, Tarak Ridge, and Mt. Natib as noted by the computed mean of less than 3.5 in all the named natural made places of interest. Some of the reasons given by the respondents why these places were less appreciated is the development on these places mismatch the expectations as well as the needs of the target clientele. Another noteworthy observation is that these places were not properly maintained that guarantees the safety and health of its visitors. Amenities in these publicly managed tourist attraction were not commendable.

Using Table 4 reveals that the barangay officials and residents were unified in their response that they less appreciated the resorts and beaches in the province namely; Bataan White Coral Beach Resort, Camaya Coast, Montemar Beach Resort, Baptist Camp, Anvaya Cove, Morong Star Beach, Sinagtala, and Peninsula De Bataan Hotel and Resort. All of these mentioned tourist attractions were given the computed mean of less than 3.5. Further analysis of the said table showed that the residents appreciated Las Cazas De Acuzar Heritage as noted by the computed mean of 3.74, but the barangay officials responded that it was less appreciated as reflected by the computed mean of 3.26.

When the residents were interviewed if they had gone to Las Casaz De Acuzar Heritage majority had responded that they had not gone to the place, but they were able to appreciate the said tourist spot from the stories that they heard from people who had visited the place or seen from TV programs like Kris TV and Swak na Swak Pangkabuhayan from Channel 2. The respondents less appreciated Camaya Coast, Montemar Beach Resort and Anvaya Cove because of the expensive and exclusive membership.

## **Conclusion**

Based from the responses of identified clientele there were some highlighted barriers that slow down or jeopardize the advancement of tourism industry in Bataan namely; entrepreneurial skills to market the product, insufficient government funding to upgrade level of standards and tourism entrepreneurial skills mismatch the target clientele.

Tourism industry is a people oriented business. Entrepreneurial skills in the industry require excellent skills in identifying the niche market, and bring the product to the identified target clientele. One method is to use the university education in disseminating information to target clientele.

The barangay officials and residents of Bataan were knowledgeable in Mt. Samat as one of the most historic place in Bataan because it was repetitively studied in all history classes from elementary to college. However, most of the historic places found in Bataan, the respondents were less knowledgeable or knew nothing at all. There was a strong view that risk or failure in the tourism industry can be managed if not eliminated through the mixture of tourism industry and the agencies in education. Disseminating information about these historical places can be conducted using the university style education to emanate knowledge and appreciation in these historical places.

Nature made places of tourist destinations were managed or were entrusted to government agency to promote and develop these public tourist attractions. But the government responded that due to lack of fund and subsequent lack of investment in the sector resulted to low skill base, good practices like bench marking activities to upgrade standards were upheld. Braun (2002), commented that lack of funding to improve entrepreneurial skills has generally put down the atomistic nature of the tourism entrepreneur. Furthermore, Thomas and Long (2001) confirmed that a number of studies revealed that unskilled or financially marginal operators are not going to value or see the need for training. However, Hollick (2003) pointed out that there is a clear opportunity for local government, which issues permit to entrepreneurs to operate in the tourism industry, to be a part of new partnership in lifting the performance of tourism industry.

Anvaya Cove, Camaya Coast, and Montemar Beach Resort were some of the finest and well known tourist destination in Bataan yet they were less known and less appreciated by Bataenos who cannot frequent these places because of high cost of

entrance. In considering the atomistic nature of the tourist industry, this group of tourism entrepreneur appears to be unique especially to micro tourism entrepreneur because of their lifestyle choice. This group of tourism entrepreneur differs from profit growth-oriented entrepreneurs, in that they tend to be an autonomy seeker who has entered the industry predominantly as a lifestyle choice. As spoken by Getz and Petersen 2004, that the attitude to life style dominates the way this entrepreneurs run their business, which often include the goal to keep the business from growing. Also, Ateljevic and Doorne 2000, asserted that once the business is set up, lifestyle entrepreneurs might even consciously reject certain economic and business growth opportunities. In Bataan where majority of the consumers were middle level earners there exist a mismatch between the tourist product package and the nearby target clientele.

