EPIK Young Leaders Conference 2013

When is Conflict Better than Cooperation?

August 8, 2013
Hotel Kukdo, Seoul, Republic of Korea

EPIKspiders

EPIK Young Leaders Conference 2013

When is Conflict Better than Cooperation?

Thursday August 8, 2013
Hotel Kukdo, Seoul, Republic of Korea

Table of Contents

What is EPIK?

EPIK(Exchange Panel for Interdisciplinary Knowledge) is a Global Essay Competition project in pursuit of young scholars who can share their thoughts and develop ideas on various topics in an interdisciplinary manner. Since August 2009, a young group of EAI interns called EPIK Spiders has come together every year to form a planning committee for this project, inviting both undergraduate and graduate students who are interested in various issues including, but not limited to, international peace, democratization, economic development, and social change in an increasingly globalized East Asia. Each year, a new theme is selected for the participants to develop their own research topics which can be presented in an annual academic conference at EAI. At the conference, students and professors are both involved as panelists and discussants. As a way to share diverse perspectives and ideas, EPIK strives to offer an unparalleled opportunity for students to not only receive valuable feedbacks from peers and experts, but also interact and build a lasting relationship with one another throughout the entire experience.

In recognition of Samyang Holdings' generous support and contribution, we have been able to offer students great opportunities to present and discuss papers under such auspicious circumstances. This is the 4th anniversary of EPIK Young Leaders Conference and the upcoming theme for next year's conference is now under discussion, soon to be released through our official website at *epik.eai.or.kr*. On behalf of 2014 EPIK Spiders, we cordially request your participation in next year's event.

2013 EPIK Spiders

In the era of globalization, talented students with globalized minds are cultivated in many distinguished universities of home and abroad; however, they are merely scattered throughout the world without given the opportunities to share their visions and knowledge. Their globalized insights and capabilities can only become valuable assets when they are networked through a channel. In order to foster students into next generation leaders, a platform is needed where they are encouraged to ponder their roles in a diversified and globalized reality and to think comprehensively beyond their associated field of studies. In an effort to provide such platform, EAI supports the EPIK Spiders, former EPIK participants and planning committee members, to play a pivotal role in providing a distinguished network and mentorship.

Committee Chart

President (International)	President (Domestic)
Heehyun Lim Duke University	**Minyoung Kim** Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

PR	Planning Department
Mirina Kim Ewha Womans University	**Seungwon Baik** Korea University
Na Young Lee Seoul National University	**Hyesoo Jee** Yonsei University
Young Jin Lee Sungkyunkwan University	**Hoori Kim** University of California, Berkeley
Joo Young Song Peking University	**Min Ju (Rosa) Kim** Lewis and Clark College
Mirae Yun KAIST	

Message from 2013 EPIK Spiders

Hello everyone! EPIK Spiders is excited to see 2013 EPIK Young Leaders Conference to be finally held and to witness another round of interesting and unique papers. EPIK, which means 'Exchange Panel for Interdisciplinary Knowledge network', is an unparalleled venue for interdisciplinary discussions on global issues. The conference is an opportunity to share ideas, exchange knowledge, and build a long-lasting network.

EPIK Spiders is the one who makes all this possible. We are a group of former EAI interns and participants of the past conferences that is committed to building a platform for future decision-makers to share their views. We choose the topic for each conference, determine the format of papers, and spread the word throughout distinguished universities of the world. As a steering committee, EPIK Spiders invites diverse and distinguished participants to come up with interesting perspectives, interpretations, and solutions to global issues.

The journey, however, has not been easy. Answering a question is hard, but asking a question is harder. EPIK is a panel for interdisciplinary ideas and dynamic discussions, so selecting a topic that stimulates a broad spectrum of intellectuals but still produces a concrete message was one of the key criteria. The decision for the topic came about after extensive and thorough debates between the members of the committee. This year's topic - When is conflict better than cooperation? - came about as a question to trigger ideas that go against the supposed norm. We were hoping that this topic would motivate students to think out of the box and apply their knowledge to convince us whether conflict is better than cooperation in certain cases, or if it is better at all.

Working in an organizing committee for the conference was a great learning experience. While the process of getting there was not always enjoyable, it gave us a chance to deliberate and contemplate on the issues that we easily could overlook and made us answer them. More importantly, EPIK Spiders offered us a valuable network of peers in which we could learn a great deal from each other. Taking the lead to create an international academic forum is not a common opportunity for students, but EPIK Spiders allowed us to fully contribute from beginning to end.

What makes the EPIK Young Leaders Conference stand out is that it allows students from any discipline to take a creative approach to a common question, and we need EPIK Spiders to take initiative to make this happen. We wish our future EPIK Spiders to be open to new ideas, always ask 'why' and throw out unanswered questions. We hope that EPIK will continue as a platform for intellectual exchange and will continue to benefit many talented students with the opportunity to present their ideas as well as learn from others.

Theme of EPIK Young Leaders Conference 2013

"When is Conflict Better than Cooperation?"

Conflict, in all-encompassing spectrums, is inevitable. Following the growth of multiple actors and entities with heterogeneous interests, our world today is witnessing more and more conflicts on the individual, national as well as the international level. Tensions among countries have always formed and shifted power orders in both regional and international level, which more than often have led to physical or non-physical wars. Tensions are also increasingly notable within countries as we witness civil wars, ethnic strife, group conflicts, and protests. Moreover, technological developments and practices have stirred up controversies and tensions, often conflicting with human rights values.

Traditionally, conflict - both violent and non-violent - has been accounted for hindering peaceful communication, optimal resolution, and synergetic outcomes. As a consequence, cooperative behavior was almost always preferred over contradictory behavior.

Conflict, however, could be a source of creation and constructive transformation. On one hand, conflict may generate new outcomes by challenging traditional norms, ideas and beliefs. On the other hand, conflict may be a valuable pathway towards positive change. For instance, the Civil Rights Movement in America during the 50s and 60s challenged the idea of inequality, and the efforts led to improvements in the legal rights of the oppressed minorities. Also, cartel activities are frequently blamed to disrupt competition and they drive the society off the utility maximization.

1) Theoretical track: What are the intrinsic values of conflict and how do they compare to the values of cooperation? Can conflict be better than cooperation? If so, when is it better than cooperation?

2) Empirical track: Does the empirical evidence tell us that conflict is better than cooperation? If so, what are the conditions in which conflict is better than cooperation? You can either provide illustrative case studies and historical examples or quantitative analyses of data.

EPIK Young Leaders Conference 2013 Agenda

Emcee: Na Young Lee, Seoul National University

<u>Opening Session</u>

13:30-13:40 **Opening Address**
Heehyun Lim   Duke University (Class of 2013)
                        President of 2013 EPIK Spiders Committee
Sung Hye Kang Oxford University
                        2012 EPIK Young Leaders Conference 1st prize winner

13:40-13:45 **Welcoming Address**
Sook-Jong Lee   President of EAI

<u>Session I</u>
Moderator: Prof. Jeong-Woo Koo, Sungkyunkwan University

13:45-14:25 **Presentation**
"Conflict Between Classes in Modern Korea: Foundation for Social Development"
 Eun-Young Park, University of Cambridge
"Constrained Cooperation in South Korea's Nuclear Power Policy and Its Side Effect"
 Sung Yoon Park, Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST)

14:25-15:25 **Discussion**
Hyesoo Jee, Yonsei University
Hyunmin Kang, Korea University
Sung Hye Kang, Oxford University
Hye Yeon Park, Johns Hopkins University

15:25-15:40 **Coffee Break**

<u>Session II</u>
Moderator: Prof. Jai Kwan Jung, Korea University

15:40-16:40 **Presentation**
"The Arab Spring: Is Conflict really better than Cooperation?"
 Hoo Ri Kim, University of California, Berkeley
"Conflict Management System and Democracy in Multinational Societies:
 Case Studies in India and Nigeria"
 Ji min (Janice) Han, Claremont McKenna College
"To Fight or Not to Fight: The Revolution Conundrum"*
 Niyati Samir Gandhi, National Law School of India University
 *substitute presenter: Jung Min Yeo, Georgetown University

16:40-17:40	**Discussion**
	Sung Pyo Hong, Seoul National University
	Min Ju Kim, Lewis and Clark College
	Seo Ho Lee, The Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy
	Heehyun Lim, Duke University
17:40	**Closing Session**

Next Generation Town Hall Meeting

Emcee: Rasch Tyler Josef (Korea Friends), Jinyoung Ko (EAI Intern)

17:45-18:00	**Reception**
18:00-18:05	**Opening Address** Namjin Zeon, Executive Vice-President of Korea Foundation
18:05-18:10	**Welcome Speech** Sook-Jong Lee, President of EAI
18:10-18:20	**EPIK Young Leaders Conference Awards Ceremony** Sook-Jong Lee, President of EAI **Next Generation Conference Awards Ceremony** Namjin Zeon, Executive Vice-President of Korea Foundation
18:20-18:50	**Music Performance** EAI Senior Interns "Luxembourg", "We Will Rock You" EAI Junior Interns "Gangnam Style"
18:50-19:10	**Dinner & Speeches** Sung Hye Kang, EAI Intern in 2011 Nihat Khalilzade, Korea Friendship Participant
19:10-	**Prize Drawing & Networking Session**

List of Participants

Session I

Moderator	Prof. Jeong-Woo Koo, Sungkyunkwan University
Presentation	Eun-Young Park, University of Cambridge
	Sung Yoon Park, KAIST
Discussion	Hyesoo Jee, Yonsei University
	Hyunmin Kang, Korea University
	Sung Hye Kang, Oxford University
	Hye Yeon Park, Johns Hopkins University

Session II

Moderator	Prof. Jai Kwan Jung, Korea University
Presentation	Hoo Ri Kim, University of California, Berkeley
	Ji min (Janice) Han, Claremont McKenna College
	Niyati Gandhi, National Law School of India University
	*substitute presenter: Jung Min Yeo, Georgetown University
Discussion	Sung Pyo Hong, Seoul National University
	Min Ju Kim, Lewis and Clark College
	Seo Ho Lee, The Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy
	Heehyun Lim, Duke University

Essays

Session I

"Conflicts Between Classes in Modern Korea: Source for Social Development"
  Eun-Young Park, University of Cambridge

"Constrained Cooperation in South Korea's Nuclear Power Policy and Its Side Effect"
  Sung Yoon Park, Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST)

Conflicts Between Classes in Modern Korea: Source for Social Development

Eun-Young Park

University of Cambridge

Abstract:

While conflict is seen as something that challenges traditional norm and stability, it is also a path towards positive change and development needed for the well-being of a society. This paper attempts to study three kinds of conflicts that modern Korean society (after 1945) went through, mainly focusing on how these conflicts brought the development and if the general pattern can be found in the conflicts. This paper also attempts to show how Korean society can utilize ongoing conflicts between classes in order to achieve further development in the future, and how to develop a specific model for Korea.

Keywords: Conflict, Modern Korea, Social Development

1. Introduction

A society is composed of different groups that compete for resources and have different interests. Thus, different social groups will have different controls over the resources, and it is certain that such groups will not always form consensus on every social issue. Especially the modern Korean society went through fast economic development and change in social construction along with the globalization and democratic movements, leading to diverse and serious exposure to social conflicts. Korean society also showed a unique and diverse way of resolution to those conflicts, and several interesting examples of how different types of conflicts can contribute to the development of the society.

Even though in Korea the traditional distinction of people disappeared after its declaration as a republic, there still exist economic, social, and political classes of people. The conflicts between such classes have been part of history of modern Korean society. Until now, Korean sociologists have focused on decreasing the intensity and frequency of such conflicts. However, they overlooked the fact that such conflicts contributed to the development of Korean society in several ways. This paper will analyze and discuss how these conflicts has contributed to the development in Korean society, and if there is any pattern in this conflict-resolutions in Korea to be used in the future.

Although the definition of conflict includes psychological tension and interpersonal discord, this paper will deal with only the intergroup conflicts that meet such criteria as have two or more actors opposed to each other on a certain social issue, and have definitive and visible attempts to interfere

with the action of the other. In this paper, conflicts will be divided into three different types: economic conflicts, social conflicts, and political conflicts. The grouping will be relative, not absolute. In some cases, individuals who were categorized to a class in certain conflict may be categorized as another class in a different conflict, The term 'class' represents the different hierarchical social category to describe each group involved in the conflict.

2. Conflicts in Korea

2.1. Economic conflict

Korea went through dramatic changes in its economics. After the Korean War, Korea remained one of the poorest countries in the world. In 1960s its gross domestic product per capita was $79 [1], lower than most Latin American and some sub-Saharan African countries. However, it went through a rapid growth from 1960s to 1980s. In 1990s, Korean economy met the Asian Finanicla Crisis, but it soon recovered from the Crisis with the help of government-directed investment. Because of these dramatic ups and downs, the economic gap between the people started to grow because the government policy tends to support the conglomerates through these changes while lacking and orderly sustainability of economic balance between the people [14]. There are two different types of economic conflicts – one is the labor conflicts between the employees and the employers. The other is the conflict between the different economic classes, conglomerates and laborers. Both conflicts were common in modern Korean societies, and contributed to the society in two different ways: one was to prevent the inheritance of hierarchical division of people according to their economic status, and the other was to seek balance between welfare and economic growth in

The labor movement of Korea began from 1970s. Although labor was very active in Korean society, the 1970s Korea maintained the labor union as a state-controlled, representing the interest of the management rather than the employees, and frequently preventing and breaking strikes, and spying on any hint of independent unions. It had a mosaic of small-enterprise unions under its control, making it almost impossible to create labor union. It was especially hard upon the women, especially teenage women who were the major population of workers in the textile industry. The age of the textile industry workers was mostly between 18 and 22 [3], and the working condition was extremely poor. However, at that time, those who were critical of such working conditions were arrested. For example, the poet Kim Chi Ha was prosecuted under the National Security Law for his poems that describe such situation accused of promoting 'class division, thereby allowing poetry to be manipulated as North Korean propaganda'. Considering that the Korean War was just halted a decade ago, the sensitivity of Korean government to such action was somewhat understandable, but the condition was

becoming more inhumane, especially under Yushin system, a system created by president Park Jung Hee to control the economy and politics. The Yushin system may have been essential to the solution of problems in Park's state-business coalition, but its government upon its people created a mass labor movement against the business and its coalition with the state for the first time. Since the opposition leaders and their party had no connection with the laborers and common people [5], labor protest and unionization thus arose largely outside the political system, leading to consecutive series of strikes during late 60s and early 70s, starting from the American electronics firms Signetics and Oak Electrometric Corporation strike in 1968.

In 1970, a textile worker Chon tae-il immolated himself in order to protest against the businesses and corporations and to obey the labor standards act, which shocked the entire nation and spurred many groups into action. His death was not in vain as it mobilized and motivated other workers to take up the struggle, and this eventually led to the creation of labor unions that were gradually able to secure workers' rights. Also, his death became a catalyst for uniting many university students, some religious officials, and the newspaper media, which continuously silenced their support the workers [12]. Finally, after decades-long sacrifices of countless individuals, Korea now seemed to have an economic system that does not nauseate its economically less lucky yet major population and finally brought forth an economy of which all Koreans can be proud [3].

However, the conflict continued. Recently, Samsung was accused of exploiting younger workers by exposing them to the danger of cancer and to the leak of hydrofluoric acid, to which Samsung has claimed that the acid leak wasn't in gas form [2]. However, the case was serious enough to create the new term 'Samsung Cancer'; referring to it that the workers caught blood cancer once they were employed to Samsung. The known numbers of the Samsung employee who caught cancer and died from it were 55 at the year 2011. However, Samsung claimed that it was a 'natural' number of cancer patients rate for a single company. Only after a few people made an international protest and the accident became an issue throughout the nation, and Samsung apologized publicly for the workers' death caused by the hydrofluoric acid leak at one of its factories.

Such conflicts between the company and their employees are not known to the public at the first time because   most of them are resolved by the Union and not publicized, and most of Korean companies want to keep their good public images. In addition, the workers must comply to the company in order to keep their jobs because of the instability of the most jobs.

because of the conflicts created by Samsung and its employees, people are now more aware of the danger that exists in these companies, and are therefore more careful when they are being employed. Even those people who are not directly related to the job market are still aware of such problems. Furthermore, as the society starts to pay an attention to the working condition of these people, the

safety of the workers and became better. The conflict between government and employees are supposed to contribute to the enhancement of working conditions and product safety.

Conflict between conglomerates and laborers also played a huge role in the economic development of Korea. Up to 1990s, the Korean government still had its support on the Conglomerates, with the resources preemption and tax redemption. For example, the First Five Year Economic Plan set in 1961 included rapid industrialization by promoting large businesses. The Government Industrial Policy set the direction of new investment, and the Conglomerate were to be guaranteed loans from the banking sector. In this way, the Conglomerate played a key role in developing new industries, helping Korea to become one of the Four Asian Tigers [13]. However, such phenomenon disappeared after the criticism of the conglomerates by the public started to rise. During the Asian Financial Crisis, people started to witness that while many of the businesses fell down into failure, the conglomerates maintained their businesses through the means and the power they have gained from the Five Year Economic Plan. Seeing this, many of the public who lost their jobs and businesses started to protest against the government and the conglomerates. The Factory-Worker Protest of 1975, Busan-Masan Democratic People's Movement of 1979 all happened around this time.

Politicians such as Kim Dae-Jung started to blame the Conglomerate for not giving much place for the smaller businesses to develop. Therefore finally under President Kim Dae-Jung, elected in the wake of the Asian financial crisis, the government made several efforts to reform the economy. Several laws were made to prevent the conglomerates from having too much power, such as the law for separating finance from industry and the law for limiting the amount of government investment. Although such laws did not prevent the conglomerates from dominating the Korean economy, such laws did give a way to the smaller businesses as a result of their struggle to break through the walls of conglomerates in the economy, resulting in a diverse and more circulating economics in Korean economics. Economic conflict contributed to enhancement of the working environment and public safety, and also brought public attention to issues of human rights and government policy regarding Korean economics.

2.2 Social Conflict

Korea was always known for its education zeal, especially after 1960s. The College and high school enrollment had nearly quadrupled in the period 1948-60 [3], with most universities and certainly all of the best ones were in Seoul. Sending one's son 'up to Seoul' for school was a national ambition, but Korean universities did not require a whole lot of their students. Korean students graduated with skills at about the level of American college juniors, and got the education they needed for their careers mostly in high school. Yet there was a strong incentive to stay in college, and then in graduate school, since job were often unavailable upon graduation. Such notion of university degree's changed role as

mere 'working permit' rather than the proof of intellectual level of the students often lead to conflict between different intellectual classes, especially regarding the job market and the skewed education system of Korea. Also, when Dr. Hwang Woo-Suk was charged with embezzlement and bioethics law violations after it emerged much of his stem cell research had been faked on May 2006, Korea's practice of making 'star' with the intellectuals based on their academic background were also started to be criticized both by the public and the media.

The reform implemented by the Ministry of Education in 1980 was designed to make the system fairer and to increase higher education opportunities for the population at large, reflecting such issues in the disparity created by those who have received upper education and those who did not. There were several steps to the reform, including the prohibition of private, after-school tutoring. Formerly, private tutors could charge exorbitant rates if they had a good "track record" of getting students into the right schools through intensive coaching, especially in English and in mathematics. This situation gave wealthy families an unfair advantage in the competition. Under the new rules, students receiving tutoring could be suspended from school and their tutors dismissed from their jobs. However, such reforms, although ideologically popular, were soon disregarded as they proved to be impractical and created more illegal teaching and tutorials that were even more limited to the families with economic support and political power.

Although these conflicts did result in a chaotic change and experiment with the education and academics, they did not change the zeal and the passion of Korean society. However, one thing that was achieved by the conflicts between different intellectual classes was that the Korean society was able to avoid the error of Group Think, which refers to a psychological phenomenon that occurs within a group of people, in which the desire for harmony or conformity in the group results in an incorrect or deviant decision-making outcome. Korean societies tended to have Group Think especially in terms of academics or nationalism because of their homogeneity and because of the belief that the human resource is one of the most important and competitive resource in Korean society. This is also because while Korean traditional society extremely valued cooperation over conflict because of its homogeneity and its value of peace among the people, the conflict between these classes has led Korea to the fastest development in terms of technology, culture, and economy. Therefore, the education and the person who succeeded in receiving a good education were often put in top criteria in Korean societies, resulting in excessive legacy in job market and a new hierarchy created by the academic backgrounds of an individual. However, as the conflicts in intellectual classes became a major issue for the public, people started to avoid such group think, and became more logical. Many of the job market started to use blind recruitment in their recruitment, and there were several attempts to have an education reform that focuses not on the preparation for the upper school but rather on the creativity and the development of each individual child's talent.

2.3. Political Conflicts

The political history of Korea should be studied carefully to address the conflict between different political classes. There are two types of political conflicts: one is the political conflict between the government and the public. Korea, although a democratic society, did went through dictatorship of Syngman Rhee and Park Jung Hee, despite the economic development at the time. Those who praised Sotuh Korea's economic development rarely spoke of this dark side and all too often tended to justify the authoritarian politics of successive regimes in terms of the harsh requirements of development and security vis-à-vis North Korea, or the Confucian tradition, or the immaturity of Korean politics [3]. However, from 1960s, the democratic movements started to spread in Korean society, and the conflict between the people and the government continue to today. Another conflict between different political classes is the conflict between the major party and the minor party within the government. Although Korea is not a two-party system, the parties were divided into two alliances, although they went through consistent division and unification throughout Korean history.

One of the earliest political conflicts between the people and the government is the April Revolution, in which a popular uprising in April 1960, led by laborers, student groups, and professors overthrew the autocratic First Republic of South Korea under Syngman Rhee, leading to the peaceful resignation of Rhee and the transition to the Second Republic. The event was triggered by the discovery of a body in Masan Harbor, that of a student killed by a tear-gas shell in demonstrations against the elections of March. For the first time the opposition Democratic Party organized the government, with Chang Myon as prime minister, who was a well-educated man from a landed family. Still there was no left wing and no labor union that had a major impact in South Korea, and it still had remarkably narrow political spectrum. The government hardly made an important move without consulting the embassy. Despite such weakness, the Second Republic was still South Korea's first democratic regime, and the foundation of Korea's democratic development.

The April Revolution also contributed to finish the agenda left over from the liberation period. There were around six hundred officers in the National Police who had served the Japanese, nearly all of them in the key positions. Most of them were quit or were fired in 1960s.

Although there were many losses of lives during the April Revolution and the other political movements that triggered April Revolution, the revolution did succeeded in overthrowing the autocratic government. As The government of Syngman Rhee was the very first government of Republic of Korea, it was very likely that without the April Revolution, the Korean government would have lasted the tradition of autocratic government instead of the modern day democratic government with 4-year, non-repetitive term for the president and direct election system. It also created a new bicameral parliamentary system, and weakened the presidential power of the Korean

government, trying to create a balance of power between the branches of the government. Such conflict is termed as 'content conflict', referring to the conflicts that increase motivation and stimulating discussion. Such content conflict is what led to the development of Korean's active participation in politics in modern day Korea.

Another conflict between the people and the government that also contributed to the social development was the recent conflict between the people who opposed Free Trade Agreement with the U.S. FTA, which is a highly divisive issue in Korea, was met by the great worries and opponents. The citizens were worried about transparency, the environment and labor standards say the deal was deficient as it was agreed on behind closed doors. The worry even became larger when the Korean Advertising Broadcasting Agency blocked the running of an advertisement produced by farmers protesting the deal [8]. Several massive protests against the FTA have taken place in the country. A nation-wide protest on November 22, 2006 was reported to have drawn 65,000 to 80,000 people, with 9,000 to 20,000 of them gathering at the city hall in Seoul. A protester named Heo Se-uk set himself on fire Sunday shouting "Stop the Korea-U.S. FTA" outside the hotel where negotiators were meeting [9]. Although many of the fears created by the people were later found out as the rumors, it was not the fact about the FTA that contributed to the developments of the politics in South Korea. It was that the people again decided to rise against the political decision of the government, against what they believed as wrong, and the government now took the voice of the general public as an important factor to mend and to reflect in its policies. The fact that many of the facts claimed by the public also has a great meaning because the fact that the government was right in such facts and yet the government decided to take the public opinion into account and went on to revise the Free Trade Agreement with the U.S. implies that the government started to take the public opinion more seriously than the actual benefit or facts, referring to the growing public power and influence in South Korean Politics. In addition, the population of the people who were involved in the protest consisted of many different economic classes, different age groups, and different genders, which shows how social conflict can lead to a great range of social attention and active participation by the people of all classes and all social groups.

