

Studia
Politicae Tom 29
Universitatis 2020
Silesiensis



UNIWERSYTET ŚLĄSKI
WYDAWNICTWO

Studia Politicae Universitatis Silesiensis

Tom 29

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Kwartalnik recenzowany, wydawany przez Instytut Nauk Politycznych Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach / **Peer-reviewed quarterly**, published by the Institute of Political Sciences of the University of Silesia in Katowice

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DOKTOR HAB. MARIAN GIERULA, PROF. UŚ 11 VIII 1955 — 21 IV 2020



Urodził się w Bielsku-Białej. W tym samym mieście ukończył też Technikum Mechaniczno-Elektryczne. W latach 1975—1979 studiował nauki polityczne o specjalności dziennikarskiej na Wydziale Nauk Społecznych Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach. W tym okresie swojego życia zaangażował się w badania medioznawcze. Na trzecim roku studiów przeprowadził całościową analizę tygodnika lokalnego „Kronika Bielska” za lata 1956—1976. Badania te otworzyły Mu drogę do asystentury w Zakładzie Dziennikarstwa Uniwersytetu Śląskiego oraz do dalszego rozwoju naukowego. Media i komunikacja periodyczna stały się przedmiotem Jego aktywności zawodowej i pasją życiową.

1 lutego 1980 roku rozpoczął pracę w Zakładzie Dziennikarstwa Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, tam przeszedł kolejne stanowiska kariery naukowej. Stopień doktora uzyskał w lutym 1988 roku na Wydziale Nauk Społecznych Uniwersytetu Śląskiego. Przedmiotem Jego rozprawy doktorskiej były tygodniki lokalne. Pracę habilitacyjną pod tytułem *Polska prasa lokalna 1989—2000. Typologia*

i społeczne funkcjonowanie na podstawie książki napisanej w języku rosyjskim obronił 22 czerwca 2001 roku na Wydziale Filologii i Dziennikarstwa Państwowego Uniwersytetu Rostowskiego w Rostowie nad Donem w Federacji Rosyjskiej. Od 2003 roku do momentu powstania Instytutu Dziennikarstwa i Komunikacji Medialnej Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w 2019 roku był kierownikiem Zakładu Dziennikarstwa. Narodziny tego Instytutu nastąpiły, między innymi, za sprawą Jego wieloletnich starań.

W świecie nauki Profesor Marian Gierula rozpoznawalny był przez takie cechy, jak: otwartość, szczerłość, pracowitość i entuzjazm. Te wyznaczniki osobowości pozwalały Mu mobilizować do twórczej pracy zarówno swoich kolegów, jak i studentów. Jego zaangażowanie i profesjonalizm budziły uznanie w Polsce oraz za granicą. Dziesiątki publikacji naukowych, jakie napisał w języku i polskim, i rosyjskim, oparte zawsze — co należy podkreślić — na badaniach własnych, dotyczyły lokalnych i regionalnych środków masowego przekazu, a także mediów rosyjskich oraz mediów republik postradzieckich. Prace te weszły na stałe do dorobku nauk o komunikacji społecznej i mediach. Wzbogaciły wiedzę medioznawczą oryginalnymi ustaleniami.

To, co wyróżniało życie zawodowe Mariana Gieruli, to rozległość i wnikliwość dokonywanych przez Niego analiz. Medioznawstwo zakłada łączenie obu tych umiejętności, ale jako młoda dyscyplina domaga się określenia paradygmatu badań. Tym paradygmatem w pracy naukowej i dla Niego, i dla Katowickiej Szkoły Medialnej, którą współtworzył, były czas i przestrzeń.

Profesorowi Gieruli energii wystarczyło nie tylko do badań akademickich, przez wiele lat współpracował bowiem jako ekspert z redakcjami prasy, radia i telewizji na Śląsku. Swoją głęboką wiedzą z zakresu komunikacji lokalnej i regionalnej dzielił się z władzą państwową, przedstawicielami samorządu oraz biznesu medialnego. Przekonany był, podobnie jak Irena Tetelowska czy James D. Halloran (były przewodniczący IAMCR), o użyteczności badań nad dziennikarstwem i komunikacją medialną. Jego doświadczenie w kontaktach ze światem pozaakademickim utwierdzało Go w przekonaniu, że medioznawcy mogą dostarczyć praktykom pożytecznej wiedzy, a praktycy, tzn. redakcje, dziennikarze, wydawcy, politycy, przy odrobinie wysiłku potrafią z niej korzystać w interesie społecznym.

Odszedł z środowiska medioznawczego i świata mediów rzetelny Uczony i Akademik. Był mentorem i towarzyszem młodych badaczy mediów. Inspirował i prowadził studentów dziennikarstwa i komunikacji społecznej. Był wreszcie zaangażowanym członkiem kolegium czasopisma „*Studia Politicae Universitatis Silesiensis*”.

Bardzo nam Go brakuje

Marek Jachimowski, Damian Guzek



Sustainability: An approach to sustainability

Nowe podejście do zrównoważonego rozwoju jako praktyki działania

Firat Barçadurmuş*


Abstract

Global warming is affecting humankind and other alike. It is evaluated that if humanity does not act for what happens in today's world, both current and future generations will face irreversible consequences. In this sense, in order to decrease the effect of global warming, it is necessary to focus on the aspect of sustainability. Especially, implementing sustainability in individual, political, economic, and global perspective is significant.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the effects of climate change, which is a consequence of globalization and global warming, to examine a proposal of a solution to one of the significant problems of today, to contribute to the proposal of a solution, to present a different approach to sustainability and to gain a new dimension to the sustainability. The other aim of this article is to explain the understanding of sustainability, sustainability on the basis of

Abstrakt

Globalne ocieplenie dotyka zarówno rodzaj ludzki, jak i inne gatunki. Ocenia się, że jeśli ludzkość nie będzie przeciwdziałać zmianom w dzisiejszym świecie, zarówno obecne, jak i przyszłe pokolenia staną w obliczu nieodwracalnych konsekwencji. W tym celu, aby zmniejszyć wpływ globalnego ocieplenia, należy skupić się na aspekcie zrównoważonego rozwoju. Szczególnie istotne jest wdrożenie zrównoważonego rozwoju w perspektywie indywidualnej, politycznej, gospodarczej i globalnej. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest omówienie skutków zmian klimatycznych, które są konsekwencją globalizacji i globalnego ocieplenia, zbadanie propozycji rozwiązania jednego z istotnych problemów dnia dzisiejszego, by wnieść swój wkład w rozwiązanie problemu, by przedstawić inne podejście do zrównoważonego rozwoju i zyskać nowy wymiar zrównoważonego rozwoju. Innym celem tego artykułu jest

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companies, sustainability on the basis of states and sustainability on the basis of individuals. The research question is: what is sustainability?

Key words: climate change, environmental politics, globalization, sustainability, sustainability

wyjaśnienie zrozumienia zrównoważonego rozwoju jako praktyki działania, praktyki wynikającej ze zrównoważonego rozwoju firm, praktyki wynikającej ze zrównoważonego rozwoju państwa i praktyki wynikającej ze zrównoważonego rozwoju jednostki. Pytanie badawcze brzmi: czym jest zrównoważony rozwój jako praktyka działania?

Słowa kluczowe: zmiany klimatu, polityka środowiskowa, globalizacja, zrównoważony rozwój

Introduction

Aggressive climate change, a consequence of global warming, is exceptionally influential in people's lives. Discussing global warming and producing solutions to it, leaving a livable world to future generations, is one of the crucial tasks of humanity. Temperatures are rising with harsh consequences on climate change, and these high temperatures have a significant effect on humans and other living beings alike. If the temperatures continue to rise so aggressively, it will cause mass migration of people in the foreseeable future. Because of drought, flooding, and another extreme climate-related disaster, which is a consequence of the increases in temperature, people will be forced to search for a new place that they could continue their life. For example, it is estimated that Bangladesh will lose of her its by 2050, and it is approximately equal to 20-30 million people who will be affected (Ahsan, Kellett, & Karuppanan, 2014). It can be considered as one of the consequences of global warming. Globalization has an essential influence on global warming. To minimize the influence of globalization on global warming is the duty of human beings. A sustainable life is the right of future generations, and that is why the present generation is responsible for it.

People's surging appetite, excessive and unbalanced production, and the desire to gain more consistently cause a situation that does not let humankind see what is going on around the world. It is such a situation that it prevents humankind from seeing that future generations also have a right in the world. The issue caught the eye of the scholars. The idea of sustainability has been raised in past decades. There are various articles, books, reports, and conference papers, generally mentioning a more significant number of researchers have been focusing on the drawing picture of circumstances, which is also significant in order

to understand the matter rather than providing solutions to the problem. For instance, the following studies have called for a solution to the urgent problem: *The Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future* is one of the most critical reports which has been benefited and cited repeatedly; similarly, regarding the subject, the book *Silent Spring*, which was written by Rachel Carson and aimed to explain the effect of humankind on nature, was a call for action when it comes to sustainability.

This article attempts to clarify how a global policy can be made by offering a distinctive way to sustainability. On the other hand, as a matter of fact, these policies, which are essential for the future of the world and future generations, will be possible with the active participation of global organizations, states, companies, and individuals. The following pages will address this in further detail. At this point, firstly, an examination will be made in terms of words and concepts.

Understanding the concept of sustainability

It is usually more effective to start with the lexical sense and philosophical point of the term in order to make it clear for the reader to understand the entire article. With this object in mind, first of all, the article will discuss the lexical sense and philosophical point of the term of sustainability.

The term sustainability has emerged by the combination of the “sustain,” which means to last over time, and the “ability.” According to the Oxford dictionary, the noun sustainability means the ability to be kept at a specific rate or level or/and to be able to maintain something. The term sustainability has been reinterpreted in social, political, economic, and environmental fields (Kuhlman & Farrington, 2010). In other words, from a philosophical point of view, the scientific community used the term sustainability to explain and define different subjects. For instance, the term has been used as a set of criteria, a vision or goal, an object, or it has been referring an approach (Salas-Zapata & Ortiz-Muñoz, 2019). Figure 1, which is created by Salas-Zapata and Ortiz-Muñoz, helps understand the uses and meaning of sustainability among the scientific community.

Again, it is necessary to state that the term sustainability differs in meaning depending on the content it has been used in, for instance, legal, industrial, behavioral, economic, political, financial, and social as well as environment. On the other hand, the term sustainability is also associated with “health, poverty, equality, human rights and protection of cultural artifacts” (Zinn, 2009). Therefore, there are different approaches to sustainability, and there is no universally

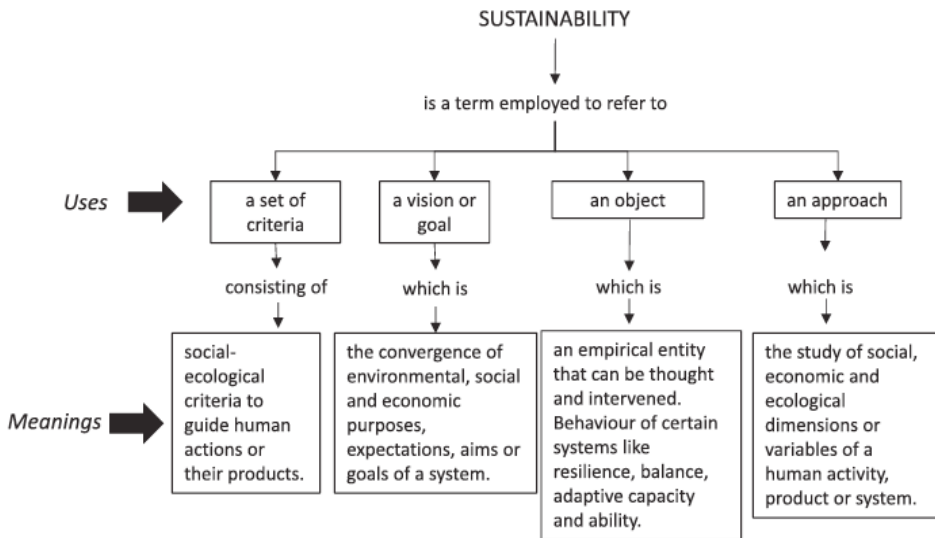


Figure 1: Uses and meanings of the concept of sustainability among the scientific community. Taken from Salas-Zapata & Ortiz-Muñoz, 2019.

accepted definition of sustainability (Gorun & Birău, 2018). Thus, since there are many definitions of sustainability, it is not possible to write down all existing definitions. However, it is always better to write a few definitions of sustainability in order to make the term of sustainability clear. For instance, in the *Global Focus: the EFMD Business Magazine*, sustainability has been defined as the capacity for continuance into the long-term (What does sustainability mean?, 2010). One of the articles in the *Public Management Magazine* has defined sustainability differently than “being green,” but rather attempting to grow in a balanced way (Murphy, 2018). In the book *Opportunities and Challenges for Environmental Sustainability: A Socioeconomic and Political Analysis*, sustainability has been defined as a system which is alder to provide needs without decreasing the ability of the future generation (Dufour, 2019). Again, in the ecology perspective, it has been defined as maintenance of ecosystem resilience (M, 2013). Similarly, the 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development defined sustainability as follows: meeting the need of the present without compromising the ability of the future generation to meet their own needs (Portney, 2015). Lastly, Fünfgelt and Baumgärtner have formalized the term of sustainability in the context of the utilitarian notion of responsibility for sustainability as follows: meeting the basic needs of the present generation and not compromising the ability of future generations and, if possible, to the point of marginal utility (Fünfgelt & Baumgärtner, 2014). Generally, to sum up, it is possible to state that the focus on sustainability is about maintaining something which will last over time.

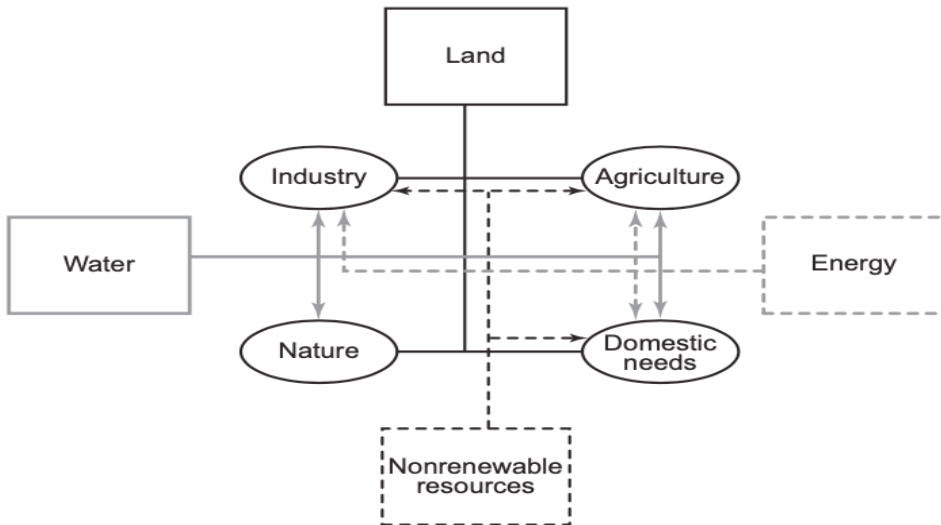


Figure 2: The connection between the needs for and limits of sustainability. Taken from Graedel & Voet, 2010.

