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DISCOVERING THOUGHTS AND INVENTING FUTURE

HIGHLIGHTS

Modern African Nations

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Construction of Corruption

The Contemporary Imaginary

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HISTORY & ANTHROPOLOGY

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The Socio-Historical Construction of Corruption Examples from Police, Politics and Crime in Argentina

By Daniel Míguez

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Abstract - This paper proposes that corruption results from particular historical and social conditions. Specifically, it sustains that the stability and credibility of a society's institutional system, the perception of a shared fate by most members of society, the levels of inequality and the perception of fair opportunities for personal progress are all elements that may deter or promote corruption. In order to show the association between these social conditions and corruption we analyse socially and historically the way that state agents such as the police, members of the judiciary and the political system relate to each other and to normal citizens. Although the examples are taken from the argentine context, they constitute a tool to understand, heuristically, why corruption is prominent in many parts of the underdeveloped world.

Keywords : Corruption / police / judiciary / crime / civil society / Argentina / inequality / state.

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THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF CORRUPTION EXAMPLES FROM POLICE, POLITICS AND CRIME IN ARGENTINA

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Abstract - This paper proposes that corruption results from particular historical and social conditions. Specifically, it sustains that the stability and credibility of a society's institutional system, the perception of a shared fate by most members of society, the levels of inequality and the perception of fair opportunities for personal progress are all elements that may deter or promote corruption. In order to show the association between these social conditions and corruption we analyse socially and historically the way that state agents such as the police, members of the judiciary and the political system relate to each other and to normal citizens. Although the examples are taken from the argentine context, they constitute a tool to understand, heuristically, why corruption is prominent in many parts of the underdeveloped world.

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I. Introduction

Usually corruption is thought as a 'personal' matter: an ethical failure of a particular individual that, for his own benefit, does not act according to the law or a moral code. Our standpoint in this paper differs from this common perception of corruption. In our view, corruption results from particular historical processes and how specific human and social relations are configured in these processes. We are, of course, not referring to isolated cases were acts of corruption occur very seldom. Instead, we are interested in *systemic forms of corruption*. That is, when specific acts of corruption are part of complex systems of social relationships involving institutional agents, organizational traditions and cultural formations. In these contexts, although 'acts' of corruption are, of course, committed by specific social actors, they result from a more complex system of social and cultural forces. Specifically, current research shows that the stability and credibility of a society's institutional system, the perception of a shared fate by most members of society, the levels of inequality and the perception of fair opportunities for personal progress are all elements that either strengthen compliant behaviour or predispose people to anomic acts, championing their own personal interests over the collective good.

In order to show how the social construction of corruption occurs we will concentrate on one particular case, which is how corruption takes place in the relationships between state agents (such as the police, politicians and the judiciary), and members of criminal organizations, but also how members of civil society ('normal citizens') become involved in corrupt social relationships. During the last decades Argentina has faced enormous corruption problems, especially by state agents. The corruption perception index elaborated by Transparency International shows that in 2011 Argentina ranked among the most corrupted countries in the world (a problem common to many other Latin American, African and Eastern Europe countries).[1] This perception is congruent with what has been find by several researches, that state that corruption has become one of the central problems in Latin America in general and Argentina in particular (Manzetti and Blake, 1996; Kurt, 1998).

In this paper we will try to show that these levels of corruption derive from historical and social circumstances. Although we will concentrate in the Argentine case, our aim is to use this as an example to reflect on the historical and cultural processes that usually underlie systemic forms of corruption. Hence, initially we will show how corruption is coproduced by several types of institutional and civil agents and how this responds to specific social conditions. Then we will explore the historical circumstances that derived in the institutional and civil cultures that are associated with the emergence of systemic forms of corruption. Finally, we will draw some conclusions on the historical and social conditions that foster systemic corruption.

II. The Coproduction of Corruption in Argentina

Waldmann (2003) has shown that, historically, the rule of law in Argentina has been conditioned by the capacity of the state to act according to the law and to generate the conditions that would make the argentine population interact according to basic legal principles. In this line, Nino (1995) has spoken of the anomic

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[1] See: http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2011/results/

character of Argentine society and O'Donnel (2002) of the '(un)rule of law' in Argentina. From different standpoints, these authors reveal the complex causes that explain the particular ways in which norms intervene in the interactions between the state, its agents and the argentine population. Hence, Waldmann (2003) has shown how the Argentine state has historically had a tendency to legislate beyond its means of control. This gives to encoded laws an ambiguous status, since they exist as formal principles but cannot always be enforced as actual ruling norms. This ambiguous character of the law creates a propitious context for 'corruption' to flourish. Since the law is applied contingently, state agents may select when and how to enforce it. Hence, corruption finds a fertile soil, since it results from the suspension of enforcement. This may be easily dissimulated, since it not only happens because of the discretionary capacity of state agents, but also from the mere incapacity they sometimes have to impose the law.

Moreover, the ambiguous status of the law has also propitiated a more active role of the argentine state in the violation of the law. As O'Donnel (1984) has shown, the anomic character of argentine society is related to the recurrent emergence of dictatorships. Where the state not only has been involved in an illegal and brutal repression for political ends, but also in common crimes (we will come back to this later). Thus, O'Donnel's observations reveal that the creation of corruption is not the mere production of the state. Although state agents play the 'leading' role, the multiple ways in which corruption is created in Argentina show that it also arises from a predisposition of members of civil society to take advantage of the possibilities provided by such corrupt practices. In this sense, Nino's contributions should be carefully regarded. He shows how the fact that the instrumentation of norms is conditional in Argentina promotes a particular type of 'civil' conduct. In it, the search for occasional personal benefits prevails over more long term and rewarding collaborative social ties. Hence, corruption develops from the ways in which state agents choose to enforce (or not to enforce) the rule of law, and the predisposition of different actors within civil society to take advantage of the possibilities this opens for them.

The conditions generated by these state of affairs has made corruption rather ubiquitous. As Sain (2008) has shown, when looked at from the top of the institutional ladder corruption appears as produced by structured institutional schemes. Through them state agents control substantial parts of certain illegal markets and generate a more or less constant flux of resources that partly contribute to finance security organizations such as the police and the political system. However, when looked at from the micro social perspective, one sees the proliferation of multiple types of arrangements

between state agents and actors with different types and degrees of involvement in organized and semi-organized criminal networks. Hence, partly, corruption comes from powerful institutional actors that in several ways and to several extents control the rule of law. But this has become so naturalized for particular state agents (as the police, judges, etc.), and those who are in conflict with the penal law, that micro forms of corruption are part of the ongoing way in which the argentine state regulates crime. A few examples will allow us to show some of the more habitual forms taken by these types of arrangements.

a) Police, Politicians, Criminals and the Judiciary

Between 1998 and 2003 I conducted ethnographic research, interviewing and interacting with young men in conflict with the penal law. During those years I interviewed some 71 young persons between 15 and 25 years of age, along with another 7 elder persons over 30 years of age holding extended criminal records. In those interviews the police and judicial agents recurrently appeared as an irreconcilable enemy, but in spite of this the delinquents' narratives were full of anecdotes were several types of negotiations with politicians, the police and members of the judicial power were described as common practice. Hence, although many times the delinquents' tales described politicians, the police or the judges as despicable, they also frequently mentioned for example, how the illegal weapons market was to an important extent in the hands of members of state agencies, and how they often had 'rented'[2] weapons from police officers or members of the armed forces. Also, many young criminals explained how, if they were caught, it was possible to negotiate their freedom with the police or the judiciary in exchange for a part of what they had obtained in their robberies. Or, even more, once they had been caught several times and had previous criminal records they also told how they were extorted by the police who asked for a sort of ransom in exchange for not accusing them of crimes they in fact had not committed (Isla & Valdez Morales, 2003). Thus, although the police and the judiciary were in principle described as an alien power, the narratives showed that there was a constant co-production of crime.

In one of the interviews, Gardelito, a criminal with 35 years of age and an extended criminal record, described very eloquently the more habitual and systematic form in which this type of arrangement functioned.

We worked (sic) for this guy, who then became the president of the chamber of deputies. We were not really into politics, but we would go to political rallies as

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[2] It was frequent for the more professional criminals not to carry weapons of their own to crime sites, but to 'borrow' arms to commit a certain crime and then return them to the initial owner for a 10% of what was obtained in the robbery.

a sort of 'security force' (sic) in case members of other parties would go there to make trouble. We did the same when militants of the party would go out to paint the walls [graffitis], in case guys of other political fractions would come to harass them. So, before the rallies this guy would come with a bag full of arms we could use during the campaign, and then we could keep those guns. […] So in exchange for this sort of help we gave them, we got the guns and they would also arrange with the police and free some zones, so we could work [rob] without interference from the police. We worked as road pirates[3], so he would tell us: "tomorrow from this to that hour you can work on this road that the police won't be there."

This narrative exposes a classical example of how state agents and criminals participate in the co-production of corruption. In this case, the connivance between politicians, the police and criminals arises from territorialized social ties.

Although the story does not make it explicit, we know from further interviews that the initial contacts between politicians and these members of criminal networks develops out of the connections established by the territorial antennas of the political parties and the collusion with the police that becomes possible through these contacts. Hence, in this case we find that corruption results from a particular constellation of actors in a particular territory. However, the effects produced by this sort of arrangements are not circumscribed to the immediate territory where these ties were initially constituted. As the alliances became more extended involving more powerful state agents the influence of these networks transcended the immediate territory producing their effects well beyond the initial spatial frontiers.

The story told by Gardelito describes, in a sort of emblematic way, how different forms of exchange and reciprocity affect the relationships between the police, the politicians and the judiciary. However, his tale is far from been an isolated or unique case. For example, in his research on the political organizations in poor Argentine slums, Auyero (2001:95) has also found that young people in conflict with penal law are taken to political rallies to act as 'security forces' and that drugs and a certain 'protection' is given to them in exchange for that participation. In a similar vein, Garriga (2005) in his research on violence among football fans found that politicians are many times involved in football clubs and hold important relations of 'reciprocity' with hooligans and the police. For example, these three parties many times negotiate and allow hooligans to illegally charge for parking spaces next to football stadiums during the most important matches. The earnings from this activity are then shared mainly between the hooligans themselves and the involved policemen.

This example reveals a further dimension of corruption. Although corruption results from the collusion between state agents and criminal networks, their effects reach the common citizen. As the previous case illustrates, those who go to football stadiums must pay a quite substantial amount of money in order to park their cars and also to avoid any damage to their properties or their persons if they refuse to pay. In fact, it is an extortive mechanism where resources are extracted from the common citizen by an illegal arrangement between the forces of order and the forces of crime. In this case, the 'victims' of this criminal activity are circumstantial and could easily avoid the problem by not concurring to the stadium. However, in other cases the possibility of common citizens to subtract themselves from these extortive pressures is less simple.

In a research done by Puex (2003) in a slum of the surroundings of Buenos Aires she found that although there was an informal 'prohibition' for delinquents leaving in the neighbourhood to rob other neighbours, in fact robberies were frequent. The inhabitants of the slum were cautious not to leave their homes alone in order to prevent robberies. However, it was common for neighbours to come back from work and find that especially consumer durables like TV sets, microwaves and other domestic goods had been stolen from their homes. Many times these elements were then offered by the thieves to the prior owners at a relative low price. And it was also frequent for those who had suffered the robberies to re-buy the goods from those who had stolen them. This happened because it was cheaper to by them from the thieves that to acquire them in the formal market. In addition, even if in these transactions the victims got to know the identities of those who had robbed them, they were reluctant to denounce them because they knew that the robbers had 'arrangements' with police officers. So, in case the robbed neighbour would denounce the incident in the police station he would be asked for the receipt of the stolen goods (which they generally did not have). And, in case they could not produce them, they would be the ones under suspicion of having stolen goods in the first place.

Hence, denouncing being a victim of crime could backfire turning the victims into accused or suspected for that same crime. Through this mechanism the police precluded the possibility of neighbours to even denounce delinquent activity and with it the responsibility of having to intervene in such affairs. This left the weaker neighbours to their own fate in the hands of the local criminal networks.

The exposed examples suggest at least two things. On the one hand, that corruption does not only affect those state agents and members of criminal

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[3] 'Road Pirates' are criminals specialized in robbing trucks on the road, mostly with consumer durables.

networks that partake in spurious arrangements. It also has an effect on the common citizen. In addition, it also shows that the powerless and marginalized members of society are probably the more exposed to suffer the consequences of systemic forms of corruption. Moreover, the previous cases show that while state agents are probably the ones who obtain the greater benefits from systemic corruption, this type of arrangements also result from the fact that, as Block (1974) demonstrated for the Sicilian Mafia, certain members of civil society obtain benefits by exploiting other members of civil society. That is, those who are predisposed to exert force on other members of their own social group can sell this 'good' (violence) to 'corrupt' or 'distant'[4] state agents, sharing thus the benefits obtained by this extortive kind of arrangement.

Another element that is illustrated by these examples is that corruption is not an isolated phenomenon that occurs exceptionally or only in certain particular moments or occasions. On the contrary, the type of relationships that produce corruption are a naturalized and recurrent form in which illegal activity is regulated by agents of the Argentine state. And, we should also mention that it is not new. As already suggested, the collusion between politics, police and crime may be traced back almost to the origin of the Argentine state. However, what does seem to have developed more in the latest decades is a sort of contingent, short lived and micro social form of corruption.

As I interviewed members of different generations of delinquents, it became apparent that in all age ranges 'exchange' with members of the 'forces of order' was a common practice. But in the younger generation these exchanges were not always part of stable and extended systems of social relationships, as in the case presented by Gardelito or the type of arrangement Garriga describes in relation to hooliganism. What we found in our research in relation to the younger generations is that, in many occasions, the protection offered by state agents was very circumstantial and a matter of 'opportunity'. For example, the younger delinquents many times described how they could buy their 'freedom' from a street police officer just by handing in the purse or the necklace they had just stolen. This kind of arrangement made social bonds more labile. Hence, if always the forms of collaboration between the 'forces of order' and the 'forces of crime' is unstable and may turn into confrontation very easily, what seems to characterize these ties in the case of the later generation is at the same time a: (i) more naturalized practice of this type of

bond, which (ii) takes place at all the levels of criminal and state organizations (it is not only a systematic arrangement between the 'heads' of the state organizations and 'stable' criminal gangs) and is (iii) more labile, easily turning from collaboration into confrontation — according to Bazzano and Pol (2009) the number of casualties in confrontations between the police and members of civil society has grown steadily since 1996.

What seems to characterize the more recent evolution of the production of corruption in Argentina is a sort of 'democratization' of this practice. That is, it is not only a practice that happens between organized criminal gangs and high ranked members of the controlling state agencies. Although this type of exchange certainly occurs at the top of the ladder, it has become naturalized to the extent that it occurs in a continuum that spans from stable forms of organized crime towards semi-organized and even what could be termed disorganized crime (delinquency that occurs spontaneously, with no previous plan or the intervention of a structured group). Following recent production on the conditions of civic morality and corruption, our premise is that this production of corruption does not happen spontaneously or only because of the particular 'perversion' of a specific set of social actors. *When this type of social practice becomes extended and naturalized is because certain social conditions make them a 'possible' or even desirable course of action for certain social agents.*

b) Conditions and Consequences of corruption

According to our view, the type of social ties that favour corruption are shaped by particular institutional structures, the ways in which public and private actors relate to each other, the opportunities that arise in illegal markets and particular institutional trajectories. Furthermore, complementary studies show that uncivil conduct is also related to sustained economic inequality and lack of fare opportunities for personal progress, that hinder the sentiments of sharing a common fate by most sectors of society (Rothstein and Uslaner, 2005). Also, the quality of political institutions and the levels of trust they inspire in the civil population are important predictors of the levels of 'civic morality'—the predisposition to comply with social norms— (Letki, 2006). Hence, corruption is the result of particular structural and institutional conditions that promote certain forms of (a)moral conduct among the general population.

According to these basic set of premises, the structural and institutional conditions found in Argentina are conducive to the type of social conduct that would produce corruption. For example, equality and the perception of fare opportunities for personal progress promote the perception of a shared fate and the predisposition to act according to social norms instead

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[4] Blok's argument is that the Sicilian Mafia was born from the predisposition of certain groups of peasants to act as a control force for the feudal lords in the more remote lands, were the 'centralized state' had difficulties to exert its rule on the peasantry.

of personal interests. Notably, several data show that objectively and subjectively these conditions have not been met in recent Argentine history. Estimations show that since the mid 1970s argentine society became increasingly unequal (Smith, 1991; Robinson, 1999; Villalón, 2006). According to Guadagni et al., (2002:27), between 1975 and 2000, the Gini index escalated from 0.39 to 0.54 showing a growing unequal society. Concurrently with this state of affairs, Argentineans do not perceive equal opportunities for everyone in the country. The Latinobarometer[5] survey estimates for the year 2000 show that after two decades of economic decline and increases in poverty rates, only 14.3 per cent of the population thought that everyone in the country had equal opportunities for personal progress.

Another element that has been mentioned as a condition for civil conduct is trust in political organizations. According to several studies, the quality of public order and the performance of public officials and office holders may induce a moral conduct among citizens. Hence, the lack of trustworthiness and efficiency in institutional agents debases the required foundations for civil conduct (Letki, 2006). Again, the data presented by Latinobarometer shows that the conditions found in Argentina are inconsistent with those required to promote conducts congruent with social norms. Most Argentineans don't find political organizations as trustworthy, for example 66.6 per cent of the population manifested that they have no or scarce trust in the police; 64.3 per cent gave the same answer with regards to the parliament and 78.9 per cent showed these same levels of distrust in relation to political parties. The justice system did not score better, 68 per cent of respondents showed either no trust at all or low level of trust in the judiciary, and the same happened with the military (58.3 per cent). Hence, these estimates make clear that if civil conduct is inspired by trustable political institutions, the perceptions that predominate among the argentine public don't favour rule oriented behaviour.

