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Aims and scope

The *Journal of Contemporary Development and Management* (*JCD&MS*) is a national peer-reviewed journal dedicated to connecting research to practice. *JCD&MS* recognises the value of qualitative, quantitative and mixed/interrelated methods in analysis of data. The journal seeks to be relevant both to a core disciplinary constituency of Alternative Providers of education, of Universities as well as a broader readership. It is the official research journal of London Churchill College (LCC) and actively encourages contributions from individuals and other educational institutes.

Manuscripts published in *JCD&MS* are double-blind peer reviewed by accomplished scholars in the subject area of the manuscript and in the disciplinary approach used.

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JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENT& MANAGEMENT STUDIES

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Introduction

London Churchill College has experienced a productive but challenging year in 2018-2019. Given the many changes and diverse events taking place since the publication of volume 6 in January 2019, the decision has been made to produce Volume 7 of the *Journal of Contemporary Development & Management Studies* (*JCD&MS)* as a single issue Although *JCD&MS*'s traditional remit to explore issues relating to business, education and health care continues to be honoured, the five articles published in volume 7 reflect the talents, diverse interests and multi-cultural perspectives of contributors who have undertaken in-depth research projects aimed at exploring issues impacting on contemporary development at national and international levels.

Dr Michael Nieto's Editorial, 'Riding a Tiger, Backwards. A dialogic case study of contemporary Leadership in Business Schools', provides an interesting and provocative account of senior managers' and academics' impressions of issues in UK University business schools in response a changing UK higher education environment. Dr Nieto adopted a qualitative research design, with participants responding personally to interview questions. Respondents were assured of their anonymity and encouraged to share their impressions of how they viewed their universities. As a consequence, the Reviewer was able to record what respondents believed to be happening, rather than restating their management and organisational standpoints. Answers were recorded with the respondent's permission and subsequently sent to a transcription service where all comments made were transformed verbatim into text. In his view, "At times what respondents shared is amusing, surprising and occasionally sad." Dr Nieto has requested that Dr Bradley Saunders be recognised for his helpful contributions in writing up the research project.

Ms Sisy Wang's, Dr Abu Munsur Hussain's, Dr Rhyddhi Chakraborty's, and Mr Mehfuzul Haque's article, 'The Impact of Collaborative Learning on HND Students' aims to demonstrate the positive impact of collaborative learning and teaching approaches applied to HND learners, by reference to a pilot study undertaken in London Churchill College in 2017-2018. On the basis of positive survey results and feedback obtained from students, the authors take the view that a collaborative approach to learning exerts a positive impact on students' prospects for successful completion of higher national qualifications. Consequently, they argue that such an approach should be adopted by all lecturers delivering units on HND programmes.

Isabel Morrell's and Dr Nick Papé's article 'The Assad hegemony, a commentary on dynastic occupation and exploitation' (Article two in the three part series, 'The Syrian Identity), provides an in-depth analysis of the effectiveness of the al-Assad presidential dynasty in establishing and securing unity and stability in Syria. Their research findings indicate that despite the rhetoric of unification espoused by President Hafez-al-Assad, ruthless means were implemented to reduce prospects for dissent and opposition throughout the country. Moreover, although tactics originally implemented by father and son differed substantially, the son, like his father, eventually resorted to repressive tactics that were controlling and ruthless. As a consequence, in spite of efforts made to foster the image of a unified Syrian identity, internally and abroad, political directions taken by the al-Assads have re-enforced adverse colonial legacies and intensified fragmentation within the country.

Mr Kavit Thakrar's article, 'Exploring the relationship between personality factors, general aggression, negative attitudes towards cyclists and aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists', investigates an issue in the area of traffic psychology. To gain a better understanding of the factors influencing aggressive driving behaviours of motorists demonstrated towards cyclists, a quantitative research approach was selected. Adopting a correlated approach to survey design, a pilot project was undertaken that involved 109 participants completing five questionnaires on-line. Results were analysed using hierarchical multiple regression. His research findings indicate that individuals who demonstrate

high levels of general aggression are more likely to display aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. He argues that further research undertaken on a wider scale in respect of traffic psychology, could assist planners in developing future systems for effective traffic control and reducing levels of aggressive driving behaviour demonstrated towards cyclists.

Nasser Amin's article, 'The dynamics of the Sino-Pakistani strategic partnership from its formation in the 1960s to the present', provides an interesting and intriguing account and analysis of the basis, dimensions and historical trajectory of the Sino-Pakistani entente. In his view, Beijing and Islamabad have gained a shared advantage in entering into a balancing partnership to counter and contain India's expansionist ambitions, despite the existence of highly divergent societies and polities with conflicting views on central global issues. Nasser claims that the most significant part of Chinese President Xi Jinping's global Belt-Road Initiative (BRI) has been the £40bn investment to modernise Pakistan's infrastructure. He argues that the Pakistani component of the project ought to be understood in the context of Beijing's long-standing political and strategic interests in South Asia, which form a central plank in the China's strategy to gain dominant power status in the region.

These brief descriptions of the articles have been provided to encourage readers to reflect upon the diverse topics covered and different approaches adopted that fit comfortably within the broad perspective of education as a basis of academic research, in spite of topic differences. It is hoped that positive impressions will encourage others to contribute to *JCD&MS*, whether submissions are in the form of an article, expressing a point of view, reviewing published work or offering a response to one of the articles put forward in this volume. A number of contribution modes are available, and production information is set out in the 'Guidelines for Journal Contributors' that appears as the final entry in this volume.

Dr Tommie Anderson-Jaquest

Dr. Tommie Anderson-Jaquest, PhD, FHEA, FISM
Principal Editor, *JCD&MS*
Volume 7, Spring/Summer 2019

Contributors

Dr. Abu Munsur Hossain, until recently, has been the HND Programme Leader for Business in London Churchill College. Prior to joining the College, he served as a lecturer and a researcher in London Metropolitan University (LMU) and the University of Greenwich. In June 2017, he was awarded a PhD from the Statistics, Operational Research and Mathematics (StORM) research Centre of LMU. He has also obtained an MSc in Finance at Northumbria University and an MBA at the American International University – Bangladesh (AIUB) in collaboration with University of Wisconsin. Dr Hossain has published a number of papers in the fields of finance and statistics. He has also contributed to The Comprehensive R Archive Network by developing number of R packages (e.g. gamlssBSSN, gamlssinf).

Isabel Morrell graduated from University of Birmingham in July 2018, with a BA (Hons., First Class) in International Relations with Political Science. She recently obtained an MSc in Global Cooperation and Security at the University of Birmingham and, in September 2019, will commence post graduate studies leading to a PhD in Politics at the University of Manchester.

Kavit Thakrar studied for the BSc Psychology with Counselling at the University of Greenwich. Having gained a 1st class (Hons) Degree, he is currently working at the University of Greenwich as an Admissions Officer, in addition to undertaking a variety of interesting and challenging IT projects. Future plans include completing a Masters' degree in Research Psychology. Kavit is interested in a variety of psychology topics, including social psychology and clinical psychology, as every topic has a degree of relevance and applicability in everyday life. Primary interests include traffic psychology, research methods, forensic psychology and clinical psychology.

Mehfuzul Haque serves as the Programme Manager for London Churchill College. Before that he was the Programme Leader and a lecturer for the College's Higher National Diploma in Business. His major responsibilities have been promoting curriculum development and enhancement within the various programmes and ensuring effective liaison with module tutors in matters associated with the planning, management, monitoring and review of the College's academic provision.

Dr. Nick Papé is the Principal of London Churchill College. He obtained his PhD from the University of Bedfordshire and is a Fellow of Advance HE (FHEA).

Dr. Rhyddhi Chakraborty completed her PhD at the Indian Institute of Technology Kharagpur, India. Additional qualifications include: an M.Phil. (University of Calcutta, India), MBGPH (AUSN, USA), M.A. (Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi), and a B.A. (Presidency College, Kolkata, India). His doctoral work focused upon Pandemic Influenza Planning and Management in India from the perspective of Social Justice. Dr Chakraborty is a Senior Associate Member of The Royal Society of Medicine, London, UK and successfully completed the United Kingdom National Health Service (NHS) Global Health Exchange-India Project on Curriculum Development of Professionalism and Medical Ethics in 2015-2016. He has acted as a group Leader for developing curriculum and content on Ethics in Beginning and End of Life Care. In 2016, he became a visiting Professor of Philosophy and Global Health in the American University of Sovereign Nations, Scottsdale, Arizona, USA. Since 2017, Dr Chakraborty has served as the Programme Leader for the Higher National Diploma of Health and Social Care, delivered in London Churchill College, London. He has served as a reviewer for the *Bulletin of World Health Organization*, *Bangladesh Journal of Bioethics*, and Routledge, Taylor and Francis and as an Editorial Board Member in *Eubios Journal of Asian and International Bioethics (EJAIB),* in addition to publishing research articles on various health and disease prevention topics in different peer reviewed journals, including the *EJAIB, Bangladesh Journal of Bioethics, Journal of Human Development and Capability Association.* His broad research interests lie in the fields of Applied Ethics and Bioethics, with a specific focus on Health Inequity, Communicable Diseases, Social Determinants of Health, Health Policy and Planning.

Dr. Michael Nieto is a highly qualified and respected HE leader and operational manager with extensive knowledge and experience in public and private HE environments. Qualifications earned include a B Ed. Hons, (Surrey); Cert Ed. QTS, (Reading); MA (Kingston); Adv Dip Consultancy, DBA, (Henley); PhD, (Birmingham); CMI HE Ambassador; FCMI; FHEA; Academic FCIPD. His most recent posts have been by invitation, where briefs and KPIs have been met and often exceeded expectations. Positions include the Interim Head of Accounting, Finance, Economics, Law and HRM and the Interim Associate Dean for Partnerships at Bedfordshire University, the Faculty Head of Programmes and the Head of HRM and OB at Regent's University London and the Director (Dean) of Business, Law and Communications at Southampton Solent University. Michael has served as the Chief External Examiner for Coventry University's French partner, RenaSup, for Kingston University and for Buckingham University. Particular interests include researching and learning about how people interact in knowledge-based environments, such as universities.

Nasser Amin obtained a BA (Hons) degree in Philosophy at the University of Essex. Postgraduate qualifications include an MA in Continental Philosophy (with Distinction) from Warwick University and an MSc in International Politics from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London (with Merit). He currently works in academic quality assurance. Nasser has served as the Editor of Britain's first dedicated national newspaper for the Arab community. Since then he has worked for the government ombudsman, within the film industry and in Higher Education. His writings and ideas have been quoted and discussed by US Administration policymakers, European Commission officials, and in a number of journal articles and monographs written by academics, including scholars from the University of Edinburgh, Bristol University and Simon Fraser University, Canada. His research interests lie in areas of 19th Century Continental Philosophy, political theory and the international relations of South Asia.

Sisi Wang has served as the Programme Leader for HND in Hospitality Management at London Churchill College, as well as a lecturer in the subject area since February 2018. She is also a doctoral student at the University of Bedfordshire, studying the contemporary representation of China in international tourism and through related inscriptive activity. In 2015, she was voted "The Peoples' Champion" in the University of Bedford's 'Three Minute Challenge', which was a tournament of study-presentations open to all of the university's doctoral students across all fields. Currently, she is investigating differences between so called 'Eastern' and 'Western' understandings of and about China, particularly in respect of 'soft power' articulations of and for 'China'. Much of this work focuses upon government influence in and from Beijing in rescoping the initial soft power projection of 'The China Dream' (for Modern China) as 'The Chinese Dream'. Methodologically, her Ph.D. research work is triangulated by critical discourse analysis, documentary analysis and unstructured interviewing, largely undertaken in Xi'an (the ancient capital city of China, and famed home of 'The Terracotta Warriors'). Primary research interests include 'Confucianism', 'Neo Confucianism' and 'Soft Cultural Diplomacy, each positioned within the context of tourism and its collaborative industries.

Editorial: Riding a Tiger, Backwards. A dialogic case study of contemporary Leadership in Business Schools

Dr. Michael Nieto

Abstract

This paper explores issues arising in university business school leadership in response to a changing environment through the lens of respondents' stories (dialogic discourse). Focus is placed on respondents' organisational stories, myths and perceptions of events in their respective business schools. The research design utilises case-study strategy, drawing from stories of leadership undertaken in three university business schools and presents a thematic reflection based upon summaries provided by twenty participating respondents including Executive Deans, Professors and Lecturers.

Findings indicate that a discontinuity exists within business school leadership characterised by a climate of insecurity and instability caused both by the external environment and multiple regulatory frameworks, combined with internal short-term reactive interventions in direction and personnel. The respondents' workplace experiences and observations that emerge from the research contribute a rich source of new material in contemporary knowledge worker environments. For example, respondents, both in management groups and teaching, working in different business schools, share a sense of being out of control in respect of events. Accordingly, stories of repeated turnarounds in strategy, appear to have seeped into the organisational cultures of the cases studied. Hence, the title of this paper is taken from an interview with a business school Dean who described his/her leadership experience to be like: '*riding a tiger backwards'*.

The paper provides new research into the challenges of leadership and collegiality in a transforming Higher Education environment. The research provides insights into environments in flux, with the consequential uncertainties. Accordingly, the research supports the adoption of a more reflective leadership style that listens to alternative narratives and thereby nurtures a more consultative academic community and student learning environment. This would require organisational commitment to building supportive and stable business school communities.

Keywords. Leadership, Dialogic Discourse, Organisational Strategy

Introduction

In 2019 the HE sector has already been in a perfect storm of external and internal uncertainties for several years. Those forces are adversely impacting on student recruitment and revenue streams, thereby generating a turbulent and uncertain environment for academics and their leadership teams. Government policies for nearly a decade (The Liberal Democratic and Conservative coalition government followed by the Conservative administration) include international students in their immigration figures, placing increasingly higher bars for international student entry into UK Higher Education (Saunders & Nieto, 2014). Brexit uncertainty continues to foster student recruitment uncertainty from the EU. The tuition fees and loan system for UK students remains in place. New requirements from accrediting and regulatory bodies require academics to spend a larger proportion of their time filling in forms. The increasing number of metric centric interventions could almost fill an alphabet of acronyms, to list just a few here: AACSB, AMBA, BSIS, EQUIS, EPAS, HEA, QAA, REF, TEF.

Internally, financial pressures on universities prompt them to use, some would argue misuse, their business schools as cash generators for other university projects. Such financial challenges increase the pressure on academics to generate revenue and for those in leadership to become focused on reducing costs and increasing income.

The research for this paper offers the frank perspectives and observations of people in academic leadership posts and their colleagues who are tasked with responding to internal and external pressures within a context of regular changes in management teams. Respondents reported having twelve Deans/ Directors in ten years and the consequential turbulence caused. Then, at Head of Academic Department level, respondents spoke of changes annually. All of these external and internal factors make leadership in a business school a very challenging role.

The paper reports on stories (dialogic discourse) from twenty academic respondents in three case studies and evaluates why respondents have communicated distress, disengagement and disorientation in their business schools. The aim of this paper is therefore to present new findings on academics' perceptions of where they think they are being led and how they are being led, within a context of a transformational environment.

Our paper is therefore of interest to the higher education community and also for others working in other knowledge intensive contexts.

Literature Review

The transformative post 18 educational twenty-first century environment means that in order to remain relevant, business schools have to adapt and change their offerings to prospective learners and the wider society. HE providers need to become transformative hybrids of what might be regarded as either a public or private HE in order to succeed in a competitive and changing HE environment (Nieto and Bisschoff, 2015). Hence in order to address complex situations an organisation needs to nurture collaborative collegiate engagement (Grint,2010; Mabey, 2013, Nieto, 2014). In academia this would require an organisational climate that values talents and encourages engagement in the academic community. However, according to Knights and Clarke (2014, pp 335-357) the almost constant auditing detracts attention from core learning and income generating activities such as teaching, enterprise and research. Indeed, it can also demotivate academics by compelling them to write long and complex documents, for multiple accrediting and regulatory bodies. This is pertinent to the leadership of HE because of consequential tensions and rifts in trust in personal relationships between people in HE leadership posts and their colleagues (Finch *et al,* 2016).