It is not simple to reach a sustainable level, but at the same time, it is manageable to reach a sustainable level. On the other hand, it is not possible to sustain unlimited human needs with limited resources; that is why it is also not probable to ignore the importance of sustainability within the earth, where each dynamic is directly or indirectly interconnected. On earth, industry, agriculture, local needs (with the effect of the globalization, it is also possible to mention global needs), and the needs of nature are met. However, for example, water resources are essential for meeting local and global needs, maintaining industry, maintaining agriculture, and water is also a need for nature itself to renewing. In a simple sense, sustainability becomes imperative when such an interconnection exists.

The fact is that there is a connection between needs and necessities. Figure 2 presents the physical necessities of sustainability as rectangles and needs as ellipses. However, tradition and specialization encourage a focus on a selected ellipse and all the rectangles, or a preferred rectangle and all the ellipses (Graedel & Voet, 2010). In addition to this, according to the Brundtland report, simultaneous protection of the environment, preservation of economic growth and development, and promotion of equity will make sustainability achievable (Brundtland, 1987).

Role of Globalization

The term “globalization” is widely used to explain a variety of cultural, economic, social, and political changes that have formed the world (Guttal, 2017). Most authorities would acknowledge that globalization as a process has been continuing for more than 500 years, as it is associated with the 16th-century emergence of capitalism in Europe and the subsequent expansion of the capitalist world-system around the globe (Dokos, 2017). Even 500 years ago, undeniably, there was an enormous interaction between human beings which can be described as globalization. For instance, approximately 45 thousand years ago, first time maritime communities developed on the Indonesian archipelago (Harari, 2014). It would not be surprising that such developed maritime communities would have had communication between regions. The fact is that globalization with technology has become more effective and faster in the last 500 years. On the other hand, globalization goes back to more than 500 years, which has a direct and indirect effect on the environment (McAusland, 2008). Since globalization is faster with technology, it also has an influence on the environment, and it also threatens the climate. In other words, globalization is effective in environmental degradation and climate change (Gorun & Birău, 2018). Environmental pollution, which is a result of industrialization and excessive consumption, has spread all over the world due to globalization. It is necessary to look at the formation of industrialization and capitalism to examine the emergence and foundations of the global environmental problems that have emerged as a result of the historical dimension. As it is known, environmental problems have begun to be experienced with industrialization intensively (Tuna, 2000). Moreover, the threat of climate change was clear since the late 1980s, but still, there is no globally recognized joint progress (Palmer QC, 2016). Consumer frenzy culture has led to further development and increased production of the industry. Hence, the process of globalization is affecting the increase of environmental problems (Baykal & Baykal, 2008). Therefore, increasing production and consumption madness causes environmental destruction. The deterioration of the natural equilibrium of the environment as a result of this interference distorts the balance of the world. Depending on these, the climate is deteriorating. As a result of the aggressive destruction of climate change and destruction of the environment, living spaces for living human beings and other living species are narrowing.

The limited resources, along with the deterioration of the natural balance, will be unable to meet the unlimited human needs. Already, the equilibrium will be degraded, and the water resources will be reduced as a result of the industry. Because of the increase in temperatures, the ice in the poles will melt (Qiu, 2008). The water level will increase every year. In this case, where there is complete chaos, competition between people will increase, wars will follow, and

other conflicts over resources will become more common. When it comes to the literature, it is already possible to see pieces of evidence on climate-related conflicts or potential conflicts in different regions, for instance, land use conflict in Northern Africa and water conflict in the Middle East (Scheffran & Battaglini, 2011). Although this picture we have drawn above seems far away from us at this moment, if it remains in this way, humankind will bring their ends because people do not have a sustainable life. In this way, as a consequence of reckless living, endangering future generations would be nothing less than the preparation of the end of humankind.

As a consequence of environmental destruction and climate change, the inefficiency of the lands is going to be inevitable. Flooding or other climate change-related effects will force significant numbers of people into internal or external migration (Dokos, 2017). Therefore, the impetus for continuing the generation will push people to migrate to newly habitable areas. As these migrations take place in bulk, the world population will be concentrated in specific regions, and humankind will face various new economic, sociological, security, and political problems.

Besides, globalization goes beyond internationalization. It implies a higher plane of organization, and all major political and economic decisions will ultimately be transmitted globally (Stalker, 1997). In a world where decisions are taken globally, international organizations, undoubtedly, play essential roles. In this sense, it is possible to mention that international organizations and international companies play an active role in globalization. On the other hand, it shows that nation-states have diminished their influence and continue to threaten their existence in every sense.

Nevertheless, it would not be wrong to mention that humankind, this very day, and in a sense, still has a deep connection to the nation-states. This means that states will play an active role in terms of sustainability. However, it will only be fully realized with the support of international organizations and the inclusion of global companies. Since the world becomes a small village (Giddens, 1999), due to globalization, all players have to be in a close relationship with each other.

Concept of sustainabilitism

The society of consumers (Bauman, 1998) creates a consumption frenzy and overproduction, which causes the destruction of the world's natural resources. However, overproduction and consumption have an impact on the world ecosystem. In this sense, the increase in greenhouse gas percentage is a notable

example. Greenhouse gas triggers climate change, and it has a vital effect on humankind and other living beings (Vries, 2012). Due to global warming, many habitable areas are under risk, and it is expected that due to climate change, the number of migrants will increase (Brown, 2008). Here, it is possible to mention that the migration issue is a critical one for the world society. For instance, recently, world society has been faced with a migration wave from Syria to all over the world. Due to the war in Syria, many people decided to leave Syria with families since it was not possible to live in Syria due to a matter of life or death. From that example, the world society experienced that migration issue is not an easy issue to manage. Migration from Syria is not a climate change migration issue, but it is a small example that shows us what kind of crises humanity can face if such notable migration happens. However, the migration issue is only one of the problems of the world that the world will face if humanity does not aim for sustainability.

On the other hand, the population of the world is growing day by day. Projections show that it will surpass 9 billion by 2050 (Dedeurwaerdere, 2014). A growing population also means that the number of consumers is increasing. An increase in the number of customers may call for a market expansion, but at the same time, the limited sources will not remain longer due to high demand.

In addition to this, the issue of poverty is also essential when it comes to sustainability. An individual who lacks in education and access to daily needs will have different priorities than the one who does not. In other words, perhaps, those individuals do not or cannot think/focus on future generations since they are not able to manage their current situation. That is why it is also crucial to make it possible for everyone to reach equity. Inequality is growing even in countries such as Denmark, Japan, and Sweden (Dedeurwaerdere, 2014).

Humanity can achieve sustainability by making sustainability more efficient, using limited resources in the longer run, making sources renewable, achieving maximum benefit with minimum disruption, but making sustainability a part of everyday life in societies of the world. Establishing a sustainability consciousness will be one of the greatest effects to spread among people and to make them act upward. Making sustainability more efficient, using limited resources in the longer run, making them renewable, achieving maximum benefit with minimum disruption, but making sustainability a part of everyday life in world societies is critical for the future. It will be possible for states to ensure that global companies come to a sustainability structure, but only through the spread of people among them. This idea spreading among people will cause a tendency in politics to pass this direction. This tendency of politics, directly or indirectly, will affect primarily global politics and then global corporations. As a result, a maximum sustainability attitude will be inevitable. This quest will also lead humanity to new, sustainability technologies.

States need to implement the laws, and corporations should be willing to participate and support the states at every level, even the law regulation does not exist the corporation should not take responsibility. Since the issue is concerning the future of the world, then the issue is also ethical and moral. For reaching the level of sustainability, all actors play essential roles. Without the collaboration of states and corporations, and the participation of the individual level of sustainability is not looking possible.

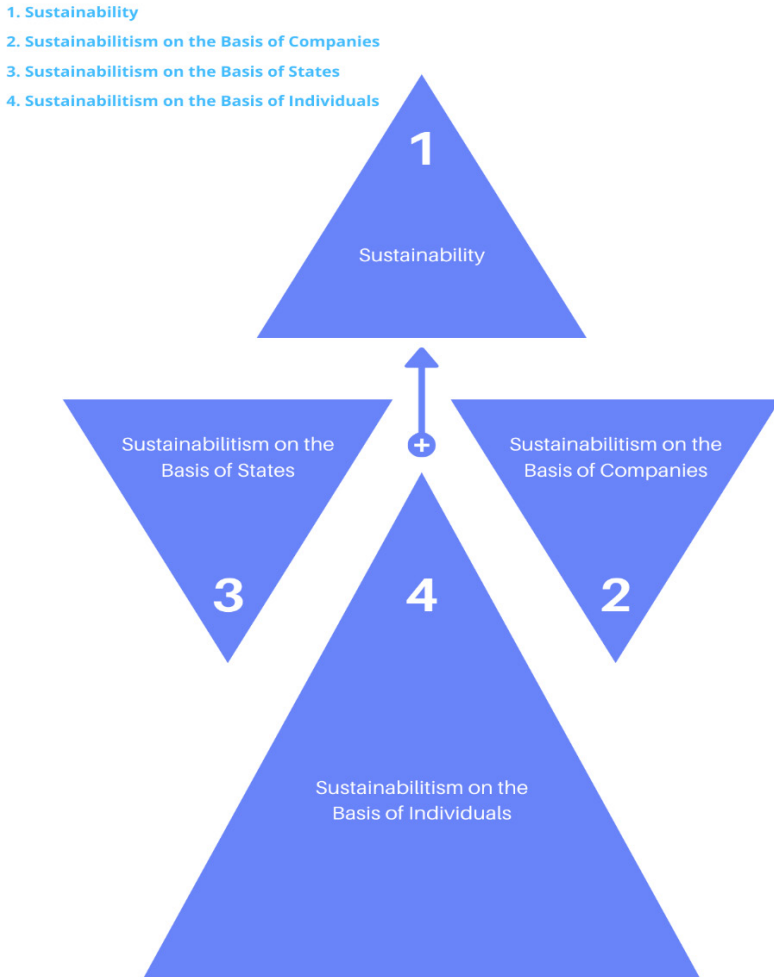


Figure 3: Sustainability; sustainability on the basis of individuals, sustainability on the basis of companies, sustainability on the basis of states. Diagram created by author.

At this point, the study offers sustainability. The term sustainability is an aid for reaching sustainability level. The term sustainability suggests a so-

lution in which all players collaborate and make it possible to reach the level of sustainability, which is critical for humanity. Figure 3 shows the diagram of sustainabilitism. The diagram shows the role of states, companies, and individuals in order to reach sustainability. Each player has a significant role which are interconnected to each other in order to reach sustainability.

Sustainabilitism on the basis of companies

As is mentioned above, the term sustainability has been used for different subjects. Here, the study does not determine sustainability, which refers to businesses to grow with lesser expenses. Since the corporations have been established for the maximum capital, they are naturally focused on the minimum expenses no matter what term has been used for the fact. At this point, the study indicates environmental sustainability. For instance, usually, global firms are concentrating on local laws of regions. Regularly, they run their activity on the local laws no matter what the ethics and global exigence require. From this point forth, the corporation should focus on global requirements rather than what a local law dictates. It means that companies should focus on maximum in order to fight against inequality, poverty, and sustainability. However, trends show that joining the social and environmental process is also positively affecting global companies. In other words, the participation of global companies in the social and environmental processes increases the proactivity of the companies. Although sustainability appears to be harmful to firms in the short term, it has a significant positive impact in the long term. Here, what is meant by the positive effect is that the firms which tend to have a reputation of sustainability have a higher income than those that do not have (Gürünlü, 2019).

Some researchers argued that economic development and jobs are more important than sustainability (Sheffi, 2018). It is true that economic development and jobs are necessary, but at the same time, it should not be omitted that if humanity does not reach the sustainable level, there will not be any more jobs and economic development. Humankind needs more long-term goals than short term winnings. Much evidence, as it has been mentioned before, shows that there is a global risk due to global warming. That is why it is essential to concentrate on long term devising; it is slightly more accurate than focusing on short term plans. Even if the companies have a small impact on sustainability, they should focus on it.

Sustainabilitism on the basis of companies, in this context, is that the companies that provide sustainable goods and services to consumers respect the environment, respect the rights of future generations, provide a fair wage, and maintain their existence based on sustainable technologies and products.

Sustainabilism on the basis of states

Nowadays, the problems do not remain within the boundaries of the states but become global with the effect of globalization. In addition to this, the destruction of the world ecosystem affects all humanity, regardless of all borders and laws. Therefore, the destruction of the world as a global problem comes before all states and individuals. For example, the Chernobyl catastrophe can be given as a small example of the destruction of the environment. The problems caused by the Chernobyl catastrophe were an event that threatened not only the particular region but the whole geography. Even this example is a minor one of the threat caused by environmental disasters.

The right to life is one of the most fundamental rights of humanity. Therefore, sustainability is, in a sense, a right to life, which must be guaranteed by all the states and internationally. Some scholars suggested that individual criminal accountability should be implemented under the topic of crime against future generations (Jodoin & Saito, 2017). Furthermore, it can be determined that it will also be more effective if sustainability is implemented as a constitutional right and is incorporated into the state constitutions. The inclusion of such a provision in the constitution will require states to take into account sustainability in all their affairs, and only in this way it will have a real impact. Furthermore, teaching sustainability as a compulsory subject starting from elementary school will also foster this awareness in individuals' upbringing.

Sustainabilism on the basis of the states, in this context, is that states which use sustainabilist goods and services in state affairs and functioning, centralizing the individuals and nature while regulating laws, regulating production and service permit within the framework of a sustainabilist approach, and support sustainabilism as a global phenomenon.

Sustainabilism on the basis of individuals

This study aims at presenting a system in which all actors interact. The role of international organizations, states, and corporations is essential, but at the same time, the role of individuals is also critical. If the individuals are not cognizant of the situation, then their tendencies will be different, and they will not support the sustainable sources and goods. That is why suppliers should focus on renewable sources as much as possible, and at the same time, consumers should demand such goods. If trends show an increase in the demand for renewable goods afterwards, the producers will be more likely to offer such goods.

