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Intergenerational Priorities of the Church of God in Jamaica and the Implications for Communication, Education, and Health

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Abstract: This report of the Church of God National Convention highlights intergenerational priorities for sustainability. The purpose of the convention was to strengthen the members, but as an interdisciplinary research team of health care providers, and educators, the goal was to maximize and develop methodologies that might assist in improving communication, education, and health. The priorities are clustered in three generations of church leaders: the Veterans, Issacharians, and Naaman’s Maid. The framework and culture are explained for global understanding of the efforts within the Jamaican church; expectantly, other ministries will find this work useful. The implications are discussed.

Keywords: Church, Health, Communication, Education

1. Introduction

In celebrating 90 years of successful ministry, The New Testament Church of God (COG) met in July, 2015, in St. Catherine, Jamaica, for its annual convention. Perceiving a departure from the organizational practice, the focus of the convention was “Returning the Glory”. This theme suggested the need for the church to worship, model, and represent Christ as is traditionally understood in Caribbean Church of God context and outlined in the COG Minutes (2015).

During this five-day event, the delegates addressed sustainability of the Church of God as they know it. In all presentations, including sermons and testimonies, the common refrain surrounded a declared or understood mutiny between generational modes of worship. Current COG leaders expressed a fear that in time, there will be “a generation that knew not God” (Judges 2:10, KJV). There was a perceived insufficient appreciation of the work of those who have “fought a good fight”, and the promise of the new generation.
Based on the merits of the convention, the writers embarked on an analysis of the presentations. We read the messages and non-verbal cues through cultural lens, and agreed that the objective of the gathering was to strengthen the denomination, and to recognize the efforts to a) build the church, b) maintain the church, and c) continue the beliefs and practices for generations to come. In this analysis, we identified priorities of the church and how current leaders can create balance between generations for the smooth operation of the organization and take cognizance of the unique gifts that the body of Christ possesses. This analytical report clusters such priorities according to cohort of leadership groups: the Veterans Generation (VG), Issachar Generation (IG), and the Naaman's Maid Generation (NMG).

2. The Veterans Generation

It was estimated at the convention that 60% of the membership of the Church of God in Jamaica is over 50 years of age. The number of years such members have been in the church is unknown, but certainly, among them are those leaders who have demonstrated the courage, tenacity, and strength to uphold the values and beliefs of the COG: the veterans. This recognition was clearly and repeatedly articulated and applauded throughout the convention. Undoubtedly, the VG has trained successive generations of leaders who are making a difference globally in ministry, science, and technology.

Like military veterans, the church vets have stood “in the line of fire” to defend the faith and raise generations of preachers. Examples were clear in the testimonies and reports of those serving in communities where traditional worship styles (which the culture deems as witchcraft) are common practice. Many veterans, have died “in the uniform”, namely, the breastplate of righteousness and the shield of faith, as outlined in Ephesians 6:12-14. Pastors shared experiences of “symbols of evil” placed on or sprinkled on church properties. Such symbols are intended to force removal of the church and are quite popular in the Caribbean; for the communal belief is that the fate of the world is at the mercy of supernatural forces for good or evil (Andrews & Boyle 2012). So the pastors of the churches understand the messages and are often under intense duress and needing assistance to win the fight against evil.

Veteran leaders, with advancing years, struggle with the comportment of the new generation and the changing religious paradigm. For those veterans, principles of reasoning and the use of technology are often considered to be “evil creeping in the church”, and that logic modifies beliefs and appeases irresponsible habits in the church. It is for that reason, that reggae music with its international acclaim and origins in Jamaica, although gospel music may be infused with Gospel lyrics, is still viewed with contempt among the veterans. The association of reggae music with worldly pleasures weakens any message that is contained in the lyrics, but the music elates the new generation.

There is still a thriving cohort of veterans who believe that education is not necessary for propelling the Gospel: that is the work of the Holy Ghost. “The Holy Ghost will educate you like He did on the Day of Pentecost”, said one veteran leader. Certainly, the disciples did evangelize in a global community setting (Acts 2), and people of all nationality and beliefs could comprehend the Gospel in their native language. Whereas that citation would silence even the most astute theologian, and that case could be literally interpreted, the missing element of education in the Church mediates interpretation of biblical symbolisms so that much contextual truths are still unearthed. For example, to many uneducated vets, “sparing the rod and spoiling the child” only means flogging, a practice that has region wide support.
The VG needs clarification on the role of education and context, for applicability of the Scriptures will assist with alleviating the anxiety that the approach to Christianity, as is preferred in the modern church is shaking the foundation that they [VG] have built. In fact, ignorance might be diluting the Gospel and subscribing to the fear of impending demise of the organization.

Haggai (a VG of his time) asked, “Who has seen the church in her first glory and what is it compared to then, isn’t it as nothing?” (Haggai 2: 6). Today’s Haggai generation echoes the identical sentiments of the body of Christ in describing the COG as “gone to nothing”. Hence, they preach against jubilant children having fun within the church setting, for “the children of Israel ate and drank, rose up to play, and the Lord was displeased” (Exodus 32:6). “Flee also youthful lusts” (2 Tim. 2:22) bellow many Veterans in their vocal opposition to risky sexual behaviors and substance use in adolescents. Yet, strategies to flee from such lusts receive laughable attention. So the veterans definitely have lessons to teach the young people of today’s church as risky sexual behaviors have been identified in Caribbean church millennials (Archibald & Newman, 2015).

The VG advocates herbal remedies for health (Marshall & Archibald, 2015) over conventional medical approaches since “and the herbs were for the healing of the nation” (Genesis 1:29). is a popular support. The millennial generation in general does not have rote memorization of the Scriptures; therefore, it appears as if Scriptures are not foundational to decision making in that group. While the benefits of herbs are clear, the responsibility of the vets is to pass on the benefits of healthy eating as contribution to sustainability of the GOG. It is inadequate to hear the message of the healthier choice of eating callaloo [spinach] in lieu of beef liver and onions and see a dissonance in practice. This lifestyle needs to be a proud practice. For example, at the convention, the unplanned pot-luck style of fellowship did not represent advocates of healthy lifestyle. The variety of fine Jamaican cuisine one succulent dish at a time (brown-stewed chicken, oxtail, curried chicken, jerked pork, red peas and rice ) was omnipresent at the convention! It seems that the belief that not having meat in any staple meal implies poverty, is still perpetuated. Eating healthy meals and using natural remedies for simple afflictions have been practiced among people of lower socioeconomic status for generations. However, there seems to be a linear relationship with improved socioeconomic status and meat products consumption.

The VG group is not hopeless, for within that population is a squad that has understood and have made efforts to improve with the times. They recognize the need to leave the COG stronger than their predecessors and are vigilant to educate themselves and support their “grandchildren’s” aspirations: an opportunity they [vets] did not have. Such enlightened vets understand the urgency of the times and their waning energy levels. These vets are cognizant of their responsibilities and are staunch supporters of the next generation of leaders, intervening on their behalf and calling to remembrance their personal struggles and triumphs of youth. Young people express feelings of safety around such Veterans for they too can share their life challenges and opportunities in a non-judgmental atmosphere. Clearly such vets have mastered developmental tasks and have come to terms with their mortality. The attitudes suggest generativity or ego integrity that Erickson (1950) theorized is the case. The highly respected vets the respectable leaders might be able to “slowly infuse” doses of appreciation, utilizing the five rights as applicable in medication administration. Perhaps Veterans might recognize that the new work is increasing the osmolality of the Gospel, pulling humankind to an area of higher concentration, thereby returning the glory to the church.
The practice of resiliency and adaptation might be instrumental as part of the Issachar generational priorities.

3. The Issachar Generation

The mid-generation of leaders was about 20% at the annual COG convention. These Issachar leaders were present primarily on the praise team, which led the congregation in songs that are essential to a successful worship service. In fact, praise and worship is like the anesthesia preparing the congregation for the big operation [sermon] that is intended to excise sinful practices and add any kind of Godly device to sustain a healthier walk with God. So it is not surprising that people fall prostrate during the service. The IG leaders are expected to prayerfully select such songs “to be a blessing”. Since Biblical times, the tribe of Issachar was recognized for its cutting-edge leadership style that was required to guide the transition from Saul to David. (I Chronicles 12:32). The contemporary application of this is still relevant for the evolution of the church. The modern “Isaacharians” are the prime recipients of the wisdom of the historians, and the knowledge of modern science, and are therefore positioned to merge both perspectives to advance the church. This need to fuse talents and resources for the benefit of the church was a salient call at the convention as different generational leaders sought support for their ministry. So this appeal is a priority of the current leaders to provide transferable tools for both the millennials and Veterans. Likely, this reciprocity might allow members to recognize that the glory does exist in the church.

The IG has witnessed a lifestyle that is “in the world” (Romans 12:2) yet not of the world and a separation from behaviors and practices that are divergent from the Scriptures (Galatians 5:19). Many Veterans have moved a couple of rungs higher on the socio-economic ladder of success and have maintained their faithfulness to the church as an organization. Through fierce defense of their faith, they have secured the efficacy of the Gospel in the midst of attempts to weaken and thereby pervert it (2 Peter 2:1-3). This is one legacy that the veterans have bequeathed to the Isaacharians and subsequent generations; this asset will ensure sustainability of the organization. So Issacharrians are charged to teach the Naaman’s Maid Generation and provide them with an apologia of the authenticity of the Gospel, as the apostle warned would be required (Eph. 2:20).

Another priority of the IG clearly lies in assisting the Veterans to appreciate current and successful trends in evangelism. The commission to “go” (Matt. 28:19, KJV) has taken on a more expansive definition, than “walking”. That was the only means of spreading the Gospel when the Great Commission was given today the good news has infiltrated populations that were previously untapped. In fact, this broadened description might be what Jesus meant when He said, “Greater things shall he do in my name”. Social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, and mobile devices, such as smart phones and tablets, present limitless possibilities for promulgation of the gospel. However, a cadre of leaders in the IG group struggles with this broadened definition, thinking that the church has become too secularized at the same time these virtual spaces are where Generation Y lives, travels and finds themselves.

A significant priority identified at the convention was the phenomenon of self-crucifixion that is revered by the VG juxtaposed with the IG’s awe of the ontology of self-actualization. Issachar leaders need to detangle the kinks that these differences create. Undoubtedly, the major function of the church is to
develop, maintain, and restore the spiritual integrity of the members; however, there is renewed recognition of the purpose of the COG as a community agency that supports health and educational well-being. This acknowledgement is consistent with the mandate of education (1 Tim. 4:12), communication of the Gospel (Matt. 28:19) and health (Is. 49:31) in the Messiah’s teachings.

Congregants and leaders at the convention have successfully converted traditional practices into doctrines, and have embraced a neo-positivistic attitude, where everything is either black or white. For example, traditional attire for a woman of a skirt/blouse or dress has become a teaching in the church, so women who dress to the contrary have departed from the faith.

The church as an organization, reflecting the organism, (the Body of Christ) must provide Scriptural support for positions as the next generation of leaders is bold enough to question practices and will dismiss perspectives that appear senseless. Therefore, the IG has a responsibility to flesh out the doctrinal truths and present them as attractive as they are to the next generation. It is a priority of the church to have an intergenerational dialogue, highlighting appropriate comportment and styles within the organization. Indeed, this is the time for the COG to distance itself from discrimination, prejudice, and stigma that are associated with individual differences.

The IG is well poised to show its appreciation for ancestral legacy. As President Obama (2015) warned other groups, “sustainability of the organization demands creativity…by the efforts of those before and the promise of those to come”. Therefore, it is incumbent on the Issachar Generation to bridge the intergenerational divide, identifying and declaring its place and purpose as critical combinations for the militant church and prepare the NMG for leadership in an era of increasing distractions. (I Corinthians 9:25-27; Hebrews 12:1-4). The Naaman’s Maid Generation

The Naaman's Maid Generation (NMG) is aptly named after a young slave girl who was visionary in instructing her master, the mighty man of valor - Naaman, on how he could be healed. This example is one of many throughout the Scriptures that exemplify the active role young people play in ministry. The NMG has difficulty digesting the idea of “you can have the whole world, but give me Jesus”; they are cognizant of the necessary elements in the world to complement their Christian practices. This group is energetic and poised with passion, promise, and purpose, to promote the Gospel with their unique twist. During the convention, NMG leaders were visible in youth programs and as worship leaders. The urban NMG leaders and those from larger local congregations had clear advantage of support for their leadership. This was clear even in the verbal response to such youth presentations. Consistent with the Theory of Reasoned Action (Fishbein, & Azjen, 2010) when people have knowledge, skills, and support from important or respected people in their lives, they are most likely to carry out a behavior. The VG is preparing the NMG with the knowledge, skills and opportunities to sustain the Gospel. The millennial generation is more likely to value differences in individual families and communities (whitehouse.gov, 2014). Their value system has far-reaching implications for the progression of the church. For example, the practice of wearing “dreadlocks” may not be accepted by the VG and the IG as it signifies association with the ideology of Rastafarianism, yet the NMG do not give much thought to young people who choose that hairstyle. This outlook echoes the Macedonian call for guidance in melding their perceived ecosphere with the principles of Christian ideology.
As beneficiaries of the VG’s efforts, The Naaman’s Maid Generation is aware of the “principles for holy living” as outlined in Scriptures (1Peter 1: 15, NKJV.org). Yet, the tide of cultural change and transformational laws influencing secular and religious dogma create tension for them, which makes it hard to survive as a generation of disciples. For example, living in a sexually pluralistic age, young people struggle to maintain established relationships with peers choosing alternative lifestyles. Additionally, others are conflicted knowing that members of their group have changed to such lifestyles and still continue to be active in the church.

Young people wonder about the terms and conditions of defending their faith, considering the skepticism shown to behaviors such as reading an “e-Bible” and the lack of “fire” in their worship. The VG is not silent about their journey. They tout it at every opportunity; and since most times, the Veterans are in charge of popular service sessions, the millennial generation tends to think that Sunday morning church attendance is for them, the Veterans. This criticism contributes to church-hopping in the younger group. As modern technology increases and communication is refined, instant electronic updates provide an opportunity for the younger generation to attend the most popular services of the day, wherever they might be located. Since youth of African descent are more likely to attend religious services than their peers (Manlove et al., 2008) church programs are developed with the intent to keep teenagers connected with religious institutions and away from risk behaviors (Francis & Liverpool, 2009). The trend of church hopping is worrisome to church leaders because it means questionable Christian stability (TODD, 2007). Christian stability is one factor that affects lifestyles.