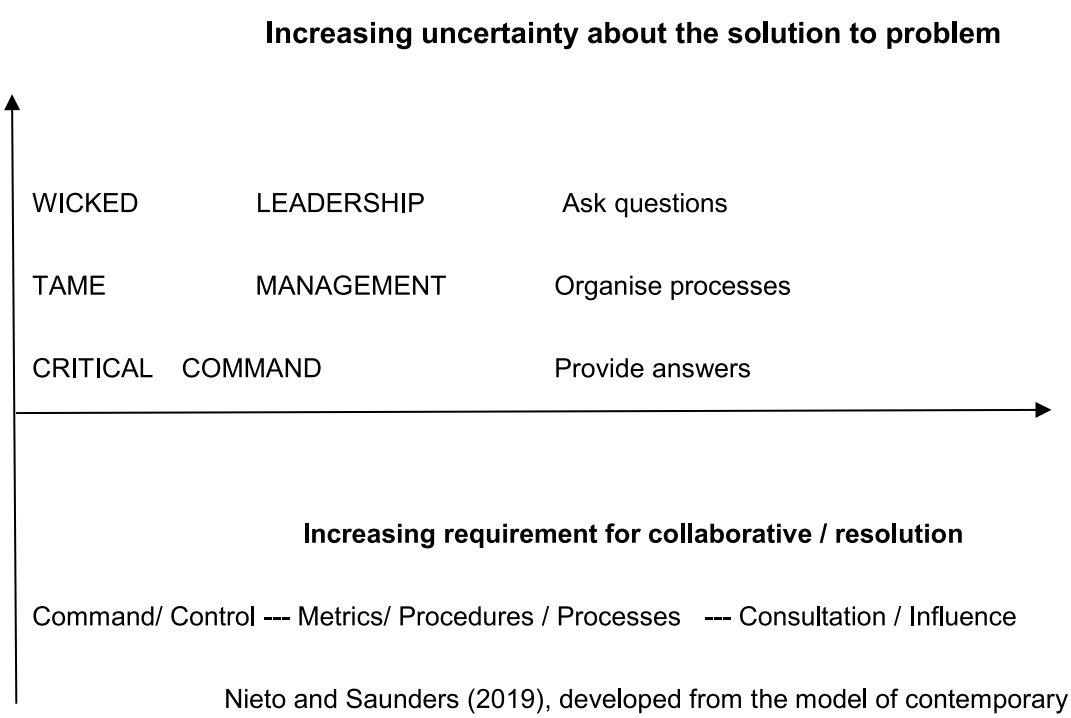
In the particular case of business schools, the ambient level of managerial theoretical knowledge is likely to be more commonly part of the staff discourse than might be the case in other university faculties (Allix and Gronn, 2005). This also has interesting implications for the study of tensions, dissonances, or synergies between knowledge of theory and the practices which respondents observe in the working environments.

In evaluating the literature, it becomes evident that the social context should be included in what counts as knowledge in the study. For example, Peck and Dickinson (2009) argued that leadership should be viewed through the lens of its social context and, furthermore, that behavioural norms and organisational culture have significant bearing upon how people lead or follow. In support of the significance of contextual knowledge, Peck and Dickinson (2009) observed that leadership can be expressed simultaneously as formal and informal and that persons can serve as both leaders and followers, depending on the situational context.

Accordingly, the stories, which the respondents share, provide filaments of illumination, not just of how they are being managed, but also of the ethos, culture and values of their organisations (Gabriel, 2010). It thereby follows that the stories which respondents share opens a view into both the consciously and perhaps unconsciously transmitted values of their universities.

The model below identifies three different types of organisational problems and proposes that each requires a distinct leadership approach. The proposition is that whilst the uncertainly which HE currently needs to address requires a collaborative leadership approach, the more commonly applied leadership interventions are Tame, (Metrics/ procedures / Processes) and Critical Command (Command/ Control). This is because organisational cultures are inclined to hire and promote those whose ideas align with the status quo and reject employing or eject those who challenge their perceptions of

leadership. For example, if the university is metric orientated, then those whose default leadership response is to create more metrics/ procedures / processes are more likely to be employed /promoted, even if the approach does not address the complex situations that they need to address. As a consequence, if a person in a leadership position is inclined towards a preferred leadership approach, that individual may, albeit inadvertently, misinterpret the typology of the problem to suit their preferred personal leadership approach. This is even more likely if the organisation rewards that particular approach.



Nieto and Saunders (2019), developed from the model of contemporary leadership situations by Grint, Typology of problems power and authority (2010)

Research Design

A case study approach strategy was adopted. (Denzin and Lincoln 2000a; Denzin and Lincoln 2000b; Yin 1994a; Yin 1994b). The research focused on academic respondents from three business schools selected as case studies that were chosen from the list of post 1992 universities. In selecting to review the data for this paper through the lens of dialogic discourse, the analysis has uncovered a rich stream of images, experiences and events, which form a pattern of how the respondents' view their workplace environments. The research thereby offers valuable new insights into a complex knowledge worker context. For example, according to the work of Gabriel (2000, p.5),

> *'Stories in organisations are relatively special narrative phenomena competing with other types of discourse including theories, statistics and reports.'*

The approach described in the work of Gabriel (2000) draws upon the dialogic discourse, which places the focus of the research upon the stories told by respondents. Accordingly, Russell and Kelly (2002) observed that dialogic

research does not seek to find pre-existing truths, whatever truth might be. Instead, it considers meanings, which may surface through an interactive dialogue between the researcher and the respondents and reveal patterns of individual or sometimes collective iconographies of organisational perceptions of people, events and organisational situations (Morgan,1997).

The study of the respondents' leadership stories (Gabriel and Griffiths in Cassell and Symon, 2004, p.114), can encourage respondents to tell how leadership works in their organisation, what kinds of leaders are well regarded or not, the kinds of behaviours that tend to get people promoted, and why they believe this to be the case.

To undertake the research study, the author sent a preparation letter to prospective respondents and a consent paper whereby they could, if they wished, have their answers removed. All interviews were recorded with the respondents' consent, and any information that could identify them was deleted to protect the respondents' anonymity.

Subsequently, recordings were given to a professional academic transcription company that specialises in faithfully transcribing exactly what was said during the interviews. Consequently, they were actually written down word-for-word according to what the respondents had said during the interview process.

The reason the respondents sound more relaxed than they would be in a formal meeting is, because they had been assured of anonymity prior to the interviews, they were more willing to express individual opinions than would have been the case had they been associated with HE managerial positions at particular levels within Higher Education Institutions. It was important to record what the interviewees believed to be happening, rather than to reflect the positions of particular organisations.

Findings

The respondents share illuminating stories about their experiences. The metaphors and stories, which emerge from the research, surface emotions and irrationality of some of the decisions senior managers are reported to have made (Albrow,1997). In these findings the voices of the respondents present their perspectives of leadership in their universities.

Like riding a tiger backwards

> 'And I always describe xxxx like riding a tiger backwards, it's very fierce, it goes very fast, you don't know where it's going and you can't get off.'

Top down directives

> 'All these demands and constraints on you from the centre, often by pro-vice-chancellors and vice-chancellors who for them, leadership is: 'oh I'd like you to do that', and they don't think through the operational logistics of it.'

New building approved but funded by 17% academic staff cuts

> 'And so, a famous story … the [Vice Chancellor] came around to the idea, and we eventually got a commitment to spend about £xxxx million on the site. Then there were the cuts that were required, and they were absolutely appalling because there was me trying to build a business school and expected to achieve a 17% cut in one year in budget expenditures; so that was horrific.'

Like keeping the wolves from the door.

> 'The fact that I was seen fighting tooth and nail for my staff; it was targeted at people who were mid to late career. I'd [tried to] keep the wolves from the door, I think it was appreciated.'

Like a budget airline.

> 'So, in a way, there are some and not just post 92 [universities], but the majority of post 92's have been [the] Ryanair of education …it doesn't matter how badly you treat your customers, there's always a supply of new customers.'

Like a marriage that's keeping up appearances

> 'We are still marketing it as if we were together [a collaboration between two universities], …because I felt that if people learned from outside that something is wrong it's like in a marriage if someone learns something is going wrong they wouldn't really want to come.'

Three rounds of redundancies in eight years

> 'In the eight years I'm now one of the oldest members here, [circa around mid-forties years old] not only in age but in tenure. It didn't used to be. Redundancies – we've had at least three rounds.'

Sold down the river

> 'Now we're having a high turnover of staff because they're sold down the river. [They are told] this is a research led university. We'll be like a Russell Group, and you're mainly going to be doing research, and that's what we're bringing you on board for. They come in and find out that it's mainly a teaching university and then they stay here for about a year and look elsewhere.'

Like the King and Queen in their tower

> '[senior university leadership] are not a part of the staff. [Their offices are] separate and higher up than us – like they are looking down, and I think there's some irony in that. It's like the king/queen in their tower looking down on his/her minions, which I just think is the wrong approach to have actually.'

Academics as factory workers

> 'It reminds me of a traditional manufacturing environment where you've got the factory shop floor and all the workers are doing their job'

Top-down leadership

> 'As you go up a floor in the building the more senior you are the higher up the floor you go.'

Slash, burn and run away

A Dean's perspective on leader behaviours caused by short-termism, insecurity of tenure for senior managers on the business school's policies and procedures.

> 'Some people have the slash and burn approach as well, where they just go and do something very dramatic and then run away before everything, all the pieces fall back down [laughs].

BBQ invitation

The respondent reported the story of a new Dean who stated that s/he had no interest in staff that they may dismiss.

> 'With one Dean in particular, a member of staff went in to welcome him/her and said did [s/he] know anybody in the area, to which the [Dean] said no and s/he said well don't worry, we're a sociable bunch, we'll invite you to social do's, [as] summer [i]s coming up. People have BBQs. To which s/he heard the reply, I don't socialise with people I may have to fire.'

Command and Control

> 'A fairly managerialist sector, the Vice Chancellor and similar senior people's perception of distributed leadership is of command and control.'

Like working in a washing machine

> '[Working in the business school was] …*just like being in a washing machine the whole* time, never knowing when anyone was going to open the door.'

A problem getting anybody to do anything

> 'They [managers] had a problem getting anybody to do anything, because everybody was so disaffected. People were so permanently stressed out. So really, they couldn't get people to do their jobs.'

Conclusion

The respondents from different cases offer similar perceptions of reality in the stories they share, regarding an unsettling sense that they have no control over what is happening within an environment where others exert power over their academic careers, often without consultation. Senior leadership is reportedly a significant contributor to the problems in the cases studied. However, this perception requires further analysis. Why are senior managers reportedly behaving in this way? Is HE management constrained by so many regulatory frameworks that it is not, in practice, possible to take another direction? Is there a selection and retention issue, whereby people with different leadership approaches are not appointed, promoted or retained? The reported short tenure in post of Deans and Heads of Department (sometimes less than a year) also surfaces the need for more coherent stability in leadership. Moreover, consultative leadership could address some of the challenges which respondents identified in their working environments.

A key challenge for leadership is the reported predominance of Tame and Critical/ Command approaches. Thereby underutilising a Consult / Influence response to the current complex challenges facing the sector. Yet the stories shared by respondents indicate that Tame and Critical / Command leadership approaches are not addressing the current challenges which HE is facing, as demonstrated by the reported disengagement, short-termism and high levels of staff turnover in management, combined with academic redundancies. Indeed, the number of metric centric interventions appears to be seen by respondents as part of the problem, than the solution.

A decline in student numbers and revenues as discussed in our introduction is a key challenge for the sector. This can be partly attributed to the increased competition for students and the external factors. Yet respondents, both in senior management positions and lecturers reported that the actions which their universities had taken had in their perceptions not addressed these complex situations. To conclude, whilst HE institutions cannot change the external storms they face, it is in their control to improve how they care for their communities of academics and students.

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The Impact of Collaborative Learning on HND Students

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Abstract

This paper aims to deliver the impact of collaborative learning and teaching on the HND learners studying in a Higher Education College in London, UK. The Higher National Diploma is the most significant component of formal professional development in a learner's career that enables and enhances wider vocationally-focused opportunities for learning. The purpose of this paper is to present a primary example of how collaborative learning impacts positively and directly on the skills and abilities of learners to pursue future career options. The background research of the paper was conducted in the classroom during 2017-2018. In total, 25 learners from HND level four and level five were involved in the research project. Before collecting the data, the teachers shared the research information sheet with learners to seek their consent to be part of the background study. Excel 2018 was used to collect and analyse the data extracted. Analysis was undertaken in three categories: the impact of collaborative learning, the impact of group activities on the improvement of presentation/communication skills and the degree to which teamwork affected the confidence of learners. The findings of the paper are: (a) collaborative learning has improved the confidence of learners, (b) helped to develop critical thinking skills, (c) developed reading skills, (d) developed academic writing skills and (e) facilitated the development of soft skills requisite for career success, particularly in respect of leadership, interpersonal relationships and team-building. Findings support the authors' view that a collaborative approach to learning exerts a positive impact on students' prospects for the successful completion of higher national qualifications. Consequently, this approach should be adopted by all the teachers who are teaching at the higher national diploma level.

Keywords. Group Activities, HND, Collaborative Learning (CL)

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Introduction

Collaborative Learning (CL) implies collaborative writing, group projects, and other assignment performances to meet the criteria to achieve a Higher National Diploma (HND). The Higher National Diploma is the most significant component of formal professional development in a learner's career that widens access to higher education (Sorsby, 2004) and adds a sense of value to develop better skills (Kerry, 2005). In teaching, especially in higher education, where learners are mature adults returning to education mainly for career progression, collaborative teaching techniques have been found to be highly effective in building and improving skills and abilities in critical thinking, problem-solving, decision-making, rendering normative judgements, team-building, communication and social inter-action. However, inconsistent use of collaborative teaching and learning techniques has been witnessed especially in higher education which has created a practice gap in teaching mature students returning to education. For example, while some teachers have used the collaborative teaching technique to involve and engage learners in London Churchill College, a college delivering HND in Tower Hamlets, other teachers have not considered the importance of encouraging group activities on a transparent and regular basis. This then has widened the gap in teaching practice. Collaborative learning and teaching not only involves a crucial aspect of exploring skills and abilities through collaborative activities but also shapes the effective manner of learning and gaining subject knowledge.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to present a primary example to pinpoint how teaching and learning practices, through collaborative teaching, contribute to positive learning outcomes, particularly in respect of building professional and academic skills. Additionally, the paper also aims to highlight how, as part of collaborative learning, group activities and teamwork enhance the confidence of learners to undertake tasks independently. For this purpose, the paper has set three objectives. Firstly, the researchers are aiming to explore the impact of collaborative learning on the academic performance of learners. Secondly, the researchers will find out whether group activities can improve the skills of the learners to present or communicate the findings of their study assignments. Finally, the last objective intends to identify how teamwork will affect learners' confidence as compared to learners working individually on assignments.

Literature Review

Definition of Collaborative Learning.

It is well known that collaborative Learning (CL) is one of the teaching approaches in higher education. This approach can be understood as a group of learners working together, learning together, sharing their knowledge and discussing the issues in order to find a solution to resolve the problem (Laal & Laal, 2012): for example, problem-solving in a case study carried out through group/team discussions.

In a Collaborative Learning environment, learners are challenged to develop and improve skills in interpersonal relations, writing and creative thinking. As it is an engaging process for learners to experience, to observe, to attend to, to discover, and to listen to peers, the learners begin to build their own conceptual frameworks utilizing their abilities for critical and analytical thinking without depending on conventional frameworks. Furthermore, learners have the perfect opportunity to share, express, and present their ideas when they are actively involved in group activities (Srinivas, H., 2011). Collaborative Learning normally happens when a small group of learners communicate and learn from each other (Laal & Laal, 2012). On one hand, collaboration in this manner increases the opportunities that learners have to use the target language and thereby to develop and improve leadership and communications skills through the process. On other hand, lecturers who identify themselves as professional communicators for transmitting knowledge to learners can feel more confident about their role as intellectual designers to coach learners through emergent learning, sharing their past experiences with learners (Smith, B. L. & MacGregor, J. T., 1992). Hence, Collaborative Learning contributes to the attainment of the mutual goals of both teachers and the learners (Janssen, 2014).

The Impact of Collaborative Learning

Collaborative Learning is about allowing the learners to feel more relaxed and open to learning (Yang, 2009). Learners normally are very shy to express their thoughts in large groups. However, when divided into small groups, learners have been found to overcome shyness and to communicate with each other. In this sense, group activities allow the learners to break the shyness barrier and create prospects for effective dialogue. The onus, therefore, remains on the teachers to design group work so that learners can become actively involved in some collaborative activities and learn to make use of different learning strategies exhibited by individuals within the group. Collaborative Learning also helps to develop intrinsic motivation, interpersonal skills, and self-esteem through small group activities. Consequently, learning opportunities have a better chance of being enhanced when such environments are created through inclusive and engaging group activities, in addition to other advantages identified by Johnson and Johnson (1989) and Pantiz (1999) set out below.

Social Benefits

- CL can help the learners to develop a system to support their social skills.
- CL can establish a platform for learners to learn from each other.

- CL can create a supportive environment for learners to cope with problems.
- CL can help to build good learning communities among the learners.

Psychological Benefits

- It is learner-centered rather than teacher-centered. In this way learners' self-esteem can be boosted.
- Learners' anxiety can be reduced.
- Teachers can really gain a positive attitude from CL.