Perhaps, the prices will drop respectively, and attainableness will be more comfortable. All the actors process in a nest with each other.

In particular, strengthening the motivation of individuals in this regard is extremely necessary to reach the level of sustainability. Indeed, the legacy of humanity is transferred to the next generations again through individuals. In other words, it should not be forgotten that individuals create global corporations, international organizations, and states, while global corporations, international organizations, and states are consisting of individuals. In this sense, individual sustainability is essential.

Sustainability on the basis of individuals is that individuals contribute to sustainability in every sense in their daily life; in this context, individuals request and purchase sustainable goods and services. Individual sustainability politically puts the individuals in the center of everything, supports the present and future generations by supporting sustainability; however, individual sustainability is far from partisanship.

Conclusion

The term sustainability does not have a universal definition. In other words, the definition of sustainability differs in meaning, depending on the content that it has been used in. Generally, it is likely to mention that focus on sustainability is about maintaining something which will last over time.

Globalization is one of the ancient processes of the world. However, nowadays, globalization is more efficient with the technological process. Since it is easier to reach distant destinations, it is also increasing the number of potential consumers.

The human being is able to see and reach different kinds of products with the process of the technology. Seeing all kinds of products and at the same time being able to reach all those products creates trends in the world. Hence, due to trends, it is whetting the appetite of humans. At this point, it is possible to mention that everybody wants everything, even if it is not a need. Consequently, the situation creates a consumer frenzy and overproduction. Accordingly, globalization affects environmental degradation and triggers climate change. In such a situation, sustainability is vital.

This article intended to propose the design of sustainability, which will require a collective enterprise. The term sustainability has three dimensions. Those three dimensions are: sustainability on the basis of states, sustainability on the basis of companies, and finally, individual sustainability. Those three dimensions are firmly connected, and each player has a vital role. That is

why all actors should perform their tasks in order to reach the sustainability level.

Not technology and machinery, but people themselves are endangering their future. Misuse of natural resources, destruction of the environment, and the increase in the population of people bring some requirements for the future of humankind and the world. If those required obligations are unfulfilled, the human race will inevitably be at risk as well as other living beings. In the event of such a crisis, it will be sure that there will be harsh conflicts among nations. This mentioned situation is not a pessimistic approach to the issue; it is an inevitable future of the humankind instead.

It is one of the tasks of humanity to see the actual danger, to take measures against these hazards, and to conduct research in this sense. However, in order to put research into practice, it is a necessity to raise awareness of policymakers and motivate them to take steps in this context. At the same time, these policies should be for the long term and should also be in people's lives. Since day-to-day, short-term policies are favorable only for individual politicians in the long run, they will lead to a further critical danger for future generations. For the future of the human generation and other creatures, regional and daily interests should be compromised, and global interests should be given priority. Global interests are undoubtedly vital for all humanity in the long run. In this sense, for instance, the Paris agreement is of critical importance. Within the framework of the agreement, the future of the world and humanity was addressed directly. The Paris climate agreement, by recognizing the costs of climate change, taking steps in this sense, keeping the global temperature rise at a certain level, cooperating with other countries, and enhancing cooperation, became fundamental in terms of preparing a sustainable progress environment. Not only is it selfish and ugly that some politicians do not approve of the agreement due to various reasons, but it is also no different than ignoring the danger by sticking their heads in the sand. At this point, it should also be mentioned that sustainability is undoubtedly essential for the security of the human future.

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Framing the New Southbound Policy in Western media

Ramkowanie nowej polityki wobec Azji Południowo-Wschodniej i Antypodów w Mediach Zachodnich

Robert Rajczyk*

Abstract

The New Southbound Policy (NSP) is the key issue in the economic policy agenda of Tsai Ing-wen, the President of the Republic of China. The aim of the article is to examine through the quantitative analysis the content of Western media as well as a group of Asian media outlets about the NSP in order to depict the NSP's image. Twenty-three websites of newspapers, magazines, radio (Voice of Vietnam) and television (CNA) channels have been under the research process. There are two hundred five research units which were identified as news features concerning the New Southbound Policy. Generally, the idea of New Southbound Policy is simultaneously drawn in the media outlets' content as an economic and political agenda. The NSP was introduced both to reduce the economic dependence from China and to raise Tai-

Abstrakt

Nowa polityka wobec Azji Południowo-Wschodniej i Antypodów jest kluczową kwestią w programie politycznym prezydent Republiki Chińskiej Tsai Ing-wen. Celem tego artykułu jest zbadanie poprzez analizę ilościową zawartości światowych i azjatyckich środków masowego przekazu i ich przekazów na temat nowej polityki wobec Azji Południowo-Wschodniej i Antypodów. Proces badawczy obejmował 23 strony internetowe gazet, czasopism, stacji radiowej (Voice of Vietnam) i kanału telewizyjnego (CNA). Zidentyfikowano dwieście osiem jednostek badawczych traktujących o Nowej Polityce, której istotą jest zmniejszenie zależności gospodarczej od Chin kontynentalnych i zwiększenie międzynarodowej obecności Tajwanu w regionie Azji Południowo-Wschodniej i Południowej oraz Antypodów. Wymowa

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wan's international visibility in the Southeast and South Asia region. In such media content, Taiwan has usually been shaped in a positive way as a vibrant democracy and responsible member of international community complying with the important global issues, such as the UN Sustainable Development Goal, e.g., the UN Climate Framework Convention. Eventually, the New Southbound Policy is being framed as a positive concept that shapes attractive Taiwan's image.

Key words: New Southbound Policy, Southeast Asia, South Asia, media outlets, Taiwan, Republic of China, R.o.C

analizowanych treści poświęconych nowej polityce ukazuje Tajwan w pozytywnym kontekście jako rozwiniętą demokrację i odpowiedzialnego członka społeczności międzynarodowej, który angażuje się w problemy globalne, takie jak Cele Zrównoważonego Rozwoju ONZ czy Ramowa Konwencja Klimatyczna ONZ.

Słowa kluczowe: NSP, Tajwan, Republika Chińska, Azja Południowo-Wschodnia

Introduction

The Republic of China has the diplomatic relations with fourteen states in the world including the Holy See, the only diplomatically in Europe.

Taiwan is the one of the main actors of international affairs both in governmental and non-governmental international organizations due to Taiwan's soft power efforts. The Republic of China is a member of those organizations usually as a Chinese Taipei or Separate Customs Territory of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu. Taiwan's efforts in international affairs are focused on improving the economic potential and the presence in the international community (Rajczyk, 2016, p. 75). It could be described as a "southward policy" which means "a desire to avoid becoming excessively dependent upon economic ties with the mainland" (Yahuda, 1996, p. 290).

The idea of leveraging Taiwan's economic influence in Southeast and South Asia has been developed by the island's politicians since the 1994 (Jing Bojiun, www.nbr.org, 2018). Gary Klintworth stands for that "Taiwan's 'look south' policy is being actively encouraged by the government in an attempt to lessen Taiwan's growing reliance on Mainland China as a market and investment destination" (Klintworth, 1995, p. 150). The three previous presidents of the Republic of China have focused on expanding the economic influence there so far (Paramitaningrum, & Herlijanto, 2016, p. 1178). "Under President Tsai Ingwen's New Southbound Policy, Taiwan is also striving to broaden exchanges with the 10 Association of Southeast Asian Nations member states, six South Asian countries, Australia and New Zealand on economic and trade cooperation, talent cultivation, resource sharing and regional links. The long-term goal

is to create a new type of cooperation based on mutual benefits” (2018—2019, Taiwan at a Glance, 2018, p. 34). Having analyzed the NSP’s agenda, it is obvious that NSP has also been targeted as a soft power tool. Glaser S. Bonnie, Scott Kennedy, Derek Mitchell, Matthew P. Funaiolo suggest that “Tsai is actively promoting a multifaceted strategy that leverages Taiwan’s cultural, educational, technological, agricultural, and economic assets while maintaining stable cross-strait relations. At the heart of the NSP is a desire to weave Taiwan into a ‘people-centered’ community of nations that spans the Indo-Pacific region” (Glaser, Kennedy, Mitchell, & Funaiolo, 2018, p. 24). Because of the latter statement Taiwan Scholarship and the Government-sponsored New Southbound Policy Scholarship have been founded to further boost talent exchange.

According to J. Megan Greene, the level of development of Taiwan’s knowledge-based economy has been a result of human resources investment: “[...] most important in the emergence of Taiwan’s knowledge economy have been the state’s heavy investment in human resources development through science education; implementation of multi-tiered strategies to reserve the brain drain; S&T (science and technology — RR) planning; and construction of R&D (research and development — RR) institutions” (Greene, 2007, p. 148).

The budget allocated to the NSP projects exceed 7.2 billion NT\$ in 2018 and was divided between three ministries as well as the governmental agency (Glaser et al., 2018, p. 24). These are: Tourism Bureau under the supervision of the Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Economic Affairs. The latter ones obtained three fifths of the entire amount of funds. It defines the executive aspects of NSP’s projects.

The NSP has been adopted as a promoting tool along with the implementation of the dedicated projects. The NSP’s promotion is being done in two dimensions: institutional and executive. The former aspect concerns departments in the Executive Yuan as well as in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These are: Department of Information Services, Department of Information Management and Department of Public Relations in the structure of Executive Yuan, whereas the Ministry of Foreign Affairs runs Department of International Information Services that is responsible for the service for foreign correspondents accredited in Taipei.

As far as the executive dimension is concerned, it has been developed through the content of the institutional websites¹ and periodicals, such as: Taiwan

¹ There is a website dedicated to the New Southbound Policy that has been managed by Ministry of Foreign Affairs: <https://nspp.mofa.gov.tw> as well as the sub-websites directed to the NSP idea such as: <https://newsouthboundpolicy.trade.gov.tw> or the tabs in the websites related to the Ministry of Education, Financial Supervisory Commission, Executive Yuan or as newsreels, e.g., of Ministry of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Health and Welfare and its agencies.

Review, Taiwan Panorama or Taiwan Today. All of them are published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Department of International Information Service and are distributed either through the direct distribution in Taiwan's embassies and Taipei's Representative Offices around the world or via email newsletters for subscribers. Furthermore, the Tourism Bureau of Ministry of Transportation and Communications publishes "Travel in Taiwan" magazine with the dedicated features concerning, for instance, the concept of "Taiwan halal."

Generally, the government remains the main source of information about the New Southbound Policy and its agencies or embassies as well as the Taipei's Representative Offices around the world. The information delivered in such a way is processed by journalists. Both the agenda setting theory and framing reveal the final effect of that process.

Agenda setting and framing

According to the scholars involved in the research process concerning the agenda setting, there are two dimensions of the agenda setting that could be interpreted that follow the idea of Pamela J. Shoemaker, Tim P. Vos, Stephen D. Reese as a "[...] process of selecting, writing, editing, positioning, scheduling, repeating and otherwise massaging information to become news" (Shoemaker, Vos, & Reese, 2009, p. 73). This is called by Renita Coleman, Maxwell McCombs, Donald Shaw, David Weaver a "first level" which "[...] focuses on the amount of media coverage an issue or other topic receives, the 'second-level' of agenda setting looks at how the media discuss those issues or other objects of attention, such as public figures. Here the focus is on the attributes or characteristics that describe issues, people or other topics in the news and the tone of those attributes. The general effect is the same: the attributes and tone that the media use in their descriptions are the attributes and tone foremost in the public mind" (Coleman, McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 2009, p. 149).

The agenda setting is also defined as a "process of the mass media presenting certain issues frequently and prominently with the result that large segments of the public come to perceive those issues as more important than others. Simply put, the more coverage an issue receives, the more important it is to people. Since this first simple definition of the phenomenon, agenda setting has expanded from a theory describing the transfer of issue salience from the news media to the public to a broader theory that includes a 'second-level' describing the transfer of attribute salience for those issues and many other 'objects' such as political figures" (Coleman et al., 2009, p. 147).

The process of presenting the New Southbound Policy issue in Western as well as the regional (Southeast Asia, South Asia) media outlets is considered in this survey. It presents the way of transfer of the Western mass media content about the NSP to the Asian media outlets due to the role of mass media with global coverage as a source of information. The survey examines how the regional/Asian mass media quote the Western elite media concerning the New Southbound Policy or if there is such quoting. Coleman et al. call it intern-media agenda setting (Coleman et al., 2009, p. 147). Daniel Berkowitz points that “[...] when a news organization from a larger sphere covers news in a smaller sphere, that large-scale power might be irrelevant. For example, a national media organization covering news that mainly impacts a small geographic community would not necessarily have much power if the local residents in that area were not part of the media organization’s audience. There, the local media organization might turn out to have more influence in the outcome of an issue or event” (Berkowitz, 2009, p. 105).

Apart from agenda setting, the framing is much more important because of the context it creates to the news features. Framing has been defined as “the way events and issues are organized and made sense of, especially by media, media professionals, and their audiences” (Reese, 2001, p. 7). According to Robert Entman, to frame means “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient [...] to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Robert M. Entman, Jörg Matthes and Lynn Pellicano’s point of view focuses on the examination of “the selection and salience of certain aspects of an issue by exploring images, stereotypes, metaphors, actors and messages” (Entman, Matthes, Pellicano, 2009, p. 180).

However, James Druckman divides frames into two dimensions: frames in communication and frames in thought (Druckman, 2001). “Frames in communication — often referred to as ‘media frame’ — focus on what the speaker or news text says; such as how an issue is portrayed by elites, while frames in thought focus on what an individual is thinking; such as the value judgment of an issue” (Entman et al., 2009, p. 181).

According to Druckman’s division, the survey contains both types. The first part (division by categories) presents how the NSP is being described by journalists (gatekeepers). Shannon Dunwoody claims that a journalistic frame is a “schema or heuristic, a knowledge structure that is activated by some stimulus and is then employed by a journalist throughout story construction” (Dunwoody, 1992, p. 78). The second part of the survey concerns the “frames in thought.” It means the way in which the news features have been seen by the readers and have been interpreted as a positive, neutral or negative attitude toward Taiwan.

The research is based on the Salma Ghanem’s definition of agenda setting that states: “[...] is now detailing a second level of effects that examines how

media coverage affects both what the public thinks about and how the public thinks about” (Ghanem, 1997, p. 3).

Methodology of research

Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky state that “[...] ‘selection of topics’ is one of the key ways in which the media fulfill their ‘societal purpose’ [...]” (Herman, & Chomsky, 1994, p. 298). The following analysis is conducted in the line of that concept. First of all, it examines both the information goal and the amount of news features published in selected categories until September 2019 when the idea of New Southbound Policy had been announced.

