

# GLOBAL JOURNAL

OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE : C

## SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE

DISCOVERING THOUGHTS AND INVENTING FUTURE

### HIGHLIGHTS

Politics & Consumer Prices

Bulwark against Crisis

Decentralization & the Politics

Rural Development Programme

Barack Obama

Volume 12

Issue 11

Version 1.0

ENG



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE : C  
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE

---



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCES : C  
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE

---

VOLUME 12 ISSUE 11 (VER. 1.0)

OPEN ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY

© Global Journal of Human  
Social Sciences. 2012.

All rights reserved.

This is a special issue published in version 1.0  
of "Global Journal of Human Social  
Sciences." By Global Journals Inc.

All articles are open access articles distributed  
under "Global Journal of Human Social  
Sciences"

Reading License, which permits restricted use.  
Entire contents are copyright by of "Global  
Journal of Human Social Sciences" unless  
otherwise noted on specific articles.

No part of this publication may be reproduced  
or transmitted in any form or by any means,  
electronic or mechanical, including  
photocopy, recording, or any information  
storage and retrieval system, without written  
permission.

The opinions and statements made in this  
book are those of the authors concerned.  
Ultraculture has not verified and neither  
confirms nor denies any of the foregoing and  
no warranty or fitness is implied.

Engage with the contents herein at your own  
risk.

The use of this journal, and the terms and  
conditions for our providing information, is  
governed by our Disclaimer, Terms and  
Conditions and Privacy Policy given on our  
website [http://globaljournals.us/terms-and-  
condition/menu-id-1463/](http://globaljournals.us/terms-and-condition/menu-id-1463/)

By referring / using / reading / any type of  
association / referencing this journal, this  
signifies and you acknowledge that you have  
read them and that you accept and will be  
bound by the terms thereof.

All information, journals, this journal,  
activities undertaken, materials, services and  
our website, terms and conditions, privacy  
policy, and this journal is subject to change  
anytime without any prior notice.

**Incorporation No.:** 0423089  
**License No.:** 42125/022010/1186  
**Registration No.:** 430374  
**Import-Export Code:** 1109007027  
**Employer Identification Number (EIN):**  
**USA Tax ID:** 98-0673427

## Global Journals Inc.

(A Delaware USA Incorporation with "Good Standing"; **Reg. Number: 0423089**)

Sponsors: *Open Association of Research Society*  
*Open Scientific Standards*

### *Publisher's Headquarters office*

Global Journals Inc., Headquarters Corporate Office,  
Cambridge Office Center, II Canal Park, Floor No.  
5th, **Cambridge (Massachusetts)**, Pin: MA 02141  
United States

USA Toll Free: +001-888-839-7392

USA Toll Free Fax: +001-888-839-7392

### *Offset Typesetting*

Open Association of Research Society, Marsh Road,  
Rainham, Essex, London RM13 8EU  
United Kingdom.

### *Packaging & Continental Dispatching*

Global Journals, India

### *Find a correspondence nodal officer near you*

To find nodal officer of your country, please  
email us at [local@globaljournals.org](mailto:local@globaljournals.org)

### *eContacts*

Press Inquiries: [press@globaljournals.org](mailto:press@globaljournals.org)

Investor Inquiries: [investers@globaljournals.org](mailto:investers@globaljournals.org)

Technical Support: [technology@globaljournals.org](mailto:technology@globaljournals.org)

Media & Releases: [media@globaljournals.org](mailto:media@globaljournals.org)

### *Pricing (Including by Air Parcel Charges):*

*For Authors:*

22 USD (B/W) & 50 USD (Color)

*Yearly Subscription (Personal & Institutional):*

200 USD (B/W) & 250 USD (Color)

## EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERS (HON.)

---

**John A. Hamilton, "Drew" Jr.,**  
Ph.D., Professor, Management  
Computer Science and Software  
Engineering  
Director, Information Assurance  
Laboratory  
Auburn University

**Dr. Henry Hexmoor**  
IEEE senior member since 2004  
Ph.D. Computer Science, University at  
Buffalo  
Department of Computer Science  
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

**Dr. Osman Balci, Professor**  
Department of Computer Science  
Virginia Tech, Virginia University  
Ph.D. and M.S. Syracuse University,  
Syracuse, New York  
M.S. and B.S. Bogazici University,  
Istanbul, Turkey

**Yogita Bajpai**  
M.Sc. (Computer Science), FICCT  
U.S.A. Email:  
yogita@computerresearch.org

**Dr. T. David A. Forbes**  
Associate Professor and Range  
Nutritionist  
Ph.D. Edinburgh University - Animal  
Nutrition  
M.S. Aberdeen University - Animal  
Nutrition  
B.A. University of Dublin- Zoology

**Dr. Wenying Feng**  
Professor, Department of Computing &  
Information Systems  
Department of Mathematics  
Trent University, Peterborough,  
ON Canada K9J 7B8

**Dr. Thomas Wischgoll**  
Computer Science and Engineering,  
Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio  
B.S., M.S., Ph.D.  
(University of Kaiserslautern)

**Dr. Abdurrahman Arslanyilmaz**  
Computer Science & Information Systems  
Department  
Youngstown State University  
Ph.D., Texas A&M University  
University of Missouri, Columbia  
Gazi University, Turkey

**Dr. Xiaohong He**  
Professor of International Business  
University of Quinnipiac  
BS, Jilin Institute of Technology; MA, MS,  
PhD., (University of Texas-Dallas)

**Burcin Becerik-Gerber**  
University of Southern California  
Ph.D. in Civil Engineering  
DDes from Harvard University  
M.S. from University of California, Berkeley  
& Istanbul University

**Dr. Bart Lambrecht**

Director of Research in Accounting and Finance  
Professor of Finance  
Lancaster University Management School  
BA (Antwerp); MPhil, MA, PhD  
(Cambridge)

**Dr. Carlos García Pont**

Associate Professor of Marketing  
IESE Business School, University of Navarra  
Doctor of Philosophy (Management),  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)  
Master in Business Administration, IESE,  
University of Navarra  
Degree in Industrial Engineering,  
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

**Dr. Fotini Labropulu**

Mathematics - Luther College  
University of Regina  
Ph.D., M.Sc. in Mathematics  
B.A. (Honors) in Mathematics  
University of Windsor

**Dr. Lynn Lim**

Reader in Business and Marketing  
Roehampton University, London  
BCom, PGDip, MBA (Distinction), PhD,  
FHEA

**Dr. Mihaly Mezei**

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR  
Department of Structural and Chemical  
Biology, Mount Sinai School of Medical  
Center  
Ph.D., Etsv Lornd University  
Postdoctoral Training,  
New York University

**Dr. Söhnke M. Bartram**

Department of Accounting and Finance  
Lancaster University Management School  
Ph.D. (WHU Koblenz)  
MBA/BBA (University of Saarbrücken)

**Dr. Miguel Angel Ariño**

Professor of Decision Sciences  
IESE Business School  
Barcelona, Spain (Universidad de Navarra)  
CEIBS (China Europe International Business School).  
Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen  
Ph.D. in Mathematics  
University of Barcelona  
BA in Mathematics (Licenciatura)  
University of Barcelona

**Philip G. Moscoso**

Technology and Operations Management  
IESE Business School, University of Navarra  
Ph.D in Industrial Engineering and  
Management, ETH Zurich  
M.Sc. in Chemical Engineering, ETH Zurich

**Dr. Sanjay Dixit, M.D.**

Director, EP Laboratories, Philadelphia VA  
Medical Center  
Cardiovascular Medicine - Cardiac  
Arrhythmia  
Univ of Penn School of Medicine

**Dr. Han-Xiang Deng**

MD., Ph.D  
Associate Professor and Research  
Department Division of Neuromuscular  
Medicine  
Davee Department of Neurology and Clinical  
Neuroscience  
Northwestern University  
Feinberg School of Medicine

**Dr. Pina C. Sanelli**

Associate Professor of Public Health  
Weill Cornell Medical College  
Associate Attending Radiologist  
NewYork-Presbyterian Hospital  
MRI, MRA, CT, and CTA  
Neuroradiology and Diagnostic  
Radiology  
M.D., State University of New York at  
Buffalo, School of Medicine and  
Biomedical Sciences

**Dr. Roberto Sanchez**

Associate Professor  
Department of Structural and Chemical  
Biology  
Mount Sinai School of Medicine  
Ph.D., The Rockefeller University

**Dr. Wen-Yih Sun**

Professor of Earth and Atmospheric  
SciencesPurdue University Director  
National Center for Typhoon and  
Flooding Research, Taiwan  
University Chair Professor  
Department of Atmospheric Sciences,  
National Central University, Chung-Li,  
TaiwanUniversity Chair Professor  
Institute of Environmental Engineering,  
National Chiao Tung University, Hsin-  
chu, Taiwan.Ph.D., MS The University of  
Chicago, Geophysical Sciences  
BS National Taiwan University,  
Atmospheric Sciences  
Associate Professor of Radiology

**Dr. Michael R. Rudnick**

M.D., FACP  
Associate Professor of Medicine  
Chief, Renal Electrolyte and  
Hypertension Division (PMC)  
Penn Medicine, University of  
Pennsylvania  
Presbyterian Medical Center,  
Philadelphia  
Nephrology and Internal Medicine  
Certified by the American Board of  
Internal Medicine

**Dr. Bassey Benjamin Esu**

B.Sc. Marketing; MBA Marketing; Ph.D  
Marketing  
Lecturer, Department of Marketing,  
University of Calabar  
Tourism Consultant, Cross River State  
Tourism Development Department  
Co-ordinator , Sustainable Tourism  
Initiative, Calabar, Nigeria

**Dr. Aziz M. Barbar, Ph.D.**

IEEE Senior Member  
Chairperson, Department of Computer  
Science  
AUST - American University of Science &  
Technology  
Alfred Naccash Avenue – Ashrafieh

## PRESIDENT EDITOR (HON.)

---

### **Dr. George Perry, (Neuroscientist)**

Dean and Professor, College of Sciences

Denham Harman Research Award (American Aging Association)

ISI Highly Cited Researcher, Iberoamerican Molecular Biology Organization

AAAS Fellow, Correspondent Member of Spanish Royal Academy of Sciences

University of Texas at San Antonio

Postdoctoral Fellow (Department of Cell Biology)

Baylor College of Medicine

Houston, Texas, United States

## CHIEF AUTHOR (HON.)

---

### **Dr. R.K. Dixit**

M.Sc., Ph.D., FICCT

Chief Author, India

Email: [authorind@computerresearch.org](mailto:authorind@computerresearch.org)

## DEAN & EDITOR-IN-CHIEF (HON.)

---

### **Vivek Dubey(HON.)**

MS (Industrial Engineering),

MS (Mechanical Engineering)

University of Wisconsin, FICCT

Editor-in-Chief, USA

[editorusa@computerresearch.org](mailto:editorusa@computerresearch.org)

### **Sangita Dixit**

M.Sc., FICCT

Dean & Chancellor (Asia Pacific)

[deanind@computerresearch.org](mailto:deanind@computerresearch.org)

### **Suyash Dixit**

(B.E., Computer Science Engineering), FICCTT

President, Web Administration and

Development , CEO at IOSRD

COO at GAOR & OSS

### **Er. Suyog Dixit**

(M. Tech), BE (HONS. in CSE), FICCT

SAP Certified Consultant

CEO at IOSRD, GAOR & OSS

Technical Dean, Global Journals Inc. (US)

Website: [www.suyogdixit.com](http://www.suyogdixit.com)

Email: [suyog@suyogdixit.com](mailto:suyog@suyogdixit.com)

### **Pritesh Rajvaidya**

(MS) Computer Science Department

California State University

BE (Computer Science), FICCT

Technical Dean, USA

Email: [pritesh@computerresearch.org](mailto:pritesh@computerresearch.org)

### **Luis Galárraga**

J!Research Project Leader

Saarbrücken, Germany



## CONTENTS OF THE VOLUME

- i. Copyright Notice
- ii. Editorial Board Members
- iii. Chief Author and Dean
- iv. Table of Contents
- v. From the Chief Editor's Desk
- vi. Research and Review Papers
  
1. Poverty, Environmental Degradation and Sustainable Development: A Discourse. *1-8*
2. Regulation on Hedge Fund Investment Advisers in the US and its Implications for China. *9-13*
3. Cameroon: Flawed Decentralization & the Politics of Identity in the Urban Space. *15-25*
4. Rural Development Programme Implementation in Developing Countries: The Experience of China and India. *27-34*
5. Politics & Consumer Prices in Africa. *35-39*
6. Nigeria, Mono-Product Economy & The Global Economic Recession: Problems & Prospects. *41-47*
7. Socio-Cultural Impediments to Women Political Empowerment in Pakhtun Society. *49-58*
8. Truth Through the Spectrum of Social Perspectives. *59-62*
9. The Nexus of Collaboration Among the Horizontal Organs of Government in Nigeria: A Critical Analysis within the Context of Effective Service Delivery and Politics of Hope for Nigeria and Nigerians. *63-84*
10. Farmland Sale in Ikwerre Selected Communities & Rural Economy; An Emerging Perspective. *85-90*
11. From Social Justice to Islamic Revivalism: An Interrogation of Sayyid Qutb's Discourse. *91-100*
12. Islamic Finance: A Bulwark against Crisis? *101-113*
  
- vii. Auxiliary Memberships
- viii. Process of Submission of Research Paper
- ix. Preferred Author Guidelines
- x. Index



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE  
Volume 12 Issue 11 Version 1.0 Year 2012  
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal  
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)  
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

## Poverty, Environmental Degradation and Sustainable Development: A Discourse

By Nwagbara, Eucharia N. (Ph. D), Abia, Raphael P. (Ph. D) , Uyang, Francis A. (M. Sc)  
& Ejeje, Joy A. (M.Sc Candidate)  
*University of Calabar, Nigeria*

*Abstract* - This paper is a contribution to the ongoing debate on the topical issues of poverty, environmental degradation and sustainable development by highlighting the divergent views and attempting an explanation of the diversity. Poring through the literature, the authors observed that there are three discernable debaters on the trajectory between poverty, environmental degradation and sustainable development namely: those who argue that the poor (the South) is the major cause of environmental degradation as a result of high population and increased pressure on environmental resources; those who contend that the high consumption propensity of the rich (the North) is the main factor in environmental degradation; and, those who argue that both the rich and the poor, in varying capacities, contribute to the unsustainability of the environment.

*Keywords* : Poverty, environmental degradation, sustainable development, north-south dichotomy, debtresource hypothesis.

*GJHSS-C Classification* : FOR Code: 160505, 160507



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



© 2012. Nwagbara, Eucharia N. (Ph. D), Abia, Raphael P. (Ph. D) , Uyang, Francis A. (M. Sc) & Ejeje, Joy A. (M.Sc Candidate). This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/>), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

# Poverty, Environmental Degradation and Sustainable Development: A Discourse

Nwagbara, Eucharia N. (Ph. D)<sup>α</sup>, Abia, Raphael P. (Ph. D)<sup>σ</sup>, Uyang, Francis A. (M. Sc)<sup>ρ</sup>  
& Ejeje, Joy A. (M.Sc Candidate)<sup>ω</sup>

**Abstract** - This paper is a contribution to the ongoing debate on the topical issues of poverty, environmental degradation and sustainable development by highlighting the divergent views and attempting an explanation of the diversity. Poring through the literature, the authors observed that there are three discernable debaters on the trajectory between poverty, environmental degradation and sustainable development namely: those who argue that the poor (the South) is the major cause of environmental degradation as a result of high population and increased pressure on environmental resources; those who contend that the high consumption propensity of the rich (the North) is the main factor in environmental degradation; and, those who argue that both the rich and the poor, in varying capacities, contribute to the unsustainability of the environment. The authors believe that quantitative data are required to ascertain whether the poor (South) more than the rich (North) degrade the environment, or not. Until such evidence is found, the North-South dichotomy on ecological issues will persist. One common thread that runs through the various views is that there is continued degradation of the environment the negative impact of which affects both the poor and the rich. As such, the quest for sustainable development should be utmost concern of all.

**Keywords** : Poverty, environmental degradation, sustainable development, north-south dichotomy, debt-resource hypothesis.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The concern about sustainable development to a large extent stems from the universal concern about environmental degradation arising from natural resource exploitation and utilization. Although high consumption propensity of the affluent has been fingered as a factor in environmental degradation, so much weight has been given to the social problem of poverty as a major factor in environmental degradation especially among developing countries. Indeed, the intertwining relationship between environmental resource exploitation, the problem of sustainable development and poverty is crucial as it is paradoxical.

*Author α*: Department of Sociology University of Calabar, Cross River State, Nigeria. E-mail : [eucharia\\_n@yahoo.com](mailto:eucharia_n@yahoo.com)

*Author σ* : Department of Sociology, University of Calabar.

*Author ρ* : Department of Sociology, University of Calabar.

*Author ω*: Department of Sociology, University of Calabar.

Exploitation and extraction of environmental resources that are not sustainable can lead to environmental degradation which will in turn impoverish the people. On the other hand, the clamour for environmental conservation without alternative means of livelihood for the vulnerable group who solely depend on exploiting the environment, will result to further impoverishment.

While we still lack reliable data on the extent of environmental degradation caused by both the rich and the poor, the bottom line is that both are variously affected by the ecological problems resulting from it. The paradoxical relationship between these variables is made more evident as we pore through the literature in subsequent sections of this paper.

## II. POVERTY AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION

It is becoming increasingly accepted in academic quarters that there exists a relationship between accelerated exploitation of environmental resources and poverty (Heady, 2000; Neumayer, 2005). Commenting on the nature of this relationship, Anijah-Obi (2001) observes:

It has been widely acknowledged that poverty, a deplorable state of human welfare, is closely linked to environmental degradation. The poor are both victims and agents of environmental damage. Poverty may be created by negative and unjust social conditions such as structural inequality. The concept of equity and meeting the needs of the citizens is central to sustainable development...Those who are poor and hungry will often destroy their immediate environments in order to survive. They are responsible for tilling tired soils and cutting down forests. They live in slums and throw waste into gutters and streams, because they lack the basic necessities of life. They lack resources and materials necessary for living within a minimum standard conducive to human dignity and well-being.

Heady (2000), and Anijah-Obi (2001) also contend that, there is a relationship between poverty

and environmental resource exploitation. Buttressing his argument, Heady (2000) puts it thus:

There are important links between natural resource management and poverty. Many poor people, particularly in developing countries, rely on natural resources for their livelihood, and these people are very vulnerable to deterioration in the resource. This has been demonstrated tragically by the recent famines in sub-Saharan Africa, and less dramatically by the declining living standards of fishing communities in Britain and Canada.

Okunmadewa (1997) cited in Anijah-Obi (2001:188) expressed his view on the relationship between environmental resource exploitation, poverty and the problem of sustainable development by observing the closeness of the rural poor to environmentally fragile natural resources and higher levels of resources decline via soil degradation and loss of tree cover, among others.

Since the Stockholm conference of the early 70s, the North has insisted that the population explosion in the South (that is, developing countries) is the major factor in environmental degradation while the South argued that it was the high rate of consumption of the North (that is, developed countries) that degrades the environment. Essentially, mankind's survival and standard of well-being depends on the environment which ought to be exploited and managed efficiently. Pointing out the relevance of the environment for mankind's existence as well as its role in environmental degradation, Animashaun (2002) observes thus:

Man depends on the natural environment for his multifarious needs. His food, shelter and clothing are products of the natural environment. Man exploits swamps, forest, grassland, rocks, the atmosphere, water and other resources of his natural environment to satisfy these basic needs... Because of its crucial role to life, man has intervened inadvertently in the natural environment and has caused serious disturbance to its natural equilibrium... Today, the rate of exploitation of natural resources is faster than the time it would take nature to replenish them.

Nonetheless, in the process of exploiting environmental resources to satisfy increasing needs, mankind has utilized culture and technology that have caused untold imbalance to the ecosystem. The use of dams and irrigation as well as soil additives, chemicals and other non-natural techniques of improving yield have also contributed to environmental degradation.

Most studies on the poverty linkage of the problem of sustainable development have concentrated on the conventional definition of poverty – living below certain income level and inability to provide the basic necessities of life. So defined, the indices of poverty include the percentage of persons in specific category who are below the poverty income threshold. Thus, the

larger the percentage of those living in the defined poverty situation, the more complex the management of the environment towards sustainability as poverty degrades the environment thereby creating environmental stress (Anijah-Obi, 2001).

Indeed, environmental resource exploitation and the problem of sustainable development have multidimensional causes and effects. Government's deliberate effort at development has directly or indirectly resulted in impoverishing a segment of the population especially the rural poor. Thus, social engineering or "politically" designed progress has its own share of the blame of the environmental degradation that is causing severe hardship to the poor. One of such development problem was captured by Enloe (1975) in a story by a 10 year old daughter of Japanese fisherman thus:

When my father pulled in the net faded seaweeds hung down from his hands, His lips moved slowly when he said, "This is the last time I'll pull the net this year" The highway runs across the pools where the seaweeds grow. Everybody likes the highway but it's made a crack between the ocean and my father and my mind.

This anguish of the Japanese girl is shared by many. As the environment becomes increasingly degraded due to government deliberate policies and resource exploitation mechanisms which make the quest for sustainable development very unstable, more people are impoverished as many others recklessly exploit the environmental resources due to their poverty situation. On the other hand, Animashaun (2002) presented the relationship between poverty and environmental degradation thus:

The justifiable fear is that because a majority of the present world population is living a precarious life characterized by malnutrition and poor health, the human race may through its own making, become extinct in the future except man is judicious in his use of the environment....

That the poor depend extensively on firewood for fuel is no more news. What is news is the increasing demand for this resource propelled by the burgeoning population of the country (Anijah-Obi 2001). This view of environmental degradation is essentially that of the developed countries as evidenced in the North – South dichotomy in the debate on environmental degradation and ozone layer depletion. The stand of the North and South on environmental degradation and sustainable development is, no doubt influenced by their world view and ideology as evident in the work of Uchendu (1965) cited in Nwagbara (2007). However, since globalization, the rate of consumption of environmental resources has gained momentum on both sides of the divide – the North and the South.

However, the poverty-degradation-sustainability scholars did not consider the other dimension of poverty whereby the poor bear the burden of pollution and other

deadly emissions emanating from the consumptions of the rich/affluent. Poverty as conceptualized in this paper goes beyond the conventional, everyday – life definition to look at the issue of social justice and distributive justice. This dimension focuses on the issue of equity and fairness in terms of reaping the benefits of environmental resource exploitation as well as shouldering the burden of environmental degradation. The authors argue that inequity leads to the feeling of relative deprivation which, oftentimes, culminates into social crises/upheavals such as the prevalent situation in the Niger-Delta Region of Nigeria (Nwagbara, 2008). Thus, in the face of crises occasioned by the problem of inequality and distributive justice, the clamour for sustainable development will be elusive.

### III. THE ISSUE OF DEBT-RESOURCE- HYPOTHESIS IN ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION, POVERTY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Another dimension in the explanation of the relationship between the problem of sustainability, environmental degradation and the social phenomenon of poverty is the debt-resource-hypothesis. In the debt-resource-hypothesis, “many environmentalists believe that the high indebtedness of developing countries triggers increased exploitation and more unsustainable use of their natural resources” (Neumayer 2005). Accordingly, George (1989) posits that repayments of high debts are implemented “by cashing in natural resources”.

In the same vein, De la Court (1992) cited in Neumayer (2005) observes that the Philippine’s Freedom from Debt Coalition believes that the country’s indebtedness leads to destroying their “forests to export wood, ruining our coral reefs to export fish, and exhausting our soils by applying heavy pesticides and chemical fertilizers to facilitate export-oriented agriculture”.

As Neumayer (2005) noted, the debt resource-hypothesis gained currency even in the official quarters of world organizations. Neumayer cited the example of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) as a crucial one. The Brundtland Commission, as the WCED is popular called, attested to the debt-resource-hypothesis in its landmark report entitled “Our Common Future” when it pointed out that “debtors are being required to use trade surpluses to service debts, and are drawing heavily on non-renewable resources to do so” (WCED, 1987). Pointing out the situation of African countries, Neumayer (2005) quoted the Brundtland Commission as stating that “debts that they cannot pay force African nations relying on commodity sales to overuse their fragile soils, thus turning good land to desert”.

Following the WCED, the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) of the United States contended that “demand for foreign exchange to service debts ... has provided an impetus for developing countries to mine their natural resources” (WWF-US, 2000:5). Other environmentalist groups have followed suit in the worry and warning about poverty or indebtedness-induced unsustainability and environmental degradation. These include Friends of the Earth (FoE), the Worldwatch Institute, and the Global Legislators Organization for a Balanced Environment (GLOBE). According to Neumayer (2005), FoE asked governments in the run-up to the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002 “to note that external debt fuels the depletion of natural resources”.