Academic Benefits

- CL helps learners to improve their skills in critical thinking.
- CL encourages learners to be actively involved with the group activities during their learning process.
- CL can improve the classroom outcomes such as class attendance, inclusive learning, and inclusive teaching.
- CL models appropriate learner problem solving techniques.
- CL can encourage learners to progress with tasks/performances in a specific curriculum.

Benefits and Challenges for Teachers

- Collaborative learning is also a chance for teachers to modify teaching tools and techniques using the VARK (visual, aural, read/write and Kinaesthetic) method when they design for assessments and consider the scope of teaching.

- There are also some challenges in collaborative learning: for example, loss of autonomy in decision-making and loss of instructional oversight; decreased flexibility and creativity given a set schedule as to when additional instructional personnel may be present in classrooms; role shifts and confusion about how to share instructional time (e.g., who leads, who follows, how to co-teach) and how to share responsibilities (e.g., assessment, reporting), and the feelings of insecurity expressed by learners as a consequence of unfamiliarity with collaborative learning teaching methods (Giles and Boyle 2010).

Methodology

A quantitative approach was selected for the research project, as it allowed the researchers to collect the data easily, to analyse results in a short period of time and to generalise the findings beyond the particular group. (Creswell, 2002; Sheragy 2005). The research programme was carried out in the classroom in a natural environment, and learners and lecturers were both involved. Questionnaires (See Appendix 1) featuring close-ended questions were distributed to each student to gain individual impressions of the effectiveness of Collaborative Learning, including problems encountered in the experience (Kothari, 2004; Kumar 2006). In total, 25 students from HND level four and HND level five were involved in this research. Before collecting the data, the researchers shared the research information sheet with students, so that students were informed about the purpose of the research and why it was important for them to participate.

Data Analysis and Results

The data gathering process was conducted by distributing a survey questionnaire to 25 students from two different groups of HND studying at level four and level five. Responses of all nine closed form questions were coded systematically as main categories. Survey items incorporated in the research variable and subcategories are in the following sections. Four key categories relevant to collaborative learning were identified: a) Students' views on CL, b) Key aspects of CL, c) Challenges of CL and d) CL and Interpersonal Skills.

Collaborative Learning engages students as active participants in the homework, projects, and assessment. Figure 1 confirmed the research question that the collaborative learning tools afforded a good learning experience for students. The perspectives from students on collaborative learning were positive in this research. In this particular category, students were asked to choose multiple options among six different options in terms of "I find them interesting", "I don't like it", "I find them boring", "I find them challenging in a positive way", "I find them challenging in a negative way" and "I love them".

About 68% of the respondents expressed the view that participatory learning tools were challenging in a positive way, and 6 more students which is about 24% stated that they just loved the tools. Only two students or 8% of the students thought that collaborative learning tools were boring.

Figure 1

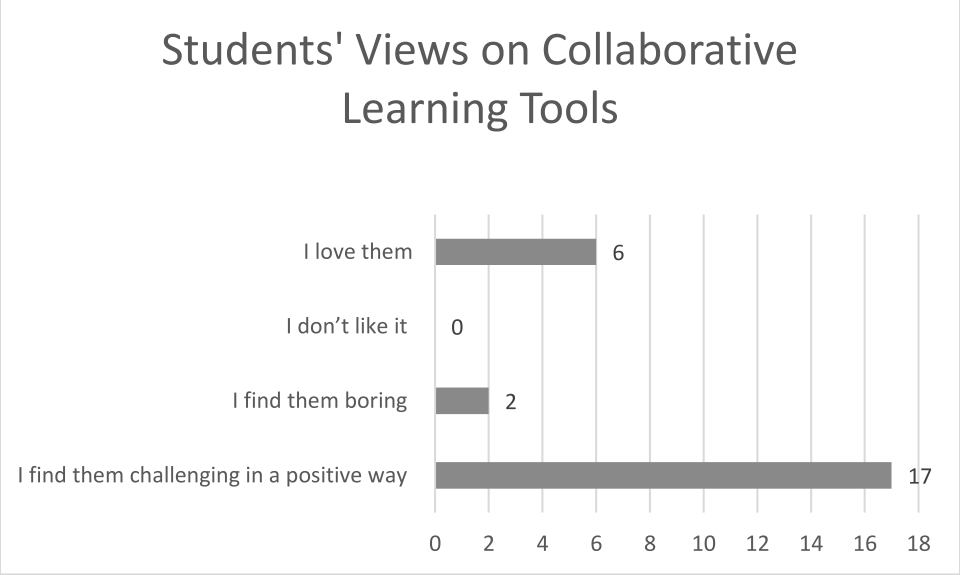


Figure 1: Student's Views on challenging could be that group activities are difficult or challenging but could be positive in a good way

Key Aspects of Collaborative Learning

Table 1 below depicts student responses to key aspects of collaborative learning tools. 77% percent of the respondent strongly agreed that the collaborative learning tools should include academic referencing and 90% for task focused becomes very significant.

Table 1.

Scale	It has to have Academic references	It has to answer the task	It has to have a clear allocation of tasks among team members	It has to keep good time management
Highly Disagree	-	-	-	-
Disagree	7%	-	-	-
Don't Know	6%	4%	8%	8%
Agree	10%	6%	62%	62%
Highly Agree	77%	90%	31%	31%

Challenges of Collaborative Learning

In this category, students were asked to select multiple challenges they have faced conducting team activities and group presentations. Seventeen of the 25 participants considered developing team spirit among team members to constitute a major challenge. Table 2 also indicates that a high percentage of 14 learners faced challenges in the areas of not everyone pulls the same weight, fighting with group members and group activities lack clear instruction.

Table 2

Challenges of Team Activities/Presentation	
Challenges	**Number of students who responded**
Encourage the development of team spirit	17
Fighting between team members	7
Unfair allocation of tasks	10
Lack of clear instructions	4
Not everyone pulls their weight	14

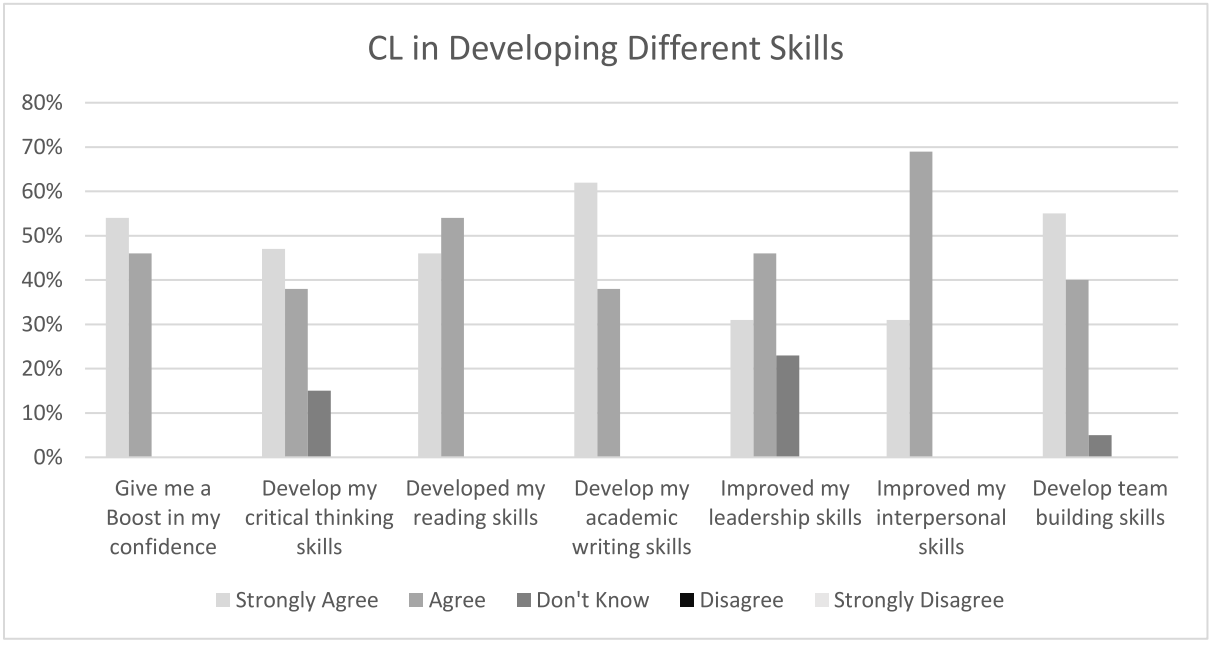
The effectiveness of Collaborative Learning in developing skills

In this category, this study also looked for specific differences regarding the impact of collaborative methodologies in the research sample. Data provided in Table 3 indicates that students considered Collaborative Learning (CL) tools quite effective in improving interpersonal skills.

Table 3:

Parameter	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Give me a Boost in my confidence	54%	46%	0%	0%	0%
Develop my critical thinking skills	47%	38%	15%	0%	0%
Developed my reading skills	46%	54%	0%	0%	0%
Develop my academic writing skills	62%	38%	0%	0%	0%
Improved my leadership skills	31%	46%	23%	0%	0%
Improved my interpersonal skills	31%	69%	0%	0%	0%
Develop team building skills	55%	40%	5%	0%	0%

Figure 3



As demonstrated in Table 3 and Figure 3, 100% of the students surveyed either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' that Collaborative Learning had improved their learning in four of the seven categories surveyed. In the 'strongly agreed' category, for example, 62% indicated that CL had improved their academic writing skills, 55% thought that CL had helped them to develop team-building skills and 54% confirmed that self-confidence levels had risen as a direct consequence of participating in group activities. In the 'agreed' category, 69% of students surveyed thought that exercises undertaken in CL had improved their interpersonal skills.

We could deduce that Collaborative Learning would be of limited utility, if the same benefits could be accrued if implemented on a one-to-one basis, but the evidence collected in this research does indicate this to be the case. Students valued collaborative methodologies whether they were well-structured or not, whether active methodologies provided specific outcomes or not, and whether or not they were supervised by a tutor.

Limitations of the study

There are some limitations to this paper. The research was conducted during the fourth week of the second semester and covered a one term of 10 teaching weeks. A longer time frame could have improved the research findings to some extent. Therefore, the researchers recommend that if in the future similar research needs to be carried out, the researchers should have a longer time frame to cover a full year programme.

The background research for this paper identifies some challenges of the Collaborative Learning approach in respect of data collection, particularly in respect of students ranking difficulties encountered in respect of group activities. It is also very challenging for students to rank challenges encountered in cases where they feel that tasks were unfairly allocated or everyone failed to pull the same weight in undertaking and completing group activities. Consequently, it is essential for personal tutors and lecturers to be aware of such challenges when planning classroom activities, to take student needs fully into account in the preparation and to ensure that activities set are task-focused.

Conclusions

This research indicates that group activities can not only improve the confidence levels of students but also improve their academic performance and the acquisition of professional and life-long learning skills such as critical thinking, reading, academic writing, leadership, interpersonal relationships, building friendships with colleagues, effective communication and also class attendance. The findings indicate that students would like to engage more in group activities. The paper also pointed out that in the Collaborative Learning approach, students' performance can be enhanced and achieved through mutually sharing their ideas and understandings.

Recommendations

Firstly, the tutor needs to be innovative in terms of creating different types of group activities to encourage students' engagement.

Secondly, under Collaborative Learning arrangements, learners deserve equitable and

equal opportunities to improve and to perform well in their studies. Consequently, it is crucial for teachers to be fair and accountable in distributing the group task equitably.

Thirdly Collaborative Learning has its own advantages and disadvantages. It is the teacher's responsibility to identify the potential challenges that learners may experience and to pinpoint ways that they may be overcome.

Fourthly, learners should be provided with adequate and clearly-worded instructions for the task set and the requirements that are to be met.

Fifthly, lecturers should provide feedback to learners after group activities. It works in both ways; learners get their feedback and know how to improve next time. From the lecturer's point of view, it is also important to know whether or not students have enjoyed the group activities set.

Finally, facilitating a Collaborative Learning environment in a classroom setting can improve learner's attendance and prospects for academic performance. Therefore, the authors recommend that all programmes delivered in the college should adopt and implement the Collaborative Approach to learning. For a future research project, a wider range of participants could be surveyed. In that case, it could be interesting to see if responses varied among the different age groups.

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Dear students,

Please fill out the following questionnaire addressing the issue of group work and presentations. The objectives of the study are:

- To identify how students feel about group activities and presentations.
- To identify the impact of group activities/presentations on student confidence.

Please answer ALL the questions.

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1. How do you feel about academic/university group activity/presentation? (select all that apply)
   a. I find them very challenging in a bad way (scary, difficult)
   b. I find them challenging but in a good way
   c. I find them boring
   d. I love them
   e. I don't like it
   f. I find them interesting

2. To what extent do you agree with these statements (choose one option for each statements)

Statement	Highly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Highly disagree
It has to have academic references					
It has to answer the task					
It has to have clear allocation of tasks between team members					
It has to keep good time management					

3. What are the challenges of team activities/presentations based on your previous experience? (select all that apply)
   a. Not everyone pulls their weight
   b. Lack of clear instructions
   c. Fighting between team members
   d. Unfair allocation of tasks
   e. Encourages the development of team spirit

4. How do you feel about the group activities in this unit (select all that apply)
   a. I find them interesting
   b. I find them stimulating
   c. I find them boring
   d. I find them better compared to my previous experience
   e. I find them better compared to other units
   f. I them worse compared to my previous experience
   g. I find them worse compared to other units
   h. Don't know

5. To what extent do you feel this unit has helped you develop your group work and presentation skills and confidence? (Select all that apply)

Statement	Highly agree	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Highly disagree
Gave me a boost in my confidence					
Developed my critical thinking skills					
Developed my reading skills					
Developed my academic writing skills					
Improved my leadership skills					
Improved my interpersonal skills					
Helped me bond and develop friendships with my colleagues					
If Other (Pease specify)					

Thank you for your participation!

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The Syrian Identity (2): The Assad hegemony, a commentary on dynastic occupation and exploitation

Isabel Morrell[5], BA and Nick Papé[6], PhD

Abstract

The establishment of dynastic presidents in Syria is a clear move to bring stability, modernisation and hoped-for prosperity to the country. How this is achieved throws up some interesting paradoxes. As a President, Hafez-al-Assad was a strong character, whose tactics were controlling and ruthless. This also describes the *modus operandi* later adopted by his son and successor, Bashar al-Assad. The West played no part in the planned future of the country under these regimes, as both al-Assads considered Russia to be the main supportive force. Syrian political direction under the al-Assads has experienced fragmentation of the country and embattled presidencies.

Keywords. Syrian identity, al-Assad, stability, abuses, Ba'thism, Arabism, crisis

Introduction

The façade of stability in Syria was established by Hafez al-Assad. Before the 'Corrective Movement' that brought in Assad, Syria experienced prolonged instability which is evidenced by the multitude of military coups (SANA, 2017b; Jorum, 2014; Helfont, 2015; Lesch, 2005). The literature considers Assad's regime as a period of stability in Syria, based on his tight control of Syrian society from his retention of the presidency from 1971 until his death in 2000 (Khatib, 2011; Gelfand, 2013; Jorum, 2014; Zisser, 2006; Rifai, 2014). Further, Rifai (2014) understands the 2011 Syrian uprising to have "upset the equilibrium" within the Syrian identity. However, we propose another explanation: it is possible that an initial 'balance' merely existed due to the immense control exhibited by Assad, and the uprisings that spread across the MENA provided an opportunity that exposed the competing elements within the identity (Morrell & Papé, 2018). The roots of Ba'thism in Syria and Assad's role in implementing a single Syrian national identity, specifically are discussed by exploring four components generated throughout Assad's dominion that engendered an ostensible stability: 1) the violence of Assad's regime and political repression, 2) unifying elements in his discourse, 3) unification through securitisation, and 4) Assad's unique personality cult.

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Following Hafez's death, his son, Bashar al-Assad assumed power. Since the Syrian identity crisis emerged, there have been allegations that Bashar al-Assad has committed numerous human rights abuses against his people; including a persistent use of chemical weapons, attacks on civilians, withholding humanitarian aid, using starvation as a tactic, the practice of torture, and the grave mistreatment and disappearances of detainees (Nebehay, 2017; France-Presse, 2017; Calamur, 2018; Human Rights Watch, 2018; Amnesty International, 2017). However, his presidency did not start out in this way. Bashar al-Assad's ascension to presidency was accompanied by feelings optimism by Syrians and external actors alike (Houry, 2010; Plett, 2000; Lesch, 2013). As his rule unfolded, it became apparent that he adopted his father's tactics towards political repression and violence, although Human Rights Watch (2001) highlighted his slight shift from Hafez's example. Indeed, Bashar's control over Syria has been explained by analysts as weaker than his father's (Statcher, 2011; Hinnebusch, 2002; BBC News, 2012a). This chapter argues that Bashar did not hold the same firm grip on Syria as his father, which exposed the Syrian identity crisis. This will be done firstly by examining how equipped Bashar was for succeeding his father in the first section, followed by an analysis of the 'Damascus Spring' and various reforms undertaken and there implications in the second section.