The selection is being developed in two dimensions. The former dimension concerns the media with the global coverage, the latter one pertains to the media outlets of the New Southbound Policy area. The research results are to depict the media’s attitude to the incumbent Taiwanese President’s main policy agenda. The research findings of the global media coverage are linked to the potential of Taiwanese soft power’s influence on the global media agenda.

The regional media content analysis comprised the agenda of main newspapers, radio channels or newswire magazines in the area of NSP’s implementing. It highlights the political as well as the societal importance of New Southbound Policy issue in the NSP states.

All the research units come from the English language media outlets categorized as global or regional/Asian. The units were selected based on the use of “New Southbound Policy” term on the searched website. The outcome depicts the entire volume of searching results achieved between 18th June and 4th October. All types of news have been taken into the consideration during the research process including commentaries (Nalapat, pakobserver.com, 23.09.2019) or opinions (Hawksley, asia.nikkei.com, 04.10.2019). In all cases, the analyzed content is provided by the English version of websites because of that language’s role in the global communication. Furthermore, the English editions of newspapers or news agencies entail and determine the importance of the issue.

There are 208 survey records of research units based on the searching results on the websites of the mass media.² The research units come from the different types of media outlets with the global coverage, such as Reuters, AP, New York Times, euronews, France24 or The Diplomat. The latter website provides content about crucial issues of international relations. Due to that fact it has been taken into consideration. The analysis also concerned the content of media from Japan and Hong Kong, such as Kyodo News, The Asahi Shimbun, Nikkei Asian

² The full list is enclosed in Table 1 below.

Review or South China Morning Post. These media influence the public opinion not only in the region, but on the worldwide level as well.

The other research units – 138 – come from the most influential or the largest mass media in Vietnam, Thailand, India, Malaysia, Pakistan, Singapore and the Philippines. They are regarded as the most influential states considering the NSP idea. Their influence was established on the basis of their economic potential. Seven out of eighteen states included in the NSP are ranked in the annual report on the Best Countries to Invest in 2019 covering 30 states (unews.com, 23.09.2019). These are: Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, India, Australia and New Zealand. The latter two countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, do not provide the content about New Southbound Policy to the readers both of newspapers and internet websites. No results were found in Financial Review, ABC News Australia, Sydney Morning Herald and The New Zealand Herald. The reasons of lack the NSP's subject, but not Taiwan's issue at all, might concern the distance between Taiwan and those two states located in the Antipodes of the globe as well as Australia's and New Zealand's memberships in the British Commonwealth of Nations. These two reasons determine the direction of Australia's and New Zealand activities, but there is an economic cooperation between them and the Republic of China.³ Based on the above, the following media outlets were selected for the analysis:

- Channel News Asia (CNA) from Singapore as well as The Straits Times;
- The New Straits Times and Bernama (news agency) from Malaysia;
- The Philippine News Agency and Manila Times;
- The India Today and Indian Express;
- Bangkok Post;
- Voice of Vietnam (radio channel's website), Vietnam+ and Saigon Times;
- The Jakarta Post;
- Pakistan Observer.

As far as the methodology is concerned, the research process was divided into a few categories. First of all, the entire collection of searching results (208 research units) was categorized into six issues such as: politics, economy, society, science, culture and agriculture.⁴ The outfit of the categories was introduced into the research based on the New Southbound Policy's fields of cooperation, except for the "politics" genre. Despite the declaration made by the President of the Republic of China about the NSP's economic approach, the political aspect cannot be omitted because of Taiwan's specific status in the international relations. Neither Taiwan's issue in international, especially in regional, relations can be separated from the political aspect because of China's extending

³ There are two Taiwan's trade agreements in Indo-Pacific region with Singapore and New Zealand. The latter one was signed in 2013.

⁴ The 'society' category consists for example of health, visa regime, cuisine, migration, people-to-people relations, development assistance and humanitarian aid, education. The cross-straits relation are involved in 'politics' category.

influence in the Southeast Asia region by the political or economic pressure, nor the Chinese impact on Taiwan's economy can be ignored. 39% of Taiwanese exports is driven to Mainland China as well as 400 thousand Taiwanese employees work there (straitstimes.com, 2019.09.11). Furthermore, according to Humphrey Hawksley, "Taiwanese companies operating in China account for at least 10% of country's total exports, according to a study by Citibank, which says that Taiwanese technology companies alone employ 10 million people there" (Hawksley, asia.nikkei.com, 04.10.209).

The agricultural category was also taken into the consideration because of its important role in the NSP's agenda (Glaser, Kennedy, Mitchell, & Funaiole, 2018, pp. 53—57). There is a supplementary project called "Young Agricultural Ambassadors New Southbound Policy Exchange Program" within the NSP's policy (english.president.gov.tw, 2018.10.19).

First, each record was assigned to only one of the six categories. Any multiple choices were not possible. Then the same record was assigned to one of the three attitude's interpretations: positive, neutral and negative. Again, multiple choices in this case were not allowed. The attitude concerns the way in which Taiwan was presented in the research unit. The categorization process does not include the differentiation between types of the news features.

Research findings

Having analyzed the content of media with global coverage, such as: CNN, RT, Al-Jazeera, DW or BBC World News, there are no pieces of information that cover the New Southbound Policy as either political or economic project. However, some features were found in the Reuters, Associated Press or AFP news-wire services. In 15 cases Reuters was the source of information for euronews.com, Bangkok Post, Straits Times and CNA (Channel NewsAsia of Singapore), whereas Agence France Presse (AFP) was the source in 5 cases for South China Morning Post and France24 (france24.com) or Asahi Shimbun. The other news agencies, such as Kyodo News, Press Trust of India or Associated Press (AP), provided only one news item concerning the NSP as a policy agenda for their subscribers, including one piece of information paid by BusinessWire (AP). Nevertheless, the feature about Asian firms shuffling their production around the region as China tariffs' hit was the most frequently shared one. Eventually, the Taiwan Today — Taiwanese MOFA's news service was the source of information for the Manila Times, one of the largest and the most popular newspaper in the Philippines. The list of the research units is shown in the Table 1.

The information category "politics" is the most frequent (almost half of all research units – 46%). One third of news items stand for economy (34%), whereas

seventeen percent for the society and only three percent for the culture, science or agriculture all together.

As far as the division of attitude's share is concerned through the 208 research units, three fifths of them are positive, whereas almost every fourth is negative. Only ten percent represent the neutral attitude to Taiwan.

The categories of "politics" and "economy" dominate in the research pool and stand for the positive adjustment in 53%. It means that every second feature of information belongs to one of those two categories. Twelve percent positive pieces of information concern the society's subject.

The other division was made for the regional press and the press with global coverage. The Asian press was selected according to its potential of influence on the public opinion in the Southeast and South Asia region.

Three fifths of the analyzed research units are covered by the regional press: Vietnamese, Japanese, Singaporean, Philippine, Malaysian, Indian and Thai or Hong Kong, whereas 45% of them contain the category "politics." Although the economic news has similar results, there are about 40% of all research units involved in the survey's process. Furthermore, the agriculture is associated with the economic issues in this quantitative analysis. Besides every fifth piece of information concerns the society issue and just only few of them belong to the categories: "science" and "culture." Furthermore, about two thirds of research units have a positive attitude toward Taiwanese issues, whereas a quarter of them depict Taiwan in a negative light. Only eleven percent is neutral.

Three fifths of analyzed research units contain a positive attitude, but every fourth is negative, whereas every tenth is neutral. Two main categories: "politics" and "economy" cover over three fourths of pieces of information about Taiwan's New Southbound Policy (38% each one). Every third research unit comprised in the category called "economy" has positive connotation.

As far as the press with global coverage is concerned, a positive attitude toward Taiwan is represented by three-fourths of features. The category "politics" is the most popular among the research units. Two thirds of research units contain it, whereas every third suits to the category "economy." Only ten percent matches the society's category. About 50% of the total amount of research units (45% exactly) concerning the category "politics" remain positive in tone. Positive news about the economy stands two times less than about politics.

Conclusions

The New Southbound Policy has not been presented in the top worldwide Western media as a scoop. It is rather treated as a regional issue. The news or features are usually devoted to Taiwan's role in the Southeast Asia region as a subject of political and economic relations. The NSP policy has been mentioned in this context with the reference to a specific world's attitude to the 1992 consensus outcome. Such an interpretation puts Taiwan in media outlets' agenda. It confirms Taiwan's status as an independent subject of Southeast Asian states' relations as well as the Republic of China's strong international visibility that are depicted in *The Diplomat* magazine. Despite Taiwan's official status in international law, its visibility has not been questioned. The Republic of China with its well-developed economy and matured democracy has its own impact mainly on the regional political and economic relations in Southeast and South Asia.

The ranking of Most Influential Countries in the world confirms the purposefulness of New Southbound Policy direction. Twelve states out of 80 countries of the world, classified in that chart, were targeted in the NSP agenda. The Most Influential Countries ranking draws from a global perceptions-based survey and countries are ranked based on the highest scores among more than 11 thousand informed elites in a compilation of five country attributes: leader, connected to the rest of the world, influential culture, politically influential and strong international alliances (usnews.com, 24.09.2019). Diagram 3 draws their economic potential according to the Gross Domestic Product's value. Having considered the population, the NSP's "south direction" is also a proper issue. Indonesian as well as Pakistani populations are around 200 million people each, but the Indian population amounts to 2.6 trillion. The GDP per capita of Singapore, Australia, New Zealand and Malaysia is also the highest in the region (usnews.com, 24.09.2019). It is the second reason of including those states into the New Southbound Policy concept. The development success also confirms the suitable direction of NSP (see more about the development success of Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, Philipines and Brunei: Somjee & Somjee, 1995).

According to Tsai Ing-wen's idea of NSP that policy focuses on the economy as the main issue. The analysis of the Southeast Asian media outlets' content proves that. The editors and journalists select the information and create news features that match readers' needs and interests.

As far as the content is concerned, it has been developed under the requirements of the agenda setting. Having analyzed the media outlets' content covering the states included in the NSP, some comments should be made. First of all, Vietnamese media content, for example, concentrates on the issues about agriculture, travelling to Taiwan and economic cooperation. This may be due

to large Vietnamese economic diaspora in the Republic of China. It is supposed that Vietnamese people are interested in those issues mostly. The content of Singaporean mass media — analyzed in this survey — reveals the focus on the aspect of political relations with Taiwan as well as the NSP role in raising Taiwanese soft power. “The spirit of the New Southbound Policy is upheld through Taiwan’s leveraging of its soft power to contribute to regional development. In addition to promoting flagship plans and opening up prospective areas, Taiwan is also gradually working on new cooperation initiatives as well as planning measures in other fields. According to international economic forecasts, New Southbound Policy partner countries will enjoy stable governments and robust economic performance in the foreseeable future, allowing their infrastructure development and markets to thrive. Overall international developments are conducive to promoting the New Southbound Policy. Cooperation between Taiwan and these countries will be more focused and incessantly innovative. Government agencies will devote greater attention to these efforts and work hand-in-hand with businesses and other sectors of society to consolidate and better utilize resources to achieve win-win scenarios, thus creating a sense of community throughout the region” (ey.gov.tw, 30.09.2019).

Tourism, health care system as well as the visa regime or medical cooperation are the issues being covered by the Thai press. The Philippine and the Malaysian press focused on utility’s aspects of bilateral relations between the countries and Taiwan, whereas Indonesian press provides its readers with economic subjects mainly, e.g., Taiwanese investments in Indonesia. However, the Indian press primarily presents the political aspect of the New Southbound Policy due to India’s geopolitical status on the global stage and its aspirations in that matter.

Content of media outlets in the Philippines and Malaysia confirms that idea of strengthening people-to-people relations within the frame of New Southbound Policy was appropriate. Concerning the press content in Japan and Hong Kong and of mass media with global coverage it should be stated that both types are dominated by political analyses in the contexts of NSP as a tool of soft power as well as economic and political rivalry between two superpowers: the USA and China.

The final conclusion states that, generally, the idea of New Southbound Policy is drawn in the content provided by the media outlets as an economic and political agenda simultaneously, which was introduced both to reduce the economic dependence from China and to raise Taiwan’s international visibility in the Southeast and South Asia region. In such media content, Taiwan is usually presented in the positive way as a vibrant democracy and a responsible member of international community complying with important global issues, such as UN Sustainable Development Goal, e.g., UN Climate Framework Convention. Eventually, the New Southbound Policy has been framed as a positive concept that shapes Taiwan’s attractive image.

Table 1.