However, in order to explain how these conditions may induce public agents to engage in relations of reciprocity with the criminal underworld we need to develop our argument somewhat further. As the argument stands now, what these data would explain is not so much the conduct of institutional agents, but instead how the conduct of these types of agents would impact on members of civil society. Thus, the deviant conduct of public officials would undermine trust in political organizations and thus would induce the population to act following their own personal interests before the collective good or a rule governed conduct. Now, the issue here is that corruption is not generated solely by the actions of 'private actors', but instead mainly by public agents that induce or accept unruly

conduct by members of civil society. The question is then what are the circumstances that explain the illegal behaviour of the members of civil institutions. Our argument is that, in part, these conducts are explained by the traditions that predominate in the institutional settings to which these actors belong and that explain the perceptions the general public have of them. But, in turn, the logics of collective action that are revealed by the aforementioned theories of how moral conduct comes to be also play a part in this game.

c) Institutional Traditions and Collective Action

The involvement of state agents, like politicians, policemen or the judiciary in crime or in negotiations with the delinquent underworld could probably be traced back to the origins of those institutions. Although there is no space here for a complete historical account of the trajectories of institutions such as the police or the judiciary, available material shows that the collusion between the forces of order and the forces of crime is hardly novel in argentine history. Barreneche's (2007a) account of the efforts overtaken in the 1930s to 'professionalize' the police show how one of the central problems was exactly the long standing collusion between local politicians and the head of local police stations ('comisarios'). Since originally local police chief officers were appointed with the consent of local political powers, there was a strong connivance between the two forces. The police would benefit from the predisposition of politicians to support promotions and nominations for future staff, while politicians could count with the police to prosecute opponents and in the organization of the electoral frauds which were frequent in several moments during argentine history.

In the 1930s an ambiguous effort was made to transform the police into a more centralized and organic professional force. For example, new institutional controls were deployed to try to eradicate traditional focuses of police corruption: the 'administration' of gambling, prostitution and the nomination of new agents which many times implied hiring unqualified personnel who actually did not work within the police force. The efforts failed, basically, because of the contradictory interests within the Conservative Party itself –that remained in power until 1943 thanks to the *coup d' Eta* of the 1930s and subsequent electoral frauds. Hence, at the same time that from the central powers of the state officials who belonged to the Conservative Party tried to promote these reforms, the local leaders of that same party successfully opposed them essentially because of the limited capacity of the central powers to control distant locations (Barreneche, 2010: 36-41). Furthermore, the traditional practice of using the police to prosecute political opponents was deepened, since the police was explicitly given the task of prosecuting members of the Communist Party by the governor of the state of Buenos Aires (Barreneche, 2010: 40) and was

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also systematically deployed by the political powers in electoral frauds (Béjar, 2004). Hence, even in this brief account it becomes evident that the conditions that accompanied the development of the police force, at least in the province of Buenos Aires, favoured an institutional tradition that naturalized the joint administration of crime by the police and elements of the political system in order to obtain personal and corporate benefits.

During Peron's government (1945-1955) there were renewed and more successful efforts to reign in the police under a centralized command and to subtract it from the influence of local political leaders that belonged mainly to the Conservative and Radical Parties. Hence, the effort was not only directed to modernize the police forces and also give them a social role, but also to undermine the power of political opponents. Partly, the reforms promoted by peronism resulted in a more centralized and professional force, but under a military model that did not favour a conception of the police as civil servants. Instead, this institutional model fortified the disciplinary, hierarchical and authoritarian traditions that had accrued in the police forces since their creation (Barreneche, 2007b:246).

There is no space here to even try a systematic approach to these institutional histories, but research on the later phases of this process show that the last dictatorial period (1976-1983) represented an important inflexion point in the way that the police and the military regulated the world of crime. A well established fact in this respect is that during those years the 'military' model became also predominant among the police forces (Kalamanowiecki, 2000; Kaminsky, 2005:47-49). Therefore, the police begun to perceive themselves not as providers of a public service and thus allies of the civil community, but more as 'guards' of a political order they had to 'impose' on that community. Members of civil society were thus perceived as potential enemies of that order, and not as the citizens entitled to receive protection and collaboration from 'civil servants' such as policemen or members of the judiciary.

In addition to this, during the dictatorship the armed forces (police and military) won complete independence from civilian control. They became autonomous organizations that wielded an almost complete discretional power over the rest of society. It is well known that this situation conduced to a rampant violation of human rights that, especially in the case of the police, continued even after the return of democracy in 1983. But the traditions of illegality accrued in the armed forces during the dictatorship surpassed the 'mere' violation of human rights. In addition to political murder and brutal repression, the armed and security forces, frequently joined by groups of civilians acted, at times, directly as common criminal gangs. Taking advantage of the impunity given by their almost absolute

discretionary power, they turned the military repressive machinery into a criminal organization and were involved in kidnappings for ransom, theft and other common crimes that had economic instead of political purposes (Dutil & Ragendorfer, 1997; Olivera and Tiscornia, 1997; Pereira and Ungar, 2004; Isla, 2010)

In the post dictatorial context (after 1983) the military structures were progressively reformed and subdued to the civil powers to the point that their capacity and traditions of confrontation against the democratic order increasingly waned.[6] Contrastingly, although there were several attempts to introduce reforms in the institutional structures and cultures, the police forces never suffered such radical transformations (Camou and Moreno, 2005:144-145; Brinks, 2003; Kent. 2008). In part this resulted from the fact that the illegal conduct was so ingrained in the institutional culture of the police that any attempt of reform faced enormous challenges (Smulovitz, 2003). But an additional fact was that these same traditions involved the collusion between political parties, the police and the criminal underworld. As shown, the transactions between these three kinds of actors could be traced back to the 1930s when the Conservative Party used elements of the police and the criminal underworld to control electoral polls (Pignatelli, 2005; Cecchi, 2010). Moreover, even the peronist armed left-wing groups of the 1970s had fluent contacts with members of some of the more recognized criminal gangs (Isla, 2007).

Thus, although with democracy the civil powers regained certain levels of control over the police, these controls did not result in a systematic persecution of the illegal practices committed by the security forces. Instead, this capacity to control was many times used by political officials and even members of the judicial power to partake in the resources that circulated in the illegal markets administrated by members of the forces of order. Hence, as several authors (Fuentes, 2005; Sain, 2008; Dewey, 2011) have clearly shown, the impetus of institutional reform of the police forces has many times been limited by the interests that are ingrained in the complex articulations between criminal, police and political networks that promote those same reforms.

III. Conclusion

When we ask ourselves how and why corruption expanded in Argentina, we need to look at the fact that the traditions ingrained in public organizations aimed at controlling the criminal world were never congruent with

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[6] Between 1983 and 1991 there were several –failed-- attempts of the military forces to overthrow the democratic government. Although with ambiguities and drawbacks the successive democratic governments introduced important institutional reforms that neutralized the capacity of the military to intervene in civil society.

the promotion of civic morality. The institutional cultures developed in the police, the political system and the judiciary were forged in processes were those institutions were instrumented according to particular corporate or even personal interests. Compliance with the encoded law was subordinate to those same interests. Hence, the official agents of these organizations have hardly ever understood themselves as members of a national community with a shared destiny (a paramount condition for civic morality). Instead, they think of themselves as part of restricted networks with particular interests to defend. As Tilly (2004) has shown, when the general state is not seen as a trustworthy structure, this type of network tends to preserve their interests over any alien intrusion.

Hence, a possible answer to the question of why even state officials act disregarding public morality is that they, more than anyone else, experience the fact that 'public' organizations act responding to particular interests. They thus 'know' that formal social norms hardly rule concrete social interactions and relationships. Therefore, if as Harding (1993) has postulated, moral conduct results from the fact that social actors comply with normative behaviour as long as they 'experience' that other members of their group share the same values and dispositions, in the argentine case, public officials perceive this is not so. For, they directly observe how even for those who are supposed to be the most compliant—themselves—, conduct is governed by corporate interests.

Considering this, a possible explanation of why and how corruption became naturalized in argentine society is that the traditions and institutional cultures that predominate in public organizations have historically championed fractional or personal interests over normative goals. In these kinds of contexts, all types of social actors, including state officials, tend to act protecting the interests of the networks or systems of interpersonal alliances to which they belong. Since for collective norms to function it is necessary that all involved parties respond to those norms, and historical and collective experience shows to those same actors that other parties are not trustable in this respect. In addition, another factor is that, particularly since the mid 1970s, argentine society became increasingly unequal. The lack of opportunities for social progress, especially for the less well off sectors, contributes to shatter the perception of a shared fate buy most members of society. And this, in turn, bolsters the tendency to champion personal or corporate interests over the collective good and the social norm. In sum, poor quality of public organizations and growing economic inequality are two paramount factors in explaining the high levels of corruption in Argentine society.

Notably, Argentina does not stand alone. Many underdeveloped nations experience high levels of corruption. Usually, these societies are stigmatized because of this, attributing the levels of corruption to the 'moral fault' of its functionaries and lack of appreciation for the law by the standard citizen. What we have tried to show by exploring the argentine case is that things are not that simple. Moral conduct is not solely an individualistic decision. For most individuals, the possibility of behaving morally or immorally is the result of the system of social relationships in which they participate. And these systems result from complex historical processes and socio-structural conditions. They are not an individual decision.

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The Potential Role of Religion in the Public Sphere. Considerations by Means of the Contemporary Imaginary

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Introduction - While telling "the history of the next two centuries" (namely the advent of nihilism), Nietzsche's intention was also to warn us about the consequences of the death of God: "What were we doing when we unchained this earth from its sun? Whither is it moving now? Whither are we moving? Away from all suns? Are we not plunging continually? And backward, sideward, forward, in all directions? Is there still any up or down? Are we not straying as through an infinite nothing? Do we not feel the breath of empty space? Has it not become colder? Is not night continually closing in on us?"

(Nietszsche 1974: 182). Nietzsche's hypothesis does not appear extraneous to the present reality, especially when we consider the perils to which we are exposed by a nihilist culture exalted by the new power which technical systems have progressively rendered available to individuals. Indeed, there could be no room at all for human beings in a world that purports to work without posing the question of meaning.

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The Potential Role of Religion in the Public Sphere. Considerations by Means of the Contemporary Imaginary

Mauro Magatti [α] & Monica Martinelli [σ]

I. Introduction

While telling "the history of the next two centuries" (namely the advent of nihilism), Nietzsche's intention was also to warn us about the consequences of the death of God: "*What were we doing when we unchained this earth from its sun? Whither is it moving now? Whither are we moving? Away from all suns? Are we not plunging continually? And backward, sideward, forward, in all directions? Is there still any up or down? Are we not straying as through an infinite nothing? Do we not feel the breath of empty space? Has it not become colder? Is not night continually closing in on us?*" (Nietszsche 1974: 182).

Nietzsche's hypothesis does not appear extraneous to the present reality, especially when we consider the perils to which we are exposed by a nihilist culture exalted by the new power which technical systems have progressively rendered available to individuals. Indeed, there could be no room at all for human beings in a world that purports to work without posing the question of meaning.

In fact, the request for orientation is topical especially now, within advanced Western societies that have built a strong technical and nihilistic imaginary able to define the background of social relationships and to influence the actions of individuals and groups. This imaginary suffers from the idea of freedom that we have built and the weakening of the link between truth and freedom.

The modern and contemporary man, as we know, is no longer satisfied with a kind of truth offered to him (and taken for granted) since he considers it as something that crushes freedom.

It is also within this framework that we are dealing with the "Dialectic of secularisation" (Habermas, Ratzinger 2005): on the one hand, right in the name of the disengagement of freedom from truth, it was expected that religion - with its truth, moral authority, institutional forms, values and meanings – would gradually become irrelevant. On the other hand, however, the expectation that religion, with its questions of meaning, disappeared has not yet become true.

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In this contribution, we will try to outline, within the contemporary socio-cultural framework, the role that religion might play. What we will outline are reflections and considerations emerged from some studies and field research conducted in recent years within the ARC Centre (*Centre for Anthropology of Religion and Cultural Change*) of the Catholic University of Milan, such as two large research projects carried out between 2005 and 2010 and centered on the "new blue collar classes"[1] and the geographical and social outskirts of some Italian cities[2]. In addition to this research work, at the moment, we are carrying out a large-scale project in collaboration with the Institute "L. Sturzo" in Rome on the "*Italian Social Generativity*"[3].

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[1] The research project, carried out by a group of researchers at the Catholic University of Milan, arose from the need to understand the conditions of a wide segment of the Italian population, facing a growing and problematic vulnerability. It employed both quantitative and qualitative methods. The former assumed the form of a wide survey (sample size=1800); the latter of an ethnographic analysis carried out in four Italian cities. The population under investigation was composed by Italian people aged 20 to 50, with a level of education up to the primary school certification. For any further details, see Magatti & Debenedittis (2006).

[2] This research project was carried out by a group of researchers of the Catholic University of Milan and supported by *Caritas* (one of the largest charity organisations in Italy which is affiliated to the Catholic Church). It focused on the urban outskirts of the ten largest Italian cities. The project originated from the assumption that urban contexts were becoming the catalyst of the more problematic consequences linked to the ongoing global transformations. In particular, the key point of the question was the strengthening in the fragmentation of both the life-space frame and the social ties. Methodologically, the research employed repeated ethnographic investigations in each outskirt area, over a two-year span. A variety of instruments were used, such as in-depth interviews, informal conversations, "on-the-road" interviews (to gain a description of the area and comprehend the tie between space and experience), the gathering of statistical and documentary materials, focus groups, and geographical explorations. For any further methodological details, see Magatti (edited by) 2007 and Cappelletti-Martinelli 2010.

[3] The Catholic University and the Istituto Sturzo started a National research project around the notion of "Italian Generativity", aimed at identifying, studying and interconnecting "generative" social structures, cultures, and economies. A digital Archive of Italian Generativity (www.generativita.it) was launched in 2010 as a platform to host the project. First and foremost, the Archive provides a growing corpus of narratives regarding contemporary Italian generative experiences (connected with a positive Italian tradition, promoting shared value, ideas, and practices), which represent new solutions for the structural issues currently vexing the country. The Archive represents a social platform, fostering knowledge and good practices

The latter are not research projects explicitly dedicated to the theme of religion, but to broader social and cultural transformations. However, they are not inadequate to offer some ideas regarding our topic. We will not enter into the details of these projects. First we would like to describe the main aspects of the contemporary socio-cultural pattern. And then we will focus on the role and potentiality of religion (which, in our opinion, is such) in this context.

II. TECHNIQUE, NIHILISM, CAPITALISM: INGREDIENTS OF THE CONTEMPORARY IMAGINARY

a) Rise and expansion of techno-nihilist capitalism

To outline the features of the contemporary imaginary that, as we was mentioning before, is based on a certain conception of freedom, we have necessarily to briefly refer to the socio-economic model developed in Western societies in recent decades – model that we can define as "techno-nihilist capitalism".

The latter was preceded by another form of capitalism, namely the corporate capitalism that evolved soon after World War II – which was based on some key pillars: democracy, Keynesian economic regulation, Fordist-welfarist compromise, widespread access to education. Such model has led to valuable achievements in terms of social security at the expense of the massive presence of institutions within the social and individual life.

Such excess caused a sort of crisis at the subjective level and - in the late '60s in the U.S. and in many Western European countries - the significant emergence of the demand for greater expressiveness on the part of individuals, who begun to reject any kind of authority and social hierarchy in the name of the centrality of the Self, autonomy of choice, and moral freedom.

At the same time, in addition to the crisis emerged at the subjective level, also from the structural viewpoint - after decades of uninterrupted growth - in the early '70s the economic insecurity began to take place and outline that policy responses were actually less and less convincing. The result was the expression of serious doubts about the legitimacy of institutions in general and the simultaneous reorganisation of socio-cultural, political and economic patterns.

Between these two kinds of crisis – one at the systemic level and the other at the individual level - an original outcome was created: the demand for individual freedom of subjects intertwined - beyond a predetermined pattern - with the demand for autonomy of the economic world that wished to detach itself from the state and institutions in order to operate without any restriction. The transition was accelerated in the '80s when the market liberalisation was strengthened and the socio-economic model, rival to the market model (namely the model that had spread in Eastern Europe) was crumbling. In this context, the birth of a new global market seemed to occur and the term "globalisation" was useful to name this project.

In this respect, the rise of the neo-liberism constitutes the most important factor in the reorganisation of contemporary capitalism, marked by the beginning of a new phase of capitalist accumulation. This phase is characterised by the expansion pursued at various levels: economic growth, expansion of the individual Self, expansion of communications and technical codes. In order to facilitate this expansion, immateriality has substituted production, flexibilisation has broken the rigidity of previous institutional configurations, the state intervention has considerably shrunk both the instances of the global economic dynamism and the individual libertarianism.

The institutional model grounded into the neo-liberist market logic finds a powerful ally in the paradigm of *technique* whose development is charaterised by steep growth: technique, similarly to the neoliberal economic model, only offers the binaries in which the great variety of individual actions can take place, after having enormously empowered individual action and broadened the range of pursuable purposes. Finally, the contribution offered by a particular *Weltanschauung* founded on *nihilism* constitutes the "spiritual" and cultural substrate, remarkably pertinent to the end of manipulating any meaning and preventing freedom from being an expansive movement that, in order to fully manifest itself, requires the endless growth of available opportunities. This sustrates contributes to make capitalism compatible with any culture, being it national or local, modern or archaic, given that it continuously questions consolidated meanings and minimises the risk of questioning, being raised around the nature of those purposes and their validity.