In an earlier observation, the Worldwatch Institute (2001) noted that “debt pressure has spurred increases in export-oriented mining and logging in developing countries”. Re-iterating the above view, the GLOBE, made up of members of parliament from more than 100 national parliaments in their Johannesburg resolution (Neumayer, 2005), observed that “pressure of debt repayments often causes overexploitation of natural resources” (GLOBE, 2002).

This debt repayment and/or servicing commitment of developing countries has made them, according to Calvert and Calvert (1999), to give priority to what they can easily produce such as primary products that sell at low prices on the world market as well as use every incentive for “intensive agriculture to produce cash crops and to exhaust mineral resources as quickly as possible”. In a simple but picturesque manner, Neumayer (2005) presented the scenario thus:

The most common explanation of why high indebtedness might trigger increased resource exploitation and more unsustainable resource use seems to be that high indebtedness is seen as forcing countries to earn more and spend less in order to finance their debt obligations – if not a reduction of their debts, then at least servicing the interest on their debts.

This observation supports the earlier views including that of George (1992). Confirming the predicament of developing countries with indebtedness George (1992) pointed out the vicious circle attendant with this unwholesome attitude to natural resource exploitation, “with so many jostling for a share of limited world markets, prices plummet, forcing governments to seek even higher levels of exports in a desperate attempt to keep their hard currency revenues stable” (George, 1992).

In his study, Neumayer examined a few existing attempts by scholars that tried to formally model the debt-resource-hypothesis and observed that there is, indeed, lack of systematic empirical evidence in its support. One of the advocates of the debt-resource-hypothesis George (1992) observed that there was no

need for empirical or systematic quantitative analysis, noting that the facts and figures with regards to deforestation speak for themselves and suggested as follows:

- Third world countries that deforested the most or the fastest in the 1980s were also, on the whole, the largest debtors.
- In a number of smaller countries with less significant forest reserves, the fastest deforesters were also the most heavily indebted.
- Countries with the highest 'debt service ratios' or subject to the highest levels of IMF 'conditionality' also tend to be the largest and fastest deforesters.

In spite of all these, Neumayer (2005) maintains that "not all qualitative empirical evidence supports the debt-resource-hypothesis". Most of the existing quantitative analyses are based on deforestation while other environmental resources are ignored. This observation was confirmed by Pearce et al (1995) when they stated that "the impact of indebtedness on other environmental indicators such as pollution, biodiversity or depletion of other resources has not been tested".

In terms of quantitative econometric analysis, some scholarly findings reviewed by Neumayer (2005) support, while some others do not support the debt-resource-hypothesis. One of such studies that provide evidence in favour of the debt-resource-hypothesis is the one done by Kahn and McDonald (1994, 1995). By using the ordinary least squares estimation, these scholars found a statistically significant effect of the debt service to export ratio on deforestation rates in the period 1981 to 1985. However, using the same methodology in the study of Latin America, Kant and Redantz (1997) did not find any statistical significant relationship between indebtedness and deforestation. Also, Neumayer (2005) using panel data analysis did not find any correlation in support of the debt-resource-hypothesis.

#### IV. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Scholars have observed that the concept of sustainable development is not an entirely new one (Barrow, 1995; Harwood, 1990; Pretty, 1990; Dasmann, 1985). As Barrow (1995:369) puts it, "sustainable development is a goal for a world under growing stress". Prior to the currency gained by the concept of sustainable development (SD), a sister concept – ecodevelopment – was highly promoted in the 1970s by scholars and organizations such as Dasmann et al, (1973); Sachs (1979); and Riddell (1981).

Although the concept of SD has taken the centre stage of most national and international conferences on environment, development and other related issues in the past two decades, there is no generally accepted definition of the term. Barrow (1995) observes that the concept was first used by Barbara

Ward while international organizations such as UNEP, WWF and IUCN, widely popularized its subsequent usage.

The lack of consensus and the seemingly imprecision in the use of the concept has been a source of concern to scholars (The Ecologist, 1993; Esteva and Prakash, 1992). Indeed, part of the problem with conceptualization of SD is the dichotomy between the North and the South on what should constitute its meaning. As White (1994) observes,

The conflicts between rich and poor countries – the North and the – South are a major contributory element to the confused nature of the debate. However, both parties have reasons for not wanting to clarify certain aspects of this confusion...For the North, it is difficult enough to accept that the technological basis of its society will have to undergo major modifications especially in terms of energy use, private means of transportation, and emission reduction in general....

In the main, individuals and groups use and interpret the term in various ways that reflect their varying development ethics (Barbier, 1987; Brown et al, 1987; Caldwell, 1984; Tisdell, 1988; Shearman, 1990; Soussan, 1992; Redcliff, 1991; Adams and Thomas, 1993) and biases. Barrow (1995) captured some of the attempts at defining SD five of which are highlighted below thus:

1. SD is based on the moral principle of intergenerational (...bequeathing the same or an improved resource endowment to the future), inter-species and inter-group equity;
2. Economic growth and development that is complementary, not antagonistic, to environment and society...;
3. Development that satisfies the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs (inter-generational equity);
4. Considering the future today;
5. Improving the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems.

Marshall (1998) noted the definition of SD as presented in the Brundtland Report as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs". On her own part, Anijah-Obi (2001) observed that "sustainable development is all about improving the well-being of people of today and the generations of tomorrow".

Therefore, the central tenet of SD is the fact of intergenerational equity which means that the present needs of the present generation should be met but not at the expense of the future generation who will need the same or better resources. On this question of

intergenerational equity, Olaniyan and Oyeranti (2001) noted:

Central to the question of sustainable development is the issue of intergenerational equity. This is so because of the belief that the resource base of the economy belongs to all generations. Another issue that makes inter-temporal equity a serious one is that the resource base is controlled and managed by one generation at a time, and this happens to be the present generation. Thus, by happenstance arrangement of time, a future generation can be hurt by the present generation.

In the words of Agyeman, Bullard and Evans (2005), "a truly sustainable society is one where wider questions of social needs and welfare, and economic opportunity, are integrally connected to environmental concerns". Accordingly, these scholars observed that this emphasis upon greater equity as a desirable and just social goal is closely related to a recognition that unless society endeavors for a greater level of social and economic equity, both within and between nations, the long term objective of a more sustainable world is unlikely to be tenable. They argued that the basis for this observation is that "sustainability implies a more careful use of scarce resources and, in all probability, a change to the high-consumption lifestyles experienced by the affluent and aspired to by others".

Attainment of attitudinal change appears to be a Herculean task. These scholars further expressed their reservation on attaining attitudinal change this way:

It will not be easy to achieve these changes in behaviour, not least because this demands acting against short term self-interest in favour of unborn generations and 'unseen others' who may live on the other side of the globe. The altruism demanded here will be difficult to secure and will probably be impossible if there is not some measure of perceived equality in terms of sharing common futures and fates.

There has been enormous literature on the issue of sustainability in the past few years and this may have contributed to the divergent views in the conceptualization of the term. Accordingly, Agyeman, Bullard and Evans (2005) observed that the swell in material in recent years dealing with the concepts of sustainability and its action-oriented alternative sustainable development has led to opposing and differing views over what the terms essentially mean and what is the most attractive means of achieving the goal.

In the view of Redcliff (1987), sustainability as an idea can be traced back to the 'limits to growth' debates of the 1970s and the 1972 UN Stockholm Conference. Whatever be the divergence in its conceptualization, the single most frequently quoted definition of sustainable development comes from the World Commission on Environmental and Development (WCED) (1987) who argued that 'sustainable

development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, (1987).

## V. POVERTY, ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: A DISCOURSE

Reasonable attempt at a discourse on the relationship between poverty, environmental degradation and sustainable development should begin by addressing the following questions: why has the debate continued? When will the debate end?, and how will the debate end?

The reasons why the debate has continued are not far-fetched. One of the major reasons why the debate has continued to rage on is the fact that the issues of poverty and environmental degradation are critical social problems of the 21st century, affecting both the rich and the poor all over the world. Also, apart from being at the centre of academic fora – conferences, seminars, workshops, symposia, etc – they are at the front-burner of national and international development policies and programmes. Again, the seemingly divergent views and lack of consensus regarding the role of both the rich and the poor countries – the so-called North-South dichotomy – in environmental degradation, will, not only perpetuate the debate, but also militate against forging formidable remedial strategies.

On the other hand, the questions of when and how the debate will end depend on the sensitivity of both sides of the divide to their respective roles on environmental degradation and admittance of joint responsibility to 'right' the 'wrong' meted on the environment by humankind. Consequently, the poverty-environmental degradation-sustainable development debate will come to an end when the negative factors that predispose them are dismantled. Any attempt at redressing the negative factors that does not take into account the part played by the rich and the poor, will in fact, lead to distortions in policies and programmes toward sustainable development.

The rich and the poor alike, exhibit diverse traits of poverty behaviour – latent and manifest – which invariably affects the environment adversely. The view of the authors is that the trajectory between poverty and environmental degradation is glaring but has not been rigorously examined from the root to unravel the multifaceted dimensions of the causal factors. Indeed, a holistic analysis of the causal issues involved in poverty and environmental degradation will bring to the fore variables and the intervening factors that militate against sustainable development.

Dealing with the problems of poverty and environmental degradation and sustainability would have yielded better results if the qualitative arguments of

the North and the South are substantiated with quantitative data on their relative roles in unsustainable utilization of environmental resources. Thus, absence of hard-facts and figures – juxtaposing the respective activities of the rich and the poor in degrading the environment – has impeded availability of data to construct an accurate index of environmental degradation. When available, such data would not only put an end to the North-South dichotomy, but will also be a benchmark for policies and programmes on sustainable development.

In criticizing the Trump Index that attributes environmental degradation to the activities of the poor on renewable and non-renewable environmental resources, Satterthwaite (online) observed thus:

If data were available to construct an accurate Trump index, it would greatly reinforce the point that it is the high consumption lifestyles of most high income and many middle income groups and the production systems that serve (and stimulate) their demands that threatens ecological sustainability. It is not each person's level of resource use and waste generation that defines their contribution to ecological unsustainability but the level of use of particular resources and the level of generation of particular wastes...For instance, for food consumption, it is not so much the quantity of food eaten that needs to be considered but the ecological costs of producing and delivering it – including the amount of land and the quantity of energy and ecologically damaging chemicals used to do so. The lentils grown and eaten by low-income farmers in India or the maize grown by an urban household in Africa have a tiny impact compared to beef from feedlot raised cattle. For resource use in general, an accurate index of contributions to ecological unsustainability would need to measure the extent to which each person's consumption was products from eco-systems that were being degraded or threatened by over-exploitation or products whose fabrication had serious ecological implications....

The observation above is in consonant with the view of the authors of this paper. Even within particular societies, the high consumption of the rich coupled with enormous generation of ecologically debilitating wastes by the same rich class cannot in any way be compared with the meager and recyclable wastes generated by the poor. For instance, the gas flaring and oil spillage in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria that have wrecked untold havoc on land, water and air, were as a result of the activities of the rich Nigerians and their multinational corporations' counterparts.

The poor whose means of livelihood were the land and water that are now hugely degraded by the rich are poorer, having no other means to sustain them and their households. In fact, the restive activities and

militancy of the youth in the Niger Delta area were part of their resistance to this deprivation and marginalization by the rich (Nwagbara, 2007; Nwagbara, 2008).

## VI. CONCLUSION

Ensuring sustainable utilization of environmental resources calls for a holistic approach in tackling the problem of poverty in such a way that avoidable damages to the environment could be averted. Indeed, no society can address the social phenomenon of sustainable development in isolation of the twin problems of poverty and environmental degradation. Sustainable development implies the utilization of environmental resources by the present generation of human beings in such a way and manner that the future generation of the human species will come and meet such resources in better qualities and quantities than their predecessors.

In a world where more than half of the population lives below poverty line, and where the consumption propensity of the wealthy few is on the increase, the problem of environmental degradation will continue to be on the increase. Appropriate legislations and political will to implement them will salvage the world from human side of environmental problems and guarantee sustainability. Since development is about people – present and future generations – the concern about sustainable development should take into cognizance critical factors that influence its attainment. Twin factors of poverty and environmental degradation are paramount in that regard. Government and non-governmental organizations across the world should hire the services of experts to construct appropriate index for measuring the part played by the rich and the poor on environmental degradation.

## REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Adams, W. M. and Thomas, D. H. L. (1993). Mainstream sustainable development: the challenge of putting theory into practice, *Journal of International Development*. 5, 591-604.
2. Agyeman, J. R. R. Bullard, & B. Evans (2003). Introduction: Joined-up thinking, bringing together sustainable environmental justice and equity. In *Just Sustainabilities: development in an unequal world*, eds. J. Agyeman, R. Bullard, & B. Evans. Cambridge, M.A MIT Press.
3. Animashaun, I. A. (2002). Environment and Development: A General Perspective, in J. U. Obot, I. A. Animashaun, and E. A. Fayose (eds.) *Environment and Development in Nigeria*. Port-Harcourt: Double Diamond publications.
4. Anijah-Obi, F. N. (2001). Environmental protection and Management: Planning, Process and Strategies. Calabar: Clear Lines Publications.



5. Barbier, E. B. (1987). "The concept of sustainable economic development", *Environmental Conservation*. 14, 101-110.
6. Barrow, C. J. (1995). Sustainable Development: concept, value and practice, *TWPR*. UK: Liverpool University Press, 17, 4, 369-386.
7. Brown, et al. (1987). Global sustainability: toward a definition, *Environmental Management*, 11, 713-719.
8. Caldwell, L. (1984). Political aspects of ecologically sustainable development, *Environmental Conservation*, 11, 133-143.
9. Calvert, P. and Calvert, S. (1999). *The South, the North, and the Environment*. London: Pinter.
10. Dasmann, R. F. (1985). Achieving the sustainable use of species and ecosystems, *Landscape Planning*, 12, 211-219.
11. Dasmann, R. F., Milton, J. P, and Freeman, P. H. (1973). *Ecological Principles for Economic Development*. London:Wiley.
12. De la Court, T. (1992). *Different Worlds: Development Cooperation Beyond the Nineties*. Utrecht: International Books.
13. Enloe, C. H. (1975). *The Politics of Pollution in a Comparative Perspective; a. Ecology and Power in Four Nations*. New York: David McKay.
14. Esteva, G. and Prakash, M. S. (1992). Grassroots resistance to sustainable development: lessons from the banks of the Narmada, *The Ecologist*, 22, 45- 51.
15. George, S. (1992). *The Debt Boomerang – How Third World Debt Harms Us All*. London: Pluto Press.
16. GLOBE International (2002). Resolution adopted in Stockholm at the GLOBE Europe Conference on Sustainable Development – a European roadmap towards WSSD in Johannesburg. Global Legislators Organization for a Balanced Environment, Washington, DC.
17. Harwood, R. R. (1990). A history of sustainable development, in C. A. Edwards, R. Lal, P. Madden, R. H. Miller and G. House (eds.), *Sustainable Agricultural Systems*. Ankeny IA: Soil and Water Conservation Society of America.
18. Heady, C. (2000). Natural resource sustainability and poverty reduction. *Environment and Development Economics*. 5, 3, 241-258.
19. IUCN, UNEP and WWF (1980). *The World Conservation Strategy*. Gland: IUCN.
20. Kahn, J. R. and McDonald, J. A. (1994). International debt and deforestation, in K. Brown and D. W. Pearce (eds.), *The Causes of Tropical Deforestation*. London: UCL Press.
21. Kahn, J. R. and McDonald, J. A. (1995). Third-World debt and tropical deforestation, *Ecological Economics*. 12, 107-123.
22. Kant, S. and Redantz, A. (1997). An econometric model of tropical deforestation, *Journal of Forest Economics*. 3, 51-86
23. Marshall, G. (1998). *A Dictionary of Sociology* 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
24. Neumayer, E. (2005). Does high indebtedness increase natural resource exploitation. *Environment and Development Economics*. 10, 2, 127-142.
25. Nwagbara, E. N. (2007). Poverty, unemployment, insecurity, crime and violence in Nigeria: A somber Reflection on neglected issues in sustainable development, *International Journal of Development and Management Review*, 1, 1, April 2007.
26. Nwagbara, E. N. (2007). The Igbo of Southeast Nigeria: The Same Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow? (In Memory of Professor V. C. Uchendu), *Dialectical Anthropology*, 31:99 – 110, 2007, Springer
27. Nwagbara, E. N. (2008). Youth restiveness and the politics of resource control in the Niger-Delta: Some theoretical reflections, *Nigerian Sociological Review*, 3, 1 & 2, 27 – 36
28. Olaniyan, O. and Oyeranti, O. A. (2001). Sustainable development in Nigeria: evidence from weak sustainability hypothesis, *Natural Resource Use, the Environment and Sustainable Development*. Ibadan: NES.
29. Pearce, D., Adger, N., Maddison D., and Moran, D. (1995). Debt and the environment– loans cause great human hardship, but their connection to ecological troubles is hard to prove, *Scientific American*. 272, 28-32.
30. Pretty, J. N. (1990). Sustainable agriculture in the middle ages: the English manor, *Agricultural History Review*. 38, 1-9.
31. Redclift, M. (1987). The multiple dimensions of sustainable development, *Geography*. 76, 36-42.
32. Riddell, R. (1981). *Ecodevelopment: Economics, Ecology, and Development: An Alternative to Growth Imperative Models*. Aldershot: Gower.
33. Sachs, I. (1979). Ecodevelopment: a definition, *Ambio*, XVIII, 113.
34. Satterthwaite, D. (Online). The ten and half myths that may distort the urban policies of governments and international agencies. [http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/21st\\_Century/myths/pdf%20myths/Myth9.pdf](http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/21st_Century/myths/pdf%20myths/Myth9.pdf)
35. Shearman, R. (1990). The meaning and ethics of sustainability, *Environmental Management*. 14, 1-8.
36. Soussan, J. G. (1992). Sustainable development, in A. M. Mannion and S. R. Bowlby (eds.), *Environmental Issues in the 1990s*. Chichester: Wiley.
37. The Ecologist (1993). *Whose Common Future? Reclaiming the Commons*. London: Earthscan.
38. Tisdell, C. (1988). The concept of sustainable development: differing perspectives of ecologists

and economists, and relevance, *World Development*. 16, 373-384.

39. White, R. R. (1994). Strategic Decisions for Sustainable Urban Development in the Third World, *TWPR*. Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 16, 2, 103-116.
40. Worldwatch Institute (2001). Forgive and forget' Won't Fix Third World Debt. Washington, DC: Worldwatch Institute.
41. WWF – US (2000). Root Causes of Biodiversity Loss: Lessons Learned from WWF Case Studies. Washington, DC: World Wide Fund for Nature United States.
42. WCED (1987). Our Common Future. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Year 2012

∞

Global Journal of Human Social Science (C) Volume XII Issue XI Version I





GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE  
Volume 12 Issue 11 Version 1.0 Year 2012  
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal  
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)  
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

## Regulation on Hedge Fund Investment Advisers in the US and its Implications for China

By Zhang Lu & Ma Baojin  
*Tianjin University of Finance, China*

*Abstract* - In recent years, with the innovation and adjustment of financial market, hedge funds grown rapidly and became the major actor in the world financial market. The main law on investment adviser is the Investment Advisers Act of 1940, and the US amended it in 2004. In 2010, the Private Fund Investment Advisers Registration Act of 2010 made further amendment to the Investment Advisers Act of 1940. The continuously strengthened regulation on investment advisers in the US is of great significance for China.

*Keywords* : Hedge funds, investment advisers, regulation, implications.

*GJHSS-C Classification* : JEL Code: G11



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# Regulation on Hedge Fund Investment Advisers in the US and its Implications for China

Zhang Lu<sup>α</sup> & Ma Baojin<sup>σ</sup>

**Abstract** - In recent years, with the innovation and adjustment of financial market, hedge funds grown rapidly and became the major actor in the world financial market. The main law on investment adviser is the Investment Advisers Act of 1940, and the US amended it in 2004. In 2010, the Private Fund Investment Advisers Registration Act of 2010 made further amendment to the Investment Advisers Act of 1940. The continuously strengthened regulation on investment advisers in the US is of great significance for China.

**Keywords** : *Hedge funds, investment advisers, regulation, implications.*

Since Alfred Winslow Jones created the first hedge fund in 1949, hedge funds came to the spot of the public. Through a prosperous development during the financial globalization in the 1990s, there are over 9,000 hedge funds in the world, managing assets worth more than two trillion US dollars, and the trading volume of hedge funds has accounted for 40-50 percent of total trading volumes in global main stock markets. In addition, hedge funds are used as major financing means by listed companies. Today, hedge funds have become an important participant in global financial market and a financial investment means significant to the market.

## I. BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO HEDGE FUNDS

### a) *Concepts and Features of Hedge Funds*

Though hedge funds have enjoyed a rapid development, there are many interpretations<sup>1</sup> to and divergences over its concepts, and hence the definition of a hedge fund is still under discussion. Chinese scholar Li Xun defines hedge funds as “a portfolio formed through non-public offering to a few of rich individuals and sophisticated investors whereby fund managers as the major investor of the fund may take

any investment strategies, use a vast range of techniques like short selling and leveraging to pursue absolute returns and receive performance-based remunerations.” [1]

Hedge funds are unique and far different from traditional funds in terms of objectives and strategies of investment. What hedge funds emphasize is absolute return while traditional funds relative return. Hedge funds usually make use of techniques such as credit expansion, short selling or leveraging, while in comparison, traditional funds employ less strategies and approaches.

In general, hedge funds have the following features: (1) mainly open for investment from sophisticated investors; (2) non-public offering; (3) use of flexible investment strategies, mainly through credit expansion, short selling and other hedging approaches; (4) adoption of an incentive commission structure and pursuit of absolute return; and (5) subject to few regulations.

### b) *History of Hedge Funds*

“The traditional story about the origin of hedge funds is that they were invented in the late 1940s by Alfred Winslow Jones.” “In 1949 he formed an investment partnership, A.W. Jones & Co., which lays claim to being the first hedge fund.” [2] From then, hedge funds entered into a slow development period. In the 1970s under advocacy of financial liberalization, innovative financial products were launched in western countries. US government gradually relaxed financial regulation in the 1980s, providing a large stage for hedge funds. “In the 1990s, the number of hedge funds increased 12 times over and the size of asset under management was 37 times that of the past. Especially, hedge funds enjoyed a rapid development in terms of number and size of assets after 2000. The size of assets under management by hedge funds reached about USD 265 million at the early 2008.” [3] However, the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers Holdings, liquidity unwinding and subprime crisis heavily hit hedge funds in 2008, resulting in poor performance of the overall industry in the year. Nevertheless, “there were more than 9,000 hedge funds globally, which managed assets worth USD 2.02 trillion in April 2011. The trading volume of hedge funds accounted for 40-50 percent of the total trading volumes in global major stock markets except China.” [4]

*Author α* : Zhang Lu, Doctor of law, Hebei University School of Political Science and Law, Baoding 071000, Hebei Province.

*E-mail* : tony@eastwestlaw.com

*Author σ* : Tianjin University of Finance and Economics School of Law.

<sup>1</sup> Scholar Stefano Lavinio defines hedge funds in *The Hedge Fund Handbook*: A hedge fund may be defined as a tool of investment that makes use of such techniques as short selling, hedging, arbitrage, leveraging or synthetic positions and derivatives or their combination, and managers of the fund may earn incentive incomes from the structure of their tactics. According to the IMF, “Hedge funds are ...typically organized as private partnerships and often located offshore for tax and regulatory reasons.” The well-known US-based VHFA defines hedge funds as “limited partnerships or limited liability companies invested primarily in public securities or in financial derivatives”.

c) *New Issues Arising from Hedge Funds**Table 1 : History of Regulation on Hedge Funds.*

Year	Event
1969	The first fund of hedge funds (FOHF) --- Leveraged Capital Holdings --- was formed in Europe.
1971	The first FOHF in the US --- Grosvenor Capital Management --- was formed.
1992	The Quantum Fund managed by Soros defeated the Bank of England, devaluing the pound and causing the bank lose over USD 30 billion and Soros earn as much as USD 1.1 billion, which shock the economic world.
1997	The Asian financial crisis broke out. Currencies of southeast Asian countries were devalued under the hit by international hedge funds and former Malaysian Primer Mahathir Mohamad called Soros "a villain".
Oct. 1997/Sep. 1998	In order to maintain the stability of the financial market, the government of Hong Kong SRA fought a fierce battle with international capital in the exchange, stock and futures markets in Hong Kong. Finally, Paul Jones, Soros' assistant, acknowledged his participation and loss.
Sep. 1998	A US hedge fund --- Long-term Capital Management (LTCM) --- went bankruptcy and the financial products worth over one trillion US dollars affiliated with the assets under its management were exposed to systematic risks, which forced intervention of the Fed.
Sep. 2006	A US hedge fund --- Amaranth Advisers --- closed down due to its loss of as many as USD 6.6 billion in two weeks, which exceeded the value of assets under its management, much more than the loss of the LTCM. Such loss was resulted from purchase of substantial positions due to its false estimation on price tendency of natural gas.
Jun. 2007	The bankruptcy of two hedge funds under the umbrella of Bear Stearns ignited the subprime crisis and unveiled the global financial crisis. Bear Stearns was acquired by its competitor in Spring of 2008.
Nov. 2008	Madoff's Ponzi Scheme was exposed, which involved over USD 50 billion, and brought loss to over 2,900 institutions in 25 countries, including large institutions. Swiss financial industry was expected to suffer a loss as much as five billion US dollars, among which, the loss to United Private Financial Co., a hedge fund, and Banco Santander, Spanish financial giant, was expected to reach one billion US dollars and three billion US dollars respectively.
Nov. 22, 2010	US FBI searched three hedge funds: Level Global Investor, Diamondback Capital Management and Loch Capital Management

*Source : History of Regulation on Hedge Funds.<sup>2</sup>*

From Table 1 it may be read that, firstly, hedge funds have expanded their source of financing since the birth of FOHF, through which, hedge funds may raise funds from large institutions including banks, insurance companies, investment banks and pension funds, hence reaching to a broader scope of investors and involving more potential risks. Secondly, the impact of hedge funds on economic stability has been increased, as bankruptcy of a large hedge fund might give a heavy strike on the financial market. Finally, regulation on hedge funds is far from sufficient, as revealed by the case of Madoff in 2008.