Media	Title	Subject	Attitude		
			Positive	Neutral	Negative
1	2	3	4	5	6
Voice of Vietnam	Smart city groups expand	economy	×		
	Taiwan suspends special visa program for Vietnamese after disappearing act	society			×
	Taiwanese youths seek agricultural opportunities in Vietnam	agriculture	×		
Vietnam+	Taiwanese youths seek agricultural opportunities in Vietnam	agriculture	×		
	China's Taiwan to boost investment in Vietnam	economy	×		
NYTimes	With Chinese Tourism Down, Taiwan Looks to Lure Visitors From Southeast Asia	economy	×		
CNA	Asian firms shuffle production around the region as China tariffs hit (source: Reuters)	economy	×		
	How Taiwan is looking to children of overseas brides to bridge gap between Taiwan and Southeast Asian countries (video)	society		×	
The Asahi Shimbun	Asian firms shuffle production around the region as China tariffs hit (source: Reuters)	economy	×		
Associated Press	Taiwan Sells Food Products at Online Grocery Site to Malaysia (paid content from BusinessWire)	economy	×		
Kyodo News	Taiwan's Tsai slams China for freezing individual tourism to island	politics			×
	China's bullying erodes gains made from winning hearts in Taiwan	politics			×
	Taiwan president ends 2nd year with strong economy, low poll numbers	politics	×		
Reuters	Taiwan seeks to build soft power with retooled southbound policy	politics	×		
	Fitch: Taiwan Banks Face Risks in New Markets in Southbound Push	economy		×	
	Taiwan to improve ties with India, official says, despite Chinese disfavor (source: Reuters)	economy	×		
	BRIEF-Deutsche Bank, Bank of Taiwan agree partnership	economy	×		

cont. table 1

1	2	3	4	5	6
	UPDATE 1-FOCUS-Asian firms shuffle production around the region as China tariffs hit	economy	×		
	RPT-FOCUS-Asian firms shuffle production around the region as China tariffs hit	economy	×		
	FOCUS-Asian firms shuffle production around the region as China tariffs hit	economy	×		
	Taiwan courts security ties with bigger friends as Beijing snatches allies	politics	×		
	Taiwan president pledges to defend freedoms despite China pressure	politics	×		
	Fitch: Taiwan Banks' Pivot from China Has Lowered Contagion Risk	economy	×		
	Fitch Upgrades Rating on Taiwan's Hua Nan Commercial Bank	economy	×		
The Diplomat	Assessing Taiwan's New Southbound Policy	politics	×		
	Taiwan Is Retaking the Initiative With Its New Southbound Policy	politics	×		
	Taiwan's New Southbound Policy Meets the US Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy	politics	×		
	Taiwan's 'New Southbound Policy' Scores Win in the Philippines	economy	×		
	What's Next for Taiwan's New Southbound Policy With ASEAN?	politics			×
	Unpacking Tsai Ing-wen's New Southbound Policy	economy			×
	Taiwan Woos ASEAN Tourists in Boost for New Southbound Policy	society	×		
	Taiwan New Southbound Policy	politics	×		
	Taiwan and Southeast Asia Have a 'People-Centric' Exchange Problem	politics	×		
	Taiwan as an Indo-Pacific Contributor	politics	×		
	Reforming Taiwan's Immigration Policy	society	×		
	A Nation Reborn? Taiwan's Belated Recognition of Its Southeast Asian Heritage	politics	×		

cont. table 1

1	2	3	4	5	6
	“Grave Concern” as Cambodia Deports Taiwanese Alleged Scammers to China Tsai Ing-wen foreign policy	society			×
	On Taiwan, the Honeymoon Is Over	politics			×
	The Taipei-Beijing ‘Diplomatic Truce’ Crumbles	politics			×
	Taiwan’s Ruling Party Is Getting Tough on China Ahead of 2020	politics	×		
	Taiwan’s Indo-Pacific Role in the Spotlight	politics	×		
	Taiwan’s Topsy-Turvy Cross-Strait Politics	politics			×
	Trump, Taiwan, and the ‘One China’ Policy	politics	×		
	Why the US May Lose Taiwan to Beijing Economically	economy			×
	It’s Official: Taiwan Has a New President	politics	×		
	Where Will US-Taiwan Relations Under Trump End Up?	politics	×		
	Foreign Laborers and Taiwan’s Evolving Democracy	politics	×		
	Taiwan economic growth	economy	×		
	Taiwan’s ‘Little Burma’	society	×		
	Heaven and Earth in Chinese Art: Politics on Display in Australia	culture	×		
	Despite China’s Tough Talk, US Should Move Forward With Taiwan	politics	×		
	Taiwan migrant workers	economy	×		
	A Cross-Strait Chill? You Wouldn’t Know It From Taiwan’s Economic	economy	×		
	Where Is India on the One China Policy?	politics	×		
	Taiwan Relations Act	politics	×		
	KMT Shocks With Its Success in Taiwan Elections	politics	×		
	After the Call: Does Taiwan Have a Plan for the Trump Years?	politics		×	
	In Taiwan, Exports Stabilize Despite 16-Month Decline	economy	×		
	Taiwan’s Opposition Must Get Clear on the Country’s Sovereignty	politics	×		

cd. table 1

1	2	3	4	5	6
	The DPP's Agenda for Contributing to Regional Stability	politics	×		
	Taiwan's Voters Have Dealt a Brutal Blow to the Ruling DPP	politics	×		
	Taipei-Shanghai Forum Puts Ko Wen-je's China Views Into Focus	politics	×		
	Taiwan human trafficking	society			×
	Blatant Sexual Harassment Crops Up During Taiwan's First Airline	society			×
	Taiwan's Puzzling New Approach to Japan	politics	×		
	The Dirty Secret of Taiwan's Fishing Industry	economy			×
	'One China,' 5 Interpretations	politics		×	
	Taiwan Voices Support for Uyghurs in China	politics	×		
	China's Surreptitious Economic Influence on Taiwan's Elections	politics			×
	Japan's Practical Taiwan Policy	politics	×		
	One More Down, 19 to Go: Beijing's Diplomatic Isolation of Taipei	politics			×
	Taiwan and the UN Climate Change Framework	politics	×		
	Taiwan and the Pacific: One Big, Happy Austronesian Family	politics	×		
	The Taiwan Strait After a Second Korean War	politics		×	
	Taiwan Suffers Yet Another Fatal Factory Fire, Igniting Familiar	society			×
	US Asia Policy After Obama: Opportunities and Challenges	politics		×	
Bangkok Post	Taste of Taiwan	society	×		
	Taiwan pact backs Thai medical ICT	economy	×		
	Re-imagining Taiwan's ties with Asean	politics	×		
	Healthy Taiwan	society	×		
	Taiwan stays visa-free	society	×		
	Taiwan grants visa-free entry to Filipino travellers (Kyodo News)	society	×		
	NokScoot ups Taipei route	economy			×
	Trump's call to Taiwan no shock	politics	×		

cont. table 1

1	2	3	4	5	6
	Taiwan lawmakers urge Formosa probe over Vietnam fish deaths (AFP)	economy			×
	Taiwan diplomacy harder than ever in US-China tug of war (AFP)	politics	×		
	China's BRI push marred by trust deficit	economy	×		
	Taiwan arrests 7 over Vietnamese prostitution ring (AFP)	society			×
	Asian firms shuffle production as China tariffs hit (source: Reuters)	economy	×		
Asia Nikkei Review	Taiwan — unlikely beneficiary of the trade war?	economy		×	
	Trade war traps Taiwan between two superpowers	economy			×
	Young Taiwanese uproot to Southeast Asia for pay and prospects	economy			×
	Taiwan risks getting trumped in trade war	economy			×
	Taiwan eyes 'important role' in alternative Asian sphere of influence	politics	×		
	Taiwan's Tsai makes limited headway with 'southbound' turn	politics			×
	Taiwan is growing impatient with its president	politics			×
	Taiwan pledges \$132m to grow ASEAN and South Asia ties	economy	×		
	Taiwan companies grapple with China policy shift	economy			×
	Tsai policy lifts Taiwan stocks tied to Southeast Asia	politics			×
	Taiwan's New Southbound Policy is decreasing its reliance on China	politics	×		
	Loss of Solomon Islands is no significant blow to Taiwan	politics	×		
The Indian Express	Raja Mandala: Modi's Taiwan opportunity	politics	×		
	Consensus growing among nations on 'Free and Open Indo-Pacific': Congressman (Press Trust of India)	politics		×	
	Declaring India 'Major Defence Partner' opens door for increased cooperation: US official	politics		×	
	Taiwan president Tsai Ing-wen pledges to defend freedom despite China pressure	politics	×		

cont. table 1

1	2	3	4	5	6
India Today	Consensus growing among nations on 'Free and Open Indo-Pacific': Congressman (Press Trust of India)	politics		×	
	MoU 2	science		×	
	Geopolitics wont hamper ties with India: Taiwan trade body chief	economy	×		
	India 'playing with fire' by hosting Taiwan MPs: Chinese media	politics	×		
	Taiwan delegation in India; criticises One China policy	politics		×	
	Reopens FGN 7	politics		×	
euronews	Taiwan to improve ties with India, official says, despite Chinese disfa- vour (source: Reuters)	economy	×		
South China Morning Post	Taiwan looks south to find economic answer to cross- strait bind	economy		×	
	Illegal immigration disrupts Taiwan's economic shift away from China	economy			×
	Two reasons Taiwan must come to terms with China	economy			×
	Is Beijing planning to take Taiwan back ... by force?	politics			×
	Taiwan's wooing of Asean is point- less. It should just accept China	politics			×
	Beijing's ban on solo travellers to Taiwan could cost self-ruled island	economy			×
	Tourists flock to Taiwan in record numbers despite drop from mainland China	economy	×		
	Beijing 'won't allow Taiwan reunifi- cation to be postponed indefinitely	politics			×
	Taiwan to hold independence rally in challenge to Beijing (source: AFP)	politics	×		
	Harry Potter website bows to fans' demands that it restore Taiwan to China in drop-down menu	culture			×
	First solo travellers, now Beijing cuts group tours to step up press	economy			×
	Migrant worker's death at hands of Taiwan police highlights failing	society			×
	Taiwan sees opportunity in US- China trade war	economy	×		
	Taiwan reaches out to Southeast Asian students to help cut economic reliance from Beijing	society	×		

cont. table 1

1	2	3	4	5	6
France24	Taiwan to hold independence rally in challenge to Beijing (source: AFP)	politics	×		
	Taiwan looks south for Muslim tourist dollars	economy	×		
	Taiwan diplomacy harder than ever in US-China tug of war	politics	×		
The Manila Times	Taiwan-PH cultural relations strengthened	culture	×		
	Taiwan youth ambassadors in Manila	society	×		
	The implications of cross-strait conflict	politics		×	
	Taipei aims to beef up 'southbound' youth envoy policy	society		×	
Bernama	Taiwan young ambassadors to visit Malaysia	society	×		
Philippine News Agency	Taiwan extends visa-free entry for Pinoys until 2020	society	×		
	TECO now accepting applicants for Taiwan Fellowship	science	×		
	Taiwan donates P13.5-M aid to 'Ompong'-hit northern Luzon	society	×		
	New Taipei representative seeks strong tourism ties with PH	economy	×		
	Taiwan to reassess visa-free entry for Filipinos July 2018	society	×		
	Taiwan grants visa-free entry for Filipinos starting November	society	×		
	More Taiwanese firms keen on expanding in PH	economy	×		
The Straits Times	Warning signals for the 'New Southbound Policy': The China Post	politics			×
	Taiwan seeks to build soft power with retooled southbound policy (source: Reuters)	politics	×		
	How Taiwan's New Southbound Policy can succeed: The China Post	politics			×
	Taiwan's 'New Southbound Policy' resembles empty promise: The China Post	politics			×
	Taiwan's Southbound policy is 'purely economics'	politics	×		
	Taiwan's 'pivot south' policy faces obstacles	politics			×

cont. table 1

1	2	3	4	5	6
	Taiwan's New Southward Policy must go beyond chasing: The China Post	politics		×	
	Kaohsiung well positioned for new trade push	economy	×		
	Taiwan appoints trade expert as Singapore envoy	politics		×	
	Taiwan rebuffs China tourist snub with record 2018 arrivals	economy	×		
	Hard for Taiwan to avoid China even down south	politics			×
	Taiwan arrests seven over Vietnam group disappearances	society	×		
	Taiwan's 'pivot south' on track, says President Tsai Ing-wen	politics	×		
	Taiwan searches for 152 missing Vietnamese tourists	society	×		
	Taiwan and Singapore can boost ties by being "pro- active": Tsai Ing-wen	politics	×		
	Taiwan must tailor approach to each Asean state: Singapore envoy	politics	×		
	El Salvador deals Taiwan fresh blow by recognising China	politics			×
	President Tsai's approval rating drops: The China Post	politics			×
	Taiwan's US\$172 million boost for closer trade ties with the region	politics	×		
	Taiwan plans people-centric drive to wean itself off China	society	×		
	Taiwan's plan to 'pivot south' fraught with challenges	politics			×
	Taiwan diplomacy harder than ever in US-China tug of war	politics	×		
	Taiwan plans visa waiver for Asean visitors	society	×		
	Taiwan looks to South-east Asia for Muslim tourist dollars	economy	×		
	Taiwan looks to S-E Asia for Muslim tourist dollars	economy	×		
	Taiwan makes \$182m 'pivot south' push	economy	×		
	Tsai vows to defend Taiwan's freedom	politics	×		

cont. table 1

1	2	3	4	5	6
	Taichung sets sights on becoming a boomtown	economy	×		
	Taiwanese tech firms eye online market in Asean	economy	×		
	Taiwan's current stance on China could lead to trouble: The China Post	politics			×
	Taiwan sees more tourists as arrivals from China drop	economy	×		
	Taiwan courts security ties with bigger friends as Beijing snatches allies	politics	×		
	Taiwan shouldn't put all eggs in one China-shaped basket: The China Post	economy			×
	Grading Tsai's first 100 days in office	politics			×
	Asian firms shuffle production around the region as China tariffs hit (source: Reuters)	economy	×		
	Asian firms shuffle production around region as tariffs on China bite	economy	×		
	Taiwan should avoid baiting China, say experts	politics			×
	Techies wanted for Taiwan's Silicon Valley	economy	×		
	Taiwan turns up charm to woo Muslim travelers	economy	×		
New Straits Times	Boosting Asean's stature in pivot to regional democracy	politics	×		
	Taiwan searches for 152 missing Vietnamese tourists	society	×		
	Malaysia still Taiwanese investors' favorite	economy	×		
The Jakarta Post	Taiwan looks south for Muslim tourist dollars	economy	×		
	RI seeks answers to forced labor allegations	society			×
	Indonesia demands answer from Taiwan over forced labor allegations	society			×
	Indonesia to suspend recruitment for scholarship program in Taiwan	society			×
	Taiwan searches for 152 missing Vietnamese tourists	society	×		
	Taiwan's advanced medical technology gives patients new hope	society	×		

cont. table 1

1	2	3	4	5	6
	Exploring Taipei’s halal tourists sites	economy	×		
	With new policy, Taiwan turns south	economy	×		
	RI set to reap rewards of Taiwan’s NSP	politics	×		
	Talk of the week: Indonesia, Taiwan explore potential cooperation	politics	×		
	Taiwan looks south for Muslim tourist dollars	economy	×		
	Taiwanese investors seek better opportunities in Indonesia	economy	×		
	Indonesia one of Taiwan’s important partners: vice president	politics	×		
	RI business forum in Taipei aims to spur investment	economy	×		
	People-centered orientation key to New Southbound Policy	politics	×		
	Taiwan promises increased investment in Indonesia	economy	×		
	Kaohsiung to be Taiwan base for push to Southeast Asia	economy	×		
	Taiwan seeks more business opportunities with Indonesia	economy	×		
	Taiwan unveils ‘southbound’ policy with beneficial co-op	economy	×		
	Trial lets Thais, Bruneians come to Taiwan visa-free	society	×		
	China, Southeast Asian markets equally important for Taiwan	economy	×		
	Taiwan plans people-centric drive to wean itself off China	politics			×
Saigon Times	Tourism ministry asks for measures to fight illegal overseas travel	society	×		
	Taiwan suspends issuing “Kuan Hung” visas for Vietnamese	society	×		
Pakistan Observer	Trump seeks to stop China becoming No 1	politics		×	

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The political context of reforms and the condition of the Polish school during the first term of rule of Law and Justice

Polityczny kontekst reform i kondycja polskiej szkoły w trakcie pierwszej kadencji rządów Prawa i Sprawiedliwości

Natalia Stępień-Lampa*

Abstract

The article characterizes the most important changes in the school system undertaken in 2015—2019 and the political context of these changes. The author analyzes the increase in compulsory education age and the assumptions of the education system reform as a result of which junior high schools were closed. The next part presents the public opinion about the Polish school and its implemented change. The final issue taken up in the study is the results of the PISA 2018.