Therefore, in the social configurations arising at the end of the XX century, the *capitalistic dimension* has structured a power system based on mobility and movement (of money, goods, information, cultures, people, etc.); the *technical dimension* has enabled an efficient management of these flows, and supplied abstract codes for exchanges which could transcend cultural, ethnical, linguistic and religious differences; the *nihilist vision* has rendered meanings malleable and reversible. Hence, "techno-nihilist capitalism" has imposed itself as the new organisational (and legitimating) paradigm of social life[4] . But also as the

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and acting as an incubator of relations, networks and synergies. As such, it promotes reflective processes and social innovation. The project is currently in progress. The Internet platform is already hosting about 70 experiences, collected during the fieldwork, in various locations in Italy, in different areas (enterprises, third sector associations, public institutions, cultural institutions, etc.).

[4] For the reconstruction of socio-cultural transformations in recent decades, please refer to M. Magatti 2009.

imaginary supporting the structuring logics of social relationships and the justifications which contribute to the creation of the social world in which individuals act.

The logics driving this imaginary have consecrated the new centrality on individuals, considered as totally free to choose their own meanings, relations, and even culture. These logics are strengthened by the emphasis currently put on the aesthetical dimension[5] : aesthetic space which opts for the disengagement from any territorial binding and culture on a plurality of levels, with heterogeneous symbolic references and contents which penetrate in any social world, no longer bothering to ground meanings in a place, group or institution.

Based on the aesthetic space which is deterritorialised and meditised, the techno-nihilist imaginary prefers symbolic languages which are not too demanding, so that they are not bound to specific groups/places. Evaluation criteria no longer refer to the adhesion to a consolidated and institutionalised system of beliefs and values, or to the legitimisation of the authority system. Instead, what has become predominant is the "involvement" and the sensation of "being awestruck": in this framework, the question of meaning has therefore been subordinated to the experience level, intended as what is arbitrarily made to exist by the individual. As a consequence of this process, there is what has been defined as the "emotional consummation of secularisation" (Hervieu-Léger, 1996).

In this respect, it is crucial here the role of technical systems in their continuous development, in their ever-changing: in fact, the new opportunities that continue to grow in front of us are those that redefine the meanings of our experiences and goals of our actions, as well as our freedom.

The predominance of the signifier over the meaning has strengthened the disengagement of functions and meanings (key aspects of the imaginary of techno-nihilistic capitalism): this disengament stems from the fracture between the notion of reason as the faculty which recomposes meanings (the *logos/legein*), by ordering knowledge and experiences, and that of reason as mere technical instrumentality (the *teukein*). Technical-oriented reason seems to be the only admitted one since only what enables the solution of a problem or making things work and the fulfilment of an individual purpose is considered meaningful. This kind of rationality causes a great deal of fragmentation, since the re-composing of meanings is delegated to the level

of subjectivity. On the latter, the individual alleges to self-supply reference points irrespective of any tie and maybe chaotically mixing elements taken from the "supermarket of ideas" made available by the deterritorialised aesthetic space.

In addition, the new capitalism combines the growth based on the activation of technical resources with the affective-emotional sphere: in fact, it works on *desire* that, let's say, consumption should satisfy. In this way, desire is however reduced to a need. Need indicates that something is immediately lacking and has to be satisfied, while desire refers to something greater, to the broadest horizon and, therefore, goes beyond immediacy. The contemporary system has used the desire as energy to run the engine of its machine.

This means that there is an increasingly amount of life aspects likely to enter into the enhancement of the economic system, whose expansion is supported by the consumer response that, to this end, needs to be constantly over-stimulated by means of the production of "experiential events". Significantly, the term of "economy of experience" is employed here (Pine B.J., Gilmore J.H., 2000).

Within this model, the energetic metaphor has been used also for human beings: the internal energy of the system is represented by the *will to power* of subjects, namely the desire to affirm their existence. This is a kind of energy that men own, but it might be deftly diverted to endless satisfaction and enjoyment, hence it has to be adequately activated. This is supported by philosophical ambitions focusing on the independence from any obligation, the freedom from all inflexibility, the pursuit of the self-fulfilment "sacred duty".

This is the idea behind the development model of the last decades whose economic dynamism is undeniable. Instead of investing in long-term growth, the recipe has prefigured the endless expansion of the range of consumers, even to the detriment of personal and collective dept. This large acceleration was made possible by the combination of some key ingredients, such as the creation of ever new technical infrastructure, the reform of international trade, changes in communication systems and the transformation of the international financial system whose weight is increased as noone could ever expect.

b) *Fragmentaton and implosion of techno-nihilist capitalism*

The alliance between the new capitalism, nihilism and technique creates patterns involving both collective and individual social life. One of them is the *fragmentation* that occurs at multiple levels.

There is the *fragmentation of solidarity*: the individual's exaltation (and his "truth", namely his opinions) leads to the weakening of social bonds and social solidarity. The solutions proposed by the

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[5] The notion of "aesthetic space" comes from the scholars Lull and Bauman. In particular, J. Lull, 2010 employed the terms "deculturalisation" and "superculture" to address the ensemble of symbolic resources diffused and reproduced through the increasingly complex and pervasive media system.

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contemporary cultural framework go in two directions. The first one conceives competition as the (new) form of dinamic solidarity of our time (namely, we show solidarity because we all have to compete with anyone else, but we also are required to play by ourselves!). The second one is related to the affirmation (often aggressively) of identity (we show solidarity only to those who belong to our group, who have our own culture, religion).

Another level is represented by the *fragmentation of relations*: the strong drive towards individualisation implies that social relations flatten out, on the one hand, on the interaction based on functional arrangements, and, on the other hand, on the 'pure relationship' that the British sociologist Giddens (2008) defines as surprising, without neither memory nor project, able to enhance sensibility, immediacy, physicality. Dropped out of their context, deprived of their meaning and standing only on the individual' shoulders, social and human relations are transformed into an enormous task, also given that in a world where all people intend to allege their own truth in the name of individual freedom, and in which everyone has to follow the 'sacred' duty of self-fulfilment, the likelihood of misunderstanding and equivocation can only increase.

Finally, the fragmentation *affects the Self*: some scholars have conceived the Self no longer as individuality but as a 'singularity event': free energy, pure will to power to infinity, succession of experiences, openness to what happens/occurs, desiring machine. In addition to this, there is the fragmentation of the *body*: through the progress of biology, we can look at the phenomena of life by analysing them at the sub-microscopic level, whereby the body becomes something completely bio-technical.

The logic of fragmentation brings together the power of technology - which is advancing at an incresingly tighter pace and penetrating every aspect of our lives - *and* the reversibility of meanings of the nihilistic culture. In this context, it becomes increasingly difficult to establish a sort of shared meaning which can be true to anyone. Rather, technical equipments are those enjoying extraordinary strength as long as the idea that what is technically possible is also true is prevailing. The reality test also passes through the power of emotional involvement: in fact, what has the power to impress us emotionally is also what we tend to take as true. The reflective component of the experience is reduced to the minimum while the likelihood of manipulation increases since the construction of the immediate intensity and the ability to impress people become actual tools of power (thus, those who manage to enhance emotions wields also some power). Giving up the search for that truth not coinciding with what we individually (and personally) create also means that reality is only the one we allege.

This imaginary is the substrate of the present *crisis* in its multiple aspects. The issue is quite complex. Now it is sufficient to mention that this crisis represents one of the system breaking points, but, at the same time, a hard lesson. Certainly techno-nihilist capitalism has achieved significant results: it has triggered a phase of extraordinary growth and increased both global production capacity and the life chances of millions of people. For such reason, the explosion of the crisis was experienced, both by governments and the public opinion, with a widespread sense of anxiety: the slowdown in growth opportunities jeopardises the guarantee of continuous expansion that does not conceive lower standards of living. However, the limit of techno-nihilist capitalism need to be found in its own dynamics: the more it manifestes itself, by increasing its power, the more it reveals its weakness because it ignores that there is something else beyond technical aspects, and that reality has to do with limit – for example, the limit of resources that feed the circuit (including the human being) – up to the time the foundations of its own sustainability are eroded.

The crisis - which is financial, energetic, and social at the same time - with all its side effects reveals the self-reference of that model whose expansion has occurred regardless of spirit and regardless of reality – except for the technical one[6] . In the logic of techno-nihilist capitalism, the growth according to the 'power-will to power' binomial has also led to the voracious appetite towards energetic resources, which are natural, social and human[7] . Techno-nihilist capitalism has eroded the conditions that have enabled its own development, grounding itself in a kind of imaginary of freedom that demanded to identify the latter with the will to power self-determination (namely freedom as self-fulfilment or as the increase in opportunities, pursuable aims) according to highly reductive anthropological views (the individual is seen as a self-referential centre, and society as mere sum of many individuals, each of them representing a separate world).

The point here is that development is never an abstract matter of technology and efficiency, but is always the combination of multiple factors – still structural, but also cultural and human - and suffers from a certain kind of view of man and freedom.

All of this seems to point out that we should really attempt to turn the page over. The crisis into which we are may lead to the implosion or the development of freedom. In this sense, it can become an extraordinary

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[6] For the reconstruction of the peculiarities of this crisis, please refer to M. Magatti, 2012.

[7] In fact, for example, the global financial system has gradually developed according to this logic based on the idea that no kind of regulation – except for the technical one – should be implemented. On the social level of the crisis, we can mention the exponential growth of global and local inequalities, a process that follows the disengagement of growth from any notion of fair distribution.

opportunity to build the conditions for a new era of freedom. Better than the one we have got to know. This does not mean going back, making assumptions or hoping, let's say, growth containment or freedom restriction. This means trying to develop a new model of socio-economic development that is sustained by *spirit* and willing to be challenged by reality.

The classical scholars of the sociological thought (for example of Weber and Simmel) can teach us something in this respect: in fact, they had grasped the importance of the spiritual dimension in social life, where the 'spiritual' aspect does not identify itself either with the evanescent return of the religious or with the mere unconditional vitalism, but it puts itself as a means to develop a different view of man.

And actually the challenges emerging from reality have *primarily* to do with putting into focus the *anthropological underpinnings* of new social issues. Freedom - intended as the property of the Self which is individualistically conceived, an unreal subject projected on the social scene only in the second place - represents an imaginary and empty freedom. We are will to power and self-fulfilment, but not only this. We are debt, desire to bond with others, discussion, judgment, empathy, care, fragility, limitation: those aspects are removed from the historical era in which *performance* and competition have despised weakness, failure; self-fulfilment and individual happiness have tended to minimise their debt and commitment typical of union and belonging, and the will to power has looked at limit and suffering (not to mention death) as shameful; truth has detached itself from those questions about sense that affect human existence at present but also affect its openness to the transcendent.

And, once again in relation to the anthropological underpinnings of the new freedom imaginary, it is necessary to stress that the mature freedom can not disguise the man's essential openness to the transcendent dimension. If, on the one hand, we are embodied in a historical, social, cultural, human contingency, on the other hand, as outlined by Simmel, we are much more than it: life is not only social, as the human being is not only social[8] .

The pathologies of contemporary freedom concern, not surprisingly, the relational dimension of the human being and are expressed as the individual's inability to relate with itself, the other Selves, the world, but also with what is beyond the Self, namely with transcendence which is totally flattened out in the context of innovation immanence seen only in technical and consumerist terms, as if, by continuously moving on and continuously consuming, we have the impression of being able to distance ourselves from immanency.

However, in this way, we are only adapting to the current flow of things.

Given the crisis nature, in order to overcome the present *impasse*, first the emergence of a new imaginary is necessary. The latter can only emerge as criticism towards the period we are experiencing now and it has to deal with the questions related to the meanings of life/collective co-existence, far beyond the specific (technical) functions on which that co-existence seems to depend now[9] . Secondly, it is necessary to prefigure - from the institutional perspective - a new kind of growth that, in a social context that has been drained in terms of sociability and vitality, would be committed to rethinking the conditions of socially and humanly sustainable growth, namely a meaningful and sensible growth.

In this context, the *religious sphere* can provide valuable support, especially with reference to the construction of a new imaginary of freedom which takes into account the important question of meaning(s) and relationships (and of the fact that freedom needs to be reviewed in terms of relation, since, it is a relational experience itself).

III. The Role of Religion in The Public Sphere Within and Beyond Techno-Nihilist Capitalism

a) A possible perspective

A useful idea to capture the potential role of religion in the contemporary context is the one of the *"anti-environment"* - a concept used by McLuhan[10], which we have chosen and adapted to what now we would like to discuss.

Within a social context deeply marked, as previously outlined, by the pervasiveness of technical elements - which now constitute the 'environment' in

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[8] About the contribution of Simmel with regards to the imaginary of freedom, see M. Martinelli (2011).

[9] It is not irrelevant that the signs of the emergence of a new kind of sensitivity (which is social, ecological and cultural at the same time) are expressed both by some planetary events and the recent civic movement in some European cities in relation to issues concerning collective goods – starting from the accelerated disenchantment towards the libertarian-liberal dream – and animated by the new spirit of the time, hardly willing to consider absolutely irrelevant the question of meaning, and the response to it, in relation to the future (in this respect, see for example the above mentioned *Archive of Italian Generativity* - www.generativita.it). And this does not certainly happen by chance, if we think that techno-nihilist capitalism has demanded to affect the huge anthropological nodes without, however, facing the question of meaning, transcendence and, ultimately, the meaning attributed to the human being. On the contrary, it has claimed to proceed as if it should not respond to anything else rather than a series of immediate and material issues on which the public debate usually focuses when sensitive issuess are in the agenda, ranging from intercultural co-existence to the matters related to interventions on life, from the economic growth (or recession) to the status of democracy, from social cohesion to justice, just to name a few examples.

[10] See M. McLuhan (1964, 1967), among other works. Moreover, for the exploration/recostrunction of his work, see E. Lamberti (2000).

which our whole social life takes place - those anti-environments are particularly valuable - namely those worlds/spaces capable to activate some antidotes against the critical influences to which we are necessarily exposed.

In other words, we could say that in a kind of social world completely surrounded by the meditised aesthetic space (in which the equivalence of meanings prevails) and the technical system (which enhances functionality), the way to escape the regime of instrumentality and equivalence (according to which all meanings are equivalent and each meaning can always be reversible, nothing has substance, nothing lasts over time, and only what works is meaningful) passes through a social project that invests in creation, storage and preservation of *anti-environments*, designed as spaces in which it is possibile to sufficiently develop antibodies against the logic that the (mechanised and mediatised) environment implicitly imposes. The latter, left to itself, ends up producing omologation.

Through this perspective, the reference to "anti-environments" enables to escape the tyranny of the equivalence system and guarantee the basis for more authentic freedom and criticism that the prevailing environment has now neutralised.

One of these anti-*environments* that, in the contemporary context, deserves particular attention is the one concerning the religious dimension. Now we will not go into too much detail; in fact, other anti-environments are certainly conceivable (for example, the field of education - with reference to schools and universities, as well as arts or the enhancement of the natural environment). It is neither the place to explore the ample debate about the processes of transformation of the religious sphere in the process of secularisation started with modernity[11]. We know, however, that, in contemporary societies, religion is all but disappeared. Indeed, in some ways, the opposite is true.

In fact, just because of social life transformations and the dominance of the described imaginary, it does not surprise that from the '80s, in connection with the rise of the delineated model of capitalism, there are signals – in advanced societies – of the strong return of the religious. Paradoxically, the present capitalism has evokes the need for religion by calling on the great confessions for the elaboration of meaning.

But the fate prefigured for religion under techno-nihilist capitalism is problematic, if not contradictory.

b) Paths for the religious experience in the framework of techno-nihilist capitalism

Literature and field research have helped to identify *three main paths* in relation to the highlighted issues.

Along the first path, techno-nihilism basically has continued the long-term and progressive secularisation (Taylor, 2007). Once institutional religion is no longer taken for granted, religion tends to be merely reduced to an individual and intimate fact, with no relevance to collective life.

From this stance, U. Beck conjectures on a "personal god", with whom one intimately interacts into the daily experience of human life, beyond the religious dictates, dogmas, codes. However, this "personal God" tends to become, in the contemporary era, "a daily business, which is dull, banal, declined in million copies. Between God and idols, there is no much difference: we live in a world characterised by multi-religious facets, of which we do not know neither the origin nor the meaning (...) It is sufficient to look through one of the many catalogues meant for the new-age market to realise that you can now buy a personal God" (2009: 17). Thus, that "personal God" becomes more precisely, an "individual god", a god filtered by the awareness about our own life, knowledge, a god similar to us and reflecting our own image: here is the individual – who is reality that, actually, sinks its roots in the religious sphere – that builds his own religious cover, and decides his own faith. This is an attitude that neither excludes the adherence to a doctrine or a church: the individualistic affiliation forms to religion are in fact numerous, as long as subjectively desired[12].

All this implies fluctuating religiosity, where the religious faith can freely be conveyed, like any other content, provided that it does not require any privilege. In the *mare magnum* of cultural resources made available in the mediatised aesthetic space, there is also room for religions that, indeed, embrace stimulating, fascinating and spectacular dimensions. The task to decide whether and how adhere to a proposal or another is left to the individual conscience.

Along the second path, techno-nihilist capitalism stresses religion as reactive dynamics of a

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[11] In this respect, Introvigne and Stark (2003), for example, observe that, in about thirty years' time, we have passed from the theorisation of the death of God to the realisation of his return and his revenge. Classical studies on these themes are those of Berger (1969); Acquaviva (1961); more recently Hervieu-Léger (1993) and, in particular about the return of the religious, J. Casanova (1994, 2000).