However, the millennial generation has lessons for other leadership groups if acceptance is embraced. For, who would have thought that a young maid would muster the courage to direct her master to deliverance from leprosy? In the same way, the millennial generation is uniquely positioned to assist the church in areas of chronic spiritual conditions.

Figure 1: Intergenerational Leadership & Sustainability of the Church
4. Discussion and Implications for Communication, Education, and Health

The intent of this work was to recognize the sustainable needs of the Church of God, and understand the generational urgency of such needs, and eventually how such discovery will aid in communication, education, and health. The COG is an organized community with churches throughout Jamaica. As an interdisciplinary research team of health care providers, and educators, our goal was to identify and develop methodologies that will promote communication, education and health, and to publish such report. Since no literature of this nature has been traced, this work is preliminary for this team and for the COG as a community agency primed for research. We observed the specific context of the reported assumptions noticing the aspects that were obvious and therefore relevant to the growth and development of the church. Unknowingly, we might have missed certain aspects that were relevant or specific subgroups (such as urban or rural memberships) within the church. However, capitalizing on opportunities such as this convention, is insightful and central to improving the way communication, education, and health care are provided in Jamaica. Thousands of people with common beliefs and values support this event, and the visionary healthcare providers can seize the occasion to extract additional and timely data for Jamaican citizens.

If medical care in Jamaica is to improve in spite of the economic challenges, it means that providers must identify alternative means of healing its people. The Veterans have a wealth of knowledge on the use of herbal remedies and testimonies of success. Herbal alternative was practiced in the absence of fiscal support for conventional approaches, but with the advent of holistic medicine, a new interest in herbal remedies has resurfaced, (Marshall 2015). Perspectives have changed; therefore, qualitative exploration of how herbal remedy is practiced among church members is legitimate. This is especially informative since common herbs in Jamaica that are contrary to church beliefs are globally accepted for medical practice.

Historically, this gathering has been a focus of substantial efforts of COG leaders solely for spiritual enrichment. Gender-based sessions that focused on different areas of interest to the church in turn serendipitously attracted special age groups. Hence, much of the perspectives in this report were extracted from such group-specific sessions. Since some reasons for the weakened state of the church hinge on young people: their sexual behaviors, church-hopping and acceptance of individual differences, then scrutiny of sexual behaviors among adolescents is highly directed. The scientific community mandates an interdisciplinary approach to discovery as health, beliefs, family values, and social issues are intertwined in adolescents’ behavior. Again, these approaches are not supported in the literature among Jamaican church-going youth. The silence on sexual communication among people of Caribbean descent is briefly mentioned in the literature (Hutchinson et al., 2007). However, much more work is still undone and expansion to Jamaica is useful since the country is located in an area where HIV/AIDS is still a major world health concern. Drug use and abuse has been identified in youth worldwide, however, it has not been isolated in the Jamaica COG youth.

5. Implications for Education

Delegates at the convention recognized that more than 80% of the VG grew up at a time when, for them, like many other non-church going people, secondary/tertiary education was unaffordable, inaccessible and unavailable. The COG in Jamaica was widely perceived as the denomination that was populated by
housekeepers, gardeners and artisans, with weak earning power. The IG has changed this perception because secondary/tertiary education is now widely attainable, and educated professionals are in Church of God leadership roles. World affairs, in the context of Biblical prophecies, are invariably matched - to great effect - to cultural practices in Jamaica. The new approach to the study of the Word is raising the level of intellectualism applied to the interpretation of Scripture and is slowly resonating with the VG. “We have a group of very brilliant young people in the church, and we must support them since we are the ones who prayed that this day would come,” said one speaker at the convention. So, the seemingly enlightened view is that academic achievement is, after all, part of “the things of God” and the IG is adhering to the Biblical admonition to “seek ye first the kingdom of God” (Matthew 6:33), and the new vision is part of “all things shall be added”.

While the IG continues to lead the way in emphasizing the benefits of an educated congregation, they must recognize the accompanying responsibility, and as a result guide the VG in the use of modern technology that can enhance the delivery of the message and position the denomination for expansion. For years the denomination has been reporting a membership of just over 100,000 and 365 branches, spread across the 14 parishes in the island with a population of 2.8 million. Some observers argue that there is not enough emphasis on communicating the Gospel; hence the denomination is not experiencing the rapid growth that it envisioned. As the bridge between the VG and the NMG, the IG needs to lead the way in digital evangelism and virtual fellowship as the COG takes cognizance of the opportunities that have been brought about by the emerging information and communication technologies. The digital footprint of the COG must keep pace with the technological savings of the members, particularly the IG and NMG. However, in implementing new approaches to ministry, the IG needs to consider the VG, some of whom may be facing age related degenerative diseases, and the youth, some of whom may have divergent priorities as they seek to carve their own path.

6. Implications for Communication

In order for the church to continue to move forward, the implications for intergenerational collaboration as it relates to communicating the Gospel must be addressed. Each group must appreciate and accept the roles of the other in evangelism - the primary method of spreading the Gospel. As such, this acceptance is largely dependent on the attitudes of the VG and IG. As seasoned warriors, these groups must understand and remain cognizant of their role in grooming the NMG for battle. In so doing, VG and IG must embrace the relevance and reality of the contemporary Christian faith. In a world where the culture toward religion has changed, many individuals no longer desire a relationship with God. Consequently, the NMG is charged with bringing the Gospel to a generation that is farthest from God than any other cohort in history. Though this challenge may seem insurmountable, we are reminded in scripture, that we ‘can do all things through Christ who strengthens’ (Phil. 4: 13, KJV, 2015).

Therefore, since they have this assurance, the VG and IG must lay aside the weight of pre-conceived ideas that so easily beset them and run toward the challenge of establishing innovative ways to evangelize such as text messages, short inspirational phrases, Facebook posts and the use of other social media outlets to communicate encouragement to the NMG. For instance, simple gestures such as sending scripture verses or composing a short prayer or inspirational message are ideal. Such simple strategies provide support and reassurance to the NMG and may embolden them in their witness. Further, as
church hopping has been identified as an issue among the NMG a sustained network of communication may also serve as an essential building block for improved trust and openness; thereby, solidifying nurturing relationships between VG and IG. In so doing, the older generations would be able to remain connected to the NMG and further assist their development. As such, the NMG service in kingdom building will most likely be compelled by personal choice and not by compulsion. Self-less service in the NMG will safeguard the viability and sustainable expansion of Christ’s church on earth.

Since, the overall goal of evangelism is to win souls for the kingdom, to increase church attendance and harness resources, perhaps a strategic plan should include the IG and VG laboring alongside the NMG to harness the critical assets that are necessary to assist the younger generation. In so doing, the NMG can run the race that is set before them, looking to God who is the author and finisher of their faith so that the baton exchange can occur seamlessly across generations (Heb. 12: 1-2 Rom. 14:1).

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Winter is Coming:

Doctoral Supervision in the Neoliberal University

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Abstract: Doctoral Education Studies, particularly in its North American manifestations, emphasizes quantitative methods. The resulting research is empirical and occasionally empiricist. The challenges revealed through this mode of research is that the highly ideological, volatile environment of higher education is flattened, framed and justified. My research offers an alternative view and perspective of doctoral education through a post-empirical, theoretical article. Within my piece, the PhD and doctoral supervision are framed by the post-Global Financial Crisis to understand the very specific – and volatile – context for research and research training.

Keywords: Higher Education Studies, Doctoral Education Studies, Doctor of Philosophy, Doctoral Supervision, Global Financial Crisis, Neoliberalism

Education has fundamental connections with the idea of human emancipation, though it is constantly in danger of being captured for other interests. In a society disfigured by class exploitation, sexual and racial oppression, and in chronic danger of war and environmental destruction, the only education worth its name is one that forms people capable of taking part in their own liberation.

Robert Connell (1982, p. 48)

The success and reputation of universities is dependent on the calibre and excellence of doctoral programmes. Yet this excellence is founded on more than rules, regulations, protocols and procedures. It is based on rudimentary, daily, consistent and careful conversations, negotiations and authentic partnerships between supervisors and postgraduates. The relationship between a supervisor and doctoral candidate is a determinant of a successful PhD. Obviously ‘success’ in doctoral education has many definitions, but a timely completion, exciting and exhilarating candidature, and teaching and publishing experience are all effective starting points for both discussion and research. What operational strategies and guidelines can create this experience? How can supervision be configured for the ‘new’ knowledge economy? Is the supervisor a teacher, requiring an array of andragogical theories to enable learning...
cultures? Is the supervisor a guide, reminding the student that it is ‘their’ thesis? Is the supervisor supervising so that the postgraduate can complete research that features the supervisor’s name on refereed scholarship? (Chiappetta-Swanson & Watt, 2011).

Teacher. Guide. Exploiter. Such stark words are mitigated and managed by Hockey’s research (1994, 1995), where he probed the challenges of under and over supervision. Such a balance is difficult to determine as these levels are often personal, contextual and institutional. Yet discussing this balance and ensuring it is productive for the candidate, supervisor, university and quality assurance agencies is the key to both compliance and excellence. This supervisory relationship is also a determinant of many later career successes, challenges, opportunities and blockages in and to an academic or professional career. Every supervisor can be outstanding. Every supervisor can kill a thesis. Every student can be successful. Every student can walk away from an outstanding research project with little cause. The diversity of student projects, expectations and – most importantly – the calibre of the institution’s administration, management and leadership must be recognized and understood.

Globalization has left its fingertips on doctoral education with stark unevenness (Altbach, 2003, p. 5-8; Marginson, 2006, p. 1-39). The Bologna Process has traction and credibility (Bologna Working Group, 2005), the North American coursework model still dominates that continent, and most Australian universities still do not enact an oral examination as part of the assessment process, even though all New Zealand universities now conclude a PhD with a viva. While noting these differences, trans-national conversations matter. Academic mobility of both staff and students alongside synchronous media platforms such as Skype and social media opportunities through Twitter, Academia.edu and LinkedIn means that it has never been easier to commence productive dialogues about differences and opportunities in international doctoral education and ensure that – even though the pathways to submission may be different – shared strategies can be created to build collaborative and robust definitions of excellence and success, particularly via oral examinations.

This article summons, acknowledges and applies Lynn McAlpine and Cheryl Amundsen’s monograph, Doctoral education: research-based strategies for doctoral students, supervisors and administrators (2011a). They argued that “the experience of doctoral education is very much locally situated through day-to-day interactions amongst doctoral students, supervisors, other academics, and academic-related staff” (McAlpine and Amundsen, 2011b, p. 2). My article probes these daily interactions and asks – like a canary in a mine – what they reveal about the ideologies of higher education.

The title of this presentation – Winter is Coming – is derived from the television phenomenon Game of Thrones, which in turn emerges from George R.R. Martin’s book series A Song of Ice and Fire. There is intent, energy and compulsion carried on the dragon wings of this reference. Game of Thrones, as a literary and televisual saga, captures a passion for domination and the ruthlessness required to achieve it. The multiple games for power in the contemporary university – thrusting, jousting, jostling and intrigue – are ruthless in their application. Popular culture in such a context is andragogical and can lead the theory. Rhian Jones realized the intricate dance between pop and politics: “over the past twenty years, a queasy time of class confusion, class elision, and class erasure, neoliberalism has been asserted as strongly in British pop as in British politics” (2013, p. 2). I probed this relationship between pop and
politics, theory and application in my book *Thinking Pop* (Brabazon, 2008). Steve Redhead has described this mode of discourse as high popular culture (2015). Indeed, programmes such as *Breaking Bad* (Koepsell and Arp, 2012), *Twin Peaks* (Weinstock & Spooner, 2015), *The X-Files* (Sauder, 2013), *Star Trek* (Reagin, 2013) and *Star Wars* (Brooker, 2002) have triggered a large research literature in philosophy, sociology, cultural studies, media studies and criminology. Such studies offer andragogical pathways through an array of disciplinary and inter-disciplinary perspectives and topics (Manathunga et al., 2006) that includes higher education studies. Popular culture, theory and politics dialogue, entwine, echo and bounce at increasing speed.

Such diverse insights are required as doctoral education, doctoral supervisors and doctoral students are players in a wider game of attack, retreat and domination by neoliberal managers in universities. Therefore the subtitle of this article – Doctoral supervision in the neoliberal university – provides a pathway through the power, the lies, the fabrications and the disappointments of contemporary higher education, assessing the costs to doctoral education and the relationships between students and supervisors. As Littlefinger tells Varys, “Chaos isn’t a pit. Chaos is a ladder.” Therefore, this article captures and probes the challenges of doctoral education, offering ten diagnostic tools to provide a ladder to a stable experience for supervisors and their students.

Institutional in/stability particularly matters to doctoral education as neoliberalism is corroding higher education through budgeting principles that apply theories from finance capitalism to publically-funded institutions, resulting in short termism, temporary contracts for staff, intimidatory behaviour, bullying and arbitrary control of junior colleagues and students. Neoliberalism has both a complex history and a resonant and agitated contemporary application. At its most basic, neoliberalism, as an ideology, validates anti-statism, deregulation, and a domination of the market over governance structures. Such attributes pose great risk to the stability, standards and quality of doctoral programmes. As John Halliday confirmed, “the most easily globalised commodities are information and finance” (2003, p. 200). The knowledge generated in universities encompasses and enables the movement of both information and finance. However the Global Financial Crisis demonstrated the ease to which money and impropriety can move across national borders when under-regulated. Digitization has demonstrated the ease with which information, disrespect, xenophobia and bullying can travel when under-regulated. The question is what happens to knowledge and higher education in such an environment, particularly in the advanced and specialized tier of our universities: doctoral education. To answer such a question requires understanding the history and historiography of academic capitalism, including the changes to academic labour and the decline in public funding. In response, this paper presents ten diagnostic triggers to probe the transformations of doctoral education through neoliberalism.

1. **Negotiate Expectations**

Tyrion Lannister reminded viewers to “understand the way the game is played.” Doctoral education is similar. The most important decision a doctoral candidate makes is the selection of supervisor, because they can enable, assist, warn, frame and improve the topic. They can also provide a trajectory for an academic career. The most important part of a doctoral enrolment is the first month, where the expectations of the candidature are presented. Supervision is frequently based on unstated assumptions,
not honesty, respect and trust. Importantly doctoral education is a mode of teaching and learning. Therefore, ensuring the supervisor has configured and maintains a supervisory philosophy that is shared with the student is a key moment of accountability.

Similarly, an overt expectation must be in place that the supervisor reads and improves written work and offers advice about reading, writing and research. Anthony Pare realized that, “in a very real sense, doctoral supervisors are writing teachers” (2011, p. 59). Therefore students should not be embarrassed or reticent in asking for help with the configuration of their prose because doctoral education requires discipline-specific writing modalities (Cossett, 2016). In many ways, doctoral education is configured through a series of intimate, intense series of tutorials that runs over three years.