Key words: the school system reform, the shutdown of the junior secondary schools, the political context of the educational changes, the social moods, PISA 2018

Abstrakt

W artykule scharakteryzowano najważniejsze zmiany w ustroju szkolnym podjęte w latach 2015—2019 i polityczny kontekst tych zmian. Analizie poddano podwyższenie wieku obowiązkowej edukacji oraz założenia reformy systemu oświaty, w wyniku której m.in. zlikwidowano szkoły gimnazjalne. W dalszej części przedstawiono zdanie opinii publicznej na temat polskiej szkoły oraz wprowadzanej w niej zmiany. Ostatnią kwestią podjętą w opracowaniu są wyniki badania PISA 2018.

Słowa kluczowe: reforma systemu oświaty, likwidacja gimnazjów, podwyższenie wieku obowiązkowej edukacji, nastroje społeczne, PISA 2018

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Elections to the Sejm and Senate of the Republic of Poland were held on October 13, 2019. As a result, Law and Justice (PiS), ruling over the previous four years, polled 43.59% of votes, which translated into 235 seats in the Sejm. The second political power of the lower house was Civic Coalition (KO) (27.40% support and 134 seats), the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) came in third (12.56% votes and 49 seats), and the fourth was the Polish People's Party (PSL) (8.55% and 30 seats)¹. Confederation Liberty and Independence (KWiN) also entered to the newly elected Sejm with a result of 6.81%, which gave the party 11 seats. On the other hand, PiS received 48 seats, KO 43, PSL 3, SLD 2, and 3 seats were won by independent senators in the Senate.

The voter turnout in the elections to the Sejm peaked at 61.74%, which was the highest result in the history of Polish elections after 1989 (Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza, 2019a). Jarosław Kaczyński's political group polled exactly the same number of seats in the Sejm as in 2015 despite the fact that 37.58% of the voters supported the party at the turnout of 50.92% at the time. The same number of deputies entering to the Sejm in 2015 and 2019 resulted from the fact that in the previous elections only four committees crossed the electoral threshold. In turn, PiS achieved a much better result in 2015 in the Senate elections (in which votes are cast in single-mandate constituencies), gaining 61 seats (Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza, 2019b).

The difference in the share of votes of PiS voters in elections to the Sejm in 2015 and 2019 amounted to six percentage points in favor of this party with a turnout higher of more than ten percentage points. This enables drawing the conclusion that voters expressed their approval of the political program of Law and Justice implemented in the 2015—2019 term and supported the changes declared by this party in the election program. This observation also applies to transformations in the education system which were initiated by PiS on December 29, 2015 (Act, 2015). The age of compulsory school education was increased to seven years at the time. However, the most profound change was the reform of the school system, symbolized by phasing out of junior high schools completed on August 31, 2019 (Act 2016a, Act 2016b).

This study analyzes the assumptions of major changes in the education system that have been implemented by Law and Justice and the opinions of Polish people on this topic. This examination allowed drawing conclusions and outlining public sentiments towards school institutions in Poland. The article also contains an analysis of the results of the PISA 2018 study and the conclusions that can be drawn from it.

The first change in the education undertaken by the Law and Justice government was to increase the starting age of school education. This problem was

¹ Apart from SLD, the electoral committee of the Democratic Left Alliance also included Wiosna and Lewica Razem parties. In turn, the electoral committee of PSL gathered people associated with Paweł Kukiz outside of the People's party.

one of the key topics of the election campaign (presidential and parliamentary) in 2015, which resulted from the lack of public support for the reform reducing the age of school initiation. During the 2011—2015 term of government, under the Act amending the Education System Act (so-called “Act on six-year-olds”), it was decided that in the 2014/2015 school year all children born in the first half of 2008 would be subject to compulsory education, while parents of children from the second half of that year were given the right to choose — they could send children to school or continue their pre-school education. Whereas in the 2015/2016 school year, first-year education was received by six-year-old children (born in 2009) and seven-year-olds from the second half of 2008 who previously attended the so-called zero grade (Act, 2013). After taking over power in 2015, PiS submitted to the Sejm a bill amending this state of affairs, i.e., an act that restored compulsory schooling for seven-year-old children and compulsory pre-school education for six-year-olds. The relevant legal act was passed on December 29, 2015 and entered into force on January 23, 2016. Therefore, this change was undertaken in less than one and a half months of the beginning of the eighth term of the Sejm and the ninth term of the Senate. As a result, starting from the 2016/2017 school year, seven-year-olds were obliged to attend school. The Act also imposed the obligation on six-year-old children to undergo a pre-school preparation program in kindergarten or other pre-primary education. In addition, the Act confirmed the right of three—five-year-old children to benefit from pre-primary education (Act, 2015).

On September 1, 2019, as a result of the reform initiated by the legislation of December 14, 2016, junior high schools ceased to operate. It seems significant that the closure took place exactly 20 years after their creation. In addition to the liquidation, and in principle, according to the term used by the creators of the reform, the phasing-out of junior high schools, there were several other changes in the school system. After the reform process, the structure of the education system will be designated by: eight-year primary schools, four-year general high schools, five-year technical schools, three-year first-degree trade schools, two-year second-degree trade schools, post-secondary schools (Ministry of National Education, 2016a). The assumptions of the change are implemented gradually — on September 1, 2017, pupils of the sixth-year primary school became pupils of the eight-year school, and graduates of sixth grade started education in seventh grade. At the same time, it was then that the phasing-out of junior high schools began, and basic vocational schools evolved into three-year first-degree trade schools (two-year second-degree trade schools will be launched on September 1 2020). The reform will end in 2023, because it is then that the last year of junior high school graduates will complete a four-year technical school (Ministry of National Education, 2016a).

The reform of the education system aroused much controversy and focused public attention from the very beginning. In January 2017, the Public Opinion

Research Center asked Poles for an opinion on the Polish school and the planned change. Public primary schools received the most positive reviews (66% of respondents indicated that the level of education in these schools is very good or good). The least positive opinion was expressed on basic public vocational schools (47% of those participating in the survey described the level of education in those schools as very good or good).² However, a significant proportion of respondents did not have an opinion on this topic. After considering the opinions of only those respondents who rated individual types of schools, it turned out that the respondents expressed the best opinions toward high schools (85–86% of positive opinions). In contrast, junior high schools were relatively the worst — 71% of people rated them well and 29% rated them badly.³ On the other hand, the analysis of the responses of individual groups of respondents leads to the conclusion that parents of school-age children rated the school system and individual types of schools better than respondents in general. 75% of parents expressed a good opinion on primary schools, 60% on junior high schools, 64% on high schools, 59% on technical schools, and 51% on basic vocational schools.

There is also a visible diversity of respondents' opinions declaring different political views. Teaching in public primary schools was well rated by 55% of supporters of Law and Justice, while public junior high schools were approved by 38% of supporters of this party. Bad opinions on these types of schools were declared by 29% and 39% of PiS supporters, respectively. Among the supporters of the then largest opposition party, Civic Platform (PO), the distribution of votes was different. The level of education in public primary schools was positively assessed by 75% of them, while in public junior high school by 64%. In turn, 9% and 8% of PO supporters assessed them negatively. Interestingly, there is no diversity of opinion in the assessment of the level of high schools.

The survey also provided information on the age preferred by Poles to start school education. 58% of respondents were in favor of compulsory schooling for

² The distribution of individual answers to the question about the level of education in Poland was as follows: public primary schools — very good 9%, good 57%, rather bad 14%, very bad 3%, hard to say 17%; public junior high schools — very good 6%, good 47%, rather bad 16%, very bad 5%, hard to say 26%; public general secondary schools — very good 8%, good 51%, rather bad 9%, very bad 2%, difficult to say 30%; public technical schools — very good 8%, good 49%, rather bad 8%, very bad 1%, hard to say 35%; public basic vocational schools — very good 5%, good 42%, rather bad 10%, very bad 2%, difficult to say 42% (Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej, 2017, p. 1).

³ The distribution of individual answers, excluding the “hard to say” option, was as follows: public primary schools — very good 11%, good 69%, rather bad 17%, very bad 3%; public lower secondary schools — very good 8%, good 63%, rather bad 22%, very bad 7%; public general secondary schools — very good 12%, good 73%, rather bad 13%, very bad 2%; public technical schools — very good 12%, good 74%, rather bad 12%, very bad 2%; basic public vocational schools — very good 8%, good 72%, rather bad 17%, very bad 3% (Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej, 2017, p. 2).

seven-year-old school children, 35% supported sending six-year-olds to schools (Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej, 2017, pp. 3—6).

The results of the survey conducted by CBOS in January 2017 allow the conclusion that Polish society assessed the level of education in individual types of schools relatively well. Basic vocational schools enjoyed relatively bad opinions. This fact was not surprising, since these schools had been chosen by a small group of the weakest students of each grade for many years. Subsequent education ministries presented their ideas for rectifying vocational education in Poland, but unfortunately they proved to be ineffective.⁴ Junior high schools also received unfavorable ratings of respondents. This effect was strengthened when the opinion of PiS supporters was taken into account, which in turn could also indicate the support of this party voters for political changes in the education system. Furthermore, the majority of people who took part in the survey turned out to be supporters of the starting age of school education up to seven years. This means that the ruling party enjoyed social legitimacy in this respect, particularly strongly expressed by PiS voters at the time of implementing thorough changes in the education system.

CBOS also asked respondents about their opinions on the reform of the education system adopted by parliament a month earlier. As the results of the study show, Polish society was divided on this issue. 34% of respondents build up more hopes than fears on the reform, 31% had mixed feelings, and 27% more often expressed fears than they believed in the success of this undertaking. At the same time, 94% of those who took part in the survey declared that they had heard about the reform, but only 49% indicated that they knew what it would be about. In addition, 51% of respondents said that this change was going in the right direction, 33% said it was in the wrong direction. However, only 28% said that it was well prepared, while 44% rated its preparation as bad. Interestingly, the higher the level of education was, the higher earnings *per capita*, the larger the place of residence, as well as the less frequent participation in religious practices, the fears and beliefs that the reform was poorly prepared were greater.

Similar to the assessment of pre-reform school teaching, respondents with differing political preferences also differed in their attitude to education reform. 85% of PiS supporters said the change was heading in the right direction, and 55% said it was well prepared. On the other hand, 21% and 9% of PO supporters gave positive answers to these questions respectively.

On the other hand, the majority of respondents (57%) accepted the closure of junior high schools and a return to eight-year primary school, four-year high school and five-year technical school. 24% of respondents opposed changes in

⁴ For example, the Ministry of National Education, headed by Joanna Kluzik-Rostkowska, carried out a campaign promoting education in vocational schools and declared 2014 “The Year of the Professionals’ School” (Kancelaria Prezesa Rady Ministrów, 2014).

the school system, while 19% did not have an opinion on this topic. Almost half of the people (44%) who took part in the survey thought that the reform would be a great financial burden for local governments (Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej, 2017, pp. 7–12). The results of the survey conducted by CBOS were largely in line with the moods that prevailed in the media around the change in the education system at the turn of 2016 and 2017. The issues raised in the survey were often addressed by experts, and were also extensively commented on by politicians.

The reform of the education system designed by Law and Justice began on September 1, 2017. A year later, CBOS again asked Poles about their opinions on the functioning of the school system. The respondents again expressed their good opinion about the level of education in Polish schools. Nevertheless, the share of positive reviews decreased compared to the 2017 survey. In August 2018, public primary school was rated very well and rather well by 56% of respondents, bad and rather bad — 22%, public junior high schools 41% and 27% respectively, public general high schools 52% and 11%, public technical schools 51% and 8% , public vocational schools 41% and 12%, public trade schools (i.e., entities that replaced vocational schools) 33% and 8%, with as much as 59% of respondents having no specific opinion in this regard.⁵

Interestingly, despite the worse assessment of the Polish school, the respondents expressed a favorable opinion on the school system introduced under the December 2016 reform. 67% thought it was better than the previous one, including 37% who considered it as definitely better. The opposite view was expressed by 21% of respondents, including 8% being extremely critical of the education system without junior high schools. The structural change was approved mainly by those respondents who themselves attended an eight-year primary school (72%). The analysis of the respondents' political preferences and their opinions on the reform leads to the conclusion that among the electorate of all political parties represented in the Sejm, except for Nowoczesna, the supporters of the new school system prevailed. However, the biggest endorsement of the change was expressed by PiS supporters (87% accepted the reform) and Kukiz'15 (84%). Among the PO voters, 51% of the respondents approved the new school structure. In the case of Nowoczesna — 36% of its supporters supported the change.

⁵ After excluding the “hard to say” response, the distribution was as follows: public primary schools — very good 11%, good 61%, rather bad 22%, very bad 6%; public junior high schools — very good 6%, good 55%, rather bad 30%, very bad 9%; public general high schools — very good 12%, good 70%, rather bad 16%, very bad 2%; public technical schools — very good 12%, good 75%, rather bad 12%, very bad 1%; public vocational schools — very good 9%, good 68%, rather bad 18%, very bad 5%; public trade schools — very good 8%, good 74%, rather bad 14%, very bad 4% (Centrum Badań Opinii Społecznej, 2018, pp. 1–4).

According to CBOS, the majority of Poles thought that a reform of the education system was needed (52% of respondents against 37% expressing a contrary opinion), nevertheless the respondents had major concerns regarding its preparation. 40% expressed negative opinions in this matter, whereas only 29% positive. Furthermore, the manner in which the educational change was implemented raised some doubts. 36% of respondents positively assessed the method of its implementation, and 31% had a contrary opinion. In addition, political views again determined the answers given by the respondents. Mainly people with right-wing views, including supporters of Law and Justice, underpinned the legitimacy of the reform, the way it was prepared and implemented. The need for reform was also recognized by supporters of the Polish People's Party and the Kukiz'15 movement. Other voters rather expressed the belief that there was no need for change and, in particular, that the reform was badly prepared and not properly implemented (Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej, 2018, pp. 6—10).

The results of the CBOS survey conducted in August 2018 show public support for structural reform in the education system. Nevertheless, the respondents had some objections to it. They were mainly related to the method of preparation and implementation of the change. The excessive haste of the reformers was a source of many small failures, which was particularly evident when creating new core curricula.