### **Recommendations**

To promote and improve the tourism industry in the province the tourism council must strengthen its partnership with the schools and universities. A revision of the curriculum in History and other related courses must be conducted to insure that all historical places, tourist attractions in the province are given emphasis. There is a need to review and revised the curricular offerings of the Tourism Program of BPSU to address the needs of the tourism industry.

Historical places specifically the different Death March markers that lined along the roads of Bataan be accompanied with signages that fully described what important event took place in that spots. Every town in Bataan must also conduct celebrations during Bataan Day to commemorate the bravery and heroism of those who were in the death march.

Strengthen the partnership of the government with private sectors to improve the tourism industry. These private companies secure annual permits to the authorized government offices before they can operate their businesses. Before they will be given the License to Operate (LTO), these private companies will be required to help develop the different tourist attraction and programs in the province as part of their social responsibility. This program of the government may also help the marginal sector of the society to enjoy the luxury of being a tourist in the province without spending too much from their own pocket.

To strengthen BPSU's partnership with its stakeholders, the Department of Tourism particularly its faculty and student will design training tour package that will increase the knowledge and appreciation of the Bataenos in the different tourist spot in and outside Bataan. This will be realized through extension programs conducted by the Department.

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***Bureaucracy in the Power-Dependence of Domestic Politics  
and Linkage in Foreign Policy***

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**Abstract**

The domestic politics and foreign policy have relevance. The policy-making actors in domestic politics are bureaucracy, party and parliament. Especially, bureaucracy is the most influential actor in policy-making. This paper will discuss how bureaucracy affects foreign policy. This paper consists of three parts. First, described is how various Ministries coordinate with the policy networks. In Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) bargaining, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry promote TPP because TPP develops the economic growth and linkage. But Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries opposes the TPP because of TPP's risk in agriculture. Furthermore, Prime Minister and majority of Liberal Democratic Party of Japan promote TPP, but the minority of the Diet opposes TPP. Second, I will investigate how bureaucracy affects foreign policy. In Japan, traditionally, Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been deciding diplomacy, but recently, various Ministries and politicians have become the actors of foreign policy. In Japan-EU EPA bargaining, various ministries and politicians have conflict in interest. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry promote the Japan-EU EPA because the EPA makes the economic growth and linkage, but Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and Fisheries and Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism oppose the Japan-EU EPA because of problems with agriculture and trade. I also comment on Japan-United Kingdom relations. Finally, I will analyze the relationship between domestic politics and foreign policy from the viewpoint of the power-dependence and interdependence.

**Keywords:** Bureaucracy, Power-Dependence, Linkage, Foreign Policy, TPP, Japan-EU EPA

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## Introduction

Diplomacy and domestic politics are related each other. So, when a state's government conducts diplomacy, not only ministry of foreign affairs but also central government, the cabinet, the parliament negotiate with and link with various ministries, various parties and local government. Domestic politics is often influenced by diplomacy.

In Japan, the main actors who carry out domestic politics have been the bureaucracy. During the period of rapid economic growth of Japan, especially Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry and Ministry of Finance among various ministries have mainly carried out domestic politics. But, from the 1980s, politics of Japan, United Kingdom, United States and the EC has been gradually changed. That corresponds to the concept of the power-dependence theory by R.A.W. Rhodes. In traditional politics, it is a common theory that central government conducted unilateral control to local government. On the other hand, in power-dependence theory by Rhodes, the central government and local government influence each other (Rhodes 1986a, 1986b). Power-dependence theory is the crucial model of modern politics.

Traditionally, the actors who conduct politics have been the bureaucracy in Japan, UK, the U.S. and the Europe. In modern politics, actors of domestic politics and foreign policy are government, bureaucracy, parliament, parties, interest groups including the industrial product association, Keidanren, and the agriculture association, Japan Agricultural Co-operatives (JA) and local government, policy networks. In modern politics, central governments create linkage with the bureaucracy, negotiate with statesmen of the parliament, and negotiate with policy networks of interest groups. As a result, the central government decides policy of not only domestic politics but also foreign policies by linking and negotiating with policy networks.