Academic integrity is a key phrase in higher education. Plagiarism is the folk devil. Academic integrity signals an adult conversation about words, rights and ownership. Does the supervisor demand co-authorship rights? On what basis and foundation are these rights either demanded or negotiated? How is the power differential between the PhD student and supervisor mitigated so that the disempowered participant in the conversation – the candidate - is able to claim their intellectual property and negotiate their rights? To provide one example, Australia has in place the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research (2007). Section five of the code addresses authorship. The Code states that “authorship must be based on substantial contributions in a combination of

(1) conception and design of the project
(2) analysis and interpretation of data
(3) drafting or advising the work to augment the interpretation of information (Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research, 2007).

Much is significant about this document and the Code outlining authorship. Firstly, the assumption that supervisors must be added to the papers written by their doctoral candidates is discredited. ‘Lab courtesy’ is not enough (Korenman & Shipp, 1994). Also, the supervisor must be involved in all stages of the research, including crafting the interpretation of the information, rather than merely editing the prose. Even with such a seemingly overt Code, there is still ambiguity. If a supervisor – who has been paid to supervise via a workload model – did their job and taught the student through the candidature to produce a thesis, then what is their status on any research produced outside of the doctoral candidature? If the supervisor assisted the student to craft research questions for the thesis, does that suggest that all subsequent work must acknowledge that origin through ‘conception and design”? Particularly if the Australian Code removes the ‘in a combination of” caveat, then supervisors may – through the research design clause – claim long-term authorship of post-PhD research. Therefore, it is integral that these dialogues – and the issues they may reveal – are early in the candidature so that if irreconcilable differences are reached, then moderation can take place from senior academics or the dean of graduate research and/or a new supervisor can be found.

Another pressure point early in the candidature involves a negotiation about the frequency of meetings, including the mode of discourse within those meetings and how digitization will be deployed through the PhD. It is always wise at the start of a candidature to consider its ending. Discuss the challenges and
hurdles – whether they be personal or professional – and the goal and timing of the examination. Through such conversations, a decision is made to finish in the minimum time. Expectations summon a reality. Significantly, if a supervisor (only) supervises to gain an unpaid research assistant, then the longer the candidature, the better (for the supervisor).

It is understandable that expectations and assumptions punctuate the doctorate. Frank Furstenberg stated that, “despite a large and ever-growing number of studies on academia and ‘how-to’ books and blogs, I am always amazed at how little newcomers know about what goes on behind the academic curtain” (2013, p. 1). However the inverted questions perhaps provide more insight. Why would there be detailed knowledge about doctoral programmes? The qualification remains rare. Supervision is conducted one on one, often behind closed doors, and universities jealously guard the uncomfortable and embarrassing statistics for completion rates and times and withdrawals from the programme. Examination is individualized and the reports are confidential. It remains a degree of secrets, a “dark art” (Brabazon 2016). Unless the words are spoken and the rules, imperatives and goals outlined, then serious concerns – about supervisory commitment, writing and drafting, examination, candidature length and authorship of papers – will emerge, often at the most stressful and difficult time for the candidate.

Regulation remains the key touchstone in such discussions. If the university maintains a ‘light touch’ regulation of supervisors, then institutional expectations do not frame behaviour. Therefore arbitrary and experiential ideologies revealed by individual supervisors are granted greater weight than research from higher education studies and international regulatory benchmarking. The discursive clash between the public accountability of doctoral education – noting that most universities in most nations are completely or partially funded by taxation – and neoliberalism is starkly revealed. Neoliberalism, via its deregulated, anti-statist imperative, relies on individuals to produce outcomes based on competition and the free market. The applicability of such principles on doctoral education - which must be founded on public accountability, scrutiny of quality assurance, transparency and evaluation of supervisors to ensure strong outcomes and andragogy for PhD students - is opposed to such neoliberal maxims.

The profound paradox is that light touch regulation, a lack of deep knowledge, monitoring and review of institutional practices, has emerged at the point of increasing internationalization, competition for international students and global university ranking systems. Education is a product that is sold, yet the quality of that product is volatile and debatable. That is why commercial – market-driven – ranking systems such as from the Times Higher Education (2016) are replacing state-based regulation and review. Importantly, the stratification of the sector increases. The elite increase their elitism and the universities lower on the rankings, often from small post-industrial cities, are given few rewards for widening participation. In such a context, governance becomes a complex word to specify, define, locate and apply. Joseph Zajda and Val Rust realized that it is approached in three different ways or ‘levels’: ideologies, discourses and situated practices (2016, p. 7). Governance transforms into a way to create ‘employment ready’ graduates with transferable skills (Sin & Amaral, 2016), rather than democratic reforms to education. Yet are transferable skills part of a ‘quality’ doctoral programme (University of Michigan, 2016)? Such complex discussions are needed because of the increasing mobility of students, staff and institutions. The challenge is clear: at the very point that national
regulatory systems need to communicate about quality between systems, neoliberalism has clawed discussions of intellectual quality back to individuals, skills and employability.

2. Is There an Advocate for Graduate Education and Doctoral Candidates?

Graduate education makes money for the contemporary university, also attracting international students. But it is often a deeply neglected component of an institution, only gaining attention when it is underperforming financially or is confronting quality assurance breaches with consequences for the wider university community and budget (Lawrence, 2013). Graduate education exposes the lie that a university is a business like real estate, groceries or banking. Therefore, ‘academic managers’ within the post-expertise university mask, decentre and demean doctoral education because it is the one area of the institution that requires intellectual credibility.

This credibility is earned. A dean of graduate studies / students / research is a special and singular role. A combination of outstanding teacher and researcher, he or she must manage a department while maintaining international standards of scholarship alongside a deep duty of care for students and supervisors. Frequently, such roles report to the research leadership of a university, such as a pro vice chancellor or deputy vice chancellor research, rather than the academic portfolios. While such a positioning is understandable, it creates structural, institutional amnesia, overlooking that doctoral supervision is a mode of teaching and learning, with andragogy and Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL) that informs practice. Such institutional oversight through the separation of portfolios means that prospective and actual supervisors confuse the experience of supervision with expertise to supervise. Such phrases as ‘supervisory training’ only continue to increase an anti-theoretical and anti-research approach to supervision. The dean occupies a key role – in a university sector that is increasingly fragmenting and differentiating between teaching and research – to align, mesh and meld these functions.

Conditions are not kind for deans of doctoral programmes because they rarely fit into lines of reporting, Key Performance Indicators or short-term cycles of budget planning. A PhD – at best – is a three or four year programme that must maintain international standards of quality and excellence while always monitoring the individual student and supervisor’s experience of policies, procedures, patterns and daily behaviours. Therefore, neoliberal management is inappropriately applied or executed on PhD programmes. These degrees are not banal, automated, deskilled and cheapened. The risks involved in cutting funding and reducing the expectations of supervisors are high for the university, including its overall institutional branding and ranking. Therefore the practices that work in a bank or in food retail cannot operate at the highest levels of doctoral management. There is a point where the efficiency dividend creates dumbed-down supervision, slack institutional practices that undermine transparent and rigorous examination, and a breach of quality assurance. Assumptions about the rationality of economics and the logic of markets mean that academic managers lack an analytical tool kit for understanding the very specific events – like doctoral examination – or social structures – like supervisory behaviours in university – in a desire to remove the state and regulation from education.
In such a context, it is difficult to determine which ideology is either first or dominant: anti-statism or pro-business. If Thorstein Veblen is to be believed – and his prescient scholarship predicted many of the economic undulations of the twentieth century – then the integration of ‘business principles’ into education is the key first knight’s move.

The indirect or incidental cultural bearing of business principles and business practice is wide-reaching and forceful. Business principles have a peculiar hold upon the affections of the people as something intrinsically right and good ... Their presence, is an element of common sense, in the counsels of the ‘educators’ shows itself in a naive insistence on the ‘practical’ whenever the scheme of instruction is under advisement. ‘Practical’ means useful for private gain ... The primary test is usefulness for getting an income. The secondary test, practically applied where latitude is allowed in the way of ‘culture’ studies, is the aptness of the instruction in question to fit the learners for spending income in a decorous manner (2005, p. 181).

This commentary was written in 1904. Veblen argued that such ideologies create “a system of scholastic accountancy” (2005, p. 181) which results in a checking of competency, compliance and usefulness, rather than excellence, achievement and scholarship. Such an analysis is profound and provocative for doctoral education. It is important to trust the expertise of doctoral supervisors. However, the challenge now emerges that a large group of university academics have been appointed ‘by invitation,’ without competitive processes or scrutiny. The irony of anti-competition methods being deployed to ensure that ‘scholars’ create a market-oriented business university is clear. Under-qualified and under-published ‘academics’ are now a sizeable slice of our universities, hired by academic managers, many of whom are themselves under-qualified and under-published. Regulation of supervision and supervisors is the only way to discriminate between two people holding a professorial title, one gained through a competitive and transparent process and the other through patronage and politics. Such regulation can include a supervisory register and minimum standards of research activity required to remain on it.

Veblen’s analysis was profound. Higher education studies and researchers have continued his imperative by shadowing these neoliberal movements. It is fascinating to dip into a particular historical period – from 2001 to 2006 – to view the twisting of ideologies that materialized in and strangled our present. In 2003, Ulrich Teichler was predicting the “‘post-managerial’ or ‘post-entrepreneurial’ higher education system.” He was validating internationalization, knowledge transfer and diversity in higher education providers. National governments would no longer regulate on quality and new power structures would emerge in higher education to respect both freedom and creativity (2003, p. 179). Instead, in many universities, administrators outnumber academics (Jump, 2015), and managerialism – through Key Performance Indicators, Strategic Plans and Vision Statements – has weathered regulation in the interests of competitiveness and responding to market forces.

The assumptions of growth and rationality in capitalism widens both inequality and injustice (Clark, 2004). Colin Cremen’s work has taken on this acidic corrosiveness and futility. He stated that “we are not in liquid modernity, reflexive modernity, a new economy or risk society” (2011, p. 3). He believed that “the financial crash was predictable” (2011, p. 25). Perhaps he is correct. Importantly, the neglect, disrespect and marginalization of regulation and governance provided a context for a financial collapse
to emerge. Austerity has become a word that – after post-the Global Financial Crisis – has signalled the next stage of neo-liberalism, anti-statism and political amnesia to blame those who were blameless. The GFC is – as Dimitris Sotiropoulos, John Milios and Spyros Lapatsioras described - a “financial crisis … without precedent in the post-war period” (2013, p. 1). Yet it still remains a “marginal moment, which unveils and enables scholars to rethink the workings of contemporary capitalism” (Sotiropoulos et al., 2013, p. 1). The recovery and intensification of neoliberalism after the GFC meant that the instability continued, unequal income distribution intensified and anti-developmental practices in public policy, infrastructure and development resulted. With attention placed on efficiency, risk was ‘managed’ rather than addressed.

A lack of governance in our universities poses a serious threat to the work of scholarship from first year through to doctoral education. For doctoral candidates and academics considering enrolling or working in an institution, it is important to research – deeply and with care – the University’s head of faculties that now have the title of Dean, Executive Dean or Pro Vice Chancellor. Assess their profiles: are these men and women research active? Are they scholars? Look at their resumes and assess their publications. If little has been achieved or published, and ‘outcomes’ are measured by the most rudimentary of management ‘successes’ which is frequently reified to restructuring already sound institutional structures, then the capacity for these ‘managers’ to understand the specificity of doctoral education is debateable. Remember Lord Varys’s words: “Power resides where men believe it resides. It's a trick, a shadow on the wall. And a very small man can cast a very large shadow.” Doctoral studies are founded on knowledge, scholarship, excellence and expertise, not a shadow on a wall.

3. Neoliberal University Cultures are Selfish and Narcissistic, Impacting on Doctoral Candidates and Their Publications

One of the consequences of neoliberalism is a celebration of a competitive individual grasping for power without the entanglements of regulations (or ‘red tape’), rather than community building for the greater good of scholarship and knowledge. Individual achievement is important, but it is often built on the foundation of exploitation. Tenure is based on publications in North America. The REF in the UK and the ERA in Australia are research monitoring exercises for staff. These systems encourage an environment where supervisors exploit their doctoral students and junior colleagues to snake their names onto publications. Sometimes this exploitative process is called mentoring, but this is a mask for a rapid and destructive colonization of junior scholar’s work.

All prospective doctoral students should be coached to discuss authorship and co-authorship at the moment of enrolment. Ask what a supervisor gains from supervising a doctoral student. Assess if and then how universities encourage collegiality and intellectual integrity. If university leadership is appearing straight out of the second series of Game of Thrones, mobilizing metaphoric armies to become king or queen, then find another institution. In such a context, competition has been validated over quality. The ranking of institutions on the basis of often arbitrary determinants does not guarantee a professional and respectful environment. Supervisors and doctoral candidates make a choice each day to behave in a way that either builds a positive and productive relationship or destroys it. As Orell Wildling reminded viewers in Game of Thrones, “People work together, when it suits them. They’re
loyal, when it suits them. They love each other, when it suits them. And they kill each other, when it suits them.” The ideal context is clear: students and supervisors gain from building a productive relationship. Institutional regulation must ensure that if flaws or inequalities emerge in institutional structures and procedures, then the problem can be addressed quickly so that the student – the disempowered person in the relationship – can be protected.

4. Demand Research Activity from Supervisors

A senior staff member of an Australian university recently commented to me that I demand too much of supervisors. For me, the base line for doctoral supervision is individual research activity. The definition of research activity varies by each institution. Often it can be as low as one refereed article a year, which includes co-authored publications. Multiply-authored article can count as much as a singly-authored piece in some systems.

However, doctoral candidates have a right to demand that their supervisor is assessed by referees and verified for their scholarship each year of their career. Therefore research activity must be transparently reported and shared with prospective and actual students. The challenge though is that doctoral candidates are increasingly sucked into the research activity and expectations of their supervisors. In other words, particularly in the sciences, an excuse for an academic not being research active is that they do not have doctoral students. This paradox – not being research active because they do not have doctoral students yet needing doctoral students to be research active – is a displacement exercise. Even in the laboratory-based sciences, there are an array of publications that are possible without a suite of doctoral candidates, including research ethics, the scholarship of teaching and learning (SoTL) or meta studies of earlier data sets.

Doctoral supervision is a privilege, not a right. This privilege is earned through research activity and research excellence. It is, as McAlpine and Amundsen described it, “workplace learning” (2011, p. 175). The goal is to enable identity development for both the supervisor and student through the candidature.