Despite the generally unfavorable opinion of Poles about junior high schools — both before undertaking the reform of the education system and a year after the start of its implementation — a preliminary analysis of the results of the latest PISA survey shows a relatively good level of teaching in these schools. The PISA study, or Program for International Student Assessment, has been organized by the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) since 2000. The last round of the survey took place in 2018 and 79 countries and regions took part in it. PISA tests mathematical skills, reasoning in natural sciences, and reading and interpretation of 15-year-old students (exactly those who turned 15 in the year preceding the study).

The last round of the PISA survey took place during the implementation of the school reform in Poland. The vast majority of respondents was the penultimate year of junior high school students (97.5%), only a few were students of primary or high schools. The 2018 round was attended by students born in 2002. 5653 people participated in the survey (which constituted 85% of the sample), and it was carried out between March 1 and April 13 (Instytut Badań Edukacyjnych, 2019, pp. 4—7).

The results achieved by Polish students in PISA 2018 were one of the best in the history of the study. In terms of reading comprehension, they took 10th place in the world and 4th in Europe. At the same time, the result achieved in 2018 (512 points) was significantly higher than in the previous round (506)

and lower than in 2012 (518). However, compared to the first survey in 2000, we can observe an upward trend — initially the results of 15-year-olds from Poland were lower than the OECD average, while in recent rounds they were at the forefront. In 2018, the average result for OECD countries in the case of understanding the written text was 489 points. Also, the mathematical skills of Polish students compared to other countries have allowed them to rank 10 in the world. In Europe, in turn, Poland took 3rd place.⁶ The average result of Polish students in 2018 (516 points) did not differ statistically from the result from 2012 (518 points), which was the highest in history. In the case of mathematics, an upward trend can also be observed. The difference between the first — in which comparisons are possible (2003) — and the last round of the study was as many as 26 points. The result achieved in 2018 by 15-year-olds from Poland was much higher than the average for OECD countries (again 489 points). However, in the case of reasoning in the natural sciences, Polish students managed to take 11th place in the world and 3rd in Europe.⁷ The average result of Polish students in 2018 (516 points) did not differ statistically from the result from 2012 (518 points), which was the highest in history. In the case of mathematics, an upward trend can also be observed. The difference between the first — in which comparisons are possible (2003) — and the last round of the study was as many as 26 points. The result achieved in 2018 by 15-year-olds from Poland was much higher than the average for OECD countries (again 489 points). However, in the case of reasoning in the natural sciences, Polish students managed to take 11th place in the world and 3rd in Europe.⁸ Comprehensive science competences in the PISA study were first tested in 2006. Since then, the results of Polish students have been marked by an upward trend, and the difference between the first (2006) and the last round of the study is 13 points. The 2018 result (511 points) in the field of life sciences was again higher than the OECD average (in this case it was also 489 points).

Very good results of the PISA survey provided arguments to junior high school students to criticize the reform and the resulting closure of junior high schools. Perhaps, however, they are the result of an improvement in the condition of the Polish school or the way of teaching, and they were slightly affected by the school structure? Maybe students in Poland just learned to take tests very

⁶ The top ten were as follows: 1. China (excluding selected regions), 2. Singapore, 3. Macau (China), 4. Hong Kong (China), 5. Taiwan, 6. Japan, 7. South Korea, 8. Estonia, 9. The Netherlands, 10. Poland (Instytut Badań Edukacyjnych, 2019, pp. 12—15).

⁷ The top ten were as follows: 1. China (excluding selected regions), 2. Singapore, 3. Macau (China), 4. Estonia, 5. Japan, 6. Finland, 7. South Korea, 8. Canada, 9. Hong Kong (China), 10. Taiwan (Instytut Badań Edukacyjnych, 2019, pp. 16—19).

⁸ The top ten were as follows: 1. China (excluding selected regions), 2. Singapore, 3. Macau (China), 4. Estonia, 5. Japan, 6. Finland, 7. South Korea, 8. Canada, 9. Hong Kong (China), 10. Taiwan (Instytut Badań Edukacyjnych, 2019, pp. 16—19).

well? The PISA 2018 results also contained some disturbing data on the condition of the Polish school. In addition to checking the skills and competences in the study, some questions are also asked related to the subjects of teaching and regarding the student's functioning at school. These questionnaires focus on the mental and emotional health of the student, the role of the teacher and the parent, or the school's social life. The answers given by Polish 15-year-olds within this group of questions are generally not optimistic. For example, only 62% of them felt life satisfaction, while the OECD average was 67%. The only European country that was in the top ten in all three areas of the study (reading, mathematics, science) — Estonia — had students' life satisfaction at 70%. Furthermore, 87% of Polish students have sometimes or always felt happy, while the OECD result is 91% and Estonia's 89%. In turn, 8% of young Poles have always felt sad, the OECD average was 6%. For this answer, Estonia recorded a result of 9%. An important problem in the Polish school, which PISA confirmed, is bullying. 26% of those surveyed said they had experienced at least one form of bullying at least five times a month. The results for OECD and Estonia were 23% and 25% respectively. In turn, 80% of students said joining in bullying was something wrong, 88% in OECD and 89% in Estonia. The time devoted to learning by Polish teenagers is also disturbing. It amounted to 47 hours, while the OECD average is 44 hours and for Estonia 42. This may mean that the educational success of young Poles in the study was at a very high cost. When we consider the answers to questions about support that teachers give to students in the learning process, the condition of the Polish school is not good again. In this group of questions, Poland came 5th from the end — 62% of students thought that teachers showed interest in the student and how they were learning; 68% said teachers gave them extra help when needed; 65% declared that teachers help students learn and 61% said that teachers continue teaching until all students understand the issues explained (OECD, 2019).

The results of the international survey among 15-year-olds, which is PISA, are favorable for the education system in Poland. Polish students were at the forefront of students from the OECD countries or regions. Supporters of junior high schools and standardized tests as a measure of student achievement have certainly felt great satisfaction thanks to them. However, the data illustrating the mental condition of young people in Poland are worrying. What is worse, the reform of the education system undertaken by PiS, focusing on the closure of junior high schools, will not solve it in any way, because it does not concern this problem. PISA 2021 will definitely provide us with information about the level of knowledge and skills of test solving that students in eight-year primary schools will have. It will provide supporters or opponents of the reform with a strong argument for or against the educational change that is being implemented. At the same time, despite the fact that many teachers, students and their parents face numerous problems in connection with school reality, political

decision-makers are still arguing about the shape of the school system or about the legitimacy of functioning of junior high schools. Possible further education reforms will only deepen the chaos that prevails in the system. There is an atmosphere of permanent change at school. The change is a permanent feature of Polish education.

The most negative statement from the analysis of the functioning of the school in Poland is that it has become an arena of political play. Politicians taking up subjects related to education very often count on securing the votes. For example, already in the election campaign, PiS announced an increase in the age of compulsory education from six to seven years and plans to close down junior high schools, which was done in order to win supporters. At the same time, these announcements were against the changes and plans that PO had implemented or intended to implement in the school system. In this political dispute around the school, aimed at courting popular opinion, the losers are not politicians. They are students, their parents and also education workers. In the current sociopolitical reality, it seems impossible to reach agreement across divisions and to reform education over political divisions. However, it is likely that each subsequent ruling team will make changes in education, which will largely be aimed at attracting supporters.

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Human Rights violation in Indian-administered Kashmir and role of United Nations, 1989—2019

Naruszenie praw człowieka w administrowanym przez Indie Kaszmirze i rola Organizacji Narodów Zjednoczonych, 1989—2019

Roshan Sheikh*

Abstract

This article focuses on Human Rights violations and resolutions passed by the United Nations. This study points to the oppression, seige, hard power policy, and the Indian occupation of Indian-administered Kashmir. The article continues to deal with the possible negotiation on the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan. Therefore, it particularly emphasizes the role of the United Nations in the Kashmir conflict. It elaborates on the failure of United Nations resolutions on Kashmir conflict and rejection of 3rd party intervention by the Indian Government. The responsibility of the international community in Kashmir is to respect Human Rights, the failure of which has resulted in physical and mental trauma. The aim of the

Abstrakt

Niniejszy artykuł zajmuje się łamaniem praw człowieka w Kaszmirze i rezolucjami podjętymi przez Organizację Narodów Zjednoczonych w tej kwestii. Opracowanie to wskazuje na indyjski ucisk, ofensywę, politykę twardego kursu i okupację administrowanego przez Indie Kaszmiru. Kolejną kwestią podjętą w artykule są możliwe negocjacje w sprawie konfliktu w Kaszmirze między Indiami a Pakistanem. Dlatego też opracowanie to podkreśla szczególną rolę Organizacji Narodów Zjednoczonych w tymże konflikcie. Ponadto omówione są niepowodzenia rezolucji ONZ w sprawie konfliktu w Kaszmirze i odrzucenie interwencji stron trzecich przez rząd Indii. Brak odpowiedzialności społeczności międzynarodowej w kwestii przestrzega-

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article is to evaluate the UN policy toward Kashmir Human Rights problems.

Keywords: Kashmir, UN, India, Pakistan, Human Rights, Security

nia praw człowieka w Kaszmirze skutkuje fizyczną i psychiczną traumą tamtejszej społeczności. Celem tego artykułu jest także ocena polityki ONZ wobec problemów związanych z prawami człowieka w Kaszmirze.

Słowa kluczowe: Kaszmir, ONZ, Indie, Pakistan, prawa człowieka, bezpieczeństwo

Introduction

The seeds of Kashmir conflict were sown at the time of partition by the last British Viceroy, Louis Mountbatten, followed by the accession of princely states. India got its independence from the British and two Nations came into existence as India and Pakistan on August 15 and 14, 1947 respectively based on the two-nation theory. At the time of partition Kashmir was asked to join either India or Pakistan with the geographical contiguity and wishes of the people. To remain independent was also an option that Maharaja Hari Singh (ruler of Kashmir) had to decide on.

The decision about the accession of Kashmir becomes complex because of its ethnic-regional complexion. It was supposed that Muslim majority states would join Pakistan and Hindu majority states would join India, including other princely states (Tremblay, 2009). According to the 1941 census, Kashmir had the Muslim population of 77.11 percent (Kumar, 2019). There were strong chances to join Pakistan except for Maharaja Hari Singh's indecisiveness. The collective conscience of Maharaja Hari Singh, the influence of political pressure and favorable to be secular and democratic made Maharaja Hari Singh sign the Instrument of Accession on October 26, 1947 (Noorani, 2013).

The first war between the two newly independent states broke out when the Indian Army landed in the state on October 27, 1947. Because of the geopolitical location of Kashmir, it has always been a center of interest between two countries which led both countries to fight three wars in 1947, 1965 and 1999 and another war over Bangladesh in 1971 in which Kashmir was a secondary issue. Kashmir has never been satisfied with the influence of India, because of which in 1990 circumstances intensified and became medium of ongoing political discourse (Zaidi 2003).

In 1989, a mass revolt started against India in Kashmir which took attention by the international community. Following the 1999 Kargil war, the 2001 Indian Parliament attack and 2008 Mumbai attacks created havoc in Kashmir. In the

21st century, Kashmir witnessed uprisings in which the youth, who took arms and started protesting against India, were a major concern (Kapur, 2010).

Thus, throughout the examples and historical outline of the conflict presented, this article aims at validating the role of the international community in the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan. The violation of human rights in conflict areas represents a larger threat to security and sustainable peace.

Research Question: How have human rights in Indian Administrated Kashmir been violated since 1989 and what role has been played by the United Nations?

Hypothesis: Since 1989 (uprisings in Kashmir), human rights have been violated using different methods, such as mass rapes, tortures, enforced disappearances, use of pellet gun, which is a clear violation of human rights and against International Law. The role of the United Nations, its policies and intervention, is crucial and needs to be studied.

Methodology: A qualitative content analysis of the desktop-based study is adopted in this research. Content analysis is a set of qualitative methods for collecting and analyzing data from verbal and print sources. The basic principles of a qualitative content analysis include categorical workings, units of analysis validity and reliability. The central procedure of qualitative content analysis, inductive development of categories, deductive application of categories, will be worked out.

Political, military and social situation in Indian-administered Kashmir

Kashmir is classified as the largest region administrated by security forces. More than half a million Indian military forces are deployed in the state of Kashmir with authoritarian laws, such as AFSPA (Armed forces special power act, 1958), PSA (Public safety act, 1978) and DAA (Distributed area act, 1997). These acts grant armed forces extraordinary powers, including powers to arrest and enter at any place without a warrant. Human rights organizations, like Amnesty International, have challenged AFSPA on the basis that it violates basic human rights (D'costa, 2018).

For every eight Kashmiris, there is an Indian Military soldier. Indian military forces are involved in many fake encounters that have shed many innocent lives of Kashmiris. The high ratio of troops to civilians makes Kashmir valley the most heavily militarized area in the world. The military and paramilitary units in Kashmir most notably comprise the Border Security Force (BSF), the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), Rashtriya Rifles (RR), Special Task Force (STF) and the Special Operations Group (SOG) (Duschinski, 2009).

Meanwhile, the saturation tactics of these armed forces include checkpoints, surveillance, cordon and search operations, human shields, prison detention, and torture. The landscape of Kashmir is mapped by official and unofficial stations of state violence, cantonments, barracks, joint interrogation centers, and detention facilities. Kashmir lives in constant fear of arbitrary arrests, enforced disappearances, sexual harassment, torture, and custodial death. Given the sweeping power afforded to security forces through the special acts, Kashmiris refer to their homeland not as a “disputed area” but an “administered zone,” a bunkered territory and a garrisoned state (Grossman, 1996).

Enforced disappearances in the conflict zone

Kashmir has around 8,000 families who had lost their loved ones during the conflict. These disappearances are at the behest of Indian armed forces but they refuse to acknowledge the problems and take action (Kazi 2007). According to the UN, “An enforced disappearance occurs when people are arrested, detained or abducted against their will by the state, or groups and individuals acting on behalf of, with support from the state followed by a refusal to disclose the whereabouts of the person.”

Enforced disappearances in Kashmir started in 1989, followed the outbreak of armed conflict. The heavy deployment of security forces as part of the effort to suppress the movement for independence has contributed fundamentally to this problem. Enforced disappearance of persons is part of the bigger policy of tyranny followed by the state, including other means such as extra-judicial killings, torment, assault, constrained work. An enormous number of civilians, students, political activists, and militants have disappeared in custody bothering direct central rule from 1989 until 1996 as well as a rule by elected state Government from 1996 to 2004 (Lauritsch, 2009). According to the Asian Federation Against Involuntary Disappearances, “At a conservative estimate based on information collected from parents, relatives, friends, near and dear ones, the number of individuals who have disappeared in the custody since 1989 is as high as 8,000.”