James Rosenau created “linkage” theory connecting with domestic politics and foreign policy in 1960s (Rosenau 1969). Linkage theory means how domestic politics affects foreign policy. Afterwards, in 1970s, the concept of “linkage” has been reconstructed by Henry Kissinger. The concept of linkage by Kissinger is the revolutionary idea such that when state conducts diplomacy and foreign policy, the states should not carry out diplomatic negotiations at odds with one of issues, but carry out diplomatic negotiations in the package of several issues. By using the concept of linkage, Kissinger challenged negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union. When Kissinger reconstructed the concept of linkage, the linkage strategies were used as the concept to alleviate the conflict relations between the United States and the Soviet Union (Kissinger 1979, 1994). After that, in 1980s, the concept of linkage has been used as the relationships between the allies and the friendly nations, for example, the relations between the U.S. and Japan, the relations between the U.S. and the UK, the relations between the U.S. and the EU, and the relations between the U.S. and Canada. Joseph Nye Jr. have defined linkage strategies in association with trade and security between the United States and Japan (Nye 2007).

So, Japan has been guaranteed security and peace by the United States through the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America. Nye defines that Japan has to accept asymmetry, imbalance of trade instead of benefits of national security. This is the



matters of sensitivity and vulnerability. This is essential for the cost of interdependence. Keohane and Nye referred these matters to “interdependence” or “complex interdependence.” The concept of interdependence by Nye and Keohane has been based on the liberalism and constructivism, in a sense, as antithesis of realism, traditional diplomatic idea. The concept of interdependence is crucial in modern domestic politics and diplomacy (Keohane and Nye 1977).

The policy-making actors in domestic politics are bureaucracy, party and parliament. This paper will discuss how bureaucracy affects foreign policy. This paper studies bureaucracy by the two reasons; first, as Rhodes pointed out, all the services in the domestic policy network are a mixture of bureaucracy, market and network, especially, bureaucracy is the most influential actor in policy-making, second, what bridges between domestic politics and foreign policy are government and bureaucracy (Rhodes 2006).

There exists a preoccupation that domestic politics and foreign policy are absolutely different matters. Kenneth Waltz regarded the cause of wars as one of three images: within individuals; within the structure of individual states; or within the structure of the interstate system. The third Image depends on the sovereign state by rational and unitary actor (Cohen 2008, p.120, Waltz 1959). The relationship between domestic politics and foreign policy is not found in Waltz’s concept in 1959. Later, however, Waltz pointed out importance of domestic determinants of state action, such as leadership and bureaucracy (Waltz 1979), (Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner 2004, p. 653). On the other hand, from the end of the 1970s, new political theory emerged that the domestic politics is deemed to relate with the foreign policy. Representative scholars of this new political theory are Katzenstein and Putnam. The connection between domestic politics and foreign policy come to be captured in the international political economy, whose issues are free trade on car, agricultural product and oil because of tariff reduction.

In 1978, Peter Katzenstein presented a theory that domestic policy influences the foreign policy. In the preface of Katzenstein’s literature, “it was to understand how “domestic structures” shape political strategies in the international political economy” (Katzenstein 1978, p. vii). Katzenstein described “The action in society influencing the definition of foreign economic policy objectives consist of the major interest groups and political action groups. The former represents the relations of production (including industry, finance, commerce, labor, and agriculture); the latter derive from the structure of political authority (primarily the state bureaucracy and political parties)” (Katzenstein 1978, p. 19). In contrast to the statist regarding states as actors, the domestic structure privileged state-society relationship in Katzenstein’s theory (Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner 2004, p.667). Robert Putnam also insisted that domestic sphere and foreign sphere are interwoven more than previously assumed (Putnam 1988). Putnam presented concept of two-level games to integrate domestic structures, systematic opportunities and constraints, and foreign economy policy. Putnam’s two level games consists of domestic level where the game is played between public authorities and social actors, and of international level where the game is played among governments (Putnam pp. 427-460), (Cohen 2008 p. 128). Putnam pointed out that the bargaining power of a state could be enhanced, if its rules can demonstrate that their domestic supporters would only accept a narrow range of outcomes (Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner 2004, p. 668). Putnam also studied