5. Governance Versus Autonomy for Supervisors

A great challenge in managing graduate education in the neoliberal university is to maintain the balance between respect and autonomy for supervisors and governance of standards and procedures to protect and assist students. It is important to believe in and trust the professionalism of supervisors, but such trust must be based on evidence and procedure. It is also necessary to remain current with best international practice, including professional development in such topics as social media and digital supervision, and be assessed by annual refereeing and publications.

A supervisory register is a compliance mechanism for supervisors, but a welcome one because it guarantees a minimum standard for doctoral candidates. The goal is excellence, but the pathway to excellence is compliance. A university at its best is a learning environment. The Vice Chancellor of City University, Paul Curran, stated that,
We want our students to learn from academics who are themselves learning. This means that the majority of our academic staff need to be engaged with research, enterprise and professional practice and bring their enthusiasm and up-to-date subject knowledge back to our students (2008, p. 6).

It is from this foundation of compliance that continual professional development can spiral into excellence and autonomy is a right of supervisors when configuring the teaching and learning for their students. However a great deal goes wrong in the supervisory relationship. Supervisors leave. They neglect students. There are also challenges emerging from doctoral candidates. They stop reading. They ignore emails. They miss meetings for weeks or months. Governance is required to provide a structure for negotiation and dialogue to bring supervisors and students together if something goes astray.

Each institution manages this balance between autonomy and governance in different ways. While doctoral candidates may be over-administered, with too many forms and interventions, the alternative of no governance or regulation so that students are at the mercy of a supervisor and his or her power is also not a viable option. As Littlefinger confirmed, “Sometimes those with the most power have the least grace.” Supervisors must start with personal excellence, but successful supervision is powered by intellectual generosity, institutional transparency, scholarly rigour and international standards.

6. Beware the PhD by Publication

Currently, there are (at least) five doctoral modes:

- the traditional doctorate,
- artefact and exegesis,
- the professional doctoral suite,
- the PhD by prior publication (sometimes described a PhD by published works)
- the PhD by publication.

The PhD by prior publication had a particular origin, impetus and cause. As an array of polytechnics and non-university institutions moved into university status, research active scholars who had never enrolled in a conventional PhD needed a way to recognize and credential their expertise. The PhD by Prior Publication provided that pathway. It was particularly useful for women – or men - with careers interrupted by children. Therefore, this mode of doctorate was a ‘fixer’ for a moment in the history of universities in the 1990s. The key issue to remember is that publications are different from a PhD thesis. They are different in form, content, origin and output. However the PhD by prior publication was understandable in that particular historical period. It is currently a rare mode of candidature.

The PhD by publication is fuelled by a different set or arguments. The candidate has not produced any research before enrolment and the argument is that a series of publications can be submitted as equivalent to a traditionally-constituted doctorate. It is key to recognize that refereed publications and a doctorate are different modes and modalities of scholarship. The justification has been that in an
increasingly competitive academic environment, publications position the candidate for a university post.

However some under-researched problems are emerging in this PhD by Publication. Firstly, supervisors are exploiting their students. Citing the Vancouver Protocol (Norwegian Committee of Research Ethics, 2016) – a thirty year old agreement about authorship in medical science journals – is used to justify supervisors ‘sharing’ authorship with their postgraduates during a PhD programme. Instead of a PhD student writing a doctorate, submitting it for examination and then being able to publish from their thesis, candidates must write articles during their enrolment and share authorship with their supervisors.

There are many supervisors who only agree to supervise via PhD by publication. They demand this enrolment so that they can gather easy co-authorships through these publications. Intriguingly, after an initial burst of enrolments, these same supervisors now struggle to attract enrolments. There are many reasons for this rise and fall, but prospective doctoral students have worked out the ruse of this mode of enrolment. It seems convincing to stress the value of publications to doctoral students. However the PhD must always contain more than publications. It must carry the seed of a decade’s work beyond it. I recently conducted a performance management meeting with a staff member who was just about to submit her PhD by prior publication, with her supervisors claiming co-authorship for all five chapters. Her problem – now – was how to be research-active beyond the doctorate. All the publications from the thesis were in the thesis, so she had to start again on a new project, knowing that it would take time as an early career researcher to build momentum.

This practice of supervision is concerning and under-regulated. One supervisor of a PhD by publication reported to me that she needed the student to confirm that co-authorship was in place because she would not read the piece without this guarantee. This staff member receives workload – that is payment – for the supervision, the credibility through a doctoral completion on the CV, but also demands co-authorship. This is triple dipping, and of great detriment to students. Our PhD students are not unpaid research assistants for their supervisors. Secondly, if the conversation is framed in terms of enabling doctoral students to produce publications, then the reality of this goal is much more uncertain. While publications are produced through the doctorate, that means they are not released at the conclusion of the doctorate. This leaves students with no momentum following graduation. Their research has been published. Therefore they must start again on a new project and without support. If students are considering a PhD by publication, it is essential that they receive a full and frank briefing of who gains and who loses through such an enrolment.

7. The Priority is a Rapid Completion

Beginnings matter. Endings matter more. The number one priority for a PhD student, supervisor and university is a rapid completion, examination and graduation. Three to four years – depending on the system - should be the aim. This target is achievable if in the first two months, careful framing of the project is enacted. While empirical projects – particularly with fieldwork - are more unpredictable in their trajectories and timeframes, the goal is to keep the thesis statement, research questions, methods and trajectory tightly constituted and defined. Experienced supervisors stop students driving into
lengthy cul-de-sacs that chew up time. The key is to maintain the motivation and focus on the completion. The challenge is that motivation to complete a PhD is contextually dependent on the state of higher education and the calibre of supervision. Methods for supervising are individualized and atomized. ‘Light touch’ regulation cannot monitor the quality of supervision. Quality can be assumed, but with unstable university contracts and budgetary conditions, these assumptions are unfounded.

The challenge remains that 50% of those who start a doctorate do not graduate from it (Lovitts, 2001). While this failure is generalized and epidemic, the cause of these failures are blamed on individual students. It remains, as Barbara Lovitts described it, “the invisible problem” (2001, p. 1). Yet this problem has a sociology: women and students of colour in the United States leave doctoral programmes at a higher rate than white men. Universities have ‘addressed’ this problem by intensifying the admissions process. This focus on selection, “suggests that universities believe the problem lies not with graduate school but with the students themselves” (Lovitts, 2001, p. 20). The problem remains invisible because the cause is dispersed to individual failures. Dissatisfied students express their unhappiness silently: by leaving the programme. Neoliberal management practices intensify this blame on the individual. Without clear regulation and evaluation of doctoral programmes and supervisors, doctoral candidates will continue to leave and universities will continue to intensify admissions criteria, displacing the problem away from the institution’s behaviours, practices and protocols.

The longer the candidature, the less likely the student is to finish. A characteristic of students who do not complete is that they take leave of absences. Therefore the goals should be succinct and clear, creating milestones to a rapid completion. Stability matters in the supervisory relationship. Predictability, honesty and integrity make the difference. Through performance management or other modes of monitoring it is important to remove supportive university infrastructure that validates poor or mediocre supervisors that allows students to enrol year after year, paying fees and not moving on with their professional career.

I recognize Richard Hill’s critique of the focus on completion. He argues that universities have become “industrial training centres suited to the requirements of the neoliberal economy” (2015, p. 1). The doctoral programme is particularly a focus of his attention. He stated that, “Many of the students I spoke to attributed much of their stress to the pressure placed on them by supervisors eager to secure completion. Invariably, the upshot is a dehumanized, functional experience in which students are regarded more as purveyors of outcomes than people with feelings and genuine intellectual aspirations” (2015, p. 175). My questioning of such an argument is that the supervisors gain from long enrolments because the supervision continues to attract workload points and therefore pay. So there is no benefit to the supervisor in moving the student to submission at speed. It is much more effort and time to truncate a supervisory process – through weekly meetings, rapid turnaround of student writing and using the capacity of asynchronous media to provide professional development programmes that can weave around the student candidature. However it is beneficial to the student to finish quickly to avoid years of their life being lost without a doctorate, with their family life being in limbo and the associated loss of income. Hill’s recognition of feelings and intellectual aspirations are important, but neither are managed or mitigated if a PhD is not completed.
8. Ask the Difficult Questions about your Supervisor’s University Contract

The neoliberal university is volatile. Guy Standing’s *The Precariat* (2013) now staffs higher education. This is a post-tenure environment. Such a framework and labour model reveals many challenges and issues in terms of academic freedom and the development of research cultures, but is particularly destructive for doctoral education. With the labour force volatile (Adsit et al., 2015) doctoral programmes are destabilized. With tenure in place, students can move through their undergraduate and postgraduate career, working with a single scholar in a safe and engaging environment. They can build knowledge together. Alternatively, students can move to work with key scholars in their field, making a decision on the basis of stable appointments. However the nature of the short-term contracts is that supervisors are not appointed for a long enough period to complete a candidature.

This is an under-researched challenge and a masked problem in higher education. While the casualization and closure of many jobs and industries has been studied, the transitory contracts in higher education have been rarely recognized by those outside of the sector.

The international economic upheaval unleashed by the 2008 banking crisis, an occasion seized upon by neoliberal economists, bosses and politicians as an opportunity for further privatisation, forcing down of wages and greater job insecurity, has accelerated the spread of precarious working from the margins to the core of the workforce and widened the gap between wage levels and the cost of living, making socioeconomic inequality far more difficult to deny (Jones, 2013, p. 10).

Neoliberal ideologies of choice, self-sufficiency and agency do not map well over higher education. From the first year to the completion of a degree – at best – takes seven years. Overlaid over these qualifications is supervisory training, experience and expertise. To be an outstanding doctoral supervisor is a rare and specialized portfolio of skills, abilities and knowledges. These skills are not replaceable and are not generic competencies. Once a supervisor has left the university, that specific expertise cannot be replaced. The attempt to create a jigsaw puzzle of supervision based on the good-will and volunteer employment of adjuncts and visiting professors is profoundly unstable. The lack of research expertise in academic managers means that the needs of PhD students are much lower than short term budgetary requirements. Because of short term and unstable contracts, doctoral students will not have a continuity of supervision. This is a particular problem as a characteristic of students that do not finish is that they have had a change in their supervision.

This is a major change. We only have to return to distinguished progressive scholars who gained their fame in the previous century. Howard Zinn commented on the nature of education in terms of power and influence.

The educational environment is unique in our society: It is the only situation where an adult, looked up to as a mentor, is alone with a group of young people for a protracted and officially sanctioned period of time and can assign whatever reading he or she chooses and discuss with these young people any subject under the sun (2005, p. 87).
This is why education, and particularly higher education, is configured as dangerous by those who wish to maintain the current distributions of wealth, power and privilege. This is also why tenure is threatened or extinguished, contracts are provisional and performance management reviews are in place. The Socratic imperative to shape, provoke, question and convince is crushed through such surveillance. A Howard Zinn could not emerge in the current university system. He would not be hired. His contract would not be renewed. Certainly Zinn suffered greatly during his career with his first post terminated for political reasons and the continual attacks by the hierarchy at Boston University. But tenure protected him, as did his intelligence, creativity and ability.

The neoliberal workplace summons what Stanley Aronowitz and William DiFazio described as The Jobless Future (1994). While they were particularly concerned with the displaced blue collar and white collar workforce, enabled through technological change, it is clear when grafting their argument to Guy Standing’s The Precariat that all of us are one day and one contract away from underemployment and unemployment. The full time, tenured posts have been replaced by part-time, casualized contracts. Doctoral education has been different. It requires a sustained commitment over three to five years from highly skilled, knowledgeable experts in their field. Casualized labour cannot fulfil the role of supervisor. But perhaps it can. An increasing trend is that universities are inventing and enabling an array of labels – Visiting Professor, Visiting Professorial Fellow, Adjunct Professor and the established Emeritus Professorial title – to provide unpaid, high quality supervision. Staff, who are often older and in retirement, are providing free supervision to doctoral candidates. While such a service to higher education is laudable, it has consequences. The university managers do not have to confront the consequences of reducing full time, tenured staff because free – if older – academics provide that ‘service.’ Secondly, such a system is volatile and unstable for the students. Because the supervisor is not being paid, their ‘service’ can be terminated, truncated or removed at any time.

Without the continuity of contracts, this precarious supervision will only increase and impact on the quality of care and outcomes for PhD students. In Universities, this change has been rapid. After publishing The Jobless Future, Stanley Aronowitz went on to write The Knowledge Factory in the year 2000. The title is prescient. His argument was that a management class, group, tier or stream had emerged in universities. These were the men and women who had failed in teaching and research and entered management, ruling over those who had success in the spheres in which they had failed. Through the subsequent 16 years since this book was published, and building on his sociology of higher education, universities are now only a shell of compliance, conformation and exploitation.

Benjamine Ginsberg continued Aronowitz’s argument in the 2011 book, The fall of the faculty: the rise of the all-administrative university and why it matters. He recognize that ‘academic management’ is now an occupation in and of itself, rather than part of a service role for academic staff. Ginsberg also recognizes that the use of corporate head hunters is causing many of the problems revealed in the neoliberal university. Because of 360 degree reviews, the candidates summoned for deans, pro vice chancellors, deputy vice chancellors and presidents are “boring and conventional” (2011, p. 5). But they are also corporate. Ginsberg recorded that, “In 2008, Virginia Commonwealth University faculty were astonished to discover that their administration had signed a secret agreement with the Philip Morris
tobacco company that prohibited professors from publishing or even discussing the results of their research without the company’s permission” (2011, p. 8). A higher education establishment has been infected and replaced with processes and practices that operate in a bank or corporation. The reason is clear. Within a post-tenure environment, why would academic staff sacrifice mornings, nights and weekends for a semester, annual or three-yearly contract? When the university committed to the staff member through tenure, then loyalty would be reciprocated. However, with short term contracts, staff must be focused on attaining the next job. The only way a university can gain outcomes, results and accountabilities in such an environment is through staunch performance management reviews where cascading Key Performance Indicators are assessed at each layer of the organization, including the contracted staff. Such a system works because – at the moment – there is a labour surplus of academic staff who need employment and are prepared to operate under these conditions. The group impacted by this anti-intellectual wind – and the most disempowered group to raise awareness of their situation – are doctoral students and their supervisors. From a position of institutional weakness, doctoral students must ask the difficult question of their prospective institution: will the supervisors at the start of their candidature be the ones enabling them through the submission?