Often the conflict between political parties are frowned upon by the Korean people as many Korean people believe that the political parties, whether conservatives or liberal, are consisted of people from well-to-do classes. However, the conflict between the political parties also contributed to the development of Korean politics as well in several different ways. The conflicts of the political parties attributed to the reason why the Korean politicians became more aware to the idea and the needs of the public, as well as the ideology of their own political parties. Because the political parties were in consistent competition against each other, and because the Korean political system is based upon the

direct election by the people, the Korean politicians now focuses on the people's idea. It can be seen in the increasing usage of SNS and attempt to make direct speech to public by the politicians.

The good example of such phenomenon is the last South Korean presidential election held in 2012, in which the two parties had their candidates to represent very different political parties yet both candidates were very much focused on the ideas and the wants of the people. The Lee Myung-bak government pursued the reduction of bureaucracy and attempted to create more a laissez-faire economic policy, and despite the fact that he was elected in a landslide victory and received initial approval ratings of 70%, Lee's ratings had declined to below 30% by 2012 [11]. At the end of 2011, Park Geun-hye assumed control of the Grand National Party, which was subsequently, renamed the Saenuri or New Frontier Party in February 2012. The name change could be seen as the attempt to show the public that she was detached from the Lee's government, which shows that the Park already regarded the public opinion as the important factor of the winning factor of the conflict. Such phenomenon could be seen in Democratic United Party as well. Although they had the candidate Moon Jae-in and were quite different in their political agenda with Unified Progressive party or Ann Chul-Soo who was an Independent candidate, the party attempted to relate themselves to the other two candidates when they realized that the public support were focused towards the other candidates, claiming that the major goal was to 'destroy' Saenuri or New Frontier Party. Although such political tactics was not strong enough to win them the president, it clearly shows that the rivalry that can be seen in political conflicts between the two parties is based upon the idea of the general public, which means that the support of the general public and their political participation would play a greater role in determining the future and direction of the politics.

3.   Contribution of Conflicts to Korean Society

3.1   Contribution of Economic Conflicts

The basic mechanism driving social change is increasing awareness leading to better organization. Often, although people realize the problem, people do not feel that such problems should be addressed for the sake of stability and order in the society. In such aspect, the conflicts between the employees and employers brought the attention of Korean public to the problem of class division in economics and that unless that they are changed, the division between the economic class would stuck like the class that Korean society traditionally held – the *Yangban* and the commoners, which were originally social classes that people could alternate from one to the other but later became inherited social class similar to the western feudal nobility system. Some economic conflicts happened because of the immaturity of Korean society, but the resolution of such conflicts could also happen because of the

immaturity of Korean society. The economic conflicts in Korean society prevented the Matthew effect from taking place as the major phenomenon in Korean society, which is he phenomenon where "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer" [10].

Economic conflict is the most frequently seen form conflict in Korean society. It also shows the common patterns of conflict resolution in Korean society. As the economic conflicts go through such resolution, the economic conflicts in Korea have contributed in two ways.

First of all, economic conflicts contributed to the development of media and agenda setting in Korean society. it can be seen that in many of the major economic conflicts, there are two types of mediators: one is the government and the other being the media. Until later 20th century, the media of Korean society took a role as the opinion leader of the Korean society, and from late 20th century to current period, the media is the agenda setter in Korean society. As these mediators took part in the resolution of economic conflicts, the Korean society became much more cautious regarding the illegal lobbying and economic gains of conglomerates and the economic system, and the information regarding such conflicts became much more accessible not only to the people involved in the conflicts but also to the public.

Second, the economic conflict contributed to the rights of laborers and improvements of working condition. By having the public and the government be focused on the issue of rights of laborers and the importance of companies in Korean economy, the laborers who were not guaranteed of safe working environment and sufficient income were now able to retrieve their rights, and the companies that needed more financial support from the government and the public could receive their support.

3.2. Contribution of Social conflicts

Social conflicts also had similar contribution to Korean society. The social conflicts in Korean society allowed the Koreans to reflect on the important values of Korean society, especially at the time when Korea went through change into republic. As the Korean society struggled between the traditional and new value, the social conflicts that arouse from such clash of values have trained people how to set and interpret the new value for Korean society.

Social conflicts has also allowed Korean society to develop

3.3. Contribution of Political conflicts

Throughout the history, Korean public went through many demonstration and conflicts, through which the public founded a solid method to reflect their will to the politics. Although Korean electoral system first developed from the indirect electoral system of the U.S., it now has become the direct electoral system which reflects the will of people directly. Also, because of the consistent political

conflicts, the Korean public has become more interested in the politic of Korea, shown by the high participation rate in vote.

4. Discussion

4.1 Model for Conflict contribution to Korean society

4.1.1 Importance of Model Development

The importance of studying Korean conflicts lies with the fact that although the history of conflicts that happened throughout the history of modern South Korea is comparatively short, they still shows and summarizes well the conflicts that are occurring throughout the history and in present times in many countries. In addition, considering that the Korea has developed a very fast development in its economics despite a few threats towards its economic development, in its education system and its education level despite very critical disparity between the education level of the public, and in its success in democratization of the government despite the fact that South Korea is still technically at war with North Korea and fell under several danger of dictatorship, the way Korea has resolved such conflicts can be a good model for other Asian countries who are going through same economic, educational, and political problems in their societies that result from too rapid development of society and the chaotic confusion between the dictatorship and people's attempt and will to participate in their country's politics and economic policies. Many of the countries are also facing globalization and have to choose between their homogenous, traditional ways and the modern, global ways, as Korea did and still does. Such problems are what modern Korean society went through, and the fact that Korean society resolved them and used them to contribute to its social development can lead to a creation of general model for resolving conflicts for the other countries as well that are in similar situation as past Korean society.

4.1.2 Existing Models for Conflict Resolution

Goldfien and Robbennolt stated that there are five major styles for conflict resolution: avoidance, yielding, competitive, cooperation, and conciliation [15]. The resolution styles used in certain conflict vary, depending on the characteristics and environments of the groups involved in the conflict and the characteristics of the conflicts [15].

In order to define the resolution used to solve a conflict, the balance between pro-social and pro-self behavior should be measured. It is clearly related to the relationship between traditional value and modern of Korea. While the traditional value is better for yielding and competitive resolution, in modern Korean society the Korean value directs the conflict resolution towards cooperation and conciliation conflict resolution.

Avoidance conflict resolution is when an individual or group has reduced concern for its own outcomes as well as the outcomes of others, trying to avoid the conflict in all. This can hardly be seen in Korean society, as most of the conflicts between class in Korean society lead to some form of agreement and many compromise along with it, instead of avoidance.

Yielding conflict resolution is when an individual or group has high concern for the others, taking passive pro-social approach. Although this is often seen in the past when one side was clearly weaker than the other, nowadays it is hardly being seen in Korean society due to the power of media and active public concern.

Competitive conflict resolution is when when an individual or group has high concern for themselves, which could also be seen in conflicts in the past, when one side was clearly stronger than the other side. However, as is the case of Yielding conflict resolution, such conflict resolution has decreased in modern Korean conflicts.

Cooperation conflict resolution is when an individual or group has concern for their own outcomes as well as in the outcomes of others, which is the usual method for those who are involved in the conflict. Because of the media and the public support, the two classes that are involved in the conflicts have more access to the information and the opinions of each side. Also, because of the complexity in modern Korean society, it is being more and more clear that in any types of conflict, one cannot clearly decide whether a policy would completely benefit one's own group or the other.

Conciliation conflict resolution is when there is an intermediate-level of concern for both personal and others' outcomes, which is a resolution used by the Korean public not directly involved in the conflict itself. Although people may not be involved in the conflict, Korean public tend to have high interest in the conflict because of its effect on the society. However, as those who are not involved in the conflict can see the conflict in objective view, they tend to have intermediate level of concern for their own and the others' outcomes.

4.1.3 Korean Model for Conflict Resolution

It can be seen that the most used method of conflict resolution in Korean society is cooperation and conciliation method. Yet, the method used in Korea is different from the cooperation and conciliation method described by Goldfien and Robbenolt in that in the process, what is thought of as the most important is not meeting the balance between each side's benefit, but is more about fulfilling the value of Korean society set and confirmed by the past conflict.

In such decision process, the decision makers are not only the people involved in the conflict, but also public of Korean society who are believed to have free access to the information regarding the conflict. Therefore, in Korean conciliation model of conflict resolution, the most important criteria is the public acceptance and with which side the public sympathize with.

This is because of the high interest of Korean public in the conflict, and because of the rapid development of media and social network that allows the public and the people involved in the conflict to have direct and fast access to information and opinions of each side.

Therefore, it can be assumed that if the development of media and the interest of Korean public are maintained, the conflict resolution in Korea will still be a collaboration of cooperation and conciliation resolution, with the media and the public involvement as the third party that affect the speed and outcome of resolution. This is important because it can be a measurement of how a society may change the methods of resolution depending on the amount of information available to the two classes and the third parties. Also, this can be an implication that the development of media and conflict resolution may be stimulant to each other.

4.2 Argument against Conflict

Disorder created by the conflict is still not desirable because of the disorder and the threat it creates to the stability of the people. However, what the Hobbesian sociologists fear is not the conflict itself, but rather the chaos and the violence that are the consequences of the conflict. However, the past history of both Korea and the international society shows that the means of conflict is becoming more and more peaceful. Even the president Obama of the United States argued for the peaceful protest contributing to the well-being of the society, in which he claimed that "it was non-violence, moral force that bent the arc of history towards justice once more. [6]' Herbert Butterfield argued that An order is not a thing bestowed by nature, but is a matter of refined thought, careful connivance and elaborate artifice. At best it is a precarious thing, and though it seems so abstract it requires the same kind of loyalty, the same constant attention, that people give to their country or to the other private causes which only the order enables them to follow [7], which clearly shows that the involvement of people and their will is more important even in establishing the order. The conflict between the classes in Korea happens because the society and the government cannot fully reflect the interest of every social groups, and because each social groups are divided in forms of 'classes' due to their difference in control of the economic, intellectual, and political issues of the society, despite the Korean society's attempt to have all the voices of the society reflected. If a conflict cannot be avoided, it is best to lead such conflicts to the most effective way possible to make a resolution that can be helpful to the development of the society. Although conflict may not have been the only way to lead

to such development, the conflicts that happened throughout the history of Korea surely did lead to such development through the process and the resolution of the conflicts.

5   Conclusion

This paper has studied a few examples of conflicts that were categorized into three types, focused on conflicts of modern Korean society.

In the first 60 years of the new country, Korea went through diverse conflicts at different levels and of different issues. Korean society gained a world status as an avatar of rapid industrial growth and modernization, a society with education zeal and intellectuals who rank highly on international comparative assessments when compared to students of most Western education systems, and as a society that has achieved its democratic movements so that the CIA World Factbook describes South Korea's democracy as a "fully functioning modern democracy. [4]

However, to achieve such names Korea also had to go through many conflicts and turmoil among its people, with millions of lives lost. As can be seen in this paper, the conflict in Korean society has contributed to Korean society in various ways. However, such conflicts were not just cause of discord in Korean societies.

In fact, such conflicts contributed to the development Korean society, with its liberty as a nation and liberty for its people defines them to be – the liberty from the closed hierarchal system that prevents people from going up the economic ladder; the liberty to receive information and express opinions; and the liberty from political suppression and dictatorship.

As Tocqueville said about the relation between the liberty and conflict, "Liberty is generally established in the midst of storms; it is perfected by civil discord, and its benefits cannot be appreciated until it is already old'. Tocqueville's quote fit the modern Korean society, with the liberty 'perfected by civil discord'.

Many economic, social, and political conflicts of Korea allowed for many changes that allowed Korea to become more developed country through the conflicts and the process of resolution. They contributed to the development of media and growing public interest in Korean society. When analyzed to specific resolution pattern, they also showed that the relationship of Korean people have changed from the yielding and competing against each other to cooperating and conciliating with each other, which is a general resolution pattern expected to be found in future Korean society.

Further research can be done on conflicts and its contribution to development in other societies with unique characteristics as Korea, and eventually a research on combining the empirical studies in order to set a common theory on how conflicts can be managed by the nation-states in order to create a positive synergy that will lead to a long-term development and stability of the society. Although this paper has discussed about the types of conflicts, the contribution of each conflict types to modern Korean society, and how the conflict resolution of Korea can be generalized into its own model, further research can be done to find out whether a society may change the methods of resolution depending on the amount of information available to the two classes and the third parties. Also, using the Korean model, the relationship between the development of media and conflict resolution could be also deeply studied, and may be applied to the other societies and their conflicts.

References

[1] Seung-Hun Chun, "Strategy for Industrial Development and Growth of Major Industries in Korea," Korea Institute for Development Strategy (2010)

[2] Sharif Sakr, "Three Samsung workers injured in second serious acid leak at chip plant", Yonhap News May 2nd, 2013

[3] Bruce Cumings, 1997. Korea's Place In the Sun: A Modern History, New York: Norton & Company

[4] Central Intelligence Agency, 2009. ""Korea, South". The World Factbook" Accessed July 19 https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/

[5] AFSC, 1970. The Peace Market, Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee

[6] President Obama, 11 Feb. 2011

[7] Herbert Butterfield (1968), Diplomatic Investigations, p147, Australia: Allen & Unwin

[8] Emad Mekay , "US readies for Korean business". Asia Times. April 04, 2007.

[9] Kelly Olsen "U.S., South Korea Reach Free Trade Deal". Washington Post. April 02, 2008

[10] Malcolm Gladwell, 2008. Outliers: The Story of Success (1 ed.). Boston: Little, Brown and Company

[11] "The Asan Monthly Opinion Survey January 2012". Asian Institute for Policy Studies. January 2012.

[12] Ryu Jae-taek   2005. "Jeon Taeil" Doosan Encyclopedia

[13] Jung Dong-Hyeon. 2009. "Korean Chaebol in Transition". Sage 40 (3): 299–303

[14] Kim Sang-Jo, 2004. "박정희 신드롬의 구조적 원인과 효과 : 사이비 신자유주의 [Park Sydrome's Cause and Effect: Fake Neo Liberalism]" Korea Development Economics Association Vol.3

[15] Goldfien, J. H., & Robbennolt, J. K. 2007. "What if the lawyers have their way? An empirical assessment of conflict strategies and attitudes toward mediation styles" Ohio State Journal on Dispute Resolution, 22, 277-320

Constrained Cooperation in South Korea's Nuclear Power Policy and Its Side Effect

Sung Yoon Park

KAIST, Physics

I.   Introduction

Since the inauguration of GORI No.1 nuclear power plant (NPP) in 1978, Korean government has been urging cooperation from its people on issues surrounding nuclear power plants. Despite the Chernobyl incident, policies on extension of nuclear power plants in response to the necessity of diversification of energy had been briskly commenced until the late 1980s and the energy supply share of nuclear power exceeded that of coal in 1986 and thereafter.   Anti-nuclear movement was not effective under authoritarian government and when the government was vanished, discourse on economic development and energy security filled the vacancy. Near-NPP areas where relatively large disapproval was experienced were imposed by acceptability enhancement policy focusing on financial compensation.

As a consequence, Korea is now one of the highest rated pro-nuclear countries. In the survey conducted right after the Fukushima incident, Korea, despite its closest proximity to Japan, was reported to be one of the most nuclear-friendly countries.[1] Furthermore, Korea exported its strategy of achieving such a high acceptability to multiples countries like Singapore.[2] Reversely, this high acceptability in turn becomes the political foundation for additional pro-nuclear policies.   Unlike other developed countries right after Fukushima incident, this unusal continuation of Korea's pro-nuclear policy was attributed to the silent support from public.

As such, Korean nuclear plant management policy did not encounter a single large-scale opposition from public and successfully derived its people's cooperation. However, it is premature and somewhat uncomforting to discuss success of Korea's nuclear policy with this one sided fact. Rather, it seems that the difficulties of which Korea's nuclear policy is facing are related to this surprisingly high acceptability. This paper criticizes conventional conceptions on nuclear power plants and people's cooperation in terms of following three perspectives.

---

[1] Gallup International, "Volume 1: TABULAR PRESENTATION OF ALL 8 QUESTIONS COUNTRY-WISE" (2011)

[2] KONEPA Blog, "주한 싱가포르 대사 일행, 한국의 원전 수용성 증진 노하우 전수받기 위해 재단 방문", http://blog.naver.com/energyplanet?Redirect=Log&logNo=10122409367

Firstly, imposition of excessive value on 'nuclear acceptability' and resulting side effects are discussed. Korea has been putting acceptability at its top priority in deciding nuclear policy. As a result, review of specificity and safety was often neglected and led to risks and costs. Historical analysis is performed on events that expose such problems to support this argument.

Secondly, recycling of fragmentary financial compensation to simply evade conflict distorted acceptability management policy. Distorted acceptability management resulted in numerous adverse side effects such as paradox of 'high acceptability-low credibility', enslavement of local economy by nuclear plant, and alienation between regions and outside. In-depth field work conducted on diverse actors of and near Uljin and Gori nuclear power plants is provided to support this argument.

Thirdly, single sided 'corporative environment' with no influential counter organization against industry led to loose management system. The aftermath of Gori scandal spanning current clearly exposes such problems. Interview on major Korean anti-nuclear activist and in-depth analysis on Gori scandal is conducted to validate such points.

In conclusion, it seems that the instinctive fear of Korean government on conflict led to present day's situation and dealing with current conflict is ultimately beneficial to Korea nuclear policy. 2006 reformation of nuclear management policy in France, which focused on 'credibility' through 'transparency' rather than 'acceptability', is analyzed. French case study will help nuclear plant operator earn trust are provided. Finally, applicability of the French case to Korea is discussed.

II.   Literature Review

There was long trend of research, which set up the public acceptability as an ultimate goal of nuclear energy policy. To reach that goal, researches have developed the better conflict management with the means of reliance building, transparency improvement, and fair process. The trend is related with the spread of participatory democracy in society at large, including science and technology governance.

In European countries, the practice of involving public and stakeholder actors in science and technology decision-making processes has arisen primarily as a means to ameliorate the public skepticism, cynicism, and mistrust that has undermined technology development plans.[3] In particular, new nuclear policies focused on transparency were established as a way to win back public trust after experiencing strengthened anti-nuclear sentiment from Three Mile Island (TMI) accident in 1979 and the Chernobyl disaster in.[45]

---

[3] Hagendijk, R. and Irwin, A., "Public Deliberation and Governance", (2006) 167-84.
[4] Frewer, L., Rowe, G., & Sjöberg, L., "The 10th Anniversary of the Chernobyl Accident"

In similar macroscopic context, Chung said that building up public acceptability through informing and communication became important in policy since the late 1980s after the nation's political democratization, unlike the earlier expertism and secrecy into public relation strategies.[6]

There are also a bundle of researches that are discussing detailed procedural methods to enhance public acceptability.

In particular, a local referendum introduced in 2005 by the Korean government received much critical attention. The government announced four candidate sites and operated local referendums as a decisive part in selecting low/mid-level nuclear waste repository siting. Following the Special Act on Assistance to the Locations of Facilities for Disposal of Low and Intermediate Level Radioactive Wastes established in 2005, the region with the highest approval rate was to receive around 300 millions dollars plus operating costs and recruit a science project with a high power proton accelerator and the KNEF headquarter along with the repository facility. A coastal city of Gyeongju was selected with an approval rate of 89.5%. In regards to the referendum, Cha and Min[7] appraised that the new attempt to increase public acceptability was good but insufficient. They pointed that it lacked deliberative processes. Kim[8] demonstrated that regional conflicts were exacerbated due to the wrong public acceptability management policy.

These researches well organized the background of importing a concept of public acceptability and the requirement to achieve high acceptability. However, the researches cannot explain why is the acceptability so important. They accepted the value of public acceptability without critiques on it. Therefore, the paper is now raise question. For what the acceptability has treated importantly and the acceptability represents what?

III.   Cooperations in Nuclear Power Policy and the Problems

1.   Imposition of excessive value on 'nuclear acceptability' and resulting side effects

As appeared in literature review, managing public acceptability was located in the center of Korea's NPP policy. Among, the case of selecting low- and intermediate- level radioactive wastes site is a good case, which shows historical progress of conflict management policy in nuclear power sector. Due to the historical feature of modern Korea, conflict on NPP was rather inconspicuous under the authoritarian government. However the problem of selecting low- and intermediate- level radioactive wastes site, despite its relatively lighter safety issue, which started under democratic regime is appraised as the first

---

[5] Dawson, J. I., & Darst, R. G., "Meeting the challenge of permanent nuclear waste disposal", 610-627.
[6] Chung, "The Politics of Expertise and the Cracks", 72-103. (in Korean)
[7] Cha, S.-J. and Min, E.J., "방폐장 부지선정을 둘러싼 갈등과 민주주의", 43-70.
[8] Kim, Y.-J., "방폐장입지선정과정의 정책네트워크 분석, 287-316.

and the most prominent conflict case in the Korean history of nuclear policy. The site for nuclear waste repository was selected 9 times over the past 20 years but they were all rejected by local residents.[9] In each case of conflict, government suggested 'carrots' such as giving special fund or supporting local development. However, as the carrots for evading conflict became bad practice that impose excessive value to the acceptability and passes over the other political principles. As the result, government has made decision disregarding safety and specialty in the policy making process and it led to the risk and the cost.

The first large-scale demonstration based on NPP conflict broke out in Anmyeondo, Chungcheongnam-do, in November 1990. It was very sensitive period in which public concerns on nuclear safety were rising with the news report that Younggwang NPP staff delivered a brainless child. When Anmyeondo was announced as the site for nuclear waste repository, the residents' discontents simmered. After 6 days of radical demonstration, government decided to repeal its decision and Minister of Science and Technology Geun-mo Chung, was replaced as a consequence. After the incident, the government launched an extensive advertisement plan to publicize their nuclear policy.

After being discontented in Anmyeondo, the government turned to a small island in Incheon city, Goolupdo, in 1994. The island was inhabited by only 9 households, which were relatively ignorant to the nuclear power and its side effect. It was eminent that the government was well aware of such 'blocked conflict' and it prematurely announced to build a repository on the island without even scrutinizing the island's geographical eligibility. After the official announcement of repository construction plan, an active fault was detected under the island. Active fault is a region of extremely high likelihood of earthquake where safety and stability of NPP is greatly compromised. Hence, the government had to repeal its decision once again but this time not because of opposition from local residents but due to its impulsive measures that rely on acceptability rather than political principles and philosophy.

Continually, Uljin, Youngduk, Young-gwang, Gochang, etc. was selected as the site, but they are all recalled soon after residents' opposition.

In 2003, Buan of Jeonbuk province became the core of heated dispute. Kim jong Kyu, then-city ("Gun") mayor, independently submitted the request of host for repository despite the disapproval from city's ("Gun") assembly and government prepared construction of repository knowing Mr. Kim's dogmatic action. This enraged the citizens and caused them to stage numerous violent protests outside the government complex in Gwacheon, south of Seoul. The protest had lasted for 15 months. This incident

---

[9] Kyunghyang shinmun, "[원전, 대전환 시점 왔다]방폐장 터 20 년간 9 차례 번복" (2011.04.13)
http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=sec&sid1=102&oid=032&aid=0002124271

became the turning point, which changed the paradigm of government on acceptability of residents. The government refrained from finding regions of fewer conflicts and attempted to promote cooperation from people by seeking procedural democracy and imposing exorbitant reward. As a result, 20 years of controversy over selecting repository site was ceased by the acceptance of Gyeongju city through referendum. In return, government promised 300 billion won for compensation and relocation of KHNP headquarter in Gyeongju city.