entanglement of domestic and international politics. Putnam takes a case of Japan in which the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MITI), the Economic Planning Agency, and some politicians within the Liberal Democratic Party attempted to promote business interest agenda, using U.S. pressure against the resistance of the Ministry of Finance (MOF) (Putnam 1988). Peter Gourevitch also pointed two ways in which the world economy could influence politics; the basic institutional structures of politics including governing norms and capabilities and strategic opportunities of different interest groups (Gourevitch 1978), (Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner 2004, p.668), where the norm is one of the important elements of the regime.

### **Bureaucracy in the TPP Bargaining**

This paper will discuss how bureaucracy affects foreign policy. Described is how various Ministries coordinate with the policy networks. In Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) bargaining, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry promoted TPP because TPP develops the economic growth and linkage. But Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries opposed the TPP because of TPP's risk in agriculture. Furthermore, Prime Minister and majority of Liberal Democratic Party of Japan promoted TPP, but the minority of the Diet opposed TPP.

The TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement) is one of the most important multilateral FTA along with Japan-EU EPA and TTIP (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership). In November 2011, Trans-Pacific Partnership Leaders Statement, called Honolulu commitment, was announced by nine countries; Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Chile, Malaysia, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, the United States and Vietnam. The Leaders Statement of the TPP declared to have achieved this milestone in the common vision to establish a comprehensive, next generation regional agreement that liberalizes trade and investment and address new and traditional trade issues and 21st-century challenges. In 2013, Japan participated the TPP negotiation.

In TPP bargaining, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry promoted TPP because TPP develops the economic growth and linkage. Before Japan participated as TPP member, JA, the biggest agricultural association, announced opposition against the TPP. There are two reasons of their opposition. The first one is the predicted damage of the domestic agriculture product due to tariff reduction for imported product. The other reason is that the imported agriculture product cannot flow on the agricultural circulation which JA monopolizes.

In 2011, the Liberal Democratic Party opposed against the TPP, as the opposition party, when Trans-Pacific Partnership Leaders Statement, called Honolulu commitment, was announced. However, when Liberal Democratic Party takes government in 2012, the Liberal Democratic Party changed to support the TPP. It is true that the political party supporting current administration prioritizes national strategy rather than the previous party strategy. However minority of the Liberal Democratic Party still persisted in the opposition opinion against the TPP because the JA is a non-negligible favorable voting district.

Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries did not directly oppose against the TPP because the ministry is also the member of the government. However, this

ministry was slightly different from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry. The Ministry of Agriculture announced “we will guard what should be guarded”. This attitude influenced the TPP Agreement. As for rice, the existing trade system and existing tax ratio is maintained in the TPP Agreement. Japan Government could not neglect power of the JA in the TPP negotiation. As the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries supported the JA, fruitful result was gained to some extent. The tariff elimination was avoided by increasing non-duty range of the U.S. rice. In TPP bargaining, Japan will import 50,000 tons of rice from the U.S. in the first three years and import 70,000 tons of rice in 13 years, and remain to import 770,000 tons of rice by the World Trade Organization (WTO) agreement. Japan imports ice cream in tariff rate 21.0%~29.8%, and will reduce the tariff of icecream 63%~67% in 6 years. Japan imports honey in tariff rate 25.5%, and will eliminate the tariff of honey in 8 years. Japan imports tea in tariff rate 17%, and will eliminate the tariff of tea in 6 years. Japan imports orange in tariff rate 16% from June to November, and in tariff rate 32% from December to May, and will eliminate the tariff rate of orange from April to November in 6 years, and will eliminate the tariff rate of orange from December to March in 8 years. Japan imports apple in tariff rate 17%, and will eliminate the tariff rate of apple in 11 years. The TPP negotiation brought change of the domestic structure of Japan agriculture. Because, some politicians from the Liberal Democratic Party began to reform the existing circular flow of the agricultural products, which so far the JA has been monopolizing.