9. Doctoral Programmes Should Be Sustainable

A PhD programme should be in a healthy state upon a student’s arrival and through to the conferment of a degree. While students – at best – only requires the programme for three years before graduation, the best doctoral programmes are sustainable in the much longer term. They are maintained on care, respect, curatorship and kindness. Exploitation, short termism and narcissism kill them. That is why a dean of graduate studies / students / research is such an important role. He or she is a curator for the institution’s programme, tending the regulations, enabling high quality admissions and rigorous examinations.

Credibility matters in doctoral education. Therefore it is important to view an institution’s relevant statistics such as the number of postgraduate students, the speed of completion and particularly the failure rates. Failures are rare in doctoral programmes, but if they are present, particularly clustering in a particular discipline, school, department or faculty, then students should be wary. Prospective students should be introduced to existing students, discuss candidatures with a dean of graduate students and discover and interpret enough information to make an informed series of decisions. By gathering as much information as possible, students can avoid entering a burning building doctoral programme and assume that the fire will only do damage to other students after graduation.

10. Use the Technology: Consider a Post-Geographical Supervisory Relationship

The more regular the supervisory meeting, the more likely the postgraduate is to finish. The more regular the meetings, the faster the candidature. However while the analogue and corporeal experience of doctoral education, including meeting and working with other students on campus, is incredibly valuable, there are now an array of post-geographical options to enable a successful supervision. The key is to ensure that synchronous meetings take place – weekly if possible – and it does not matter if these
meetings are analogue or digital. An array of social connections can be created through Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn, meaning that a postgraduate community can be formed.

Deterritorialization – the cutting away of physical space – is a reality in doctoral education. It is a reality that poses great strengths and opportunities, but also warnings and challenges. Perhaps the earliest and most prescient study of deterritorialization of learning emerged in December 2000 in a Report of the Web-based Education Commission, in the United States. This commission, chaired by Senator Bob Kerrey, recognized how digitization transforms the delivery of education, particularly losing collectivity and community in and through learning (Kerrey, 2000). Significantly doctoral education has remained the most individualized – and isolated – of scholarly learning practices. Therefore these tendencies are intensified through online learning. All learning has a place and the consequences of deterritorialization on all levels and modes of education must be recognized and addressed with caution. The digital divide still exists, particularly between rural and urban areas and while ‘the internet’ can move digital supervision into regional areas, the connections via Skype are unstable and irregular. Access is more than typing at a keyboard. It is based on reliable broadband. It is when considering the structural injustices in the imperative towards deterritorialization that Arjun Appadurai’s critique becomes clear and significant to log, recognize and apply (Appadurai, 2004). He described deterritorialization as, “exaggerated and intensified senses of criticism or attachment to politics in the home state” (2004, p. 5). Such a disconnection can generate profound antagonisms and xenophobia.

Therefore, when aligning globalization with homogeneity – particularly the proliferation of American ideologies – it is important to block the affirmation of the easy alternative view: that deterritorialization enables heterogeneity. It is here that Leslie Sklair’s concept of “transnational practices” (2002) is of great value. The key is to create smooth, productive and robust dialogues between national regulatory systems, enabled through international doctoral education studies and higher education studies.

Alongside deterritorialization, doctoral education encases one more digital challenge and opportunity: disintermediation. An array of direct links, emails and tweets can be sent and received between postgraduates and supervisors, alongside researchers around the world. The most innovative universities create virtual coffee shops for students and – through Skype or Adobe Connect – boot camp writing sessions for postgraduates. Also, a podcast or vodcast library of seminars, training or ideas for reading, writing and completion can be accessed as required. The key is to focus on synchronous meetings with supervisors, to create the micro deadlines for the completion of work, and then deploy an array of asynchronous resources when they are required to keep the candidature fresh and exhilarating. The key attribute of disintermediation is that it flattens power structures (Darling-Hammond, 2010). Therefore neoliberal management can be circumvented through such disintermediated media, with chains removed in the supply of information, knowledge and expertise, particularly in the case of doctoral education. This means that Deans of Graduate Studies / Research can communicate directly with their students through portals such as YouTube. Morley Winograd and Michael Hais argued that, “[YouTube]
significantly lowering the cost of creation and providing an inexpensive way for the aspiring artists to share their work” (Winograd & Hais, 2008, p. 169). This content creation can build social relationships and also corrode brittle university hierarchies.

Digital doctoral supervision – from the initial skype meeting of prospective supervisors through to email exchange of PhD writing through tracked changes – has increased the nodes of connectivity possible during a candidature. The key is for the student and supervisor to assess the digital resources that are available and select the platforms, software and hardware, while also being aware that such digital supervision extends an already long working day for the supervisor (and student). As Daniel Miller confirmed, “What email achieved (a position then reinforced by subsequent media such as texting) was the overthrow of more than a century of infrastructural reinforcement of a strict division between work and non-work” (Miller, 2016, p. 37). That flexibility is useful for part-time students, but particularly challenging for already full-time academic staff. While the working day extends for academic supervisors, there remains value in placing the emphasis on learning and the learning cultures of doctoral students. Neoliberal universities place the emphasis on efficiency and cost cutting in teaching and learning, with its most obvious manifestation being casualization of academic staff. Similarly, when the focus is on educational technology and how it is administered, the focus on learning moments and teaching excellence is decentred (Bennett, 2003). Whitehead’s warning remains significant: “teaching you will come to grief as soon as you forget that your students have bodies” (Whitehead, 1942, p. 78). Even when deploying digital supervisory strategies, the corporeality of supervisor and student – alongside an understanding of their working day – is necessary.

Supervising doctoral candidates against globalization and neoliberalism (McLaren, 2001), while validating international standards and scholarship achievement, remains the great challenge of this decade. Oppositional andragogy is more complex to execute, because international standards must be maintained. Therefore, international mobility – of standards, examination, supervisors and students – is important. International mobility – of money, management models and Key Performance Indicators – is not relevant to maintaining the quality of a doctorate. Diverse and complex interpretations of globalization are summoned (Lechner & Boli, 2004) that do not discredit governance protocols and rely on international companies and ‘commodification’ to determine the standards of scholarship.

Particularly, those of us attempting to create an emancipatory, radical and progressive doctoral education must – and this is the counterintuitive component – affirm regulation of our programmes. Recognizing and validating the standards of supervisors – verified via a supervisory register, research training programmes (Pearson & Brew, 2002) and professional development and continual evaluation of their research activity – works against downsizing, casualization, outsourcing and flexible labour. Doctoral candidates are more than the fees they pay to a neoliberal, globalizing economy. We need to summon counter-narratives to create alternative and contested models of excellence and achievement.

The structure, theory and method of this article was unusual. This structure was selected with intent. In higher education research generally, and doctoral education in particular, the quantitative methodologies dominate. Daniel Saunders, Ethan Kolek, Elizabeth Williams and Ryan Wells have argued that the there is a link between the managerial imperatives of neoliberal ideologies – particularly in the United States
higher education system – and quantitative methods that present ‘facts’ about the sector (2016). Empiricism and positivism frame such assumptions. Functionalism is the punctuation of the research. Therefore theoretical papers are rare, because “knowledge creation in neoliberalized spaces centers around quantitative analyses based on sophisticated models and advanced statistical procedures” (Saunders et al., 2016, p. 2). This paper has – wilfully – taken a different approach. Occupying a critical stance towards neoliberal ideologies, I have created alternative languages, structures and ways of ‘doing knowledge’ in doctoral education.

Daenerys Targaryen reminded us in Game of Thrones that “People learn to love their chains.” Scholars in higher education studies become used to particular ways of thinking and modes of presenting that research. Similarly, supervisors become accustomed to particular structures of supervision. If exploitation, bullying (Morris, 2011), discrimination or inequality (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010) enters that supervisory space then the hopes, expectations and aspirations of doctoral students are destroyed. But there is a greater cost. Our universities are cheapened. We as scholars are judged by how we treat the weakest in our community, rather than the strongest. Philip Mirowski realized that, “One of the oddities of contemporary everyday neoliberalism is that people rarely get worked up anymore when encountering overt cruelty to the poor or marketing or endless scams consisting of privatized schemes of self-improvement” (2013, p. 148). It is important to cut the chains that tether our doctoral candidates to their supervisors and build ladders. These ladders will ensure that the next generation of scholars can continue to fight for excellence, transformation and passion, rather than compliance, conformity and mediocrity.

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Human Security in Contemporary International Politics: Limitations and Challenges

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Abstract: Since the Post-Cold War, human security studies have become attracted in the international community and in the security studies. From the human security standpoint, individual security is more significant than the security of the state. At the core of this study is one essential question: To what extent do you agree that Human Security offers a radical and progressive agenda for thinking about and ‘doing’ security? In order to answer of the main question, the purpose of this article is to examine human security assumptions. The thesis, therefore will argue that human security does not ultimately offer a radical and progressive agenda for international security policy. Thus, this study concludes that human security statements are likely to be unsuccessful in practice.

Keywords: Security, Human Security, Human Rights, Humanitarian Intervention, National Security

1. Introduction

In the aftermath of the Cold War era, the concept of security broadly shifted in terms of international security politics. This resulted in a substantial debate regarding the concept of security in the security policy discourse, as well as in international relations theory. In previous periods, security was understood as intrinsically linked with the state and the use of military force, but over the past few decades its meaning and understanding have mostly changed. By the end of the Cold War, the term ‘security’ was significantly revised by analysts and policy-makers (Buzan et al, 1998; Hynek & Chandler, 2010). In addition, one consequence has been the appearance of the concept of human security as a new dimension and perspective in the field of the security studies (King & Murray, 2001, p. 585; Kerr, 2010, p.122).

Human security is arguably one of the most important approaches in contemporary security politics, since it plays a vital role in academic security studies, both in terms of the practical and theoretical effects in the years following the end of the Cold War (Hynek & Chandler, 2010; Dannreuther, 2007, p. 122).
p.46). It has clearly expanded as a result of the inclusion of new sectors and issues of security such as non-military threats and domestic violence (Oberleitner, 2005). As a result, although the primacy of military security has probably weakened in global affairs, the roles of non-military aspects have significantly increased in terms of understandings of security (King & Murray, 2001, p.588).

The human security approach has achieved a position of sustainable importance for scholars and policy-makers as an alternative to the traditional concept of security. From the human security perspective, individual security is more important than the security of the state (Kaldor, 2007, p.182). During the Cold War, security studies were clearly influenced by the narrow understanding of the concept of security, and also neo-realism provided a dominant paradigm in global security studies. However, some issues external to the military sector have emerged in international politics such as identity issue, transnational crime, poverty and the environmental collapse (Buzan et al, 1998, p.2; Duffield, 2007, p.111).

On the other hand, it appears that despite these statements and arguments, the human security approach and associated arguments have led to different explanations and evaluations. For example, for some scholars human security is a new paradigm, while for others it is an imprecise and vague approach in the field of security studies (Paris, 2001, p.88). Therefore, this essay will argue that human security does not ultimately offer a radical and progressive agenda for international security policy. Thus, a human security assumption is likely to be unsuccessful in practice. In addition, it has been hypothesized that the implementation of its assumption in the real world is insufficient. This is because the human security approach has been highly criticized, largely, because it is too diffuse and vague in terms of individual security. Despite this, theoretical human security can be a method of ensuring greater understanding of security issues.

The argument will be structured as the following parts. After introduction, the second part will examine the key idea and the explanation of the conceptualization of human security, considering also the main principles and characteristics of the human security approach. The third part will examine the main limitations and criticisms of human security, considering the responsibility of protecting human security. It will then identify some highly problematic aspects of human security in practical terms, such as the dilemmas of humanitarian intervention, which has become the central issue in today's international legal system and the relationship between security and development. Finally, it will consider the case for emancipation and empowering security.

2. Contextualising and Debates of Human Security

2.1 The Emergence of Human Security

In order to understand the human security paradigm, it is first essential to identify the values and concepts of its framework. It is clear that one of the most significant changes in terms of international policy is a new understanding of security studies. In this regard, human security has become a controversial matter for both international and regional institutions, and also the focus of academic research in the coming years (Sané, 2008, p.5).

History has shown that the idea of human security is clearly not a new term in world politics, arising as a result of the significantly poor health, nutrition, and education conditions of some nations during the
1970s and 1980s. The United Nations struggled to improve these conditions, with its Development Program being particularly effective (King & Murray, 2001, p.587). The first clear explanation of human security was articulated in the 1994 United Nations Human Development Report (UNDPR) which recognised external threats as a major hazard to human security (Kaldor, 2007, p.182; Krause, 2008, p.66; Dannreuther, 2007, p.47). Overall, therefore, it can be concluded that the existence of a threat is a key feature for the dynamics of human security.

From a philosophical perspective, it is therefore clear that a human-centric approach in security studies originates in political liberalism, which suggests that “people will be secure” (Kerr, 2010, p.122). In the years following the end of the Cold War, the cosmopolitan assumption of liberal internationalism has reappeared and grown. Hence, the proponents of cosmopolitanism have argued that the Cold War era was a difficult one for the majority of people, involving many conflicts and civil wars (Dannreuther, 2007, p.47).

The crucial difference between human security and traditional security approaches is the difference of a referent object within the framework of the international security politics. People, therefore have become the referent object of human security (Duffield, 2007, p.122; Shani et al, 2007, p.198). This means that the focus has shifted from ‘nation-states to people’, and also that people are now a core subject with regard to security, with questions being asked about how to better people’s lives in the community (Buzan & Hansen, 2009, p. 203). In other words, human security attempts have redefined the wide range of traditional assumptions regarding security. The scopes can be described as “whom and what to protect from harm” (Busumtwi-Sam, 2008, p.18). However, some definitions of human security focus on “generalized poverty” as a significant threat. For instance, King and Murray have defined human security as “expectation of years of life without experiencing the state of generalized poverty” (2001, p. 592). Nonetheless, it is obvious that human security can be seen in a variety of dimensions.

It is clear that human security has been divided into two main contexts such as a narrow and a broad definition. In terms of the narrow definition, human security is faced with the ‘threat of political violence toward people’ by the state or other factors within the political sector (Kerr, 2010, p.124). According to this vision, human security is ‘freedom from fear’ which involves struggling to protect people from violence and conflict (Kerr, 2010, p.124). For example, in the late 1990s, the Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy applied the concept of human security to protect individuals from terrorism and drug threats (Howard-Hassmann, 2012, p.91).