In current criteria, the siting is decided by conducted points in scale of 100: 15 points for site suitability, 35 points for environmental effect, 20 points for construction sustainability and 30 points for residents' acceptability. Surprisingly high weight on residents' acceptability makes it tempting to question the validity of government's priority in decision-making even though other criteria are considered. Moreover, government disclosed only reports on acceptability rating of cities previously considered as potential candidate for repository site but reports on other sectors are not opened to public with the reason of "possibility to raise unnecessary social conflict"[10]. An additional report on NPP site was not disclosed for the same reason and reports on geological safety survey on Gyeongju radioactive waste disposal facility went public four after it selection, which was 2009.

Such suspicions led to recent surfacing of controversy over the suitability of repository in Gyeongju area. Discovery of flaccid aquifer layers and leakage of underground water below NPP construction site initiated dispute over site eligibility and through report from civil-level investigation, the problem has been exposed and criticized. Dr. So-gu Kim, a leading expert on earthquakes and the head of the Korea Seismological Institute, analyzed the underground structure over 200 km distance between Ulsan and Uljin using seismic waves in June of 2011. As a result, Dr. Kim observed an unusual change in pattern of seismic wave over 50 km length from the point located 100 km away from Ulsan. Dr. Kim, in his interviewed with Kyeonghyang newspaper[11], said, "Based on my measurement, a sudden slowing down of relative speed of seismic wave implies formation of fault and subsequent intrusion of water in the area". He then asserts, "Considering the area is the origin of Gyeongju's past earthquakes, this fault is eminently active and result form another similar experiment shows that there exists 50 km length of active fault only 30 km away and 10 km deep from Gyeongju". He also criticized, "(Weolseong) NPPs and repository in Gyeongju is under the danger of earthquake".

---

[10] Hankyoreh, "원전지을 땅, 안전성 검사보다 주민 서명부터 받는 나라"(2011.03.28), http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/environment/470181.html

[11] Kyunghyang shinmun, ""월성원전 인근 지하에 50 ㎞ 활성단층"(2011.06.20), http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=201106200324135&code=940701

Such critique elucidates unprincipled NPP governance policy of government for evading conflict again and even makes people to reconsider past major decisions. IAEA is currently advising not to build NPP near 80~160 km proximity of active fault. According to this criterion, not only Weolseong NPPs but also Gori NPPs are inadequately located. However these claims for safety are not considered seriously.

Even though such decisions were unilaterally made by authoritative government for their political convenience, looking at the problems that neighboring country Japan is facing, scientific insights on active faults should be not be dismissed. However, the government is not only disregarding such voices but rather attempts to exploit the fact that it is easier to draw acceptance in regions already have NPPs built to accommodate additional NPPs.

Although not having direct influence on safety of NPP as for the case with active fault, concentrated NPP building practice based on least degree of conflict has been subjected to multi-perspective criticism.

As shown in the figure below, the east coast of Korea is known to house one of the highest density sites of NPP in the world. This densely packed NPP can be criticized as unsafe, immoral, and inefficient in energy distribution.

<Picture 1> S.Korea's NPPs in 2013.06.01, KAIF (www.kaif.or.kr)

As the closest neighbor of Japan, which suffered from nuclear accident caused by earthquake, it is irrational that current nuclear policy of Korea blindly pursues public acceptability rather than considering geologic feature. This suggests the absence of the principles on nuclear governance and inordinate intervention of public acceptability in nuclear decision-making. Government should understand that the cooperation is not a sufficient but one of the necessary conditions for nuclear power policy.

2. Evasion of conflict and distorted acceptability management

As the radioactive waste site case shows, Korean government has evaded conflicts with the economic compensation. However, this management policy is not only unhelpful to further nuclear management policy, but also occurs diverse side effects on the near-NPP regions and the outside. I have visited Uljin and Gori in November 19th to 22nd in 2011 and performed fieldwork to reveal the side effects thoroughly. It was not very long period, I could meet diverse important people there; local pro- and anti- nuclear opinion leaders, people in charge of managing local acceptability at local KHNP, workers in local KHNP, members of local assembly, a lawyer have sued the KHNP for its inattention on managing NPPs, members of Civil Environmental Monitoring Unit and leaders of local villages near by NPPs. In addition, I could meet Hun-suk Lee, who is the major anti-nuclear activist in the central anti-nuclear movement, prof. Kyun-ryeol Seo, who teaches nuclear technology at the Seoul National University and criticizes 'nuclear cartel' as a member of the nuclear group, and Dr. Gwang-sik Choi, who is a member of Korea Institute of Nuclear Safety (KINS) and has claimed on 'transparent' policy on nuclear management, in the beginning of the 2012.

Acceptability management policy in Korea

Korean government have focused on economic compensation for the local acceptability management and stressing importance of electric power for the overall acceptability management.

Before Fukushima incident, it was difficult to see an article on NPP posted in newspapers other than local periodicals. Statistics show that during 1 month period of January 2011, only 18 writings related to 'nuclear energy' were found among columns, opinions, and articles from Chosun daily, Joongang daily, Dongah daily, Hankyoreh, Kyunghyang shinmun, and Pressian. This was a period of extraordinarily high public awareness on NPP due to win a NPP contract in UAE. On the other hand, public news broadcasts warning of energy shortage every year in Summer and Winter periods arouses unconscious approval for need for additional NPP. As such, on one hand, Korean government attempts to hide double sided nature of NPP and on the other hand, stresses the need for NPP.

On the far side, the deal proposed by Korea acceptability governance policy on locals near NPPs is a highlight to outsiders. The representative law of Korea's local acceptance governance policy is 'legislation on supporting surrounding area of power plant (SSP-law)'. This law ensures financial support to region within 10 km boundary of NPP.

In 2006, government has reform the SSP-law as "the effort to settle civil complaints from surrounding area, which claimed the unrealistic fund size and inefficient business supporting system". Reformation

was a mean to improve local residents' receptivity. The major change from SSP-law's revision in Korea is the foundation of Clause 2, Article 13 which is about the financial resources and decision of supporting fund and the reformation of Article 10 which is about the possible supporting business. On this account, segmentalized previous supporting business has combined and larger scale business that had restricted with limit on the supporting fund was able to carried out. Therefore local-customized business became practicable. In addition, the newly passed Clause 2, Article 13 allowed regions where degree of local opposition was severe to receive financial support from developmental industries in addition to existing subsidies which will provide more room for additional execution of supportive businesses. Therefore the supporting fund for the near-NPP area of the nuclear power plant has increased 4 times to 10 times.[12]

However, the problem is that the wholesome demurral is not accepted under this economic compensation policy. People in charge of local acceptability management tended to interpret local residents' demand as a means to achieve larger compensation. Mr. Kihong Kim, who is in charge of managing local acceptability in the Uljin KHNP said,

> "From the nuclear waste vitrification, steam generator replacement, and Gyeongju's waste repository to the simple conflicts around local cafeteria … these are all related to their own compensation, financial compensation and economical compensation. After all, what they say is all related to money. They bring up all these things to get more compensation."

Local residents pleaded trouble under the KHNP's frame. Yong-wha Seo, prosperity chairman of Weol-ne village, which is the nearest village of Gori NPPs, answered the question for their cooperative manner to the government's NPP policy as below;

> "The reason that we don't demonstrate isn't that we don't feel anxious. Villagers' living is threatened, because within 5 km around the Gori plant was bound as the Greenbelt. If the discussion about the safety is getting larger, villagers' living will be more threatened. Besides, when we say that we feel anxiety, people's awareness about the near-NPP area will be getting worse. And this will make situation worse. We are just suppressing."

Mr. Seo's claim implies the acceptability is mere a constrained one and may not represent public sentiment on NPPs.

---

[12] 국가법령정보센터, "발전소주변지역 지원에 관한 법률" (2013.04), http://www.law.go.kr/lsInfoP.do?lsiSeq=136937&efYd=20130323#0000

Paradox of 'high acceptability-low credibility'

KONEPA (Korea Nuclear Energy Promotion Agency) conducts public survey every year and reflects people's voices in policies. Although the size of public survey has been reduced since Fukushima incident, it is continuously being performed. However, as discussed above, it merely acts as another tool used by government to enforce high acceptability based nuclear policy and cannot be used as a standard to understand the locals.

연 도		1993	1995	1997	2000	2002	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
원자력발전 필요성		85.5	85.5	83.1	84.4	83.9	95.4	86.8	82.8	89.8	83.7
원전 안전성		34.4	30.5	38.6	33.6	37.6	70.6	46.0	51.4	58.3	61.1
방폐물 관리 안전성		23.1	22.8	26.3	23.4	41.5	53.7	41.3	53.4	64.6	59.6
원전 건설	신규 증설	74.7	55.5	59.1	48.3	39.2	64.9	52.0	43.6	41.4	50.6
	현상 유지	14.1	27.1	28.2	34.0	48.5	28.1	28.5	38.2	51.2	39.7
거주지 수용도		14.0	12.4	22.1	10.9	16.2	50.5	22.3	27.4	23.7	26.9
조사 회사	방법	면접	면접	면접	면접	면접	전화	면접	면접	면접	면접
	모집단	만18세↑	만18세↑	만18세↑	만18세↑	만18세↑	만20세↑	만20세↑	만20세↑	만20세↑	만19세↑
	크기	2,000명	1,525명	1,524명	1,500명	1,007명	1,542명	1,548명	1,548명	1,500명	1,500명
	표본 오차	95%±2.2%	95%±2.5%	95%±2.5%	95%±2.2%	95%±3.1%	95%±2.5%	95%±2.5%	95%±2.5%	95%±2.5%	95%±2.5%
	기간	93. 9	95.10	97.10	00.11	02.12	05.12	06.12	07.12	08.12	09.10
	회사	갤럽	갤럽	갤럽	TNS	R&R	갤럽	한국	R&R	R&R	미디어

<Table 1> Public survey results on NPP for 1993-2009, KONEPA

Table 1 shows the nationwide public survey results conducted from 1993 to 2009 by KONEPA. KONEPA relates 'NPP Safety' criterion to credibility and states that "credibility on safety of domestic NPPs is generally increasing among people"[13]. However, it is not adequate to interpret 'NNP is safe' as belief that nuclear plants are being well-managed. Also, additional surveys asking people why do they think NPP is safe states that 47.1% answered due to its 'world wide use', 43.2% on 'meticulous management', 35.3% on 'trust on nuclear power technology' and etc.. This reports about 1/3 of survey participants who answered 'NPP is safe' trusts Korea's nuclear plant management.

Based on the survey, it is true that credibility on NPP is gradually increasing; this level of trust is relatively low compared to public conception on need for or acceptance on NPPs. Furthermore, there is no

---

[13] KONEPA, "원자력 발전 백서" (2010), 272

x

clear and appropriate index for criteria for public survey to quantify the level of 'credibility'. This reflects Korean government's inclined focus on NPP acceptability over formation of trusts among people.

In addition, above survey is conducted during so called 'nuclear power renaissance period' in which Korea, in particular, was facing a large scale advertisement on wining the UAE nuclear plant contract. Thus, recent (closed-door) results cannot be interpreted as the optimistic preview of public sentiment like above.

Mr. Hyung-sam Kim of Gun-Nam leads the pro-nuclear group in Uljin. He claims that "construction of new nuclear power plant should be carried for the long term benefit of Uljin. Compensation from the hosting the plant should be spent on cutting taxes, developing infrastructure, and etc. in promotion of accommodating businesses for future economic independence of the city." He explained his conversion from anti-nuclear to pro-nuclear side: "I realized there is no victory in blindly being against it", "After a long time of being an anti-nuclear activist, there was no other choice but to give in." He criticized anti-nuclear or free-nuclear advocates as being "impractical and idealistic" and said that their actions are "inconsiderate of local residents' economic condition."

However, even Mr. Hyung-sam Kim answered negatively to the question on the NPP management credibility. He said "Of course I can't believe." He also commented, "However we should consider local's realistic situation", which implies his support on building additional NPP in the region was not based on credibility but somewhat realistic interests such as economic factors.

However, credibility would be more crucial factor than acceptability in the long-term consideration. Acceptability without credibility can be easily collapse in urgent situation. In addition, especially the case of Korea, which did not sufficiently build response strategy on extreme situation about public sentiment, is expected to be hard to control the situations and makes people to be worry.

Impoverishment of near-NPP regions: case study of Uljin and Gori

Another interesting discovery in the fieldwork was that local people rather think that economic compensation impoverish the local's economic basement. In the case of Uljin, anti-nuclear movement and local cultural movement were performed in a line of connection. Kyu-bong Lee, the local anti-nuclear activist, was also a person in charge of 'Keumgang pine tree restoration movement'. He also worked for 'local history museum project'. Hyo-sun Nam, the traditional local opinion leader of anti-nuclear movement was majored in regional studies and studies long times to reveal the local value of Uljin. He is also a chair person of local press.

Gori, which has been tied into Greenbelt with the built of NPP, is worse than Uljin. Local residents says "NPP harmed the local's potential to development". Yong-wha Seo have nostalgia on the past prosperity of his homeland. When he recalled "a richest village in the Busan area", his hometown in the past, he critics NPP that "the local economic and cultural base was completely destructed due to the NPPs" and "local residents have endured a huge sacrifice" He argues that the economic compensation through SSP-law is only prosper and even "KHNP should compensate the distorted local's potential to be developed"

Amount of compensation is increasing year by year and superficial acceptability is satisfactory. However, the problems are festering under the surface. Actually, Uljin and Gori are both the fishing industry based village and their impoverishment cannot be said caused by only NPP building. However, there is definite need to improve government NPP management policy.

<Picture 2> Chinon's wine label including the
picture of local nuclear power plants, Gabrielle Hecht (2009)

Above picture is a wine label in Chinon, France. It includes a local nuclear power plants. Gabrielle Hecht introduced this case in his book 'The Radiance of France' as the good case of NPP melted into the local culture. Despite, there was a violent objection toward NPP when it was first decided to be built in Chinon, current relationship between local residents and NPP promoters are very fine. Chinon's NPP has its characteristic un-authoritarian culture. Therefore workers could talk about their job relatively freely, and it led to increase transparency of local NPP management. The transparent management sometimes caused small-scale conflicts, but it ultimately occurred a huge credibility on local NPP. The residents started to involve NPP in their community and that "cute" NPP could be used for the label of local products.[14] In contract, an anonymous technical worker in Uljin KHNP said, "Although I lived over 20 years in Uljin, I feel like I am still a stranger here"

---

[14] Gabrielle Hecht, "The Radiance of France" (2009)

3. **Alienation Between Local and the Outside led Scanty Oppositions and Corrupted NPP Management**

Finally, I would like to discuss the alienation between local and the outside due to the SSP-law and reveal how it led to scanty opposition and corrupted management of NPP.

The New Conflicts between Surroundings and Outsides after Fukushima

In Aprin 21st, which was soon after the Fukushima nuclear accident, Busan city council's Sung-Suk Lee, Jae-Gap Lo, and Il-gwun Lee, and 60 district representatives and members of local legislative body issued declaration for "the shutdown of Gori NPP Unit 1" and "the rescind of building new nuclear plant in Busan". Almost 1/3 of Busan members of district representatives among 182 people were joined for this declaration. Gori NPP Unit 1, which is the first nuclear plant in Korea, stopped running June 2007 after the first operation in April 1978. Thanks for the Korean Government's approval, it was reactivated for 10 years from January 2008. However, none of the members of Kijang legislative bady where the plant is placed were signed for this declaration for the shutdown of plant. It doesn't mean they with the reactivation, it is clear that there are disaccord about the Gori NPP Unit 1's reactivation between the surroundings and outsides of plantation. We met Mr. Hong-Bok Kang, member of Kijang legislative body, to ask this controversial topic. "This problem (reactivation of Gori NPP Unit1) is not to be opposed. They (who are asserting the shutdown) don't know the fact." He stressed. As a vice-chairman of the Civil Environmental Monitoring Unit, he said he sometimes get angry to the attitude of KHNP that hides the information. He also said "However, this is totally different topic with the life extension of NPP Unit 1". He told that life extension is very complicated problem that many issues like compensation are get involved. After that he stressed those firs this is local issue after all. Also, he said "It is resdients' opinion that Gijang is not opposed to the Gori NPP Unit 1's reactivation."

Economic Compensation Decides the Boundary between Surroundings and Outsides

It is noticeable that there are divergent opinions about the scope of 'surrounding' that Mr. Kang said within that local community. According to Mr. Kang, he limits the Gijang Gun as the 'surrounding'. However Mr. Gap-Yong Park, village foreman of Gilchun which is the nearest town which is less then 5km away from the Gori plant and Yong-Wha Seo, prosperity chairman of Weol-ne, separated themselves by calling Gijang villagers as "those people", because Gijang is more far from their village. They are hostile toward the district council and Gijang villagers. "District council using budget at other areas to get the votes despite of SSP-law clearly state that budget must be used in the areas within 5km from the plant". About the newly getting interested people in Seoul and Busan, he criticised "Those

people are just onlookers who are not get involved." It is very interesting that when Mr. Kang or the nearest villagers decide the boundary of 'the local' and claim their right, both sides follow the standard that SSP-law determined. It means that 'economic compensation' is the cause of the different standpoints about the nuclear plant. Therefore, it seems clear that economic compensation is one of the most important decision-maker. However, according to the fact that Gilchun, and Weol-ne villagers who are living in most supported village are demanding collective migration, it will be the hasty generalization if we claim economic compensation is the only factor. Just like the previous survey, people demand belief, safety, and clarity, in addition to the economic compensation when embrace the nuclear plant. If we ignore these demands and just making policies for more economic compensation, it can make more problems like interregional conflict. Demands for the values more than the economic compensation is getting larger after the Fukushima nuclear accident.

Outsides' Increasing Demands for Safety and Transparency after Fukushima

Society for the Busan regional lawyers applied for an injunction for the shutdown of Gori NPP Unit 1 which is being operated more than 30 years which is the life expectancy of the unit to the Busan district court. They asserted Gori NPP Unit 1 must be stopped because it is old, and dangerous, and there are lots of unchanged parts. And also there are phenomenon that outer wall is getting weaker. We met Mr. Dong-Gyu Kang who is the main lawyer of the suit and heard detailed story. Answer for the question why he decided to file this suit, he said that "Before the Fukushima nuclear accident, I don't know well about the regional nuclear plant. Howevever after the accident, I realized that range of the nuclear accident is quite wide. Therefore I got worried about this." KHNP is managing nuclear plants without releasing the result for the safety evaluation. Our suit is neither the opposite for the nuclear power, nor the demand for the shutdown of Gori NPP Unit 1. There are opinions that there are problems on the safety of the Gory plant, and the Fukushima accident aroused public's attention. Therefore our demand is just stop the Gory NPP Unit 1 temporarily and check the safety."

After that, he told about the difficulties during the case. "There are so many limitations of the informations that we can get, after the suit there were few information about the nuclear plant that we could access. Even though those accessible information was limited in terms of the time and the place by KHNP. Safety evaluation report was allowed for only 30 minutes. It was too short for the non-experts." He said he got to know KHNP is authoritative and hiding.

Alienation between Local and the Outside led Scanty Oppositions and Corrupted NPP Management

Another difficulty was on the process to recruit the citizen plaintiffs. In Korea, public suit is not widely recruited. It consumed many time to recruit citizen plaintiffs, but through the internet they finally recurited 97 citizen plaintiffs. Lawyer Kang said awareness for the nuclear safety and clarity of the information is growing. However there were very few Gijang villagers involved in the citizen plaintiffs. He said that "They are concerned about not only the safety, but also the compensation. So position can be different."

In this manner, when environmental organizations join the negotiation table, they do no more than providing locals appropriate reasons for financial compensation in many cases. Representative Mr. Lee Hun Seok of free-nuclear organization Energy Justice Movement described these phenomena as "A bit bitter but inevitable, the goal of local residents and ours are definitely different and we cannot intervene that kind of(related to compensation) discussions. When we're debating about (anti-nuclear) movements the story always boils down to financial issues. And I think that is understandable".

However, Hyo-sun Nam in Uljin argued somewhat regret on this issue.

> "Due to the different interests of local and outside activists, it is hard to work together. It is frustrate situation that no single large-scaled group exist to influence on KHNP's arbitrary decision."

Prof. Kyun-ryeol Seo, in department of nuclear technology in Seoul National University, also criticized the problem of 'nuclear cartel', which causes the corruption of the NPP management and argued that the absence of the influential opposition power on NPP issue led current situations.

IV.   Conclusion

The paper criticized Korean government's public acceptability management policy on nuclear field. With its huge dependence on public acceptability the policy maker often passed over other important factors in NPP policy and introduced economic-compensation-focused policy to get cooperation easily. However those kind of policies caused various side effects; paradox of 'high acceptability-low credibility', enslavement of local economy by nuclear plant, and alienation between regions and outside, which can cause Scanty Oppositions and Corrupted NPP Management.

To overcome the problems, the Chinon's case introduced in this paper is important. The case showed that how transparency can build credibility and be concluded in health relationship between people and NPP operator. Actually, French performed huge reformation on nuclear management policy on 2006 based on this kind of logic model. 'Program act on transparency and security onnuclear matters' has been passed on June 2006. This law reinforces the independent regulations on France's

nuclear activity and allows publics to get the immediate and accurate information about it.[15]

Alain BUGAT, the director of the French CEA, visited Korea in 2007 and hold a lecture, telling about the cause of such change in France. He said, "Every related parts of nuclear energy should provide honest and clear information to the public. It takes a long time of effort to gain trusts form the public, but if the cover-up occurs, it can disappear in a moment"[16], clarifying that the system reformation in France was to improve the receptivity through enhancing the public trust. Like France made 'transparency' and 'trust' as their most important political principle this is time to get out of constrained nuclear management policy and build new principles in Korea.

---

[15] ASN's Annual Reports(2010), ASN, 2011

[16] Alain BUGAT, "프랑스 원자력 분야의 현황과 전망 및 전 세계 원자력 르네상스를 위한 프랑스의 비전, 원자력산업", 2007

Reference

1. Gallup International, "Volume 1: TABULAR PRESENTATION OF ALL 8 QUESTIONS COUNTRY-WISE" (2011)

2. KONEPA Blog, "주한 싱가포르 대사 일행, 한국의 원전 수용성 증진 노하우 전수받기 위해 재단 방문",

3. http://blog.naver.com/energyplanet?Redirect=Log&logNo=10122409367

4. Hagendijk, R. and Irwin, A., "Public Deliberation and Governance", (2006) 167-84.

5. Frewer, L., Rowe, G., & Sjöberg, L., "The 10th Anniversary of the Chernobyl Accident"

6. Dawson, J. I., & Darst, R. G., "Meeting the challenge of permanent nuclear waste disposal", 610-627.

7. Chung, "The Politics of Expertise and the Cracks", 72-103. (in Korean)

8. Cha, S.-J. and Min, E.J., "방폐장 부지선정을 둘러싼 갈등과 민주주의", 43-70.

9. Kim, Y.-J., "방폐장입지선정과정의 정책네트워크 분석, 287-316.

10. Kyunghyang shinmun, "[원전, 대전환 시점 왔다]방폐장 터 20년간 9차례 번복" (2011.04.13)

    http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=sec&sid1=102&oid=032&aid=0002124271

11. Hankyoreh, "원전지을 땅, 안전성 검사보다 주민 서명부터 받는 나라"(2011.03.28),

    http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/environment/470181.html

12. Kyunghyang shinmun, ""월성원전 인근 지하에 50㎞ 활성단층"(2011.06.20),

    http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=201106200324135&code=940701

13. 국가법령정보센터, "발전소주변지역 지원에 관한 법률" (2013.04),

    http://www.law.go.kr/lsInfoP.do?lsiSeq=136937&efYd=20130323#0000

14. KONEPA, "원자력 발전 백서" (2010), 272

15. Gabrielle Hecht, "The Radiance of France" (2009)

16. ASN's Annual Reports(2010), ASN, 2011

17. Alain BUGAT, "프랑스 원자력 분야의 현황과 전망 및 전 세계 원자력 르네상스를 위한 프랑스의 비전, 원자력산업", 2007

Session II

"The Arab Spring: Is Conflict really Better than Cooperation?"
  Hoo Ri Kim, University of California Berkeley

"Conflict Management System and Democracy in Multinational Societies:
  Case Studies in India and Nigeria"
  Ji min (Janice) Han, Claremont McKenna College

"To Fight or Not to Fight: The Revolution Conundrum"
  Niyati Gandhi, National Law School of India University

The Arab Spring: Is Conflict really better than Cooperation?