Some key dates in the formation and development of Syrian history are shown in Table 1. It is not known whether any of Bashar al-Assad's children, Hafez, Jr., Zein or Karim will accede to power in the future.

Historical Timeline[7]	
1860	Damascus Massacre of Christians by Damascene Muslims; failure of French Mission to protect Maronite Christians)
1916	Execution of nationalist martyrs in Damascus and Beirut; Sykes-Picot Agreement
1920	The beginning of the French Mandate
1922	Separation of Jabal al-Druze and the region behind Latakia into autonomous units
1942	Jabal al-Druze and region behind Latakia united with the rest of Syria
1946	End of the French Mandate; Syria gains full independence
1947	Ba'th Party is founded
1949	General Husni al-Zaim's military coup Sami al-Hinnawi's military coup Colonel Adib Shishakli's military coup
1951	Second military coup of Colonel Adib Shishakli
1953	Ba'th Party unites with the Arab Socialist Party
1958	Formation of United Arab Republic, the union between Syria and Egypt
1961	Military coup and subsequent independence from UAR
1963	Successful military coup by the Ba'th Party
1970	Hafez al-Assad acquires political power, known as the Corrective Movement
1982	The Hama Massacre
1994	Bassel al-Assad's death
2000	Hafez al-Assad dies, and Bashar al-Assad assumes presidency
2011	The 'Arab Spring' uprisings across the MENA; Large demonstrations in Daraa following the detention of children; The start of the Syrian civil war

Table 1: Important dates in Syrian history

[7] Based on the combined works of (Burrows, 1986; France Diplomatie, 2015; Fildis, 2011; Khoury, 1987; Kaplan, 1993; McHugo, 2014; Ziter, 2015; DeRouen & Heo, 2005; Ulrichsen, 2014; Commins & Lesch, 2014; Lefèvre, 2015; Charlcraft, 2016; Lawson, 2013).

Hafez al-Assad's Politics

Research (Morrell, 2018) evidences that within the Syrian identity is a representation of an anti-Western and anti-colonisation sentiment, which has been translated into Syrian politics. This is evident in the rise of Ba'thism in Syria, originating as an intellectual stream in the 1940s and 1950s in reaction to the French Mandate. This intellectual current sought to build a Syrian state independent from colonial domination (Charlcraft, 2016; Hinnebusch, 1991; Borneman, 2007). The Ba'th Party developed a mass base after uniting with the Arab Socialist Party in 1953 (Charlcraft, 2016; Lawson, 2013), and since 1963, the BASP Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party (BASP) has maintained political power over Syria (BBC News, 2012b; Charlcraft, 2016; Jorum, 2014). Thus, the BASP constitution is central to the political identity of Syria.



Figure 1: Common Arab delineation of the Arab Homeland (Culcasi, 2012: 1102)

Four of the first seven principles of the BASP constitution refer to the criminality of colonialism in addition to the indivisibility of the "Arab Homeland" that will be liberated by fighting foreign colonialism (The Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party, 2015). The Arab Homeland, which is defined in Article Seven of the constitution, is displayed in Figure 1, incorporating most of the MENA region, from Morocco in the West to the Gulf in the East. Two main points can be observed here: 1) the desire to revert to the natural Arab state, before foreign interference and division, and 2) the feeling of indignation by Syrians towards actions committed by the West to the point that they are perceived as criminal. To conclude, Ba'thism in Syria was developed in direct reaction to imperialism and sustained the regime's political power since 1963, becoming an imprinted component of Syria's national identity. This reactionary ideology that exhibits anti-colonial, anti-Western sentiments has deeply shaped the Syrian nation for half a century.

Enforcing a Sense of Stability

Hafez al-Assad sought to harness the conflicting and competing ethno-religious sub-national identities that remained following the French decampment and to create a single unified Syrian national identity; notably, Assad's political inclinations were born in reaction to French colonialism, having grown up in the Latakia area (Kerr, 2015; Hopwood, 2014). Much of Assad's rhetoric and policies created an ostensible unity and stability.

To begin with, stability was fostered through sometimes violent political repression; Assad suppressed all opposition, both external and internal, which enabled his maintenance of power. For instance, Assad suppressed internal party dissidence through cronyism and a general marginalisation of the BASP (Charlcraft, 2016), whilst external opposition suppression is exemplified most famously by the Hama massacre and the sequential suppression of the Muslim Brotherhood (Baczko, *et al.*, 2017; Wiedl, 2006; Eijk, 2016).

Human Rights Watch (2000) condemned Assad's control, highlighting the harsh punishments given to human rights activists, unexplained 'disappearances' and the harsh repression that reflected Assad's tenure. Further, Wedeen (1998) discusses the treatment of a Syrian Presidential Guard who, when asked to recount his dreams, did not follow previous soldiers' examples extolling the glorification of Assad to an appropriate degree and subsequently was beaten and discharged. Here we can see what Wedeen (1998: 506; 2015: 3) refers to as the "anxiety-inducing simulacrum" of Assad's regime. As evidenced from the suppression of the internal party and external opposition, in addition to the fear-generating punishments and treatment of those who resisted the regime's prescribed society, it can be argued that Assad's dominion was preserved through an authoritarian, repressive rule that exhibited immense control and violently suppressed dissidence.

A sense of stability and unity was fostered additionally through implementation of Assad's perception of the national identity, through a calculated rhetoric. For instance, Assad's utopian vision of a unified Syrian identity led him to ban discussions of Alawite-Sunni differences, which fostered an apparent unity. As one Alawite explained "we and the Sunnis are closer than in the past, because of civilisation, the media, and so on" (Pope, 2000; Goldsmith, 2015; Aggestam & Dunne, 2016). Further, in a speech made in 1999, Assad proclaims,

> "…our people granted me their unanimous confidence which comes as a marvellous manifestation of our national unity and internal strength… Syria will continue seriously to work for attaining Arab solidarity… The homeland is in need of much work, much sweat and blood of each citizen. The homeland is a question of destiny, of the present and of the future. Let's work to safeguard the home irrespective of great sacrifices. I promise citizens to be always with them in shouldering the home's burdens." (Syria Times, 2012)

Many observations can be drawn from this extract. Firstly, Assad uses the example of his (forcibly) endured tenure to proclaim an example of the strong unity that Syria houses among its people. Secondly, Assad expresses his commitment to a unification that transcends the nation, suggesting that Syrian unity is no longer the issue, but accomplishing the unified Arab 'homeland'. Finally, by referencing the 'homeland', he enkindles an abiding bond drawing on Syrian emotions, a sense of inherent belonging to the Arab nation from which Syrians had been severed. These rhetorical components are not unique to this speech[8]. Therefore, it can be concluded here that Assad created a superficial unity through reducing discursive freedoms concerning ethno-religious differences in addition to the wide-spread rhetoric that was judiciously expressed.

In addition to his commitment to Arabism, Assad proclaimed his opposition to both Israel and American imperialism, which, according to Farouk-Alli (2015), provided another means of creating internal unity. Similarly, in a speech in 1971, Assad spoke of the unity among those that resist colonialism (presidentassad.net, n.d.e). This demonstrates the way in which a construction of an existential threat can be used as a unifying factor for a society. Consistent with how Huysmans (2006) and O'Nions (2016) understand insecurity, the proclamation of

[8] For examples see: (presidentassad.net,n.d.e).

visible external adversaries constructs an existential threat, creating a sense of societal unity, since the Syrian society is defined, constructed and rallied against the Israeli or American 'Other'. Interestingly, a threat can be *de*-securitised, which indicates the amenability of such unity and, perhaps, suggests the temporary nature of a unity that is forged out of shared feelings of insecurity (Buzan & Wæver, 2003; Huysmans, 2006). Thus, part of the nation's unity is derived from that which Assad securitised, a unity that seems temporary and malleable.

Assad maintained an interesting cult of personality. Because it was operational, yet, unconvincing, it is worth discussing based on its instrumental value to the Syrian national identity and unity. The dominion Assad held was characterised by an invasive cult of personality in which he personified the regime. This was recognised by Assad himself, who allegedly said to his brother, "You want to overthrow the regime? …Here I am. I am the regime." (Seale & McConville, 1990: 435; Statcher, 2011). Moreover, according to Statcher (2011), Syrian stability was understood by many through his exhibited personality. Yet, whilst Assad's personality cult was very much real, it did not operate generically, as Wedeen's (2015; 1998) impressive research explains. Indeed, Assad's personality cult did not manufacture nationwide belief, but forced citizens to operate as if it did, which gave 'Syrian' a new meaning; under Assad it became the ability "to operate…within the universe of the official rhetoric" (Wedeen, 1998: 504-505; 2015). It seems that Assad's personality cult embodied the façade of stability. Assad manufactured the 'equilibrium' that Rifai (2014) refers to through the creation of a national structure formed through calculated rhetoric, immense violent control and political repression, within which Syrians were forced to operate, and incorporated an enforced balance between Arabism, Syrianism and Islamism. Subsequently, this inhibited intercommunal ethno-religious conflict, since discussions of ethno-religious difference were prohibited. This was a 'façade'. Although official rhetoric emphasised commitment to unity, the enforcement of Assad's identity equilibrium only succeeded in silencing temporarily competing interests within the Syrian identity.

Concluding, when exploring the rise of Ba'thism and the apparent unity fostered within Syrian society, this article suggests that what has been associated with stability during Assad's tenure, was a façade in which divisions within the national identity were suppressed and forced to lie dormant. In the following section, the authors explore the influence of the present ruler Bashar al-Assad on the development of Syria.

Bashar al-Assad

Weakened Control: Starting on the Back Foot

Notably, Bashar al-Assad was not bred for politics. It was his brother who was destined to succeed his father. However, following his brother Bassel's death in 1994, Bashar was summoned to assume his brother's role (Fisk, 1994; Schmidt, 1994; Moubayed, 2006; Aikman, 2009).

According to Lesch (2005: 4):

> The combination (of) computer nerd, ophthalmologist, devoted family man, westernized pop-culturist, outgoing and

> caring friend, humble and reluctant leader, avid photographer, health and fitness advocate, and lurking reformer had all of a sudden become a Middle Eastern dictator. He entered upon a region, and soon a world, in turmoil.

The significance of this lies in its implications for the suitability of Bashar al-Assad to rule. His brother's untimely death meant that Bashar was to succeed. However, unlike Bassel, he had not been bred for political rule and so, perhaps he was not informed comprehensively of his father's strategies and plans. His lack of suitability and preparation for this role left him in an undesirable position, which was intensified somewhat by the contextual state in which he was forced to rule. Indeed, Zisser (2000: 10) writes, Hafez 'left his son in a country in total decline' regarding socio-economics, globalisation, and issues in Lebanon and Israel, let alone 9/11 and the 'War on Terror' (Webel & Tomass, 2017; Katz, n.d.). It can be deduced, therefore, that Bashar entered his dominion in a difficult position given his lack of 'training' and the challenging issues he was forced to confront.

Appearing Weak: The 'Damascus Spring'

The slight shift away from his late father refers to the 'Damascus Spring': a brief period following the death of Hafez al-Assad in 2000, characterised by political opposition and activism through informal forums and tentative liberalisation (Carnegie Middle East Center, 2012c). During this 'Spring', Bashar al Assad did not inhibit the emerging civil society organisations like his father had done, but made movements towards reform. Among other things, he diversified authoritarian control somewhat by permitting the parties of the governing National Progressive Front to set up regional offices and produce newspapers, and, at the same time, the new regime released hundreds of political prisoners (Lesch, 2005; Wieland, 2012; Ghadry, 2005; Leverett, 2005; Carnegie Middle East Center, 2012c). Additionally, Bashar ordered state media to avoid using terms like "immortal president" to refer to his late father, to refrain from glorifying or exaggerating strategies used in the state-run news campaigns and ordered posters and signs with his own image to be removed gradually (Plett, 2000; Leverett, 2005: 168; Phillips, 2013).

Firstly, the absence of images of the leader from the streets of Syria may have made Bashar appear more distant and less omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient than his father, for the posters had served as visual reminder of Hafez's presence, power and personality cult. It is possible that this led to Syrians feeling as if they need not pretend 'as if' anymore. Further, considering Bashar seemed unequipped for the leadership, it perhaps fostered a sense within society of his lack of firm control over the nation in comparison to the familiarity of his father's dominion. Secondly, perhaps the small, tentative reforms early in the regime unveiled a path to the Syrian society that led to the eventual exposure of the cracks in the identity. As Ghadry (2005) explains, new fora that were created to discuss reformation and civil society during the Damascus Spring acted as a springboard for a new generation of leadership that, in turn, manufactured new currents of reformist thought.

Although Zisser (2007: 50) through a surveillance of Syrian newspapers, concluded that there was no difference in the treatment of Bashar al-Assad in comparison to his father,

Phillips (2013: 57) notes the normalised reluctance of Syrian media to criticise a president and instead, highlights a shift in depictions of Hafez, who was referred to by "grand titles" in comparison to Bashar, who was simply "*al-rais*" (the president). Further, Phillips (2013) maintains that Hafez was more feared and militaristic than Bashar who initially was more popular. Perhaps these grand depictions of Hafez in comparison to Bashar reflect the control Hafez possessed and the fear he created within the society in comparison to his son's.



Figure 2: A cartoon depicting Bashar al-Assad as a duck is displayed at a rally in the northern city of Al-Hasakah (ABC News, 2012)

Further, Bashar was ridiculed by his opponents. After an email was leaked between him and his wife in which the First Lady of Syria called him her "*batta*" (duck), opposition activists likened Bashad to the comical cartoon character, Donald Duck (Al Arabiya, 2012; ABC News, 2012; Rundle, 2012). In addition, he was represented as a giraffe (aberoia11, 2011; Medi Belortaja, 2009). Accordingly, it seems that Bashar al Assad was not the feared and respected 'lion' that his father had been (Wright, 2017; MacAskill, 2000; Lesch, 2005). He seemed to be much less respected than his father, and his dominion was not as far-reaching. Therefore, the control that Bashar possessed could not prevent Syria from falling into civil war, nor did it preserve any respect for his authority.

The Syrian Uprising

It could be argued that Bashar al-Assad's slight weakening of control served as a prelude. When the first uprisings appeared in Tunisia and Egypt (Cherif, 2017), Syrians felt able to take advantage of the opportunity that had presented itself. Furthermore, as Farouk-Alli (2015) highlights, the internal cohesion that was constructed by his father was not enough to shield the Syrian state from the looming threat of the uprising. The failure of internal cohesion constructed by the Assad regime, when contextually analysed, can explain how the uprising in Syria unfolded.

Before 2011, Syria comprised one of the largest 'youth bulges'[9] in the world, a high youth unemployment rate and high levels of food insecurity, due the regime's failure to prepare for and respond to a lengthy, devastating drought from 2006 to 2010 (Amos, 2010; UNDP, 2013; Jones, 2017; Sample, 2015). The Government's failure to respond, generated massive discontent within a disproportionally young society and contributed substantially to the strength of the uprisings that Assad's

[9]A 'youth bulge' is the large proportion of youth within the population (UNDP, 2013). Youth bulge theory argues that the combination of a disproportionally large youth population without stable employment contributes to political uprisings, activism and violence, based on the idea that the youth is a socially and politically motivated section of society (Kaufmann & Toft, 2012; Baofu, 2010; Sukarieh & Tannock, 2015).

façade of unity was unable to prevent from unfolding in Syria.

The social movement that spread through the MENA was an opportunity that breathed life into the competing components within the Syrian identity that are prevalent within the current conflict. The Syrian uprising unveiled the identity crisis that had existed in Syria, which had been previously shrouded by Hafez's repressive control. Indeed, Kaplan (1993) predicted that there would be a "reckoning" concerning identity when Hafez's control weakened. This is similarly alluded to by Seale in his interview with Assad concerning deeper societal concerns in a post-Assad Syria (al-Assad & Seale, 1993).

It is possible then, that identity instabilities, engendered initially by the implementation of French divisive strategic policies, brewed unobserved and suppressed beneath a constructed camouflage of stability built by Hafez. The fallacy, however, failed to endure the crashing waves of the Arab uprisings.

In conclusion it is evidenced that Bashar al-Assad's weakened control of society allowed cracks in the identity façade to resurface and, ultimately, engendered a violent identity conflict in the form of a civil war. Indeed, the façade that Hafez attempted to fortify was not strong enough to protect his dynasty from dissolution. The authors maintain that the current identity crisis is one that has been suppressed for decades. A forthcoming article addresses the rising identity components that contributed to the crisis.