[12] Such attitudes have emerged also from the researches we conducted on the new blue collar classes and the social outskirts of the most important Italian cities. Among those most affected by the individualisation of religious experience, religiousness tends to express itself in two main ways. The first one tends to emphasise the emotional and individualistic dimension of religiosity: by rejecting institutional references, it insists on "feel-good" elements, self-realisation and "fusionality", thus reproducing features typical of the aesthetic space. The second, and currently dominant, possible outcome consists in the exclusive valorisation of the cultural elements of traditional religiosity. Collective events are attended, particular blessings are pursued, saint patrons are identified and the role played by the sacred in daily life exerts its fascination. In these cases, the articles of faith are object of very limited re-elaboration.

fundamentalist sort: the more the process of meaning demolition continues and the more the fragmentation (of ties, territories, cultures, etc.) process spreads, the more the space for seeking new fondations is created. The latter is understood as something solid and not open to discussion and, for this reason, to inconsistency and dispersion to which the whole existence seems to be subjected.

Religion is here invoked as a bulwark able to defend individuals from this fate of dispersion. It's one thing if we talk about strengthening the openness to cultural contexts, operation always valuable to avoid that new "walls", boundaries, are created between human groups. However, it's different if we celebrate the systematic eradication, the eclectic nomadism, wandering without direction. The more this happens in the name of the prevailing ethics of mobility that advocates a new kind of dislocated world, where everyone needs to be linked with others, the more obtuse forms of attachment to territory, tradition and not least to religion - viewed as means to re-establish roots that allow some form of identification with the world - emerge. Thus, the intention to regain what is lost and the idea of sorting the world in a fundamental difference between "us" and "what is different from us", between something that is inside and something else that is outside. Without excluding to employ violent means to reaffirm some unity and bond against fragmentation. The twisting occurs, in fact, by evoking distinctive elements that may be easily identifiable and are not suspected of being infected by the virus of fragmentation: namely, ethnicity, territory and, undoubtedly, religion[13].

In this case, religious traditionalism can be seen as the expression of profound anxiety linked to the identity definition. Calling upon religious tradition is a way through which social groups – especially if culturally fragile – convey who they are. Such traditionalism is, however, fragile and ambiguous, mostly oscillating between identity closure (sometimes with fundamentalist traits) and the readiness to adopt forms of compromise and syncretism often bordering on superstition and magic.

Along the third way, we see the development of neo-magical religious forms that, by offering room for the return of the irrational, also offer a sort of solution to the void of meaning created by nihilism (Casement, Tracey 2006). After all, chaotic, vague and fluctuating religiosity paves the way for the return of myth, spiritualism, occultism and magic. As demonstrated by

the spread of neo-magical behaviours that make extensive use of religious forms to promote a reasonable relationship with reality[14]. In absence of other resources or reasonable motives for cultivating hope, a magic-oriented attitude becomes an accessible strategy for maintaining trust in the constructive capability of desire. And while hope has a more collective character, desire is much more individual. In fact, magic is individualistic: it features no churches, and anyone can try to propitiate positive forces. Therefore, individualism fits better to neo-magic attitudes, while religion tends to produce collectivity. This explains why the denial of the public role of religion drives towards the emphatisation of neo-magical forms – a process that, from the phenomenological point of view, distinguishes different forms of social action[15].

In relation to the questions raised by techno-nihilism and its crisis, all the three paths are ineffective.

In the first case (private retreat) because religion, reduced to purely private act, which is interior and sentimental, is incorporated into the scheme of equivalence and loses its nature. In the second and third case (fundamentalism and forms of neo-magism) because religion, becoming the receptacle for the collection of a number of malcontents and social unease, is exploited for many different purposes: it is used as a symbolic source to legitimise political discourses (not without slipping in the use and/or abuse of power that overturns, once again, its nature) or as a deterrent to social conflicts, hence weakening the ability to exercise criticism to techno-nihilism.

In this way, religion faces the inevitable process of emptying and is reduced to a symbolic resource equivalent to others, within the over-stimulated universe of the mediatised aesthetic space. Combined with a kind of experience in which everyone is allowed to create their own reference points, the religious becomes one of many codes used to respond to (big or small) questions posed by life in a personalised way as well as

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[13] In the Italian context, including those who live a certain identification with the institutional dimension of religious experience, it is not uncommon to find this kind of expectations: religion is conceived as a strong means of defense against the complexity of the world perceived as chaotic. In some cases, there are extremisations in terms of visible intolerance in relation to narrow-mindedness attitudes in one's own group.

[14] We have had the chance to experience this approach, especially in marginal social contexts (as for example in the sububrs), in which religion is often one of the few languages still able to intercept people, offering support and hope in facing daily difficulties. To quote Malinowski: "*Magic supplies primitive man with a number of ready-made rituals, acts and beliefs, with a definite mental and practical technique which serves to bridge over the dangerous gaps in every important pursuit or critical situation. It enables man to carry out with confidence his important tasks, to maintain his poise and his mental integrity in fits of ange, in the throes of hate, of unrequited love, of despair and anxiety. The function of magic is to ritualise man's optimism, to enhance his faith in the victory of hope over fear. Magic expresses the greater value for man of condicence over doubt, of steadfastness over vacillation, of optimism over pessimism*" (Malinowski 1948: 70).

[15] One example is represented by fatalistic attitudes that privilege impersonal categories of luck-bad luck to explain the world in which we live; this "trust in luck" (or ritualised optimism of magic) results in always seeking the fortunate occasion. In this sense, not surprisingly, the investment in various forms of luck enormously proliferates.

to live, in Hervieu-Léger's terms, meaningful experiences of fusion and production of "*instantaneised meanings*".

Subjected to the equivalence system and having lost its distinctive status, religion provides meanings that can not allege to be of different quality compared to the myriad of other proposals freely diffused in the aesthetic space.

The implicit assumption of this position is that religion should be treated as any other entity conveying messages of various sort. No matter if it is a songwriter, a poet, a political party or the church, anyone has the power to freely communicate their own messages. Regardless of any other ethical or epistemological consideration, the truth of a message lies in its effectiveness.

This confirms that what some scholars have defined as contemporary "religious revival" completely abandons the Western transcendental stance in favour of the immanentist view which, however, fits completely to the spirit of modern capitalism. The immanent orientation, featuring traits typical of new-age movements, flattens, without neither criticism nor taking distance, on the event occurring. This originates a pervasive but vague religiosity, based on individual taste and on the rather chaotic do-it-yourself syncretistic. The outcome of this religiosity is a sort of "religious atheism" and the predilection for conservative positions while religious feelings contribute to the sacralisation of the "values" present in the dominant imaginary (such as immanence, reversibility of meanings, freedom of purpose, emotional involvement in a directionless becoming, permanent exposure to the lucky event, or acceptation of the technical data as truth, etc.).

Therefore, on the one hand, we have a kind of world which is profoundly secularised, shaped by the techno-nihilistic imaginary, which upholds unconstrained freedom and defense of individual interest. On the other hand, we have diffused religiosity which, albeit grounded in a specific tradition, appears confused and weak: in other terms, a container without content.

In fact, the shredding of the religious is not only at the expense of religion but freedom *per se*. As we know, in fact, the hegemony of techno-nihilist capitalism is based on its ability to play with the infinite multiplication of meanings (the more the available opportunities are, the greater freedom is). But it is precisely this claim that needs to be considered, since it is precisely this claim that undermines the ability to attribute religion a special *status*. And this is precisely the point. In fact, religion, by definition, is not equivalent to many other things. It raises the questions of meaning about the human condition[16].

c) The sacred space of the Infinite : the religion's peculiarity

Not surprisingly, in his extensive research on the public sphere, Jürgen Habermas has come to identify right in religion those models of language and meaning that allow to name experiences, relationships, history, the world, and hence interpret what otherwise would probably remain unexpressed[17].

What has been said up to now leads us to the heart of the discussion on the role of religion in the public sphere, which calls into question, more broadly, the meaning of "*laicité*". The French Revolution has bequeathed us the notion of *laicité*, to be understood as that condition in which a non religious thought finds its place and legitimacy in a world dominated by the stance defined by the institutionalised church. From here, given the formation of the state according to the idea of *laicité*, what takes shape is the effort to retain the influence of religion within well-defined borders, by relegating it to the private space up to the time it gets to know sectarian forms of collective groups and movements that throw it back to the public sphere, by employing (sometimes violent) means which distort its essence.

However, against techno-nihilism and crossing its crisis, the question arises whether, in a social world organised around the global technical system and surrounded by the mediatised aesthetic space, it is the right time to review the conception of *laicité*.

Henri Bergson focused on the ways religion, precisely because embodied in historical processes, experiences the internal dialectic between openness and closeness, between conservation and prophecy. This dialectic, while continuously threatening to render it organic with the *status quo*, also enables the continuous evocation of new energies for critical and creative innovation.

Hence, religion takes on the feeling of strangeness without which the search for meaning would become weaker: this is the search for an adequate place where, in the present world, there is the possibility of openness. In such direction, then, the religious experience represents one of the few fallacies (*topoi*) against which the techno-nihilist thinking can be effectively challenged. The ability to maintain resistance, against the phantasmagorial viewpoint of techno-

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[16] As written by R. Panikkar (2010), "human beings are not complete, are non-finite, and infinite in that sense. They are in the process of evolving, of reaching what they are not now (...) The intention of

religions is to become those paths that lead men to their fulfillment, however it might be interpreted and the nature of this path or way might be conceived (...) Religion is thus defined by the function that is willing to take on: joining (linking) point x, the human condition currently existing, with the point y, regarded as the state or final destination of the person, or the humanity or the cosmo (...)".

[17] See, for example, what emerged in January 2004 during the encounter at the Katholische Akademie, Monaco of Bavaria, where Joseph Ratzinger and Jürgen Habermas confronted each other on the question: "Does liberal democracy requires religious premises?" (see the text published in Italian: Habermas, Ratzinger, 2005).

nihilist capitalism is the essential resource - primarily - of freedom.

By reopening the question of the meaning in relation to existence together with the meanings and forms of the human condition, the religious experience is defined as an actual *anti-environment* which is extremely relevant for everyone's freedom, believers and non-believers. The exclusion of this element from the public sphere turns out to be an untenable claim - as demostrated, over the past two decades, by the fact that the strongest tensions just have come from groups and movements with a religious background, losing the perspective of criticism and freedom.

Therefore, starting from the important recognition of keeping open the question of meaning - that only a fundamentalistic *laicité* denies, standing on hostile and, in its own way, uncompromising positions – it is possibile to redefine the issue that historically has gone under the name of *laicité*.

Who cares about freedom - and understands the limits and contradictions that we experience of it as contemporaries - may be willing to recognise that what we can call the "sacred space of the Infinite" should be acknowledged, maintained and preserved, being included in the idea of a common good for eveyone – believers and nonbelievers.

Against a world that collapses in itself, in which technique is deployed without counterweights and the mere representation mocks reality[18], this space is a valuable bulwark of freedom right in redesigning the reference to the transcendent, allowing to take distances from historical configurations that are built on reductive anthropological views. In a world that is closed and dragged by its systems of power and absolute immanence, preserving the transcendent spaces following ancient traditions that take care of an immense source of knowledge and wisdom should be seen as a deeply "lay act" able to qualify, in a positive way, the public sphere of advanced societies. Such act of freedom has the merit to recover and respect that uniquely human trait – the ability of transcendence, of taking critical distance – which allow to retrieve a relational view of the human being (constitutively related to something other than itself: another Self, the world, history, what is beyond), vision put aside by the exaltation of a self-referential Ego and a social model that has pursued the expansion of the individual will to power, economics, technology, beyond limits, bonds, shared responsibility for the future.

In such way, the idea of the "sacred space of the Infinite" also implies the recognition that the religious experience lives two inseparable moments (moments that also characterise us): on the one hand, the personal and solitary moment, where there is the single man and his conscience, and where, therefore, each of us is called to give personal responses to interpellations which come to us, and, on the other hand, the collective-institutional moment, in which such experience is divided into shared and historical forms, ways of living, with reference to issues affecting human co-existence at present and in the future.

The liberal assertion that religion is only a private matter denies the fact that all societies - even though in different ways - have questioned about the issue of the Infinity. Simply because such a question - whatever the answer - concerns the human condition[19]. Of course this opens up important questions regarding the public sphere and its reorganisation. The history of modernity bequeath us the awareness that no religion (as well as no ideology, culture or tradition) can reasonably expect to exhaust the universal breadth of human experience. And yet, this does not mean that it is not worth taking into account these great traditions as precious spaces to build a richer social world and, therefore, more suitable conditions for human freedom - for mature freedom.

The recognition of the collective value of the sacred space of the Infinite, for example, may create a more favorable condition to the development of the intercultural and interreligious dialogue of which our present urgently needs. In fact, it requires to go fast through that path, which has only be created at the moment, concerning the encounter-dialogue between religions, ideologies and world views; encounter-dialogue that is an actual human imperative of our time

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[18] It is significant, in this respect, the fact that many marginal social groups find in consumption the means to employ in order to get out of their state of invisibility (by fully conforming to the spirit of techno-nihilist capitalism). The high media usage confirms that the more the experience degrades at the actual level, the more it spectacular acting provides an appealing and powerful surrogate. In this way, what turns in the opposite direction is what has traditionally be the "public" space (as place for discussion and deliberation): what becomes "public" is what amplifies individual experiences (including the desire to become the *star of a reality show*) and represents them on a lighted stage, setting invisibility apart. But, in this way, the line between reality and virtual world is often unclear.

[19] It is useful to recall, in this respect, a Georg Simmel's reflection presenting some similarities with the redefinition of "secularism" thar we have pointed out as the essential path for the enhancement of the religious experience in its being anti-environment against techno-nihilism logics. When Simmel develops his analysis of freedom intends to retrieve the horizon in which the subject retains its value without, however, occupying the whole scene. And he imagines that it is the horizon of transcendence, in which the individual can transcend himself first and does not take refuge in the nostalgia of the past, but is open to the possibilities of his own time without being uncritically subjected to them and totally covering up the question of meaning. The tension to trascendence always accompanies the human being, which, Simmel states, has always been aware of values and realities that are not fully included in the limited space of its subjective existence (see Simmel, 1918 [1938]). Moreover, Simmel - in his criticism to modernity - outlines a possible way out not actually from a political or cultural perspective, but with reference to the ability to recover, in social life, spaces capable to take into account transcendence, given that the latter is typical to the human being: the religious experience is, for Simmel, a good example in this respect.

and that may be deployed not only horizontally – between different conceptions of values – but also vertically, namely by considering the structural openess of the human being to transcendence, openess to which every culture and religion offers answers and different realisations.

The value attribution to the sacred space of the Infinity opens also the crucial question of the relationship between the religious and other spheres of social life. This space does not exclude the religious from public life: in this way, it is freed from the function of being the compensatory receptacle of those problematic consequences of the development models that succeed over time, function that however keeps it essentially unable to distance itself from the principles of those models and to assume its complexity. Rather, the sacred space of the Infinite – right through the new understanding of *laicité* – becomes a valuable "anti-environment" that allow to always reopen the question of sense of collective co-existence and of the multiple human and historical achievements.

Its potentiality comes into play both in challenging dogmatisms that even in a free society eventually rise, and in fighting the remaining fundamentalism that becomes more likely the more the demand for meaning arisen by religion is censored (in fact, actually, no other sphere of life is able to deal with it).

In overcoming the conception of religion as something that comes on stage only in the second place (mostly in order to 'make sacred', namely justify, the symbolic universe that a given society builds, according to the projective mechanism analysed by Durkheim), the recognition of the sacred space of the Infinity helps to break the rules of equivalence, showing itself as a source of value that can fight back the self-destructive outcome of advanced democracies.

At the same time, by keeping alive the transcendent dimension in social life, the sacred space of the Infinite drives the same religious experience not to be exhausted in a socially defined and definitive organisation, but positively dialogue with the world and historical worlds, acting as the dimension that preserves a different point of view, in so far as conceived in terms of dialogue, in relation to historical forms of collective life.

In this way, it helps to point out the need for different responses, not only technical, to those questions that are not actually technical.

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A Case Control Study Among Carpet Thread Factory Workers in Uttar Pradesh, India: Occupational Injury and its Deteriorating Factors

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Abstract - Occupational injuries have a major impact on public health and exact a huge toll in the workplace. Annually throughout the world, it is estimated that ~300 000 people die from 250 million accidents that occur in the workplace (who 1999). However, efforts towards investigation of determinants among carpet thread factory workers are very minimal in developing countries including India. The aim of the study was to identify determinants of occupational injury among workers in carpet thread factory of Varanasi district, Uttar Pradesh state, India and to assess the different protective measures used during working day to prevent the different hazards.

The sample consisted of 650 carpet thread factory included 310 workers (cases) and 340 non workers (controls).All the respondents were interviewed by a pretested questionnaire regarding occupational injury status within Eighteen month period (May 2007 to November 2008).

Keywords : Occupational injury, Carpet Thread Factory, Workers, Non Workers.

GJHSS-D Classification : FOR Code : 160101, 160701

A CASE CONTROL STUDY AMONG CARPET THREAD FACTORY WORKERS IN UTTAR PRADESH, INDIA OCCUPATIONAL INJURY AND ITS DETERIORATING FACTORS

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of :

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The sample consisted of 650 carpet thread factory included 310 workers (cases) and 340 non workers (controls).All the respondents were interviewed by a pretested questionnaire regarding occupational injury status within Eighteen month period (May 2007 to November 2008). Cases were factory workers who had history of occupational injury and controls were non workers who had no history of occupational injury. The coded and cleaned data was entered in to SPSS version 16 for analysis. Data were analyzed using logistic models which yield crude and adjusted odds ratios at p < 0.05 significant level with 95% CI.