Hoo Ri Kim

University of California, Berkeley

Abstract

As a result of the conflicts in the Arab Spring, the lives of the populations in the region have been arguably improved through measures towards democratization and by the fall of authoritarian regimes. However, at the same time, the populations have suffered losses during the conflicts, and cooperation with the governments could have resulted in continued periods of more peaceful times, exemplified by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Revolutions such as the Arab Spring bring about a radical wave of change to a country's political system and raise alarm in the international community as a call towards the need for change in relevant countries or regions. However, whether the conflicts are better by what standards is debatable. In this paper, I will examine the conflict of the Arab Spring to evaluate the question of whether conflict is better than cooperation.

Keywords: Arab Spring, conflict, cooperation, authoritarian regimes, transition

I. Introduction

As a young man lit himself on fire in protest in Tunisia in December 2010, an unprecedented series of conflicts between the governments and populations in numerous countries in the Middle East began in 2011. The wave of conflicts in the Middle East, labeled the Arab Spring, spread through many more countries in the region such as Egypt, Libya, Syria and Bahrain. In the arguably ongoing conflicts, some countries have already witnessed political, social and economic changes. As a result of the conflicts, the lives of the populations have arguably been improved through measures towards democratization and the increase in civil liberties. Authoritarian leaders in the region such as in Tunisia and Egypt were forced to leave office and new political infrastructure was initiated. There have been calls for more transparent and democratic governments without corruption and human rights abuses. Through these results, the example of the Arab Spring tells us that conflict is better than cooperation given the context of the situation of the region.

On the other hand, the human and economic cost of the conflict cannot be ignored. Although political shifts and democratization seems to be occurring in some countries such as Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, many other countries like Syria and Bahrain have not had success in achieving drastic political changes and their populations continue to be oppressed and continued cooperation with the

governments could have brought them more peaceful periods. Because of rigorous protests and opposition movements, governments in countries such as Bahrain have reacted more violently to protect the legitimacy of their governments. While the question "when is conflict better than cooperation?" assumes that conflict is better than cooperation at certain situations, through the study of the Arab Spring we could also further examine whether conflict is better than cooperation at all.

The primary goal of this paper is to identify the conditions under which conflict is better than cooperation through the origins, process and results of the Arab Spring. The paper also evaluates whether the conflict of the Arab Spring was indeed better for the populations than an alternative to cooperate. The political, social and economic contexts will be analyzed as well as changes in the same domains, with an emphasis on political regime changes, democratization and civil liberties. I argue that the Arab Spring shows that conflict is better than cooperation in certain regimes with ongoing repression, loss of government legitimacy and strong protests with high desire and capacities. In addition, the stability of republics and monarchies are contrasted by the comparison between countries such as Tunisia, Egypt and Libya and Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (U.A.E.).

This paper is organized into seven sections and the rest of the paper is as follows; the second section will detail the context of the region before the Arab Spring which led to conflict and the third will provide a positive account of the political progress after of the conflict. The fourth section will analyze the costs and backlash in the aftermath of the Arab Spring while the fifth will detail recent economic recovery and a positive outlook for the region. The sixth section provides a contrast to the Gulf monarchies and the seventh section will conclude.

II. Why was conflict chosen over cooperation in the Arab Spring?

To analyze why the protestors choose to instigate conflict with the governments to express their discontent and demands rather than resorting to cooperation or negotiation with them, political, social and economic trends in the countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Syria in the Arab Spring should be taken into consideration. Although every country is not identical in its context, previous studies show that certain conditions provide the context for an insurgent movement, rather than negotiation, as a drive for political reform in certain cases.

Firstly, the lack of democratic values, similarly to the socialist Eastern Europe[1], and repression by the governments for extensive periods of time resulted in the choice of popular movements against the governments. The Middle East has been the least "free" region in the world[2]. Many countries in the Middle East have been ruled by authoritarian leaders for many decades, and the populations had limited civil liberties and social freedom. According to Freedom House, Tunisia,

---

[1] Bunce, "Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations", 2000.
[2] "Middle East and North Africa", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.freedomhouse.org/regions/middle-east-and-north-africa

Egypt, Libya and Syria were 'not free'[3] in 2010, meaning that the populations were not guaranteed political rights and civil liberties. During the prolonged rule of authoritarian leaders, each of twenty years or more, they repressed political opponents, controlled the media and disregarded human rights. Ben Ali removed legislative barriers to continue ruling as President in Tunisia, for example, and Mubarak persecuted political opposition. The government forces' unlawful and excessive use of violence against the protestors in Libya was noted by international organizations as a breach of the rules of war[4]. Political opposition was crushed by violence[5] and the media was controlled by the government in Syria as well. Similarly, more moderate forms of protest had been repressed by the governments in South Africa and El Salvador[6], and widespread mobilization consequently became the alternative to bring about political reform. In other words, mass mobilization became one of the few available alternatives for the people to express their concerns.

Secondly, economic crisis along with corruption triggered a loss of legitimacy of the existing governments[7]. Unemployment rates were high across the region, especially due to the surge in the percentage of youth[8]. Youth unemployment rate in the Middle East has been among the highest in the world, peaking at around 24% around the time of the protests, with a similar rate in Egypt and reaching 30% in Tunisia.[9] During the widespread economic conditions, elites sided with the biased governments for economic benefits, while the protestors form the "insurgent counterelite", similar to the series of regime changes in South Africa and El Salvador[10]. Corruption was prevalent in the Arab governments as well; elites held political and economic benefits and there was little incentive for them to divide or change their interests. More specifically, the Tunisian President and his associates have monopolized certain sectors of the market to their advantage[11] and further exacerbated the living conditions of the poor; this only brought discontent with government policies. Corruption had been prevalent in many levels of government officials in Egypt as well.[12] The emergence of a business elite class, associated with Mubarak's son, increased the economic divide between different groups.[13] In this political environment in which elite interests were dependent upon the survival of the regime, it

---

[3] "Freedom in the World 2010", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2010

[4] "World Report 2012 – Libya", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.hrw.org/world-report-2012/world-report-2012-libya

[5] "2010 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Syria", accessed July 26, 2013, http://www.refworld.org/docid/4da56d83a2.html

[6] Wood, "An Insurgent Path to Democracy", 2001.

[7] Van de Walle and Bratton, "Popular Protest and Political Reform in Africa", 1992.

[8] Goldstone, "Understanding the Revolutions of 2011", 2011, p12.

[9] "Youth Unemployment in the MENA Region", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.imf.org/external/np/vc/2012/061312.htm

[10] Wood, "An Insurgent Path to Democracy", 2001.

[11] "Freedom in the World 2010 – Tunisia", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2010/tunisia

[12] "Egypt", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.transparency.org/country#EGY

[13] Anderson, "Demystifying the Arab Spring", 2011, p4.

would have been difficult to negotiate with the elites for a peaceful process through cooperation for the demanded political reforms. Hence, remnants of the previous system were not desirable to the people; similar to countries in Eastern Europe that wanted to part from their Socialist past, for Tunisia, Egypt and Libya – countries that went through regime change – as well as Syria – which saw serous conflicts – trying to "break" the regime rather than "bridging" the old regime into a new one was preferred in this situation.[14]

The relative strength of protests also affects the likelihood of a popular movement rather than elite pacting. When there is a strong opposition force with high desire and high capacity to carry on the movement[15], there is likely to be conflict between the masses and the government. As in Eastern Europe, mass protests were widespread in the region during the Arab Spring and escalated into large scale conflicts in Libya, for example, showing the high desire and capacity of the mass protests against the existing governments. Although the so-called "Twitter revolution" in Egypt, for example, was mostly a sudden eruption facilitated by the Internet and social media rather than organized movements by preexisting institutions, the origins of the protests can be traced back to organized popular movements and the scale and persistence of the mobilization even after the ban of the Internet shows that the opposition movement was strong enough to challenge the government. [16] This suggested that the mobilizations of the Arab Spring had high desire and high capacity, comparable to those of in the Eastern European context which favored conflict – popular protests – over cooperation.

III. Political progress after the Arab Spring

Although conflict is ongoing in some countries, there has been some political progress since the start of the Arab Spring. Changes in political infrastructure, slow but steady economic progress and development towards democratization are prevalent in the region. There has been an increasing trend towards democratization and a call for more accountable and transparent governments. Little by little, the region dominated by its cultural history and Islamic nativism has been transforming by the wake of the Arab Spring and the conflict was better than cooperation to an extent in certain countries.

Most importantly, there have been political shifts and changes in leadership in countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, Libya and Yemen as seen in Figure 1. As mentioned, all the leaders have been criticized by the international community for their human rights abuses during conflicts with the public and the end of these autocratic regimes have been brought by groups of the population. The dictatorships which have been keeping the stability of their governments by means of repression,

---

[14] Bunce, "Comparative Democratization", 2000
[15] Bunce, "Comparative Democratization", 2000; Van de Walle and Bratton, "Popular Protest and Political Reform in Africa", 1992.
[16] "Egyptian protesters are not just Facebook revolutionaries", accessed July 26, 2013, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jan/28/egyptian-protesters-facebook-revolutionaries

legitimization and redistribution have been replaced for the progress of democratic values.

The political regime changes occurred relatively rapidly after the start of the protests, and the responsiveness of the governments and political leaders show the extent of discontent among the people and the governments' eventual acceptance of the situation. Tunisian President Ben Ali was forced to flee just months after the protests started in Tunis[17], President Mubarak himself resigned shortly after[18] and Muammar Gaddafi's death later in 2011 marked the end of his rule in Libya[19]. Within a year after the incident in Tunisia that served as a catalyst, three countries consequently saw the end of political leaders who have ruled their respective countries for decades. For the people, these political changes were more desirable than retaining the unresponsive, autocratic governments and living under their oppressive policies.

More implicitly, the Arab Spring was a stepping stone towards strengthening the political rights and freedom of the populations in the countries that were under the control of Sultanistic dictators. The popular movements are closely tied to the consolidation of the populations' political rights and civil liberties, and the Arab Spring brought "the people" back as "a strategic player" in the Middle East[20]. This increase in the voice of the people, especially the youth, is better than cooperation and the stagnant situation without progress prior to 2011.

The Arab Spring, furthermore, brought together new groups of the population who were key players during the uprisings. Groups such as the youth that have been characterized by their liberal values and drive for change were identified in countries such as Egypt and Tunisia. New liberal youth groups in Egypt are examples of the emergence of new political actors. Egyptian youth who have identified themselves as "liberals" during the Arab Spring protests have expressed their support for views of classical liberalism and liberal democracy but also preserving their cultural and religious values, diverging from western models of liberalism[21]. From a favorable perspective towards democratization, these developments could be seen as better than what was the populations' political status under the authoritarian leaders. The Sultanistic dictators only preserved some form of formal democracy through political parties and elections but they were formalities to attain their survival in their leadership positions[22]. This suggests that the dictators had minimal regard for the well-being for their people and the Arab Spring signified the need for political reform in these countries.

According to Freedom House, some countries in the Middle East showed considerable improvements in their statuses in 2013 in the aftermath of the Arab Spring in 2012. Tunisia, Egypt and

---

[17] "Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali forced to flee Tunisia as protesters claim victory", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jan/14/tunisian-president-flees-country-protests
[18]"Hosni Mubarak resigns –and Egypt celebrates a new dawn", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/feb/11/hosni-mubarak-resigns-egypt-cairo
[19] "Benghazi's moment of joy as Libya's tyranny ends", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/23/benghazi-joy-end-libya-tyranny
[20] Doran, "The Heirs of Nasser", 2011. p17
[21] Lesch and Haas, Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East, p46
[22] Goldstone, "Understanding the Revolutions", 2011, p9

Libya, for example, which were labeled as "not free" in 2010, improved their status as "partly free" countries in 2013. Libya and Tunisia were among the countries which showed the most drastic improvements worldwide as well[23]. This shows that considerable progress has been made in these countries in terms of securing some political rights and civil liberties to their populations by different means.

Developments in the new political agenda occurred subsequent to political transitions. There have been waves of fair elections and an increased demand for government accountability and responsiveness by the public. Remarkable improvement in the governance in Tunisia has been stimulated by its "institution-based democratic transition". Its elections in October 2011 were run by an independent authority and this is evidence that Tunisia further took a step towards democratization as well. Civil society participation was encouraged and stimulated by the increase in new political parties as well as civic organizations.[24] Overall, political and electoral developments in Tunisia seem promising for further consolidation in the future. In the aftermath of the Arab Spring, Tunisia has clearly encouraged democratic political participation.

Egypt, furthermore, showed some improvement in government accountability and governance through its constitutional referendum in 2011 as well as parliamentary elections. Egypt held its first ever democratic Presidential elections in 2012.[25]

Moreover, Libya held its first parliamentary elections since Gaddafi's rule in 2012 and the appointment of a prime minister and the approval of a cabinet followed suit[26]. Other domains such as journalism started to emerge again in Libya as the freedom of press was improved after Gaddafi's death and religious minorities have been guaranteed relative freedom to assemble and practice their religions[27]. Electoral reforms and relatively stronger guarantee of freedoms for populations prove that the result of the conflicts in the Arab Spring have brought better results in terms of political progress in some countries.

IV. Costs of the conflict and backlash

Human and Economic Cost

On the other hand, conflict incurs various costs that cannot be ignored. These costs should be

---

[23] "Freedom in the World 2013", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2013
[24] "Divergence and Decline", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/countries-crossroads-2012/divergence-and-decline-middle-east-and-world-after-arab-spring
[25] "Freedom in the World 2013: Egypt", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/egypt
[26] "Freedom in the World 2013: Libya", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/libya
[27] "Freedom in the World 2013: Libya", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/libya

taken into consideration to evaluate whether the results of the Arab Spring were for the better. First of all, the clashes in the Arab Spring have inflicted numerous deaths in multiple countries, and the cost of life during the Arab Spring is not insignificant. During the protests, there were already as few as 2,500 deaths in the clashes between the protestors and the governments in Syria, Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen and Bahrain by July 2011 (Figure 2). As many as 30,000 died in Libya alone during its heightened civil conflict as well.[28] Furthermore, the aggregate death toll in Syria's ongoing civil conflict has now surpassed 93,000 and the number of Syrian refugees has reached 1.6 million[29]. With hundreds to thousands of people dead in many countries and millions displaced, the human cost of the Arab Spring is grave.

Not only that, but the Arab Spring also had a significant impact on the economy. The Arab Spring has hindered the economic growth of many countries and many countries have made significant economic losses. Average GDP growth fell throughout the region in 2011 – as seen in Figure 3 and 4 – to the lowest in a decade. The degree of economic impact varied, but the countries which went through sizable conflicts such as Libya, Tunisia, Egypt and Syria were among the hardest hit initially.[30] Libya's GDP contraction in 2011 is to be estimated to as much as 60%, for example. A decrease in foreign investments and a severe decline in tourism were among the most significant reasons accountable for the estimated economic costs. A lack of trust and security which resulted from the projected political instability could be held accountable for the decline in investments and tourism, as seen in Figure 4. The number of tourists in Egypt and Tunisia fell by 40%[31], and tourism is said to account for 18% of the total economic losses in Egypt as well[32]. Geopolity's statistical analysis of data from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimated the total cost of the Arab Spring to be more than $55 billion, with countries with more severe conflicts such as Libya and Syria bearing a significant portion[33], which clearly shows that the countries went through significant economic losses in the aftermath of the Arab Spring.

Limited Improvements and Backlash

Despite the improvements and progress in political domains, there still exists many prolonged and new problems in some countries such as Egypt, Tunisia and Libya, which are transitioning from

---

[28] "Libya: Estimated 30,000 Died In War", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/09/08/libya-war-died_n_953456.html

[29] "Syria's Heritage Hangs by a Thread", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2013/07/05/syrian-civil-war-takes-a-toll-on-its-rich-cultural-history
[30] Masetti et al, "Two years of Arab Spring", 2013.
[31] Masetti et al, "Two years of Arab Spring", 2013.
[32]"The Economic Impact of the "Arab Spring" Uprisings", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.valuewalk.com/2012/03/the-economic-impact-of-the-arab-spring-uprisings/
[33]"Cost of Arab Spring more than $55 billion", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/10/14/us-mideast-unrest-cost-idUSTRE79D2CR20111014

previous autocratic regimes. A second revolution led Morsi to step down from his short-lived term as President in Egypt.[34] Conflict was ongoing in Egypt in protest to Morsi's new government and its policies that have not met the expectations of the Egyptian public, leading up to a second regime change within two years. The recent arrest of activists involved in protests suggests that progress in terms of human rights protection has not been improved either.[35] A civil war broke out in Libya after the end of Gaddafi's rule and infrastructures such as the education system have not been recovered to operate normally. Security issues have also persisted throughout 2012.[36]

Not only that, but the Arab Spring also triggered a counter reaction from some regimes to further oppress their people to contain the protests and maintain their autocratic rule. A rigorous series of pro-democracy protests occurred throughout 2011 in Bahrain but most if not all were contained by violent crackdowns by the government forces as well as the support of Saudi Arabian troops[37]. With the strong determination of the government to fight the protests, it is doubtful whether the conflict in Bahrain was necessarily better than cooperating for the people. Anti-government protests had been going on in Syria even before the Arab Spring broke out, but civil war broke out in Syria in 2011 and severe conflict is ongoing.

V. Economic recovery and positive outlook

Despite the initial economic damage, the general prospects of the regional economy are positive. After the general decline in real GDP growth in 2011, the trend of economic growth is positive in 2012 and beyond. According to Figure 3 and Table 1, although the economic recovery does not yet reach the levels in 2010, the regional economy is picking up and general prospects seem positive throughout 2013.

Economic recovery is accelerating with the continuous spread of political stability in the region. The stabilization of new governments in transition and the strengthening of institutions, governmental and non-governmental, will contribute to building a stronger economic system than what existed before the Arab Spring. More political stability through governments in transition in countries such as Tunisia and Libya has contributed to the economic recovery. Tunisia's tourist sector is steadily making a rebound[38], contributing to its economic growth. The Tunisian National Tourism

---

[34] "Mohamed Morsi ousted in Egypt's second revolution in two years", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/jul/03/mohamed-morsi-egypt-second-revolution
[35]"Egypt: Prominent Activists Charged Over Protest", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/egypt-prominent-activists-charged-protest-19332699#.UbEmUdLRiSo
[36] "Freedom in the World 2013: Libya", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/libya
[37] "Arab spring: an interactive timeline of Middle East protests", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline
[38] "World Economic Outlook", the International Monetary Fund", 2013.

Office measured a 36.4% increase in tourism revenues in 2012 compared to 2011[39]. Libya's oil production has nearly reached the pre-revolution levels and has been the main strength for economic growth in 2012[40].

Furthermore, even if there have not been political shifts or a considerable improvement in human rights protection in countries in transition such as Egypt, the protests and resulting conflict in the Arab Spring have raised an alarm in the international community as well as in other countries such as Bahrain and Syria for change. Governments are in transition and conflict is ongoing in some areas in the region. It takes much longer for governments in transition to consolidate political changes[41], and the outlook for other countries still under conflict seems positive with persistence given the examples of others that have undergone political shifts.

The way forward for the regimes in transition

Existing governments in transition will consolidate their infrastructure over time to become stable governments. Many countries' infrastructure needs to be strengthened and democratic means should be realized in the aftermath of the conflicts. Political and economic infrastructure needs to be strengthened to support the new order in many countries. Democratic infrastructure should be built around political institutions to further contribute to the well-being of the populations. This does not mean that all the countries should undergo a regime change into liberal democracies. However, governmental and non governmental institutions – political bodies, constitutional reform, business regulations, for example – as well as civil society should be strengthened and the accountability of the governments should be improved. In countries such as Tunisia and Egypt undergoing a transition, democracy should be realized in real changes rather than resting in theory for the new generations[42]. In Egypt, military officials and institutions, which still hold political influence, should be held more accountable starting from measures such as a budget review by the parliament[43]. The stronger the political system, the more sustainable the democratic system becomes[44], backed by a strong legal system. Any further progress will only become effective with a strong and accountable political system in place to support the reforms.

In terms of economic recovery, unemployment issues have been evident in the region for a considerable length of time and strategies for job creation are crucial. Economic growth can be stimulated by institutional and regulatory reforms under the new governments. International financing and recovering foreign investment will also facilitate better fiscal adjustment. Political stability will

---

[39] "Tunisia: tourism confirms its recovery", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.africanmanager.com/site_eng/detail_article.php?art_id=18816
[40] "Libya's Economy", accessed July 26, 2013. http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/05/01/libya-s-economy-on-path-to-recovery-but-facing-hard-challenges/aq7l
[41] Goldstone, "Understanding the Revolutions of 2011", 2011, p14.
[42] Anderson, "Demystifying the Arab Spring", 2011, p4.
[43] Lesch and Haas, The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East , 2012, p58.
[44] Bunce, "Comparative Democratization", 2000.

contribute to further economic stability, seen in the rebound of tourism in many countries such as Tunisia. Regulatory reform and consolidation of institutions such as business regulations should further promote democratic values as well, as countries with good governance, defined by high performance in the World Governance Indicators which includes measures such as government effectiveness and control of corruption[45], are more likely to experience an "employment miracle" that will alleviate the unemployment rates[46].

These policy implications show that the aftermath of conflict has stimulated a new political and economic direction for the countries in transition as well as a model for other countries to follow suit in the future. Even though they are going through periods of political instability, their future stability is largely estimated to be positive. The economy, which was hit hard by the political turmoil in 2011, is recovering, and will be strengthened with further increases in political stability.

VI. Regime stability and the contrast to Gulf monarchies

It is important to note that there were other countries in the region such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates that have seen minimal conflict or political change even with limited civil liberties like other countries which have undergone recent political reforms. This contrast between Tunisia, Egypt and Libya and Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E. can be explained by institutional differences in addition to the political and economic context mentioned in the second section.

Regime stability varies for different political systems and economic structures, which can explain the prolonged stability of governments in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain in contrast to the countries that underwent political change after conflict. Egypt, Libya and Tunisia are all republics. Before the Arab Spring, Egypt and Tunisia had limited multiparty systems in which political parties existed but with insignificant power. They were among the countries to take significant steps towards democratization such as holding free elections and reforming the constitution. This concurs with Teorell and Hadenius (2007), whereby limited multiparty governments are the most likely to democratize after transition from their previous authoritarian regimes. The protests consequently signify a call towards political liberalization and increased political competition, as in neopatrimonial regimes in Africa.[47]

In contrast, Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Bahrain, which did not go through political changes, are hereditary monarchies. They have effectively repressed the protests in their countries, as in Bahrain, or received minimal or no effect from the Arab Spring, like in Saudi Arabia. Monarchies prove to be a more stable political system than republics in the face of a political transition according to Teorell and Hadenius (2007), as the new political regime after a transition tends to continue as a monarchy of some sort.

---

[45] "World Bank Middle East and North Africa Region", 2012, p34.
[46] "World Bank Middle East and North Africa Region", 2012, p30.
[47] Van de Walle and Bratton, "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa", 1994.