## II. REGULATION OF US ON HEDGE FUND INVESTMENT ADVISERS

The focus of regulation on hedge funds may be regulation on hedge fund investment advisors, which is also told by the case of Madoff. From the Investment Advisers Act of 1940 (hereinafter referred to as the

Investment Advisers Act) to its amendment in 2004 and Private Fund Investment Advisers Registration Act of 2010, we may see US government has strengthened regulation on investment advisors.

### a) *Relevant Provisions in the Investment Advisers Act of 1940*

In the Investment Advisers Act, investment advisors are defined as "any person who, for compensation, engages in the business of advising others, either directly or through publications or writings, as to the value of securities or as to the advisability of investing in, purchasing, or selling securities..."

Section 203 (a) of the Investment Advisers Act provides that investment advisors need be registered with the SEC, but there are two exceptions. The first is small investment advisors. Section 203 (a) (1) provides an investment adviser may not be registered with the SEC if the assets he manages are less than USD 25 million or he is not an investment adviser of a hedge fund. The second is investment advisors with limited clients. Section 203 (b) (3) of the Investment Advisers

<sup>2</sup> History of Regulation on Hedge Funds: 2011.02.15, www.morefund.com

Act provides that any investment adviser who during the course of the preceding 12 months has had fewer than 15 clients and who neither holds himself out generally to the public as an investment adviser nor acts as an investment adviser to any fund registered under the Investment Advisers Act may be exempted from registration.

*b) Amendment to the Investment Advisers Act in 2004*

“The SEC amended the Investment Advisers Act and adopted certain rules including Rule 203 (b) (3) on December 2, 2004. Those rules require all owners or beneficiaries of a private fund be counted as a single client for the purpose of application of the exception rule of limited clients, and any hedge fund adviser who has had 14 or more clients (i.e. investors) and managed assets worth USD 30 million during the course of the preceding 12 months shall be registered with the SEC before February 1, 2006.” [5] Under Rule 203 (b) (3), hedge fund must deem every investor as a single client. In such way, most hedge funds have more than 15 clients and investment advisers therefore must be registered with the SEC.

“Nevertheless, the SEC still kept two safe harbors for hedge funds. Firstly, the new Rule 203 (b) (3) does not involve the general rule that an investment adviser who manages assets less than USD 25 million may not be registered with the SEC, and thus small and emerging hedge funds may still not be subject to regulation by the SEC. Secondly, the SEC amended Rule 203 (b) (3)-1, providing only private fund may not be applied to private adviser exception. A private fund refers to a company that permits its owners to redeem any portion of their ownership interests within two years of the purchase of such interests. In other words, if the manager of a hedge fund requires an over two year lock-up period, he may still share the private adviser exception. It means hedge fund managers still need not to “look through” hedge funds to count the number of investors if there is a provision on lock-up period of two years or more in the hedge funds.<sup>3</sup>” However, this new rule was overturned by Goldstein v. SEC case.

*c) US's Financial Regulatory Reform Bill*

US President Obama signed the financial regulatory reform bill on July 21, 2010, turning on a new page of financial regulation in the US. Title V of the act is the Private Fund Investment Advisers Registration Act of 2010 (hereinafter referred to as the Registration Act). It makes amendments to the Investment Advisers Act, “raising the assets threshold of investment advisers subject to registration from USD 30 million to USD 100 million and eliminating the limited client exemption relied upon by most private fund investment advisers today”. [6] The amendments are mainly made in the following aspects:

*i. Registration and Exemption*

*a. Elimination of Private Adviser Exemption*

The amendment to Section 203 (b) (3)-1 eliminates the “private adviser exemption”, which once provided that any investment adviser who during the course of the preceding 12 months had fewer than 15 clients and who neither held himself out generally to the public as an investment adviser nor acted as an investment adviser to any fund registered under the Investment Advisers Act might be exempted from registration.

*b. Limited Exemption for Foreign Private Advisers*

There is an exemption for foreign private advisers who meet certain conditions. It provides that a foreign private adviser (1) who has no place of business in the US; (2) the assets of US clients or investors under whose management are less than USD 25 million or more as prescribed by the SEC; (3) whose clients or investors in the private fund in the US are less than 15; and (4) who does not hold himself out to the public of the US as an investment adviser, may be exempted from registration. When counting the number of clients or investors, the foreign private adviser shall include US investors in offshore funds. Consequently, compared with exemptions for foreign fund managers provided by existing laws, the extent of exemption offered by the new rules is narrower.

*c. Exemption of Venture Capital Fund Advisers*

Section 203 of the Investment Advisers Act is amended by adding at the end the exemption of venture capital fund advisers. According to the new rule, no investment adviser shall be subject to the registration requirements with respect to the provision of investment advice relating to one or more venture capital funds.

*d. State and Federal Responsibilities*

According to the new rule, a medium-scale investment adviser shall be registered with the SEC rather than state authorities. An adviser may not be registered with the SEC if he (1) is required to be registered with the state authorities in the State in which it maintains its principal office; (2) is subject to examination of the state authorities after registration; and (3) manages assets between USD 25 million and USD 100 million, unless he has to register in more than 15 states. In any case, if the investment adviser is an adviser of an investment company registered under the Investment Company Act or of a business development company, he shall be registered with the SEC.

*ii. Private Fund Records, Reporting and Examination*

The Act contains substantial recordkeeping, reporting and examination requirements specifically for registered private fund advisers, including:

Private Fund Records and Reports. For each private fund, the adviser must maintain certain records

<sup>3</sup> Wang Wen, <http://blog.sina.com.cn/wangwen1973>, 2011.08.

and reports which will be subject to SEC inspection. The required information will include information such as the amount and types of assets under management, use of leverage (including off-balance sheet leverage), side letter arrangements, and valuation policies. Several of these areas reflect longstanding SEC concerns particular to hedge funds. The Act authorizes the SEC, in consultation with the Financial Stability Oversight Council (the "Council") to require additional information and reports beyond what is specified in the Act as necessary and appropriate in the public interest for investor protection or assessment of systemic risk. Additional reporting requirements may be established for different classes of fund advisers, based on the type of private fund (e.g., hedge fund or private equity fund) or size of private fund being advised. The Act directs the SEC to issue rules concerning the required reports to be filed by private fund advisers.

**SEC Examination of Private Fund Records.** All records and reports of any private fund advised by a registered adviser, not only specific SEC required reports, will be considered the records and reports of the registered adviser, subject to SEC examination. The SEC is required to conduct periodic examinations of private fund records, and may also conduct additional special or other examinations.

**Information Sharing and Confidentiality.** The SEC will share any information filed with or provided to it by an adviser with the Council for an assessment of the systemic risk posed by a private fund. The SEC, the Council and other departments, agencies and self regulatory organizations receiving this information from the SEC must keep such information confidential with certain exceptions. Information provided to the SEC or shared by the SEC is not subject to disclosure under the Freedom of Information Act. There is additional protection of proprietary information concerning the adviser that is contained in any report filed with the SEC.

**SEC Report.** The SEC is to report annually to Congress on how it has used the data collected from advisers for purposes of investor protection and market integrity.

**Disclosure of Client Identity.** The SEC may now require disclosure of the identity, investments and affairs of a client for purposes of assessment of potential systemic risk in addition to its prior powers to compel this disclosure.

### iii. *De Minimis Exemption*

A Banking Entity may invest in the hedge and private equity funds that it organizes and offers. Such investments may not exceed: (i) 3% of the total ownership interests of the fund not later than one year after the fund's establishment (subject to a two year extension as determined by the Federal Reserve), and (ii) an amount that is "immaterial" to the Banking Entity (to be defined by the regulators), in no event exceeding

in the aggregate 3% of the Banking Entity's Tier 1 capital.

### iv. *Fiduciary Duty*

The SEC is provided discretionary rulemaking authority to require investment advisers in providing personalized investment advice to retail customers to act in the best interest of the customer without regard to the financial or other interest of the investment adviser providing the advice. This standard (fiduciary one) must be no less stringent than the standard provided by section 206(1) and (2) of the Investment Advisers Act. The U.S. Supreme Court has interpreted these provisions as imposing on all investment advisers, regardless of whether the adviser is registered with the SEC, the fiduciary duties of loyalty and care to their clients. In light of their status as fiduciaries, the SEC has stated that investment advisers owe their clients, among other things, a duty of "undivided loyalty."

## III. IMPLICATIONS FOR CHINA

The exchange rate reform, opening of capital accounts and financial globalization create a positive environment for emergence of hedge funds in China. "The first hedge fund in China --- "Junxiang Lianghua" -- - was formed by Guotai Jun'an Securities Assets Management Co. on March 7, 2011, which initiated an investment path in the capital market in China." [7] However, Chinese securities market is immature and short of regulation and legislation on hedge funds; therefore, it is urgent to make more efforts in this regard. In the US, the launch of the financial reform act indicated adjustment and reconsideration of regulation by the US government on the financial industry after the financial crisis. It furthers the reform of existing financial regulation and is of considerable value of reference for China.

Firstly, legislation on hedge funds may be improved to establish the legitimate status of such funds. Hedge funds do not exist in Chinese laws but is not explicitly prohibited. "If securities traders and private and public funds engage in hedge funds, they may form a large team, bringing unpredictable impacts on the market. Additionally, without laws concerned, regulators may be in an awkward situation. To change such negative conditions, regulators shall quicken the pace in legislation to remedy legal defects. I believe that special regulations may be launched to guide market behaviors and administrate different types of hedge funds based on their asset size. Some QFII hedge funds that meet certain conditions may be allowed to conduct limited hedging business after obtaining license. Regulators may impose corresponding requirements on them in respects of information disclosure, internal risk management, qualification of fund managers and investor protection, carry out real-time monitoring of

capital flow and limit the frequency of capital inflow when there is great fluctuation.” [8]

Secondly, more attentions may be given to hedge funds and professional ethnics may be enhanced. Since hedge funds just emerge in China, investors have limited knowledge about them. Therefore, it is necessary for regulators and investors attach attention to and understand hedge funds. “Education may be offered at moral, legal and ethnical levels with cases to enable those who engage in hedge funds understand the consequences of irregular practice. Regulations and rules may be improved to prevent and control moral risks and departments may be set up to conduct mutual check and restraint.” [9]

Thirdly, specific regulatory measures and systems shall be strengthened. For instance, micro-restriction measures may be adopted and legal systems regarding professional ethnics may be reinforced. Especially, the measures of the above-mentioned de minimis exemption and systematical fiduciary regimes should be adopted in China.

Finally, international cooperation may be enhanced. Due to international capital flow and negative impacts of speculative hedge funds on global financial industry, countries may strengthen international cooperation and monitor abnormal flow of hedge funds to avoid adverse affect of hedge funds on global financial industry.

#### REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Li Xun: On Legislation on Regulation of Hedge Funds in the US, Financial Theory and Practice, June 2008
2. [US] Robert A. Jaeger: All About Hedge Funds, Oriental Publishing House, January 2011
3. Wang Kai & Xing Yu: New Progress and Regulation of Hedge Funds, Huabei Finance, June 2010
4. Song Chanrong & Xu Xiangyang: Impacts of Financial Innovation on Financial Stability --- An Example of New Progress of Hedge Funds, Macroeconomic Management, September 2011
5. Zhang Tao: Regulation on Hedge Funds from Perspective of US Securities Law, Securities Law Review, February 2009
6. Wang Yong: Significance of Wall Street Financial Reform Bill, Capital Market, September 2010
7. Yuan Linjie: Thoughts on Regulation on Hedge Funds in China, Economic Herald, October 2011
8. Zhou Zifan: Status Quo of Hedge Funds in China and Regulation Analysis, Theory Horizon, September 2011
9. Zhao Shan: Revelations of Wall Street Hedge Fund Fraud Case, Practice in Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, July 2010



This page is intentionally left blank





GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE  
Volume 12 Issue 11 Version 1.0 Year 2012  
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal  
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)  
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

## Cameroon: Flawed Decentralization & the Politics of Identity in the Urban Space

By Oben Timothy Mbuagbo  
*University of Buea, Cameroon*

*Abstract* - Urban governance policies in Cameroon within the past two decades of political and economic liberalization have witnessed significant administrative and political setbacks. While the government of Cameroon tacitly embraced decentralization as a viable administrative and political strategy for improving the management of cities, the process has been stalled by excessive state interventionism. This paper draws on the decentralization experience of the coastal city of Limbe in the southwest region of Cameroon to analyze the emerging trajectories of conflict embedded in the current decentralization drive of city governance. Based on interviews of some municipal officials conducted in May and June 2011, this paper makes the case that the current urban governance crisis in Cameroon is traceable largely to the weak political impulse of central government to effectively relinquish its traditional grip on power at all levels of society. This partly explains why cities in Cameroon have failed to deliver expected services to their clientele, the population, on a regular and efficient manner.

*GJHSS-C Classification : FOR Code: 160514*



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# Cameroon: Flawed Decentralization & the Politics of Identity in the Urban Space

Oben Timothy Mbuagbo

**Abstract** - Urban governance policies in Cameroon within the past two decades of political and economic liberalization have witnessed significant administrative and political setbacks. While the government of Cameroon tacitly embraced decentralization as a viable administrative and political strategy for improving the management of cities, the process has been stalled by excessive state interventionism. This paper draws on the decentralization experience of the coastal city of Limbe in the southwest region of Cameroon to analyze the emerging trajectories of conflict embedded in the current decentralization drive of city governance. Based on interviews of some municipal officials conducted in May and June 2011, this paper makes the case that the current urban governance crisis in Cameroon is traceable largely to the weak political impulse of central government to effectively relinquish its traditional grip on power at all levels of society. This partly explains why cities in Cameroon have failed to deliver expected services to their clientele, the population, on a regular and efficient manner.

## I. THE IMPULSE TO REFORM

During the last two decades, many countries in sub-Saharan Africa embraced decentralization as a new management strategy to render local government, broadly understood, more democratic, accountable, and responsive to the pressing social and economic needs of their citizens. The urgency of these reforms could, in part, be explained in a global socioeconomic context defined by large scale and rapid urbanization with concomitant social, economic, and political problems. These problems find concrete outlet in housing shortages, widespread unemployment, increasing poverty, environmental and sanitation problems, and failing social services in urban milieus. The said problems have been amplified by inadequate and sometimes contradictory political and administrative responses to the worsening physical and social infrastructure that are woefully in short supply, and have therefore, failed to respond in any meaningful way to growing pressures of rapid urban population growth in Africa (Tostensen et al, 2001; Olowu, 1999). With this growing urban crisis, the ideas associated with good governance emerged with a strong normative bent, designed to respond to the urban crisis. Pressure by donor agencies such as the World Bank, essentially Preoccupied with governance issues that embrace the

twin concepts of transparency and accountability, became integral to urban governance reforms in Africa. With accelerating urbanization, successful management of urban development processes in Africa attracted increasing importance (Gough and Yankson, 2001: 127-142) as this became the holy grail of reform efforts pursued in the sub-region. This explains the interventionist efforts of these multilateral Western aid donors. Because Cameroon, like many countries in the sub-region is facing an urban crisis, the government welcomed decentralization as a new management paradigm to successfully manage and cope with the expanding urban crisis in the country.

Foregrounding these reforms in Cameroon were efforts by a constellation of international lending agencies to address the over-bloated and centralized national bureaucracy. To achieve this goal, the size and powers of the central state had to be curbed. It was believed by these lending agencies this could be done by practically relocating some of these massive administrative and political powers enjoyed by the central government to sub-national administrative units, and in the specific case of urban governance reforms, to local councils. The overall prevailing common assumption that underscored these reforms was the belief that urban development in Africa could proceed only through a more proficient mobilization and deployment of local resources and resourcefulness (Simone, 2005). Such mobilization could best be accomplished through a comprehensive decentralization of governmental authority and financial responsibility to the municipal level. The elaboration, therefore, of a political and administrative framework for a more proficient management of urban spaces, or good governance, became the mantra for reinventing the city in Africa as an inclusive city. The overall objective was that these reforms would provide space and voice to all stakeholders at the grassroots, and ignite possible route towards inclusive decision-making processes – since decision-making is at the heart of good governance (Therkildsen, 2001). Moving, therefore, from a model of central provision to that of decentralization to local governments was expected to introduce a new relationship of accountability- between national and local policy makers-while altering existing relationships, such as that between citizens and elected officials (Ahmad et. al., 2005). This shift in the focus of governance was an implicit recognition that basic

*Author* : Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Faculty of Social and Management Sciences, University of Buea, Cameroon, P.O Box 63, Buea. E-mail : mbuagbo@yahoo.com

services such as health, education, and sanitation, all of which are the responsibility of the state, were systematically failing, and especially failing the poor and marginalized in African countries.

This reorientation from a top-down to a bottom-up administrative and political formula was believed by its proponents to be the magic wand for achieving good governance, and thereby enhance economic performance. Also, the belief was that these reforms could usher in political participation by grassroots populations in the urban development process. Such devolution of powers theoretically meant these ideals could be translated into easy mobilization and more effective utilization of human and material resources at local levels to ensure sustainability of urban development projects in Cameroon, and elsewhere on the African continent where these reforms were embraced.

Following a processual approach adopted by Boone (2003), this paper raises some of the concrete issues that underlie the struggle between different local authorities in the Limbe City Council. This is done in the backdrop of some of the dynamics of social and political changes currently taking place in Cameroon. This approach is driven by an empirical, rather than theoretical, linkage of the actual distribution of authority within an urban public space in the wider framework of expected changes in the process of reconfiguring power relationships between various city stakeholders. At the base of this analysis are the broad processes of decentralization, and the general outcome of these processes on reform of governance in Cameroon.

## II. DECENTRALIZING CITY GOVERNANCE IN CAMEROON: EMERGING TRAJECTORIES OF CONFLICT

One of the social consequences of globalization, it has been pointed out, is the extreme economic decline, combined, against all conventional economic logic, with sustained high rates of urban population growth. This has resulted to the mass production of slums (Berman, 2006) in urban Africa. These physical and social conditions, especially of cities in Africa, tended to favour decentralization as a pragmatic response to these crises, especially in the wake of glaring inability by central governments to respond adequately to the increasingly vocal socioeconomic and political demands of their citizens (Saito, 2001). To bridge this gap between governments and their citizens, decentralization became one of the institutional reform efforts pursued in developing countries in general, and Cameroon in particular.

Partly in response to this urban crisis and the global ferment of democratization witnessed in the 1980s and 1990s, decentralization was enshrined in the

letter and spirit of the 1996 constitution of Cameroon. This new constitution theoretically provided for the effective devolution of powers in such a way that local communities and municipalities could be empowered to manage their affairs (The Post no. 1004, Friday 21 November, 2008:2). On the heels of this constitutional provision, the Law on the Orientation of Decentralization of 17th July 2004 establishes, in Section 2, that, "decentralization shall consist of devolution by the state of special powers and appropriate resources to regional and local authorities." It reaffirms the "administrative and financial autonomy of local authorities." On the basis of these general guidelines towards decentralization, a presidential decree No. 2007/17 of 24th April 2007 saw the Limbe Urban Council, like many other city councils in Cameroon, split into three local councils, that is, Limbe1, Limbe 2, and Limbe 3, each with a locally elected mayor, assisted by elected councilors. This districting of the Limbe Urban Council equally witnessed the creation of three administrative subdivisions in Limbe, coinciding more or less with the territorial boundaries of the three newly created local council areas (Presidential Decree No. 2007/115 of 23rd July 2007). The former Limbe Urban Council was transformed into Limbe City Council, subsuming the three local councils, and headed by a government delegate appointed by presidential decree. In this new administrative and political arrangement, the three local councils are theoretically independent, yet their activities are overseen both by the Limbe City Council and the district officers of the three administrative subdivisions, which are equally headed by appointed officials. Embedded in this phenomenon of districting is conflict.

Section 2 of Law No. 2009/011 of 10th July 2009 relating to Financial Regime of Regional and Local Authorities states that, "local authorities shall be corporate bodies governed by public law. They shall have legal personality and *administrative and financial autonomy* for the management of regional and local interests. They shall freely manage their revenue and expenditure within the framework of budgets adopted by their deliberative bodies (my emphasis). In the same vein, Law No.2009/019 of 15th December 2009 on the local fiscal system in Cameroon stipulates that city councils and sub-divisional councils shall not be entitled to the same sources of revenue. The fiscal revenue of the city council (Section 115: 1 and Section 115: 2) shall delimit the revenue sources for city councils and sub-divisional councils respectively. But a close reading of this law reveals that there is bound to be conflict between the different city councils and sub-divisional councils in Cameroon. This is because the sources of revenue are by far few, and the said law fails to state precisely the territory of operation of city councils (which subsumes sub-divisional councils), and finally, the same sources of fiscal revenue for city councils also

sometimes apply to sub-divisional councils. So which authority is really entitled to collect what revenue and for what purpose? Such ambiguity and lack of clarity in the financial regime is the immediate source of conflict between city councils and the various sub-divisional councils in Cameroon.

In the specific case of the city of Limbe, the three sub-divisional councils are engulfed within the territorial boundaries of the city council, and to this extent, authorities of the Limbe City Council see the sub-divisional councils as annex to the city council. This is because the territorial, administrative, and financial boundaries of the sub-divisional councils and those of the city council are flux, leading to confusion as to which authority is actually entitled to what resources, and which authority executes what development project within the city. In an interview with the mayor of the Limbe 1 sub-divisional council, he points, for example, to an ongoing conflict between Limbe 1 and Limbe 3 sub-divisional council over which council controls the Dockyard Area and Down Beach from which substantial revenue is generated from local fishing communities. This conflict is attributed to the very elastic nature of the financial regime earlier referred to governing local authorities in Cameroon, making it open to all kinds of (mis)interpretations. In the same vein, an administrative report of the Limbe 1 sub-divisional council dated November 26, 2009 reveals that a decision by the minister of urban development and housing with regards to the issuance of building permits, clearly stipulates that building permits remain the prerogative of sub-divisional mayors. But the mayor of the Limbe 1 sub-divisional council area states that the Limbe City Council, contrary to the said ministerial decision, still issues building permits, and adds that some of these 'unauthorized' structures are constructed on risky zones with potential for landslides and flooding during rainy seasons. This problem of which authority does what, and even of which authority owns what assets, the sub-divisional mayor states, considerably slows down the activities not only of the sub-divisional councils, but of the city of Limbe as a whole. Rather than focus on substantial issues related to the daily challenges of life confronting urban residents, local administrators are driven by conflict of who is responsible for what. The conflicting nature inherent in the local bureaucracy means the Limbe City Council and the sub-divisional councils within the municipality both refer to the law on decentralization which does not explicitly define the respective areas of competence assigned to the different sub-divisional councils; and the Limbe city council on account of its supervisory status, appears to considerably dwarf the activities of the sub-divisional councils.