The mean year of work experience for cases was 10.8 and 14.0 for controls and 95.0% of the cases and 93.8 % of controls were employment contract workers in the factories. Young age (<30 years) [AOR 1.90, 95% CI 1.22, 2.94], men [AOR 2.54, 95% CI 1.58, 4.07], health and safety training [AOR 1.85, 95% CI 1.17, 2.91], sleeping disturbance [AOR 1.99, 95% CI 1.30, 3.04] and job stress [AOR 2.25, 95% CI 1.15, 4.41] were significant predictors of occupation injury.

This study demonstrates that falls are a serious safety concern in the workplace. Young in age, being male, lack of training, sleeping disturbance and job stress increased the risk of occupational injury. The results also show that more percentage of injury events affected hand/wrist, ankle/foot or head; a finding which could be used in injury prevention efforts.. So to reduce occupational injuries, providing basic health and safety training with special emphasis for younger and male workers, reducing job stressors and providing health education to workers were recommended.

Keywords : *Occupational injury, Carpet Thread Factory, Workers, Non Workers.*

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I. Introduction

The work is considered a basic part of our life. Most adults spend approximately one fourth to one third of their time at work and often perceive work as a part of their self identity (Rogers, 1994). Employed people in industries spend at least one third of a day at work which have a strong effect on their health and safety due to work and work related injuries (Antonio et al, 2001). Injuries are the leading cause of morbidity and mortality among workers. Thousands of people are killed in industrial accidents every year, and the number of disabling injuries is staggering. Many workers suffer job-related injuries that result in lost working hours, medical treatment, loss of consciousness, restriction of work or motion, or transfer to another job. Today injuries continue to claim lives, inflict physical and psychological damage and consume the resources of workers and their families. Leigh et al. (1999) estimated around 16 million injuries every year, with 2 million moderate to serious injuries on the Indian subcontinent. Indirect costs, such as pain and suffering by workers and family members, are very evident, but a major limitation in dealing with this negative scenario is the inappropriate accounting of the accident events and the potential risks for work-related injuries.

This study presents an analysis of occupational injuries in the Carpet industrial process. Pranab L. Nag et.al reported that of the world's total textile production, the industrial enterprises of the Asia-Pacific region contribute two-thirds, to the tune of about 50 million tons of fabric annually. Accident data from the textile industries in this region are sporadic. The prevalence of work hazards, and the quantitative relationships between the nature of work and workplace accident causation are conspicuously lacking. In India alone, nearly 13,500 enterprises employ about 2 million workers in the textile sector. The work processes in these industries require intense human involvement under suboptimal working conditions which culminate in a high incidence of accidents of varied severity, some of them fatal.

Worldwide in 2005, an estimated of 250 million occupational injuries and 5.4 million deaths due to injuries occurred annually. From this, over 90 percent

was in low and middle income countries where the greatest concentration of world's workforce and low level of factories found (Tetsuya, 1999). This problem costs the world a loss of roughly 4% of the gross national product (Eijkemans, 2004; Machida and Bachoo, 2001). Despite this, only 5 to 10 percent of the workforce in developing countries has access to some kind of occupational health and safety services (Machida and Bachoo, 2001).

India has been a member state of International Labor Organization and signed conventions related to health and safety of factory workers since 1923. However, the national occupational safety and health policy is not issued though it is required by the country (Seblework, 2006). Currently to prevent occupational injury and to promote health and safety at work places, the Ministry of Labour and Employment , Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Directorate General Labour Welfare, Internal Works Study unit, International Labour Affairs Section, Wage Board, Chief Labour Commissioner, Central Labour Service, Social Security Division of Government of India and regional board Labor and Social Affairs and Affiliated Zonal representative offices have taken responsibilities for occupational safety and health services of workers according to labor proclamation (http://labour.nic.in/).

Occupational injuries in developing countries are a major concern (Machida & Bachoo 2001). It is estimated that 250 million occupational injuries, 160 million work-related diseases and 2 million deaths occur each year resulting in a loss of roughly 4% of the world gross national product due to workers' compensation, loss of workdays, interruption of production, retraining, and medical expenses and the 1:14 (Machida & Bachoo 2001, Eijkemans G 2004). More than 350,000 workers die each year due to injury, significant proportions occurring in low and middle income countries (Who 2009).

Studies done in France, U.S and China indicated that men had a higher risk of occupational injury than women (Bhattacherjee et al, 2003; Rhys and Paul, 2005; Smith,2004). However, a study conducted in India among small and medium scale factory workers indicated that occupational injury has no any significant statistical association with gender of the worker (Tadesse and Kumie, 2007). Investigators at different places indicated that younger workers suffer more occupational injury at a higher rate than older workers (Rhys and Paul, 2005; Fulle, 1988). Also a study done showed that the prevalence of work and work related injury increased with young age (Tadesse and Kumie, 2007). Most occupational health and safety studies conducted in developing countries revealed that increased educational levels in the factory have been associated with decreased work related injuries (Rhys and Paul,

2005; Smith,2004 ; Tadesse and Kumie, 2007; Asim et al, 2004 and Nearkasen et al, 2002).

An ILO (1997–1998) study in Vietnam indicated that textile workers were exposed to hot and noisy environments, and these workplace exposures led to many accidents at work. The study of Lithuanian textile workers by Ustinaviciene and Piesine (2007) reported 9.3% injuries, with an increase in morbidity with age, and women having 1.5 times highermorbidity than men. Fritschi et al. (2004) reported data from Australian textile units which show that workers, particularly men, are at high injury risk. The shift schedules in work of this nature also have a significant influence on the health, sleep length, social activity, and problem intensity of textile workers (Pajunen et al., 2007).

In India different studies indicated that occupational injuries at manufacturing industries were highly significant (Seblework, 2006; Tadesse and Kumie, 2007; Fulle , 1998 and Ministry of Health and Family Welfare).

Findings of a study done among textile factory workers demonstrated that the most frequent causes of occupational injury were machinery 42(29.4%), hit by or against objects 29 (20.3%) (Senbeto, 1991). Ministry of Health and Family Welfare in India reported that striking (25.5%), falling (12.8 %) and flying objects from machines (8.5%) were the major causes of occupational injury (Ministry of Health and Family Welfare,2006). similarly the Uttar Pradesh labour department reported that machinery (36.7%), mishandling (15.3%), falling (14.5%) and hand tools (6.2%) were the commonly complained occupational injury types among manufacturing industrial workers (Uttar Pradesh labour department reported that machinery, 2009-10).

All of the above studies except few were focused on characterization of occupational injury among industrial workers. Potential risks for work-related injuries include workload, psychosocial and organizational factors (Simpson CL & Severson RK 2000). Machinery-related injuries are the second leading cause of traumatic occupational fatalities (Pratt et.al1996). However, to solve occupational health and safety problem of the workforce advanced epidemiological studies are essential for policy makers, public health experts and program implementers. Reducing the risk of occupational accidents requires a combination of a safe work environment, comprehensive training for workers and implementation and enforcing systematic management. Implementation of preventive programmes is also an important task (Jovanovic J & Jovanovic M 2004). Therefore this case control study was designed to fill the gap by identifying the determinants of occupational injury among thread factory workers which is very important for the development and strengthening of legislations and intervention priorities to safeguard the health and safety of the work force.

II. METHODS

This study was conducted in thirteen thread factory workers in Varanasi district of Uttar Pradesh during the period May 2007 to November 2008. Out of thirteen industries, in ten industries, there is an insurance mechanism for workers that may be injured during work. This encouraged the workers to report every accident during work. There are about total 650 samples included 310 workers (cases) and 340 non workers (controls).

Cases were workers who have experienced occupational injury within Eighteen month period (from May 2007 to November 2008) in thread factories and the Non workers or control groups were workers who did not experienced occupational injury within Eighteen month period (from May 2007 to November 2008) in thread factories.

Data was collected using pre tested and structured questionnaire include two parts, one to assess the industrial hazards and their preventive measures including demographic data, occupational history, present health symptoms, past history of illness, industrial hazards and preventive measures Job stress and job satisfaction of workers were assessed using 14 and 12 three scale item standardized workers response questionnaire, respectively (Nearkasen et al, 2002). The second one was include the information from the health record of the worker in Health Insurance included pre-placement examination and periodic medical examination. Occupational injury status was the outcome variable and socio demographic, behavioral and environmental factors independent variables.

- **Socio demographic factors:** sex, age, religion, ethnicity, marital status, level of education, monthly salary, employment condition, work experience.
- **Work environment determinants:** health and safety information, health and safety training, workplace supervision, working department.
- **Behavioral determinants:** Alcohol consumption, Pan chewing, cigarette smoking, sleeping disorder, job satisfaction, job stress and personal protective equipment use.

a) Operational Definition

Occupational injury	:	Any physical injury condition sustained on worker in connection with the performance of his or her work in textile factories (Rhys and Paul , 2005)
Job satisfaction	:	A worker who have scored above or equal to the 90th percentile was considered as had job satisfaction and below the 90th percentile were considered as dissatisfied by his/her job (Nearkasen et al, 2002).
Job stress	:	A worker who have scored above or equal to 90th percentile was considered as had a problem of job stress and below the 90th percentile was considered as did not have job stress (Nearkasen et al, 2002).
Health and safety information	:	A worker who have got any kind of information in one year period through any kind of media about health and safety to factory workers.
Health and safety training	:	Trainings given to a worker about health and safety to factory workers
Work place supervision	:	Regular supervisions done by health and safety responsible bodies in the department and working rooms
Working department	:	One of the factor manufacturing units in the department
Pan chewing	:	It is the practice of chewing pan leaves by the worker at least once per week for different purposes
Cigarette smoking	:	In halation of the gases and hydrocarbon vapors generating by slowly burning of cigarettes regularly
Personal Protective Equipment (PPE)	:	Utilization of the worker- specialized clothing or equipment worn by employees for protection against health and safety hazards at the time of interview. Personal protective equipment is designed to protect many parts of the body, i.e., eyes, head, face, hands, feet, and ears.
Sleeping disturbance problem	:	The presence of sleepiness problem when the worker is at work in the factory

After editing, cleaning and coding, the data was entered to version 16 SPSS for analysis. Bivariate logistic regression analysis was employed to see association between determinants and occupational injury. Crude odds ratio with confidence intervals, P-values were considered as statistically significant when less than 0.05. Variables with p at <0.2 during the bivariate analysis were included in the multivariate logistic regression analysis to see the interaction effect of confounding variables.

The sample size was calculated using statistical software program for case control study design. The control group exposure to sleeping disorder (58.4 %), lack of training on health and safety (35.3%) and 5 years or less work experience (27.3%) were considered for sample size determination from previous studies (Senbeto, 1991; Abebe and Fatahun, 1999; Thoreia et al, 2004). From the above determinants, exposure of the control group to sleeping disorder problem (main exposure variable) gave the maximum sample size with assumptions of a one to two case to control ratio, a minimum detectable odds ratio of 2 and 95% confidence interval, 85% power of the study. Based on the above assumptions, a total of 650 study participants (310 cases and 340 controls) were included in the study.

III. Results

Three hundred ten cases and 340 controls were interviewed for this study and from these 62.90% of cases and 58.23% controls were male workers. The mean year of work experience for cases was 10.8 and 14.0 for controls and 91.9% of the cases and 89.1 % of controls were permanently employed in the factories.

From socio demographic determinant variables (Table 1), age group at interview, sex and work experience showed statistically significant association with occupational injury in the bivariate analysis. The rest socio demographic variables like religion, ethnicity, marital status, educational level, employment condition and monthly salary did not show significant association with occupational injury. Only sex and age remained significant in multivariate model while years with job became non-significant.

Table 1 : Association between socio-demographic variables and occupational injury among Thread factory workers.

Socio-demographic variables		Cases (n=310) No (%)	Controls (n=340) No (%)	COR@ (95% CI)	AOR@ (95% CI)
Sex	Male	195(62.90)	198(58.23)	2.30(1.48,3.58)***	2.54(1.58,4.07)***
	Female	115(37.10)	142(41.77)	1	1
Age group	< 30 years	185(59.68)	122(35.88)	2.14 (1.44,3.18)***	1.90(1.22,2.94)**
	>30 years	125(40.32)	218(64.12)	1	1
Religion	Hindu	198(63.55)	194(57.06)	0.93 (0.22,3.97)	
	Muslim	112(36.13)	141(42.94)	0.69(0.16, 3.00)	
Marital status@	Married	197(65.13)	209(61.47)	1.04(0.35,3.12)	
	Single	94(30.32)	101(29.70)	0.97(0.31, 3.00)	
	Divorced	8(2.58)	16(4.71)	0.67(0.14,3.17)	
	Widowed	11(3.55)	14(4.12)	1	
Educational level	< grade 8	175(56.45)	154(45.29)	1.10(0.66,1.86)	1.27(0.70,2.33)
	Grade 9-12	87(28.06)	118(34.71)	0.87(0.50,1.52)	0.92(0.50,1.71)
	Degree and above	48(15.48)	68(20.00)	1	1
Employment condition	Employment contract	285(91.94)	303(89.12)	1	1
	Temporary contract	25(8.06)	37(10.88)	1.38(0.57,3.36)	1.45(0.54,3.91)
Monthly salary in Rs@	< 5000 Rs per month	173 (55.80)	190 (55.88)	0.85(0.58,1.26)	
	>5000 Rs per month	137 (44.20)	150 (44.12)	1	
Work experience in years	5 years and below	144(46.45)	109(32.06)	1.53(1.01,2.29)*	1.59(0.86,2.95)
	6 years and above	166(53.55)	231(67.94)	1	1

@ not included in multivariate analysis
*Significant at: *P<0.05, **P<0.01, ***P<0.001*
COR@: Crude odds ratio and AOR@: Adjusted odds ratio

From work environment determinants, information access to health and safety [COR 1.49, 95% CI 1.01, 2.20], regular work place supervision [COR: 1.58, 95% CI :(1.07, 2.35)] and training on health and safety [COR 2.2, 95% CI 1.45, 3.39] showed significant association with occurrence of occupational injury. But working department did not show a significant association with occupational injury occurrence in the bivariate analysis. After adjusting in the multivariate analysis, training on health and safety was remained a significant predictor of occupational injury [AOR 1.85, 95% CI 1.18, 2.91] (Table 2).

Table 2 : Association of occupational injury with environmental determinants among thread factory workers.

Work Environment variables		Cases (n=310) No (%)	Controls (n=340) No (%)	COR@ (95% CI)	AOR@ (95% CI)
Health and safety information access	Yes	128(41.29)	188(55.29)	1.00	1.00
	No	182(58.71)	152(44.71)	1.49(1.01,2.20)*	1.05(0.68,1.71)
Work place supervision	Yes	159(51.29)	221(65.00)	1.00	1.00
	No	151(48.71)	130(35.00)	1.58(1.07,2.35)*	1.12(0.70,1.78)
Health and safety Training	Yes	89(28.71)	155(45.59)	1.00	1.00
	No	221(71.29)	185(54.41)	2.22(1.45,3.39)***	1.85(1.18,2.91)**
Working department@	Spinning	124(40.00)	146(42.94)	1.00	
	Weaving	88(28.39)	99(29.12)	1.14(0.72,1.18)	
	Finishing	66(21.29)	63(18.53)	1.03(0.59,1.79)	
	Engineering	32(10.00)	32(.41)	1.30(0.69,1.79)	

Significant at, *P < 0.05   **P < 0.01   ***P < 0.001
@ Not included for multivariate analysis
COR@: Crude odds ratio and AOR@: Adjusted odds ratio

From behavioral determinants (Table 3), personal protective equipment use [COR 1.77, 95% CI 1.18, 2.64], alcoholic drink consumption [COR 1.68, 95% CI 1.11, 2.55], sleeping disturbance [COR 2.26, 95% 1.52, 3.36], job dissatisfaction [COR 1.97, 95% CI 1.09, 4.33] and job stress [COR 2.29,95% CI 1.23,4.25] had showed significant association with occupational injury in the bivariate analysis. However, Pan chewing [COR 1.27, 95% 0.76, 2.12] and cigarette smoking [COR 1.28, 95% CI 0.65, 2.51] did not show significant association with occupational injury. Workers who complained problems of sleeping disturbance were more likely to report about two times excess occupational injury compared with workers who did not report problem of sleeping disturbance [AOR 1.99, 95% CI 1.30, 3.04]. This study revealed that job stress was the main predictor of occupational injury. Workers who were stressed due to their job were about 2 times more likely to report occupational injury compared with workers who were not stressed due to their job [AOR 2.25,95% 1.15,4.41]

Table 3 : Association of occupational injury with behavioral determinants among thread factory workers.

Behavioral variables		Cases (n=310) No (%)	Controls (n=340) No (%)	COR@ (95% CI)	AOR@ (95% CI)
PPE use	Yes	112 (36.13)	168(49.41)	1.00	1.00
	No	198 (63.87)	172(50.52)	1.77 (1.18,2.64)**	1.31(0.82,2.10)
Alcohol use	Yes	115 (37.10)	98(28.82)	1.68(1.108, 2.55)*	1.40(0.89,2.21)
	No	195 (62.90)	242(71.18)	1.00	1.00
Pan chewing@	Yes	224(72.26)	276(81.18)	1.27 (0.76,2.12)	
	No	86(27.74)	64(18.82)	1.00	
Cigarette Smoking@	Yes	185(59.68)	298(87.65)	1.28 (0.65,2.51)	
	No	125(40.321)	42(12.35)	1.00	
Sleeping Disturbance	Yes	193(62.26)	143(42.06)	2.26(1.52,3.36)***	1.99(1.03,3.04)**
	No	117(37.74)	197(57.94)	1.00	1.00
Job stress	Yes	81(26.13)	40(11.76)	2.28 (1.23,4.25)***	2.25(1.15,4.14)**
	No	229(73.87)	300(88.24)	1.00	1.00
Job satisfaction	Yes	73(23.55)	72(21.18)	1.00	1.00
	No	237(76.45)	268(78.82)	1.97 (1.09,4.33)*	1.49(0.76,2.93)

Significant at, *P < 0.05   **P < 0.01   ***P < 0.001
@ Not included for multivariate analysis
COR@: Crude odds ratio and AOR@: Adjusted odds ratio

IV. Discussion

The textile industry occupies a unique place in our country. One of the earliest to come intoexistence in India, it accounts for 14% of the total Industrial production, contributes to nearly 20% of the total exports. With rapid industrialization and mechanization in textile industries occupational health hazards are becoming more prominent. Injury in the textile industry in India are the culmination of several factors, such as human–machine incompatibility, poor methods of work, suboptimal working conditions, temporal factors, and environmental stresses. Employment structure, regulations, and the overall work scenario are peculiar, influencing the occupational health of the workers. Occupational injuries are responsible for high morbidity and mortality in India (David and Goel, 2001). Work-groups such as laborers, farmers, tradesmen, and craftsmen are at higher risk, and personal attributes of being young, males, having psychometric disorders and smoking increase the risk of injuries (Bhattacherjee et al., 2003). Work related exposures to longer working hours and less job involvement, unsafe work conditions, and unsafe acts all contribute to the likelihood of injuries (Ma et al., 1991; Tiwari et al., 2004).