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Exploring the relationship between personality factors, general aggression, negative attitudes towards cyclists and aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists

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Abstract

Literature surrounding the field of traffic psychology has focused on aggressive driving behaviour towards drivers. This is an important phenomenon to consider, given the link between aggression and crash involvement. However, literature surrounding aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists is limited. Research has either been based in countries outside the UK and/or research has not explored personality factors and aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. This makes applying findings from past research difficult, especially when considering the impact of specific personality traits and negative attitudes, which are separate psychological dimensions. In this research, using Hierarchal Multiple Regression, we show that extraversion (β= .253, t (101)= 2.83, p < .001), general aggression (β= .363, t (101)= 3.19, p < .005) and negative attitudes (β= .512, t (101)= 5.27, p < .001) significantly increases aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. In simple terms, higher levels of extraversion, general aggression and negative attitudes towards cyclists are associated with higher levels of road aggression towards cyclists. Whilst this research has practical and theoretical implications in terms of providing a platform to improve driver and cyclist interaction and providing support to various theoretical frameworks which have been used extensively in the traffic psychology field, future research avenues should be considered as this research does not provide reasons for the aggression. In this respect, future research should consider employing a qualitative experimental design.

Keywords. Aggression, driving behaviour, cyclists, personality, attitudes, general aggression, car users

Introduction

Research was conducted, as part of my dissertation, for my BSc Psychology with Counselling course, as a platform to explore the factors which influence aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. Literature has focused on aggressive driving behaviour towards car users, and whilst this highlights the role of various psychological factors which may increase aggression, the scope to apply these findings to cyclists is extremely limited. My research aimed to explore the relationship between personality factors, namely neuroticism and extraversion (based on theoretical and applied research considerations), general aggression, attitudes towards cyclists and aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. My quantitative research study is the first to examine the factors which are associated with aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists in the United Kingdom. This is important, considering that past research has established that there are differences in drivers' behaviour in different cultures (Özkan et al, 2006).

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Literature Review

The relationship between personality factors and aggressive driving behaviour has been well documented from past research, which indicates that neuroticism and extraversion increase aggressive driving behaviour (Aniței et al., 2014; Jovanović et al., 2011; Vazquez, 2013). Recent research from Thorrisen (2013) suggests that in Norway neuroticism and extraversion increase aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. Thorrisen's (2013) research provides a foundation to explore the link between personality factors and aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. To the best of my knowledge, it was the first study to explore aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists, before I conducted my research. Nonetheless, my research was necessary as Thorrisen's (2013) findings cannot be applied to a UK based target population, due to the aforementioned cultural differences in driver behaviour.

General aggression is another psychological factor which has been explored extensively within the field of traffic psychology; yet, research has not provided an indication to the extent to which general aggression contributes to aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. Lajunen and Parker (2001) suggest that general aggression does indeed increase aggressive responses towards other car users. Whilst this provides advancement in academic and psychological knowledge, it does not provide knowledge about the role of general aggression in shaping aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. With this in mind, my research establishes the contribution of general aggression in shaping aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists.

Fruhen and Flin (2015) findings show that negative attitudes towards cyclists increase aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. This is fundamentally significant in the field of the traffic psychology, especially as Fruhen and Flin's (2015) study was based in the UK. In this case, the question to why I explored attitudes towards cyclists may have crossed your mind. Whilst there is a long list of reasons, the main reason is because attitudes were not considered alongside the other important psychological factors in Fruhen and Flin's (2015) research. Hence, the combinational contribution of the collective independent variables (i.e, personality & general aggression) is unknown when viewing the phenomenon of aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists using Fruhen and Flin's (2015) research as a framework.

Methods

I used a correlation design, where participants completed five questionnaires online. The participants ranged in terms of demographics, and the age range was from 18-69 years. In terms of ethical considerations, I adhered to the British Psychological Society (2009) guidelines: informed consent, right to withdraw, anonymity and confidentiality. Moreover, my study was approved by the Research and ethics council. As part of this approval, I was required to submit an application for research approval that discussed the rationale for the research, the type of participants that the study was aimed for (individuals over the age of 18 who hold a Full UK driving license), the potential risks to participants (mainly minor psychological risks which were addressed with ways to reduce such risks) and ways to meet the ethical guidelines.

Findings

The findings of my study were analysed using hierarchical multiple regression. This regression analysis is commonly used when analysing the association between variables, that is, the independent variables and the dependent variable. In my research, the independent variables were negative attitudes towards cyclists, personality factors (neuroticism & extraversion) and general aggression. The dependent variable was aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. The regression analysis provided the amount of variance in aggressive driving behaviour, which could be explained by the individual independent variables and independent variables as a collective. This was used to support and explain specific theoretical frameworks/explanations and as a form of research support for past research studies.

Before performing any regression analysis, certain statistical assumptions must be met to ensure that the analysis is accurate and reliable. First, my sample size of 109 participants met the general guidelines for multiple regression analysis (Green, 1991). Second, the data was normally distributed, no outliners were identified and multicollinearity assumptions were met. In step one, age, gender and weekly mileage were entered as control variables. As past research has shown the impact of these control variables on aggressive driving behaviour, it was clear that the variables would need to be controlled, in order to reduce the likelihood of unexplained variance and misleading results. In step two of the multiple regression analysis, attitudes towards cyclists, general aggression, neuroticism and extraversion were entered collectively to provide the overall explained variance of the combination of the predictors.

The findings were significant indeed, as they provided general support to past research and theory. Below are the original statistics from my dissertation (Thakrar, 2018)

Higher age was associated with higher levels of aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists ($\beta = .002$, $t\,(101) = 3.37$, $P < .001$). Gender was not found to be associated with aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists ($\beta = .020$, $t\,(101) = .771$, $P > .005$). Weekly mileage was not significantly associated with aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists ($\beta = .035$, $t\,(101) = .025$, $P > .005$). The results of the hierarchical multiple regression are shown in Table 1. There was a significant model effect, with general aggression, attitudes towards cyclists, neuroticism and extraversion accounting for 37% of variance in aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists, $R^2 = .37$, $F\,(7,101) = 8.58$, $p < .001$.

Table 1: Hierarchical multiple regression for age, gender, weekly mileage, personality factors, general aggression, attitudes towards cyclists and aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists

Variable	Beta	R^2 change, %	Total R^2, %	F change
Block 1:		1	1	34.8
Age	.000			
Gender	0.18			
Weekly mileage	0.35			
Block 2		36.3	37.3	14.6**
Neuroticism	.000			
Extraversion	0.43			
Attitudes towards cyclists	0.14			
General aggression	0.11			

* $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.001$

Higher levels of general aggression were associated with more aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists (β= .363, *t* (101)= 3.19, *p* < .005). General aggression was assessed using Buss and Perry's (1992) aggression questionnaire (Appendix Part A). This questionnaire consists of twenty-nine items with higher scores implying higher levels of general aggression. The questions related to different forms of general aggression, including physical aggression and emotional aggression. Similarly, negative attitudes towards cyclists significantly predicted aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists (β= .512, *t* (101)= 5.27, *p* < .001). The attitudes towards cyclists scale was used to measure attitudes; this consisted of eleven items (Rissel et al., 2002). These questions asked about the cyclists' entitlement to use the road and cyclists' behaviour (Appendix Part B). Higher extraversion was significantly associated with higher levels of aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists (β= .253, *t* (101)= 2.83, *p* < .001). Neuroticism was a non-significant predictor of aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists (β= .001, *t* (101)= .014, *p* > .005). The personality dimensions, neuroticism and extraversion were measured using the mini-pip scale, containing eight items (Donnellan et al., 2006). These questions asked participants to rate different personality characteristics on a scale from 1 to 7, and measured traits such as mood, emotions, thrill seeking and sociability (Appendix Part C). The dependent variable, aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists, was measured using the driver's anger indicators' scale (DAIS) (Özkan & Lajunen, 2005). This questionnaire contained twelve items and measured different facets of driver aggression towards cyclists (Appendix Part D). Table 2 shows the standardised beta values, demonstrating that attitudes towards cyclists was the strongest predictor of aggressive driving behaviour.

Table 2: Standardised regression coefficients for the independent variables as predictors of aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists, after controlling for age, gender

Predictors	Beta	*t*	*p*
Neuroticism	0.01	0.14	0.99
Extraversion	0.25	2.83	0.06
Attitudes towards cyclists	0.51	5.27	.000
General aggression	0.36	3.19	0.02

Discussion

The main aim of my research was to investigate the relationship between general aggression, attitudes towards cyclists, neuroticism, extraversion and aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. My predictions were partly validated with the results demonstrating that as a collective model the independent variables are significant predicators of aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. Thus, the collective model was validated. Simply put, the independent variables as a collective model significantly predict aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. My finding relating to the association between neuroticism and aggressive driving behaviour is somewhat surprising, as it suggests that neuroticism does not significantly predict aggressive driving behaviour.

My study demonstrates that negative attitudes towards cyclists are associated with aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. In simple terms, this means that if an individual has high levels of negativity towards cyclists, they are statistically more likely to explicitly show aggression on the road towards cyclists. This is reasonable, considering the past research trends which have shown that negative attitudes increase aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. My study builds on Fruhen and Flin's (2015) shortcomings by exploring general aggression and personality factors, in addition to negative attitudes. Thus, my study can explain a higher amount of unexplained variance and advances knowledge in the traffic psychology field. My study supports the general trend that attitudes increase aggression. This in itself can be applied to the general behaviour field of psychology.

Likewise, my predictions relating to personality factors were partly supported by my findings. Extraversion was significantly associated with aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists- implying that individuals who are high in extraversion are statistically more likely to display aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. Nonetheless, neuroticism was a non-significant predictor, thus implying that individuals who have neurotic traits are not statistically more likely to be aggressive towards cyclists on the road. The finding relating to extraversion is similar to previous research findings (e.g., Aniței et al., 2014; Jovanović et al., 2011; Vazquez, 2013). The

finding relating to neuroticism is different from previous research, and provides an alternative perspective on neuroticism. Whilst it is clear that is finding is ground-breaking, it does not prove that neuroticism does not increase aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. Further research should still continue to explore the role of neuroticism in shaping aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists, as it is clear from previous literature that neuroticism is a key predictor. The reason for the present finding could stem from the sizable contribution of the extraversion and/or general aggression to shaping aggressive driving behaviour. Simply put, after controlling for extraversion and general aggression the role of neuroticism may not be statistically significant. Therefore, future research should still include extraversion and general aggression using an experimental quasi design, but should include neuroticism in a separate regression model to further explore the individual contribution of neuroticism. If the finding relating to neuroticism is replicated in future research, this would provide further research support for the present study and could inform intervention ideas by reducing the emphasis on neuroticism.

My hypothesis relating to general aggression has been met. The present findings suggest that individuals who demonstrate high levels of general aggression are more likely to display aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. This follows the trend of past literature (Lajunen & Parker, 2001). As the present study was the first to explore the role of general aggression and aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists in the UK, the present findings advance current knowledge and provide a clear pathway for future research ideas. To illustrate, future research could explore the relationship between general aggression and aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists, using a driving stimulator and an experimental design. This future research design would provide deeper insight as to whether or not general aggression is the key factor in generating aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists or is moderated by a correlational relationship with one or more important independent variables. Indeed, this would have far reaching implications for policy makers and government initiatives which aim to reduce aggression towards cyclists, as policies can be specifically targeted towards reducing specific factors which cause the aggression. In the long term, this is likely to lead to better road interactions between car drivers and cyclists; will lead to fewer injuries/fatalities.

In terms of the control variables, there were mixed findings relating to the individual association with aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. First, gender (male/female coded as 0/1 correspondingly) was not found to be associated with aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. This was unexpected, as past research has suggested that males display more aggression on the road (e.g., Fruhen & Flin, 2015; González-Iglesias et al., 2012).

Similarly, weekly mileage was not found to be associated with aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. A plausible explanation for this surprising result was the main sample population. To illustrate, as the study was primarily conducted in a university setting, participants were younger adults. Younger individuals do not typically tend to accrue high mileage on a weekly basis, due to factors such as studying, high insurance costs for younger drivers and general maintenance costs of

running a car. A possible explanation for this finding, could, however stem from the duration of the mileage measured. In the present study, weekly mileage was measured. In previous literature, annual mileage has been measured opposed to weekly mileage (e.g., Fruhen & Flin, 2015). In this respect, future research should continue the trend of measuring annual mileage, as this is arguably a more robust and accurate measurement of mileage. This is due to mileage fluctuating on a week by week basis. Annual mileage is fixed for a specific year. However, it is unlikely that participants would remember how many miles they have done precisely, as they may drive multiple vehicles or not have access to this information at the time of participation.

Theoretical implications

Many theories can explain why negative attitudes towards cyclists increase aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists, but only one theoretical framework can explain this relationship with the element on negativity increasing aggression, as opposed to positivity: the theory of planned behaviour. This theory postulates that behavioural responses are determined by attitudes, norms and perceived behavioural controls (Ajzen, 1991). As such, this theory assumes that negative attitudes will lead to poor behavioural outcomes. In the world of traffic psychology, this means the outcomes will be typically directed towards the target of the attitudes (e.g., cyclists).

Research results support the main theoretical tenants of the Frustration Aggression Model (FAM) that emphasises the importance of personality and unfolding events (Shinar, 1998) to a moderate extent. My findings highlight the role of personality factors in increasing aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. As such, my study suggests that the interaction between extraversion and negative road events can lead a driver to display outwards aggression towards a cyclist. However, my study does not lend full theoretical support to the FAM, as neuroticism was not found to be significantly associated with aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. This highlights the role of other factors in shaping aggressive driving behaviour, and implies that future research should not principally focus on personality factors. Other psychological factors are also equally important to consider.

The General Aggression Model (GAM) claims that there are three main factors which cause aggressive outcomes: biological, situational and individual: in particular, the individual's state of mind, when the individual's decision-making skills interact with a current situation (Anderson & Carnagey, 2004). As such, a main theoretical assumption of the GAM is that general aggression from an individual is likely to be the result of internal states, personality characteristics and bad decision making. My findings lend theoretical support to the GAM, and highlight the role of general aggression in shaping aggression towards cyclists. This theoretical support is ground-breaking, as the present study is the believed to be the first to explore general aggression in relation to aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists in the UK. From this perspective, the present study highlights the importance of individual driver's general aggression, and suggests that the hostility and anger may not be directly aimed at cyclist but may be the result of other factors. For example, the aggression may be the result of being slowed down by the cyclist, as opposed to direct and personal aggression.

Strengths and limitations of present study

The present study has much strength, both methodological and theoretical. First, the present study explores the role of general aggression and aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. This is ground-breaking, as this is the first study within the field of traffic psychology, to investigate both variables; using cyclists as the target group. Second, this study used well established psychometric measurements to investigate the factors. This means the study is both highly internally valid and reliable. Third, 109 participants were included in the final regression analysis: this meets current statistical guidelines and suggests that the findings can be generalised to the wider population.

However, the present study had a few limitations. First, a correlational design was used. To illustrate, participants were asked to fill in a questionnaire and random allocation was not deployed. As such, an association was only established. Thus, we cannot confirm whether the independent variables cause aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. Future research avenues should consider using an experimental design, as this will detect any cause and effect relationships after controlling for interactions between variables. Second, the study used a questionnaire design. Thus, the data was self-reported aggression. Vigil-Colet et al. (2012) argue that self-reported aggression levels are affected by social desirability. This suggests that participants may have under reported levels of aggression. On this basis, the association between the variables could be stronger, depending on the internal effects of the social desirability.

Conclusions

We can make many conclusions from the present study. First, negative attitudes towards cyclists can increase aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. This suggests that negative attitudes should be targeted in interventions aimed at reducing aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. Second, extraversion can increase aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. Whilst extraversion need not be reduced in everyday life, specific traits can be targeted in interventions. In this respect, traits such as impulsivity should be further explored in future research to identify specific traits which increase aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. Third, general aggression can increase aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists. This is not surprising, as general aggression concerns everyday aggression (e.g., an individual who is generally aggressive in various situations). Reducing general aggression in interventions may prove difficult, considering that general aggression may not be directly aimed at cyclists. In order to have more robust implications for intervention ideas, specific dimensions of general aggression should be explored further.