As further illustration of the internecine conflict among the different local authorities, the government delegate of the Limbe City Council addressed a letter

titled, "Irregular Use of Limbe City Council Property, 13 January, 2007," to the mayor of the Limbe 1 sub-divisional council. It requests the latter to evict the premises housing its administrative structures. The letter states, inter alia, "you always interfere in the management of the city council property without prior negotiations...I wish to draw your attention to the fact that the property of the former Limbe Urban Council has never been partitioned... The Limbe 1 council is accommodated temporarily in the property of the Limbe City Council...it shall be better if you start thinking of building your own structures..." As a direct consequence of this conflict between the Limbe 1 sub-divisional council and authorities of the Limbe City Council, the said mayor says these administrative obstacles amount to what could be described as "no-go-zones." The mayor says, "There are many conflicting roles...the no-go-zones are too many for our council...The markets are not controlled by this council...The motor parks are controlled by the city council...All key revenue generating areas are controlled by the city council..." This is illustrative of the contradiction inherent in the law on decentralization, which tacitly affirms the administrative and financial autonomy of local authorities in Cameroon. As a consequence, the social and financial space enjoyed by sub-divisional councils are negligible, as the supervisory mandate exercised by city councils through appointed government delegates significantly infringes, and actually constricts the activities of sub-divisional councils. This politically motivated interference by city councils is regardless of Section 124 of the Law on Decentralization in Cameroon which explicitly says that "the setting up of a city council shall entail the transfer to sub-divisional councils of powers and resources to the said councils in accordance with the provision of the law." But these powers and resources are not clearly defined, leaving room to all sorts of competing interpretations and conflict among different local authorities of municipalities. This explains why the Limbe City Council, for example, meddles, and actually frustrates development activities of the sub-divisional councils under its supervision.

The broad implication of this confusing and conflicting nature of the local bureaucracy in Cameroon is demonstrative of the fact that sub-divisional councils have far too few income generating sources to warrant any meaningful development projects in their locality. Frustrated by the lack of clarity of the decentralization laws, and of the snail pace of the decentralization exercise in Cameroon, the mayor of the Limbe 1 sub-divisional council says, "...We do not really understand whether we are going in for decentralization...We are not given the necessary means to work on the ground...But we have all good letters of intent from Yaoundé...Taxes from major income generating sources are collected by the city council...While sub-divisional councils only receives subventions from the city council,

and the amount allocated depends on the individual.” The individual here obviously refers to the appointed government delegate, who acts as supervisory authority of sub-divisional councils and who, exploits the confusion in the law on decentralization to run the municipality arbitrarily, without due consideration to the wishes of locally elected officials and those of the population who elected them. What determines the subvention granted to sub-divisional councils is not clearly spelt out, a situation which has led to the political instrumentalization of the supervisory powers of the government delegate to frustrate the activities of the elected mayors. The mayor of the Limbe 1 sub-divisional council reports that the subvention received from the city council is so negligible that the sub-divisional councils can hardly pay salaries of their personnel, talk less of financing local development projects. And the mayor of the Limbe 2 sub-divisional council adds that subvention from the central government is at best ad hoc. This is understandable, given the cash strapped nature of the central government which has very limited financial resources of its own to pursue development priorities in the country.

In this connection, Gough and Yankson (2001) are therefore right to argue that decentralization and good governance management promoted by the World Bank and other lending agencies remains too state-centred, too top-down, too narrow, formalized, and essentially technocratic. This generally explains why local authorities in Cameroon cannot keep up with the demands of demographic pressures and the exponential growth of cities in the country. Bates (1994) has analyzed some of the paradoxes of these ‘reformist’ drives in Africa, such as the generally weak political impulse to reform, which could also explain why reforms of urban governance soon petered out, as in the case of Cameroon, to usher in an accountable and participatory governance scheme.

A similar experience with decentralization in Ghana (GTZ 2008) attests to the widespread difficulties of implementing these reforms in sub-Saharan Africa. The government of Ghana launched an ambitious decentralization program in 1998 to address key developmental challenges aimed at reducing poverty and social inequalities. But the experience revealed limited success because, like in Cameroon, it lacked a comprehensive policy framework on decentralization, and full implementation of administrative decentralization. And local authorities possessed limited capacities for an efficient and adequate provision of services to citizens which was assigned to them under the decentralization program. This explains why the district assemblies of Ghana, which are the basic administrative, political, and planning units of the country, incorporating typical local government functions and power, including revenue raising to promote service delivery at the local level have ended in

a vicious circle. They have been unable to carry out development projects because they have little revenue. Also, the creation of parallel structures and forms of authority has led to an “institutional jungle” (Francis and James, 2003), complicated, as in the Cameroon case study, by differing political allegiances at the local level, leading to tensions.

Such a fuzzy accountability framework, and overlapping and conflicting local authority structure explains the confusion and ambiguity, and therefore the failure by the central government to provide adequate resources to new local council areas in Cameroon. Consequently, elected local officials such as mayors quickly lost their legitimacy because of their inability to provide the development benefits promised under the now crippled democratization option. Thus while it is claimed that decentralization can provide social cohesion (Scott, 2009), this empirical research appears to point to the opposite direction, and challenges such optimistic presumptions. The reality exposes the fractured and tense atmosphere generated by so-called democratic decentralization in Cameroon. The process has exacerbated simmering conflicts at the local level, especially in the context of a plural and multiethnic society (Mbuagbo and Tabe, 2012; Mbuagbo and Fru, 2011). This partly indicates why decentralization has been instrumentalized by locally appointed elites to foster their own interest, as well as those of their political masters at the centre who imposed them in those positions in the first place. Appointed government delegates in Cameroon owe their loyalty more to the central government where their careers are determined, rather than to local populations of their municipalities. The interest of these appointed officials are bound to significantly deviate from those of local communities, while at the same time the daily concerns of inhabitants of cities are jeopardized and compromised by the parochial concerns of imposed local authorities.

Following our case study, assumptions about decentralization leading to empowerment of local city inhabitants appear to clearly be at variance, and actually clash with the local pattern of authority, sometimes, as Berry (2004) explains, creating new forms of social and political exclusion. In the context of urban governance reforms in Cameroon, competing claims to authority and efforts to decentralize political authority and administrative prerogatives at the level of city councils has given rise to local power struggles over scarce resources. Such a situation has complicated and subverted the process of local development and democratization that reform processes were actually intended to enhance. Decentralization as administrative and political strategies for rolling-back the state and empower local people through strengthening local structures of governance has, therefore, registered a dismal failure in Cameroon. As a consequence, it could be said that the proximity principle- that decentralization

moves government closer to the people, and induce higher accountability and efficiency in service delivery (Caldera et. al. 2010) is suffering from a bureaucratic inertia. This is principally because it is at the mercy of several local power brokers who, have different visions of decentralization, and are therefore competing with each other to control the decentralization agenda (Smoke, 2003). The current administrative and political logjam observed in the decentralization of city governance in Cameroon has alienated local residents who feel excluded from the process (Eyong and Mbuagbo, 2003), a situation which has further eroded the local tax base of municipalities, resulting to significant revenue loss (Mbuagbo and Neh Fru, 2011) as citizens demands for redress through an accountable and transparent local governance scheme are taken hostage by an undemocratic urban governance project. Decentralization has therefore created more conflicts at the local level, by creating powerful new conflict drivers in the form of imposed local officials, leading to a breakdown of social cohesion (Scott, 2009) within urban spaces in Cameroon.

Exposed as above, Southall and Wood (1996) are therefore right to claim that a return to freely elected local councils in Africa has little to do with democracy, unless those bodies have some genuinely effective powers and a reasonable degree of autonomy. The local bureaucracy in Africa is still mired in political competition among different local authorities for control of minimal resources to the extent that they have proved unable to perform their task. In the case of Cameroon, the central government has been only too prepared to step in by appropriating the limited powers it grudgingly granted to elected local officials through imposed officers in what is now a stalled decentralization option. Obviously, the return to multipartism in Cameroon has offered no meaningful indication of a reversal of the formally over-centralized political power (Joseph, 1978) which has retained its repressive instincts of conduit of state repression (Ndegwa, 2002). The case in point is, the sequential theory of decentralization (Falleti, 2004) which takes into account the territorial interests of bargaining actors, and incorporates policy feed-back effects in the process of integrating fiscal, administrative and political elements as key determinants in the evolution of intergovernmental balance of power-has not in any significant measure increased the powers of locally elected mayors and councilors. This is due largely to the deliberate withholding of financial, administrative, and political authority by state appointed agents, such as government delegates. As such, the current rhetoric of democratization has been accompanied by faltering implementation of decentralization of city governance in Cameroon. While this could also be blamed on lack of competence and capacity given the complex nature of the decentralization process, the national and local political environment in which implementation is

expected to take place is clearly and generally not propitious.

### III. DECENTRALIZATION AND THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY IN THE URBAN SPACE

Given the above crisis within which city governance in Cameroon is caught, the mayor of the *Limbe 2* sub-divisional council declares that the local population of the municipality has completely been sidelined by the decentralization process. While devolution of powers is theoretically supposed to engender participatory development, which is the true meaning assigned to decentralization, the mayor of Limbe 1 council area corroborates the claims made by the mayor of Limbe 2. He says: "The more they claim to give with the right hand, they take with the left," a situation that amounts to recentralization. In this way, development priorities are still defined by the centre irrespective of local felt needs and realities on the ground. Such an administrative and political posture is a clear rebuff to the idea that in remaking every day life work in complex urban settings, emphasis has to be placed on understanding the role of local institutions and organizations, and peoples perceptions of what makes urban life (World Bank, 1999). To what extent, for example, has the local population and institutions in Cameroon been mobilized to marshal local resources and resourcefulness for poverty reduction so as to engender an inclusive governance pact in cities in Cameroon? Clearly, central authorities are hesitant to relinquish authority to grassroots. On the contrary, inadequate local government structures have actually amplified the urban crisis in Cameroon with a degree of uncertainty as to who actually governs, and this has actually defeated the whole notion of accountability. This interventionist and obstructionist role of imposed officials in Limbe and other cities in Cameroon (Mbuagbo and Tabe, 2012) has led to heightened conflicts at the local level, promoted inefficiency, and exacerbated the urban crisis. This situation only goes to strengthens Boone's (2003: 358) argument that contrary to the positive theory of institutions, institutions are rather created to represent the interest of the powerful, and state-society relations have not been significantly modified under the now stalled (Mbaku, 2002) democratization option in Cameroon. If any thing, the current decentralization process has only entrenched the powers of central elites and their localized supporters bent on hijacking the decentralization project. The existence of a dense and reticulated network of state institutions at the local level personified in appointed officials provides them considerable leverage to micromanage local political processes by distorting established local political processes which have displaced democratically elected local officials. There is therefore a clear disjuncture

between the objectives of decentralization pursued by the state in Cameroon which contradicts the actual expectations of local inhabitants of the city of Limbe.

As the case in southern Cote d'Ivoire (Boone, 2003) illustrate, reforms of city governance in Cameroon is yet to witness anything substantial by way of transfer of resources or administrative prerogatives to the newly created sub-divisional councils and the mayors and councilors elected to run them. The mayor of Limbe 1 sub-divisional council puts it bluntly: "The government delegate has no electorate to report to. He is answerable to the central government, and he cannot be voted out." This is an admission of the inability of locally elected officials to effectively operate under their democratic mandate. The experience of the city of Limbe can easily be generalized to cities in Cameroon that have witnessed imposed authorities on locally elected officials (Mbuagbo and Fru, 2011; Mbuagbo and Tabe, 2012). Conflicts between local officials in cities in Cameroon are widespread, and have further incapacitated an already weak and inefficient administrative structure that is supposed to implement them. Added to these administrative hiccoughs, powers are yet to be effectively devolved. This brings into sharp focus the inability of locally elected officials to effectively establish their legitimacy and win confidence from the public. Cameroon's picture reflects a highly hesitant commitment to administrative and democratic decentralization, especially as the central government has over the years been socialized in the tradition of centralized party-based control; and today, following the forced democratization option, is worried about the consequences, particularly in cities and regions where opposition political parties are strong and firmly entrenched.

As part of a wider strategy to stall and reverse the democratic option that prompted a broad range of administrative and political reforms in Africa, many African leaders adopted the rhetoric of democracy, while devising creative strategies to expunge the process of political competition from public life (Whitaker, 2005; Joseph, 1997). In Cameroon for example, as part of a wider effort by the government to further constrict the political space, the state prompted the mobilization of ethnic identities to weaken and fracture widespread demands from the public, especially in the heydays of democratization in the 1990s, for a more inclusive and accountable governance structure in the country (Mbuagbo and Akoko, 2004; Mbuagbo and Neh Fru, 2011). Ethno-regional politics were given official blessing in the January 1996 constitution of Cameroon which recognized the notion of autochthony, minorities, and regionalization of political life. By invoking national development along identity lines, the government only widened social and political cleavages by fanning ethnicity, and as such significantly mitigated the likelihood of democratic consolidation in the country.

Exclusive citizenship propoganda that came to dominate the national political landscape in Cameroon (Geschiere, 1993) led to extreme alienation, especially in urban areas, of groups of citizens that were not included in the operation of the state on the nebulous premise that they were "strangers," and therefore not fit to participate in local politics (Mbuagbo and Tabe, 2012; Mbuagbo, 2002). The urban space, due principally to reasons of migration, became an arena where several localist movements erupted, with the intent of excluding "strangers." Consequently decentralization, or "bypassing the state" (Ceuppans and Geschiere, 2005), triggered fierce debates, especially at the local level about belonging, that is, over who could or could not participate in local politics.

As concrete expression of the governments involvement in fuelling and energizing such localist movements, especially in towns and cities with a largely immigrant population, the government tacitly endorsed demonstrations by autochthons in many cities in Cameroon following municipal elections of 1996 which, in many instances, were swept by opposition political forces which were erroneously described by the government as dominated by "strangers" (Mbuagbo, 2002). This move was designed not only to exclude supposed "strangers" or "foreigners" from local politics, but to fracture budding opposition political forces. Geschiere and Jackson (2006) and Konings (2001) have thus argued that by presenting autochthony as an alternative to the idea of national citizenship to local populations, and by invoking fears among these populations that they would be outvoted and dominated by more numerous immigrant populations in cities and towns, this inevitably feeds into the broader landscape of political imagination. This explains why during a nation-wide strike in February 2008, mostly by youths in urban areas protesting high cost of living and galloping unemployment, a number of placards in the city of Kumba in the southwest region of Cameroon carried the message, "Bafaws must go." A number of Bafaw elites read this ethnic backlash as a call to the annihilation of the Bafaws from what they consider their "homeland." In a meeting on March 2nd 2008 in Kumba, local elites of Bafaw extraction reacted in a communiqué addressed to the general public: "We of the Bafaw community are at a loss at the public display of hatred from your presumed brothers to a people who have traditionally been among the most hospitable in Cameroon to immigrant populations and strangers to whom we have given land" (The Detective, Vol. 16, No.2, 2008). As elsewhere in Africa, Geschiere (2004) highlights the connivance of national regimes with such localist movements, designed to exclude others, and point to the fact that the notion of "community," as the case of the Bafaws illustrate, is itself problematic because, it occasions fierce struggles over who really belongs where, particularly where scarce economic resources



have to be divided. With these developments in mind, Tacoli (2001) notes that increasing migration in Africa appears to be increasingly complex, bringing in their wake transformations which go hand in hand with the economic crisis, and reforms that together have radically changed urban labour markets in the larger cities, where, agricultural production have generally increased social polarization in both urban and rural spaces. From this standpoint, by-passing the state, or decentralization, has given autochthony politics a new edge, where citizens of the same country face mutual rejection, sometimes fuelled by economic considerations, and sometimes exacerbated by local state agents on ill-founded political and ahistorical claims that others do not belong.

The emergence, therefore, of these conflicts, especially at the local level in Cameroon within the framework of so-called decentralization, highlights the ambiguity that decentralization as devolution plays in situations of social and political conflict, especially in multiethnic contexts. In this connection, Braathen and Hellevik (2008) have demonstrated that while decentralization might be an instrument for power sharing, and therefore a source to mitigate conflict among various social or ethnic groups, it may equally be instrumentalized by political elites-at both national and local levels, to amplify conflict. This is particularly the case in the absence of interdependent central-local relationships, and as in Cameroon, imposed unaccountable local officials are used as cogs of the central government to ignite identity concerns and derail the process of local democratization. Rather than restructure centre-periphery or central-local relations, the presumed decentralization drive has actually foisted upon local citizens unelected representatives, and as such, fail to grant local autonomy to municipal authorities and grassroots populations. This is a case to demonstrate that the government of Cameroon is basically concerned with ideal, abstract legal codes of decentralization, while the practice actually disempowers those local populations decentralization was supposed to benefit.

#### IV. A FRACTURED CIVIL SOCIETY AND URBAN GOVERNANCE

In Cameroon, as in many parts of Africa, this essay has demonstrated that the twin processes of democratization and decentralization ironically triggered the politics of autochthony, which explains to a large extent why political institutions have failed to act as "disinterested arbiters of clashing interests" (Berman, 2006: 1-14). Such instrumentalization of ethnic identities has only added to the administrative and political hold-up within the urban governance sphere in Cameroon, a situation that seem so pervasive that it has made considerable inroad into the character of so-called civil

society, whose recent emergence in Africa was aimed at restoring and promoting a civic public realm (Bellucci, 2002). But the paradox is that so-called civil society itself which claim grassroots identity have been captured within the parochial and undemocratic nature of urban governance (Mbuagbo and Akoko, 2004) such that it has failed to serve as arena to galvanize the public for civic engagement at the local level. This explains why it has not been able to make the city work in spite of the undemocratic nature of city governance, and in spite of the political manipulation of ethnic identities. This lack of autonomy from the political process means civil society has not been a viable source of resistance to the ethnic instrumentalization and bureaucratic repression of political life in Cameroon. This broadly explains why according to Tostensen and Vaa (2001), civil society lacks precise meaning in the African context. Assumptions that they combine in several ways to the promotion of the common good is simply not reflected on the ground in Cameroon. And also, the argument that NGOs, which are concrete expressions of civil society organizations, and which espouse this euphoric view that they could bring pressure to bear on the state and other public institutions, and hold these institutions accountable, equally appear not to be the case in Cameroon.

As proof, there seem to be a complete dissonance between local NGOs and local municipal authorities in Cameroon. The heads of three local NGOs in the provincial town of Buea in the southwest region were interviewed between the months of March and April 2011 on the relationship between their NGOs and the municipality of Buea on the one hand, and the local population on the other. The head of Nkong Hill Top, a local NGO involved in a wide area of community development projects disclosed that the municipality shows little or no interest in the activities of local NGOs. In addition to this lack of collaboration between local NGOs and municipal authorities, the boss of Nkong Hill Top complained of the local bureaucracy represented by several government agencies, which have completely ignored development initiatives undertaken by these local NGOs. On this score, he concludes that a vast majority of local NGOs now appear to function in isolation, with only sporadic encounters with local political and administrative officials during official ceremonies, such as during visits by, say, a minister from the national capital. This lack of collaboration among various local governance agencies has amounted to a situation where these NGOs have been privatized, lack commitment to the local population, and essentially parochial in nature and scope. Early optimism, therefore, about civil society as alternative routes to development in Cameroon has turned to cynicism. Their reach has at best been limited (Tanjong, 2008). Ndenecho (2008), Mbuagbo and Akoko (2004) and Yenshu (2008) all point to the parochialism

animating local NGO activities. For example, many of these NGOs are tied to family and ethnic considerations, generally limited in scope because of lack of resources, capacity, infrastructure and focus, and, coupled with the bureaucratic upheavals at the local level, has only added to the weak organizational structure and financial standing of local civil society organizations in Cameroon. This explains why these civil society organizations have not been able to scale up accountability and deepen democracy at the local level through a synergy with other governing structures such as municipalities. It is this gap between civil society represented by motley of organizations, and other local governing structures such as municipalities that account for their inability to effectively mobilize citizens for local development initiatives. Myllyla (2001) has demonstrated with the city of Cairo, that poor coordination of various actors on the ground is an indication that NGOs have emerged as complement to local government efforts to cope with various urban problems, but as the case in Cameroon has demonstrated, the paradox of this relationship lies in strict government control through a repressive legal framework (Temngah, 2008), and a lethargic local bureaucracy that does not allow local NGOs to function smoothly within a more liberalized political space.

While it is thus claimed that civil society has recorded some successes in the sphere of urban management in Ghana (Gough and Yankson, 2001), the same can hardly be said of Cameroon. This is because the local bureaucracy exhibits problems of lack of coordination, both among the various elements of civil society, and between civil society and state structures. Also, while decentralization tacitly endorses civil society as important agents in the overall success in urban management in Cameroon, there are no formal structures designed to incorporate them in the decision making process. This disjuncture between the stated objectives of decentralization and the actual exclusion of elements of civil society such as NGOs in urban management in Cameroon is an indication of the global failure of both state and society to mobilize the necessary resources and resourcefulness at the local level for sustained urban development. Caught in the web of a local bureaucracy that is exclusive of locally elected officials, and a civil society that is essentially atomistic and isolated, the urban governance project in Cameroon has recorded a dismal failure. It is this failure that informs Jua's (2001) assessment that the persistence of the economy of affection in several African contexts accounts for the inherent contradiction in civil society, which are more often than not rooted in parochial expectations, that members of extended families, for example, would support one another. And in this case, if Bayart's metaphoric politics of the belly is any thing to go by, it has significantly impeded the development of civil society by failing to render it

autonomous, standing above and beyond the state and society, yet relating to them in many complex ways. Due to this failure, Forje (2008) has commented, generally, that contemporary politics in Cameroon still draws inspiration from a centralized authoritarian governance structure whose public policy framework emphasizes division and exclusion, and polarization for purely political reasons. The wide gap recorded between the state, civil society, and grassroots populations is an indication that the government of Cameroon ironically did engage in glasnost without perestroika.

The introduction, therefore, of democracy and decentralization as new forms of political accountability at both the local and national levels of Cameroon requires a profound understanding both of the nature of local and national politics, and the relationship between various actors on the ground. The current undemocratic urban governance scheme does not seem to favour the emergence, growth, and consolidation of a dense network of civic engagement uniting state and society within the urban public space. Thus by failing to involve the relevant players in the management of the urban space, and by resorting to parochial loyalties, the current urban governance structure in Cameroon has failed to win the support and trust of the population. This puts into relief Balls' (2005) claim that for institutions to gain citizens' trust, local representation is a key factor in organizations' abilities to earn the trust of citizens. The lack of coordination of actors at the local level, and the consequent failure to build linkages among the components of decentralization at the national, intergovernmental, and local levels has alienated the concern of local residents (Smoke, 2003) who, in turn, are unwilling to participate by paying local taxes for services which are not effectively and consistently provided. This attitude of non-payment as a form of resistance is a strong marker of the fact that the notion of democracy could be meaningful to citizens, especially to those at the grassroots, only when it is rooted in functioning local and participatory self-governance institutions that links local officials and citizens (Wunsch, 2010) in an inclusive governance pact.

## V. CONCLUSION

Following the above discussion, current political and administrative reforms, or decentralization, could only be viable if it takes into account the existing social and economic complexities and local power dynamics in the evolution of a new governance paradigm. While institutional rules appear, theoretically, to provide for transparency and accountability in the formation and implementation of public policy in Cameroon, Berman (2006) has argued that generally, the state in Africa needs to be emancipated from the current neopatrimonial trappings which continues to account for

the entrenchment of individual and communal accumulation of wealth and power, and the chaotic pluralism of clashing institutional norms. And beyond the façade of official rhetoric of decentralization in Cameroon lies the privatization of state power, even at the very local level. In the supposedly on-going local governance reforms in Cameroon, this paper queues with the views of Mabogunje (1999) to conclude that at both the local and national levels in Africa, the over-centralized and over-bloated national and local bureaucracy is almost completely stripped of their rational and neutral sensibilities, and this requires reinventing and reimagining the state in Africa to emancipate local urban governance from the phenomenon of "the two publics" so aptly described by Peter Ekeh (1975). This is an indication that the African post-colonial state appears to be trapped in a resilient traditional authority structure which still commands the allegiance of a majority of Africans, including politicians and administrators, hence the difficulties in reinventing and reimagining a democratic and inclusive urban governance scheme.

#### REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Ahmed, J. et al. (2005). Decentralization and Service Delivery. World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 3603 May: World Bank, Washington.
2. Ball, L. (2005). Social Cohesion for Community Development: Supporting Institutions and Changing Expectations. Mozaik Community Development Foundation, November.
3. Bates R. (1994) The Impulse to Reform in Africa in: Jennifer A. Widner (ed.) Economic Change and Political Liberalization in sub-Saharan Africa. Baltimore and London, The John Hopkins University Press: 13-28.
4. Belluci, S. (2002). Governance, Civil Society, and NGOs in Mozambique. UNESCO, Paris (France).
5. Berman, B.J (2006). The Ordeal of Modernity in an Age of Terror. African Studies Review, Vol. 49, No.1 April: 1-14.
6. Berry, S. (2004). Reinventing the Local? Privatization, Decentralization and the Politics of Resource Management: Examples from Africa. African Studies Monographs 25(2):79-101(July).
7. Boone, C. (2003). Decentralization as Political Strategy in West Africa. Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 36, No. 4, May: 355-380.
8. Braathen, E. and Hellevik, S.B (2008). Decentralization, Peace Making, and Conflict Management: From Regionalism to Municipalism. Journal of Peace, Conflict and Development, Issue 12, May. Available from [www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk](http://www.peacestudiesjournal.org.uk) accessed 24/02/2012.
9. Caldeira, E. et al. (2010). Decentralization in Africa and the Nature of Local Government's Competition: Evidence from Benin. Center for Research and Studies on International Development (CERDI) E2010.19.
10. Ceuppens, B. and Geschiere, P. (2005). Autochthony: Local or Global? New Modes in the Struggle over Citizenship and Belonging in Africa and Europe. Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 34: 385-407.
11. Deutsche Gessellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) (2008). Support for Decentralization Reforms, Ghana: Interim Evaluation.
12. Ekeh, P. (1975). Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement. Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol.17, No.1:91-112.
13. Eyong, C.T and Mbuagbo, O.T (2003). Assessment of the Hygiene and Sanitation Campaign in Cameroon. Environment, Development and Sustainability 4: 391-402.
14. Falleti J.G (2004). A Sequential Theory of Decentralization and its Effects on the Intergovernmental Balance of Power: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective. The Kellogg Institute Working Paper No. 314, July.
15. Forje, J.W (2008). Political Leadership, State-Civil Society Relations and the Search for Development Alternatives, in: Yenshu, E.V (ed.) Civil Society and the Search for Development Alternatives in Cameroon. CODESRIA, Dakar: 191-205.
16. Francis, P. and James, R. (2003). Balancing Rural Poverty Reduction and Citizen's Participation: The Contradiction of Uganda's Decentralization Program. World Development 32 (2): 325-337.
17. Geschiere, P. (1993). Chiefs and Colonial Rule in Cameroon: Inventing Chieftaincy, French and British Style. Africa 63(2):151-175.
18. Geschiere, P. (2004). Ecology, Belonging and Xenophobia: The 1994 Forest Law in Cameroon and the Issue of 'Community', IN: Englund, H. and Nyamnjoh, F.B (eds.) Rights and the Politics of Recognition in Africa. Zed Books, London.
19. Geschiere, P. and Jackson, S. (2006). Autochthony and the Crisis of Citizenship: Democratization, Decentralization and the Politics of Belonging. African Studies Review, Vol. 49, No.2 September: 1-14.
20. Gough, K.V and Yankson, P.W.K (2001). The Role of Civil Society in Urban Management in Accra, Ghana, in: Tostensen, A. et al. (eds.) Associational Life in African Cities: Popular Responses to the Urban Crisis. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet: 127-142.
21. Joseph, R. (1978). Gaullist Africa: Cameroon under Ahmadu Ahidjo. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
22. Joseph, R. (1997). Democratization in Africa After 1989: Comparative and Theoretical Perspectives. Comparative Politics 29(3):363-382.

23. Jua, B.N (2001). Civil Society contribution to Democratic Consolidation in Africa. *The African Anthropologist*, Vol. 8, No. 1: 4-19.
24. Konings, P. (2001). Mobility and Exclusion: Conflicts between Autochthons and Allochthons during Political Liberalization in Cameroon, In: de Bruijn et al. (eds.) *Mobile Africa: Changing Patterns of Movement in Africa and Beyond*. Brill: Leiden.
25. Mabogunje, A. (1999). Local Governance and Social Capital in Africa: The Nigerian Case, In: Olowu, D. et al. (eds.) *Governance and Democratization in West Africa*. CODESRIA, Dakar: 29-40.
26. Mbaku, J.M (2002). Cameroon's Stalled Transition to Democratic Governance: Lessons for Africa's New Democrats. *African and Asian Studies* 11(3): 43-55.
27. Mbuagbo, O.T (2002). Cameroon: Exploiting Anglophone Identity in State Deconstruction. *Social Identities*, 8(3): 431-438.
28. Mbuagbo, O.T and Akoko, R.M (2004). Roll-Back: Democratization and Social Fragmentation in Cameroon. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 13(3):1-12.
29. Mbuagbo, O.T and Neh Fru, C.T (2011). Contemporary Aspects of a Bureaucratic Hold-Up of City Governance in Cameroon. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, vol. 3: 354-362.
30. Mbuagbo, O.T and Orock, R.T.E (2012). Urban Governance Policies in Cameroon and the Crisis of Political Exclusion: A case Study of the City of Kumba. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, <http://jas.sagepub.com/content/early/2012/16/0021909612438515> accessed on 18 February, 2012.
31. Myllyla, S. (2001). NGOs in Urban Environmental Governance: Waste Recycling in Cairo, in: Tostensen et al. (eds.) *Associational Life in African Cities: Popular Responses to the Urban Crisis*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
32. Ndegwa, S. (2002). Decentralization in Africa: A Stocktaking Survey. *Africa Regional Working Paper Series No. 40*, (November). World Bank, Washington.
33. Neba, N.E (2008). NGO Involvement in Environmental Protection in the Northwest Province, in: Yenshu, E.V (ed.) *Civil Society and the Search for Development Alternatives in Cameroon*. CODESRIA, Dakar: 180-190.
34. Olowu, D. (1999). The Challenge of Governing Africa's Large Cities, In: Olowu, D. et al. (eds.) *Governance and Democratization in West Africa*. CODESRIA, Dakar: 41-60.
35. Republic of Cameroon: Law No. 2009/011 of 10 July 2009 Relating to Financial Regime of Local Authorities.
36. Republic of Cameroon: Law No. 2009/019 of 15 December 2009 on Local Fiscal Systems.
37. Saito, F. (2001). Decentralization Theories Revisited: Lessons from Uganda. *Ryukoku Riss Bulletin*, No. 31, March.
38. Scott, Z. (2009). Decentralization, Local Development and Social Cohesion: An Analytical Review. Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, University of Birmingham, May.
39. Simone, A. (2005). introduction: Urban Processes and Change, in: Simone, A. and Abouhani, A. (eds.) *Urban Africa: Changing Contours of Survival in the City*. CODESRIA, Dakar: 1-26.
40. Smoke, P. (2003). Decentralization in Africa: Goals, Dimensions, Myths and Challenges. *Public Administration and Development* 23: 7-16.
41. Southall, R. and Wood, G. (1996). Local Government and the return to Multi-partyism in Kenya.
42. *African Affairs* 95: 501-527.
43. Tacoli, C. (2001). Urbanization and Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa: Changing Patterns and Trends, in: de Bruijn et al. (eds.) *Mobile Africa: Changing Patterns of Movement in Africa and Beyond*. Brill: Leiden.
44. Tanjong, E. (2008). Focus and Quality of NGOs as Partners in Development, in: Yenshu, E.V (ed) *Civil Society and the Search for Development Alternatives in Cameroon*. CODESRIA, Dakar: 157-179.
45. Temngah, J. N (2008). The Legal Framework of Civil Society and Social Movements in Cameroon, in: Yenshu, E. V. (ed.) *Civil Society and the Search for Development Alternatives in Cameroon*. CODESRIA, Dakar: 46-60.
46. Therkildsen, O. (2001). Efficiency, Accountability and Implementation: Public Sector Reforms in East and Southern Africa. UNRISD Program on Democracy, Governance and Human Rights Paper. No 3, February.
47. *The Detective* Vol. 16. No.2, April 17-30, 2008:2 "Bafaws Alarmed by Expansionist Traits of Settlers."
48. *The Post* No. 1004, Friday 21 November, 2008 "The Government opts for Cosmetic Decentralization": pp 2.
49. The World Bank: Decentralization and Local Democracy in the World. First Global Report, 2008. The World Bank: Washington DC.
50. Tostensen, A. et al. (2001). The Urban Crisis, Governance and Associational life, in: Tostensen et al. (eds.) *Associational Life in African Cities: Popular Responses to the Urban Crisis*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet: 7-26.
51. Whitaker, B.E (2005). Citizens and Foreigners: Democratization and the Politics of Exclusion in Africa. *African Studies Review*, Vol.48, No.1 April: 109-126.

52. Wunsch, J.S (2010). Decentralization, Local Governance and the Democratic Transition in Southern Africa. *African Studies Quarterly*, at: [www.africa.ufi.edu/asq/v2/v2il.htm](http://www.africa.ufi.edu/asq/v2/v2il.htm) accessed on 16/10/2011.





This page is intentionally left blank



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE  
Volume 12 Issue 11 Version 1.0 Year 2012  
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal  
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)  
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

## Rural Development Programme Implementation in Developing Countries: The Experience of China and India

By Chris. I. Nwagboso (Ph.D In-View) & Otu Duke  
*University of Calabar, Nigeria*

*Abstract* - The crux of this paper is to examine rural development programme implementation in developing countries with China and India as case studies. The paper examines various strategies adopted by these countries in the implementation of rural development policies and programmes. The study adopts desk research as its methodological orientation. The result of the analysis reveals that the Chinese and Indian Governments adopt bottom-up rural development approach which emphasizes involvement of the rural people in rural development programme implementation. This strategy has significantly assisted these countries to attain enviable heights in rural development efforts in spite of their increasing population. The paper, therefore, recommends among others, the need for China and India to abandon cultural practices /belief systems capable of impacting negatively on their rural development programmes and also encourage other developing countries in the third world Africa to emulate the strategies adopted by these two countries in their rural development programme implementation.

*Keywords* : Rural development, Agriculture, Policy, Programme, Implementation.

*GJHSS-C Classification* : FOR Code: 160505, 160510, 160512



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# Rural Development Programme Implementation in Developing Countries: The Experience of China and India

Chris. I. Nwagboso (Ph.D In-View) <sup>α</sup> & Otu Duke <sup>σ</sup>

**Abstract** - The crux of this paper is to examine rural development programme implementation in developing countries with China and India as case studies. The paper examines various strategies adopted by these countries in the implementation of rural development policies and programmes. The study adopts desk research as its methodological orientation. The result of the analysis reveals that the Chinese and Indian Governments adopt bottom-up rural development approach which emphasizes involvement of the rural people in rural development programme implementation. This strategy has significantly assisted these countries to attain enviable heights in rural development efforts in spite of their increasing population. The paper, therefore, recommends among others, the need for China and India to abandon cultural practices /belief systems capable of impacting negatively on their rural development programmes and also encourage other developing countries in the third world Africa to emulate the strategies adopted by these two countries in their rural development programme implementation.

**Keywords** : Rural development, Agriculture, Policy, Programme, Implementation.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The quest for achievement of desired rural development has remained a critical concern of most countries the contemporary world. This is succinct because, available statistics shows that about 80% of the population of most nations resides in rural areas. Unfortunately, this population sometime do not benefit from the over-dramatized rural transformation agenda acclaimed by most countries particularly in the third world social formations.

Thus, some scholars have emphasized the imperative for according desired priority to the development of rural areas. However, such emphasis is rooted in several reasons. According to Robert (1974), four main reasons could be advanced for why greater attention should be shifted to the development of rural areas. First, majority of the population lives and

finds their means of livelihood in the rural areas. Secondly, the rural-urban drift or migration has continued to be an issue of serious concern to governments largely due to the increasing spate of urban unemployment, food scarcity, housing problems, sanitation, health challenges and other attendant social problems. Thirdly, in most third world countries, the poor and disadvantaged people mostly reside in the rural areas. Fourthly, many scholars have persuasively argued that priority should be accorded to issues germane to rural and agricultural development implicit in their significant roles in a country's economic growth and development.

To address the issues of rural backwardness, some countries have adopted and implemented certain policy strategies to tackle problems such as poverty, illiteracy, inequality, hunger, diseases, unemployment, among others. Consequently, such strategies have successfully worked in some countries while similar strategies did not work in others.

In consideration of this pathetic situation of rural development in many countries in the third world, this paper examines rural development programme and implementation particularly in underdeveloped social formations, using China and India as case studies.

## II. RURAL DEVELOPMENT: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

As it is the scenario in the disciplines of social sciences, there is no generally acceptable definition of rural development. This is largely because scholars within the purview of social sciences perceive the concept of rural development from distinct analytical perception and ideological milieu. In spite of this intellectual bias, some scholar conceived rural development as process of not only increasing the level of per capita income in the rural areas, but also the standard of living of the rural population, measured by food and nutrition level, health, education, housing, recreation and security (Diejomaoh, 1973).

The World Bank (1975) conceives rural development as the process of rural modernization and the monetization of the rural society leading to its transition from traditional isolation to integration with the national economy. As a critical concept, Ollawa (1971)

*Author α* : Assistant Lecturer, Department of Political Science  
University of Calabar, Calabar, P.M.B. 1115, Unical, Cross River State-  
Nigeria. E-mail : nwagboso@gmail.com

*Author σ* : Assistant Lecturer, Department of Political Science  
University of Calabar, Calabar-Nigeria.  
E-mail : otuduke76@yahoo.com



perceives rural development as “the restructuring of the economy in order to satisfy the material needs and aspirations of the rural masses and to promote individual and collective incentives to enable them participate in the process of development. Thus, this strategy involves a host of multi-sectoral activities including the improvement of agriculture, the promotion of rural industries, the creation of the requisite infrastructure and social overheads, as well as the establishment of appropriate decentralized structure in order to allow mass production (Wilkin, 2010).

For, Obinozie (1999), rural development is “a multi-dimensional process aimed at uplifting the life of the rural dwellers in the society. This involves the creation of employment, access roads, health facilities, better housing, good water supply and equitable distribution of income among the rural people.

In spite of numerous and diverse definitions the subject by scholars, one thing is imperative about the scope and boundaries of rural development as a field of inquiry. This analytical importance borders on the fact that rural development is directed principally and completely towards the total transformation of rural communities. The essence is to transform these communities to modern cities. The ultimate goal is to eradicate poverty and further reduce the persistent migration of people from rural to urban areas in search of better means of livelihood in the contemporary world.

### III. A REVIEW OF MODELS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD

In view of the comparative nature of this work, it is therefore imperative to examine the various models of rural development which have been put in practice in some developing countries. According to Ayichi (1995), these models include:

- a. Urban Development Model
- b. Industrial Development Model
- c. Sectoral Development Model
- d. Area Development Model; and
- e. Integrated Rural Development Model

In most developing countries such as China and India, these models have been applied at various times to achieve rural development policies and programmes. Thus, above rural development models are carefully discussed below:

Urban Development Model:

The model favours the concentration of development projects in the urban areas. Its underlying assumptions and methodological premise are based on the fact that the benefits of urban development will trickle-down to the rural areas and further stimulates growth and development. Unfortunately, this concept has failed in many third world formations largely due to over-concentration of development projects in the urban centres resulting in rural-urban migration (Roundinelli,

1975). This ugly trend is clearly responsible for challenges in the urban centres such as over-population, increase in crime, poor sanitary condition, low life span of social amenities/facilities, high cost of living, security challenges, diseases and unemployment (Grindle, 1980).

#### a) *Industrial Development Model:*

This model posits that the industrialization of the economy is a pre-condition for achievement of rural development. Thus, the model assumed that industrialization of the rural areas will further create employment opportunities for the people and also attract other social amenities such as water, electricity, road, health, education, recreational facilities, among others (Tadora, 1995).

Unfortunately, available evidence in some countries in the developing world has shown that these industries are short-lived largely due to poor management and funding.

#### b) *Sectoral Development Model:*

The proponents and apologists of this model assert that sectoral development of a specific area of rural life will eventually bring about desired development in the community. To some scholars, this situation informed the age-long efforts by some governments in the developing countries to concentrate attention in the development of agricultural sector as a panacea to achieve rural development objectives. Thus, available evidence has shown that the development of agriculture alone cannot bring about desired development in rural areas. Therefore, political will and governments' huge investments in education sector, health, transport, commerce, credible electoral process, fight against corruption, hunger, injustice, among others, will obviously transform rural areas into enviable towns in the contemporary world (Wholey, 1982).

#### c) *Integrated Rural Development Model:*

This approach seeks to develop all the sectors of the economy and effectively link them to the urban economy (Pintrup-Aderesene, 2002). It aims at promoting linkages between formal and informal sectors as of the rural economy. This model is usually prescribed by International Development Partners and Donor Agencies. This includes the World Bank, United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP) among others.

According to Ijere (1993), the integrated rural development model entails government-community co-operative participation in providing better health services, education and rural

Infrastructure in such a co-ordinated and simultaneous manner in order to enhance the overall welfare of the rural dwellers. The beauty of integrated rural development approach is that rural development programmes are pursued holistically. Hence, embraces

not only the rural areas, but also urban centres in a particular state.

#### IV. STRATEGIES FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN CHINA

Rural development in China is ultimately accorded desired priority. Thus, to achieve desired rural development objectives, several programmes and policy strategies were adopted by the Chinese government. This includes:

##### a) *Agriculture:*

A major focus of rural development in China takes cognizance of the imperative for involving the people in agricultural policies and programmes. Thus, the Chinese government has over the years, involved the citizens in the following agricultural activities:

- a. Large scale production of vegetables
- b. Production of aquatic products
- c. Agricultural processing
- d. Rural off-farm production, and;
- e. Procurement and storage of harvested grains.

In view of emphasis placed on agricultural development as a precursor of rural development, the Chinese Government provides 'policy loans' to agricultural sector (Yao, 2010). However, Cheng and Xu (2003) have pervasively argued that:

*...an important aspect of China's selective credit policies is the provision of policy loans by Rural Finance Institutions (RFIs) to priority sectors of the economy. The policy loans for rural China include but are not limited to, the loan for agricultural procurement and storage (mainly by the ADBC), poverty loans...*

##### b) *Promoting Self-reliance through Formal and Informal Institutions involved in Rural Development:*

A central policy strategy of the rural livelihoods approach in China is aimed at putting people at the centre of development. This is to increase the effectiveness of development assistance from the government and international development partners. This strategy was adopted to achieve poverty reduction particularly in the rural China. Obviously, the involvement of the poor citizens in rural development programmes resulted to local empowerment of the people which in turn leads to opportunities for local leadership. It also increased women participation in politics in China. Thus, the village institutions form the basis of community organization and function through "Village Development Committees. Also, this committee comprises the representatives of all communities in the village. As a rule, at least 30 percent of the composition of the above committee must be drawn from women

population. These Committees develop Village Development Plans and work closely with the Ministry of Rural Development in China (Xian, 2010).

Other community organizations such as Farmers' Federations and Women's Self-help Groups also facilitate the process of community-driven development (Huang and Rozelle, 2000). These institutions operate there is availability of micro-credit schemes to farmers.

It is equally imperative to note that communities also form "Apex Institutions" (Federation of Various Community Institutions), at the Block, (a unit of a district) and "Taluka" (a unit of a Block) level. These institutions act as venues through which regional issues and challenges to farmers are effectively discussed with a view to find lasting solutions to the problems. These institutions also dialogue with the government and other agencies (including banks) to access various agricultural loans in China. For instance, Adams and Nehman (1979) assert that in Shanxi Province and other Provinces, rural borrowers in China sometimes offer gifts, kickbacks and even organize banquets for "Loan Officials" for easy access and processing of loan applications.

Thus, the Federation of various Community Institutions most times serves as agricultural extension agents and also disseminates information from agricultural institutes to farmers in remote areas in China. Further, they also engage in collective marketing of agricultural produce to enable member institutions to sell their products at the best possible prices (Zhang and Zhang, 2002).

It is, therefore, pertinent to note that the formation of Farmers' Federations and the Women's Federations have resulted to social campaigns in the rural China, thereby reducing unnecessary expenditure on social customs, promoting the education of girls, anti-liquor campaigns, and the promotion of organic farming. Furthermore, mass awareness campaigns by women's groups in China has significantly resulted to reduction in wasteful and extravagant expenditures on weddings and other social customs such as 'funeral feasts'.

##### c) *Rural Credit Cooperatives:*

The Rural Credit Cooperatives (RCCs) in poor and remote areas in China have a stronger incentive to offer rural credit to its members. In the main, the RCCs are allowed to give credit facilities to households and enterprises within their geographic areas (their township). As a rule, over 50 percent of the RCCs loans must be provided to only their members. On the newly increased loans by the Chinese government, over 70 percent of the total loans are usually used for agricultural loans, including loans to individual households and agricultural collectives (Aziz, 1998).

It is crucial to note that RCCs from China can transfer funds to other RCCs existing in other countries through inter-country transfers. However, the RCCs that meet the under listed criteria are allowed to lend their funds to other RCCs and financial institutions. First, they must have good capital for at least two years. Second, the inter-banking lending must not exceed two percent of all the deposits organized by the RCC in question.

*d) The People Communes Approach:*

Another strategy of Chinese model of rural development is the establishment of the 'People's Communes' as the basic unit of rural transformation agenda. Its purpose is to organize and mobilize the rural population to develop their land and other resources in order to meet the essential needs such as principle of self-reliance. The essence is to reduce social inequalities by creating rural societies based on justice and equality (Aziz, 1998:15).

According to Olarenwanju (2008), the system of "Communes" provides a very effective mechanism of local planning in accordance with the simple philosophy of rural development which emphasizes bottom-up approach. This is clearly because after discussion with the "Communes", the country passes on the total production targets and demands for onward transmission to the Central Planning Commission for inclusion in the Chinese general budget (Rossi and Wright, 1977).

*e) Skill Acquisition and Technology Development:*

In addition to institution building, programmes and activities, there is also Skills Development Centres aimed at building up the skill base of villagers, particularly the women. Thus, available evidence shows that in some villages, women have been trained to repair and maintain hand-pumps. In others some have been trained as masons and artisans. Hence, most communities receive organizational and financial management trainings to support the effectiveness and sustainability of village-level institutions.

Similarly, some key resource people are often provided with technical skills to plan, implement and maintain the development activities (David, 1979). The ultimate goal is to ensure that people in the participating communities have access, confidence and competence to make informed choices and decisions from a wide range of appropriate development options at their disposal.

It is, therefore, important to note that, these policy strategies were essentially aimed at increasing the awareness of the savings and credit programmes among the people. It also aimed at exposing the people to certain rural development models and further ensures that the communities are adequately acquainted with the principles of natural resources management.

*f) Creation of Rural Assets:*

In people's Republic of China, institutional structures are created at the village level to enable the poor people to prioritize their needs and decide how best to manage common resources. Thus, some communities build community capital through efficient management of their natural resource base such as water storage, water use, irrigation systems, soil conservation and forestry management. These efforts include the construction of small scale infrastructure, such as check-dams, irrigation canals, water harvesting structures and other agricultural storage facilities.

However, over 400 structures have been created for harvesting and storage of rainwater that is directly lifted for irrigation. These have led to an additional 4000 hectares of irrigated crop lands in the affected programme areas being further expanded through the adoption of water-saving devices such as drip irrigation and sprinklers (Robert, 2011).

*g) Benefits and Impact on Quality of Life:*

In China, the assets that have been created at the rural areas have just an increased income generation to households. Thus, government's rural development policies and programmes have benefited over 300,000 households in over 1,000 villages in the Western and Central China since 1983 (Woo, 2003). Hence, development activities have ensured more water for drinking, irrigation, higher agricultural productivity, rural incomes (including household savings), greater resilience to droughts and the ability to appropriately manage the natural resource base of the people.

However, with over 10,000 households currently having access to safe drinking water, more people, especially women have benefited significantly from this policy strategy by the Chinese government. Thus, since farmers no longer walk long distances to get required quantity of water, the time saved in this regard by the Chinese citizens is sometimes spent at home for proper education and good up-bringing of their children.

Paradoxically, the general literacy level has risen by 10 percent for men and 8 percent for women, contrary to situations in China some years ago. Thus, the growing gender sensitivity and changing gender equations in China are quite evident. However, available statistics shows that issues bordering on the inclusion of more women in policy decisions in China are currently receiving government attention.

## V. STRATEGIES FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN INDIA

In India, the rural and urban economies are integrated into the overall national economy. However, any discourse on development without the rural people, particularly in a country where three-quarters of citizens

below poverty line reside in rural areas, is grossly incomplete. Thus, the rural development strategies in India are based on the following schemes, and are contained in the "National Rural Employment Act of 2005:

*a) Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP):*

This was first introduced in 1978. The IRDP has provided assistance to rural poor in the form of subsidy and bank credit for productive employment opportunities through successive plan periods. Subsequently, Programmes such as training of Rural Youths for Self-Employment (TRYSE), Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), Supply of Improved Tool Kits to Rural Artisans (SITRA), among others, have been receiving adequate attention in India. Ultimately, the IRDP is no doubt, people-oriented programme aimed at improving the living standard of rural people in India.

*b) Wage Employment Programmes:*

As important components of the anti-poverty strategy, Wage Employment Programmes were designed to achieve multiple objectives. Thus, they not only provide employment opportunities during lean agricultural seasons, but also assist farmers during periods of floods, droughts and other natural calamities. Further, they create rural infrastructures which also support economic activity in rural India.