However, the broad approach to human security is ‘freedom from want’, a definition that includes a wide range of issues including poverty, disease and pollution (Newman, 2010, p.80). This approach is presented (UNDPR), and incorporates seven security dimensions and categories: in environment, health, food, community, economic, personal, and political securities (Grayson, 2008, p.389; King & Murray, 2001, p. 587). The broad definition of human security recognizes new threats to individuals and human life, and also suggests new mechanisms for protection (Howard-Hassmann, 2012, p.93; Newman, 2010, p.81). Despite clear differences, in terms of both perspectives, although it can be said that the individual is the ‘referent object’ of human security, the threats to the referent object are essentially different according to each perspective (Newman, 2010, p. 79).
Furthermore, the notion of human security has a great impact on the understanding of international security politics in the years following the end of the Cold War. It also should be noted that it has come to the attention of international organisations such as the United Nations and the European Union (McCormack, 2011, p.238). In policy terms, human security has the ability to generate some international activities, such as a global campaign to “ban trafficking and light weapons” (Hampson, 2012, p.282). At the national level, the last decades of the twentieth century witnessed the human application of the security paradigm to foreign policy and international efforts by national states such as Canada, Norway and, Japan, among others (Kerr, 2010). In other words, human security nowadays plays a significant role as a guiding basis for foreign policies. Although there are many concepts to define the human security paradigm, it still remains a blurred concept used in terms of theoretical approach. As a result, there is a lack of definitional specificity. In light of the earlier analysis, there currently is no common definition of human security (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007, p.6).

2.2. Characterizations and Principles of Human Security

Within security studies, there are a number of principles of the human security paradigm. First of all, human security centres on individualism. The thoughts associated with people-centric security have been established in the UN Charter, the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Geneva Convention” (Mack, 2004, p.366). It has also been demonstrated that individuals are the referent object of human security. As Howard-Hassmann (2012, p. 90), emphasises protection of the individual is a requirement of international society and lead to global intervention when states lack the ability to protect individuals. Therefore, particularly since the end of the Cold War, the term security has obviously changed from state security to the security of the citizen. In this regard, human security focuses more on individuals than on states (Duffield, 2007, p.111).

The other principle of human security is human rights, and there is a need for cooperation between each of them. Thus, there is a strong association between human security and human rights because the latter consists of the right to life, the right to speech and other rights. In addition, human rights contain the right of different sectors such as political, economic, and social ones. In terms of security, it therefore has an effect on policy and development (Kaldor, 2007, p.185; Hampson, 2012, p.281). Human security focuses on the ‘freedom from want’ as a significant assumption with regard to protecting people from different threats, and this paradigm also plays a central part in terms of human rights (Howard-Hassmann, 2012, p.103). Overall, it can be argued that human security and human rights have shared aims, and it can therefore be hypothesized that the relationship between them is complementary.

Within the human security agenda, multilateralism is one of the principles at the global level. This means that a group of states has responsibility for taking action as part of international institutions such as the United Nations and NATO (Kaldor, 2007, p.188). It could therefore be argued that multilateralism has played a substantial role in terms of the human security approach (Kaldor, 2007, p.188). Furthermore, others have argued that the existence of legitimacy has considerable implications for human security. In other words, human security is based on local and international political authority (Kaldor, 2007, p.187). This point can therefore be articulated as a main principle of human security. At its most obvious, human security can be seen as a universal value and part of the policy agenda. In addition, legitimate political authority is a noteworthy value with regard to human security. Thus, the creation of legitimate political authority is necessary for human security in terms of the enforcement capacity that can be applied, both
for physical security and material security (Kaldor et al, 2007, p.281). It should be noted that multilateralism and legitimacy are the main features of the human security paradigm.

In addition, the existence of human security is related to threats to individuals, and it can therefore be argued that such threats are important elements of human security. In this regard, Hampson suggests that the language of threats is used to characterise the human security paradigm (2012, p.289), but determining such threats has become a major obstacle to the human security approach. As a consequence, interdependence is faced with human security regarding these security concerns because when one citizen is threatened, other people are also threatened (Kim, 2010, p.87). The human security approach, therefore, emphasises the universal concern about threats as being relevant to everyone. Thus, it should be emphasized that the human security approach is a multidimensional and universal paradigm in international security politics (Jolly & Ray, 2007, p.458).

3. Limitations and Criticisms of Human Security

3.1. The Criticisms of Human Security

In order to analyse the impracticality of human security, it is crucial to understand and identify the main criticisms against it. From a critical security studies perspective, there have been a number of criticisms regarding the framework and concept of human security since the United Nations of Human Development Report was published. In fact, criticism of human security has, therefore, become considerable within the field of security studies. The first limitation and criticism relates to the broad vision of human security, which perceives many aspects in different sectors such as economic, environmental and political, being a threat to individual security. As a result, it may perhaps lead to pointless and confused meanings (Newman, 2001, p.82). This obstacle can be seen as a major criticism in that it is difficult to delimit human security boundaries (Busumtwi-Sam, 2008, p.18; Duffield, 2007, p.114).

In this context, Krause argues that the broadening of human security is ultimately nothing more than a “shopping list” (Newman, 2010, p.82), since human security comprises many issues and threats including terrorism, disease, and climate change. Therefore, in terms of practice, it has led to complication for taking action (Jolly & Ray, 2007). Grayson (2008, p.388) suggests that the formation of human security has drawn upon security, economics, ethics, diplomacy, medicine, and psychology. As has been shown above, the agenda and assumption of human security remains unclear in security studies. For example, Christie (2010a) has similarly argued that human security could be powerless when it comes to offering the origins for an international security regime.

Another criticism of human security relates to the term ‘problem-solving’. According to some analysts human security has probably become weakened theoretically as an uncritical paradigm with regard to this term. Consequently, the ‘problem-solving’ approach would have a less positive influence on public lives when engaged with policy and government (Newman, 2001, p.82). Therefore, ‘problem-solving’ has become a major challenge for the United Nations (Krause, 2010, p. 82).

A further criticism relates to human security based on a “cosmopolitan ethical realm”. In other words, human security has a theoretical emphasis in terms of its moral framework, whereas in practice, it is quite different (Dannreuther, 2007, p. 48). Moreover, human security has been criticized in terms of its
analytical value. For example, Buzan has pointed out that the international security has been confused with social security and civil liberties in the human security paradigm (cited in Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007, p.43). Therefore, the difference between international and internal security policy has become a failure.

Another criticism is related to extensive threats over human security. This is because everything can be described as a threat to human security. For instance, Keller suggests that restricting the threat of human security has become akin to traditional security problems (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007, p.78). According to many security scholars determining a wider range of issues as a security threat is impossible when it comes to prioritizing political action (Owen, 2004). Overall, therefore, human security can be criticised in theoretical terms, and also that these shortcoming and limitations have an effect on human security policy in the real world.

3.2. The Responsibility of Protecting Human Security

One crucial point in the practical agenda of human security is associated with the principle of the responsibility of protection. In terms of the policy of responsibility to protect, the concept of human security has raised one of the most important debates in international security. According to many analysts the main actor in the protection of human security is the state. Therefore, it can be said that human security is unable to recognise the problem of the state and the role of the state within the human security approach (Dannreuther, 2007, p.48). In human security policy, responsibility for guaranteeing individual security is often an unclear paradigm (Liotta, 2002, p.477). However, Hampson (2012) makes different observations, arguing that the fundamental agenda for protecting human security is state sovereignty and government. Similarly, Duffield claims that the main responsibility of freedom, rights, and human security is the state as the ‘ultimate guarantor’ (2007, p.121). Nevertheless, in the human security field individual security rather than state security has become problematic. In other words, the interests of national security may perhaps lead to challenging human security policy in the real world.

Furthermore, Hynek and Chandler have argued that national security has become a problem for human security policy (2011, p. 2). This is because such security highlights that of people rather than national security. Also, as discussed above, the primacy focus in human security is individuals rather than the state. In practical terms, a human security approach attempts to ensure individual survival such as water, food, freedom, work, and public health, rather than national sovereignty (Shani et al, 2007, p.30). On the other hand, however, the state is still the central object with regard to security, and states have also tried to maintain security. The state therefore has a significant role in providing for human well-being in the contexts of ‘freedom from fear’ and freedom from want’ (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007, p.168).

The concept of security, however, has returned to the traditional state-centrism and the role of military action with the rise of the “war on terror” (De Larrinaga & Doucet, 2008, p. 518). Therefore, human security has been damaged by military action. In terms of practice, it seems that the individual-centric approach does not offer a radical alternative to state security (Christie, 2010b, p.103). Moreover, the rejection of the realities of global affairs such as the role of the state and state sovereignty in security studies by the human security approach has become an obstacle and acts as a shortcoming. As a consequence, human security has failed as a suitable alternative to national security (Shani et al, 2007,
Therefore, protecting people from insecurity, disease, crime, unemployment, environmental issues, and social conflict has been weakened in many parts of the world.

Other worries relate to the role of non-state actors in sustaining human security. It should therefore be noted that the United Nations as the key actor in the international community has a responsibility to protect human security and for applying it in the real world. This is because the United Nations has numerous agencies and programmes in different sectors for protecting human security (Martin & Owen, 2010). According to some scholars such as Thomas and Tow, the respond of the United Nation to human security threats in the seven dimensions has becomes boundless. Therefore, they believe that human security is “unworkable in policy terms” (Bellamy & McDonald, 2002, p.375). In the last few decades, the United Nations as a collective actor has played a substantial role in the maintenance and definition of the human security.

Despite this, the contribution of the United Nations with regard to the protection of human security is a limited process. In general, it has been argued that global organisations such as the United Nations are likely to be ineffective in the maintenance of human security values. This is because world politics are dominated by national interests and power politics (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007, p.203). It is clear that the role of the United Nations in practice is likely to be unsuccessful in terms of human security. Therefore, human security paradigm needs authority and powers in order to defend its assumptions in practical terms; however, this power is dominated by state sovereignty and national interests. Thus, state and non-state actor’s attempts to protect human security are limited and insufficient.

3.3. The Assessment of Human Security Dilemma in Practical Terms

Despite the considerable value of human security, there has been a substantial problem with regard to its applicability in the real world. There are a number of differences between theory and practice. First of all, humanitarian intervention has become a central issue in the international legal system, since it is one of the practical forms that are applied by the international community to the human security approach. Since the end of the Cold War, there has been a significant increase in international peace-keeping on the part of the United Nations and international and regional organisations in response to an obligation to protect human security objectives. Some analysts, therefore, have argued that when humanitarian intervention is used in the light of human security, it could be changed to another form such as the classical realist perspective for state and national interests (Buzan & Hansen, 2009, p. 204).

From the perspective of human security, share values have a top priority rather than the national interest (Oberleitner, 2005, p.190). It could be claimed that one of the main elements of human security is cosmopolitanism, which is based on the ‘moral realm’. In this respect, humanitarian intervention is an instrument for human security, and has been defined as the best method for promoting such security. In practice, however, humanitarian assistance may lead to obstacles within the human security paradigm (Dannreuther, 2007, p.48). These are because humanitarian intervention does not necessarily mean collective security and agreements between the less powerful. Noam Chomsky, for example, argued that “humanitarian intervention was a new form of imperialism” (cited in McCormack, 2011, p.250).

Thus, humanitarian action has had adverse consequences on the population of the global south. In addition, there have been a number of failures on the part of international community in terms of its
efforts to prevent civil war and violence. For instance, in the case of Rwanda in 1994, the role of human security was limited to the protection of human rights (Dunne and Wheeler, 2004, p.14). As Christie (2010a, p.186) points out, human security has been applied to justify the increase in the roles of traditional security actors. In this regard, the US invasion of Iraq is a good example because the main justification for the war in Iraq was to save the people of Iraq from the human insecurity (Kerr, 2010, p.130).

In sum, it can thus be said that the humanitarian approach has the potential to provide a political agenda for powerful states in the international order instead of protecting human security. In addition, the human security paradigm may perhaps lead to military solutions. As a consequence, the sovereignty of a state may be broken by such intervention (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007, p.64). For example, in the case of Afghanistan, the main principle of human security in terms of protecting people was broken in order to achieve national security. Furthermore, many civilians have been killed by the military forces (Kaldor et al, 2007, p. 286). Therefore, it has been argued that ensuring human security has provided the perception of Western imperialism against non-Western states, in particular since 9/11 (Shani et al, 2007). It can be hypothesized that national interests have crucial role in the decision making and the action of states.

Another problematic case in terms of human security is the link between human security and development. It should be pointed out that human development is seen as essential for human security. This is because human development has a strong relationship with human well-being, and is people centric (Petrovsky, 2005, p.30). Thus, the idea of human security for supporters and as a guarantor in order to maintain human development arose in 1994 with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, 2007). There are some practical reasons for the appearance of human security with regard to human development. First of all, protecting human beings and individual lives are not only based on development but conflict and violence may damage the significant achievements in terms of human development. Second, human security in the short and long term can be damaged by traditional development. Additionally, the merging of development with security requirements is often affected by the shifting of international order and new threats (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007).

In terms of practice, there are many debates and arguments regarding human security and human development. Although human security is useful for development in terms of threats, it is often inadequate for development policies (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007, p.99). It should therefore be noted that the main relevant problem is about confusion between human security and human development within the UN system. Therefore, human security is posed as an ethical paradigm in terms of theory (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007, p.104). As a result, achieving this goal in the real world is difficult. For example, there are numerous cases of poverty, lack of education, and social conflict in many parts of the world.

Thus, some scholars have argued that the association between security and development is not considered to be a ‘good thing’ (Krause, 2010, p. 79 cited in Duffield, 2007). In this respect, Duffield has suggested that “human security represents a vast and expansive agenda of control over the developing world by the developed” (cited in McCormack, 2011, p.252). It can be said that in terms of practice, links between security and development are likely to be problematic to success in terms of economic, social, and political development.
Another limitation of human security is empowering security for citizens. As McCormack (2008, p.125) suggests, emancipation is the main statement of human security for individuals in developing countries. From the case of emancipation human security is unworkable and criticized. According to Booth (1991, p.319), “security and emancipation are two sides of same the coin”. Thus, the idea of emancipation as the freeing of people is problematic. The radical test of human security is challenging state-centric security. In other words, human security cannot give a good solution to the issue of the state in its assumption. From this perspective, this is because the state leads to insecurity or acts as the provider of security for people (Dannreuther, 2007, p.48).

Human security suggests that individuals should be free in their lives. Moreover, human security focuses on empowerment strategies to aid citizens to solve challenging situations. In this regard, Booth argues that emancipation can be described as freedom of people in different sectors such as political, social, economic, and physical sectors (Christie, 2010a, p.182). Thus, empowerment has become a central issue in the human security paradigm. In terms of the individual centric assumption, human security suggests that there is a lack of security faced by states and authority. Therefore, efforts to empower citizens oppose that authority (Christie 2010b, p.101). Consequently, according to some analysts human security is an obstacle to emancipatory aims. For example, McCormack (2008, p.125) points out that empowering policy become problematic, because the international system is controlled by the main powers and not by international organisations.