In January 2017, President Donald Trump of the United States withdrew from Trans Pacific Partnership and switched to the new bilateral free trade agreement (FTA). The various lobby groups required Trump Administration to start early negotiation of the FTA. The interest groups, lobby groups which promote TPP are the Emergency Committee for American Trade, the Motion Picture Association of America, National Association of Manufacturers, USA Rice Federation, U.S. Wheat Associates, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Coalition of Service Industries and Wine Institute, etc. The Motion Picture Association of America promotes TPP and Japan’s participation of TPP because Japan will strengthen economic importance of TPP. The Wine Institute promotes TPP because though Japan imposes tariff rate of wine 15% to the U.S., but the Wine Institute considers that TPP negotiation with Japan will have positive impact on the U.S. wine against Chilean wine and European wine. The Wine Institute demanded Japan to reduce the tariff of imported wine from the U.S. On the other hand, the lobby groups which opposed TPP are Maine Citizen Trade Policy Commission and JA.

The bilateral Japan-U.S. FTA and Japan-U.S. Security Treaty can be addressed as twin set. In February 2017, the Defense Secretary of the United States, James Mattis, announced statement that Senkaku Islands, Okinawa, can be applicable range of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan (the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty), Article 5. After the statement of U.S. Defense Secretary, the joint communique of U.S.-Japan top-level talks also confirmed what Mattis announced “I want to make certain that Article 5 of our mutual defense treaty is understood to be as real to us today as it was a year ago, five years ago - and as it will be a year, and 10 years, from now” (Reuters February 3, 2017). Article5 of The U.S.-Japan Security Treaty (the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan) of 1960 is codified “Each Party recognizes that an armed

attack against either Party in the territories under the administration of Japan would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional provisions and processes. Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan). At the summit meeting between the U.S. and Japan, President Trump said "The bond between our two nations and the friendship between our two peoples runs very, very deep. This administration is committed to bringing those ties even closer" (Reuters, February 11, 2017).

### **Bureaucracy in Japan-EU EPA Bargaining**

I will investigate how bureaucracy in the power-dependence affects foreign policy. The Japan-EU EPA, together with the Strategic Partnership Agreement (SPA), will further strengthen the bilateral strategic relations. In Japan, traditionally, Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided diplomacy, but gradually, various ministries and politicians become the actors of diplomacy. Japan-EU EPA bargaining is linkage and strategic partnership between both sides. In Japan-EU EPA bargaining, various ministries and politicians have conflict in interest. Japan Central Government, the majority of the Liberal Democratic Party and the bureaucracy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry promoted the Japan-EU EPA because Japan-EU EPA makes the economic growth each other and strengthens linkage and strategic partnership between Japan and EU. But Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and Fisheries and Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism opposed the Japan-EU EPA because these ministries insisted that the Japan-EU EPA may jeopardize the agriculture and train market in Japan.

The Japan-EU EPA plays an important role due to approximately 10 % of Japan's total trade volumes. In the bargaining, the Japan-EU EPA attempts to eliminate tariffs and improve trade and important rules. Total exports from Japan to the EU are 8.0 trillion yen, and machinery is 24.5%, manufactured goods is 7.4%, transport equipment is 24.6%, electrical machinery is 18.7%, and foodstuff is 0.4%. Total imports from the EU to Japan are 8.6 trillion yen, and machinery is 11.9%, foodstuff is 9.6%, electronic machinery is 8.4%, clothing & accessories is 2.0%, and optical instrument is 4.4.% (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan).

Japan-EU relations have become very closer. Compared with the 1950s and 1960s under the President of the Commission of the European Economic Community, Walter Hallstein, and with the 1980s under the President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, attempting unprecedented reform of the EU, Japan-EU relations have become strong linkage and partnership under the former President of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council, Donald Tusk, and the President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker.

What the EU mainly proposed requirement in the bargaining is opening the train market in Japan. The EU alleged that Japan Railway Corporations should purchase European-made vehicle, and bargaining of non-tariff areas or non-tariff barriers. On

the other hand, Japan demands eliminations of tariffs on electronics (Nikkei, May, 7, 2014). In April 2013, Japan-EU EPA bargaining began. In 2014, at Brussel, Japan and the EU started the first industrial dialogue in the field of the train, especially opening market of train in Japan (Nikkei March, 28, 2014). President of the European Council, Donald Tusk, and President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, hoped the early conclusion of Japan-EU EPA.