The Indian state’s consistent uncaring approach has constantly denied the unfortunate casualty groups of truth, equity and reparations, with the outcome the groups of disappeared including guardians, half widows, and half vagrants kept on enduring perpetually in the journey to know the destiny and whereabouts of their friends and family. Up until this point, the government has never demonstrated any worry over the situation of thousands of families of the disappeared in Kashmir and instead it has consistently stayed over-worried about the resolve of their armed forces for whom there is total invulnerability (Parvez 2010).

Human rights and security are two notions that have been developed in parallel. The absence of one has historically proven to be a risk for the other. Unpunished crimes and failure to provide justice as well as protecting oneself through absolute immunity are only some of the factors that lead to the fragility of the peace and security situation.

The examples of Human Rights violation in Indian-administered Kashmir

The United Nations was founded on the base to protect the human rights and dignity of all human beings in the world (UN General Assembly 1948). At the insurgency in the Kashmir Valley gained momentum, the act of sabotage increased in terms of frequency and intensity. The security forces and paramilitary troops reacted violently often at the expense of innocent civilians. The abuse of human rights by the security forces has been a persistent and serious cause for concern. Stories have emerged of torture, rape, and indiscriminate killings. Murder, extortion, and intimidation have not only crippled the economy but also have created a climate of fear. At one time Kashmir was a tourist paradise, now it has been converted into a martyr's graveyard (Hilali, 2001).

Kashmir has been turned from paradise into a desert. The picture is one of the revolts, mutiny, and destruction. The loss of property, schools, hospitals, bridges, and killing has come to the commerce of everyday life throughout the Kashmir Valley. Innocent and harmless people have been left handicapped in torture cells and a large number have been given inhuman treatment in various prisons. The lives of Kashmiris have been convulsed by lamb attacks, reprisals, cross-fire, and curfew. Homes have been raided and sometimes destroyed because of frequent security operations (Bashir, 2016). Moreover, from 1989, the Kashmiris have lived in fear of the gun (Walter R. Lawrence, 1895).

According to the Kashmiri-Canadian Council, "6300 Kashmiri women have been raped." In Kashmir, rape is used as a method of humiliation and frighten to attack Kashmiri women by Indian security forces. Rape is considered a weapon of war in many conflict areas. By raping women, the security forces are aiming at punishing and humiliating the entire community. The vulnerable victims are generally women from low-caste, necessitous and tribal in minority groups.

In some cases, women are detained as hostages and taken into custody as suspected in petty crime (Sarma, 2016). Molen and Bal state that there is a tendency in Kashmir to refuse to marry anyone from a village where rape has been committed. Kunan Poshpora incident and Shopian rape and murder case in the

year 1991 and 2009 respectively are the examples of brutality and inhuman barbarism of Indian forces (Bora 2010). However, as Shubh Mathur calls, "Rape is an indispensable element of the armed forces strategy in Kashmir." According to the 1993 Human Rights Watch (HRW), "The Indian security forces use rape as a method of retaliation against Kashmiri civilians."

The law enforcement engaged in torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment in the name of security threats. The state uses violence methods to control and terrorize its people to maintain the status quo or to destroy internal or external political, ideological or military threats (Irwin M. Cohen, 2005). The state uses torture and makes it clear that enhanced interrogation techniques make a person handicapped. The valley of Kashmir has been facing torture and other inhuman cruel treatments since the insurgency began in 1990. Methods of torture are used as a tool of counter-insurgency by Indian security forces (Sharma, 2010).

The Indian government used all efforts to crush the movement of self-determination of Kashmiris. Kashmiris have been offering resistance to external aggression. Thousands are arrested and subjected to extra-judicial killings. The custodial killings became a routine in the 1990s. According to the Human Rights Defenders, around 12,000 custodial killings have been reported during the past 28 years. Many are those who lost their beloved children, daughter, sisters, mothers and some women have lost their beloved husband, who was the only source of care for them.

According to the Amnesty International report of September 2017, Pallet gun has been used by security forces in Kashmir since 2010. Pallet gun is a pump-action shotgun firing hundreds of metal pellets which spread over a wide area. Pallet guns were first introduced for crowd control as "non-lethal" alternatives to other deadlier weapons. Nevertheless, in 2010 two youths lost their lives to pellet gun injuries (Bukhari 2015). As per reports in Wire magazine, "It is reported that at least 92 people have lost their eyesight and at least 1500 people have sustained serious injuries from pellet guns since 2010." Pellet guns are used by Indian troops on to blind Kashmiris. The use of a pellet gun is a clear violation of Human rights and humanitarian law (Nair, 2016).

According to Thakur, due to the cycle of violence, the life of Kashmiri citizens is remaking paralyzed, where all educational institutions are forcibly closed for an indefinite period. In addition, it can be said every Kashmiri has suffered in one way or another. Kashmiri youths are killed in the name of the encounter, women are molested and raped, and older men are dishonoured. Indian armed forces and other paramilitary troops are backed by Indian Governments (Thakur, 2000).

The first ever report on Human rights by Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) of June 14, 2018 urged India to end human rights violations in Kashmir. According to 49 pages report from

the OHCHR, “This is an urgent need to address past and ongoing human rights violations, abuses and deliver justice for all people in Kashmir, who for seven decades have suffered a conflict that has claimed or ruined numerous lives.”

Bifurcation of the state of Jammu and Kashmir and aftermath of the abrogation of the Article 370 and 35A in August 2019 (Nair, 2019) led Kashmir under siege for more than 5 months. During the protest in Kashmir telecommunication was snapped and newspapers were banned (Kaul, 2018). However, partition of India and Pakistan has played an important role in ongoing crisis in the region (Zutshi, 2015).

Many articles and studies have been conducted and published on the role of the United Nations in Kashmir conflict in regard to its resolutions. For example, Josef Korbel blamed British colonialism for the birth of the conflict. Alex Nini-an, Shabir Choudhry, Seema Shekhawat, and Eric Margolis stressed that mutual suspicion, hatred, and anger have almost thwarted the long-standing agreement between the governments of India and Pakistan, and prevented the fate of Kashmir being decided by the democratic process of plebiscite. However, this article explains the continuous intervention and failure of the international community.

The role of United Nations in protection of Human Rights and resolution of the Kashmir conflict

The contemporary political and legal theories link democracy with accountability as a mutual approach or double way doctrine where democracy and accountability promote and support each other. On January 1, 1948, India took the Kashmir conflict in front of the United Nations Security Council in which they complained to Pakistan under Article 35 (Chapter VI) of the UN Charter. However, Pakistan repudiated all the charges of facilitating tribal infiltration in Kashmir and blamed India for destabilizing Pakistan in its infancy (Behera 2006).

The UN Security Council passed 23 resolutions on Kashmir conflict between 1948 and 1971. The first UN debate on Kashmir started under the title of “Kashmir Question.” The resolutions passed were aimed at solving the Kashmir conflict. Despite these efforts, the Kashmir conflict is the oldest unsolved conflict in front of the UN (Bose 2003).

The article points to the role of the UN in urging India and Pakistan to curtailment and to ease the tension. On January 20, 1948, the UN adopted the resolution on the Kashmir conflict at the 230th meeting. The committee chosen was set up with three members from whom one member was to be chosen by Pakistan and other by India. The third member of the committee was to be

chosen by the other two members of the committee. The aim of forming the committee was to be to write a joint proposal for stating what actions can be taken in the region for peace. The proposal did not get implemented and failed and gave birth to other resolutions.

Plebiscite in Kashmir

After the first war between India and Pakistan on Kashmir the UN adopted the resolution on the Kashmir conflict at the 286th meeting. Belgium, Canada, Columbia, China, the United Kingdom and the United States of America sponsored the resolution. The resolution was carried out on hearing the arguments from both India and Pakistan and instructions were given by the Security Council to the commission to go to the subcontinent and help restore peace and order in the region and prepare a referendum to decide the fate of Kashmir. The resolution passed under Chapter VI of the UN charter is considered non-binding and has no mandatory enforceability as opposed to the resolution passed under Chapter VII.

According to official documents of the United Nations Security Council, the free and impartial plebiscite through a democratic voting process should be held for the accession of Kashmir to India or Pakistan. The Government of India should delegate to the plebiscite administration such powers as it considers necessary for holding a fair and impartial plebiscite. The purpose of state forces and police will be direction and supervision.

However, the study shows that the resolution was partial for both the states and was applicable in front of the Government of India and Pakistan. The resolution could not be implemented due to insecurity and lack of trust between India and Pakistan. Even though the United Nations had passed many resolutions over several years, they were not implemented as a result of which India and Pakistan started playing the blame game with each other over Kashmir. Consequently, both India and Pakistan could not agree on any proposal (Korbel, 1949).

Demilitarisation in Indian-administered Kashmir

The study shows the plan of demilitarization in Kashmir. Sir Dixon points on functions of Government in the state necessary to ensure a fair and free plebiscite and extent plan of demilitarization. The United Nations Security Council

accepted Sir Owen's resignation and expressed its appreciation to him for his great potential and devotion. The Council appointed Frank Graham in replacement as the representative of the UN and emphasized on finding ways towards peaceful solutions and carrying the plan of demilitarisation (Noorani, 2013).

The report on demilitarisation shows that after receiving the report by Dr. Frank Graham and addressing the plan of demilitarisation before the Council, the report was noted and approved. The Council accepted the principle that the accession of the state should be determined by the free and impartial plebiscite under the supervision of the UN. The Council also noted the satisfaction over India and Pakistan for the work on a peaceful settlement and continued to observe a ceasefire. The UN then instructed the representative to continue efforts to obtain agreement on a plan for demilitarizing Kashmir and to report to the Security Council within six weeks (Grossman, 1996).

The Resolution 98 was adopted on negotiations to reach an agreement on a plan of demilitarization of the state of Kashmir. The resolution urged both the Governments to reach an agreement on the specific number of troops to remain on each side of the ceasefire line. The number of troops was to be between 3,000 and 6,000 on the Pakistani side and 12,000 to 18,000 on the Indian side. Both Governments were supposed to report to the Council not later than in 30 days. Dr. Frank Graham carried the major part of the resolution and the implication of the resolution did not come true between India and Pakistan as the conflict remains between the two states (Ashraf, 2002).

Furthermore, the study shows that the number of the Indian troops has risen from 18,000 troops in 1952 to 1,000,000 troops at present times (Cheema, 2015).

Proposals by United Nations Security Council

The study shows that the Security Council submitted proposals after hearing the statements from representatives of the Government of India and Pakistan concerning the conflict over Kashmir. The resolution declared that the assembly proposed by the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference could not contribute a solution to the problem as per the United Nations Security Council resolution 91 (1951). On February 21, during the 774th meeting the Security Council recalled its resolution 122 of January 24, its previous resolutions and the resolution of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (Behera 2006). The representative of Sweden was requested by the president of the Security Council to examine with the Governments of India and Pakistan any proposals which in his opinion are likely to contribute towards the settlement of the conflict having regard to the previous resolutions of the Security Council. The

United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan was to visit the subcontinent for this purpose and to report to the Security Council not later than April 15, 1957. The Governments of India and Pakistan were invited to cooperate with him in the performance of these functions. Furthermore, the Secretary-General and the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan were requested to render such assistance as he may request. The representatives were expected to make any proposals to the parties for supplementary apt action with a view of making progress towards the enactment of the resolution of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949 towards a peaceful settlement. The authorized United Nations representative visited the sub-continent for these purposes. The United Nations representative was instructed to report to the Security Council on his efforts as soon as possible (Ashraf, 2002).

The article evaluates that the role of the United Nations was almost eliminated after the 1965 War on Kashmir between India and Pakistan. Both the Governments signed the Tashkent declaration, according to which, "Minister level talks were to be held on the Kashmir conflict." This attempt also remained unsuccessful because of the difference of opinion. The several sessions and hard work of the United Nations on the Kashmir conflict could not find a solution (Channah, 1978).

The evaluation of the UN policy towards Kashmir Human Rights problems

This article presents many examples of how both Governments of India and Pakistan accepted Kashmir as a disputed territory before the United Nations, but back at home some groups never considered Kashmir as a disputed territory (Bose, 2003). It was the United Nations Security Council that tried the best of its capacity to resolve the issue by several resolutions, but their work did not help both countries to solve the issue. India and Pakistan claimed Kashmir as an integral part which was being forcefully controlled by the opposition. Both countries could not make any bold decisions because of the pressure from their people and fear of decision which might cost them heavily. However, Pakistan on some occasions was in favor of referendum despite the widespread feeling in India that Kashmir was its integral part. The Indian Government always halted the progress by making different excuses to reject the United Nations proposals (McMahon, 1994).

Conclusion

This article presented some of the most important evidence on how the solution of the Kashmir conflict is inevitable within the guidelines and framework of the United Nations charter which is founded on principals to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. However, the role of the UN in resolving the crisis is emulsified. The UN must perceive the Kashmir issue as its top priority and bring a resolution mechanism to both parties to the conflict.

The findings also suggest that the history of Kashmir negotiations is marked by a series of failures, lack of trust and mutual suspicion on the part of both India and Pakistan. Several times negotiation took place but ultimately ended without constructive results. From 1948 (1st resolution) to 2018 India did not accept any proposal concerning demilitarisation and holding a plebiscite in Kashmir. India rejects third-party mediation based on the fact that it would expose actuality of Kashmir conflict whereas Pakistan invites third-party mediation for resolving the Kashmir conflict.

Therefore, this article presented satisfactory evidence that as an international community, it can pave a way to peace and prosperity in conflict areas like Kashmir. Paradigm shift could be made when India, Pakistan, and Kashmir will accept the resolution of the United Nations; otherwise, it would be a tough task to be resolved.

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Polish Language Copy-editing/Redakcja polskiego tekstu
Barbara Konopka

Verification and Translation/Weryfikacja i tłumaczenia
Ewa Grzelewska-Jędryka

Proofreading/Korekta
Anna Kisiel

Cover Design/Projekt okładki
Beata Klyta

Typeset/Łamanie
Bogusław Chruściński

ISSN 2353-9747

electronic version/wersja elektroniczna

The reference version of the journal is the electronic version, which appears on the platforms/
Wersją referencyjną czasopisma, począwszy od 2018 roku, jest wersja elektroniczna, ukazująca się na platformach:

Central and Eastern European Online Library www.ceeol.com

University of Silesia Press — Open Journal System www.journals.us.edu.pl

The journal had been previously printed with number ISSN 1895-3492

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Publishing Office/ Wydawca

Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego

ul. Bankowa 12B, 40-007 Katowice

www.wydawnictwo.us.edu.pl

e-mail: wydawnictwo@us.edu.pl

Ark. druk. 4,75. Ark. wyd. 5,5.

Free copy

ISSN 2353-9747

9 772353 974000 06

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