It is clear that human security seeks to provide protection for the majority of people according to the new understanding of the term ‘security’. This debate thus appears pointless, because in terms of practice, individual security rather than state-centric security does not provide a radical challenge (Christie, 2010b, p.103). Furthermore, there is another assumption that considers human security from an ethical point of view. Despite these unsuccessful cases in the human security paradigm, human security could widely be seen as a comprehensive agenda for non-governmental institutions. Nevertheless, human security is often powerless to respond to a number of key problems faced by individuals in the real world. As Krause claims (2008, p.78), there is a real gap between the practice of human security and the values involved. It can be argued that human security does not reflect its assumptions and theories. Therefore, it has not reduced the insecurity of people around the world.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, there has been a significant shift with regard to security studies following the end of the Cold War. The concept of human security thus seems to appear as an arguable and controversial matter in the field of security studies. In the human security paradigm, the individual is the centric referent object in contrast to traditional assumptions, which highlighted a state-centric approach and sovereignty in international security policy. In point of fact, therefore, it is clear that there are many theoretical criticisms of human security. As a result, it is hard to implement such an approach in policy terms. For instance, Hubert argues that “the definitional issues are unlikely to be resolved” (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, 2007, p.43).

Some scholars have described human security as an idealistic theory in international security policy. This is because human security in its broadest definition does not offer an accurate approach as a progressive agenda for ensuring security. In this regard, Kaldor argues that human security in practice, as
an attempt to protect people has been disappointing (Krause, 2010, p.70). Despite this evidence, however, advocates of the human security concept suggest that it has a significant role to play in redefining the concept of security from state security to individual security. Therefore, human security has been applied in practice, because many threats such as poverty, crime, environmental issues, and health problems are still continuing in many parts of the world.

However, it has been argued here that human security is likely to be an unsuccessful paradigm in practical terms. Hence, it can be seen that development issues and human rights violations have increased significantly. Moreover, human security can be used to justify military action in the name of humanitarian intervention. Human security is incapable of offering a comprehensible alternative to the national and state security approach. For example, some analysts have argued that human security can be described as a utopian paradigm, “even if we had the capabilities, it is not practical or realistic” (Kaldor et al. 2007, p.281). This is because problems of definition, national security and confusion between security and development have proved to be highly problematic in the human security paradigm. In addition, another limitation of human security in practice is the weak responsibility of state and non-state actors. As a result, it is still an arguable matter in international security politics. Therefore, one can conclude that the human security approach does not offer a radical alternative to international security policy.

References


The impacts of Iraq’s Invasion on the Politics in the Middle East

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Abstract: The US invasion of Iraq in 2003 has substantial regional influences on the international relations of the Middle East. The war was supposed to bring democracy to Iraq and the whole region. After more than ten years, the dream of democracy evaporated not just for the region, but even for the Iraq. Instead the region has faced some negative consequences such as expansion of terrorism and increasing power competition between regional actors which has presented as a sectarian division between Sunni and Shia in the Middle East. Shifting power from major actors to the domestic and minor powers is considered as another impact of the war. The aim of this paper is to discuss these three impacts from perspective of the international relation theories. The prominence of this research is reflected in the investigating of IR theories in the real statute such as Iraq war.

Keywords: Iraq War, International Relations Theories, Terrorism, ISIS, Power Competition, Sunni and Shia

1. Introduction

The invasion of Iraq is considered one of the major incidents after the Cold War which had great impacts on the Middle East. Even though, reasons for waging the war were unjustified, the outcomes were opposite of what the US planned to achieve in the context of the democratization of Iraq and the Middle East. According to International Relation (IR) theories and the IR scholars, there are various impacts of the Iraq war on the region. Both realism and liberalism as dominant theories in the IR have various interpretation for war, peace and power in the relation between states which is explained later. However, this paper discusses the three major impacts of the Iraq war on the politics of the Middle East. Firstly, the paper argues that the invasion of Iraq expanded terrorism in Iraq and the Middle East. Secondly, it explains the impact of the war on shifting balance of power in the region. Finally, the paper discusses the influence of the occupation on increasing tension between Shias and Sunnis in the region.

2. Expansion of Terrorism

2.1 Before the War

The Iraq War was not supported by most theorists in the international Relation. It is natural for liberalists
and constructivists to be opposed to the war because their theories essentially not support war. However, the Bush administration failed to gain support from realists, too. Mearsheimer and Walt (2003) as prominent leaders of realist theory were against the war in the beginning. According to realism theory, power and interests are the most important issues between states. If states comply with international law and international institution, it is because of their interests (Morrow, 2007, p. 560). Mearsheimer and Walt (2003) believe that the two wars which waged by Iraqi regime against Iran and Kuwait was not irrational. According to them, Iraqi’s war against Iran can be considered as a response to Khomeini’s revolution and Islamic fundamentalism because Saddam was a secular leader. In addition, Invasion of Kuwait was a response to difficult economic situation and debts. Thus, the realists argue that Iraq fought for own security against new revolution in Iran and invaded Kuwait for its own economic interest. More importantly, because Saddam was secular leader, he did not allow terrorist groups to have any activity inside Iraq. He also prevented Iran to have influence on radical groups in other countries in the Middle East (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2003, pp. 53, 54). This may consider as a reasonable justification for not expanding terrorism in the Middle East before Saddam’s era, but it is not a persuasive reason. Probably, invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq by the US and its’ allies assist these terrorist groups to attract more people to fight against the US and the west.

2.2 IR Scholars’ Opinion on This Impact

The invasion of Iraq has influenced the region significantly. Some scholars goes further by arguing that the Iraq war had impacts on the Arab Spring because the fall of Saddam challenged the stereotype that Arabic autocratic regimes cannot be removed (Fawcett, 2013, p.326). However, the first and the most significant impact of the Iraq war is that the terrorism has expanded in the Middle East broadly. Many scholars and politicians warned the United States in this significant issue. Mearsheimer and Walt were among these scholars that warned the Bush administration of the invasion. They asserted that this war will be “heightened risk of terrorism, or increased hatred of the United states in the Arab and Islamic world” (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2003, p. 59). Interestingly, this argument that the US invasion of Iraq will increase anti-American among Muslim and Arab world was emphasized by liberalists. Madeleine Albright (2006) believes that Iraqi occupation in 2003 has affected the US relation with Arab and Muslim societies. According to her, all republicans and democrats believed that the President Bush’s response to 9/11 was not appropriate. The war on Afghanistan and Iraq affected the US foreign policy because it avoided the US to be a long-term ally to Muslim and Arab states and it had negative impact on the US reputation (Albright, 2006, p. 4). Others, Chomsky (2014) for instance, argues that the invasion of Iraq is the most significant factor for emerging ISIS (Islamic state of Iraq and Syria) in the Middle East. He goes further by describing the US as the largest terrorist state as he stated that the US is “the world's leading terrorist state” (Chomsky, 2014). Thus, the occupation of Iraq was rejected by majority of the IR scholars from different theories. The occupation is considered as a unilateral and individual decision form the Bush administration which has not achieved positive outcomes, but it assists spreading of terrorist activities in the region.

Mearsheimer and Walt’s expectation about expanding terrorism after Iraq’s occupation may account as a proper anticipation. After the invasion, the US troops launched many counter terrorism attacks and Iraqi forces also operated campaigns in Sunni areas after 2006. Sunni minority was the main target in most of these campaigns which operated by the Iraqi and the US forces between 2006 and 2011. This expanded
anger between Sunnis against Shia dominant government and the US troops. Al Qaida group exploited this anger among Sunnis and attracted many of them (Connable, 2014, p. 2). The organization operated many terrorist attacks on Iraqi cities between 2006 and 2007 after the US air strikes killed Al Qaida’s leader Zarqawi. In October 2006, Abu Ayyub al-Masri rose as a new leader of the group and established Islamic State of Iraq (ISI). This terrorist group was successful to increase tension between Sunnis and Shia by targeting members of Shia group. Thus, the level of violence increased in 2011 and after the withdrawal of American troops in the country. According to statistics about 8000 Iraqi civilians were killed as a result of increasing violence in the country only in 2013 (Laub & Masters, 2014). However, the uprising in Syria as part of the Arab spring motivated the ISI to be more ambitious and change their name to (ISIS) Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. The ISIS could to occupy a significant part of Iraq and Syria (Laub & Masters, 2014, p. 1, 2). Thus, this significant threat to the region and the whole world should be responded more effectively by the US because a few airstrikes are not sufficient to eradicate the ISIS’s influence in the Middle East.

Ironically, the emerging of ISIS may not account as a significant threat from the point view of some American scholars. There is also a claim which ignores the unprecedented growing of the ISIS and terrorist groups in the Middle East. For Fukuyama (as cited in Mcbain, 2014), the ISIS cannot be considered as significant threat for the US and western democracy. He criticizes Obama’s policy in the region because he has so much attention on the ISIS. According to Fukuyama, there is exaggeration of the terrorist threat as he states “The whole west, and especially the United States, has overestimated the impact of terrorism” (Mcbain, 2014). According to him, instead of greater concentration on the ISIS, Obama should respond to the real threats of the west which are China and Russia as important economic power in the world. China is rising as a significant global economic power and Russia by expanding its border are real threat for Western liberal democracy (Mcbain, 2014). For Fukuyama (2007), it is not in the best interest of the western counties to fix Middle Eastern issues with terrorist groups, but it is better for them to find solution for these terrorists who attacked Madrid, London and Amsterdam. He believes these terrorists grow up inside western democracy and they were not lack of democracy. Thus, western countries should concentrate more on their internal issue with terrorism (Fukuyama, 2007, p. 74). This ignorance of terrorism in the Middle East by Fukuyama as one of the most influential scholar on the US foreign policy is not in the best interest of the US and the region.

Fukuyama’s claim can be understood that he read the situation just inside the United States territory and in a very narrow framework, but ISIS is the most significant threat for the region after Iraq war in 2003. Fukuyama may forget the ISIS contains from Al Qaida members’, the terrorist group who attacked US in 9/11 (Friedman, 2014). In addition, the ISIS has occupied massive land of Iraq and Syria and has redrawn the official borders. ISIS is acting like and independent state and has sophisticated financial fund specially from selling oil (Connable, 2014). Thus, the ISIS is a significant threat to the region and it will leave great impact on the politics of the region for long a term.

3. Shifting of Power Influence from Global Actors to Regional and Domestic Actors

Another major impact of the invasion of Iraq is shifting of direct influence of global actors to regional and domestic actors. In 1991, the US led coalition to move out Iraq from Kuwait after Iraqi regime invaded the country. The Gulf War was supported by the United Nations and the UN Security Council (Mearsheimer & Walt, 2003, p. 54). The Iraq war in 2003 is a different case. The United States did not
have legacy to attack the country. The US failed to gain support from its allies in Europe except the UK, Spain and Poland. Some countries such as Germany and France strongly opposed the military solution in 2003 (Schuster & Maier, 2006, P. 223). In addition, the US failed in regarding with achievement objectives of the Iraq war. Bush administration could not find any types of weapons of mass destruction which was one of the major justifications for waging the war against Iraq. The US also failed to establish a new pro-democracy and pro-American government. Instead the war led to decrease the US power in the region. The war assisted Iran to expand its’ power in the region and Iraqi government. Thus, Walt simply explains that “the US lost” (Walt, 2012).

### 3.1 The Regional Actors

The war had great impact to change the multilateral regional power to ascendency of Iran and Saudi Arabia in the region. Before the Iraq war, regional supremacy was divided between numbers of countries according to different period of time. For instance, Iran, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Iraq were sharing regional power over the region during the Cold war. Each of these states were supported by the US or the former USSR politically and military. It was in interest of both the US and the USRR to not allow regional supremacy for any of these countries by conserving regionalization balance of power (Wehrey et al., 2010, p. 18). Essentially, the purpose of theory of balance of power is to prevent war and make peace among countries. The Middle East is one of the regions which can be subject to the principle balance of power especially among oil producing countries because regional supremacy by one county makes risk on the stability and security of the region. Moreover, the shift in balance of power has decreased the US hegemony in the region and there are number reasons behind that (Paul et al., 2004).

According to Paul, Wirtz and Fortmann, there are several reasons that challenge the US as a hegemonic power in the Middle East. Firstly, it is not easy for the US to prevent sectarian and ethnic violence in the region. On the one hand, the US wants to make a peace process between Israelis and Palestinians which needs better policy to stabilize the two sides of the conflict. Another hand, it is really hard to keep Iraq united which is a divided society essentially and it is harder to democratize such a county like Iraq. It means there are some internal factors that driven the violence in the region and it is difficult for external power such as the US to control them. Secondly, there are some regional and global powers that have taken opposite direction against the US hegemony. Regional forces such as Iran, Islamic organization and terrorism groups in Iraq and Syria are rejecting the US hegemony. They are also not accepting the US influence in the region. In addition, some global actors including European counties France for instance require greater involvement in the region. Finally, the opposition against the US military existence has increased in the Arab word especially after the unjustified occupation of Iraq. The “double standard” of the US foreign policy against Arab word and taken clear opposition in the Israel-Palestine issue have increased anti-American movement in the region (Paul et al., 2004).

### 3.2 The Domestic Actors

Some domestic actors have risen strongly in the region such as the Kurds in Iraq after 2003. Iraq is one of the diverse countries in the Middle East which ruled by Sunni minority from establishment of the country until 2003. Iraq was instable country during the last century not just because external factors, but internal factors also had a significant role in the politics of the country. According Halliday (2005), Sunnis which contain quarter of Iraqi population developed Arab nationalism upon Kurds and Shies.
Because they consider themselves as different identity from Sunnis, the conflicts between them increased after 2003. From this point, it will be clear the importance of identity in the IR theories. This significant issue ignored by both realism and liberalism. Realism argues that the international system is all about anarchy, self-help and power. Thus, there is no cooperation between states because all states work for their interests (Lawson, 2003). Liberalists not deny anarchism, but they believe this anarchic system can be managed by cooperation between states. In addition international institutions can play a great role in this area (Baylis et al., 2013).

However, both realists and liberalists ignore important of identities and norms which are socially constructed. As Wendt explains that there are different identities but “each identity is an inherently social definition of the actor grounded in the theories which actors collectively hold about themselves” (Wendt, 1992). According to him, all identities and interests are organized in a framework of norms and rules, he believes “these have motivational force only in virtue of actors' socialization to and participation in collective knowledge” (Wendt, 1992, p. 399). Thus, there are some internal factors which have great impact on state behavior. For instance, Iraqi government was governed by Sunni Arab minorities before 2003. Therefore, Iraq attempted to protect interests of this identity. Iraq has changed after 2003 because Shia and Kurdish identities have emerged and there is a reflection of these identities in state behavior. The new Iraqi government is more pro-Iranian because the government is dominated by Shia group. This group considers itself closer to Iran rather than Arab states.