The particular context for relatively tranquil countries during the Arab Spring such as Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates can be attributed to their political and economic stability as well as tactics to contain the unrest in their countries. The gulf monarchies were based on family allegiances, which did not face threats to their political legitimacy, compared to countries like Egypt which lost its legitimacy.[48] Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah enjoyed a higher popularity than many of the other autocratic leaders, and the economic status of Saudi Arabia as an oil exporter helped the kingdom to react appropriately to the crisis[49]. Oil importing countries such as Egypt and Tunisia did not have capabilities that matched Saudi Arabia's and the existing governments were forced to react more violently or step down from their leadership. The monarchies, all in all, were different in their historical contexts to their neighbors in political and economic crisis. Hence, the economic structure of the Gulf states, backed by oil, allowed the unchanged elite interests despite the initial unrest, in contrast to the countries in which the economy depended on significant groups of labor among the population. This analysis contrasts to the case of El Salvador and South Africa, in which the popular mobilizations successfully transformed the interests of the elites due to continued political and economic unrest.[50]

The relative weakness of protests contributed to the quick recovery of these countries, despite their freedom index status as 'not free', as well. In Saudi Arabia, for example, there was initially some unrest when religious minority groups mobilized in protest against the government. However, public protests were immediately banned and, more importantly, the government promised an economic stimulation packet to address the complaints of the people[51]. With no further widespread mobilization instigated, the case of Saudi Arabia could be seen as an example in which cooperation brought better results than prolonged conflict. There was little or no conflict in the United Arab Emirates or Kuwait as movements in these countries were insignificant.

Conflict was better than cooperation in the countries hard hit by conflicts, but the conflict did not affect some of the Gulf States because of different regime types as well as their political and economic contexts. This shows that conflict is not better than cooperation in all situations. Rather, in the case of regime transitions, a loss of legitimacy, strength of protests and certain political and economic systems are the preconditions for conflict over cooperation.

VII. Conclusion

In conclusion, from the events of the Arab Spring, conflict is better than cooperation in situations with complex conditions of repression and lack of political rights, economic crisis and

---

[48] "The UAE, the Arab Spring and Different Types of Dissent", accessed 26 July, 2013
http://www.mepc.org/journal/middle-east-policy-archives/uae-arab-spring-and-different-types-dissent
[49] Lesch and Haas, The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East, 2012, p99.
[50] Wood, "An Insurgent Path to Democracy", 2001.
[51] "Saudi Arabia's King announces huge jobs and housing package", accessed 26 July 2013.
http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/mar/18/saudi-arabia-job-housing-package

corruption and the desire and capacity of protests for their projected aims. In the case of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Syria, conflict was chosen as the preferred drive for political change rather than elite pacting because of these political and socioeconomic conditions. The populations under authoritarian rulers took a step towards freedom under their economic problems and lack of political rights. More moderate forms of protest were repressed under these governments and widespread mobilization was an alternative to express the public's desire for political reform.

The results of the Arab Spring also show that conflict produced progress and positive change in the region. Although the conflict inflicted sizeable human and economic costs, these costs allowed the drive for political change in many countries. Political institutions are being constructed and consolidated, constitutions are being revised and governments are moving towards more accountability and strength. Furthermore, the economy is continuing its recovery and will continue to do so along with increasing political stability. Important industries such as tourism are recovering and real GDP growth provides a positive outlook for the post-conflict region.
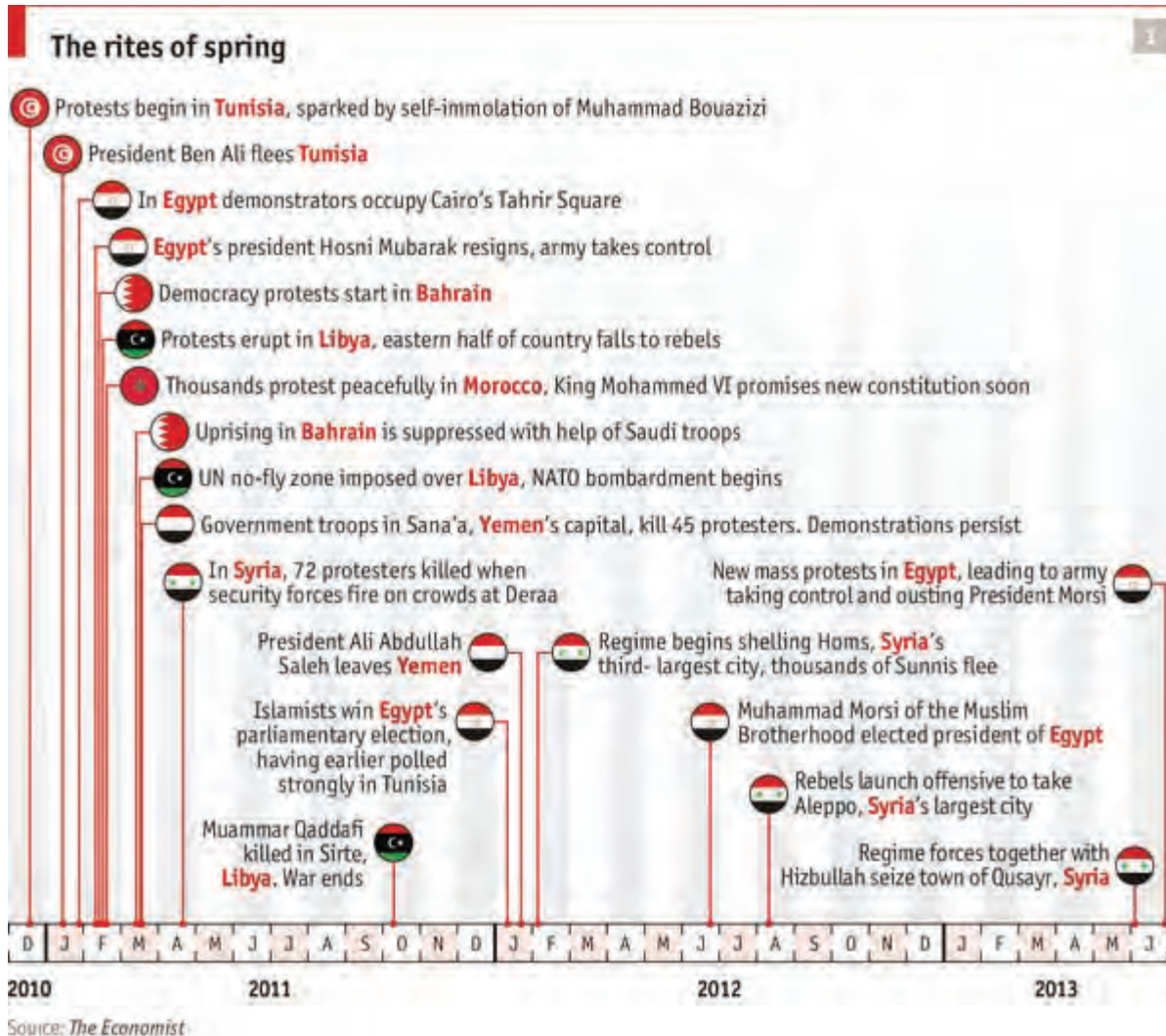
In countries such as Syria Bahrain, which have seen conflicts but without much progress towards political reforms, although imminent political change seems unlikely, it is difficult to judge that cooperation could have been better for the populations because it would have led to continued repression. Conflict in these areas therefore was still better than cooperation because it still contributed to increasing international awareness of the ongoing issues.

Not only that, but the contrast between the different authoritarian regimes also explain the difference between the countries embroiled in conflict during the Arab Spring and some of the Gulf states that did not undergo drastic political change. Tunisia, Egypt and Libya were republics with authoritarian leaders and limited political competition, with marginalized political parties holding insignificant power. In contrast, Saudi Arabia, the U.A.E. and Bahrain are monarchies and this, to an extent, explains the relative of the regimes, given their political and economic contexts, despite limited political freedom enjoyed by the populations. In other words, conflict is only better in certain contexts of calls for political reform.

Although it is difficult to measure what is "better" for whom and according to what standards, key areas and issues such as political freedom, civil liberties, economic issues as well as structural factors have been addressed regarding the origins, process and results of the Arab Spring. In general, in the aftermath of the conflicts of the Arab Spring, the troubled countries are moving towards a better status than what it was before. Despite the costs, the choice of the public in countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria and Bahrain to resort to conflict was better than cooperation.
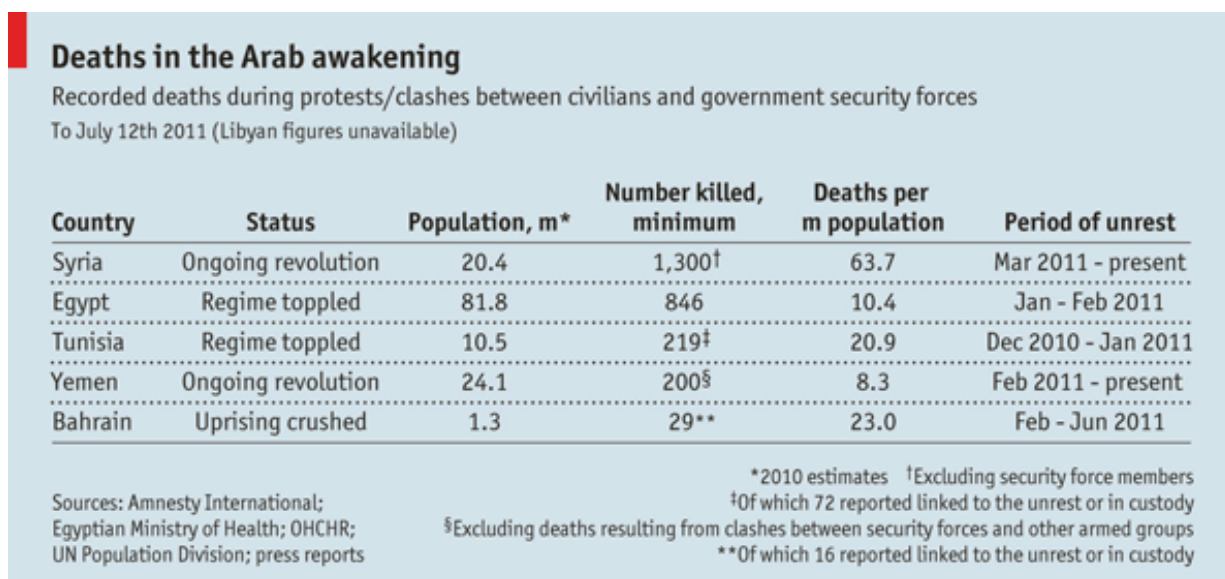
Appendix

Figure 1: Key events and main achievements of the Arab Spring

The rites of spring

- Protests begin in **Tunisia**, sparked by self-immolation of Muhammad Bouazizi
- President Ben Ali flees **Tunisia**
- In **Egypt** demonstrators occupy Cairo's Tahrir Square
- **Egypt**'s president Hosni Mubarak resigns, army takes control
- Democracy protests start in **Bahrain**
- Protests erupt in **Libya**, eastern half of country falls to rebels
- Thousands protest peacefully in **Morocco**, King Mohammed VI promises new constitution soon
- Uprising in **Bahrain** is suppressed with help of Saudi troops
- UN no-fly zone imposed over **Libya**, NATO bombardment begins
- Government troops in Sana'a, **Yemen**'s capital, kill 45 protesters. Demonstrations persist
- In **Syria**, 72 protesters killed when security forces fire on crowds at Deraa
- President Ali Abdullah Saleh leaves **Yemen**
- Islamists win **Egypt**'s parliamentary election, having earlier polled strongly in Tunisia
- Muammar Qaddafi killed in Sirte, **Libya**. War ends
- Regime begins shelling Homs, **Syria**'s third-largest city, thousands of Sunnis flee
- Muhammad Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood elected president of **Egypt**
- Rebels launch offensive to take Aleppo, **Syria**'s largest city
- New mass protests in **Egypt**, leading to army taking control and ousting President Morsi
- Regime forces together with Hizbullah seize town of Qusayr, **Syria**
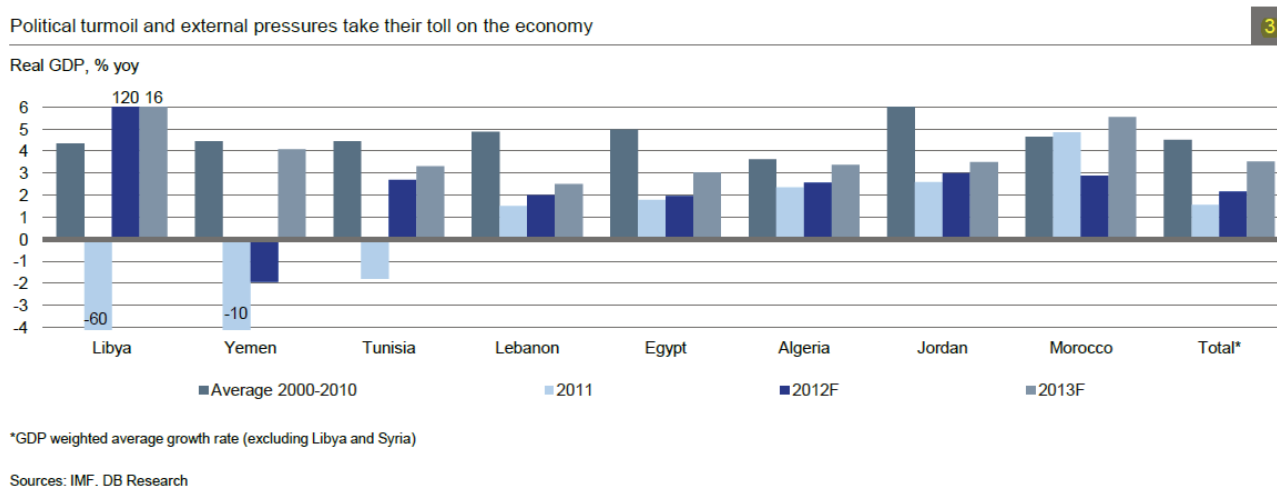
2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013

Source: The Economist

Source: The Economist, "A climate of change", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21580624-spring-proved-fickle-arabs-are-still-yearning-it-says-max-rodenbeck

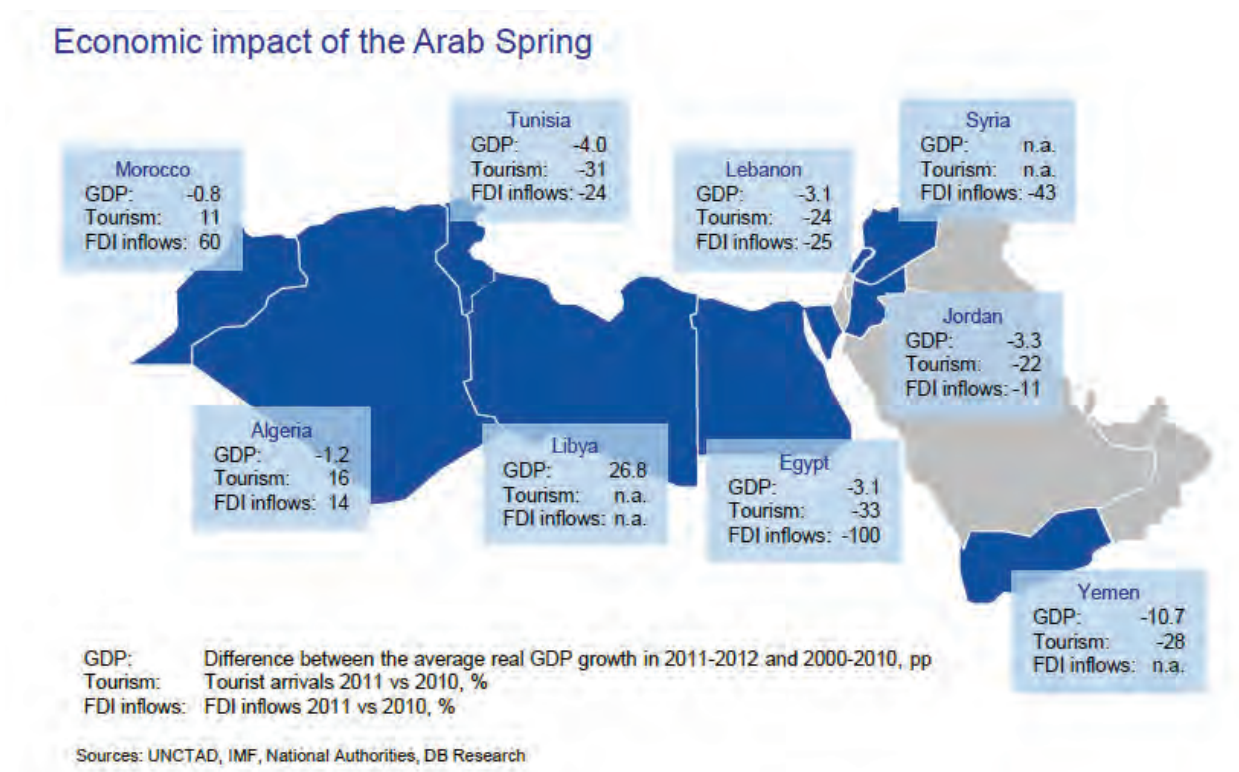**Figure 2: Death toll of the Arab Spring as of July 12, 2011**

Deaths in the Arab awakening

Recorded deaths during protests/clashes between civilians and government security forces
To July 12th 2011 (Libyan figures unavailable)

Country	Status	Population, m*	Number killed, minimum	Deaths per m population	Period of unrest
Syria	Ongoing revolution	20.4	1,300†	63.7	Mar 2011 - present
Egypt	Regime toppled	81.8	846	10.4	Jan - Feb 2011
Tunisia	Regime toppled	10.5	219‡	20.9	Dec 2010 - Jan 2011
Yemen	Ongoing revolution	24.1	200§	8.3	Feb 2011 - present
Bahrain	Uprising crushed	1.3	29**	23.0	Feb - Jun 2011

Sources: Amnesty International; Egyptian Ministry of Health; OHCHR; UN Population Division; press reports

*2010 estimates   †Excluding security force members
‡Of which 72 reported linked to the unrest or in custody
§Excluding deaths resulting from clashes between security forces and other armed groups
**Of which 16 reported linked to the unrest or in custody

Source: The Economist, "The Arab Spring death toll: The price of the protests, so far", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/07/arab-spring-death-toll

Figure 3: Real GDP Growth in percentages year-over-year

Political turmoil and external pressures take their toll on the economy

Real GDP, % yoy

Libya, Yemen, Tunisia, Lebanon, Egypt, Algeria, Jordan, Morocco, Total*

■ Average 2000-2010   ■ 2011   ■ 2012F   ■ 2013F

*GDP weighted average growth rate (excluding Libya and Syria)

Sources: IMF, DB Research

Source: Masetti et al, "Two years of Arab Spring: Where are we now? What's next?", Deutsche Bank, 2013.

Figure 4: Economic Impact of the Arab Spring in terms of GDP, Tourism and FDI Inflows

Source: Masetti et al, "Two years of Arab Spring: Where are we now? What's next?", Deutsche Bank, 2013.

Table 1: Average annual percentage growth and projection for Real GDP

Table 1: Average annual percentage growth and projection for Real GDP												
	Average									Projections		
Country/ Year	1995 - 2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Egypt	4.8	4.5	6.8	7.1	7.2	4.7	5.1	1.8	2.2	2.0	3.3	6.5
Libya	0.6	11.9	6.5	6.4	2.7	-0.8	5.0	-62.1	104.5	20.2	10.1	5.0
Saudi Arabia	2.7	7.3	5.6	6.0	8.4	1.8	7.4	8.5	6.8	4.4	4.2	4.3
Syria	2.6	6.2	5.0	5.7	4.5	5.9	3.4					
Tunisia	4.8	4.0	5.7	6.3	4.5	3.1	3.1	-1.9	3.6	4.0	4.5	4.8
United Arab Emirates	6.4	8.6	8.8	6.5	5.3	-4.8	1.3	5.2	3.9	3.1	3.6	3.7

Source: The International Monetary Fund, "World Economic Outlook, April 2013: Hopes, Realities, Risks", 2013.

Note: Blank fields indicate no available data

Bibliography

ABC News, "Egypt: Prominent Activists Charged Over Protest", accessed July 26, 2013. http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/egypt-prominent-activists-charged-protest-19332699#.UbEmUdLRiSo

Africanmanager, "Tunisia: tourism confirms its recovery", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.africanmanager.com/site_eng/detail_article.php?art_id=18816

Ahmed, Masood. "Youth Unemployment in the MENA Region", International Monetary Fund, accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.imf.org/external/np/vc/2012/061312.htm

Anderson, Lisa, "Demystifying the Arab Spring: Parsing the differences between Tunisia, Egypt and Libya", Foreign Affairs, Vol 90 No3, 2011, pp 2-7

Bunce, Valerie. "Comparative Democratization : Big and Bounded Generalizations", Comparative Political Studies, 33:703 (2000), Accessed July 26, 2013. DOI: 10.1177/001041400003300602

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "Libya's Economy: On Path to Recovery but Facing Hard Challenges", accessed July 26, 2013. http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/05/01/libya-s-economy-on-path-to-recovery-but-facing-hard-challenges/aq7l

Doran, Michael Scott, "The Heirs of Nasser: Who Will Benefit From the Second Arab Revolution?", Foreign Affairs, Vol 90 No 3, 2011, pp17-25

The Economist, "A climate of change", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21580624-spring-proved-fickle-arabs-are-still-yearning-it-says-max-rodenbeck

Freedom House, Divergence and Decline: The Middle East and the World after the Arab Spring, 2012 http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/countries-crossroads-2012/divergence-and-decline-middle-east-and-world-after-arab-spring [last accessed 06/07/13]

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2010", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2010

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2013", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2013

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2010: Egypt", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2010/egypt

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2010: Tunisia", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2010/tunisia

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2010: Saudi Arabia", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2010/saudi-arabia

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2010: Syria", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2010/syria

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2010: United Arab Emirates", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2010/united-arab-emirates

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2013: Egypt", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/egypt

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2013: Libya", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/libya

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2013: Tunisia", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/tunisia

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2013: Saudi Arabia", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/saudi-arabia

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2013: Syria", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/syria

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2013: United Arab Emirates", accessed July 26, 2013.
http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/united-arab-emirates

Freedom House, "Middle East and North Africa", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.freedomhouse.org/regions/middle-east-and-north-africa

Forstenlechner et al, "The UAE, the Arab Spring and Different Types of Dissent", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.mepc.org/journal/middle-east-policy-archives/uae-arab-spring-and-different-types-dissent

Goldstone, "Understanding the Revolutions of 2011: Weakness and Resilience in Middle Eastern Autocracies", Foreign Affairs, Vol 90 No 3, 2011, pp 8-16

The Guardian, "Arab spring: an interactive timeline of Middle East protests", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2011/mar/22/middle-east-protest-interactive-timeline

The Guardian, "Benghazi's moment of joy as Libya's tyranny ends", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/23/benghazi-joy-end-libya-tyranny

The Guardian, "Egyptian protesters are not just Facebook revolutionaries", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jan/28/egyptian-protesters-facebook-revolutionaries

The Guardian, "Hosni Mubarak resigns – and Egypt celebrates a new dawn", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/feb/11/hosni-mubarak-resigns-egypt-cairo

The Guardian, "Mohamed Morsi ousted in Egypt's second revolution in two years", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/jul/03/mohamed-morsi-egypt-second-revolution

The Guardian, "Saudi Arabia's King announces huge jobs and housing package", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/mar/18/saudi-arabia-job-housing-package

The Guardian, "Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali forced to flee Tunisia as protesters claim victory", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/jan/14/tunisian-president-flees-country-protests

Huffington Post, "Libya: Estimated 30,000 Died In War", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/09/08/libya-war-died_n_953456.html

Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2012 – Libya", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.hrw.org/world-report-2012/world-report-2012-libya

The International Monetary Fund, "World Economic Outlook, April 2013: Hopes, Realities, Risks", 2013.

The International Monetary Fund, "Youth Unemployment in the MENA Region", accessed July 26 2013. http://www.imf.org/external/np/vc/2012/061312.htm

Lesch, David W., and Mark L. Haas. The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East.. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2012.

Martini, Maira and Elizabeth Johnson, "Corruption trends in the Middle East and North Africa Region (2007-2011)", Transparency International, No. 302, 2012.

Masetti et al, "Two years of Arab Spring: Where are we now? What's next?", Deutsche Bank, 2013.