Studies done in developed and developing countries reported that men had a higher risk of occupational injury than women in manufacturing industries (Senbeto, 1991; Abebe and Fatahun, 1999). According to this finding male workers were about 2.5 times more likely to report occupational injury than female workers [AOR: 2.54,95% CI:(1.58,4.07)]. This can be explained due to the fact that high willingness of male workers to engage towards risk taking behavior than female workers (Bronson and Howard, 2003).

Most study findings at different places by different scholars reported that working at younger age increases the risk of sustaining more occupational injury among factory workers compared with older workers (Bhattacherjee et al, 2003; Tadesse and Kumie, 2007; Abebe and Fatahun, 1999). Similarly this study revealed that workers whose age group below 30 years old were about 1.9 times more likely to report occupational injury than workers whose age group were 30 years and above [AOR: 1.90,95% CI: (1.22,2.94)].

Most occupational health and safety studies conducted in developing countries revealed that increased educational level have been associated with decreased work related injuries (Bhattacherjee et al, 2003; Smith and Mustrad, 2004; Fulle,1998; Asim et al, 2004). This is due to the fact that education is more likely to increase workers safety and health practice that can prevent them from occupational injuries (Rhys and Paul, 2005; Abebe and Fatahun, 1999). But this study and a cross sectional study done in India among small and medium scale factory workers revealed that educational level did not show any statistical significant association with occurrence of occupational injury (Tadesse and Kumie, 2007). This difference may be due to the fact that only education by itself alone cannot reduce occupational injury when the level of hazards is high and the use of reliable techniques and safe work organizations are limited (Tadesse and Kumie, 2007).

The most common accident in spinning process was hand injuries. In Alexandria, study conducted by El-Sabaawi (1978) revealed that hand injuries depended on the nature of occupation among textile workers in spinning process. The consequences of the injuries are painful and disabling because of inadequate injury management. The association of temporal factors (e.g., monthly, date, time, and shift-wise variations) with the occurrence of accidents in textile industry substantiated the observation of Hallsten (1990), whose study of 31,580 work accidents in four different industries over a period of two years, showed that accident peaks occur in morning hours across different occupational groups. The causative factors herein identified for injuries in the thread industry have been corroborated in other studies (Goldenhar et al., 2003; Sorock et al., 2004; Cordeiro, 2002). Workers with sleep disturbances, insufficient sleep and insomnia experience higher injury rates (Nakata et al., 2005). A similar study found that workers with better sleep quality have lower injury rates (Edmonds and Vinson, 2007).

Different scholars reported that sleep disturbances such as difficulty in initiating sleep, sleeping poorly at night, sleep insufficiency, and insomnia symptoms are significantly associated with the occurrence of occupational injuries (Akinori et al, 2005). This study also revealed that workers who complained problem of sleeping disturbance during work had about two times more likely to report occupational injury than workers who did not report problem of sleeping disturbance [AOR: 1.99 ,95% CI: 1.30.3.04]. Most occupational health and safety studies conducted in developing and developed countries strongly agreed with this finding (Rhys and Paul, 2005; Tadesse and Kumie, 2007). This is due to the fact that workers in thread factories were employed in three shifts with 8 working hour's interval which may disturb the sleeping pattern of workers. These sleeping disturbance problems affect the ability to maintain wakefulness, concentration, ability in assessing or watching the work environment and working conditions and performing duties safely.

This study finding indicated that workers who were stressed highly due to their job were more likely to report more than 2.5 times occupational injury compared with their counterparts [AOR: 2.25, 95% CI:(1.15,4.41)]. This result was supported by a case control study done among coal mining industrial workers in India [AOR: 1.83; 95% CI :(1.0, 3.4)] (Ghosh et al,2004). Another case control study done among

Iranian car manufacturing workers reported that the risk of occupational injury among those with high job stress was significantly higher than those with low job stress [AOR: 2.00; 95% CI: (1.2, 3.3)] (Soori et al, 2008). This can explained as job stress can result in physiological and psychological alterations that may increase the likely hood of developing physical and mental problems. These conditions may increase the risk of sustaining more occupational injury among industrial workers (Li, 2001). In this researcher have limitations on measurement of environmental determinant factors like heat, lightening, moisture and noise level at working site due to lack of measuring instruments.

V. Conclusion

Traumatic occupational accidents and injuries are a significant problem in industry. To conclude in from this study that being male worker, younger in age, job stress and having sleeping disturbance increases occupational injury. The implementation of safety training programmes may lead to a significant drop in occupational accidents and traumatic injuries. They are most effective among the youngest and the oldest workers and among workers with little experience, as confirmed by this study. Inexperience and lack of training are risk factors for occupational accidents. So training of workers on health and safety, reducing job stressors and sleep disturbances were recommended.

VI. Acknowledgement

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The Microcosm of Global Insecurity in Modern African Nations, an Example of Nigeria (2007 – 2011)

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Abstract - Africa has a disturbing notoriety for violent conflicts, civil wars, strife and political instability which has earned it the appellation of 'a continent at war against itself'. This has engendered insecurity, divided and pauperized societies. Various writers attribute this situation to the underdevelopment of Africa's political institutions; economic backwardness, ethnic and religious pluralities. Using the Marxian paradigm, I argue that these views are diversionary and smokescreen for strong global factors that engender insecurity in modern African nations. The world today has witnessed increase in divergent and antagonistic pluralisms, which are hinged upon global convergence around ideology and faith. These in turn are mere clothings for conflicting economic interests.

THE MICROCOSM OF GLOBAL INSECURITY IN MODERNAFRICAN NATIONS, AN EXAMPLE OF NIGERIA2007 2011

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of :

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Abstract - Africa has a disturbing notoriety for violent conflicts, civil wars, strife and political instability which has earned it the appellation of 'a continent at war against itself'. This has engendered insecurity, divided and pauperized societies. Various writers attribute this situation to the underdevelopment of Africa's political institutions; economic backwardness, ethnic and religious pluralities. Using the Marxian paradigm, I argue that these views are diversionary and smokescreen for strong global factors that engender insecurity in modern African nations. The world today has witnessed increase in divergent and antagonistic pluralisms, which are hinged upon global convergence around ideology and faith. These in turn are mere clothings for conflicting economic interests.

I. Introduction

IN security, divided and pauperized societies has been major obstacles to Nigeria's and indeed Africa's development. Insecurity in Africa has manifested in massive unemployment, poverty, disease, ethno-religious conflicts, armed robbery, violent ethnic conflicts, political thuggery etc.

Writers have made quixotic attempts at explaining the causes of insecurity in African Nations, many attribute these to the economic backwardness of Africa, others attribute the social crises to ethnic and religious pluralities of African countries.

I attempt to view the problem of insecurity in Nigeria from a perspective that seems to have been overlooked by many writers, I therefore opine that these views are mere smokescreens of fundamental factors that engendered insecurity in African countries. These factors are the inherent contradictions found in dependent capitalist countries and the contradictions caused by the 'umbilical cord' between African countries and the metropolitan cities of global capitalism.

We should not overlook the fact that Africa and other developing countries are attached to the headquarters of global capitalist economy through the unbalanced economic relationship, and through the adoption of the economic, fiscal, and political policies introduced or enforced from the global metropolitant countries of capitalism. This relationship started from the mercantilist stage of global capitalism.

Before I go into this, in this work, I shall attempt an analyses of the causes of insecurity in Nigeria

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between 2007 and 2011. During this period, Nigeria experienced increase in destructive violent conflicts such as political conflicts, the Boko Haram religious/political bombings, the militants in the South-South, armed robbery in the South-West etc. Insecurity has weakened the fabrics of the Nigerian Nationhood.

Certain questions are germane to this discourse, 'How can we explain the existence of widespread insecurity and violence in modern African Nations? In other words what is the historical root of these phenomena in modern African nations? In what political economic or social context did this situation develop? And lastly, how can we address these notorious problems? I intend to provide answers to these questions in this paper. Before I go on it is necessary to define insecurity as I have used it in this work.

II. Conceptual Framework

Security may be put in simple terms as freedom from fear and want. Based on this we may talk of security of lives and property and security from poverty and disease. We may also view security as comprising three components viz: the food security, this is hinged on human existence; the national security and collective security. Insecurity is the direct opposite of security.

Food 'insecurity' or food crisis is one of the security issues that is central to national insecurity. It fuels the reserved army of national violent crises. The common adage 'a hungry man is an angry man' cannot be more adequate in describing the connection between food crisis and national crisis. Food crisis may be defined as lack of access to sufficient food, this can be chronic or transitory. When food crisis becomes chronic it means there is continuously insufficient diet which indicates inadequate production or acquisition of food for the generality of the citizens. While transitory food crisis is a temporary decline in household food supply. These results from instability in food production and food prices of even in the purchasing power of the generality of the citizens.

National security, involves the protection of lives, property, rights and dignity of the generality of the citizens. It also implies the protection of the national resources, territory sovereignty and the institutions of the country. In other words, national insecurity implies when

there are threats to all these aspects of national life. Collective security encompasses the global threats to security of lives, resources, human rights, and dignity etc. or threats to global peace. This, concept since World War II has been advocated, attacked, defined and even criticized. More so, since collective action against threats to world peace may mean the collaboration of a few states on ad-hoc basis to deal with such challenges.

In this, we witness today the activities of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) around the globe. The question is in whose interests has NATO been present in different parts of the world? Whose security are they maintaining, and in whose interest, etc. The real issue is that capitalism at its imperialist stage through the colonial and neo-colonial structures and institutions internationalized the issue of national security. Therefore, for the capitalist metropolitant headquarters national security did not always coincide with the national boundaries because events occurring in another continent could threaten the national security at home. (the capitalist metropolitant cities). Thus we may understand the interest of the capitalist powers in wars in Syria, Libya, Bahrain etc. In the same vein, economically the greater integration of the metropolitant capitalist economies of the world, coupled with the intertwining of global market and financial institutions led to a situation whereby global capitalist system became vulnerable to global recession or economic instabilities which undermine economic securities even in the peripheral capitalist nations in Africa. The two World Wars (1914 – 1918 and 1939 – 1945), the Great Depression of 1929 – 1933; the ideological conflict between the global communist and capitalist system referred to as the cold war which engendered wars in Korean 1950 – 1953, Vietnam in 1959 – 1975 and many sponsored conflicts in Africa, Latin America and Asia and the Middle East for the best part of the 20th century and recently as from 2010, the debt crisis in Eurozone, which has been termed 'debrocracy' and the subsequent 'occupy movement' in the capitalist metropolis of Europe and America. These are all historical evidences of the inherent conflicts in the capitalist system.

The balkanazation of communist soviet union has led to series of national and international security challenges, especially the rise of what has been referred to as the 'unipolar world' or 'new world order' which invariably is American Military Adventurism or another form military subjugation of less developed countries, by the capitalist metropolitant nations. The national security implications of the current war in Asia, African and the middle east leaves no doubt that the less developed nations are under a new wave of unilateral breaches of national security.

III. The Nigerian Example

The historical roots of insecurity in Nigeria cannot be divorced from the global trend. Infact, many discourse on modern African nations should necessarily recognise its post coloniality. By this, I am referring to its historical connection to the growth and development of global capitalism, which at a stage led to the colonization of Africa. In other words any meaningful discourse of any historical phenomenon should be within the context of its political economy. Consequently I view the root cause of insecurity in modern African nations within the context of the global political economy of global capitalist economy. Hence I adopt the neo-Marxian paradigm in my contributions to the discourse on insecurity in modern African nations.

Neo-Marxian paradigm is a broad term that encompasses various twentieth century approaches that amends or extends Marxian and Marxist theory, often incorporating elements of other theoretical explanations from various writers, especially in sociology, criminology and psychology. Many prominent neo-Marxists such as Herbert Marcuce, were sociologists and psychologists .

Neo-Marxian theory as an idea of new left wing often emphasis the evils of global capitalism. It describes the opposition to the problems of inequalities and uneven development experienced in the Less Developed Countries within the context of the political economy of global capitalism. In the perspective of sociological studies (writings) neo-Marxian approach add Marx Weber's explanations of social inequality to Marxist philosophy. This is employed here to the discourse on the problem of the microcosm of global insecurity in modern African Nations.

IV. Insecurity Under Colonial Rule

The growth and development of the global capitalist economy led to the incorporation and supsumption of African economy under global capitalist system. The instrument of the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade, the so called legitimate trade saw global capitalism at its primitive accumulation stages. During this period, market expansion involved not only increase in global capitalist trade, but it was accompanied by violence, plunder, theft, robbery piracy and conquest of Africa and Asian countries. Thus at this stage of monopoly capitalism it necessitated the military subjugation, political domination, cultural alienation of the African continent all of which facilitated the plundering of the African economy under colonial subjugation for further development of the capitalist metropolitant headquarters in Europe and later in America.

Consequently, under colonial rule there were two distinct phenomena that are directly relevant to this discourse. "They are the creation of a state of insecurity, and the creation of uneven development" (Tijani, A. 2011:183). These are characteristics of capitalist system esecially as found within the dependent capitalist nations therefore, we see that the foundation of insecurity as engendered by the political economy of capitalism took root from the mercantilist period (Slave

Trade) and laid under the colonial political economy. This reference made by (Nnoli 1978 : 63) on this pasteurizes the scene, he observes that:

Capitalism in general and the peripheral capitalism purveyed by colonial capitalism in particular contained an inherent tendency to marginalise people and areas and economic sectors not directly involved in the expanded reproduction of private capital through profit maximization.

The first colonial character which is the creation of uneven development globally as well as within national borders or within the colony, made urban centres that served as seats of colonial administration to have had more socio-economic infrastructure than the rural centres. At the regional level, development existed depending on the extent to which each region was integrated to the capitalist mercantile economy (Rodney, 1972 : 227). Thus for instance southern Sudan and Western Kenya had little that attracts colonial interests, they were thus neglected in terms of provision of roads, hospitals, schools, etc. In Nigeria, this phenomenon ignited the demand for creation of new regions, states and local governments especially after independence.

The second character of the colonial system was the creation of insecurity bearing in mind, our definition of insecurity as freedom from fear and want. The colonial state necessarily came into existence through violence and for the purpose of plundering the economy of the colony. In other words to pauperize, and poverize the colonial people. One of the main consequences of colonial rule was the creating a class of elite that stepped into the shoes of the colonial master, whose interests was also to acquire wealth at the expense of the governed. This situation was enhanced or made inevitable by the inherent colonial structures, policies and constitutions and by the pauperization of the independent states economy.

Thus apart from this class the economic structures had the umbilical cord of neo-colonial rule intact. The relationship between the two was that the former became local agents of international capitalist, those Marx called comprador Borgeoisie.

Therefore, we could safely say that insecurity in modern nations took root in the global capitalist system. Therefore when we talk of the manifestation of insecurity in modern African nations such as widespread deprivation, poverty, unemployment, disease and violent conflicts etc. we trace it to the dislocation of African systems and its relationship with the global capitalism.

V. External Threats to National Security in Nigeria

a) Food Crisis (Insecurity)

Nigeria is a dependent capitalist country. It has all the features of economic backwardness. Poverty is an important factor in national insecurity. For instance disproportionate population of people in poverty implies an insufficient utilization of national resources and the possibility of social unrest which may be due to unemployment, or underemployment. This creates or swells the population of what we call the Industrial Reverse Army IRA. In third world countries like Nigeria, it is this army that readily serve in the violent national crises. The 'occupy movement' in western countries is part of the features of poverty in such societies when the potentials of the poor are untapped or under developed or under utilized there is a high risk of frustration and national insecurity. It is in this regard that poverty leads to poor participation or even totally inhibits popular participation and apathy in policy formulation and procedure of election. The net result is poor governance, lack of direction and general instability.

Also because the potential of the poor are unengaged they find expression in form of retaliation against the state which they hold as been responsible for their deprivation. This may lead to drag trafficking armed robbery violent ethnic/religious conflicts kidnapping by ethnic militias etc.

When we consider our period of discourse, i.e. 2007 – 2011 in Nigeria, we need to look into the consequences of New Liberal Capitalist policies in engendering insecurity in Nigeria. In Nigeria, neo-liberalism stipulates the withdrawal of state from the provision of social services. Fundamentally, it advocates the disengagement of state from the management of public services. Nigeria has embraced this ideology, it consequently led to the policies of withdrawal such as privatization, commercialization, deregulation etc. With this, Nigeria entered the period of severe economic crisis coupled with the dearth of democratic values, manipulated democratic enterprise fraught with electoral malpractices; and the consequences of aggressive neo-liberal policies of commercialization and privatisation. These led to the manifestation of insecurity which include massive unemployment, poverty, disease, ethno-religious conflicts in various parts of country, high and rising rates of criminal activities, proliferation of ethnic militia, politically motivated violence, arson, thurggery, terrorist bombings high inflation rates and instability in the oil market. It also led to environmental insecurity such as decadent, decaying and neglected infrastructure such as roads, bridges, urban overcrowding etc.