3.3 The KRG as a Domestic Actor

Another different identity is the Kurds which have played a great role in the Middle East since 2003. Removing Saddam by the US was historical point for emerging other identities inside Iraq. The Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) has emerged as an active actor and de facto state in Iraq and in the Middle East after 2003 (Černy, 2014). The success of the region can be described through Zakaria’s words as he stated that the KRG “is the one unambiguous success story of the Iraq war” (Zakaria, 2006). However, Zakaria claims Iraqi Kurdistan “is a Muslim region in the Arab world that wants to be part of the modern world, not blow it up”(Zakaria, 2006). This is not the best description of the Kurdistan Region. The ‘modern world’ that claims by Zakaria is continuing of ‘clash of ignorance’ which Said mentions it in his article because western scholars just account west as a modern world (Said, 2001). Zakaria’s claim can be read through postcolonialism and orientalism theory because according to him Muslim and the Arab world still want to blow up the ‘modern western world’. As Said mentioned that these kind of claims “still continues between area scholars, such as Orientalists, and government departments of foreign affairs” (Said, 1979, p. 345).

However, the KRG is officially and legally recognized by new Iraqi constitution in 2005. The new constitution grants regions and provinces a great power especially for the KRG and other oil producing provinces including production, management and development oil fields (Brown & Brown, 2005). These privileges deprive Sunni provinces from benefits of natural resources which do not have significant oil fields in their provinces. Probably, these provinces of Iraqi constitution led Kanan Makiya to prescribe the constitution as “punitive document” for Sunni minority (Makiya, 2005). This development in Iraq after invasion assists Kurds to build strategic partnership with neighboring countries in particular with Turkey. The energy partnership with Turkey recently advanced recently and the KRG has established
new independent pipeline through Turkey to sell oil to the rest of the world without federal government’s permission (Morelli & Pischedda, 2014).

4. Increasing Tensions between Sunni and Shia in the Region

The invasion of Iraq in 2003 has significantly increased tension between Sunni and Shia. There is a serious claim that the main factor of this sectarian division is religion. Many scholars and politician developed this claim including the US president Barack Obama. Obama simply describes the conflicts in the Middle East as “in that part of the world, there are ancient sectarian differences” (Byman, 2014). It is true there is sectarian division in the Middle East, but religion may not be the only reason or even major reason. There is a power competition among major actors in the region which exploit weaknesses of some weak state in the region. For instance, Maliki’s inappropriate policies have affected negatively on Sunni minority in Iraq. His policies were supported by both the US and Iran. One of the erroneous policies against Sunnis was de-Baathification which prevented all members of former bath party form all government positions. Another issue was disbanding all members of the former Iraqi army and security forces. All these mistakes caused a great number of unemployment among Sunnis. As a result, this led thousands of Iraqi Sunnis to be an enemy for the government and increased further tension between Sunni and Shia inside the country (Laub & Masters, 2014, p. 2).

4.1 Power Competition between Iran and Saudi Arabia

It can be argued that the issue is more about power competition between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Iran did not have this significant influence before the invasion of Iraq. Iraq was main obstacle for expanding Islamic radicalism from Iran to the rest of the region after Iranian revolution in 1979. Iraq as a strong neighboring county of Iran limited Iranian revolution’s ambitious and Iran did not allow the revolution to be expanded in the region. In addition, Iran was described as ‘axis of evil’ just like North Korea and Iraq by President Bush after September 11. Even, there was a possibility of western intervention in Iran after 9/11 attack (Fawcett, 2013, p. 332). Iraq war has changed Iran’s power in the region. Iraqi government is a significant ally to Iran. Iran is a major support of Assad’s regime in Syrian. In addition Iran has a great influence in Lebanon, Palestine and Bahrain (Fawcett, 2013, p. 326). Thus, According to Walt, Iran was the first winner of the Iraq war in the Middle East (Walt, 2012).

The growth of Iranian influence on the region was always a major concern of Saudi Arabia especially after Iranian revolution in 1979. This real concern led Saudi Arabia to formally warn the US to not invade Iraq and Afghanistan. However, the US ignored Saudi’s King and his foreign minister’s advice and invaded Iraq and Afghanistan. According to a US document which published by WikiLeaks, this was one of the main issues between the US and Saudi Arabia (Keller & Star, 2011, P. 197). According realism theory, anarchy in the international system lead states to maximize their security. According major realists such as Waltz and Art the “escalation of violence is basic human nature.” If one state initiates violence, other state responds in violence, too (Art & Waltz, 2009, p. 338). Thus, each state attempt to protect national interest therefore war and violence are inevitable. From here, the importance of balance of power will emerge in the international atmosphere (Duncan, Jancar-Webster, & Switky, 2008, p. 42). Thus, increasing power of Iran motivates Saudi Arabia to expand power on the region especially after withdrawn the US troops in Iraq which was significant mistake form Saudi’s perspective. For Saudi Arabia, Iran is the first and most dangerous threat in the region because Iran not just has
influence on Iraq, but it has great impact on Lebanon, Syria, Bahrain and Palestine. Therefore, for Saudi Arabia, it crucial to reduce Iran’s threat in the region (Shichor, 2014, p. 105).

5. Concluding Remarks

The occupation of Iraq has influenced politics of the Middle East significantly. The war has assisted terrorist groups to have greater role and occupy massive land in the region. The ISIS as a sophisticated terrorist group has redrawn the Iraqi and Syrian border. In addition, the invasion of Iraq was a historical point for some actors to increase their power in the region such as Iran and the Kurds. While, the war influenced negatively on the coexistence among various sectarian groups in the region. As a result, the region is less stable than before and power competition between major actors has increased. Thus, the politics of the region is more about struggling for power and less cooperative, opposite to the rest of regions in the world. This instability in the Middle East will not circulate only in the region, but it will affect other countries worldwide. After almost twelve years of the invasion, neither Iraqi people nor the US achieved the objectives for waging Iraq war. The US could not find any types of weapon of mass distraction and failed to bring democracy to the Middle East and Iraq.

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The Use of Drills in the Development of Speaking Skills

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Abstract: Drills are part of foreign language learning process. They provide good practice to promote foreign language learning. Drills will enable learners to give prompt feedback. Learners will learn some concepts quickly and use them effectively in different environments. As drills allow learners to develop dialogues in real communications, they play a significant role to maintain language proficiency. This article sets forth the benefits of using drills in foreign language learning.

Keywords: Drills, Habit, Repetition, Fluency, Accuracy

1. Introduction

Drills were immensely used in the Audio-Lingual method that focused on repetition of grammatical structural patterns through oral practice. A drill is defined as “a type of highly controlled oral practice in which the students respond to a given cue” (Matthews, Spratt & Dangerfield, 1991, p.210).

Drills are one of the best ways for language practice. Drills are useful tools that help learners to use the target language effectively. When students are engaged in drills, they will stand a better chance of developing dialogues in real communications. Drills are interesting and they provide an enjoyable learning environment.

2. The Use of Drills in Language Development

Drills are sources of practice, and will help learners develop automatic responses. When learners are able to provide quick responses, they will become highly motivated; as a result, their foreign language learning process will get easier.

Through repetition, learners form habits. As Larsen-Freeman (2000) comments “the more often something is repeated, the stronger the habit and the greater the learning”. When learners put these habits into practice, they will have an opportunity to maintain proficiency in the target language. Similarly, Rivers argues that “foreign language learning is basically a process of mechanical habit formation. Good habits are formed by giving correct responses rather than be making mistakes. By
memorizing dialogues and performing pattern drills the chances of producing mistakes are minimized” (1964, p.19-22).

Drills are useful language materials to practice language chunks. At the same time, they will allow learners to comprehend language patterns with ease. This facilitating role of drills in foreign language learning will help learners produce the language effectively. Furthermore, drills will build confidence that will enable the learners to provide prompt responses without hesitation in real communications. When learners get it right during drills, they will endeavor to do their best; consequently, drills are useful in that they will keep students focused for a better achievement.

Drills are useful to improve fluency and accuracy. They teach learners how to respond quickly. During second language learning process, accuracy holds an important place. When learners master the language through drills accurately, they will gain accuracy.

Drills in language learning can be used to practice grammatical structures and vocabulary items. For instance:

Teacher: I go to work, He
Students: He goes to work

Teacher: They
Students: They go to work

In this substitution drill learners will see how grammar works. These drills will help learners learn the grammar of the target language accurately. Learning grammar through drills is not source of frustration for learners as they are learnt in an enjoyable learning environment. Furthermore, drills conducted in the classes will contribute to learners’ pronunciation.

In the transformation drills, students need to transform positive sentences into negative sentences, positive sentences into questions, active sentences into passives, or direct sentences into indirect sentences. These drills facilitate learning grammar effectively. Learners see how grammar functions through these drills, and they will master the grammar of the language with fun and ease.

Teacher: I read a book
Students: I don’t read a book

Teacher: He rides a bicycle
Students: He doesn’t ride a bicycle

Abundant repetition in foreign language learning might lead to boredom. Therefore, in order to make drills more motivating in learning process, Spratt (1991, p.10-11) makes some suggestions:
They should look like real language, containing hesitations, proper social reactions such as exclamations, questions, or comments that require a response. They can even consider register and nonverbal elements.

- The response should not be totally predictable; a variety of responses should be incorporated.
- They should involve genuine reactions between or among the speakers.
- They should be purposeful and based on topics of relevance to students.
- They should be sufficiently controlled and allow the teacher to observe how well learning has taken place.
- They should allow for sustained language practice.

One of the disadvantages of drills is learners may repeat without understanding. To minimize errors, and to increase efficiency teachers should control over learners’ production. Though it has been to master a foreign language through drills, creating too much time for them in learning process may hinder learners from thinking. It is always useful to provide more varieties so that learners know what to produce in different environments.

3. The Present Study

The present study addressed the need for drills in language teaching. It investigated the role of drills in the development of speaking skills. The students in this study were exposed to a significant amount of L2 in their classes. The present study addressed the following questions:

1) Does the use of drills make significant improvement in the development of speaking skills?
2) Is the use of drills more effective than the use of course books in the development of speaking skills?

4. Method

4.1 Participants and Instructional Context

The participants in this study were preparatory school students at a university where all classes are conducted in English language. Preparatory school curriculum focuses on the development of basic language skills. Students study course books in all courses along with workbooks to accompany their textbooks. The target population of this study is beginners. In conversation classes, students are required to do all exercises in their textbooks and make 5-minute oral presentations pertaining the topics they cover in their classes. Students receive grammatical instruction in conversation classes but explicit instruction is avoided. Instead, feedback is provided by the lecturer when error occurs. Two groups were created for the present study, and each group included 20 students. While the researcher used the textbook in one of the groups, drills were used in the other group to develop speaking skills of the students. The researcher presented the same materials to both groups. After two months, ten classes of each group were recorded. Each student had to make a 5-minute oral presentation and depending on their performances in all students were given a score. The scoring was done by two lecturers to maintain a fair balance. Students’ scores and the accuracy of responses were used as data in the present study. The responses of students were scored out of 100 in terms of grammatical accuracy.
5. Results

Table 1: Percentage of accuracy in oral productions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text book based</td>
<td>65.14</td>
<td>14.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drill based</td>
<td>72.48</td>
<td>10.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P<.05

When achievement of learners in drill based is compared with text book based, it is clearly seen that drill based learning yields better results. While the mean for drill based learning is 72.48, in text book based learning the mean is 65.14. It is possible to conclude that drill based language learning allows learners to generate more accurate sentences.

Table 2: Percentage of scores in oral productions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text book based</td>
<td>68.74</td>
<td>15.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drill based</td>
<td>72.69</td>
<td>10.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P<.05

In addition to accuracy, drill based learning promotes learners’ oral language development as well. When scores are compared it is possible to conclude that by means of drill based learning learners are able to use the target language more accurately and fluently.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

The present study investigated the role of drills in language teaching. Although the achievement of learners did not differ to a large extent, it was found that drills contributed considerably to the enhancement of speaking skills. The t test results demonstrated that compared with text book based instruction, accuracy in drill based instruction is higher (65.14 compared to 72.48). In addition to this, compared to scores of learners who were exposed to text based instruction, those learners in the drill based received high scores in their presentations. By means of implicit feedback whilst employing drills, learners had an opportunity to reformulate their responses which allowed them to generate accurate responses. On the other hand, textbooks did not prove effectiveness as much as drills in language learning. Active engagement in the learning process is a key factor as it helps learners practice the language. When learners are immersed in language learning through drills, they experience authentic use of the target language that leads them to use the language both accurately and fluently. Moreover,
the learning environment holds a significant place in language learning. It goes without saying that, anxiety-free learning environment positively influences learners and triggers them to learn the target language.

Through practicing language chunks, learners form language habits; therefore, drills will help learners to respond automatically without hesitation. As learners focus on giving prompt responses, they will be able to develop dialogues in real communications. Drills are fun, and motivate learners as they are conducted in an enjoyable learning environment. They will help learners use the language effectively.

References


Technical Notes for Authors

Broad topics covered by IJSSES are:

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Teaching and Learning
Educational Management
Leadership and Management
Teacher Education
Professional Development of Teachers
Education History
Education Science
Distance Education
Guidance and Counseling
Health Education
Human Rights Education
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A concise and factual abstract is required (maximum length of 200 words). The abstract should state briefly the purpose of the research, the principal results and major conclusions.

Keywords
Immediately after the abstract, provide a maximum of 5 keywords, avoiding general and plural terms and multiple concepts (avoid, for example, 'and', 'of').

Headings
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Third-level headings (Heading 3) are numbered 1.1.1, 1.1.2, 1.1.3,

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Two to Seven Authors [List all authors]

Books

One Author

Chapter in a Book
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**Indirect Quotation with Parenthetical Citation**
Libraries historically highly value intellectual freedom and patron confidentiality (LaRue, 2007).

**Indirect Quotation with Author as Part of the Narrative**
LaRue (2007) identified intellectual freedom and patron confidentiality as two key values held historically by libraries.

**Direct Quotation with Parenthetical Citation**
Darwin used the metaphor of the tree of life "to express the other form of interconnectedness–genealogical rather than ecological" (Gould & Brown, 1991, p. 14).

**Direct Quotation with Author as Part of the Narrative**
Gould and Brown (1991) explained that Darwin used the metaphor of the tree of life "to express the other form of interconnectedness–genealogical rather than ecological" (p. 14).