On February 23 2015, at Brussel, the negotiation meeting of Japan-EU EPA started. As expected before, the negotiation between Japan and the EU was tough because both sides never easily compromised in the tariff matter. One of the obstacles is a demand from the EU; opening market of equipment procurement by Japan railway field. EU also demands to open the market of procurement not only of central government but also of local government. Japan resists to EU demands because Japan insists equipment procurements as railway areas are by private sectors. On the other hand, Japan demanded tariff reduction of industrial product, for example, tariff 10% on Japanese cars, tariff 14% on Japanese consumer electronics. EU criticizes that though EU opens more than 80% of economic activities, Japan opens only less than 30% of economic activities in government procurement as public purchase by government or public institutions or orders of construction services. In the field of the agricultural product, the EU also demanded tariff reduction, for example, tariff 15% (or 125 yen per liter) of European wine, or cheese and meat. Furthermore, EU demands to expand range of the indications of geographical origin for agricultural products.. Non-tariff areas are also negotiated in the bargaining. The EU added 40 requests, focusing on relaxation of regulations on non-tariff barriers, for example, safety of food. Japan keep prudent for these demands from the EU side, because the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan formed the parliamentary associations which seek careful negotiation of agricultural areas in Japan-EU EPA bargaining (Nikkei January, 17), (Sankei February 23, 2015)..

### **Japan-United Kingdom Relations**

I will comment on Japan-United Kingdom relations, with Japan-France relations, and NATO-Japan relations. Japan-United Kingdom relations remains de facto alliance or quasi-alliance traditionally. In 1902, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (Japan-UK alliance) was signed and started in London. In the present era, Japan and UK started to strengthen linkage and partnership in diplomacy, economic fields and cultural fields. Japan-UK Foreign and Defence Ministerial Meeting is typical linkage and strategic partnership. On 21 January 2015, the first UK-Japan Foreign and Defence Ministerial Meeting was held at London.

Foreign Secretary Philip Hammond said “The UK and Japan have long shared a very strong relationship. We work together in the G7 and G20 on issues that affect the whole world, including security, energy, cyber crime and healthcare, and we share a common belief in freedom of speech and freedom of expression”(Gov.UK January 21, 2015). Defence Secretary Michael Fallon said “This is the first ever meeting of this kind between the UK and Japan. That is not just hugely symbolic, it also clearly reaffirms our resolve to deepen and broaden our defence relationship” (Gov.UK January 21, 2015). On 8 January 2016, the second Japan-UK Foreign and Defence Ministerial Meeting was held at Tokyo. The Foreign Secretary Hammond said “The UK and Japan are close allies. We enjoy a strong, historic relationship, based on

common values and support for democracy, the rule of law, human rights and open markets” (Gov.UK January 8, 2016).

Before BREXIT, amount of trade between Japan and the UK is enormous such that total exports from Japan to the EU (8.0 trillion yen) and total imports from the EU to Japan (8.6 trillion yen). Especially in the security field, defence ties between the UK and Japan have been strengthened new agreement enabling closer joint work, by signing the UK-Japan Defence Logistics Treaty (Gov.UK January 26, 2017). Japan-UK Foreign and Defence Ministerial Meeting is based on shared values of democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and open and transparent markets, in order to make a positive contribution to global prosperity, peace and stability (Gov.UK, January 21, 2015, Gov.UK January 8, 2016). The Foreign Secretary, Boris Johnson, said “The UK is working together with Japan as our closest security partner in Asia to promote global security, stability and prosperity”, and Defence Secretary Fallon said “Japan is an important British ally” (Gov. UK January 26, 2017). However, negotiation of new Japan-UK EPA or FTA has not started after BREXIT. The UK has been a Member State of the EU before the referendum last June and procedure of the leaving from the EU has not started. Therefore, even the negotiation of the UK-U.S. FTA has not started. On January 26, 2017, Prime Minister May made a speech on new UK-U.S. FTA that this negotiation is one of the most prioritized issues (Nikkei January 27, 2017).