Neo-liberalism should be viewed within the context of the new world order, uni-polar world or in other words the globalized world. There has been increase in divergence and antagonistic pluralities which converge around ideology and faith. This has divided the world into violent ideological and religious camps. It has been so violent that it has threatened global security.

These has manifested itself at the global level in the conflicts of which makes one to question the dividing line between terrorism and freedom fighting,

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between anti-terrorist army and imperialist army; between foreign occupation and human rights supporters, between installation of puppet regime and democracy soldiers etc. All these crises are global manifestation of the global conflicts between faith and ideology. What then is this globalization. The globalized world is principally hinged on the globalisation of economy, (capitalism), Information and Communication Technology ICT these led to the attempt to globalise western model of democracy and 'human right. Hence western 'NATO' Army of Democracy are in essence solders of global capitalism, hence on the other hand, the religious 'fundamentalism' may not occur in a vacuum. It is within the context of the new world order or the globalized world. Otherwise why should al-Qaeda strike in the different parts of the world especially where there are American Economic interests, violence on both sides have polarised the world into conflict between ideology and faith.

In the same vein, when we consider, the organisation, methods, operation of the terrorist groups in Nigeria within this period, the Niger Delta militants, the Boko Harram, the Armed Robbers we find that in spite of the seeming ideological differences a common strong factor exist among them, i.e. the political economic interests.

VI.   External Forces and National Security Challenges in Nigeria

In this paper, the term external forces refers to the 'United Nations Development partners, the international monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the World Trade Organization (W.T.O) They are among the numerous institutions that constitute the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), which is a body of the United Nations that coordinates all the social and Economic Works of the United Nations (U.N.).

The IMF and IBRD also known as the World Bank were established at Briton Wood after the Second World War to help avoid economic disasters such as the Great Depression. These were organizations whose principles were based on classical liberal capitalist doctrines of Keynesian economics. John Mayrard Kenes was a British economist and one of the closest economic advisors of Franklin Rooseveld.

The World Bank and IMF today have dominant economic activities in many countries of the world. The main preoccupation of the IMF was to stabilize foreign exchange rates while the IBRD was involved in the reconstruction of war devastations in Western Europe and long term economic development planning for less developed countries (Alkali, 1997). The World Trade Organization (WTO) was established in 1995, it succeeded the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade programme and the loan was designed to further

enslave the economy of the borrower and favour the designers.

The World Bank programmes started playing the role of facilitating the activities of the International (GATT) created in 1947. The WTO has been involved in promoting "free trade" agenda of the Trans-national Corporations. In other words ensuring the opening of national borders for the trade exploitation by the multinational companies headquarters in Europe and America. The common characteristic of the three institutions is that they dictate economic policies to less developed countries, rather than the other way round. It is within these context that we shall appraise the external factor in the security challenges in Nigeria.

The IMF, World Bank and WTO played roles that have devastating effects on the Nigerian Economy. They have in essence assisted the economic enslavement of Nigerian economy by the global capitalist metropolitant economy of Europe and America.

As early as 1955 the world bank had started involving in the Nigerian Economy. It took up the responsibility of a critical study of the Nigerian economy (Alkali, 1997).

In 1958 it gave its first credit facility of $26.1 million to Nigeria to complete the railway line from Gombe to Maiduguri. This was the beginning of its involvement in the Nigerian political economy. Thence it financed projects mostly in areas of transport, sea ports, highways, telecommunications and electricity. Between 1958 and 1970 it financed a total of twelve projects amounting to some $248.3 million (Alkali, 1997).

Between 1971 and 1980, the World Bank was involved in the funding of agricultural projects and rural development. It financed Cocoa production in Western Regions and between 1974 and 1077 it sponsored five agricultural development projects in Nigeria, i.e. Funtua, Gombe, Gausau, Lafia and Ayagba. In fact between 1958 and 1987, 66 projects loans were approved by the bank for Nigeria out of which 29 projects were for Agriculture which was values at $1,591.8 million. The result generally was that it boosted agriculture impressively during this period (Alkali, 1997).

However, by 1980, World Bank began the introduction of non-project and quick disbursing structural Adjustment Loans (SAL) in its global activities. In September 1986, the Federal Government of Nigeria adopted the Structural Adjustment Programme officially (SAP). By November, 1986, it acquired the first SAP loan of $452.0 million. In 1989 the second SAP loan of $600 million was approved for Nigerian and it continued until Nigeria then became the 12th largest borrowers of the Bank in the World (Alkali, 1997). The acquisition of World Bank Loan and adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programme in Nigeria became a turning point in the history of Nigerian Political Economy. The whole Corporations and Western Governments. It became

policy agents for the two. It was in that capacity that countries like Nigeria had no choice but to adopt the economic policies of a neo-colonial character.

The Structural Adjustment Programme basically include political and economic policy measures such as privatization, deregulation, Austerity Measures, devaluation of currency, massive reduction in social welfare programmes and state expenditure retrenchment of workers and wage freeze. It include also introduction of repressive laws curtailing political liberty (Mbu, 1992).

The consequences of the SAP Programme both economically and socially can be seen in terms of the insecurity it created in the country. The programme lacked human face such that at the Khortuum Conference organised by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, SAP was criticized seriously for not meeting urgent human needs' (Iyoha, 1992).

Since the 1980s, the living conditions of Nigerians has continuously deteriorated. The real incomes of most households declined sharply and the rate of underemployment worsened. World Bank reports that since the commencement of the SAP programme the living standard of the Nigerians masses fell drastically. The per capita income reduced from $800 to less than $400 in the 1990s (World Bank, 1994)

Thus it put the lives of Nigerians into serious food insecurity and it eroded genuine nationalist feelings leading many into their ethnic and religious shells, from which they started series of violence against the state, leading to National insecurity.

At the dawn of the present millennium, Nigeria entered a period of serious problem of socio-economic and political instability and insecurity. The harsh-economic policies enforced by the World Bank, IMF and WTO – the so-called International Development Partners have the effects of deepening poverty, aggravating food insecurity environmental destruction, neglect of social infrastructure and population dislocation and displacement. The purchasing power of Nigerian declined so much that most Nigerians live below poverty line.

Removal of subsidy from petroleum resources, health and education further pushed Nigerians into abject poverty. Debt servicing took priority over social services. Young people suffer under-employment and unemployment. Removal of subsidy from the Agricultural sector reduced the purchasing power of peasant farmers and their capacity utilization.

Before the SAP programme in 1980, Nigeria was among the middle income nations, but by the early 1990s Nigerian had joined the leading poorest and most corrupt nations in the World (Nwoko,1992). Although Nigeria ranked among the richest 50 countries in pre-early 1970s but by the turn of this millennium, she became one of the 25 poorest countries and the second most corrupt country in the World. (Igbuzor, 2006).

In terms of statistics that shows incidence of poverty, by 1980, using the rate of US$1 per day it increased from 28.1% to 46.2% in 1985 and by 1996 it increased to 68.6%. While using US$2 per day to measure the poverty level the percentage of people living below poverty line increased to about 93.4% (Igbuzor, 2006).

Poverty, instability, corruption, food insecurity, national insecurity therefore became consequences of the precarious and fragile economy and social conditions, which was engendered by decades of neglect, and exploitation by the so-called International Development Partners.

The Niger Delta where the major source of national income is been derived suffered untold ecological devastation, due to the exploration and exploitation of oil resources. This put the people of Niger Delta into precarious social health and economic conditions. Any efforts by the Government to cushion the effects could not succeed due to hyper corruption in higher places. It is in this context that we can historically understand the Niger Delta militancy and the birth of Movement for Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) as a major source of insecurity in Nigeria. MEND's method of bombing of government and oil companies installations clearly indicate their grievances.

But the insecurity caused by the Boko Haram bombing cannot be so simply understood. The sect which called itself Society for propagation of Islam and Holy War have been involved in series of bombings that seems to be indiscriminate, Muslims and non-Muslims were targeted. But the Christians Churches seems to attract their special focus of attack, thereby giving suggestions of a religions war.

Therefore when the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) views it as a religions war against the Nigerian Christians, (Nigerian Tribune 13, April, 2012) one cannot really challenge that view. However, other activities of the group becloud their real focus. They have not only been attacking government departments but also Muslims seems to be the largest victims of bombings in terms of number of deaths due to Boko Haram bombings.

Perhaps that was the reasons why Dr. Sunday Mbang former President of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) told Nigerians that "Boko Haram is our suffering for North/South inequality" (Sunday Tribune April 15, 2012). While General Azazi the National Security Adviser of Nigeria held that Boko Haram saga is a baby of ruling Democratic Party's conflicts. A position which a spokesrman of the Boko Haram affirmed (Sunday Sun, May 5, 2012).

The Nigerian President, Jonathan Goodluck also admits that 'Politics of bitterness is promoting Boko Haram' (Nigerian Tribune, 26th June, 2012).

Thus we may deduce that in spite of the seeming religious clothings the real reason behind the

indiscriminate bombings of Boko Haram group could be found within the political economic conflicts.

The United States of America asserts that it is due to the serious decline in the standard of living of Nigerian especially Northern Nigeria. Is more devastated by poverty and neglect (Nigerian Tribune April 19, 2012).

Consequently, we may argue that the Boko Haram saga as well as the militancy in the South cannot be divorced from the economic woes initiated by the economic hardship caused by the neo-colonial status of Nigeria. But the political and economic corruption of Nigeria's comprador Bongeorsive is definely part of the reason. Boko Haran saga has led to serious loss of lives, state of panic, loss of billions of Nara worth of property on daily basis and it has threatened the foundation of Nigeria statehood.

By and large, I have attempted to use neo-Marxian paradigm to explain the historical roots of global insecurity. I have traced it to the global capitalist economic system and its inherent contradictions.

And I have argued that human security as a people centred approach to Global security must recognise that lasting peace and social justice cannot be achieved unless people are protected from threats to their rights and basic needs. Among the human security threats are violence and abuse of human rights, corruption and bad governance, disasters and climate change, poverty and poor access to basic services.

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The Challenges of Individualism and Nation- Building in Nigeria - An Analysis from Social History

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Introduction - The question of which comes first, - the society or the individual has been quixotic to scholars. Whether we view it from historical perspective, or from the perspective of studies in logic or even in governance, it has always been argumentative. We may liken the argument to the question of which comes first, the 'hen or the egg'? As soon as we come into the world our society gets to work to mould and socialize us from a mere biological being into the culture of our society, thereby we become, social beings. Anthropologists (commonly) believe that primitive man is more completely moulded by his society than the civilized man. He is thus less individualistic than the civilized man. There is an element of truth in this assertion. This is because nonsophisticated traditional communities are more homogenous and they provide for more opportunities for a far smaller diversity of individual occupations and skills than the advanced modern societies (Carr E.A. 1985 : 33).

THE CHALLENGES OF INDIVIDUALISM AND NATION— BUILDING IN NIGERIA — AN ANALYSIS FROM SOCIAL HISTORY

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The Challenges of Individualism and Nation-Building in Nigeria - An Analysis from Social History

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I. INTRODUCTION

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Increasing individualism or individualization is a product of the advanced modern societies. However, it would be an error to assume that there is an antithesis between the process of individualization and the growing strength and cohesion of the society (Carr, Ibid).

Carr rightly observes that:

The development of the society and the development of the individual go hand in hand, and condition each other. Indeed what we mean by a complex or advanced society is a society in which the inter-dependence of individual on one another has assumed advanced and complex forms. (Carr, E.H. 1985 : 33).

It would be dangerous to assume that modern national communities have less power to mould the thought and character of its individual members and to create uniformity and conformity than the primitive tribal communities.

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II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Individualism as a component part of an ideology has in practical terms been a driving force behind the growth, development and globalization of the capitalist economic system. In this work, I have attempted to examine how individualism have affected nation-building in Nigeria, especially, through the colonial and neo-colonial structures, policies and the enthronement of a dominant class that served as local partners to global capitalist hegemonic powers.

Lassezfaire, utilitarianism and individualism are products of the development of the capitalist economy in Europe. This is in turn linked with the growth of industrial revolution in Europe. Individualism began with the renaissance, reformation and restoration that took place in Europe. This culminated into the rise of Protestantism, the spirit of which assisted the development of the philosophy of capitalism, such as free trade, utilitarianism and human rights doctrines.

The rights of man and the citizen proclaimed by the French revolution were the rights of the individual. Individualism was the basis of the great nineteenth century philosophy of utilitarianism (Carr, 1985 : 33)

Montley refers to individualism and Utilitarianism as 'the religion of human happiness and well being' (quoted in Carr). He sees 'Rugged individualism" as the keynote of human progress. This idea is characteristic of scholars of his age and the stage of capitalist development of that epoch of history. What is important is to note that increased rate of individualization accompanied the rise of modern capitalist nations.

The capitalist revolution brought new social groups or elites to position of power. By the nineteenth century the growth and development of global capitalist economy had led to the incorporation and sup sumption of African economy under the global capitalist system.

III. COLONIAL RULE

Colonial rule in Africa led to many far reaching consequences such as the disruption of the African economy, its incorporation into the global capitalist system. African nations became dependent and peripherical capitalist systems, and so on but we are concerned in this essay about the effect of colonial rule

in creating a new elite class, a new social group, whose existence was based on the doctrine of Lassezfaire, individualism, and utilitarianism.

Colonial rule resulted in the creation of a new elite. Lassezfaire economics, African enterprise, coupled with opportunities for university and professional education were factors that contributed to the rise of the new social group, those we often refer to as the western educated elite.

This social group were bounded together by the provision of the liberal democratic tenets which is the political offshoot of the capitalist system. They are often referred to as the nationalists, political leaders etc. Their policies and programmes were tailored along the lines of the colonial masters.

They were interested not only in replacing the Europeans in leading positions of power and privilege, they were more interested in taking advantage of the inherent social disorder from the colonial era rather than transforming it. Ebijuwa, (1997 :195).

IV. Nation – Building

After the attainment of political independence, these elites continued to use the divide-and-rule tactics of the colonial masters in their intra-class rivalry for power and control of resources. Thus it led to bitter politics using ethnic, religious and geographical diversities as weapons.

The members of this social group use all these natural diversities as weapons in achieving their individual interests, which is mainly to occupy positions of power and to control state resources.

In this, race for power is intertwined with the rat race for the control of wealth of the nation. Consequently every government programme and policies are geared towards the 'development' of individual and to enhance the wealth of the few privileged individuals within this class.

As I have observed elsewhere (Tijani, A. 2010), dependent capitalist economies are characterized by dialectical relations which make capitalist economies to have inherent contradictions. Capitalism inherently produces class structures within the economy. This class structures inherently have conflictual relations which are mainly intra and inter-class conflicts. It is also inherent for the system to have a dominant class, which forms a small proportion of the populace. This class controls the wealth of the land through their political power or through the large enterprises they own as individuals. As I said, all government policies and programmes are tailored to increase the opportunities of this class to increase their wealth, especially at the expense of the national wealth.

However, this class are also serving the interest of global capitalist system with headquarters at the metropolitan cities of Europe and America. They are thus local partners to global/international/multinational corporations. They are thus often referred to as Comprador Bourgeoisie.

The question that is germaine to this discourse concerns the extent to which this system enhances nation-building or otherwise. To start with nation-building involves the development of state of harmony where ethnic, religious and other natural diversities do not lead to violent conflicts, and where the citizen view themselves first as a citizen rather than belonging to primordial units. It is where the distribution of national wealth is largely done with equity, social justice and common good. This shall invariably enhance high degree of national integration.

For Schermerhon (1970), integration is seen as a continuous process rather than a state of being, relative rather than all embracing corrective rather than self-subsistent, a matter of degree rather than an all or non-phenomenon, and correlative with conflict rather than a displacement of conflict.

In other words there is no system that is completely free of conflict as well as integrative elements. Therefore, nation-building problems in modern African nations cannot be divorced from the consequences of tenets of the capitalist economic system, colonial rule, the manipulative activities of the ruling elites and as far as this discourse is concerned we cannot divorce it from the effects of Lassezfaire economic system which goes along with individualism .

V. Prospects and Set-Back of Individualism

The capitalist system in dependent capitalist countries like Nigeria, as said above has the elites in position of power. The units of production and distribution are largely in the hands of single individuals, 'the ideology of the new social order strongly emphasized the role of individual initiative in the social order' (Carr 1961 : 35).

Many signs nowadays suggests that this ideology has run into various crises even in the western world, which was the focus of this ideology. For instance, the current debt crises in the European countries and the 'occupy movement' whereby the masses of Europe and America since last year have been protesting against the social evils of the ideology such as massive under-employment, unemployment and immiserazation.

When we speak in abstract terms, we may talk about the struggle between individual liberty and social justice, but in reality this is not a struggle between individual and the society, but between individuals that have formed a dominant powerful group and the rest of the society. The group using social and economic policies to promote their class/group interests at the expense of the society.

VI. The Nigeria Example

a) Mixed Economy

For about thirty years after independence in 1960, Nigeria practised mixed economic system. That is, public enterprises existed side by side with privately owned enterprises. There was direct government investment in production and provision of public services such as the oil sector, Energy supply, Water supply, education, communication industry etc. In the seventies, there was the indigenisation of some foreign owned companies. This was done in order to provide services to the citizens, to control the economy of the nation; for national pride and for national security. Therefore by 1991, public enterprises proliferated and rose up to 1,500 throughout the country. Of this, the Federal Government owned about 600. (Obasanjo, 1999).