Appendix: Questionnaire

Part A: Aggressive behaviour

Instructions:

Using the 5 point scale shown below, indicate how uncharacteristic or characteristic each of the following statements in in describing you. Place your rating to the right of the statement

1- Extremely uncharacteristic of me
2- Somewhat uncharacteristic of me
3- Neither uncharacteristic or characteristic of me
4- Somewhat characteristic of me
5- Extremely characteristic of me

1. Some of my friend think I am a hot head
2. If I have to resort to violence to protect my rights, I will
3. When people are especially nice to me, I wonder what they want
4. I tell my friend openly when I disagree with them
5. I have become so made I have broken things
6. I can't help getting into arguments when people disagree with me
7. I wonder why somethings I feel so bitter about things
8. Once in a while, I can't control the urge to strike another person
9. I am an even-tempered person
10. I am suspicious of overly friendly strangers
11. I have threatened people I know
12. I flare up quickly but get over it quickly
13. Given enough provocation, I may hit another person
14. When people annoy me, I may tell them what I think of them
15. I am sometimes eaten up with jealousy
16. I can think of no good person for ever hitting a person
17. At times I feel I have gotten a raw deal out of life
18. I have trouble controlling my temper
19. When frustrated, I let my irritation show
20. I sometimes feel that people are laughing at me behind me back
21. I often find myself disagreeing with people
22. If somebody hits me, I hit back
23. I somethings feel like a powder keg ready to explode
24. Other people always seem to get the breaks
25. There are people who pushed me so far we came to blows.
26. 26. I know that "Friends" talk about me behind my back
27. My friends say that I am somewhat argumentative
28. Sometimes I fly of the handle for no good reason
29. I get into fights a little more than the average person

Part B. Attitudes Towards Cyclists-

Instructions: Use the 5 Point scale ranging from strongly disagree to Strongly agree set out below each statement.

It is very frustrating sharing* the *road with cyclists

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neither Disagree or agree Agree Strongly Agree



Cyclists should not be able to ride on main roads (without cycle tracks) during peak hours

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neither Disagree or agree Agree Strongly Agree

Many cyclists take no notice to road rules

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neither Disagree or agree Agree Strongly Agree

Most cyclists are aware of other road users and keep out of their way

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neither Disagree or agree Agree Strongly Agree

It is safer for cyclists to keep to the left of the lane

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neither Disagree or agree Agree Strongly Agree

Drivers are not trained to look out for cyclists

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neither Disagree or agree Agree Strongly Agree

Cyclists are courteous on the road to motorists

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neither Disagree or agree Agree Strongly Agree

Many cyclists on the road have not learnt to ride properly

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neither Disagree or agree Agree Strongly Agree

Motorists need to be educated to give cyclists a fair go on the road

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neither Disagree or agree Agree Strongly Agree

If cyclists want equal rights on the road they should pay registration fees or road taxes

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neither Disagree or agree Agree Strongly Agree

Drivers should change lanes when overtaking cyclists rather than veering around them

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neither Disagree or agree Agree Strongly Agree

Part C- Personality (Extraversion and Neuroticism)

Instructions: This part of the questionnaire measures your personality. Please indicate the number that best represents how each statement describes you.

Have frequent mood swings

1- Very Inaccurate 2 3 4 5 6 7- Very accurate

Am relaxed most of the time

1- Very Inaccurate 2 3 4 5 6 7- Very accurate

Get upset easily

1- Very Inaccurate 2 3 4 5 6 7- Very accurate

Seldom feel blue

1- Very Inaccurate 2 3 4 5 6 7- Very accurate

Am the life of the party

1- Very Inaccurate 2 3 4 5 6 7- Very accurate

Don't talk a lot

1- Very Inaccurate 2 3 4 5 6 7- Very accurate

Keep in the background

1- Very Inaccurate 2 3 4 5 6 7- Very accurate

Talk to a lot of different people at parties

1- Very Inaccurate 2 3 4 5 6 7- Very accurate

Part D - Aggressive driving behaviour towards cyclists

The following question relates to interactions with cyclists. How often have you committed to these behaviours towards cyclists?

Cut up

1-Never 2 3 4 5- Nearly all the time

Swore/verbally abused

1-Never 2 3 4 5- Nearly all the time

Sounded horn

1-Never 2 3 4 5- Nearly all the time

Made a hand gesture

1-Never 2 3 4 5- Nearly all the time

Threatened verbally

1-Never 2 3 4 5- Nearly all the time

Flashed

1-Never 2 3 4 5- Nearly all the time

Physically attacked

1-Never 2 3 4 5- Nearly all the time

Chased

1-Never 2 3 4 5- Nearly all the time

Rammed a cyclist

1-Never 2 3 4 5- Nearly all the time

Threatened physically

1-Never 2 3 4 5- Nearly all the time

Hugged the rear

1-Never 2 3 4 5- Nearly all the time

Prevented or obstructed from manoeuvring the bicycle

1-Never 2 3 4 5- Nearly all the time

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The dynamics of the Sino-Pakistani strategic partnership from its formation in the 1960s to the present

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Abstract

Chinese President Xi Jinping's global Belt-Road Initiative (BRI), the most significant part of which is the £40bn investment to modernise Pakistan's infrastructure, underlines the growing importance of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in international affairs. Whilst many analysts have seen the PRC's outward investment through an economic lens in the context of a global trade war or a new Chinese imperialism, this paper argues, through an analysis of the basis, dimensions and historical trajectory of the Sino-Pakistani entente, that the Pakistani component of the project ought to be understood in the context of Beijing's long-standing political and strategic interests in South Asia, which are a central part of its aspirations for great power status. This research demonstrates that the entente, which has demonstrated a remarkable durability and dynamism since the early 1960s to the present and survived many tumultuous events within each country and reconfigurations within the geo-political order, represents a striking and paradigmatic example of how state power considerations, rather than culture, ideology, economic interest or composition of ruling elites, can determine foreign policy behaviour – as conceptualised by the Neo-Realist school of International Relations (IR) theory. Although highly divergent societies and polities with conflicting views on central global issues, Beijing and Islamabad have nonetheless discerned through realist calculations a shared advantage in entering into a balancing partnership to counter and contain their mutual Indian foe and curtail its ability to concentrate its forces solely on either state in a conflict situation. Informed by a neo-realist perspective that also takes into account features of state identity, this research demonstrates that with the unlikelihood of settlements regarding Chinese and Pakistani territorial disputes with India in the medium term and a wider mounting rivalry between Beijing and New Delhi for, ultimately, global hegemony, it is expected that the balancing partnership against India shall continue to remain an unyielding feature of the PRC's foreign policy.

Keywords. China, Pakistan, Neo-realism, International Relations, India, Belt-Road Initiative, Kashmir.

Introduction

According to Garver (1993), the PRC's entente with Pakistan has been the most resilient aspect of its foreign relations since the State's foundation and has constituted its most cordial relationship with a non-communist country. Beijing entered into the entente in the early 1960s after the previously friendly relations with Nehru's India broke down and descended into war over territorial disputes and Chinese resentment of perceived Indian interference in Tibet. Courting India's principal adversary, Pakistan, and providing it with diplomatic and military aid was seen as a prudential and economical way of

hemming in Indian power within the subcontinent, presenting Indian strategists with the troubling prospect of a war on two fronts against Beijing and Islamabad. As China and India have increasingly become economic and political rivals on the global stage, Beijing derives a less tangible but significant moral gain from Indo-Pakistani antagonism: the equation in the estimation of Western leaders of India with Pakistan (Garver 2001). This helps to generate a perception of the PRC as a power in a higher league than the two warring South Asian states (Ibid.).

Pakistan has since its inception possessed fewer resources than India and has always sought to align with other states to supplement its internal capabilities and avoid being coerced into becoming part of New Delhi's sphere of influence. In the mid-1950s, Pakistan aligned with the US. However, it became profoundly disillusioned by American refusals to unequivocally support it in its conflicts with India and on the pivotal Kashmir issue. Consequently, Pakistan realigned its foreign policy towards Beijing from the early 1960s. Unlike any of its other allies, China saw India as a threatening power and also concurred with Pakistan in rejecting Indian claims to Kashmir. The strategic partnership is the centrepiece of Pakistan's foreign policy and its strategy for containing India. Despite Washington having provided significantly more aid to Pakistan than the PRC since the mid- 1950s, Pakistan's affinity with Beijing is greater.

The '*Hindi-Chini, bhai, bhai*' period

The early relationship between the nascent PRC and India was characterised by a great deal of mutual respect and goodwill following Nehru's recognition of the PRC as the legitimate government of China in January 1950. The amity that was encapsulated by the official slogans in India of *'Hindi-Chini, bhai, bhai',*[11] was able to occur despite there being a lack of ideological agreement between the conflicting paths for the development of post-colonial states they respectively recommended; Mao championed revolutionary change, while Nehru extolled a 'third way' between capitalism and socialism (Hagerty 2002:3).

Early Pakistani Foreign Relations

Pakistani foreign policy in the first years of the country's existence was motivated by a fundamental objective to ensure the state's basic survival faced with a more powerful India. Pakistan's early leaders were not convinced that New Delhi had accepted its independence and believed that India was willing to undo the partition and reunify the subcontinent through forcible means. This fear was stoked by statements made by Nehru calling for the establishment of an Indo-Pakistan "confederation" and declaring the Pakistani state to be a "temporary phenomenon" (Ibid.).

Pakistan began life at a great strategic disadvantage vis a vis India, both economically and militarily. This was compounded by the war over Kashmir in 1948; the fact of being surrounded by two large states that were not then allies of Karachi[12], the USSR and China, and a wider sense of insecurity given the odd geographical structure of the state with two

[11] 'India and China are brothers' in Hindi.

[12] In this paper, the Pakistani state is referred to by the metonyms Karachi, Rawalpindi or Islamabad depending on which particular city was the seat of government at the relevant time.

wings separated by a distance of some one thousand miles, making defence of both West and East Pakistan logistically complex.

India and Pakistan both claimed the disputed state of Kashmir in its entirety following the partition of the subcontinent, and went to war immediately afterwards in a bid to annex the state. The war and invasion by both Karachi and New Delhi and a subsequent UN-brokered ceasefire left some two-thirds of the state under Indian control, with the remainder administered by Pakistan. The UN recommended through Security Council resolutions that the final status of Kashmir be settled by a plebiscite. The Pakistani state, believing that the majority Muslim population of Kashmir desired to be part of Pakistan, has backed the idea of a popular referendum among Kashmiris to decide the future of the state ever since. The acquisition of the entire state of Kashmir has become an important part of the identity of Pakistanis, especially within the ruling elite and armed forces. India, however, has been reluctant to allow such a referendum to occur, fearing that the outcome may not be favourable to its official position.[13] Moreover, additional strategic depth vis a vis India would accrue to Pakistan through annexing Kashmir, according Islamabad a greater buffer area between its major military and industrial core areas and the front line in the event of conflict with India.

Waltz, in his seminal work on neorealist IR theory, postulates that where a state perceives another state to be an adversary there are two principal ways that it can deal with this in the anarchical world of geo-politics. The state may either choose to balance against the perceived antagonist, or else 'bandwagon' alongside it - that is ally with the other state (Waltz 1979: 126). The so-called 'bandwagoning' approach is normally undertaken by a state that is at a *considerable* strategic disadvantage vis a vis its adversary. In the absence of internal resources or guarantees from external states that are powerful enough to provide assurances against the principal rival, there is no choice but to pursue a non-adversarial path. Where the imbalance is not so marked, a state can choose to balance against the rival state, which has the important advantage of preserving its ability to act autonomously in the system, free from external pressure (Waltz 2000: 38).

Pakistan has been in the position of possessing some capabilities to balance India; yet it is fundamentally lacking in internal resources to do so successfully on its own, given the military and economic disparities between the two South Asian rivals (Rajagolopalan 1999). The Pakistani state has been reluctant to throw in its lot with India, because it has enough strength to avoid this and because so doing would likely result in having to resolve the conflict over Kashmir on terms favourable to the more powerful New Delhi. Pakistan has therefore required supplementary alliances with other states throughout its existence, in the form of 'external balancing', so as to counteract India successfully and provide a deterrent against attack. The attainment of political and other support for its Kashmir policy has been a major secondary aim. By contrast, the Republic of India's smaller neighbours such as Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka have tended towards a

[13] The position of New Delhi has been that Kashmir belongs within India, owing to the former ruler of the state acceding sovereignty to New Delhi in 1947, and because keeping hold of Muslim-majority Kashmir is an important symbol of Indian secularism.

non-balancing approach in the history of their relations with New Delhi, bereft as they have been of internal balancing potential, and largely incapable of drawing adequate support externally.

Collapse of Sino-Indian entente

The Indian stance towards Beijing's 1950 annexation of Tibet was crucially ambiguous. Independent India had harboured desires to maintain the same influence in Tibet that the British Raj authorities had enjoyed (Syed 1974:18). Nehru expressed his dismay and alarm that the PRC, rather than seek negotiations with the Tibetan leadership, had chosen to invade and occupy the country (Barnds, 1975:468). At the same time, Pakistan issued no great condemnation of the PRC's annexation (Ibid.), in large part because it favoured a Tibet within China to one that was beholden to India. The indifference in Pakistan to the invasion of Tibet, in contrast to the disquiet in New Delhi, was sympathetically noted by Chinese foreign policy makers (Ibid.).

By the mid-1950s, the situation had taken a turn for the worst with a community of Tibetan exiles in the northern Indian city of Dharmasala who had fled Chinese military persecution organising resistance to Beijing on Indian territory (Hagerty 2002:4). For New Delhi, the increasing Tibetan repression "severely shook [its] sense of security" and "led to fears of China's intentions along the border" (Gittings 1968:110), prompting Nehru's decision to allow the Tibetans to mount their independence struggle from India. The policy proved to be a watershed in Sino-Indian relations. In 1956, the US Central Intelligence Agency, helped by Taiwan-based Kuomintang nationalists, arrived in northern India to fund and train Tibetan dissidents in guerrilla warfare against the Chinese state (Hagerty 2002:4). A large-scale rebellion erupted in Lhasa in 1959 followed by further brutal clampdowns that sent many more thousands of Tibetans into India for asylum (Ibid.). They were headed by the leader of the Tibetan struggle, the Dalai Lama, who was publicly welcomed by the Indian leadership (Ibid.). China reacted furiously, charging that New Delhi had colluded with its major adversary, the US superpower, to support subversion in what it regarded as its sovereign territory (Barnds, 1975:470).

The 1962 Sino-Indian war, the climax of border tensions in the late 1950s, was brief but intense. The British-drawn 'McMahon Line' that had delineated the border between India and China since 1914 was disputed by Beijing, which argued that the contemporary Chinese authorities had not been consulted when the British established it (Guang 2004:403). The PRC claimed two regions that are under Indian sovereignty (Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh), arguing that they constituted the southern part of Tibet. Nehru refused to accept negotiations and moved Indian troops to the Line in the late 1950s in order to force Chinese acceptance of its legitimacy (Ibid.). Mao responded by ordering a People's Liberation Army (PLA) attack on the troops in October 1962. During the month-long battle, the more numerous and better-equipped PLA soldiers drove Indian forces away from the border, and crossed over into Indian territory proper. China then announced a unilateral ceasefire and withdrew to where it regarded the border was before Nehru's troop movements (Ibid.).

The lasting lessons of 1962 for China's foreign policy mandarins were that India is an untrustworthy and troublesome state that will only respect China's national sovereignty through "a firm policy based on a position of strength" (Garver 1996:346).

Beijing's forbearance of the US-Pakistan alliance

Pakistan had accepted the PRC as the legitimate government of China on January 4th 1950. In so doing, Pakistan became the first Muslim country to recognise the PRC and only the third state outside of the Communist bloc to do at the time (Aneja 2006:1). While India and China enjoyed cordial relations during most of the 1950s, Beijing did not deem Pakistan, India's principal foe, as a hostile state. The PRC's conciliatory attitude towards its Muslim neighbour can be seen as notable, given the fact that during this period Chinese foreign policy behaviour was inimical to states that were aligned with the US, particularly ones whose internal political configurations were diametrically opposed to the revolutionary conception of political society championed by Mao. Pakistan, a largely feudal society governed by a military-civilian oligarchy, undoubtedly fitted the Marxist notion of a reactionary state.

The Chinese were anxious about a direct American threat, and Mao feared that the US was also pursuing a policy of encirclement of China by enlisting Asian states into anti-communist alliances (Barnds 1975:470). Although Chinese state propaganda disapproved of Pakistan's decision to enter the US orbit, it did so in a way that was, according to Syed, "remarkable for its moderation" (Syed 1974:55).

There are several reasons that account for the lack of Chinese hostility to Karachi during this period, despite Pakistan's 'reactionary' internal political structure and its membership in the anti-communist US defence pacts. Pakistan did not share US fears about global communism. Accordingly, Pakistani diplomats went to great lengths to persuade the Chinese that Karachi would not be party to a US endeavour to encircle the PRC, nor would it permit other states to use Pakistani territory for anti-Chinese activities (Barnds 1975:468).