These programmes, however, put an upward pressure on market wage rates by attracting people to public works programmes. The essence is to reduce labour supply thereby pushing up the demand for labour in the rural areas. It encompasses National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP), which were initially part of the Sixth and Seventh Year Development Plan in India (Rohini and Alakh, 2001).

*c) Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) and Food for Work Programme:*

In India, the EAS was launched in October 1993 covering 1.778 drought-prone, desert, and tribal and hill area blocks. It was later extended to all the blocks between 1997 and 1998. The EAS was designed to provide employment to the youths in the form of manual works during lean agricultural seasons. The works taken up under the programme were expected to lead to the creation of durable economic and social infrastructures thereby addressing the critical needs of the people of India. Also, there is the Food for Work Programme which began in the year 2000 as a component of the Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) in eight notified drought-affected states of India. This programme was designed to boost food production in India so as to meet the country's critical challenge of over-population.

However, food grains are supplied to states free of charge as part of measures to address the challenges of poverty particularly in the Indian rural

areas. It is important to note that lifting of food grains for the above scheme from Food Corporation of India (FCI) has been slow largely due to bureaucratic bottlenecks.

*d) Rural Housing:*

This scheme was instituted in 1985 by the Indian Government. The Rural Housing Scheme is the core programme for providing free housing to families in rural areas in India. Thus, it was designed for Targets Scheduled Castes (TSCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), Poor households and freed-bonded labourers. The rural housing programme has enabled some poor families in India to acquire pucca houses. However, the coverage of the beneficiaries is limited given the available resources in India. The Samagra Awas Yojana (SAY) was taken up in 25 blocks to ensure convergence of housing, provision of safe drinking water, sanitation and common drainage facilities (Aziz, 1995).

The Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) has extended its activities to rural areas in India with a view to providing loans at a concessional rate of interest to economically weaker individuals. Thus, this strategy has been extended to low-income group households to enable them acquire houses in the state.

*e) Social Security Programmes:*

The democratic decentralization and centrally supported National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) that was launched in August 1995 marks a significant step towards the fulfillment of the Directive Principles of State Policy in India. The NSAP has three components:

- i. National Old Age Pension Scheme (NOAPS)
- ii. National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS), and
- iii. National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS)

The NSAP is a centrally-sponsored programme that aims at ensuring a minimum National Standard of Social Assistance above the assistance that states provide to the aged. This include monthly pension of Rs.75 to destitute above the age of 65 years in Indi. The NFBS is a scheme designed for poor. Thus, such families are given Rs. 10,000 by the government as a result of the death of their breadwinners.

The NMBS provides Rs. 500 to support nutritional intakes for pregnant women in India. In addition to NSAP, the Annapurna Scheme was launched in April 2000 to provide food security to senior citizens who were eligible for pension under NOAPS but could not receive it due to budget constraints in India (Rohini and Alakh, 2000:28).

*i. Land Reforms:*

In an agro-based economy, the structure of land ownership is central to the wellbeing of the people (Huang and Ma, 2000). The Indian Government has strived with fair degree of objectivity to change the ownership pattern of cultivable land in the state. The

government has also tried in the areas of the abolition of intermediaries, the abolition of ceiling laws, security of tenure totenants, consolidation of land holding, banning of tenancy area, among others.

Furthermore, a land record management system is a pre-condition for effective land reform programme in India. Thus, these policy measures were designed to reposition the urban and rural areas to play critical role to national development in India.

#### ii. *Agriculture:*

India is primarily an agriculture-based economy. Thus, agriculture contributes about 65 percent of the Gross Domestic Product of India. In order to increase the growth and development of agriculture government continually encourages the skills in crafts, fisheries, poultry and diary farming. This strategy was in recognition of the fact that these ventures are primary contributors to the rural economy of some developed countries in the world.

For instance, the Sampoorna Granin Yojana (SGRY) Scheme was established to increase food production by means of wage employment in the rural areas, especially those adversely affected by the natural disasters. Besides, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act of 2005 was introduced by the Ministry of Rural Development to improve the general wellbeing of the rural dwellers in India.

Apart from these policy instruments discussed above, other community organizations such as Farmers Federation and Women Self-help Groups that facilitate the process of community-driven development also exist in India. Thus, the Federation of Farmers Groups has considerably reduced the cost of agricultural inputs such as seedlings, fertilizers, and pesticides. This was achieved through bulk purchases based on demand from member initiations.

It is crucial to note that appropriate strategies are always adopted to ensure quality agricultural inputs are supplied to farmers in India. These organizations have also contributed immensely to improved cropping and farming techniques, rational use of fertilizers and the adoption of appropriate low-cost technologies in agricultural practice in India. (Rohini and Alakh, 2001:38).

However, in pursuance of the above strategy that the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development of India was created in order to provide credit facilities for the development of crafts, agriculture, small scale industries, village industries, rural crafts, cottage industries, and other related operations in the rural sector of India.

## VI. THE CHALLENGES OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION IN CHINA AND INDIA

In spite of the impressive efforts made by China and India in rural development, these countries still face

some perceived challenges. In China in particular, one of the greatest problems militating against agriculture and by extension, rural development programme, is the problem of "drought". The extended drought which usually caused desertification and severe damage to crop production sometimes cascade development efforts and programme implementation in the People's Republic of China.

Secondly, the traditional Chinese calendar outlines dates for planting specific crops and dates when illnesses could be expected. However, China has not surmounted this age-long problem which adversely affects rural development Programme implementation in the country. Also, however, large proportion of adults are usually absent for long periods of time due to constant search for better paid employment in metropolitan centres across the country. This has resulted to empty villages, unprecedented increase in the population of aged engaged in agricultural production and its attendant consequent on productive enterprises in the country. Worse still, the Chinese education policies which require village children to be educated in boarding schools have further impacted negatively on agricultural production. This has further reduced the rural population and adversely affected productive enterprises, particularly in the Chinese rural areas.

In India, some environmentally degraded states of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Nadhya Pradesh and Rajasthan are characterized by erratic rainfall, contaminated ground water and poor soil conditions which result to other natural calamities. In India, lots of cultural practices/ belief systems adversely impact on rural development policies and programmes. These factors adversely affect agricultural production and per capita income of the people in China and India. These practices and beliefs need to be re-examined by the Indian Government in order to reposition agriculture to play critical role to national development.

## VII. CONCLUSION

The Chinese successful transition from a centrally planned economy to a socialist marked economy, with geometrical growth in rural development was as a result of the institutionalization of formal and informal structures that emphasized on skill acquisition, technology development and aggressive implementation of rural development programmes. This aggressive drive in rural development is ultimately based on exhaustive village level organizations such as Village Trust and Rotating Savings, Credit Organizations, Policy Loans Schemes, among others.

Also, small scale industries, technologist and farmers are the backbones of China's economy. Thus, they are given their due rights place though generous access to loans, technical and agricultural assistance by the government.

Similarly, the rural development approach in India is multi-dimensional. Its organizational elements and programmes are area-based. As a result, rural development strategies are strictly anchored on a defined population. Also, the Indian rural development reflects programme implementation and planning what could best be described as long-term planning. Thus, the essence is to enable both the government and the people pursue vigorously, rural development policy objectives in their best interests.

Indeed, these two countries (China and India) have made significant improvements in rural development programme implementation in spite of some identified challenges in their areas. Hence, these gestures should be emulated by other developing countries like Nigeria, Ghana, Benin Republic, South Africa, Mali, among others. It is, therefore argued that if other development countries emulate the Chinese and Indian Strategies of rural development programme implementation, it will go a long way to improve their national economy and the living condition of their people.

## VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the impressive efforts hitherto made by these most world populated countries, this study makes the following recommendations for China, India and other developing countries to enable them achieve their policy goals on rural development:

1. Other developing countries should adopt the Chinese and Indian models of rural development such as community-based organizations and aggressive rural financing organizations, in the implementation of rural development policy objectives in their countries
2. It is recommended that the Indian Government should abandon its superstitious beliefs since they appear to have adverse consequences on the overall national development in the country.
3. The traditional Chinese calendar for planting specific crops should be discouraged. Instead, new technology should be developed for crops to be planted at anytime of the year (continuous cropping), irrespective of the traditional planting season.
4. The Government of China should sanction officials who receive kickbacks from farmer before processing loan applications for them as this is capable of hindering the rural development efforts by the government.
5. Modern dams and irrigation should be constructed in China and India to boost agricultural production during drought in order to enhance the per capita income of rural farmers in these countries.

6. Other developing countries particularly those in Africa, Asia and Latin America should involve NGO's in their rural development efforts as it is the case in China and India. This will not only enhance agricultural production but also address the challenges of food insecurity in their respective countries.

## REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Adams, D. W. & Nehman, G. I. (1979). "Borrowing costs and the demand for rural credit". *Journal of Development Studies*, 15, (6), 112-118.
2. Akinbode, A. (1988). "The conceptual framework for rural development in developing countries". *Research for Development*, 5, (1&2), 8-9.
3. Ayichi, D. (1995). Models of rural development with special focus on ADP's, in Ebo et al, *Rural Development in Nigeria: Concepts, processes and prospects* (ed). Lagos: Concept Publications.
4. Aziz, S. (1998). *Rural development: Learning from China*. London: Macmillan.
5. Cheng, E. & Zhona, X. (2003). "Rate of interest, credit supply and China's rural development. CSEC. A working paper, No. 20. Victoria University of Technology, Melbourne, Australia.
6. David, N. (1979). *Public policy evaluation*. New York: St. Martins Press.
7. Diejomaoh, V. P. (1973). *Rural development in Nigeria: The role of fiscal policy*. Proceedings of the 1972 Annual Conference of the Nigeria's Economic Society.
8. Grindle, M. S. (1980). *Politics and policy implementation in the third world*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
9. Huang, J. & Ma, H. (2000). "A comparison of production cost of major agricultural products between China and the main international competitors". *China rural economy*, 5, 17-21.
10. Huang, J., Hu, L. & Rozelle, S. (2000). *The economy of China's agricultural and rural development investment*. Beijing: China Agricultural Press.
11. Ijere, M. O. (1993). "Leading issues in rural development in Nigeria: Strategies and challenges" in Okereke O. O., *development administration in Nigeria: Issues and Strategies* (ed.) Owerri: Concave Publishers.
12. Olarenwaju, S. A. (2008). *The rural development problems revisited: Some lessons from the Chinese*. Paper presented at the National Seminar on innovative approaches to development theory. Ibadan: NISER.
13. Ollawa, P. E. (2011). "On a dynamic model for rural development in Africa". *Journal of Modern Africa Studies*. 15(3), 457-480.
14. Pinstrup – Andersen, P. (2002). *Food and agricultural policy for a globalizing world: preparing*

- the future. *American Journal of Agricultural economics*, 84, 1201-1214.
15. Robert, C. (1974). *Managing rural development: Ideas and Experience from East Africa*. Uppsala Scandinavian institute of African Studies.
  16. Rohini, N. & Alakh, M. S. (2001). *Rural transformation in India: The role of non-farms section*". Institute for Human Development, Mahatma Gandhi, New Delhi, India.
  17. Rossi, P. H. & Wright, S. R. (1977). "Evaluation research: An assessment of theory, practice and politics". *Quarterly Journal of Public Administration*, 8, 291-242.
  18. Roundinell et al. (1975). *Urbanization and rural development*. New York: Praeger publishers.
  19. Tadoro, M. P. (1995). *Economic development in the third world* (second edition). London: Longman.
  20. Wholey, J. S. (1982). *Evaluation and effective public policy management*. Boston: Little Brown.
  21. Wilkin, P. (2010). "Global poverty and orthodox security". *Third World Quarterly*, 23 (4), 633-645.
  22. Woo, W. T. (2003). *China's rural enterprise in crisis: The role of inadequate finances intermediation*, California: University of California Press.
  23. World Bank (1975). *Rural development report on poverty*. Washington D.C.
  24. World bank (1975). *Rural development sector policy paper*. Washington D. C.
  25. Xian Zhude (2010). *Some key issues in agriculture and rural economic development*, in Xian, Zhude. *Research on Key issues of Indian Chinese Rural Economies*. Beijing: China statistics Press.
  26. Yao, S. & Colman, D. (2010). *Agricultural development in China*". *Oxford Agrarian studies*, 18(1), 23-34.
  27. Zhang, F. S. & Zhang, X. (2002). "Growth inequality and poverty in rural China: The role of public investments" IFPRI Research report, No. 125, International Food Policy Research Institute, April, 2002.



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE  
Volume 12 Issue 11 Version 1.0 Year 2012  
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal  
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)  
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

## Politics & Consumer Prices in Africa

By Simplice A. Asongu  
*University of Liège, Belgium*

*Abstract* - The motivations of the Arab Spring that have marked the history of humanity over the last few months have left political economists, researchers, governments and international policymakers pondering over how the quality of political institutions affect consumer welfare in terms of commodity prices. This paper investigates the effects of political establishments on consumer prices in the African continent. Findings suggest that in comparison with authoritarian regimes, democracies better provide for institutions that keep inflationary pressures on commodity prices in check. As a policy implication, improving the quality of democratic institutions will ameliorate consumer welfare through lower inflation rates. Such government quality institutional determinants include, among others: voice and accountability, rule of law, regulation quality, control of corruption and press freedom.

*Keywords* : Consumer prices; Political institutions; Welfare; Africa.

*GJHSS-C Classification* : FOR Code: 160609, 160605



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*





# Politics & Consumer Prices in Africa

Simplice A. Asongu

**Abstract** - The motivations of the Arab Spring that have marked the history of humanity over the last few months have left political economists, researchers, governments and international policymakers pondering over how the quality of political institutions affect consumer welfare in terms of commodity prices. This paper investigates the effects of political establishments on consumer prices in the African continent. Findings suggest that in comparison with authoritarian regimes, democracies better provide for institutions that keep inflationary pressures on commodity prices in check. As a policy implication, improving the quality of democratic institutions will ameliorate consumer welfare through lower inflation rates. Such government quality institutional determinants include, among others: voice and accountability, rule of law, regulation quality, control of corruption and press freedom.

**Keywords** : Consumer prices; Political institutions; Welfare; Africa.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The motivations of the Arab Spring and hitherto unanswered questions about some of its dynamics inspire this paper. The revolutions that have swept across Africa and the Middle East stress the relative importance of political regimes on living standards. The geopolitical landscape in the last couple of months has centered around the inability of some political regimes to ensure the livelihoods of their citizens. Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, Senegal, Uganda, Zambia, Mauritania, Sudan, Western Sahara and most recently Nigeria are some countries that have witnessed major or minor unrests through techniques of civil resistance in sustained campaigns involving strikes, demonstrations, marches and rallies. Political strife plaguing many African countries seem to be centered around the need for basic livelihood.

In retrospect, the rapid inflation in global food prices since 2000 and its acceleration between 2007-08 has shown that price shocks can pose significant threats to political stability in the developing world. *"We will take to the streets in demonstrations or we will steal,"* a 30-year old woman said in 2008 as she queued outside a bakery in Egypt. Demonstrations and riots linked to consumer prices took place in over 30 countries between 2007-08. The Middle East witnessed titled, "Irregular Use of Limbe City Council Property, 13

food riots in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and Yemen. In Ivory Coast, thousands marched to the home of President Laurent Gbagbo chanting: *" we are hungry", "life is too expensive", "you are going to kill us"...* etc. Similar demonstrations ensued in many other African countries, including Ethiopia, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Mozambique, Mauritania, Cameroon and Guinea. In Latin America, violent clashes over rising food prices occurred in Guatemala, Peru, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Argentina, Mexico and the Haitian prime minister was even toppled following food riots. In Asia, people took to the streets in Bangladesh, Cambodia, Thailand, India and the Philippines. Even North Korea experienced an incident in which market women gathered to protest against restrictions on their ability to trade in food(Hendrix et al.,2009).

The above stylized facts point to the role political institutions play in food prices and vice-versa. The present paper aims to investigate the effect of politics on consumer prices in the African continent. Data and methodology are presented and outlined respectively in Section 2. Empirical analysis is covered by Section 3. Section 4 concludes.

## II. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

### a) Data

We examine a panel of 34 African countries with data from African Development Indicators (ADI) of the World Bank (WB). Owing to constraints in data availability, dataset spans from 1980 to 2010. Consistent with the literature, politics is measured with indicators of democracy, autocracy and polity(Asongu, 2011a; Yang,2011). Inflation in terms of annual Consumer Price Index(CPI) is the outcome variable(Hendrix et al.,2009). Previous research has also substantially demonstrated the correlation between political institutions and moment conditions of legal-origin, income-level and religious-domination(La Porta et al., 1997; Stulz & Williamson, 2003; Beck et al., 2003; Asongu, 2011bc; Yang, 2011). Thus we use these instruments in a bid to address the issue of endogeneity. Control variables include trade(openness), public investment and population growth. While the first two are in percentages of GDP, the last is in annual growth rate.

### b) Methodology

#### i. Endogeneity

While political institutions might account for living standards in terms of consumer prices, a reverse

*Author* : HEC-Management School, University of Liège. Rue Louvrex 14, Bldg. N1, B-4000 Liège, Belgium .  
*E-mail* : asongusimplice@yahoo.com

causality cannot be ruled-out especially as social riots engineered by soaring food prices have recently toppled many political establishments in Africa and beyond. This potential correlation between independent variables and the error term in the equation of interest (endogeneity) is taken into account by an Instrumental Variable (IV) estimation technique.

ii. *Estimation technique*

The IV estimation process of the paper shall adopt the following steps:

Thus the above methodology will entail the following regressions:

First-stage regression :

$$Politics_{it} = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1(\text{legalorigin})_{it} + \gamma_2(\text{religion})_{it} + \gamma_3(\text{incomelevel})_{it} + \alpha_i X_{it} + \nu \quad (1)$$

Second-stage regression:

$$CPI_{it} = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1(\text{DemocraticChannel})_{it} + \gamma_2(\text{AutocraticChannel})_{it} + \beta_i X_{it} + \mu \quad (2)$$

In the two equations,  $X$  is a set of exogenous control variables. For the first and second equations,  $\nu$  and  $\mu$ , respectively denote the disturbance terms. Instrumental variables include legal-origins, dominant-religions and income-levels.

iii. *Robustness checks*

In order to assess the robustness of findings, the paper: (1) uses an estimation technique that addresses the issue of endogeneity; (2) adopts two interchangeable sets of instruments; and (3) uses different political-regime indicators.

- Justify the use of an IV over an OLS estimation technique with the Hausman-test for endogeneity;
- Verify that instrumental variables are exogenous to the endogenous components of explaining variables (political-regime channels), conditional on other covariates (control variables);
- Assess the validity of the instruments by virtue of the Sargan Over-identifying Restrictions (OIR) test.

is evidence of a U-shape relationship between national wealth and the level of democracy with Low-income countries experiencing lower (higher) levels of democracy than Upper (Lower) middle income countries.

### III. EMPIRICAL RESULTS

a) *First-stage regressions*

Table 1 investigates the role of instrumental dynamics in the quality of political institutions and consumer prices. This first-stage regression is the initial condition for the IV process where-in the endogenous components of the political-regime channels must be explained by the instruments contingent on other covariates (control variables). Clearly we notice from findings that distinguishing African countries by the instrumental dynamics helps elucidate cross-country differences in political institutions. Also, results for inflation are robust given their consistency with recent empirical literature (Asongu, 2011d) where-in, the low level of inflation experienced by Francophone African civil-law countries is associated with their fixed-exchange rate regimes.

On average we notice that English common-law (Islam-oriented) countries have better democratic institutions than their French civil-law (Christian) counterparts. The comparative religious findings run counter to those of El Badawi, & Makdisi(2007). This contradiction is based on contextual differences. There

Table 1: Endogenous variables and instruments (first-stage regressions).

	Endogenous Explaining Variables						Endogenous Variable		
	Democracy		Polity(Revised)		Autocracy		Consumer Price		
	1 <sup>st</sup> Set	2 <sup>nd</sup> Set	1 <sup>st</sup> Set	2 <sup>nd</sup> Set	1 <sup>st</sup> Set	2 <sup>nd</sup> Set	1 <sup>st</sup> Set	2 <sup>nd</sup> Set	
Instruments	Constant	<b>1.475***</b> (2.765)	<b>1.061**</b> (2.364)	-1.158 (-1.407)	-0.106 (-0.154)	<b>2.805***</b> (4.853)	<b>1.109**</b> (2.281)	<b>23.827***</b> (7.966)	<b>6.700**</b> (2.502)
	English	---	<b>2.138***</b> (8.396)	---	<b>2.651***</b> (6.747)	---	-0.418 (-1.518)	---	<b>15.069***</b> (10.40)
	French	<b>-2.138***</b> (-8.396)	---	<b>-2.651***</b> (-6.747)	---	0.418 (1.518)	---	<b>-15.06***</b> (-10.40)	---
	Christianity	---	<b>-0.485*</b> (-1.838)	---	-0.373 (-0.918)	---	-0.065 (-0.230)	---	0.212 (0.138)
	Islam	<b>0.485*</b> (1.838)	---	0.373 (0.918)	---	0.065 (0.230)	---	-0.212 (-0.138)	---
	L.Income	<b>1.239***</b> (4.094)	---	<b>3.329***</b> (7.127)	---	<b>-2.180***</b> (-6.650)	---	-1.845 (-1.079)	---
	M. Income	---	<b>2.207***</b> (6.459)	---	<b>2.382***</b> (4.520)	---	-0.111 (-0.300)	---	-1.723 (-0.909)
	LMIncome	---	<b>-3.446***</b> (-9.651)	---	<b>-5.711***</b> (-10.37)	---	<b>2.291***</b> (5.926)	---	<b>3.569*</b> (1.816)
	UMIncome	<b>3.446***</b> (9.651)	---	<b>5.711***</b> (10.37)	---	<b>-2.291***</b> (-5.926)	---	<b>-3.569*</b> (-1.816)	---
	Trade	<b>0.008**</b> (2.227)	<b>0.008**</b> (2.227)	<b>0.011**</b> (1.987)	<b>0.011**</b> (1.987)	-0.003 (-0.940)	-0.003 (-0.940)	<b>-0.099***</b> (-4.811)	<b>-0.099***</b> (-4.811)
Control Variables	Public Inv.	<b>0.052*</b> (1.784)	<b>0.052*</b> (1.784)	-0.054 (-1.213)	-0.054 (-1.213)	<b>0.110***</b> (3.501)	<b>0.110***</b> (3.501)	-0.067 (-0.407)	-0.067 (-0.407)
	Pop. growth	<b>-0.313***</b> (-2.929)	<b>-0.313***</b> (-2.929)	<b>-0.891***</b> (-5.402)	<b>-0.891***</b> (-5.402)	<b>0.570***</b> (4.922)	<b>0.570***</b> (4.922)	<b>2.111***</b> (3.429)	<b>2.111***</b> (3.429)
	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.206	0.206	0.207	0.207	0.093	0.093	0.134	0.134
	Fisher-test	<b>34.439***</b>	<b>34.439***</b>	<b>34.555***</b>	<b>34.555***</b>	<b>14.249***</b>	<b>14.249***</b>	<b>19.998***</b>	<b>19.998***</b>
	Observations	899	899	899	899	899	899	855	855

L: Low. LM: Lower Middle. UM: Upper Middle. Inv: Investment. Pop: population. \*, \*\*, \*\*\*: significance levels of 10%, 5% and 1% respectively. Set: Set of Instruments.

b) *Second-stage regressions*

Table 2 addresses two principal concerns: (1) the ability of political regimes to explain cross-country differences in consumer prices and; (2) the ability of the instruments to explain consumer prices beyond political regime channels. Firstly, we notice the null hypothesis of the Hausman test is rejected in all the regressions: confirming the presence of endogeneity and justifying our estimation approach. The significance of estimated coefficients address the first issue; thus we notice that in

comparison to democratic institutions, authoritarian regimes exert a higher effect on inflation. The control variable is significant with the right sign. We also notice substantial evidence of constant deflationary pressures (negative intercept). The Sargan test for OIR addresses the second issue. We find support for the validity of the instruments since the null hypothesis of the OIR test is not rejected for all the models. This suggests that the instruments do not explain consumer prices beyond political-regime mechanisms.

Table 2: Politics and consumer prices.