These public enterprises owned by the states and central government were sources of finance for such governments during the First Republic, for example, the group of companies now known as the Odu'a Group of Companies were successfully established to finance the Action Group Government in the Western Region during the First Republic (Tijani, A.). By the early 1980s, these enterprises had become white elephant projects, consuming millions of naira without accruing profits and they became inefficient. The question is, what are the socio-economic factors that led to this situation?

The socio-economic situations that prevailed in the early 1980s is succinctly described in December, 1983 in the coup broadcast by Sanni Abacha.

I am referring to the hash intolerable condition under which we are now living. Our economy has been hopelessly mismanaged, we have become a debtor and beggar nation. There is inadequacy of food at reasonable prices for our people. Health services are in shambles as our hospitals are reduced to mere consulting clinics, without drugs, water and equipment. Our educational system is deteriorating at an alarming rate. Unemployment figures including graduates have reached embarrassing and unacceptable proportions. In some states, workers are being owed salary arrears of eight to twelve months. (The Guardian Newspaper, 1984)

The introduction of the 'Structural Adjustment Programme by the Babangida Administration in the second half of the 1980s worsened the economic situation. "Unemployment reached unprecedented levels with the continued retrenchment of workers resulting from rationalization of the public sector, privatization and commercialization of companies and parastatals" (Ayila, 2005 : 93).

The aftermath of the Structural Adjustment Programme introduced in September, 1986 by the Babangida administration led to mass loss of jobs, mass poverty and untold hardship and misery. All these led the people to become willing tools of the bourgeois class in their intra-class conflict which they portrayed as ethnic interests. Adedeji, (1999) observes:

Mass poverty experienced by Nigerians over the years has also been identified as one of the potential factors responsible for the general high level of instability in the country. Invariably, this has found expression in ethnic and religious conflagration (Adedeji, 1991).

The harsh economic realities of the nation often lead citizens to seek economic and social fulfilments within their primordial groupings, especially of ethnic and religions grouping. This would then make it possible to understand why citizens opt for their kinsmen and women to occupy political posts. That was why the location of local government headquarters and the election of local government Chairperson would lead to serious incessant crises such as Jos and Modakeke/Ife crises, the former took on ethnic and religious clothing. These ethnic and religious colouration almost eclipsed the fundamental cause which is the search for social and economic security by citizens. Why then did we have inefficiency in the public service?

VII. Privatization and Commercialisation Programme in Nigeria

The programme was adopted in Nigeria in the 1980s due to the inefficiency of the public corporations. An important question is why we had such gross inefficiency in the public sector of the Nigerian economy. We view this programme essentially been necessitated by the attempt to maximize economic benefits for the individually owned enterprises at the expense of the society.

This is because as the chief executive of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the President and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces certainly has under his control, legal powers, instruments, institutions and machinery to curb inefficiency and effect sustainable growth and development of the entire economy.

The President, through his ministers controls the live wire of the Nigeria economy such as the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), the Nigerian Airways, the Customs Department, the Iron and Steel Industry, the Federal Ministries, Agencies and Parastatals. Others are the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA), Nigerian Telecommunication Services (NITEL) etc. Therefore, both directly and indirectly, the President has the power, the machinery and the instruments to arrest the inefficiency in public services and also to maintain sustainable growth and development.

In addition to all these, for the purpose of planning and monitoring the growth and development of the economy, the president has directly working with

him in the Presidency, Economic Advisers. In the presidential cabinet, there are giants in various academic fields, among whom are Professors and others with Doctorate degree with years of experience in public administration.

Similarly within the Federal and State government boards and boards of government companies and parastatals and in the ranks of the party leadership are quantum of expertise and experience in government and business, which they had gained as military administrators, tycoons, professionals, ministers, commissioners, traditional rulers, etc. Many of these have private businesses which they run at great profit, while others are shareholders in lucrative businesses in the banking industry, mining, construction companies and commercial companies. The question is, with all these cream of experts and experienced men in governments, why should public enterprises become inefficient and white elephant projects. And why should the government fail or refuse to put all these potentialities in use to strengthen the performance of the public enterprises.

The answer to these questions will take us beyond the smokescreen of the imperativeness of privatisation and commercialisation in Nigeria. Privatisation programme in the dependent capitalist national such as Nigeria, is the latest or highest stage in the imperialistic drives of the capitalist metropolitan nations. This shall be achieved through the new market nationality of the IMF and World Bank and through the purchase and control of the economies of these dependent capitalist nations.

In the privatisation programme of the dependent capitalist countries, the assistance of the International Monetary Agencies and Western Powers were sought, this is not in the least in the interest of such countries. The IMF and World Bank propagate the new idea of market nationality to such countries that are considering privatisation. These propaganda take the form of seminars which betrayed the rather naïve belief that the privatisation programme of the metropolitan capitalist countries could be transplanted to the dependent capitalist countries. (Peter and Catherine, 1994 : 240).

Nigeria and other dependent capitalist countries have found themselves in the trap of privatisation set by the international monetary agencies and the capitalist metropolis due to the fact that their economies are entangled in the web of obligations with International Monetary Agencies in the form of debt burden. In fact privatisation in these countries may be done in order to meet the demands of the International Monetary Agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank who requests for the 'Opening Up' of the economy for foreign investment. This was in addition to the need to stabilise budget and exchange rate.

In addition to this, the economies of these countries are:

Often heavily dependent on a few exports, usually of primary products, and have experienced severe external shocks in the last decades. Indeed the destabilisation caused by these shocks often spanned their privatisation programmes. However their experience of government control and protection has not been without it problems, and excessive bureaucracy and corruption is common (Ibid : 246)

Through corruption and the looting of the resources of these pubic enterprises (Obasanjo : 1999), the ruling class became millionaires and billionaires. Privatisation programme shall be appealing to them as an opportunity to invest their loot and 'legitimise' their wealth. In the process they serve as Comprador Bourgeoisie .for the International Monetary Agencies and companies. It is in this line of thought that one can understand and answer the questions on the imperativeness of privatisation and commercialization in Nigeria and why in spite of the experienced experts found in government the 'inefficiency' of public enterprises cannot be arrested.

It is important for the dependent capitalist countries to consider whether privatisation would increase welfare of citizens; whether it would lead to the loss of control over the nation's economy to foreign companies, and the International Monetary Agencies. And whether it shall lead to the sacrifice of National pride and security.

VIII. Socio-Economic Realities of Privatisation and Commercialization in Nigeria

The main argument of the apostles of privation is the belief that privatisation shall enhance efficiency. We need to understand what is referred to as 'efficiency' usually it is claimed that privatisation would "provide greater incentives for cost minimization; encourage more effective managerial supervision and stimulate greater employee effort (Peter and Catherine : 7).

Consequently, the efficiency of privatised enterprises is judged in terms of the increase in profits and the return on the capital. This negates other socio-economic realities such as the level of employment in the country, the rate of the growth in the unemployed and under employed population.

In order to maximise profit, the capitalist would rather cut down the labour strength and improve his technology to enhance the provision of better services and increase production with minimum financial cost (Lemin, V.I., 1984 : 32-34). Hence, success of the economy in this situation is not judged in terms of the social effects but in terms of the growth and improvement of technology and maximization of profits. This leads to the increase in what Marxists call the

'reserve army of labour' (Ibid : 32). That is, the population of the unemployed and the under employed. Such people would readily accept low wages and miserable conditions of service under a privatised economy. This would further worsen the living standard of the citizens.

Privatisation programme in the capitalist peripheries or dependent capitalist countries such as Nigeria and other African countries differs significantly from that of the capitalist metropolitan countries such as Britain. The British privatisation is:

A reasonably coherent and integrated policy, even it owned its genesis more to expedient financial and political forces than to a well thought-out philosophy. (Peter & Catherine).

When the economy becomes privatised, it is not likely that the problem of inefficiency could be solved, with rising prices and fares by the privatised enterprises in order to meet up the demand for quality product and efficient services. This becomes difficult in the developing countries where already the purchasing power is generally low, and where unlike the developed economies there is no system of income support to reduce the harshness of the new economic realities for the masses of the labour class (Ibid: 243), for instance, inflation in these countries is rampant, when attempts were made to hold down public wages during the Babangida and Abacha regimes in Nigeria, i.e. 1985 – 1993), and 1993 – 1998) respectively the effects was much injurious. Consequently, in the words of Catherine, this type of situation often lead to the condition whereby: Public servants could no longer earn a living wage in their official employment, and were forced to take second private sector jobs, or where pressures were transmitted through shortages rather than price rises, to take time from work to acquire necessities. This had an inevitable effect on the standard of public services and created an obvious private market for such employees to satisfy demand which they were unable to do in their official work time. Thus the unofficial economy took over from official services, exacerbating the inefficiencies (Ibid : 242).

Public school teachers became part time traders, taxi and bus drivers in order to augment the inadequate wages.

Due to the underdeveloped condition of the dependent capitalist countries, market failure is more likely to be experienced than the capitalist metropolis. This is because the size of the effective market is smaller, the economies are at their early stage of development with long years of protectionism. The economy are usually heavily dependent on few exports goods these are mainly primarily goods such as oil and agricultural goods. These products have experienced serious external shocks over the years (Ibid : 241). Therefore, privatisation programme in Nigeria which is a

dependent capitalist country with all the indices of an underdeveloped economy shall have no human face.

Because of the under-development of the capital market the government would sell many of their enterprises to foreign investors. For example, NEPA was billed for lease to Eskom , the South African Electricity Corporation in collaboration with Shell Company. (Nigerian Tribune, April 9, 2002). This would have caused a lot of damage to our National pride because Eskom is owned by the government of South Africa, the Corporation supplies about 40,000 megawatts daily in South Africa, while NEPA was still struggling to supply 4,000 megawatts (Ibid). NEPA is an example of public enterprises that had gulped billions of Naira without result (Obasanjo, 1999).

Similarly, the plan to privatise the Nigerian Security Printing and Minting Company Limited (NSPMC) was most unpatriotic. The company is responsible for the production of the Nigerian Currencies, Nigerian Passports, ballot papers, bank cheques, certificates, examination papers and other security documents; moreso, as the sale was billed for foreign investors this has been rightly described as 'throwing the sovereignty and integrity of the country to the winds all in an attempt to maximize profit' (Saturday Tribune, April 6, 2002).

In the same vein, the privatisation of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) is tantamount to putting the Nigerian economic live wire into the hands of few individuals and their foreign partners. It amounts to selling the economic freedom of Nigeria and a worse stage in the Neo-Colonial Status of Nigeria. The sale of the refineries, petrochemicals company, the pipelines and depot, the Nigerian Gas Company and other NNPC subsidiaries (the Guardian, 2002), shall effectively lead to price increase in petroleum products which shall have direct effects in raising the cost of living in a country where there is no workable policies to cushion the effects of inflation.

The conditions of sale could also lead to serious loss in revenue for the government. This is because, as rightly captured by Peter M. and Catherine P.M.

Underdevelopd capital markets often result in direct sales of assets rather than floating shares on stock markets. Assets are therefore, often underprised resulting in loss in revenue for the government. (Peter & Catherine : 24)

However, those who stand to benefit from the exercise are the comprador bourgeoisie class, the ruling elite who had become millionaires and billionaires while 'serving' the government in one capacity of the other. The loot shall thus be legitimised by privatisation and commercialisation of public enterprise. In the exercise, they shall effectively serve as local partners to the trans-national companies and International Monetary

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Agencies in the exploitation of the resources of the country.

Studies have shown that not all public enterprises are inefficient, and inefficiency indicates a lot of disabilities in government control mechanisms which is largely due to corruption, indiscipline and acquisition of undue foreign loans and the debt burden. It has been observed that in some countries public enterprises were efficient and highly profitable. For instance it has been observed that:

The most efficient steel company in the world is the Korean Posco (Pohang Steel Company) which is state owned. Other examples of high-performance public enterprises include the Kenyan Tea Development Authority; the Ethiopian Telecommunications Authority; the Tanzanian Electric Supply Company and the Guma Valley Water Company of Sierra-Leone (Ibid : 24).

Similarly, petro nas of Malaysia is a government owned oil company which declares huge profits every year. So also petrobas of Brazil declares huge profits on yearly basis. (Nigerian Tribune, April 6, 2002).

IX. Conclusion and Recommendation

Therefore, by and large the history of the economic relationship between the capitalist metropolitan cities and Nigeria and other dependent capitalist nations made it imperative that the economy of such countries shall be exploited by these metropolis, through such means as unbalanced and unfavourable terms and conditions of trade such as buying manufactured goods in exchange for primary products; through exploitative monetary relationship such as IMF and World Bank Loans and recently through the purchase of the economic live wires of such dependent capitalist countries as a new form of foreign domination otherwise known as privatisation and commercialisation.

The inefficiency of these public enterprises in Nigeria is largely due to the culture of looting of public enterprise which goes hand in hand with the inefficiency and inability of government in arresting this problem.

Therefore, rather than privatise and sacrifice national pride, security and economic independent and welfare of 'citizens, Nigeria should solve the problems of inefficiency and unprofitability of public enterprises by enforcing discipline and curbing corruption and mismanagement of public funds. The managerial stratum of public enterprises may be employed on new terms, even if the personnel remain the same, such as attaching the conditions of service to the performance of the enterprise. The arrangements may require finding solutions to political pressures that may lead to revisal to status quo, this is left for economist to explore.

To achieve economic development, political stability and to reduce insecurity through ethnic conflicts, the necessary conditions of equity, and justice must be established. Segun (1994), rightly observes that: "Economic development depends on political stability which has eluded Nigeria, some 28 years after the civil war ended, because the necessary structures of equity, justice and democracy have not been put in place".

Insecurity as engendered by incessant violent, ethnic conflicts in modern African nations has been put within the context of colonial and neo-colonial dependent capitalist economic system. The colonial system had implanted structures, institutions and policies that inevitably would pitch the various primordial groupings against one another. The National Petite and Comprador Bourgeoisie continued the line of colonial policies after independence.

X. Recommendations

It is a fact that History is made by the interaction of individuals and of groups in human societies, but the role of individual in human history should not be over-emphasised over that of the society. When we study an individual we are at the same time studying the society that produced him. We cannot limit history to the activities of man as an individual. Rather we should view the social forces that determined such activities of man as an individual. This can be summed up in the words of V.I. Lenin:

.... the idea of historical necessity does not in the least undermine the role of the individual in history; all history is made up of the actions of individuals, who are undoubtedly active figures. The real question that arises in appraising the social activity of an individual is what conditions ensure the success of his actions, what guarantee is there that these actions will not remain an isolated act lost in the welter of contrary acts?

No matter the greatness or the political significance of an individual, he can neither suspend nor reverse the objective process of history. The recognition gained by a political leader is determined by the accuracy with which he seizes up any situation within the country or beyond it borders. Besides, this is also due to his ability to work out the right strategies and tactics for political struggle and by his links with the masses.

The problem of unemployment, under-employment should be addressed adequately. This would reduce the industrial reserve army that constitute the bulk of political thugs, kidnappers and ethnic militia. This is because National Security cannot be attained without improving economic security. Dialogue and Rehabilitation of people that pose threat to National security should be employed rather than military action and high-handedness.

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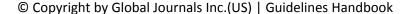
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1. General,

2. Ethical Guidelines,

3. Submission of Manuscripts,

4. Manuscript's Category,

5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,

6. After Acceptance.

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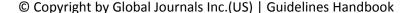
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- Very for a short time explain the tentative propose and how it skilled the declared objectives.

Approach:

- Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done.
- Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point with every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need a least of four paragraphs.
- Present surroundings information only as desirable in order hold up a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read the whole thing you know about a topic.
- Shape the theory/purpose specifically - do not take a broad view.
- As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (Methods and Materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A sound written Procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replacement your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt for the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to spare your outcome but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section. When a technique is used that has been well described in another object, mention the specific item describing a way but draw the basic

principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to text all particular resources and broad procedures, so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step by step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

- Explain materials individually only if the study is so complex that it saves liberty this way.
- Embrace particular materials, and any tools or provisions that are not frequently found in laboratories.
- Do not take in frequently found.
- If use of a definite type of tools.
- Materials may be reported in a part section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method (not particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology)
- Describe the method entirely
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures
- Simplify - details how procedures were completed not how they were exclusively performed on a particular day.
- If well known procedures were used, account the procedure by name, possibly with reference, and that's all.

Approach:

- It is embarrassed or not possible to use vigorous voice when documenting methods with no using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result when script up the methods most authors use third person passive voice.
- Use standard style in this and in every other part of the paper - avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings - save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part a entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Carry on to be to the point, by means of statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.You must obviously differentiate material that would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matter should not be submitted at all except requested by the instructor.

Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In manuscript, explain each of your consequences, point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or in manuscript form.

What to stay away from

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surroundings information, or try to explain anything.
- Not at all, take in raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.

- Do not present the similar data more than once.
- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
- Never confuse figures with tables - there is a difference.

Approach

- As forever, use past tense when you submit to your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.
- Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report
- If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results part.

Figures and tables

- If you put figures and tables at the end of the details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attach appendix materials, such as raw facts
- Despite of position, each figure must be numbered one after the other and complete with subtitle
- In spite of position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other and complete with heading
- All figure and table must be adequately complete that it could situate on its own, divide from text

Discussion:

The Discussion is expected the trickiest segment to write and describe. A lot of papers submitted for journal are discarded based on problems with the Discussion. There is no head of state for how long a argument should be. Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implication of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and hold up for all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of result should be visibly described. Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved with prospect, and let it drop at that.

- Make a decision if each premise is supported, discarded, or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."
- Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work
- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

- When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from available information
- Submit to work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.
- Submit to generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

<div align="center">

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	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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