The Chinese government, though ideologically committed to an official policy of the 'export' of revolution to other countries whose governments were part of the capitalist system headed by the US, was inclined to subordinate such socialist idealism to the expediencies of national self-interest, as classical realist theory, such as that of Morgenthau, might predict (Morgenthau 1978: 4-15). Roy argues that Beijing's foreign policy at this stage amounted to backing anti-government rebels "in countries that were US allies and/or did not diplomatically recognise Beijing" (Roy 1998:25). Thus, the PRC did not expend any effort or expense in supporting insurrection in friendly Pakistan, as it had in all Asian states that were deemed to be 'anti-China' (Barnds 1975:464). Maxwell sums up the realpolitik of the revolutionary PRC's relations with other regimes: "It's not what you are, it's the way you act" (Maxwell 1970:273).

Bhutto's reorientation of Pakistani Foreign Policy

The main architect of the country's entente cordiale with China was Z. A. Bhutto, a young nationalist politician who first came to prominence in the early 1960s. Bhutto's ideas

were to determine the course of Pakistan's foreign policy for decades to come. As Foreign Minister, Bhutto persuaded the military leadership that Pakistan's best interests would be served by having a much less dependent relationship with Washington (Mahmud 1991:4). Pakistan would have to widen its external balancing options by developing closer ties to Muslim states, as well as the PRC, Soviet Union and the smaller Communist countries of Eastern Europe and North Korea (Burke and Ziring 1990:416).

Bhutto sensed an opportunity to seek an alignment with Beijing on the basis of mutual hostility to India, which he regarded as the only state that threatened Pakistan (Cohen 2004:141). It was extremely unlikely, in Bhutto's view, that China would ever come to see Pakistan as an adversary if Karachi were to maintain its policy of refusing to allow external powers to use Pakistan as a proxy against Beijing. Bhutto believed that Sino-Pakistan conflict was improbable for two principal reasons: Pakistan, unlike India, had no great power pretensions that would lead it on a course to balance and rival China, and the limited and remote Chinese border area with Pakistan made it unlikely that Beijing could easily take an aggressive stance towards the Pakistanis even if it wanted to (Sayeed 1965:257).

With the benefit of hindsight, Bhutto's analysis of the future of Pakistan-China relations was prescient in identifying the central importance of India to melding that relationship, but far too optimistic in stating that geography could somehow prevent future conflict between Beijing and Islamabad; the PRC's ascent to great military power status from the end of the 20th Century means that it now has the capability to overwhelm Pakistan irrespective of the limited border area. More importantly, Bhutto failed to take into account the possible significance of the long-disaffected Muslim-majority Xinjiang province as a hindrance to the entente. Whilst there is no reason to assume that Beijing's systematic mistreatment of the Uighur community (Sudworth 2019) presents a current threat to Sino-Pakistani relations, it is not inconceivable that it could become so in future, potentially causing harm to the entente between Islamabad and Beijing in much the same way that the deteriorating situation in Tibet did to India's relations with the PRC from the 1950s.

Formation of the entente

A border settlement between Beijing and Pakistan was reached in December 1962, in the immediate aftermath of Sino-Indian war, and signed and ratified in March 1963. It delineated an international boundary between Pakistani controlled Kashmir and China's Xinjiang province along a frontier some 300 miles long. Pakistan gained some 750 square miles of territory from which the PRC withdrew its military forces and personnel. In return, Pakistan ceded some 2,500 square miles of the barren and unpopulated Aksai Chin area of Northern Kashmir to China (Barnds, 1975:471). While the land given up by China was integrated into Pakistan, the agreement stipulated that the Aksai Chin accession to China was provisional and subject to further negotiations until a permanent settlement of the Kashmir issue had been arrived at by Pakistan and India (Ibid.).

Pakistan's Kashmir policy had received a substantial boost from the agreement. Though

the PRC had never accepted New Delhi's view that Kashmir properly belongs to India, even during the 'Hindi-Chini, bhai, bhai' years (Garver 2001:191), Pakistani officials feared that this policy might change over time. Beijing was now, however, on record as rejecting Indian claims to Kashmir, and moreover had now effectively become a party to the Kashmir dispute itself. India, for its part, immediately condemned the agreement as illegal and launched a strong diplomatic protest to China and Pakistan. New Delhi's case was that all of Kashmir, including the part occupied by Pakistan, was legally part of the Republic of India and neither Pakistan nor China had a right to negotiate possession of it (Barnds 1975:471).

Basis of the partnership

The essential basis of the China-Pakistan entente from its inception to the present day is a mutual need to pool together resources to contain perceived Indian aspirations for hegemony over South Asia. Both China and Pakistan regard the entente as necessary to maintain a balance of power in the subcontinent favourable to themselves against an India that is believed by both Chinese and Pakistani strategists to be an expansionist power that occupies land regarded as properly belonging to Beijing and Islamabad, respectively and that is intent on expanding further.

According to Mearsheimer's neo-realist theory of IR, a state may choose to 'pass the buck' of balancing an adversary state to a state that it has sought security cooperation with, thereby freeing up more of its limited resources to counter other perceived foes within the international system (Mearsheimer 2001: 267). As Mearsheimer explains:

> "(T)hreatened states sometimes opt for buck-passing rather than joining a balancing coalition. In other words, they attempt to get other states to assume the burden of checking a powerful opponent while they remain on the sidelines." (Mearsheimer 2010: 76)

This strategy fits the pattern of Chinese support for Pakistan, with the latter acting as a strategic proxy to contain Indian influence over South Asia, without the forging of a formal coalition. The entente came into existence at a time when scarce Chinese resources were devoted to countering the formidable superpower foes of the US and USSR. However, because no state can fully trust another in the anarchical world of power politics, prudence requires that a state develop its own means to counteract the threatening state, in case the balancing partnership breaks down. For that reason, China has devoted a great deal of its own internal resources to countering India over the decades.

The subcontinent is of far greater significance to the PRC's national security than many other regions such as Africa, the Middle East or Central and South America, in view of its being adjacent to the often restive Chinese provinces of Tibet and Xinjiang (Barnds 1975:465). No Chinese leadership can afford to be complacent or indifferent to the possibility that a hostile state in the subcontinent could weaken its hold over its South Western provinces. China's concerns about the security of its borders mean that it can pursue one of a number of paths to reduce the prospect of an infelicitous situation developing (Ibid.). The first and arguably preferable strategy for Beijing would be to develop a close or at least a non-adversarial 'proper' relationship with India, which would decrease the likelihood of the latter destabilising Chinese rule over Tibet. The

Chinese pursued such a policy until the late 1950s; however, as discussed previously, the entente irrevocably broke down. When relations with India soured and the two countries became overt rivals for power in Asia, an alternative option for Chinese strategic mandarins was to establish cordial relationships with the superpowers so as to lessen the likelihood of their furnishing India's anti-Chinese policies with succour. However, Beijing would prefer to orient its policy towards the superpowers around issues that are a central part of its global strategic agenda, rather than its comparatively less salient South Asian interests (Ibid. 466).

Consequently, China has few viable alternatives available to it other than employing a willing Pakistan, New Delhi's most militarily capable and significant adversary over a lengthy period of time, as a strategic proxy to hem in Indian power.[14] Given Islamabad's historical lack of interference in Chinese internal affairs and its reliance on the PRC to enhance its position vis a vis India, the Chinese leadership derives a great deal of confidence about continued Pakistani fidelity to the partnership. Owing to the Chinese strategic need to counter India, Beijing has over a long period of time shown itself to be willing to overlook, ignore or forbear divergences with Pakistani policy positions on secondary issues.

Were Pakistan to be overwhelmed and forced to seek alignment with India, Chinese policy makers would be faced with a subcontinent under effective Indian hegemony, probably forcing the PRC to disengage from what would rather quickly become an Indian area of special interest. Garver argues that such a state of affairs would hamper China's quest for Asian and, ultimately, global great power status, and make it a hostage to the vicissitudes of Indian goodwill not to interfere along its sensitive borders, rather than more assuredly constraining Indian actions through a determined and independent Pakistani counterpoise (Garver 2002:46).

From the perspective of Indian national security, the partnership between Beijing and Islamabad purposely stokes one of the most disquieting scenarios: the prospect of a war on two fronts. Because of the close relationship between its principal adversaries, India is palpably constrained from concentrating its military forces against merely Pakistan or China in the event of a conflict situation with either state. Indian leaders of necessity must factor into any decision to go to war with either Pakistan or the PRC the likelihood that the other party in the partnership will intervene to strengthen the position of its ally, and possibly 'settle historical scores' of its own (Garver 2001:187). This requires that India must divide its military forces between its two northern borders, thereby attenuating its overall military power against either party (Ibid.).

Moreover, the PRC gains a subtle wider political advantage vis a vis New Delhi by virtue of sustained Indo-Pakistani antagonism since this serves to undermine India's aspirations towards great-power status by 'dragging' the

[14] Garver records that Beijing has in the past also "encouraged any anti-Indian tendencies in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bhutan" (Garver 1987:1205). However, as noted earlier, the capacity of these small countries to balance India has always been considerably less than that of Pakistan.

Indians down to Pakistan's much less significant 'Third World' geo-political level, whilst enabling China to present itself as 'above the fray'. Thus, India's strategic aim of being regarded as Asia's leading power is significantly undercut by its enmity with Pakistan because that antipathy leads to a comparison, especially in the minds of Western observers, of India with Pakistan, rather than analogies between India and China (Ibid. 188). The invariably hostile situation between the two Asian states enables the PRC to be "left apart, […] on a higher moral plane" or, increasingly, within the "category of a greater power" (Ibid.).

From Pakistan's point of view, the Chinese, though they have been possessed of less economic, political and military clout than the great powers during the era of 20th Century superpower rivalry, nonetheless have enjoyed the status of a redoubtable regional power within Asia during the period of bi-polar hostilities, with the added advantage of sharing Pakistan's view of India as an adversary, and considering Kashmir a disputed territory. Unlike the USSR previously or the USA, China is deemed to be a "nonexploitative" power, which does not demand that Pakistan follow its dictates or adopt its ideological positions (Syed 1974:9). In contrast to the USA, whose interest in alignment with Pakistan has waxed and waned over the decades according to the exigencies of its strategic interests, the PRC's sustained non-friendly relations with New Delhi make it a stable, 'all-weather' friend to Pakistan. As China has risen to the status of a great military and economic superpower in the early 21st Century, it has become an even more attractive partner to Islamabad's eyes – raising the alluring prospect that the PRC could ultimately replace an untrusted and disliked USA as Pakistan's principal benefactor.

However, the strategic partnership is an asymmetric one. While China has a profound interest in sustaining a South Asian environment that is not threatening to its national security, Beijing places a far higher priority on its relations with the states around its Pacific coastline, and also its own bilateral relations with the superpowers (Garver 2002:8). Whereas, the stakes for Pakistan are much higher since Islamabad's need for sympathetic allies to help it balance India is central to its perceived fight for national survival. The value to less internally capable Pakistan of external balancing against India means that it needs China more than the latter needs Pakistan.

Beijing's roles in Indo-Pakistani conflict

The PRC played an important, but very different, role in both of the two major Indo-Pakistani wars since the formation of the entente; in each instance seeking to bolster Pakistan's relative position on the battlefield against New Delhi through either diplomatic or limited military means, whilst mindful of international opinion and the particular context of superpower rivalry.

The 1965 Pakistani war plan involved sending insurgents from Pakistani Kashmir across the ceasefire line into Indian Kashmir with the objective of creating a mass uprising against the Indian rule that would be aided by Pakistani troops (Garver 2001, 76). Beijing provided substantial support to Pakistan during the war, which included training Kashmiri insurgents and Pakistani forces in Maoist guerrilla warfare tactics. (Ibid. 197). The PRC stated that India

was solely responsible for the war, repeating Pakistani claims that an indigenous uprising of Kashmiris had occurred against "the brutal rule and communal persecution by the Indian reactionaries" (Ibid.199).

As the war raged on, however, it became clear that a large-scale uprising in Indian Kashmir would not occur. On September 6th, 1965 the Indian army attacked West Pakistan, advancing to Lahore. In order to improve the Pakistani position, China tied down Indian soldiers in the North East and issued repeated threats to India that it was ready to attack. Beijing threatened "grave consequences" for India should it not desist (Syed 1974:114).

1971 dismemberment: limits of the entente

The origins of the war lay in the disaffection of large sections of Bengali society in East Pakistan with the West Pakistan dominated central government. Following the refusal of the military regime of President Yahya to uphold the victory of the Awami League in the November 1970 general elections, the League leadership declared that East Pakistan would become an independent sovereign state. In order to stop the secession, Yahya's government ordered a brutal crackdown on Bengalis deemed to be its supporters throughout 1971. Many millions of Bengali refugees escaped the persecution and civil war by crossing over into India's West Bengal state. Bengali insurgents who had taken up arms against the Pakistani military and its allies in East Pakistan were provided with weapons and training by India. Finally, India invaded East Pakistan in late November 1971, and with the aid of Bengali insurgents, took power and declared a state independent of Islamabad's control. By mid-December, the Pakistan military had surrendered and India had conferred recognition on the nascent People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Although couched in the language of humanitarian intervention, the essential objectives of the Indian state intervention to 'liberate' East Pakistan from the regime were to increase New Delhi's relative power over Pakistan and China. K. Subrahmanyam, a leading Indian foreign policy strategist, outlined India's aims (in Garver 2001:205). For Subrahmanyam, the ultimate purpose of New Delhi's dismemberment of Pakistan was the end of opposition to Indian domination of South Asia. The dismemberment would tilt the balance of power in South Asia squarely in New Delhi's favour since Pakistan's population would be halved, leaving the total population of the leftover Pakistan to be around only one tenth of that of India. The PRC's strategic agenda of containment would be adversely affected since it would now be very difficult to utilise a demoralised Pakistan "as a countervailing power against India" (in Garver 2001:213). Deeply concerned about Islamabad's external balancing pacts, Indian strategic planners seized the opportunity to "cut it down to size" and "severely curtail" its value to other states as a "proxy" (Ibid.). With the end of the Sino-Pakistani balancing entente, India's "due role as a major power in the international scene" would be more easily realised (Ibid.).

With the stakes seemingly so high, why did the PRC fail to intervene militarily in a war whose outcome increased India's relative national power over Pakistan? The reasons concern the differences between the strategic environment that existed in 1971 in comparison to the earlier decade, and China's belief that the Pakistani

state had made catastrophic errors in its East Pakistan policy. The war had placed Beijing, in Syed's words, "on the horns of a most disagreeable dilemma", (Syed 1974:149) for whilst the PRC was opposed to the willingness of the Bengali rebels to act in concert with India, it also disapproved of the Pakistani military's crackdown as wrong and counterproductive (O'Leary 1980). As noted above, the PRC wished to project an image of itself to the world as a "principled actor". Consequently, it would have been on no account easy for Beijing to endorse the bloody campaign by a military regime to crackdown on a popular national movement, particularly given that the repression was also targeted at pro-Chinese Bengalis.

Though China's 'moral' identity reduced prospects for military intervention on this occasion, more compelling and decisive reasons for keeping out of the conflict were due to the realities of power politics. In August 1971, New Delhi had signed a mutual security pact with the Soviet Union. The treaty committed both parties to defend the other in the event of a conflict with either state. Three years after the Russians had led an invasion of Czechoslovakia, Beijing feared the prospect of a Soviet attack (Barnds 1975:480). Any participation of the PLA in the war against India would have greatly increased the odds of Soviet attacks against China.

Once the dismemberment seemed inevitable to Chinese analysts, their main objective was preserving the independence of West Pakistan and the maintenance of the strategic entente with it in order to continue to counter India (Ibid.). Though it recognised that a truncated Pakistan would be less preferable to the previous status quo, China was well aware that the bulk of the Pakistani defence capability, hardware and manpower, was situated in the Western wing and would largely survive the defeat. With the benefit of hindsight, Subrahmanyam's analysis, though correct in identifying that Pakistan has been weakened by its 1971 defeat, was far too optimistic in predicting that this would lead to the subjection of the remainder of Pakistan to India, and the abandonment of Pakistan by Beijing.

Chinese atomic weapons assistance

India's first nuclear test in 1974 raised Pakistani apprehensions that New Delhi's possession of atomic weapons would heavily add to its relative gain over Islamabad, neutralising the deterrent value of Pakistan's conventional arms. Bhutto sought and received wide-ranging assistance from the Chinese for a Pakistani nuclear programme from the mid-1970s to counteract India's nuclear weapons development (Schofield 2014:94). Assisting Pakistan with developing a nuclear deterrent was probably intended by the Chinese government to be an important compensation for its relative strategic weakness after the loss of its Eastern wing and the dawn of Indian nuclear status, and a guarantee against a future invasion by India.[15]

Energy supplies and naval cooperation

As a precursor to its BRI, Beijing has financed the building of a major naval facility at

[15] Pakistan is not the only Chinese 'nuclear protégé.' North Korea became nuclear-capable with Beijing's support. In each case, Beijing places its primary Asian rivals – India and Japan respectively – under greater pressure.