	Consumer Price Index(Inflation)			
	First Set of Instruments		Second Set of Instruments	
Constant	-151.282** (-2.355)	-153.006** (-2.394)	-151.282** (0.018)	-153.006** (-2.394)
Democracy	10.756*** (2.757)	---	10.756*** (2.757)	---
Polity 2(Revised)	---	10.636*** (2.804)	---	10.636*** (2.804)
Autocracy	16.144** (2.238)	26.719** (2.498)	16.144** (2.238)	26.719** (2.498)
Population growth	32.443** (2.445)	33.272** (2.490)	32.443** (2.445)	33.272** (2.490)
Hausman-test	132.637***	137.764***	132.637***	137.764***
OIR-Sargan test	1.228	0.950	1.228	0.950
P-value	[0.267]	[0.329]	[0.267]	[0.329]
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.005	0.005	0.005	0.005
Fisher Statistics	2.948**	3.035**	2.948**	3.035**
Observations	989	989	989	989
1st Set of Instruments	Constant; English ; Christianity; Middle Income; Lower Middle Income			
2 <sup>nd</sup> Set of Instruments	Constant; French; Islam; Lower Income; Upper Middle Income			

\*,\*\*,\*\*\*: significance levels of 10%, 5% and 1% respectively. L: Low. LM: Lower Middle. OIR: Overidentifying Restrictions.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The motivations of the Arab Spring that have marked the history of humanity over the last few months have left political economists, researchers, governments and international policymakers pondering over how the quality of political institutions affect consumer welfare in terms of commodity prices. Our findings suggest that in comparison with authoritarian regimes, democracies better provide for institutions that keep the inflation of commodity prices in check. As a policy implication, improving the quality of democratic institutions will ameliorate consumer welfare through lower inflation rates. Such government quality institutional determinants include, among others: voice and accountability, rule of law, regulation quality, control of corruption and press freedom.

#### REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Asongu, S. A.,(2011a), "Finance and democracy in Africa", *MPRA* No. 35500.
2. Asongu, S. A., (2011b). "Law and investment in Africa", *MPRA Paper* No.34700.
3. Asongu, S. A.,(2011c). "Law and finance in Africa", *MPRA Paper* No. 34080.
4. Asongu, S.A., (2011d). "Why do French civil-law countries have higher levels of financial efficiency?", *MPRA Paper* No.33950.
5. Beck, T., Demirgüç-Kunt, A., & Levine, R.,(2003). "Law and finance: why does legal origin matter?", *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 31, pp. 653-675.
6. El Badawi, I., & Makdisi, S.,(2007), "Explaining the democracy deficit in the Arab world", *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance*, 46, pp. 813-831.
7. Hendrix, C., Haggard, S., & Magaloni, B., (2009), "Grievance and Opportunity : Food Prices , Political Regime and Protest", Paper prepared for presentation at the International Studies Association Convention, New York(August, 2009).
8. La Porta, R., Lopez-de-Silanes, F., Shleifer, A., & Vishny, R.W., (1997). "Legal Determinants of External Finance", *Journal of Finance*, 52, pp. 1131-1150.
9. Stulz, R., M., & Williamson, R., (2003). "Culture, Openness and Finance", *Journal of Financial Economics*, 70, pp. 313-349.
10. Yang, B.,(2011). "Does democracy foster financial development? An empirical analysis", *Economic Letters*, 112, pp.262-265.



This page is intentionally left blank



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE  
Volume 12 Issue 11 Version 1.0 Year 2012  
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal  
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)  
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

## Nigeria, Mono-Product Economy & The Global Economic Recession: Problems & Prospects

By Dr. Robert O. Dode

*University of Uyo, Uyo Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria*

*Abstract* - Nigeria, an ex-British colony had an independence date that was heralded by the discovery and gradual exploitation of oil in commercial quantity in 1956 and 1958 respectively at Oloibiri. The discovery of this product (black gold) in a number of other nations like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya among others has contributed immensely to the social, political and economic growth of those nations. For Nigeria, available daily production data shows that the nation has equally earned over \$760 billion from the export and sales of crude oil. Paradoxically, this huge revenue profile has not positively impacted upon the lives and environment of majority of Nigerians as is the case in Kuwait, Libya and others, rather most of it have been siphoned into foreign accounts by corrupt government officials. To worsen matters, for more than forty years now, all other sources of revenue earnings have been virtually abandoned. The political class has constantly fallen on one another, fighting over how the foreign revenue accruing from the sales of crude oil should be shared.

*GJHSS-C Classification : FOR Code: 160505, 160511*



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# Nigeria, Mono-Product Economy & The Global Economic Recession: Problems & Prospects

Dr. Robert O. Dode

**Abstract** - Nigeria, an ex-British colony had an independence date that was heralded by the discovery and gradual exploitation of oil in commercial quantity in 1956 and 1958 respectively at Oloibiri. The discovery of this product (black gold) in a number of other nations like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya among others has contributed immensely to the social, political and economic growth of those nations. For Nigeria, available daily production data shows that the nation has equally earned over \$760 billion from the export and sales of crude oil. Paradoxically, this huge revenue profile has not positively impacted upon the lives and environment of majority of Nigerians as is the case in Kuwait, Libya and others, rather most of it have been siphoned into foreign accounts by corrupt government officials. To worsen matters, for more than forty years now, all other sources of revenue earnings have been virtually abandoned. The political class has constantly fallen on one another, fighting over how the foreign revenue accruing from the sales of crude oil should be shared. The price of a barrel of crude oil shut up to about \$150 from early 2008 to August of the same year. From this wind fall, Nigeria's excess crude accounts recorded unprecedented increase. These proceeds were largely shared among the three tiers of government. While still basking in that euphoria, however, the per barrel price of oil nose-dived to as low as \$35 caused largely by the global economic recession. This study raises three major questions: what are the economic implications for a country that depends wholly on a non-replenishable product to earn revenue? With the fall in the price of crude oil, how much of bail out funds did Nigeria summon to support ailing industries and factories as was done in other organized economies? What major lessons should Nigeria learn from the internal crisis created by the global economic recession? While the paper argues that for too long has Nigeria depended almost solely on the production and export of crude oil for foreign exchange earnings, it recommends the diversification of the economy. The paper equally identified the absence of a special bureau for tracking down recession signals as a failure on the part of the leadership class and recommends strongly that a similar bureau be established by Nigeria, the act of arbitrarily sharing the excess crude account money with no tangible development projects targeted at is strongly condemned and should be discontinued with from hence, if the nation must advance economically and survive subsequent economic recessions with minor casualties.

## I. INTRODUCTION

A contextual analysis of global history would showcase a world that has in the past recorded two major economic depressions that sent shockwaves through almost all the countries of the world.

These occurred between 1910 and 1930s. The latter was referred to as the "Great Economic Depression". This though is not synonymous with economic recessions, which negatively impacts on national economies in lesser proportions than economic depressions. It is equally noteworthy that recessions occur more frequently than depressions. This economic experience (recession) which nations and indeed leaders alike dread so much (which though analysts argue is a cyclical occurrence), was to be experienced in recent times (2007-2009). Economic analysts, depending on available economic indicators began to warn of an impending recession in the economies of the world from middle 2007. These pointed at a number of predictive factors or indicators which were highlighted by these analysts.

It will suffice to state that by the last quarter of 2008, the reality of an economic recession had dawned on the economies of the world. International, multinational and local industries, firms, factories and companies had begun to feel the harsh economic environment and began to draw up equally harsh measures aimed at tackling the problems posed by the world economic down turn. Some of these measures included staff rationalization, cut in the daily hours put into paid employment, temporary shut downs, and in some cases, outright shutting down of firms. These measures sent shock waves across the globe, especially beginning with the United States of America from where the entire problem emanated.

To partially face these economic problems frontally, some countries like the US, France, Germany, Britain and others, initiated policies aimed at giving lifelines to some of their ailing establishments. Thus was introduced the concept of "bail-out funds". This policy took the form of massive financial injection into some very important industries and firms in these countries. This policy, it was believed, would help shore up the financial base of such firms and put them back on stream. The government of the countries that took this bail-out measures, argued that capitalism or not, it was incumbent on the governments of these advanced countries to extend helping hand to these ailing industries, to save the entire economy from spill over effects that may be felt by the entire country. Failure to intervene, these governments came to agree, would result into increasing the burdens and responsibilities of the state, especially because of the social dangers

*Author : Dept. of Political Science & Public Administration, University of Uyo, Uyo Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria. E-mail : robertdode@yahoo.com*



excessive laying off of staff would expose these countries to.

The instrumentality of the bail out funds, it must be observed from the onset however, was to be monitored strictly by government agencies, to ensure strict compliance with the terms and conditions that were explicitly included. In the US for example, bail out funds were extended to major private employers of labour like Ford Motors and Chrysler among others.

These intervention measures taken by countries to alleviate or cushion the effects of the global economic meltdown on their citizens, to a large extent, have been practiced by advanced western economies and some member countries of the Asian Tigers. It must be observed that in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular, little or no intervention measures were put in place to tackle these global economic problems, with the understanding that in the contemporary world, no country is insulated from the goings-on in other sections of the globe. The reason for this largely lack-lustre attitude of African countries to this global problem, vary from one country to the other. In this vein, Olayinka (TheNews, August 10, 2009) has regretted that "although many countries have provided various bail-out strategies to stop their economies from total collapse since the emergence of the global economic meltdown, the reverse seems to be the case in Nigeria" (p.38).

This paper intends to focus specifically on the Nigerian economy; to understand how the leaders demonstrated leadership in governance, before and during the last economic recession. Did the Yar'Adua administration in Nigeria act proactively in the face of the global economic recession? What dangers does maximum dependence on a natural resource (crude oil) portend for a country like Nigeria? Are there firms that the government of Nigeria can make reference to with regard to release of bail out funds during the period under review (2008 - 2009)? What lessons are there for African leaders to learn from the last global economic recession? Is the 2007-2009 economic recession likely to be the last to be recorded in the history of the world? These are some of the questions that will engage the lines of thesis that this paper sets out to project, before some conclusive remarks will be made.

**Mono-Product economy:** A clear understanding of the word economy would make for a better understanding of the major subject matter of this paper (mono-product economy). Igwe (2005) has observed strongly that the economy refers to "the system of production and production relations peculiar to a society, characterized in each epoch by identifiable means and modes of production" (p.130).

*The economy* thus refers to the chain (web) of economic activities that keep the economic life of man in a particular society, revolving. It is worthy of note that the economies of nations have moved from one economic type (relationship) to another, over

generations. In this vein, the world has recorded periods when economies revolved around the post-wandering bands primitive-communal system, slave-owning societies of slavery and serfdom, to the feudal system. The latter gave way to a system based on trade by barter; mercantilism and then capitalism (see Igwe, 2005).

*A mono-product economy*, from the fore-going, implies an economic system that is essentially based on the existence of only one major economic product; depended upon for the economic sustenance of that economy. The implication is that the economic life and existence of that economy revolves around the existence, relevance and currency of that product. That economy remains a potentially buoyant one only if such product does fine in the international market. The reverse though would be the case, if it's showing at that level is poor.

*Global economic recession:* This refers to a period when the world's economy begins to experience a down-ward trend. To Biafore (2009), recession refers to a "slowing in economic growth" (p.1). The period in view showcases a world economy where jobs are lost in their numbers, much money chase few goods and currencies are largely devalued, among other harsh economic indices. It is in the light of these realities that Igwe (2005) has observed that recession refers to:

*A backward march, or reversal, of the economy over a relatively long term, believed by some economists to be part of a regular cyclical phenomenon of decline which must inevitably follow some periods of sustained growth or "over-heating". There is no scientific basis for the cyclical theory of Recession, for such a theory must equally embrace a Recession in other spheres of existence, including the individual, family, group, as well as national and international. Recessions are an unavoidable crisis of any imperfect or unjust economic systems, such as the variants of capitalism, including unequal competitions, rivalries and mutual struggles, often develop a negative character, one of whose many consequences can be a Recession (p.375).*

In economic studies, "recession is referred to as a general slowdown in economic activity over a sustained period of time, or a business cycle contraction" (see <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/recession>). Economists thus argue seriously that during recessions, many macroeconomic indicators vary in a similar way. Hence, production as measured by Gross Domestic Product (GDP), employment, investment spending, capacity utilization, household incomes and business profits all fall during recessions. On the effects of recession on the state of a nation's economy, Biafore (2009) notes that while compounding the problem of the economy, "recessions lead to lower interest rates on savings because the Federal Reserve

Board cuts the federal funds rate to boost the economy. Worse yet, layoffs are common during recession..." (p. 1).

On the predictability or timing of the occurrence (of recessions), scholars are not fully agreed on whether it is predictable or not. To Biafore (2009) "the problem is, recessions are difficult to recognize when they arrive and almost impossible to predict. In fact, it takes a while, some times a long while, to find out that a recession has already began..." (p. 1). During the 2007-2009 recession though, economists identified a number of possible predictors before the world economy went fully slow. These predictors included a staggering fall in the mortgage market, a significant stock market (investment) drop, with that of Nigeria almost gone comatose, inverted yield curve and three-month change in the unemployment rate and initial jobless claims, among others. Shiskin (1974) in his analysis of recessions, talks about a "two down quarters of GDP" (p. 222).

## II. NIGERIAN ECONOMIC HISTORY IN PERSPECTIVE

Nigeria, a post-colonial British creation has a long history of economic activities, especially based on agriculture and trading across the borders of the country.

An analysis of the pre-colonial history of Nigeria reveals a diverse set of people who were engaged in one economic activity or the other. The Oyo Empire, for example, was noted for its commercial prosperity and military prowess up to the 18th century. This prosperity was largely attributed to its agricultural/farm produce which was always in abundance. In the words of Webster (1967) "Oyo's prosperity was the result of its fertile soil and its position as the leading trade centre south of the Niger.... Oyo also developed as a manufacturing centre; its high quality cloth, leather and iron products finding ready sale" (pp. 91-92). The West became famous for its cocoa production.

The eastern part of the territory that would later be named Nigeria equally had a robust economic system which stemmed from the production and sale of palm produce. This was also characteristic of the Delta city-states of Bonny, Itsekiri, Brass and Calabar, among others. About the fame which the sale of palm produce brought to Bonny, Boahen (1967) has this to say; "Between 1830 and 1850, when twelve Liverpool firms were buying in Bonny, the price and demand for palm-oil kept rising steadily" (p. 197).

The story of the northern parts of the country was not different from the ones narrated above. Evidence abounds to prove that the northern region was famous for its agricultural activities and productivity. The Hausa-Fulani attained fame for the massive production of groundnut (leading to the famous groundnut

pyramids), hides and skin and other essential farm produce like tomatoes, pepper and onions, among others.

It was the discovery of this abundant economic base of the territory to be later known as Nigeria that informed Great Britain's assiduous effort to colonize and control the area. This objective was fully facilitated by the merchants that came in from that part of the world to Africa. Colonialism was primarily propelled by the desire of the then industrializing nations to tap enough raw materials from the African soil to feed their newly established and ever growing factories in Europe and the Americas.

The major point to note from the thesis stated above is that from the pre-colonial to colonial epochs, the territory showcased a robust economic system that was not exclusively dependent on the production or exploitation of only one mineral or agricultural produce, to the exclusion of other viable sources of income generation. It was rather a highly diversified economic system that to a large extent, encouraged the exploitation of agricultural and mineral resources that the nation was endowed with, no matter where such was located, within the territory.

The Nigerian economic system continued on this diversified note for a number of decades, up to the middle 1950s, when crude oil was discovered in 1956 and in commercial quantity in 1958 at Oloibiri, in Brass Local government area of present Bayelsa State. Subsequently, Nigeria gained independence on October 1, 1960, with a diversified economy, even in the midst of crude oil exploration and exploitation. Unfortunately, not too long after that period, this history of diversification could not be sustained by the emerging ruling elite. The early 1970s witnessed a complete shift of economic focus from other sources of revenue earnings for the state, to a natural resource (crude oil). This act of abandoning, to a large extent, all other sources of revenue generation and societal sustenance to concentrate on only oil has continued till date. The data available in this regard shows that for the past three decades, oil has accounted for between 80% and 90% of the country's foreign exchange earnings. This practice is not healthy for any nation that must record growth and development in all spheres of human endeavours. The chronicled history above, to some extent, explains how the Nigerian nation and economy found itself in the multidimensional problems it had to contend with during the last global economic recession.

## III. HISTORY AND CAUSES OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC RECESSION

Most literature on the history of recessions in the world usually takes off from the experiences of the United States of America (USA). This is necessitated by the reality that, from historical evidence, recession

elements have a way of showing up first in the USA, before it begins to spread to other parts of the globe, as a result of its leading role in the world economy. This paper toes that line of analysis by attempting a historical review of recessions in the U.S.A.

**1945 Recession:** This recession is recorded to have lasted only eight months, between February and October 1945. Its occurrence was said to have been a natural result of the demobilization from World War II (WWII), as the huge demand for military weapons were no longer needed.

**1949 Recession:** This recession lasted for eleven months, between November 1948 and October 1949. It was attributed to a natural down cycle, caused by the economy adjusting to peace-time production.

**1953 Recession:** The 1953 recession lasted for ten months, being a result of the end of the Korean War.

**Recession of 1957:** This lasted for eight months (August 1957 – April 1958). It was caused by a contractionary monetary policy.

**1960 Recession:** This economic melt down lasted for ten months.

**Recession of 1970:** This recession was described as a relatively mild one, lasting eleven months.

**1973 – 1975 Recession:** This one was described as a deep recession, caused by a number of factors, lasting sixteen months (November 1973 – March 1975). OPEC quadrupled prices (of crude oil) for a few months; the US went off the gold standard and printed more money, among other measures.

**1980 - 1982 Recession:** This was described as technically two recessions; the first six months of 1980 and sixteen months from July 1981 – November 1982. It was partially caused by the Iranian oil embargo, which reduced US oil supplies driving up prices.

**1990 – 1991 Recession:** This recession lasted for a period of eight months (July 1990 to March 1991), caused by the Savings and Loan Crisis in 1989.

**Recession of 2001:** This one lasted for eight months (March – November 2001). It was assumed to have been largely caused by the Y2K scare, which created a boom and subsequent burst in Internet business. It was aggravated by the 9/11/01 attack of the twin towers in the US.

**2008 – 2009 Recession:** The current recession has been largely described by analysts as the worst since the last Depression (1930s). This period, major world economies are recorded to have shrunk seriously, leading to unprecedented shut-downs. It has been analyzed to have began in quarter 4 of 2007, caused largely by the Subprime Mortgage Crisis, which subsequently led to a global banking credit crisis (see: Kimberly Amadeo, 2009).

The history of recessions in the US in particular and the world in general since the Great Depression,

indicates a pattern that shows that they are a natural though painful part of the business cycle.

#### IV. BAIL OUT MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE US AND SOME OTHER ECONOMIES AIMED AT TACKLING THE 2007 – 2009 RECESSION CONUNDRUMS

One of the most rational actions nations take as they begin to receive signals of impending economic slowdown (recession) is that of drawing up proactive measures (policies) aimed at cushioning the resultant effects on their economies and citizens. It is from this perspective that this paper intends to examine the usefulness or otherwise of a mono-product economy during a recession and whether the Nigerian government adopted or contemplated any bailout measures for the country's ailing firms. It must be observed here that this analysis is not oblivious of the argument by some analysts that due to the dominant role played by the non-formal sector of the Nigerian economy, the 2007 -2009 recession could not impact negatively on it as it had on advanced western democracies and others. This paper argues though that as long as Nigeria forms part of the current global space and economy, it can not be completely insulated from the effects of the current global economic slowdown. Before this reality dawned on Nigerian policy makers, with special regard to the banking sector, one Olubanji (2009) boasted:

*The healthiness experienced in the nation's banking institution (sic) ever since the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) implemented a banking consolidation programme some years ago has given Nigeria's Bank (sic) a 'high-tech' foundation in the advent of the global economic meltdown.... All of these moves by the CBN under the piloting activities of Prof. Chukuemeka Soludo conspire to fulfill the aspirations of a largely stable, healthy, and unshakable bank amidst the floods of the global economic crunch (p.1).*

Available literature on recessions and the world economy show that "Governments usually respond to recessions by adopting expansionary macroeconomic policies, such as increasing money supply, increasing government spending and decreasing taxation" ([www.wikipedia-Recession](http://www.wikipedia-Recession)).

The governments of European and North American countries, whether socialist or capitalist react to signals of recession by acting quickly to make their effect(s) mild on their citizens and economy. This, such countries do by adopting necessary macroeconomic measures aimed at making sure that the anticipated slowdown does not completely cripple their economies and lead to social problems. The Nigerian case seems

to be slightly different from the western countries practice. The reality in Nigeria was that as at the first quarter of 2009, the managers of the nation's economic policies were not alive to the realities of the recession.

This discovery came to the fore when the former Central Bank Governor, standing before the Senate Committee on finance declared that the Nigerian economy was completely insulated from the 2007 – 2009 global economic recession, which had crippled a number of industrial giants in Europe and the US. Unfortunately, barely one month after the former CBN Governor (Soludo) made his analysis known on the floor of the Senate; some of the effects of the recession began to show up in the Nigerian economy. Africa as a whole began to experience the effects of the global economic slowdown. Paramount among these effects were the serious fall in the price of crude oil in the international market and the devaluation (still on going) of the Naira in the face of major currencies like the US Dollar, the Euro and British Pounds Sterling, among others.

The analysis above alluded to the fact that as a relief measure to reduce the negative impact of the recession on their citizens, western industrialized countries amongst others, reduced the amount of tax payable by their citizens and firms. This was deemed necessary to enable consumers purchase more. In Nigeria however, the reverse of this policy initiative played out, especially at the state and local government levels. Some states chose that same period of economic hardship to increase their tax regime; raising the percentage of tax payable by the citizens. In the case of the FCT administration, various charges on land and building erection were increased astronomically. Some of these charges went up by 200% and above. Utomwen, writing for TheNews Magazine (September 07, 2009) observed inter alia:

*There are fears that the recent increase in all fees in the nation's capital city by the Minister of the FCT, Senator Adamu Aliero, with about 100 percent for processing and 900 percent for premium charges, will only take the situation from bad to worse. The minister also introduced property tax for all property owners. In the new fee regime, a prospective land owner is expected to pay a flat rate fee of #100,000 for the processing application of both residential and commercial properties as against the former fee of #50,000 ... and #20,000 (pp.29-30).*

The same practice played out in most local government areas in Nigeria, where a number of rates and dues payable by the citizens were heavily increased as a result of low earnings accruing from the monthly Federal allocation (Federation Account). Two more major examples (Edo and Lagos States) in this regard will be used to authenticate this assertion. As a result of their ambitious and insensitive tax regimes, many firms

in these states had to go under. Instead of devising means and ways of raising their revenue base and save the firms operating in their jurisdiction from collapse, these states adopted measures that virtually crippled the existing firms that employ a good number of their citizens. The major reason for this tax regime, most of these governments argued, was the dwindling income derivable from the Federation Account as a result of the economic recession, fall in the price of crude oil and reduction in the barrels of crude oil produced on daily basis, because of the state of insecurity prevalent in the Niger Delta region at that time. The latter led to the loss of more than one million barrels of crude oil production per day. This paper had observed that currently, crude oil accounts for more than 80% of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings.

The poor show of Nigeria's economy during the 2007 - 2009 recession was largely caused by the nature of its economic base which has virtually depended on the export of crude oil for more than forty years now. The Nigerian political elite have to a large extent shown lack of foresight and incompetence in preparing for and managing an economy during a recession.

While expressing the level of frustration faced by industries in Nigeria during that recession, Olayinka (2009) regrets that "although many countries have provided various bail-out strategies to stop their economies from total collapse since the emergence of the global economic meltdown, the reverse seems to be the case in Nigeria" (p.38). This happens to be one of the consequences (economic implications) of depending almost solely on a non-replenishable resource to earn foreign revenue. Apart from the administrative shortsightedness of not setting up an agency that would be responsible for intercepting signals of an impending recession and thus blow the whistle, the falling price of crude oil came to compound Nigeria's economic problems. If the economy were diversified, the nation may have had the benefit of surviving from revenue coming in from other sources.

The above illustrated could to a large extent, explain why the government of Nigeria could not summon the needed bailout funds to support ailing industries and save them from going under.

It has been severally argued that an administration gets credit or blame for the state of the economy during its time (see [www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Recession](http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Recession)). Hence, government action or inaction has serious consequences on the presence or degree of a recession in a given country. It is thus expected of modern government administrations to attempt to take steps to soften a recession. The major question with regard to the Nigerian experience is what measures did the Yar'Adua administration adopt to cushion the effects of the 2007-2009 recession on the Nigerian economy? An x-ray of available data on the management of the 2007-2009 recession would expose

an administration that was taken unawares and that lacked the resources to act appropriately. That administration rather pointed regularly at a seven point agenda that seems not to have solved a tangible national problem, three years and more into the life of that administration and the death of the former president.