Japan-France Foreign and Defense Ministers’ Meeting have been held from 2014. On January 9, 2014, Japan-France Foreign and Defense Ministers’ Meeting was held in Paris, and strengthen linkage and partnership between France and Japan. Furthermore, the relations between NATO (OTAN) and Japan have been strengthened. On April 15, 2013, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen signed a Joint Political Declaration between NATO and Japan (NATO HP). On May 6, 2014, NATO (OTAN) and Japan signed cooperation accord to deepen partnership. NATO Secretary General Rasmussen said “Today we signed an agreement that will take this relationship a step further.”

### **Conclusion: Relationship between Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy**

The major findings of the case study of the TPP and Japan-EU EPA will be summarized briefly. The TPP bargaining and Japan-EU EPA bargaining are good cases to prove relationship between domestic politics and foreign policy. This section considers the relationship by applying propositions proposed by Katzenstein, Putnam and Gourevitch.

- (1) As seen in the TPP negotiation, cases of the power-dependence in the United States are dependence between the U.S. Government and the American Automobile Association (AAA), and dependence between the U.S. Government and USA Rice Federation. Cases of the power-dependence in Japan are dependence between the Government and the Keidanren, and dependence between the Government and the JA.
- (2) In 2011, the Liberal Democratic Party opposed against the TPP, as the opposition party, when Trans-Pacific Partnership Leaders Statement, called Honolulu commitment, was announced. However, when Liberal Democratic Party takes

government in 2012, the Liberal Democratic Party changed to support the TPP. It is true that the political party supporting current administration prioritizes national strategy rather than the previous party strategy. This is a similar case in which the Local Government Association compromised the UK Government in the bargaining of the rate support grant, by confronting national crisis of the economic decline in 1976 (Rhodes 1986a), (Nagata 2017).

- (3) In the TPP negotiation which is multilateral bargaining, the U.S.-Japan negotiation was the main event. Car and agricultural product are main factor of the bargaining for both sides. These are cases that the domestic policy influences the foreign economy policy (Katzenstein).
- (4) Compared with the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry involving big companies, the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries involving JA was also obliged to take into consideration of the Ministry's interest, with prioritizing national interest. This is a case that the formulation process of the foreign economy policy influences policy preference of domestic group (Gourevitch).
- (5) In the TPP bargaining, Japan Government could not neglect power of the JA. The Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries supported JA and the result was obtained to some extent from the bargaining. The tariff elimination was avoided by increasing non-duty-range of the U.S. rice. This is a case that the bargaining power of a state could be enhanced, if its rule can demonstrate that their domestic supporters would only accept a narrow range of outcomes (Putnam).
- (6) The TPP negotiation has been bringing structural change of the agricultural system in Japan. Some politicians from the Liberal Democratic Party, by raising slogan of the agriculture reform, began to change existing monopolized system of the JA to open market in Japan. Since Inauguration of the U.S. President Trump, the bilateral negotiation of the FTA between USA and Japan has started. These are cases that the formulation process of the foreign economy policy influences policy preference of domestic group (Gourevitch).
- (7) In Japan-EU EPA bargaining, the most important requirement from the EU is open market of the railway in Japan. The EU alleged that Japan railway company should purchase the EU train. On the other hand, Japan demanded tariff reduction of industrial products, for example tariff 10% on Japanese cars, tariff 14% on Japanese consumer electronics. On the other hand, the EU demanded tariff reduction of agricultural products, for example tariff 15% (or 125 yen per liter) of European wine, or cheese and meat. These are cases that the domestic policy influences the foreign economy policy (Katzenstein).
- (8) The increasing number of immigrant in the EU and the United States became triggers of the BREXIT and Trump Administration. The United States and the United Kingdom have been rapidly switching from existing multilateral FTA to bilateral one. These are cases that the world economy could influence the basic institutional structures of politics including governing norms (Gourevitch).

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