Reuters, "Cost of Arab Spring more than $55 billion: report", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/10/14/us-mideast-unrest-cost-idUSTRE79D2CR20111014

Reuters, "Witnesses report rioting in Tunisian town", accessed July 26, 2013. www.reuters.com/article/2010/12/19/ozatp-tunisia-riot-idAFJOE6BI06U20101219

Teorell, Jan and Axel Hadenius, "Pathways from Authoritarianism", Journal of Democracy, Journal of Democracy, Volume 18, Number 1, January 2007, pp. 143-15, Accessed July 26, 2013. DOI: 10.1353/jod.2007.0009

Transparency International, "Egypt, Transparency International", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.transparency.org/country#EGY

United States Department of State, "2010 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Syria", accessed July 26, 2013, http://www.refworld.org/docid/4da56d83a2.html

US News, "Syria's Heritage Hangs by a Thread", accessed July 26, 2013. http://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2013/07/05/syrian-civil-war-takes-a-toll-on-its-rich-cultural-history

ValueWalk, "The Economic Impact of the "Arab Spring" Uprisings", accessed July 26, 2013.

http://www.valuewalk.com/2012/03/the-economic-impact-of-the-arab-spring-uprisings/

Van de Walle, Nicolas and Michael Bratton, "Popular Protest and Political Reform in Africa", Comparative Politics, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Jul., 1992), pp. 419-442

Van de Walle, Nicolas and Michael Bratton, "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa", World Politics, Vol. 46, No. 4 (Jul., 1994), pp. 453-489

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. "An Insurgent Path to Democracy : Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests, and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador, Comparative Political Studies 34:862 (2001). pp862-888

The World Bank, "World Bank Middle East and North Africa Region: A Regional Economic Update – Enabling Employment Miracles", the World Bank, 2012.

Conflict Management System and Democracy in Multinational Societies:

Case Studies in India and Nigeria

Ji min (Janice) Han

Claremont McKenna College

Abstract

Conflicts expose a set of problems deeply entrenched in a society. Revelation of underlying problems helps the political elites to clarify issue priorities and form public policies accordingly. Conflicts also mobilize people in a grassroots level as different groups defend their own interests. Thus, conflicts serve to reflect plural interests in a decision-making process, thereby promoting representative and deliberative aspects of democracy. However, conflicts do not always lead to positive outcomes. In order for conflicts to serve the positive functions, a society has to have a sensitive conflict management system. The paper argues that the sensitivity is determined by a society's conflict management mechanism—political institutions, elite behavior, and civil society—and political culture. This paper compares and contrasts India and Nigeria, the two multinational societies where conflicts have spawned differing consequences. The paper concludes that conflicts can promote democracy in multinational societies, provided that they have a sensitive conflict management system.

Key Words democracy, power sharing, power dividing, political institutions, civil society, conflicts

Ⅰ. Introduction

Before unfolding the discussion on conflict management system, it is worth defining what sort of conflict this paper is mainly concerned with. Conflict discussed in this paper is confined to ethnic conflict, but this still is a broad terminology encompassing components that may count as conflicts of their own. A research report notes that ""ethnicity" may refer to race (meaning physiognomy and skin color), language, religion, or some combination thereof" (Fish and Brooks 2004, 156). Thus, ethnic conflict could also be construed as linguistic, religious, and even economic conflict. For this reason, the paper uses a generic term, "conflict," to refer to all sets of conflicts emerging from ethnic diversity.

Most approaches to the subject of conflict and democracy tend to focus on engineering political institutions to prevent and ameliorate conflicts. The prevalent idea that conflict is pernicious

to democracy led to prolific studies of the so-called conflict management mechanism (hereafter *mechanism*). *Mechanism* in this context refers to institutional and normative framework intended for reducing conflicts, and is composed of factors such as political institutions, elite behavior, rule of law, and civil society. As a result, the relationship between conflict and the *mechanism* depicted in political science literature has primarily been unilateral—the *mechanism* prevents conflicts. Spawned from this conceptual framework, political scientists have produced diverse theories of conflict resolution in divided societies. Mainly, there are power-sharing and power-dividing models. The two main schools in power-sharing model are consociational and integrative approaches. Arend Lijphart's consociational approach advocates elite-level cooperation in segmented societies, and is characterized by grand coalition, cultural autonomy, proportional representation, and minority veto (Lijphart 1996). Criticizing Lijphart's model, Donald L. Horowitz proposes integrative approach, focusing on elites' incentives for power sharing, mainly through the design of electoral system. Power-dividing strategy challenges both Lijphart's and Horowitz's power-sharing model. Donald Rothchild and Philip G. Roeder (2005) criticize that power sharing aggravates ethnic conflicts. Their power-dividing strategy emphasizes the role of civil society, separation of powers, and checks and balances. Each prescribes slightly different institutional arrangements, but all try to explicate the *mechanism* for ameliorating conflicts.

This paper argues that conflicts reduce the severity and frequency of future conflicts by generating and reinforcing the *mechanism*. In other words, the relationship between conflicts and the *mechanism* is bilateral—the *mechanism* prevents conflicts, *and* conflicts create and strengthen the *mechanism*. When conflicts lead to institutional reforms and the renewed *mechanism* prevents future conflicts, a society attains a mature democracy in which plural interests are addressed and managed. To explain the factors that encourage or discourage the virtuous feedback cycle derived from the bilateral model, this paper draws empirical evidence from India and Nigeria. This comparative case study demonstrates that conflicts can be conducive to democracy when the *mechanism* functions well.

The two multinational societies in the developing world, India and Nigeria share significant similarities. Both are populous countries with a great ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity. Both suffer from corruption and a low income level. Both countries were colonized by the Great Britain, India for ninety years[1] and Nigeria for sixty years[2]. Yet in this similar setting, India has preserved democracy notwithstanding the frequent internal conflicts whereas Nigeria's democracy has taken a turbulent road. This paper finds the answer to this divergence in the sensitivity of the conflict management system. I define that a conflict management system is "sensitive" if conflicts lead to reforms of institutions or normative practice—the process of conflicts' "translation into the

---

[1] GatewayforIndia. http://www.gatewayforindia.com/history/british_history3 htm.The total period of British rule is 200 years, starting from the East India Company period (http://www.iloveindia.com/history/modern-history/british-india html).

[2] History World . http://www historyworld.net/wrldhis/plaintexthistories.asp?historyid=ad41.

mechanism". The factors that translate conflicts into the *mechanism* present in the Indian system are non-existent or significantly lacking in Nigeria.

This paper starts by explaining the positive functions of conflicts in a theoretical sense and presents diagrams of unilateral and bilateral conflict management system. The paper then proposes that the existing *mechanism* and political culture of a society determine the sensitivity of the conflict management system. Political culture can either promote or impede the performance of the *mechanism* in real politics. This is because political culture determines elite behavior and the public's political attitude. Strictly speaking, political culture constitutes a normative part of the *mechanism*. Although political culture and the *mechanism* are not separate concepts, the paper discusses the two in different sections because political culture is an indirect factor that affects the performance of the other elements in the *mechanism*. The paper first contrasts India's and Nigeria's mechanisms from both power-sharing and power-dividing perspectives, and then analyzes each country's political culture as a critical factor determining the sensitivity of the system.

This paper concludes that the leaders of multinational societies should make efforts to build a sensitive conflict management system, rather than trying to eliminate conflicts. The paper aims to show that conflicts can promote democracy in multinational societies, provided that the feedback cycle of conflicts and the *mechanism* remains effective.

Ⅱ. Conflict management system: from unilateral model to bilateral model

Figure 1 shows the unilateral relationship between the *mechanism* and conflict. Many policymakers have focused on eliminating conflicts through the *mechanism*, viewing conflicts as a pernicious force to democracy. They argue that ethnic conflicts, by favoring majority groups and suppressing minorities, lead to civil wars or even to state failures. This claim is supported by the study that a high level of ethnic diversity increases the chance of civil war (Collier and Hoeffler 2004), and that severe ethnic polarization leads to frequent conflicts, "which has negative effects on investment and increases rent-seeking activities" (Montalvo and Reynal-Querol 2002, 811). In addition to undermining democratic institutions and practices, conflicts can indirectly erode the public's perception of democracy. In her research on conflict perception, Krystyna Janicka (2000) assumes that "public perceptions of strong conflicts may adversely affect the acceptance of democratic social relations" (Zagórski 2006, 4). The prescription following this line of thought focuses on eradicating and preventing conflicts through the *mechanism*.
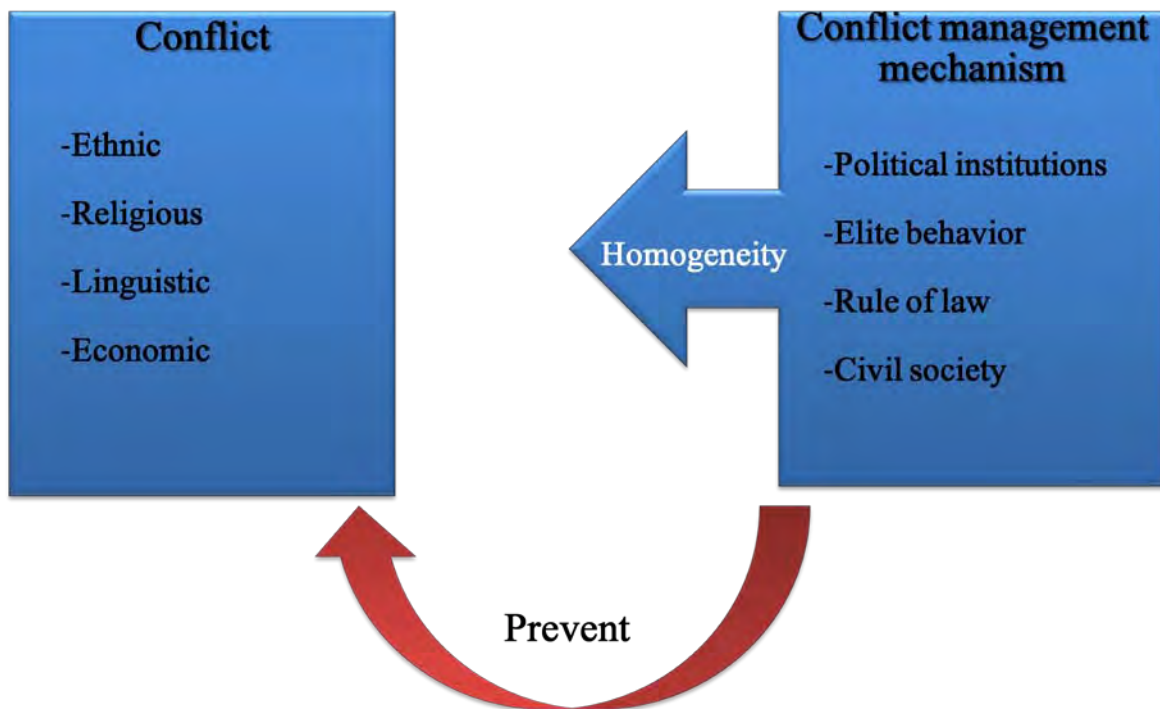
Figure 1. Prevalent model (unilateral conflict management system)

The bilateral model that this paper advocates is based on the belief that some conflicts are not only inevitable, but also necessary for advancing democracy. A group of scholars argue that the "institutionalization and legitimization of social conflicts constitute the very essence of democratic political systems" (Zagórski 2006, 4). As *figure* 2 shows, conflict produces the *mechanism*. Heterogeneity and homogeneity find an optimum level of coexistence through the feedback cycle. Under the bilateral framework, a good political system is one in which the feedback between conflicts and the *mechanism* is frequent. The more sensitive the *mechanism* is to conflicts, the more reforms are made to manage conflicts, and hence the more resilient democracy.
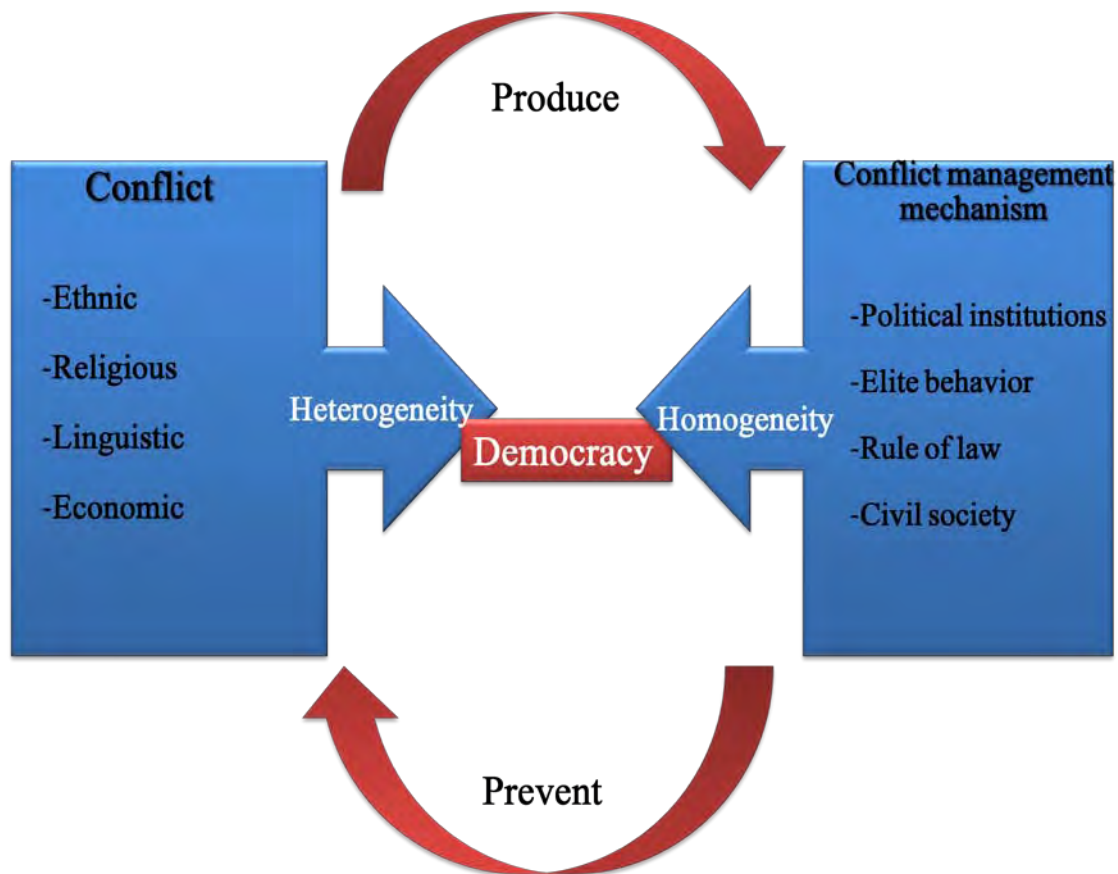
Figure 2. Feedback cycle model (bilateral conflict management system)

1. How can conflicts enhance the conflict management mechanism?

Conflict is a disagreement through which the parties involved perceive a threat to their needs, interests, or concerns.[3] Given the nature of democracy as a platform for accommodating plural interests, conflict is conceived in the very vein of democracy. Conflicts can promote the representative and deliberative aspects of democracy by serving three primary functions. First, conflicts expose underlying problems of a society. This helps the political elites to clarify issue priorities and set agendas. For example, frequent conflicts in the Niger Delta over the oil money made the leaders recognize the issue "as a priority concern of the state, a major threat to Nigeria's unity and democracy, and a huge test for the new civil administration" (Ikelegbe 2001, 463). Second, conflicts mobilize people in a grassroots level and promote civic participation in policy-making. It is not surprising that India, a country whose diversity generates frequent conflicts, has a significantly large number of Non-

---

[3] University of Wisconsin-Madison. http://www.ohrd.wisc.edu/onlinetraining/resolution/aboutwhatisit htm.

Governmental Organizations (NGOs).[4] The role of active civil society leads to the third function of conflicts, a reallocation of resources. In an attempt to reconcile different groups' needs and concerns, scarce resources are redistributed among the groups.

Conflict is a signal that people give to their government that a change is needed. Whereas cooperation leads to merely maintaining the status quo or making moderate reconciliations, conflicts create a new mechanism that could prevent more severe conflicts, secession, or civil war. Conflict in multinational society is a creative force that constructs the society's built-in system for coping with diversity. A society with an active and sensitive feedback system can overcome conflicts. In a society with less sensitive feedback system, conflicts can have deadly consequences that threaten democracy. The paper discusses India as an example of the former, and Nigeria of the latter.

2. What determines the sensitivity of the conflict management system?

Which factors facilitate the translation of conflicts into a new mechanism? What precipitates the feedback cycle? This paper argues that a country's existing *mechanism* and political culture determine the sensitivity of the feedback system. These factors, endogenously evolved over a long time span, are given variables to some degree. However, this does not extinguish hopes from a country like Nigeria. Although Nigeria has poor preconditions, Nigerian leaders can increase the sensitivity of the feedback system by reforming political institutions and eliminating corruption and inefficient bureaucracy. They should use their political imagination to create a combination of political institutions that fits the country's political economy and political culture.

Ⅲ. India and Nigeria: a comparative case study

In this section, the paper probes the elements of the *mechanism* in Indian and Nigerian politics. The six elements are political parties, electoral system, federalism, legislative-executive relations, cultural autonomy, and civil society.

It should be noted that a single fixed recipe for conflict resolution does not exist. Rather, "it seems wiser to assume that appropriate institutions will vary with, among other things, the structure of cleavages and competition" (Horowitz 1985, 576). Moreover, political engineering should focus on creating the best combination of institutional arrangements for the synergy effect among

---

[4] The Indian Express purports that India has the highest number of NGOs per capita in the world (Shukla, Archna. "First official estimate: An NGO for every 400 people in India." The Indian Express, July 7, 2010. http://www.indianexpress.com/news/first-official-estimate-an-ngo-for-every-400-people-in-india/643302/). However, it is not clear from the article the source of the information and what methodology was used for the study. Notwithstanding the dubious reliability of India's total number of NGOs stated in the article, a finding by *The Global Journal* attests to India's qualitatively strong NGO sector. In its annual Top 100 NGOs 2013 special issue, *The Global Journal* reports that India outpaced other developing countries and was outperformed only by the United States, United Kingdom, and Switzerland (http://theglobaljournal.net/article/view/585/) in the number of NGOs listed in the issue.

different political institutions.

1. Political parties

Arend Lijphart observes that India's party system is unique in that "cabinets are produced by the broadly representative and inclusive nature of a single, dominant party, the Congress Party" (1996, 260). "The Congress Party has been balanced in the political center and has encompassed "all the major sections and interests of society"" (Kothari 1989, 27 quoted in Lijphart 1996). Inclusive political parties accommodate diverse ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups. Coalition government thus formed is responsive to different groups' needs when conflicts erupt among these groups. Indian party system is also inclusive in the sense that it mobilizes people from different castes. People from the same caste seek to maximize their political influence through a particular party representing their caste. This is done in two ways: either "a caste group may organize a party of its own," or "political parties may select a candidate for an electoral office at the local or state level who belongs to the dominant caste," who, if elected, "may serve to advance its members' interests" (Malik et al. 2008, 125).

Unlike India, party system in Nigeria is narrow and exclusive. Nigerian political parties "have relied heavily on the manipulation of region, religion, ethnicity, ignorance, and fears of the rural and urban poor.", and "the interests articulated in the party platforms have been close to those of the urban-based, corrupt, and highly factionalized elites" (Ihonvbere 1998, 62). Political parties disproportionately represent interests of different groups. Under this political context, sensitivity of the feedback system is very low. Conflicts do not result in reforms or creation of new institutions. Instead, conflicts become a pretext for the ruling elites to suppress the opposition's voice and consolidate their power.

2. Electoral system

Power-sharing model places great emphasis on electoral system. Consociationalism attempts to design electoral system in a way that produces grand coalitions. Those following the integrative approach also believe that "electoral inducements for coalition may be one way to heighten the incentives for cooperation" (Horowitz 1985, 598). They argue that certain electoral formula could empower minority ethnic groups or motivate majority groups towards accommodative behavior.

Indian electoral system is conducive to consociational power sharing. Although consociationalism is often associated with proportional representation (PR) system, it "has managed to coexist with" the Indian plurality electoral system (Lijphart, 1996). Lijphart provides three reasons accounting for this seeming irony. First, Indian plurality system does not disfavor geographically concentrated minorities. Second, inclusive Congress Party "has been deliberately protective of the various religious and linguistic minorities" (Lijphart, 1996). Third, proportionality in cabinet

appointment has afforded minority groups a platform for exerting political influence. India's successful electoral system could also be interpreted from Horowitz's integrative perspective. Integrative power sharing favors plurality system, and India's electoral system meets the five aims that Horowitz listed in his integrative framework.[5]

Nigeria also has a single-member district plurality system, but it has worked out very differently in the Nigerian political setting. "The use of the first-past-the-post system for electing legislators from predominantly ethnically homogeneous, single-member districts in Nigeria served to reinforce parochial legislative politics, marginalize dissident sentiments and fissures within various tribal bastions" (Reynolds 2002, 418).

Institutional engineering is about a combination of political institutions, rather than establishing a single institutional form. Other political institutions influence how the electoral system functions in practice. "India's combination of numerous political parties and a first-past-the-post, single-member-constituency electoral system means that since 1967 a single party running alone often loses to a candidate supported by a multi-party alliance, and a single party by itself normally does not get a majority in the provincial legislature, which would allow it to form a single-party government" (Stepan, Linz and Yadav 2011, 130). This shows a stark contrast to Nigeria whose "directly and explicitly regulated and integrated party system partially accounts for the lack of attention to electoral system design" (Reynolds 2002, 417).

3. Federalism

Both India and Nigeria are among the world's biggest federations, yet federalism takes a very different turn in each country. India's decentralized federalism is propitious for power sharing, whereas Nigeria's centralized federalism has reinforced the exclusive, elitist feature already implicit in its electoral and party system. In India, "the relationship between India's central government and its regional authorities is not a zero-sum game" (Malik et al. 2008, 129). Partial contributor to this power-sharing federal structure is India's cultural policy laid out in the Constitution. Each state administration is allowed to use its dominant language, and this "meant that a significant degree of politically legitimated linguistic and cultural nationalism had been achieved and recognized inside India's federal polity" (Stepan, Linz and Yadav 2011, 122).

In contrast, Nigerian federalism has developed in a way that hampers democracy. Nigerian federalism in practice violates the very principle of federalism, merely trying "to affirm stability while

---

[5] Horowitz lists five aims of an electoral system for a goal of ethnic accommodation. (Horowitz 1985, 632)
1. Fragmenting the support of major ethnic groups
2. Inducing majority groups to engage in interethnic bargaining
3. Inducing multiethnic coalitions
4. Preventing exclusion of minority groups
5. Translating votes into seats

denying pluralism and threatening democracy and stability," "instead of reconciling social pluralism, stability, and democracy" (Ake 2005, 111). The problematic federal structure stems from Nigeria's flawed political economy. Nigeria derives over 90% of its Gross National Product (GNP) from oil (Bassey and Akpan 2012, 222). In this mono-cultural economy, the federal government is liable to enlarge its power at the cost of regional governments. This is because controlling the country's critical resource—oil—is decisive for protecting the unity of the federation. During the Second Republic, emergence of new states and local governments organized by the marginalized population, along with the federal government's resource control, "weaken the size, resource base of individual sub-federal units, augment the hegemony and visibility of the central government…provoke violent inter-communal rivalries and conflicts" (Reynolds 2002, 408). Nigerian federalism had suffered particularly under the military rule as the military junta tried to monopolize oil. Federal military government debilitated state governments by "systemic and self-serving centralization and manipulation of the revenue allocation system" (Reynolds 2002, 408). Although civilian rule was restored, the 1999 Constitution retained the centralized and contentious features of the previous Constitution. Presence of a strong central government is an inimical force to the accommodation of plural interests and conflict resolution.

4. Legislative-executive relations

While consociationalism favors parliamentary system, integrative power-sharing and power-dividing model favor presidential system. It should be noted that neither of the two systems is preferable to one another for conflict resolution. What is important is whether the legislative-executive relations is compatible with a country's general political setting.