Pakistan's Arabian Sea port city of Gwadar, which opened in 2005. The naval base helps to safeguard China's access to Middle Eastern oil. Gwadar is close to the Strait of Hormuz, from which some 60 per cent of the PRC's energy supplies are sourced (Ramachandran 2005). China is concerned that in the event of future conflict with the USA, which effectively controls both the Persian Gulf and the Malacca Strait, its energy supply lines could be choked off (Ibid.). The Chinese armed forces lack a blue water naval capability which could counteract possible US moves to inhibit oil imports into the PRC. Having a foothold in the Arabian Sea with the Gwadar port and transporting supplies by road transit through Pakistan helps defend the PRC's supply of natural resources as its domestic demand for oil and gas increases (Ibid.).

In addition to the economic benefits of the Gwadar port, there are distinct military advantages which accrue to Pakistan and China from this facility. For the former, it provides much needed strategic depth against India for the vulnerable chief Pakistani port of Karachi. The new port would "substantially diminish India's ability to blockade Pakistan", and allow the People's Liberation Army (PLA) to supply arms to Pakistan by air and sea in a conflict situation (Chaturvedy 2006). Beijing benefits from the use of a naval port in the Arabian Sea which would allow it to project its military force into an area in which the Indian navy conducts exercises (Ibid.).

Era of Sino-Indian rapprochement

Efforts towards improving relations between India and China began as the age of bipolar superpower competition came to an end (Garver 1996:323). In December 1988, Indian Prime Minister Gandhi made an official visit to Beijing, the first of any Indian leader since Nehru's meetings during the Sino-Indian entente period (Ibid.). The process of Sino-Indian rapprochement has affected, but not endangered, the Sino-Pak entente. Beijing, for the sake of better relations, has taken a more neutral stance on the Kashmir dispute. Interstate relations between the world's two most populous countries have become more cordial since the end of the Cold War, but remain at a superficial level (Ibid. 324). The PRC has outstanding territorial disputes with India and continues to officially lay claim to territory within India. Beijing is irritated that India provides a haven for Tibetan leaders to campaign in international fora for greater autonomy or independence (Roy 1998:171). These issues preclude fully normalised relations between the two states (Garver 1996:337).

Conclusion

The Sino-Pakistani entente has demonstrated a remarkable durability in the face of profound adjustments in the Asian and global political system, as well as internal upheavals in both countries, ideological changes and alterations in China's attitudes towards the outside world. It represents a superlative case in the international system of how state behaviour is principally determined not by ideology or culture, but by power considerations.

With its internal resources concentrated on countering the hostile superpowers, Beijing 'outsourced' much of the containment of India to Pakistan, to which it has provided a wide array of military, financial and political support ever since. As New Delhi and China have struggled with each other for supremacy in

Asia, and increasingly aspire to great power status, Beijing has found in its sustained entente with Pakistan a profitable means of belittling the status of India in Western perceptions, drawing the country down to Islamabad's inferior position in the global league of states.

Relations between the two adversaries of India have matured to incorporate other highly significant dimensions. Nevertheless, the stability and longevity of the Sino-Pakistani partnership is the product of a common strategic objective of countering India's aspirations to regional dominance in the Subcontinent. The lack of any significant progress on the territorial dispute, together with a belief on the part of both the Indian and Chinese ruling classes that the other is pursuing a policy of containment towards it by soliciting unfriendly states, makes it highly likely that the strategic glue that holds together the 'all-weather' partnership shall remain in place for the foreseeable future. It may also provide a specific disincentive for Beijing to play a serious role at present in mediating a peaceful resolution of the Kashmir dispute, somewhat jarring with the PRC's self-image as a great power acting in a higher moral sphere than the two South Asian antagonists.

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Guidelines for Contributors

Introduction

The *JCD&MS* seeks to accommodate the interests of individuals at all levels in the Higher Education sector. A key aim is to provide opportunities for all parties interested in Higher Education to submit and publish work in a peer-reviewed academic journal in respect of issues relating to Contemporary Development, Business and Management, Health and Social Care and Education and Skills. Individuals interested in submitting work for publication in the *JCD&MS* may do so, using a variety of forms. Categories are set out below.

The *JCD&MS* Editorial Panel seeks to expand its remit and focus beyond London Churchill College. To that end, the Principal Editor is particularly committed to providing opportunities for academic and support staff in UK private Higher Education Providers (HE) and/or those individuals engaged in collaborative arrangements, including UK Universities and other HE Awarding Bodies to produce and to publish individual and collective research results and academic papers in the Journal.

Categories for Submission

Guidelines on the categories for submission are set out to assist authors in selecting the most suitable format for their submissions. [See 'Presentation Requirements' below.]

- Academic Articles
- Research Reports
- Reviews
- Letters
- Monographs
- For Debate Articles
- Commentaries
- Editorials
- Book Reviews

Academic Articles

Academic articles are original, scholarly outputs that report findings which represent advances in the understanding of a significant problem. Academic articles can have far-reaching implications for the advancement of knowledge in a specific field.

Abstracts

Academic articles should have an abstract, separate from the main text, of up to 300 words. This is not referenced and does not contain numbers, abbreviations, acronyms or measurements unless absolutely essential. Abstracts should be understandable to readers outside the discipline.

The abstract should contain an introduction to the field; a brief account of the background and rationale of the work; a statement of the main conclusions [introduced by the phrase 'Here we show' or 'From this research…' or equivalent]; and finally, 2-3 sentences putting the main findings into general context; so that it is clear how the results described in the paper have moved the subject area forward.

Any numbers provided in the abstract must match exactly those given in the main body of the text or tables. With quantitative studies involving statistical tests, abstracts must provide p values or effect sizes with confidence intervals for key findings. The conclusion of the abstract must state the key findings of the research undertaken.

Keywords

A list of up to eight keywords should be included to identify the contents of the paper.

Structure

Academic articles should open with an introduction of around 500 words, before proceeding to a concise, focused description of the findings. Discussion and analyses of results are required.

Word count

The normal length for academic articles is 3,000-5,000 words, excluding abstracts, tables and reference lists. The word limit can be increased to 7,000-9,000 words in cases where research findings contain extensive qualitative or quantitative results.

Subheadings

The text may contain a few short subheadings. Subheadings should not be more than 40 characters in length (less than one-e line of text).

Figures and Tables

Academic Articles typically have 5 or 6 display items [figures and/or tables]. All tables and figures should be inserted into the main body of the text. The source of the information, whether it be the author's own work or the work produced by another author should be cited immediately below the table. Legends should include keys to any symbols.

Note: In the full-text online edition of the JCD&MS, figure legends may become truncated in abbreviated links to the full-screen version. Therefore, the first 100 characters of any legend should inform the reader of key aspects of the figure or table.

References

Academic articles normally contain up to 50 references. Authors should ensure that the introduction and discussion sections of academic articles cite the most recent relevant literature and not just literature from a single research group, region or country. Academic articles may include systematic reviews and one or two of the pivotal studies that have been summarised in a particular reference.

Research Reports

Research Reports are papers reporting original findings from individual studies [or groups of studies]. The study or studies may be qualitative or quantitative and may involve experimental or non-experimental designs.
Authors of research reports should aim for no more than 3500 words excluding abstracts, tables and references. Clinical trials and studies with complex methods/analyses may require greater length to ensure full reporting of all relevant aspects of methods and results. Consequently, the main text of qualitative manuscripts may be up to 4500 words in length, including tables, to facilitate the inclusion of direct quotations.

Reviews

Reviews draw together a body of literature to reach one or more major conclusions. It is expected that reviews will be 'systematic', which means they will set out very clearly the search strategy [including key words where appropriate], the selection criteria for the articles included, and the basis for integrating findings. A review may be up to 4000 words in length, excluding the reference list.

Letters

JCD&MS publishes solicited and unsolicited letters. They may express opinions about articles published in the Journal, report on a development, or comment on some issue of potential interest to readers. They will normally be refereed. Letters do not report new findings, unless they extend findings of a paper published in the JCD&MS. Letters should normally be no longer than 500 words with up to 20 references. If a letter comments upon a paper already published in the Journal, then this should be cited at the beginning of the letter. The author of the paper cited will be given the right to reply.

Monographs

JCD&MS will publish occasionally monographs of 4,000-10,000 words, excluding titles, abstracts, tables, figures and reference lists. Monographs constitute major pieces of substantive writing and in-depth analyses and syntheses that cannot be expressed within the normal word length limits. Monographs might include extensive systematic reviews of major topics or investigate critically a series of linked studies addressing a common research question. They are expected to provide robust theoretical underpinnings to support the primary thesis.

Authors who are interested in submitting such a piece are advised to contact the Principal Editor of JCD&MS in the first instance, as the Principal Editor will only accept monographs which are of substantial importance and aligned with the JCD&MS remit. Thereafter, decisions regarding publication will be based on outcomes of the peer review process [See The Review Process below.] There are no grounds for appeal where decisions have been taken by the JCD&MS Editorial Panel to reject a monograph. However, authors may elect to submit papers to the Journal written in one of the other eight formats, based upon monograph material.

Authors wishing to submit monographs for consideration should submit in the usual way, but should add a note on their cover page

explaining that they would like the submission to be treated as a monograph. [See Presentation requirements below.] Monographs should carry structured abstracts [no more than 300 words] and include headings similar to those described for Academic Articles, Research Reports or Reviews.

'For Debate' articles

'For debate' articles are opinion pieces up to around 3500 words in length. They synthesise research in a way that adds important new insights. They should be written in an international context and make one or two key points that are more in the way of opinion rather than fact. The point[s] will normally challenge existing thinking, raise an issue that has been neglected, take an issue forward that is currently being considered, or reinforce one side of a debate that is currently underway. 'For debate' articles can investigate matters of policy, treatment, assessment/diagnosis, theory or methodology and should be written in a lively and engaging style. 'For debate' articles should follow the abstract and article guidelines required for reviews.

Interested parties may submit commentaries about 'for debate' articles in subsequent issues. [See point 7 below.] If commentaries are accepted for publication, then the author of the 'For Debate' article will be given the opportunity to respond to any commentaries made.

Commentaries

A commentary should add a further perspective or point of view to a particularly important item published in the JCD&MS. Rather than being a review of the article, authors should use the findings as a stepping stone to make one or two points of wider relevance to the field. A commentary will normally be between 500-1000 words in length, with up to 20 references. When commenting upon an item published previously in the Journal, a direct reference to the title and the author should be included at the beginning of the commentary and cited in the reference list. There is no abstract, but commentaries should begin with a one or two sentence summary setting out the main points.

Editorials

Editorials appear at the start of every issue of the JCD&MS. They are significant pieces of academic writing that differ substantially from academic articles, reports or reviews. Their purpose is to stimulate debate, identify issues and push ideas forward. An editorial should make one or two key points that are more in the way of opinion rather than fact. The point[s] will normally challenge existing thinking, raise an issue that has been neglected, take a current issue forward, or reinforce one side of a current debate. Editorials should be cautiously optimistic but provocative in approach. As is the case with 'For debate' articles, the focus is most commonly placed on matters of policy, treatment, assessment/diagnosis, theory or methodology. They should be written in a lively and engaging style with the point[s] very clearly stated and take international perspectives into account. Editorials should be no more than 1500 words in length and contain no more than 20 references. There is no abstract but editorials should begin with a statement of one or two sentences setting out the key points to be made in the work.

Book Reviews

Book reviews should place the book in the context of other literature deemed to be relevant in the field, rather than summarising the content. Books selected for review should be selected on the basis of their general relevance to contemporary developments and/ or management studies. Authors should endeavour to make them a 'good read'. Authors should identify what is good and worthwhile in the book for *JCD&MS*'s varied readers. In cases where a negative appraisal of the book must be made, then the critique should be rendered in a professional manner. Book reviews should be no more than 1,000 words in length. Up to ten references may be cited.

Presentation Requirements

Front sheet[s]: applicable to all forms of submission.

Front sheet[s] should always include the title, a list of authors (including their affiliations and addresses), the word count [excluding abstract, references, tables, and figures], and a profile of the contributor of about 300 words. If applicable, declarations of competing interest and clinical trial registration details should be provided.

Presentation style.

Contributors not meeting these requirements may be asked to resubmit their work.

- Papers must be submitted in Microsoft WORD 2000 [or higher version].
- Margins (normal): 2.54 top and bottom and left and right.
- Alignment: justified.
- Title: Arial 12-point font and in bold capital letters.
- Names of Authors: 12-point font.
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- Reference list, individual entries: single spaced
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Referencing.

Appropriate in-text citations should be used, and a full reference list should appear at the end of the paper. Authors are expected to use the Harvard Referencing system [Author, date] for listing references [if any author is unsure of the reference listing style please contact *JCD&MS*]. In the reference list, contributors should include the names of the first six authors for a single work; thereafter, use the term et al. The name of the last author should also be included if this person is the senior author for the paper. Issues/parts numbers should be included. Pertinent citations to conference abstracts and/or unpublished work are welcomed, providing they support claims made in the submission. Additional information is provided in the JCD&MS Guidelines for Harvard Referencing.

Submission

Manuscripts should be submitted in a single Microsoft Word file. Files in submitted in other text versions, for example, PDF or Apple will be returned to the contributor who will need to resubmit the manuscript in the appropriate file format. Manuscripts should be emailed to journal@londonchurchillcollege.co.uk, copy to t.anderson-jaquest@londonchurchillcollege.co.uk within the time frame advertised under the 'Call for Papers'.

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Authors should refrain from making defamatory statements about specific individuals or organisations, whether or not they believe such statements are justified.

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Do not include histograms with three-dimensional blocks or shading as this can make interpretation difficult.

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Additional material of comprised of lengthy appendices [e.g. extensive reference lists or mathematical formulae/calculations], deemed to be relevant to a particular submission but not suitable or essential for the print edition of the Journal, may also be considered for publication in the on line version.

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If English is not the first language of authors, they are advised to have their manuscript edited by a native English speaker prior to submission. Wherever possible, the Principal Editor of *JCD&MS* will try to accommodate papers from authors in countries where proofreading resources in English are not available. However, if the meaning of the text provided in English is unclear, then the

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The Review Process

Review Stages

Each manuscript is screened initially by the Principal Editor. Those deemed to be inappropriate for publication *JCD&MS* will be declined without going to full review. In those cases, authors will receive an explanation as to why the manuscript has been declined.

In addition, the Principal Editor will also return manuscripts to contributors that require substantial re-writing, because the text is unclear, the material has been poorly organised, or substantial errors in written English exist that could have been remedied had the contributors proofread their own material and conducted spelling and/or grammar checks. The initial screening process may take up to three to four weeks. Contributors who are asked to re-submit work will be given extra time to do so.

Manuscripts that pass this stage are sent to two Reviewers [who may be *JCD&MS* Editorial Panel members]. Reviewers may return the manuscript un-reviewed if a serious limitation is identified; otherwise, both reviewers will provide feedback about each submission to the Principal Editor, who will communicate the recommendations made by the two reviewers to the authors. The process should take no more than two weeks but could take up to four weeks.

If authors are invited to revise and resubmit a manuscript, then they should submit the revised version by the due date set in order to meet issue publication deadlines. An extension may be granted, if requested. A decision on the revised version may be taken by the Principal Editor or she/he may consult an Editorial Panel member or put the revision through another full review process, depending on the nature and extent of the revisions that have been requested. A decision on the revised version should normally take less time than the original review process.

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- Appropriateness of the literature review, if applicable;
- Implications for practitioners, academicians and scholars;
- Quality of the discussion and interpretation of the results;
- Organisational structure;
- Coherence and clarity of text;
- Professional standard of writing (grammar, punctuation and spelling).
- Appropriate use of the Harvard referencing system.

Reviewers' Disclosure

Reviewers have the option of disclosing their identity to the authors by adding their name to the bottom of their review comments. The Editorial Panel encourages this in the interests of transparency.

Appeals

Requests for appeal will usually be considered only where the author makes a case that one or more Reviewers have clearly made a substantive mistake. Appeals will not normally be considered in cases where there is a difference of opinion about the importance of the findings nor in cases where the author believes that issues identified by the reviewers can be resolved if s/he presents a revised version.

It is important to bear in mind that the comments received by authors are primarily intended to help authors make revisions, either for publication in the *JCD&MS* or submissions elsewhere. Occasionally, the decision not to publish an article will be made on grounds of priority given the pressure on space within a particular issue of the Journal. In those cases, individuals will be informed of opportunities available to resubmit their work at a later date.

Proof-reading and Corrections

Authors are responsible for all statements made in their contributions. Therefore, it is essential that contributors ensure their work has been carefully proof-read prior to submission. All manuscripts will be proof-read by a member of the *JCD&MS* Editorial Panel, but the *JCD&MS* will not accept responsibility for any statement or textual errors appearing in the published work that the author has failed to correct prior to final submission.

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