Indian parliamentary system has gained synergy with its federalism. Parliamentary federal system is "the most supportive combination for the emergence of "centric-regional" parties" (Stepan, Linz and Yadav 2011, 55).

On the other hand, Nigeria's presidential system has failed to promote democracy. This is not, however, the problem of presidential system *per se*. Horowitz notes that "if a presidential system is designed so that the electoral formula encourages moderation and penalizes ethnic exclusivism, as it was in Nigeria… the potential for presidential systems to foster accommodation seems considerable" (Horowitz 1985, 647). Although electoral system might have worked well with Nigerian presidential system, Suberu and Diamond (2002) find other reasons that presidentialism has been dysfunctional in the Nigerian setting. First, presidential system promotes monetization and corruption of politics that are already entrenched in Nigerian politics. Second, given the legacy of military government, presidential system in the Nigerian political setting could "promote personal rule and engender destructive competition" (Reynolds 2002, 412). One study mentions that presidentializing of the military government under Ibrahim Babangida, who ruled Nigeria from 1985 to 1993, "has

transformed Nigeria into a more fully patrimonial system" (Joseph 1998, 362). Third, presidential system could exacerbate ethno-regional conflicts in post-civil war societies as in Nigeria, since rival ethnic groups contend for presidency, the post of which political power is concentrated in. These explanations show that presidentialism has been pathological in the Nigerian politics. It has lowered the sensitivity of the feedback system; ruling elites are not responsive to conflicts.

5. Cultural autonomy

Cultural autonomy is explicitly the concept of consociational approach, but is relevant to integrative power-sharing and power-dividing model as well because these approaches also emphasize the recognition of distinct group identities. In the case of India and Nigeria, linguistic and religious policies vested in the Constitutions and their actual practice are key to understanding how social conflicts are translated into political institutions.

After India's independence, there were initial conflicts between regional powers and central government over language policies. Regional elites demanded recognition of regional languages, while the central government feared that this would lead to subnational movements. Eventually, Indian government reorganized state boundaries on a linguistic basis, giving each state the right to use its regional language for both administrative and educational purposes (Malik et al. 2008, 134). India's so-called "2+1 policy"—Hindi and English in addition to one local language—is a recipe for handling potential conflicts and secession rising from linguistic diversity. By recognizing each linguistic groups, Indian government gave its people "a dual identity, that of being Indian and that of belonging to their state" (Stepan, Linz and Yadav 2011, 60). This dual identity held diverse groups of Indians together and minimized deadly conflicts. In contrast, Nigeria, which also has a great linguistic diversity, "is bereft of a clear-cut language policy that is capable of implementation" (Owolabi and Dada 2012, 1678).

Regarding religious policies, both India and Nigeria claim to be secular states, although actual practice has differed. Indian secularism is unique in that it "gave "equal support and equal respect" to all of India's religions" (Stepan, Linz and Yadav 2011, 41), while reserving the state's right to "referee" undemocratic religious disputes. A study finds that "in part due to this formula, citizens from all religions have shown a very high degree of support for Indian democracy and trust in the Indian state" (Stepan, Linz and Yadav 2011, 41). Indian secularism prevents major political parties from suppressing religious minorities. For example, when Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was heading the ruling coalition, it "did not dare" ignore the tradition of subsidizing Muslim citizens make the hajj to Mecca (Stepan, Linz and Yadav 2011, 69). Secularism in India not only prevents religious conflicts, but also has the capacity to generate new *mechanism* when conflicts erupt; ruling elites try to accommodate all religious groups' concerns, rather than allowing privilege to a major religious group.

While Nigeria embraces the same secular principle advocated by India, the deeply

entrenched opposition between Christian and Muslim communities hampers secularism in practice. Major disputes concerned the use introduction of Shari'a law in the northern Nigerian states. Secularism "was highly contested, required the accommodation of Muslim personal law, and would eventually lead to legal bifurcation of the state" (Gurharpal 2011, 19). In contrast, Indian secularism saw "the concession of Muslim Personal Law," assuaging fears of the Muslim minorities. Nigerian secularism lacked three requirements of the secular state—religious equality, religious liberty and state neutrality—that Indian secularism had (Gurharpal 2011, 13).

6. Civil society

Both consociational and integrative approaches are theories of inclusive decision-making among elites. Criticizing the power-sharing model, power-dividing model distributes political powers not only within the government, but between the government and civil society. Roeder and Rothchild argue that "The power-dividing solution begins with extensive civil rights that empower all citizens and all groups equally, but leaves to civil society rather than the state the decision concerning which groups will form to contest politics at any moment" (Roeder and Rothchild 2005, 61). Civil society is a crucial element of the *mechanism* for the following three reasons: firstly, civil society functions as a check on the elite power. Civic associations as government watchdogs hold policy-makers accountable for their actions, making politicians responsive to the concerns of various groups, including those from minorities. Second, empowering civil society prompts the public to participate in political decision-making process, thereby promoting deliberative and representative democracy. Third, healthy civil societies breed productive protests, as opposed to destructive or consumptive protests. Productive protests could prevent large-scale conflicts by inducing policymakers to take accommodative actions beforehand.

Indian democracy has prospered with a vibrant civil society. A large number of qualitatively strong NGOs in India speak to India's minority group mobilization; there is an organized community for relatively underprivileged groups to advance their own interests and exert political influence. For example, massive labor union resistance suggests that workers in India "have actively mobilized against privatization since the early 1990s," and there is "significant collaboration with consumer and environmental organizations" (Uba 2008, 862).

Nigeria's civil society offers a window of hope to its dysfunctional political context. Oil-producing Niger Delta (ND) region is a source of continuous conflicts among the central government, multinational oil companies, and the minority states in ND, who claim their share for oil production. Organized protests by civic associations have "compelled the [Nigerian government's] acknowledgement of the problems, raised their community development projects and compelled negotiation and reaching of memorandum of understanding with several communities" (Ikelegbe 2001, 462). ND agitations have also "enabled the development of an active civil society and strengthened it

as a forceful formation in relation to the state and multinational oil companies (MNOCs) … The ND conflict has become a broad, participatory, highly mobilized and coordinated platform of civil groups in a struggle for self-determination, equity, civil rights, developmental attention, state reformation and social and environmental responsibility" (Ikelegbe 2001, 462). ND conflicts organized by the civil society prove the positive functions of a conflict that this paper has previously pointed out: 1) exposing problems that influences ruling elites' political agenda setting, 2) mobilizing people from a grassroots level, and thus 3) leading to movement towards reallocation of resources.

A vibrant civil society *per se*, however, is not a sufficient condition for the conflict resolution. Only when political system is favorable and responsive to civil society can the latter successfully function as an element of the mechanism. In India, civil organizations have established close ties with the party officials, producing an efficient patronage network for promoting their interests. Examining labor union resistance in India shows the linkage between trade union membership and party affiliation. The fact that "all major political parties in India—irrespective of their ideological leanings—have their "own" trade unions" is a very unique phenomenon, because labor organizations are usually backed by left-wing parties (Uba 2008, 10). Indian political parties' general support for the labor unions is one illustration showing Indian government's responsiveness to civil society. India's active civic associations linked with political parties boost the sensitivity of the feedback system.

On the other hand, Nigerian politics has not been very responsive to civil society. "The tendency of the post-colonial state to dominate, subordinate, incorporate and suppress because of its hegemonical, personalistic, patrimonial, authoritarian and absolutist characteristics, and its prevalent abuse, lawlessness, predatoriness, ineptitude and corruption makes the state intolerant to autonomous, civil and popular actions" (Ikelegbe 2001, 440). Although the civil society in the ND has revealed the problems in the region and raised national and international awareness, "the tyrannical rule of the Abacha regime and its intense repression… caused a lull in the activities of civil society" (Ikelegbe 2001, 442). Unlike India, the relationship between civic associations and political parties is not cooperative in Nigeria. While the Indian model allows incessant communication between civil society and the government, Nigeria's unresponsive government renders the feedback system nearly impossible. This has not changed under the present civilian administration. Nigeria's civilian government "has also largely ignored the civil society resource and political demands" (Ikelegbe 2001, 461). This anti-cooperative nature of Nigerian government stems in part from the deeply entrenched culture of militarization and from its oil-dependent economy; "very high stakes of oil…constrict the state to be sluggish on the dialogue, negotiation and concessions and expansive in terms of the repressive responses" (Ikelegbe 2001, 461).

Ⅳ. India and Nigeria: political culture

So far, this paper has argued that the existing *mechanism* in a society affects the sensitivity of the

feedback system. I now turn to another factor that determines the sensitivity: political culture. Roeder and Rothchild (2005) list 'a culture of accommodation' and 'sincere commitments' as the conditions that favor the success of power-sharing institutions. "Where a trans-societal bargaining culture is present, as in … India, it facilitates the negotiation of intergroup issues," whereas in societies with a long history of severe conflicts, as in Nigeria, "ethnic groups may have less reason to trust one another and less experience with negotiation and compromise" (Roeder and Rothchild 2005, 43). The paper first examines political culture among the elite leadership, and then moves towards political culture of the general public.

The present elite-level political culture in India and Nigeria was shaped during the colonial period. Unlike other colonies, India was too vast and diverse a country to rule directly. The British had Indians to rule other Indians. The *babus* (civil servants during the colonial period) received British education, and they came to internalize democratic principles. Thus, Indian leaders at the time of the Independence were committed to democracy and respected the political institutions and rule of law. They were willing to negotiate with the oppositions. This is prominent under Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership. When his colleagues in the Congress party disagreed with him on his proposed policies or programs, "Nehru did not expel the dissenters, but let intraparty forums resolve the dispute" (Varshney 1998, 42). Nehru was willing to listen and accept ideas that challenged his own, demonstrating a cooperative leadership that is propitious for conflict management system. When there was a demand for linguistic federalism, the political elites initially rejected the notion. However, Nehru and other political elites "showed political flexibility by meeting the aspirations of the leaders of linguistic groups… the government of India agreed to their demands and carried out a vast reorganization of the state boundaries" (Malik et al. 2008, 134). This example shows the resilience of Indian conflict management system. The government accepted initial conflicts as a signal for institutional reform.

The British colonial legacies in Nigeria, in contrast, were detrimental to Nigeria's democracy by bequeathing the following: "arbitrary consolidation of three major ethnic nationalities," "differential administration and modernization of the northern and southern sections," and "a three-unit federal structure that secured political autonomy and hegemony for the principal ethnicities" (Reynolds 2002, 401-02). These conflictual elements abetted fierce power struggles among the elites. Due to the undemocratic and patrimonial leadership, Nigeria's feedback system was crippled. Nigerian elites have been largely unresponsive to minority concerns projected through conflicts. Student unrest of 1988 demonstrates this case. A university unrest regarding labor policies "was met with stiff government reaction" (Agbango 2003, 64). This incident shows that conflicts were not translated into any changes in political institutions nor in normative practices. Unlike Indian leaders who were held accountable by political institutions, Nigerian leaders repeatedly transgressed "the rules of the political game in the desperate competition to win or maintain power," which "inevitably

inflame[d] the fissures inherent in a plural society, thereby jeopardizing not only democracy but also the very survival of the state" (Reynolds 2002, 412). Suberu and Diamond observes that the contemporary instability in Nigerian politics "is not presidentialism but the misdemeanors of the political class" (Reynolds 2002, 412).

Prevalent violence in political decision-making process is another problem. Nigeria has undergone a repeated cycle of military and civilian rule. Even after the Fourth Republic was established in 1999, "the use of violence to effect change of leadership has become one of the defining factors that have characterized the body polity" (Ehiabhi and Ehinmore 2011, 138). The long reign of military government had militarized Nigerian politics, producing elites who are less committed to minority interests, disregard the institutional power constraints, and abuse human rights. Thus, the feedback cycle in Nigeria does not function properly; conflicts cannot generate any *mechanism*, nor is there enough existing *mechanism* to prevent conflicts.

As much problematic as their leaders is the Nigerian people's exclusive group identification stemming from the colonial period. Nigerians were "aware that they were living in a system which bound together many ethnic groups, but at the same time did not have their commitment to their group 'eroded,' and did not 'break away' from their old setting. Rather their primordial loyalties were intensified…by their realization that their section was now in competition with others" (Vickers and Post 1973, 21). This tendency, together with the elite-level political culture, hampers multiethnic cooperation.

In contrast, India's responsible elite leadership has cultivated a political culture of trust among their constituency. India's composite score for citizen's institutional trust was the highest among the twenty-one democracies (Stepan, Linz and Yadav 2011, 73). The fact that people generally have a high trust in legal system, parliament, political parties, civil service, and police suggests that institutions are addressing interests of diverse groups in a balanced way. Particularly, Indians' high trust in the Election Committee of India strengthens the legitimacy in the electoral process (Stepan, Linz and Yadav 2011, 77) and lead to a high turn-out rate. Surprisingly, turn-out rate is higher among the more underprivileged communities. This accounts for Indians' "growing participation…a growing commitment to Indian democracy as a way of managing diversity" (Stepan, Linz and Yadav 2011, 80).

Ⅴ. Conclusion

As the comparison between the Indian and Nigerian politics suggests, the prevalent notion that conflict is a disruptive force to democracy is wrong. It is also wrong to say that all conflicts lead to positive outcomes. Conflicts could be better than cooperation when a society has a sensitive conflict management system. An active feedback cycle between conflicts and the *mechanism* means that the society is constantly renewing itself and advancing in a way that accommodates needs and wants of more people. The bilateral conflict management system suggests that policy makers should focus on raising the sensitivity of the feedback system, *not* eliminating conflicts.

Insights gained from the feedback cycle model could navigate conflict-ridden societies into remodeling political institutions and redrafting the Constitution. This is particularly applicable to multinational societies such as Myanmar and many countries in the Middle East as the diversity in these societies frequently ignite large-scale conflicts.

A conflict is not itself a problem; it is a society's insensitive conflict management system that is subject to blame. Under the resilient and responsive political system in which feedback cycle is active, conflicts can be conducive to democracy.

References

Agbango, George A. 2003. *Issues and Trends in Contemporary African Politics*. 4th ed. N.p.: Peter Lang Publishing.

Ake, Claude. 2005. *The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa*. N.p.: Codesria.

Bassey, Celestine, and Felix Akpan. 2012. "The Politics of Resource Control in Nigeria." *European Journal of Social Sciences* 27, no. 2: 222-32.

Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War ." Centre for the Study of African Economies .

Ehiabhi, Odion Simon, and Omolere Monday Ehinmore. 2011. "Nigeria and the Challenges of Credible Political Leadership Since 1960." *Canadian Social Science* 7, no. 4: 136-43.

Fish, M. Steven, and Robin S. Brooks. "Does Diversity Hurt Democracy?" *Journal of Democracy* 15, no. 1 (January 2004): 154-64.

Gros, Jean-Germa, ed. 1998. *Democratization in Late Twentieth-Century Africa: Coping with Uncertainty*. N.p.: Praeger.

Horowitz, Donald L. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Ikelegbe, Augustine. 2001. "Civil Society, Oil and Conflict in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria: Ramifications of Civil Society for a Regional Resource Struggle." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 39, no. 3: 437-69. JSTOR. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3557319.

Joseph, Richard A., ed. 1998. *State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa*. N.p.: Lynne Rienner Pub.

Lijphart, Arend. 1996. "The Puzzle of Indian Democracy: A Consociational Interpretation." *The American Political Science Review* 90, no. 2: 258-68. JSTOR. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2082883.

Malik, Yogendra K., Mahendra Lawoti, Syedur Rahman, Ashok Kapur, and Robert C. Oberst. 2008. *Government and Politics in South Asia*. 6th ed. N.p.: Westview Press.

Montalvo, José G., and Marta Reynal-Querol. "Ethnic Polarization, Potential Conflict, and Civil Wars." *The American Economic Review* 95, no. 3 (June 2005): 796-816.

Owolabi, Dare, and Samuel A. Dada. 2012. "Language Policy in Nigeria and Nigerian Language Policy: Implications for Effective Communication in Non-Monolingual Nations." *Sino-US English Teaching* 9, no. 11: 1676-85.

Reynolds, Andrew. 2002. *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy*. N.p.: Oxford University Press.

Roeder, Philip G., and Donald S. Rothchild, eds. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Singh, Gurharpal. 2011. "Religion, Politics and Governance in India, Pakistan, Nigeria and Tanzania: An Overview." The document funded by UK Aid from the UK Department for International Development (DFID).

Stepan, Alfred, Juan J. Linz, and Yogendra Yadav. 2011. *Crafting State-Nations: India and Other Multinational Democracies*. N.p.: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Uba, Katrin. 2008. "Labor Union Resistance to Economic Liberalization in India: What Can National and State Level Patterns of Protests against Privatization Tell Us?" *Asian Survey* 48, no. 5: 860-84.

Varshney, Ashutosh. 1998. "India Defies the Odds: Why Democracy Survives." *Journal of Democracy* 9, no. 3: 36-50.

Vickers, Kenneth, and Michael Post. *Structure and Conflict in Nigeria*. N.p.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973.

Zagórski, Krzysztof. "The Perception of Social Conflicts and Attitudes to Democracy." *International Journal of Sociology* 36, no. 3 (2006): 3-34. JSTOR.

TO FIGHT OR NOT TO FIGHT: THE REVOLUTION CONUNDRUM

Niyati Gandhi

National Law School of India University

ABSTRACT

The "democratic peace thesis" argues that democracy is desirable because democratic states don't wage war against each other. It essentially states that democracy is the most stable form of government and stable governments are less prone to war than governments in transition. However, if this is to be relied upon, an odd phenomenon has emerged in the past few decades- the wars for democracy. In this paper, the author explores the uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, the "humanitarian" intervention in Libya and the Lokpal (Anti-Corruption) Movement in India to understand the role of conflict and co-operation in bringing stability and real democracy to all nations of the world. Using various examples of instances during the afore-mentioned events she argues that conflict and co-operation are not competing means, but values that will lead to stability when used harmoniously and keeping in mind the context of each situation.

KEYWORDS

Democracy; Arab Spring; Lokpal; Revolution; Co-operation; Conflict;

INTRODUCTION

Major political events around the world in the past decade have occurred pursuant to the democratic impulse. Democratic aspirations have moved with mounting force in the world, and any peoples that have felt their contagion has never been the same afterward. The power of the ideals of democracy is so great that even the most militant opponents of democracy must speak the language of democracy to justify themselves to those they rule. The democratic dream is keeping the world on edge. (The Power of the Democratic Idea 1960)

Democracy is a very powerful idea. This is so because the essence of the ideal is to respect the desire of every man to play a part in his own rule. In a democracy, none can be left out, none can be excluded. The world today is faced with several pressing problems and what we need is commitment of the participants

of the democratic process to courageously and affirmatively deal with them. This needs to be done without sacrificing the independence and integrity of the citizens of our globalized world.

Democracy has been popularized in a world in which an overwhelming number of peoples everywhere have come to entertain new expectations about the place they rightfully occupy in their respective societies and the rights they enjoy as a result. This revolution in the moral horizons of people has led to widespread dissatisfaction and turbulence. The vista is exciting but it has brought with it issues that we haven't faced before. Questions about the right ideals and questions about the means to achieve those ideals are being raised every day.

Because of this intrinsic value of democracy, people across the world, aided by the spread of awareness through globalization, are seeking to govern themselves. The integral value of democracy is supplemented by what is popularly called the "democratic peace thesis" which argues that democracy is desirable because democratic states don't wage war against each other. The argument essentially states that democracy is the most stable form of government and stable governments are less prone to war than unstable governments in transition. The democratic peace thesis is widely accepted but has its own bitter critics. However, it still forms a significant part of the foreign policy of various western nations, most notably the United States of America.

If the democratic peace thesis is to be relied upon, an odd phenomenon has emerged in the past few decades- the wars for democracy. The author is perplexed at the hypocrisy in this statement which essentially implies that one must wage war, or to be politically correct, intervene in other nations on humanitarian grounds to prevent wars in the future. But if instability is what leads to war, why must nations contribute to instability? Does installing democracy put an end to instability? Why are the people of various nations choosing armed uprisings as the means of achieving democracy if the ultimate goal is stability? If democratic nations are stable, why are riots and armed uprisings commonplace in certain democratic nations?

In this paper, the author explores the Arab Spring, more specifically the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt, the "humanitarian" intervention in Libya and the Lokpal (Anti-Corruption) Movement in India to understand the role of conflict and co-operation in bringing stability and real democracy to all nations of the world. In this paper, uprisings have been equated with conflict and post-conflict peace building measures have been equated with to co-operation. Using various examples of instances during the afore-mentioned events the author argues that conflict and co-operation are not competing means, but values that will lead to stability when used harmoniously and keeping in mind the context of each situation. She

further analyzes whether the political system existing in a state impacts the decision of the masses to choose one over the other.

THE ARAB SPRING

In December 2011, Mohamed Bouazizi, a Tunisian fruit vendor set himself on fire to protest the injustice done to him by the police who confiscated his cart for a lack of permit. This act of desperation led to millions of his countrymen taking to the streets to protest the injustices of the status quo in that nation. A month of protests by the people against unemployment and inflation drove out the Tunisian President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali after 23 years of what can only be called dictatorship. But the Tunisians weren't just expressing economic grievances. On a more fundamental level, the Tunisians were protesting dictatorship. (Angrist 2011) But what happened in Tunisia was just the first rumble in the storm to come. The rebellion proceeded eastwards, skipped Libya and arrived in Cairo which provided it a "stage worthy of its ambition". (Ajami 2012) For three weeks, thousands gathered at Tahrir Square, denounced the security forces and called for *aish, karama* and *hurriya*; bread, dignity and freedom. A protest seeking limited reforms transformed into a revolutionary uprising. (Korany and El-Mahdi 2012)

From Cairo, the spirit of the mutiny spread to Yemen and Bahrain. The protests in Egypt and Tunisia gave the former the heart to challenge the ruler they were eager to get rid of. Bahrain, a monarchy, was vulnerable and the eruption of protests turned into a violent sectarian feud. Then came the protest in Libya where the people rose against the tyrant Qaddafi who had ensured that his people were abysmally impoverished in spite of living in the richest African country. The oil in the region brought with it the United States and NATO and the rebels advanced from Benghazi to Tripoli. After two more months of uprising Qaddafi fell to the mob. (NPR 2012)

As authoritarian regimes from Tunis to Manama were rocked by revolution, scholars were quick to identify the Arab Spring's next stop as Syria. (Broning 2011) Even Assad's "legitimate" regime could not remain sheltered from regional turmoil. (Badran 2011) There was chaos in Syria with the regime's brutal response to the uprising. Security forces desecrated mosques, fired at worshipers and committed countless more cruelties. The regime is still in place, but the bond between those who hold power and the people has been broken.

The question we must ask here is what were the underlying problems fostering the discontent of the people and why did they choose the means they did to achieve their goals? At the outset, it must be noted that in Tunisia and Egypt, the revolution was successful; in Jordan, co-operation was successful; Algeria

needed neither. But most of all, it must be noted how Libya and Syria saw all the downsides of conflict as a means to achieve democracy.

T H E   T U N I S I A N   T A L E

Tunisia was the first domino to fall and is one of the best illustrations of the close relationship of conflict and co-operation to achieve goals. The political system that existed in Tunisia prior to the Revolution was constructed on an idea that legitimacy of a regime could be based on results it delivered to its people. The nation was a model of economic reform and has impressive aggregate economic growth. But Tunisia, behind the external farce, was battling a high unemployment rate[1]. Regional economic disparities and growing personal indebtedness only added to the dissatisfaction of the Tunisian middle class.

But, economic malaise alone does not make a revolution, at least not on its own. The political system was strongly authoritarian. Between independence and the Revolution only 2 Presidents led the nation. Although it held presidential and parliamentary elections, they were merely instrumental and held no real meaning. Independent civil society groups were suppressed using restriction on the freedom of speech and assembly and selective use of coercive tactics. Islamists suffered the most severe crackdowns. They were watched, harassed, denied security clearance for formal jobs and sometimes even denied permission to travel abroad. (Noueihed and Warren 2012)

What we need to mark here is that there was no scope for the people to co-operate with the authorities in this case. The conflict which took the form of a Revolution was between the people and an Authoritarian State that did not take into account the interests of the people. The people were fighting for fundamental political transformation, they were fighting for bread, they were fighting for a voice. In the 2009 uprisings in Gafsa people were fighting for bread and employment, in Jarjis social media had triggered a protest for the freedom of expression and the release of political prisoners and in 2011 unemployed university graduates were seeking justice. The people wanted the "Tunisian Economic Miracle" to reach the ordinary man. (Al Jazeera 2011)

The Tunisian dictator Ben Ali fled the country in early 2011 but even in 2013, critics of the government have been gunned down and the government stands dissolved. (Schwartz 2013) We must realize that though co-operation was not the right means to achieve the end the Tunisians sought, it is a means essential to the post conflict development Tunisia seeks. Co-operation is significant in the process of making a peaceful transition to democracy. The Islamist party in power after the elections could not co-

---

[1] The unemployment rate in Tunisia as reported by the National Institute of Statistics averaged 15.11% from 2005 until 2013.

operate with the secular society it had been elected to govern. They could not reconcile their religious ideals with day to day compromises which good governance demands. Tunisia had an organic revolution, but the battle for a prosperous, democratic Tunisia can only be fought using co-operation.

THE EGYPTIAN EXPERIENCE

Arguments made in terms of the Tunisian experience could be dismissed as inapplicable to other nations fighting their wars for democracy owing to Tunisia's small territorial size. But the Egyptian experience is one that holds great impact. The most populous country in the Arab region, the cradle of political Islam and located in the heart of the Arab region, the impact of the Egyptian revolution on neighbouring civilizations cannot be undermined. The mutiny in Egypt has seen three stages, one which led to the ouster of Hosni Mubarak and the promise of free and fair elections; the second, a year on, against the military junta that held the reins of power but was resistant to reform and keen to limit change; and most recently the downfall of Mohamed Morsy, the leader of the Islamist brotherhood.

Egypt suffered from chronic poverty and the administration had failed in providing adequate infrastructure, services and education to its burgeoning population. Its rapid economic growth led to huge regional disparities and failed to create enough jobs for the large number of young people that entered the labor market year after year with unemployment rate at 9%. About 15% of the Egyptian pplulation moved below the poverty line between 2009 and 2011 according to a joint report by the United Nations World Food Program and the government's Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics and the International Food Policy Institute. Inflation was at 11.7% on the eve of the uprising. (Wall Street Journal 2013) The much celebrated economic privatization and liberalization was but an avenue for corruption on an unprecedented scale.

But Egyptians were fighting another enemy alongside dealing with the economic challenges – that of political stagnation. The political regime in Egypt was frozen in time, not adapting to new challenges and aspirations. Egyptians were aware that the multi-party democracy in their nation was a pretense. This was accompanied by the systematic crackdown of the state on the media and cultural expression. In essence, Egyptians had already been pushed to the brink by the time the Tunisian Revolution ousted Ben Ali. The Tunisian experience instilled confidence in Egyptians who took to the streets seeking real change. The Egyptian Revolution was a call for dignity and social justice. At Tahrir Square, Egyptians were asking for a new constitution, the right to free expression, an increased minimum wage, the freedom of association and cancellation of national service on the police force. (Global Voices 2011) It was a realization on part

of the Egyptian people that it was time that they stop being subjects of an authoritarian regime and start being citizens in a democracy.

The uprising in Egypt, also, sees the role of both conflict and co-operation play out. The ouster of Hosni Mubarak required a rebellion, a protest against everything the regime stood for. But the transition to democracy from the control of the military junta required co-operation. A balance had to be found between the interests of the conservative military and the younger activists who were pushing for greater freedoms. Co-operative tactics played a significant role in convincing the ordinary Egyptian that the political and economic system needed to change and the change would not result in chaos that would push them further into poverty.

Egypt rose for democracy, but couldn't see through the transition from revolution to a new state successfully. As the military took over after Mubarak's escape, greater mistrust pervaded Egypt. They weren't neutral guardians of the State, they were just another part of what the Egyptians were protesting. Egypt's progress is halting, because unlike when they first poured into Tahrir Square, the people are not united. The Islamists want God's law in Egypt in a direct challenge to the liberals and the leftists. The Islamists needed to co-operate with these factions and give them a "civil state" if not a "secular state". (Noueihed and Warren 2012) And when they failed, Tahrir Square was filled again with Egyptians calling for the ouster of Morsy, some who wanted Mubarak back, others who were disappointed by Morsy. Co-operation is what is lacking in Egypt with infighting inherent in the opposition and cohesiveness being second nature for the Muslim brotherhood. (CNN 2013)

If the rules aren't changed and the entire system isn't cleaned up, a new elite will simply step up to replace the old. Co-operation needs to give meaning to the conflict, and real change is needed in Egypt. For now, Egypt's real revolution has only just begun.

ARAB SPRING, LIBYAN WINTER

While Tunisia successfully ousted the reigning autocrat and Egypt has been fighting one incumbent after another, Libya collapsed into a protracted civil war. For four decades, Qaddafi had consolidated his rule in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya by patronage to kings and clans. He had artificially induced scarcity in a resource rich state in everything from simple consumer products to basic medical care, generating widespread corruption. Over time, the trust the people of Libya had in their government and in one another eroded and they took refuge in the solace of clan and family, creating deep fractures in Libyan society. Therefore, what were mostly non-violent protests in Egypt and Tunisia, Libya experienced as

multiple secessions from a failed state, in the absence of a strong center and in the presence of abundant weapons.

Libyans weren't protesting a rise in food prices like Egypt in Tunisia. They weren't even protesting the distress the 2007 global credit crunch brought with it. Other issues took center stage in Libya. Libyans were angry at the suppression of genuine democratic opportunities for the population. (Prashad 2012) Students were hanged in public for dissenting against Gaddafi in 1977. (The Harvard Crimson 2012) The dictator is also being accused of committing grave human rights violations in the late 1970s and early 1980s while forcing the Libyan people to adopt the ideals behind The Green Book and also for massacring 1200 political prisoners in 1996. (Al Arabiya 2011) But, at this stage, it must be said, that though the revolution occurred in Libya, it only started because of the inspiration provided by Egypt and Tunisia and was only successful because of controversial military intervention that has been variously described as everything from a neo-imperial regime change to a humanitarian rescue mission and even democratization. The intervention that drove Libya's revolt but led to a conflict that killed tens of thousands of people armed hundreds of thousands more. (Noueihed and Warren 2012)

On the outside, Libya seemed to be on the path to progress. In 2008, foreign investment had risen from $143 million in 2003 to $4.7 billion in 2008. (Noueihed and Warren 2012) Tourism had picked up. It was a laissez faire rule bending economy where anything could be done. It wasn't just economic optimism. From the political standpoint, it was setting an example for what could be achieved through international diplomacy. Gaddafi's own son Saif was calling for an independent media and an independent civic society. But Gaddafi's regime in Libya was not a monolithic autocracy. It had cracks and splits, volatility and confusion. Gaddafi may have had hardcore supporters, but there was no dearth of opponents. Before long, dismay spread, commercial trust eroded and corruption had corroded Gaddafi's Libya. Government policies had failed to meet the expectations of the people. The youth of Libya that didn't have the right political connections couldn't find jobs or run successful businesses. The healthcare system was an object of mistrusts and infrastructure had not kept pace with economic growth. And unlike what Gaddafi believed, the Libyan Jamahiriya had not delivered what protesters in Tunisia and Egypt were demanding.

On February 17, 2011, residents of Benghazi took the streets peacefully protesting the regime. It's hard to piece together the change of events, but relatively quickly the protests turned into a large scale armed insurrection. Cities in Libya began to fall like dominos into rebel hands. Senior figures in the Libyan government started to defect. But a mixture of terror, apathy and popular support kept Gaddafi in power and in spite of defections, the disorganized rebels had begun to lose support. But the way Gaddafi and his forces reacted to the rebellion made it seem like a humanitarian threat to the western world. Resolution

1973 was tabled, passed and on March 18, French jets launched air strikes on Gaddafi's forces outside Benghazi. The coalition was soon joined by other armed forces. Soon, NATO intervened and Libya saw a spring and a summer of aircrafts, ranks and artillery batter their nation. Almost 50,000 people had lost their lives before September, the semblance of an alternate structure of governance had been put in place in the form of the NTC, but the conflict only really ended when on October 20, pictures of Gaddafi's dead body were slapped across the front pages of newspapers across the world. (Prashad 2012)

It is hard to answer whether Libya was a legitimate target or even if this intervention was successful. But what we do know is that only the first phase of the battle is over. In September 2011, the UN set in motion the process of building a new Libyan state with its support mission to assist their political transition. By October 2012, the Libyans had set up a new government and elected a new Prime Minister after elections for a General National Congress. The interim government is working on a new constitution and is expected to hold fresh parliamentary elections in 2013. (BBC News Africa 2013)

The social and governmental fragmentation in Libya continues to exist and that may not be amenable to a transition to democracy. For democracy to emerge and flourish, Libya needs to first establish law and order, security that the people haven't experienced in four decades. Trust must be revived across clans, public administration needs to be reconstructed and people need to find with themselves a desire to govern themselves. Therefore, we must understand that Libya doesn't just face the challenge of democratization, it faces the challenge of state formation. The conflict brought with it the realization of the ultimate objective, but it is co-operation that will help them achieve this objective. Libya may have achieved, for now, the most far-reaching change of any country in the Arab Spring, but it is also the country which bears the highest risk of losing all the progress they've made and descending into a downward spiral of violent instability.

LOKPAL FOR INDIA

The challenge doesn't just lie in democratizing a nation. The real challenge is setting up and allowing a democracy to thrive and the people to flourish under its auspices. Democracy embodies both conflict and co-operation because it holds no value if people cannot oppose state action or cannot contribute to the government they give to themselves. Democracy is self-realization, the freedom of expression and governing yourself. Conflict and co-operation don't compete in a democracy, they are like the two wheels of a cart, which need to co-exist for the cart to be set in motion. They need to exist in harmony the importance of neither one can be belied.

India is the largest and fastest growing democracy in the world. But the democratic values enshrined in the Constitution of India face democracy's various challenges every day, some of which it overcomes, some of which continue to threaten its existence. One major threat to democracy in India, is one it shares with all the countries of the Arab world that rose in revolt in 2011- the plague of corruption. Corruption is rife in every aspect of Indian life. Whether it is admissions in universities, getting a passport or even aid from the welfare state for those living below the poverty line, corruption in India is ubiquitous. However, in 2011, after a string of major corruption scandals in the government, the people of India had had enough.

For over a week in the August of 2011, New Delhi's Ramlila Maidan took on the air of Cairo's Tahrir Square. It was the season of revolution. Anna Hazare and his anti-corruption campaign gave voice to India's middle class which was growing tired of public indignities. India had been rocked by a series of corruption scandals. The first strike was the telecom spectrum scandal where a former minister was accused of selling bandwidth on a "first come first serve" basis instead of a public auction, to those companies who paid him and his aid huge bribes. Auditors have estimated that the alleged mis-selling of the licenses cost the public exchequer nearly $40bn in lost revenue. The Commonwealth Games organized in New Delhi failed to "signal to the world that India is[was] rapidly marching ahead with confidence" (Srivastava 2010) and instead became better known for $80 toilet paper. In August, 2011, the Comptroller and Auditor General of India tabled a report in Parliament stating that the preparation for the Games was deeply flawed, riddled with favoritism and vastly over budget. In addition, the report claimed serious irregularities with bidding and contracts. The games cost $4.1 bn instead of $270mn as initially estimated and brought in revenue of only $38mn. (India 2011-12) Besides the aforementioned, there were allegations of illegal mining, the WikiLeaks cash-for-votes scandal and even the allotment of homes for war widows at below market rates to politicians, senior bureaucrats and their families. (BBC News South Asia 2012)

It was not just major scandals; corruption had taken the shape of a fundamental problem affecting almost every aspect of Indian society, affecting every citizen on a day to day basis. The exasperation of the Indian people translated into a passionate response to Anna Hazare's call for a hunger strike. An exceptional use of social media along with Gandhian symbolism helped draw out even more supporters. The Arab springs had "suddenly made change possible" (Bellows 2011) and Indians were craving change.

The demand they were making was the enactment of the Jan Lokpal Bill, a legislation aimed at setting up a Central body to investigate and prosecute corruption in the Indian government with powers that violated the federal and democratic ideals of democracy that the Indian constitution stood for and repeated attempts at talks between the government and the protesters failed. This did not fuel the protest for the

reason that the demands that the leadership of the protesters was making were not only unconstitutional but also unfeasible and didn't address the reasons corruption was rife in Indian society. (Bansal 2011) The government, threatened by the intensity of the revolution, went overboard and suppressed a non-violent protest at Ramlila Maidan using brutal police force. (Times of India 2012)

The Lokpal movement in India is being used here as an example of a movement that powerfully expresses the anger of the people against the establishment in a nation where the people chose the government as their leaders and representatives, not as their rulers. In this case study, we will see how the inclination of both the government and the people towards conflict saw both lose. The protesters could not achieve what they were seeking and the state lost legitimacy. The former by proposing solutions that bordered on unreasonability and the latter by exercising control in a way to squelch the protest which only shows a dangerous trend in Indian democracy.

The conflict i.e. the Hazare revolution galvanized a consciousness among the arguably apathetic Indian people. However, the complete absence of the co-operative intent among the leaders of the revolution has destroyed its own historical achievement. The protesters saw the conflict as having only two sides. By not co-operating with all the other stakeholders, they lost efficacy and legitimacy. (Mehta 2011) In conclusion, we can say that two major lessons have emerged from the Jan Lokpal revolution- one good, one bad. The good news is that India people have risen against corruption and are ready to participate in law making. The negative is that when the revolutionaries don't co-operate with all the stakeholders, no real change occurs.

Democracy should be understood as a fundamental mode of self-realization, a means of protecting citizens from arbitrary rule and expressing their preferences. (Held 2006) It must deliver what people need in terms of economic growth, stability, personal as well as societal security, its fate will be even more fragile that of autocratic regimes. And so we must know that conflict doesn't end in a democracy, it just takes a constitutional form and co-exists with co-operation. In fact, that in itself is the essence of democracy.

WAS CONFLICT BETTER THAN CO-OPERATION

In the various illustrations used in this paper, the author has tried to understand what drove the masses to revolt in the way they did. If you study the commonalities in the aforementioned examples you see that first, all those societies were experiencing deep seated discontent against the Center. Social Contract Theory tells us that people gave up several rights and freedoms in lieu of the protection the government would extend to them and the order it would bring with it. However, when the governments fail to live up

to their end of the bargain, people have, what Locke described as, the right of revolution. (Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy 2010) It is this combination of consent and revolution that ensures accountability, an ideal fervently pursued in today's world.

When people saw that the governments that they were co-operating with were violating the very natural rights they held in trust, they realized that there was no room for co-operation. Their battle was to be fought against an enemy with far superior means. An enemy who exercised greater power than each one of them, but not more than all of them together. It was this sentiment that helped them collectivize and it was the realization that co-operation would be futile against a tyrant that drove them to an uprising. In that light, the author notes that normatively conflict may not be better than co-operation, but for the revolting peoples, conflict was the sole alternative.

The next question that arises is if the people would have adopted similar means if they had chosen the government that exercised authority over them. Here,

CONCLUSION

"The capacity to know when to use hard power, when to use soft power, and when to combine the two, I call smart power."

- Joseph S. Nye, Jr.

Karl Marx used the analogy of a burrowing mole to explain an effective revolution. A mole, he explained, burrows through the ground to make tunnels and breaks above ground when you least expect it. The mole breaking free to the surface provides that part of the Revolution that is spectacular; but if it hasn't burrowed effectively i.e., if the revolution hasn't taken into account the real grievances of the people and produced institutions capable of resolving them, then the revolution would have emerged in history, but would have rendered itself futile. What this implies in terms of the question of whether conflict is better than co-operation is that Conflict like revolution would help you make a mark in history, but without co-operation, a strong resolution of the problem at hand would not be in place.

Revolutions are the beginning of a long process. The post-revolution high wears of quickly and divisions among the leaders of the movement begin to surface. Conservatives, populists, Islamists, modern reformers will vie for power in these fledgling democracies but these nations are now going to face the real task. The challenge will be to co-operate with all groups that play by democratic rules, to understand

always that their nation will flourish when everyone's interests are accounted for and successful democracies will provide all the support they can in terms of institution building. (Mullerson 2008)

Over the course of this paper, we have explored a few important global events in the last few years, events that could fundamentally change the global landscape. They were revolutions for democracy or revolutions within democracy. Democracy is a means and an end and is arguably the most sought after goal of human civilization today. Over time, with the spread of awareness and knowledge across borders, peoples across the world have come to value this ideal greatly and have begun to find for the right to govern themselves. If people are given the right to govern themselves, it will lead to self-realization and ensuing stability and peace. And the Arab Revolutions of 2011 are prime examples of the claim that people have found that waging war against their own states is necessary for them to ultimately achieve stability. Conflict was essential for change. In fact, conflict, for them, was the only medium through which they could achieve change.

On studying the progress of the Arab revolutions and the events that occurred after the fall of autocratic and tyrannical regimes, one realizes that although conflict was essential to starting the process of change, it was only the first step. For democracy to truly exist in a nation, co-operation is indispensable. This is because of the nature of democracy which makes each man's opinion relevant. Co-operation between the various stakeholders in a nation is necessary for them to arrive at a mode of governance that is appropriate to their context and will help them all flourish. Only when everyone is satiated, their interests integrated, will they be unified and the nation will be stable.

But the role of conflict and co-operation doesn't end at state-building. The survival of a democratic nation state requires constant use of conflict and co-operation. A stagnant society is like the calm before a storm and so conflict and co-operation are a continuous process. We see that claim play out in the form of the Anti-Corruption Movement of 2011 in India. The people of India, tired of the corrupt practices by the government in power, rose in revolt using peaceful protests and hunger strikes as their weapons. The government didn't unreasonably crack down upon them, barring one incident. However, they could not achieve their objective as the Lokpal Bill they were pushing for only created a toothless body. This was predominantly because there was a complete absence of co-operation between the various stakeholders. Unreasonable demands of some leaders were not toned down; the members of Parliament, themselves corrupt, did not want the body to have real powers; the interests of important stakeholders such as industrialists were not taken into account and no real experts were called in for drafting this legislation.

Therefore, we see from the case studies adopted, that conflict and co-operation are both important for democracy. One does not take absolute precedence over the other. In fact, both have different roles to

play in the context of democracy. It is important to use them harmoniously to achieve the objectives of civilization because, together, they are a formidable weapon in the hands of the people.

R EFERENCES

Ajami, Foud. "The Arab Spring at One - A Year of Living Dangerously ." *Foreign Affairs*, 2012: 1-5.

Al Arabiya. *Local Factors Contributed to Libyan Revolt.* February 22, 2011. http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/02/22/138732.html (accessed July 20, 2013).

Al Jazeera. *Lessons of the Jasmine Revolution.* January 23, 2011. http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/01/201111985641326468.html (accessed July 20, 2013).

Angrist, Michelle Penner. "Morning in Tunisia - The Frustrations of the Arab World Boil Over." In *The New Arab Revolt*, by Council on Foreign Relations, 75-80. 2011.

Badran, Tony. "Syria's Assad No Longer in Vogue." *Foreign Affairs.* March 25, 2011. http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/67677/tony-badran/syrias-assad-no-longer-in-vogue (accessed May 30, 2013).

Bansal, Sarika. *Where Anna Hazare's Anti Corruption Movement Should End.* August 19, 2011. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sarika-bansal/where-anna-hazares-antico_b_931510.html (accessed May 31, 2013).

BBC News Africa. *Libya Profile.* May 29, 2013. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13754897 (accessed May 30, 2013).

BBC News South Asia. *India's Corruption Scandals.* April 18, 2012. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-12769214 (accessed May 30, 2013).

Bellows, Abby. *Insights from India's Anti-Corruption Movement.* November 11, 2011. http://hausercenter.org/iha/2011/11/01/insights-from-indias-anti-corruption-movement/ (accessed May 31, 2013).

Broning, Michael. "The Sturdy House that Assad Built." In *The New Arab Revolt*, by Council on Foreign Relations. 200-204, 2011.

Bush, President G.W. "Commencement Address to the United States Coast Guard Academy." May 21, 2003.

CNN. *'Nail in coffin' for Arab Spring? Experts predict Egypt's future.* July 10, 2013. http://edition.cnn.com/2013/07/10/world/meast/egypt-whats-next (accessed July 20, 2013).

Fund, Rockefeller Brothers. "The Power of the Democratic Idea." 1960.

Global Voices. *Egypt: A list of Demands from Tahrir Square.* February 10, 2011. http://globalvoicesonline.org/2011/02/10/egypt-a-list-of-demands-from-tahrir-square/ (accessed July 20, 2013).

Held, D. *Models of Democracy.* 3rd. 2006.

India, Comptroller and Auditor General of. *Performance Audit of XIXth Commonwealth Games 2010.* Audit Report, New Delhi: Government of India, 2011-12.

Korany, Bahgat, and Rabab El-Mahdi. *Arab Spring in Egypt: Revolution and Beyond.* 2012.

Mehta, Pratap Bhanu. "Time to Step Back." *The Indian Express*, August 16, 2011.

Mullerson, Rein. "Democracy Promotion." *Recueil des cours*, 2008: 9-259.

Noueihed, Lin, and Alex Warren. *Battle for the Arab Spring: Revolution, Counter-Revolution and the Making of a New Era.* Yale University Press, 2012.

NPR, National Public Radio. *Timeline: The Major Events of the Arab Spring.* January 2, 2012. http://www.npr.org/2012/01/02/144489844/timeline-the-major-events-of-the-arab-spring (accessed May 30, 2013).

Peerenboom, R. *China Modernises: Threat to the West or Model for the Rest.* 2007.

Prashad, Vijay. *Arab Spring, Libyan Winter.* Oakland: AK Press, 2012.

Schwartz, Sharona. *Arab Spring Part II? Tunisian Gov't dissolved as leading critic of Islamists gunned down in front of house.* February 7, 2013. http://www.theblaze.com/stories/2013/02/07/arab-spring-part-ii-tunisian-govt-dissolved-as-leading-critic-of-islamists-gunned-down-in-front-of-house/ (accessed July 20, 2013).

Sharma, Prashant. "The Right to Information Act in India: The Turbid World of Transparency Reforms." *LSE E-Theses.* October 2012. http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/579/1/Sharma_Right_Information_India_2012.pdf (accessed May 30, 2013).

Srivastava, Mehul. "Toilet-Paper Scandal in India 'Shames' Commonwealth Games Host." *Bloomberg.* August 20, 2010. http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2010-08-19/toilet-paper-scandal-in-2-a-day-india-shames-host-of-commonwealth-games.html (accessed May 30, 2013).

Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy. *Locke's Political Philosophy.* 2010. http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/locke-political/ (accessed July 20, 2013).

The Harvard Crimson. *Libya: One Year Later.* November 15, 2012. http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2012/11/15/gaddafi-trial-libya/ (accessed July 20, 2013).

Times of India. *Delhi police lathicharge India Against Corruption protesters.* August 26, 2012. http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-08-26/india/33401927_1_jantar-mantar-stage-protests-iac-spokesperon (accessed July 20, 2013).

Wall Street Journal. *Poverty, Food Insecurity Could Trigger Further Egypt Unrest.* May 26, 2013. http://blogs.wsj.com/middleeast/2013/05/26/poverty-food-insecurity-could-trigger-further-egypt-unrest/ (accessed July 22, 2013).

MEMO

EPIK Young Leaders Conference 2013

MEMO

MEMO

EPIK Young Leaders Conference 2013

MEMO

EPIK Young Leaders Conference 2013

MEMO

EPIK Young Leaders Conference 2013

MEMO

EAI
EAST ASIA INSTITUTE