The US, among a number of other countries on the other hand, got the correct signals before the full blown recession and began to apply likely remedial policies ahead of time. To buttress how ready it was, concerning the impending economic uncertainties, the US has in place, a statutory body dedicated to tracking recession signals. This task is handled by the Business Cycle Dating Committee of the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER). This body takes responsibility for dating US recessions. It was on the basis of the activities of such bodies that analysts of the US economy observed among others that the last recession (2007 – 2009) saw private consumption fall for the first time in nearly 20 years. This analysis indicated the depth and severity of the recession. Consumers in the US got hard hit by the recession; with the value of their houses (real estate) dropping and their pension savings decimated on the world market. Records have it that lots more lost their jobs as unemployment rose (see Buczynski and Bright, 2009).

To cushion the effects of the economic and social problems caused by the recession in the US, the government began to exchange ideas with experts and stakeholders on the way forward. This resulted in a policy initiative aimed at bailing out ailing firms in the US. Few examples of steps taken by the US government in this direction will be spotlighted in this paper.

The US government, based on the expert advice received from stake holders, decided to concentrate on what to do with major private employers of labour. Among the firms spotlighted were those in the banking industry, auto manufacturing majors and insurance conglomerates. Consequently, as far back as the first quarter of 2008, the Bank of America directed to inject \$20 billion in funds from the "Troubled Assets Relief Programme (TARP)" as bail out fund into the American banking sector. At the same time, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) agreed to extend its temporary loan guarantee programme, which issues debts beyond current limits, in exchange for expanding lending to consumers (see [www.US.government](http://www.US.government) bailout fund for Bank of America). As indicated above, some of the firms that accessed this bailout fund included the Lehman Brothers (which filed for bankruptcy in mid-September 2008 and closed in January 1, 2009), Citigroup (rescue package), Ford Motors, Chrysler Motors, and GM (the last two surviving on \$17.4 billion in government loans, as at March 2009). (see Mail online-Barrack Obama set to announce bailout package for troubled car firms).

To demonstrate the satisfaction and commendation of the US government with the way the 2007-2009 recession was successfully managed, during the tail end of the third quarter of 2009, the President (Obama) renewed the engagement tenure of the US Head of the Exchequer (Central Bank), Ben Bernanke. The latter was commended for his matured and calm disposition in managing the US economy while the crisis lasted. Recent economic data posted in the web indicates that the US and a number of other countries that acted fast in the face of the 2007-2009 recession are already showing signs of recovery (by September, 2009).

To survive future recession occurrences, the Nigerian state may have to take a deep look at the US initiative, see what can be learnt from that formula and adapt such to the Nigerian system for better management of such economic crisis in future.

## V. CONCLUSION

This paper set out to among others; identify the dangers posed to a nation by economic recession, especially, where the country operates a mono-product economy. A number of questions were raised and addressed in the body of the work.

This paper observed that for too long, Nigeria has depended on the export of oil for more than 90% of its foreign exchange earners. For the country to come out of this peculiar problem there has to be an aggressive reversal of the economic system aimed at achieving diversification, as was the practice before oil became the dominant economic mainstay of the nation.

The Nigerian policy makers have for a long time ignored the need for the setting up of a special bureau that would shoulder the responsibility of trapping recession signals as they approach and suggest likely policy initiatives to cushion the effects of such occurrence. This recommendation is considered utmost because from the analysis above, recessions are cyclical phenomena, meaning, more are likely to occur in the near future. The last recession (2007 – 2009) is not likely to be the last that human history will record.

The paper observes further that it is not late for the governments of Nigeria to mop up and release bailout funds to ailing private firms that shoulders part of the responsibility of employing labour. The Four Hundred and Thirty (430) billion naira given to five ailing banks by the Central Bank of Nigeria (2009) though a right step in that direction was not good enough, more needed to be done.

The Nigerian ruling class did not show good leadership with regard to how the excess crude account funds were shared while the recession lasted (2008). The country should start investing such funds in other sections of the economy and the purchase of shares in international multinational corporations, among others.

Such steps would form a base upon which the country can depend in future rainy days.

### REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Amadeo, K. The History of Recessions in the United States.About.com. Retrieved: 08:08:09.
2. Biafore, B. Economic Indicators of Recession.Bankrate.com. Retrieved 08:08:09.
3. Igwe, O. 2005. *Politics and Globe Dictionary*. Aba: Eagle Publishers.
4. Obama on bailout. Mail online. Retrieved 08:08:09.
5. Olubanji, A. F. 2009. "Nigeria's banks and the Global economic meltdown", www.African Path.com
6. "Recession". Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/recession>. Retrieved on 19:09: 09.
7. Recession. www.wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Recession>.Retrieved 08:08:09.
8. "Recession definition". Encarta World English Dictionary Results. [Aspx?refid=1861699686](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/recession). Retrieved on 19:09: 09.
9. Shiskin, J. 1974. "The Changing Business Cycle". New York Times.
10. TheNews Magazine, August 10, 2009.
11. -----, September 07, 2009.
12. Webster, J.B.et al. 1967. *The Growth of African Civilization: The Revolutionary Years of West Africa since 1800*. London: Longmans Group Ltd.
13. *www.US.government* bailout fund for Bank of American. Retrieved 08:08:09.





This page is intentionally left blank



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE  
Volume 12 Issue 11 Version 1.0 Year 2012  
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal  
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)  
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

## The Obliterated Democracy Sociological Study of the Cultural Obstructions to Women's Political Participation in Pakistan

By Dr. Arab Naz , Umar Daraz , Waseem Khan & Tariq Khan  
*University of Malakand*

*Abstract* - Women's historic exclusion from political structures and processes is the result of multiple structural, functional and personal factors that vary in different social contexts across countries. Political empowerment is among the key issues in third world in general and in Pakistan in particular. Despite the fact that there are 33% reserved seats available in both the national and local bodies or electoral college, but due to social and cultural milieu, the participation of female is comparatively meager to male. The current study is an attempt to analyze those cultural barriers, which obstruct female participation and make them disempowered in their political decision making. The study is conducted in Ramora village where the data is collected from 150 respondents selected through purposive sampling using semi-structure interview schedule. A quantitative approach is utilized with the help of SPSS (bivariate analysis, chi-square, lambda, gamma and correlation tests) in order to analyze data while the discussion is made-up upon the frequency, percentage, pictorial forms.

*Keywords* : Women, political empowerment, patriarchy, Pakhtun codes, conservatism, domestic involvement, feudalism.

*GJHSS-C Classification* : FOR Code: 160502, 160803



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



© 2012. Dr. Arab Naz , Umar Daraz , Waseem Khan & Tariq Khan. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/>, permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.



# The Obliterated Democracy

## Sociological Study of the Cultural Obstructions to Women's Political Participation in Pakistan

Dr. Arab Naz<sup>α</sup>, Umar Daraz<sup>σ</sup>, Waseem Khan<sup>ρ</sup>, & Tariq Khan<sup>ω</sup>

**Abstract** - Women's historic exclusion from political structures and processes is the result of multiple structural, functional and personal factors that vary in different social contexts across countries. Political empowerment is among the key issues in third world in general and in Pakistan in particular. Despite the fact that there are 33% reserved seats available in both the national and local bodies or electoral college, but due to social and cultural milieu, the participation of female is comparatively meager to male. The current study is an attempt to analyze those cultural barriers, which obstruct female participation and make them disempowered in their political decision making. The study is conducted in Ramora village where the data is collected from 150 respondents selected through purposive sampling using semi-structure interview schedule. A quantitative approach is utilized with the help of SPSS (bivariate analysis, chi-square, lambda, gamma and correlation tests) in order to analyze data while the discussion is made-up upon the frequency, percentage, pictorial forms. The results palpably explicate that cultural barriers such as patriarchy, strict customs, conservative thinking and women domestic involvement decreases women's political empowerment. The study recommends that equal opportunities in politics, women's political representation, flexibility in cultural codes and positive role of mass media will improve women's political empowerment in Pakhtun society.

**Keywords:** Women, political empowerment, patriarchy, Pakhtun codes, conservatism, domestic involvement, feudalism.

### I. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Modern political discourse focuses on democracy and the relationship between people and politics; that is thought of as the way the government body or officials are chosen for the policy making and decision-making (Losco, 2010). Historically, the origin of politics or political institution is linked with the origin of state and the development of art of warfare and defense (Carneiro, 1977). Women political empowerment means the attainment of political rights

by women to participate in the democratic process and have a share in the running of the affairs of the state (Aderinwale, 1997). Women have always faced disparity in terms of politics and women cannot possibly get empowered unless they are politically empowered (Eisenstein, 1984 and Ali et al, 2010). The fact is evident that women are among the vulnerable segment in society (Waylen, 1998). However, women's political empowerment is not a goal in itself but it is instrumental in stimulating the society for political and social empowerment which would further stimulate the overall development of society (Asif, 2008 and Aslam, 2002).

The development of a nation and establishment of a just, equitable, balanced, viable, healthy, and prosperous society depends, to a large extent, on the full and active participation of women in the political deliberations and key economic activities of that nation, beyond the window-dressing of featuring in the fanfare at political rallies and similar events (Bari, 2005). It is, therefore, arguable that addressing the issues surrounding women's inclusion in public life is a key to the emergence of an economically sustainable society (Basu, 2005). The level of political participation of women continues to be adversely affected by a myriad of environmental factors despite the fact that there have been marked improvements in the general rate of literacy and political awareness among women (Begum, 1987 and Beal, 1994). The customary and traditional laws, for instance, have always given more power and control over resources and decision-making processes to the men, hence making most systems largely undemocratic (Bose et al, 1983 and Bell, 1984). However, most of the developing countries are patriarchal in nature where men remain at the helm of affairs and make decisions virtually exclusively, even when the issues border on women (Brand, 1998 and Naz, 2011).

The few women who venture into 'the man's world' feel inhibited to speak, especially when they are in large, male-dominated assemblies (Connell, 1987). Those who muster up enough courage and strength to speak receive very scant attention and respect and affected their status in regard of women's political empowerment (Farooq, 2003). In addition, women's historic exclusion from political structures and processes is the result of multiple structural, functional

*Author α* : Chairman, Department of Sociology/Social Work, University of Malakand. E-mail : [hod.sociology@uom.edu.pk](mailto:hod.sociology@uom.edu.pk)

*Author σ* : Lecturer, Department of Sociology/Social Work, University of Malakand.

*Author ρ* : Lecturer, Department of Sociology/Social Work, University of Malakand.

*Author ω* : Assistant Professor, Department of English, University of Malakand.

and personal factors that vary in different social contexts across countries (Jagger, 1993). However, beyond these specificities of national and local contexts, there is a generic issue in women's political participation that relates to the wider context of national and international politics, liberal democracy and development (Mirza, 2002 and Mahmood, 2004).

The challenge facing all advocates of gender equality in politics today is the wide gap between shared values reflected in the national and international policies and practices (Saiyid, 2001). With an increasing recognition among international community of women's historic exclusion from structures of power, a global commitment has been made to redress gender imbalance in politics (Saleem, 2010). Women's enhanced participation in governance structures is viewed as the key to redress gender inequalities in societies (Shah, 1989 and Sarho, 1997). The global debate on the promotion of women's political participation or representation has been surrounded by intrinsic and instrumentalist argument (Shaheed et al, 2009). The former argues for equal participation of women in politics from the human rights perspective (UNDP, 2005). Women constitute almost half of the world population and therefore, it is only fair that they should have equal participation and representation in world democracies (Anjum, 2001). Instrumentalist argument pushed for women's greater participation on the essentialist ground that men and women are different (Alam, 2004). Women have different vision and concepts of politics owing to their sex and their gender roles as mothers (Naz, 2011). Therefore, it is assumed that women in politics will bring a special caring focus and female values to politics (ADB, 2004).

The subordinate status of women vis-à-vis men is a universal phenomenon, though with a difference in the nature and extent of subordination across countries (Daraz, 2012). Gender role ideology does not only create duality of femininity and masculinity, it also places them in hierarchical fashion in which female sex is generally valued less than male sex because of their socially ascribed roles in reproductive sphere (ADB, 2008). The gender status quo is maintained through low resource allocation to women's human development by the state, society and the family (Aurat, 2001). This is reflected in the social indicators which reflect varying degrees of gender disparities in education, health, employment, ownership of productive resources and politics in all countries (Bari, 2000). Furthermore, the socio-cultural dependence of women is one of the key detrimental factors to their political participation in public political domain (Khan and Naz, 2012 and Daraz, 2012). Women also find it hard to participate in politics due to limited time available to them because of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres (Naz and Rehman, 2011). With their primary roles as mothers and wives and competing domestic responsibilities and care

work, they are left with little time to participate in politics (Buvinic, 1983).

The above mentioned discussion indicates that women are suffering from vulnerability throughout the globe in political context while the case in South Asian countries particularly Pakistan is highly a blistering one (Coleman, 2004). Relationally, the rural areas of the country witness more hurdles in this way where the problem has worsened consequences and the code of life is mostly traditionally driven (Ali et al, 2010). Such traditions assign more power to male segment of the society who are savoring more privileges in the field of politics and powers (Akutu, 1997). In this context, the target area of this study i.e. a traditional *Pakhtun* society is also driven under the centuries old customary law of *Pakhtunwali* (Naz, 2011 and Khan, 2011) where gender is socio-cultural, religious, economic and political source of division (Ibrahim, 2012). The problem of gender discrimination in politics and political empowerment is high because of *Pakhtunwali* and sex segregated socio-cultural setup. The fact is that women are not the part of legislature done on account of their rights. In addition, male dominance, conservatism, and religious misconception etc are the factors, which obstruct their political empowerment (Ali et al, 2010).

## II. THE ARGUMENT

Despite all claims of enlightenment in modern societies, women still on one way or the other considered as institutionalized commodities (Aderinwale, 1997). To empower the women is to empower human beings as women make up more than half of human species and are numerically the majority but politically they are still a minority group (Akutu, 1997 and Ali et al, 2010). Women as a majority segment have dual contribution to the social and economic development of societies by virtue of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres (Naz, 2011; Khan and Naz, 2012 and Daraz, 2012). Yet their participation in formal political structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources generated by both men and women are made, remains insignificant (Naz and Rehman, 2011) and access to formal political structure varies across countries (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2006). There is a steady upward trend in women's political participation and representation in developed countries particularly in Nordic countries and out of twelve countries where women representation in parliament is more than 33%, nine of them are ranked in the high human development category (UNDP, 2005).

This research study deals with the cultural constraints to women's political empowerment in a traditional *Pakhtun* society where the ethnographic details and other research materials show that these cultural constraints are mostly the outcome of existing

*Pakhtun* cultural set-up (Naz, 2011, Khan, 2011, Daraz, 2012). The cultural set-up of area plays a pivotal role in shaping women's lives (Anita, 2010). However, in *Pakhtun* society where there is strong hold of strict customs and traditions that restrict women to the four walls of their homes and are exploited economically and politically (Naz, 2011 and Daraz, 2012) that further shapes women's relationship in politics (Khan, 2011). It transforms male and females into men and women and construct the hierarchy of gender relations where men are privileged (Eisenstein 1984). The gender role ideology is used as an ideological tool by patriarchy to place women within the private arena of home as mothers and wives and men in the public sphere which further decreases women's political empowerment (DFID, 2007).

In addition, the conception regarding obligation over women to offer domestic activities and the myth i.e. 'women are for home or grave' further decreases women's political status (Drage, 2001). In this regard Grindle (2007) argue that domestic domain continues to be perceived in the North as well as in the South as the legitimate space for women while public space is associated with men. Women have to negotiate their entry into and claim on public space according to the discursive and material opportunities available in a given culture and society. Although the gender role ideology is not static rather remained in a flux while intersecting with economic, social and political systems of a particular society, women continue to be defined as private across countries, which resulted in their exclusion from politics (Aslam, 2002).

Besides, the traditions of the area and *Pakhtun* code of life (*Pakhtunwali*) including *Nang*, *Haya*, *Ghairat* and *Namus* describe *Purdah* observing system as compulsory for female and women who do not observe *Purdah* are termed as *Be-Purdah* (unveiled), and such kind of stigma mostly stick to those women who move outside family for political activities, jobs or education and it certainly makes hurdles in women's political empowerment (Naz, 2011; and Naz and Rehman, 2011). Similarly, education is perceived as a gateway towards liberalism and such kind of thinking on part of local people restricts women to home or *Chardewari* which further decreases their political empowerment.

### III. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To study the various cultural impediments to women's political empowerment.
- To glimpse the role of *Pakhtunwali* (Pakhtuncodes) in regard of women's political empowerment.

### IV. HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY

- Cultural impediments have strong association with women's political empowerment.

- *Pakhtun* codes negatively influences women's political empowerment.

## V. THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

The current study is predominantly approached through a sophisticated approach and is designed under the prominent Liberal Feminism that emphasizes over women's education, culture and law as the restricting forces for women's subordination. The philosophy of liberal feminism as argued by Ritzer (2000), expresses that women may claim equality with men on the basis of an essential human capacity for reasoned moral agency, that gender inequality is a result of patriarchal and sexist patterning of division of labor. Gender equality can be produced by transforming division of labor through re-patterning of key institutions law, work, family, education, and media (Bodichon et al, 2011). The liberal philosophy asserts that equality of male and female is possible through political and legal reforms that focus on women's ability to maintain equality with men (Brody, 1983). These feminists believe that personal interaction of both male and female is a ground, which could transform society and culture into a gender-balanced system (Robson et al, 1970). To them, women have capability of achieving equality with men, but such kind of change need alteration in structure of society (Roded, 2006).

Liberal feminists focus on various issues such as eradication of institutional bias and implementation of gender-balanced laws (Bell, 1984) and hold that women do not yet share same rights (Jagger, 1993). They strongly believe in individual rights and liberty and do not think women as an isolated creature of society (Buenaventura-Posso and Susan, 1977) and stress that, women's empowerment lies under legal and cultural barriers. Wollstonecraft (1792) was the first woman liberal western feminist who wrote a book *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman with Structures on Political and Moral Subjects* which addresses that women's capacity to reason is equal to that of men and that biological sex differences are irrelevant to granting of political rights (Butler, 1995). Women shall also have easy and equal access to law and law enforcement agencies, voting and property rights (Carolyn, 2004) where Claire (1974) reveals that male dominance and male oriented values create discrimination against women. Moreover, contemporary liberal feminists focus their concentration on issues as domestic violence, sexual harassment, dual workload on women, economic exploitation, and they want to protect women from such harms to ensure her well-being (Condorcet, 1790; (Collins, 1998).

The study of liberal philosophy and its implementation carries an elegant role in this research about *Pakhtun* society. The focus of liberal thinkers is upon women's capacity and an institutional set-up along-with changes in law and its implementation in

gender-balanced way. The situational analysis of Liberal feminists resembles to that of the target area in this study where the institutional network and codes of life are patriarchic and role of traditionalism (*Pakhtunwali*) governs life of female. Such males drove institutions and male interpreted laws (both formal and traditional) tend to make women inferior and subordinated. The liberal philosophy provides a base of information and technique for bringing changes and implementation of rules within society which can make women as equal citizens to male counterparts where such approach is very much productive in *Pakhtun* society.

## VI. METHODOLOGY

A community-based, study was conducted in *Ramora* village *Tehsil Adenzai* District Dir Lower *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa* Pakistan. The population of village *Ramora* is 19456 with the residence of 8345 families, the average family size being 6.3 (District Survey Report, 2011). A total of 150 samples were purposively selected and interviewed through semi-structure interview schedule. The collected information is statistically analyzed with the application of chi-square test along-with Gamma, lambda and correlation methods for proportion and binary logistic regression. The responses of the respondents were recorded on two point scale that to some extent and to greater extent abbreviated as TSE and TGE. However pictorial representation has also been made in order to simplify the data for understanding.

## VII. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The collected information is analyzed in the form of descriptive and inferential statistics. In

descriptive statistic; the data is presented in simple frequency and percentage while chi-square test and correlation are implied with the help SPSS in inferential statistics. Odds ratios (OR) with a 95% confidence interval (CI) level were used in the bivariate and multivariate analyses to estimate associations between cultural constraints and women's political empowerment. Statistically significant variables in the bivariate analyses were entered into the multivariate model, one at a time for test.

### a) Cultural Impediments and Women's Political Empowerment

Culture is one of the influential and effective ways of molding human's behavior, attitude and the pattern of interaction that is prevalent throughout the globe (Kendall, 2008). In this context, the research area is pre-dominantly occupied by the strong hold of patriarchy and male dominance; ideologically, women have been given domestic spheres to reside in, which further influences women's status in regard of political empowerment. The statistical interpretation and discussion elaborates that the area is guided by strict customary laws in which there is little or in fact no space available for women's politics. In addition, the quantitative analysis demonstrates that *Purdah* is institutionalized and it is considered as an honor and dignity for women and mostly family honor is linked to female sexual behaviors, which resultantly restricts their mobility and affects women's political participation and emancipation. Furthermore the strong hold of feudalism, conservatism and religious misperception demote women's rights particularly in political scenario (see table-1 and Fig-1).

*Table 1* : chi-square test (bivariate analysis)

Cultural Impediments	Political Empowerment		Total
	To Some Extent	To Greater Extent	
Male dominance affect women's political empowerment	02 (06%)	31 (94%)	33 (100%)
Strict customs and tradition affect women's political empowerment	03 (11%)	25 (89%)	28 (100%)
<i>Purdah</i> decreases women political empowerment	01 (03%)	30 (97%)	31 (100%)
Feudalism influence women political participation	04 (20%)	16 (80%)	20 (100%)
Conservatism decreases women political involvement	02 (11%)	16 (89%)	18 (100%)
Religious misperception affect women political participation	03 (15%)	17 (85%)	20 (100%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>15 (10%)</b>	<b>135 (90%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>
Chi-square = 2.456	Significance = 0.000**	Lambda = 0.12	Gamma = 0.025

( $P= .000^{**} < .05$  there is highly significance relationship between patriarchy and women's political empowerment ( $\chi^2 = 2.456, D.f=6$ ))

Apart from simple discussion in the form of frequency and percentage, bivariate analysis has been conducted with the help of chi-square test, gamma and lambda to test the hypotheses. The response of the respondents was recorded on two point category (TSE

and TLG). The values of chi-square test illustrate ( $P= .000^{**} < .05$  there is highly significant relationship between physiological impacts and domestic violence,  $\chi^2 = 2.456, D.f=6$ ). The result further express that dependent variable has strong association and

relationship with independent variable. The value of lambda and gamma further authenticate the result that regressor variable have close association with regresand variable. So it has been concluded that

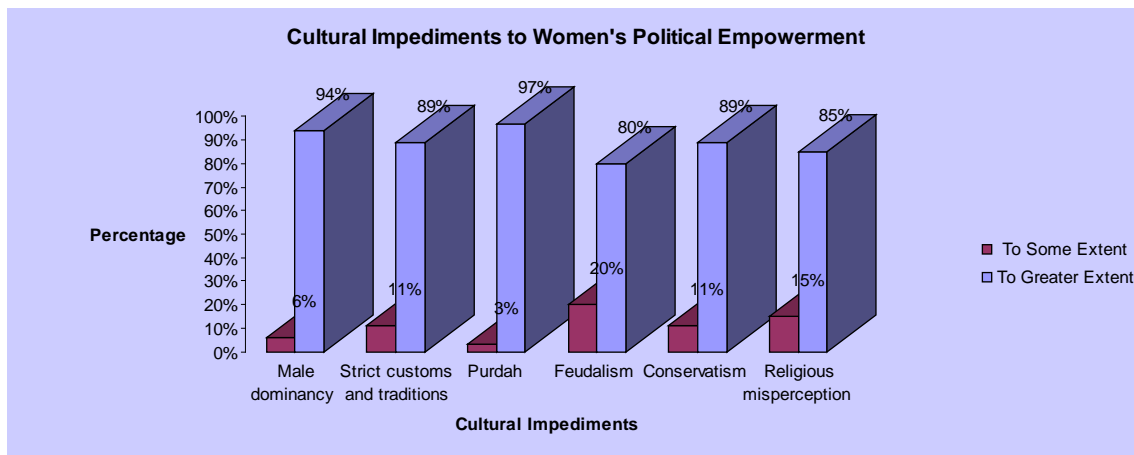
“cultural impediments have strong correlation and relationship with women's political empowerment” has been proved as valid.

Correlation			
Correlation	Analysis	Cultural Impediments	Women's Political Empowerment
Cultural Impediment	Pearson Correlation	1	0.925**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
Women's Political Empowerment	Pearson Correlation	.925**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	150	150

(\*\*Correlation is highly significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed),  $r(150) = 0.925$  ;  $p < .01$ .  $r^2 = 0.86$ )  
(Since 86% of the variance is shared, the association is obviously a strong one)

The correlation further validates the result in manner that Correlation is highly significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed),  $r(150) = 0.925$ ;  $p < .01$ .  $r^2 = 0.86$ ; since 86% of the variance is shared, the association is

obviously a strong one. It has been concluded that there is positive correlation between independent variable i.e. cultural impediments and dependent variable women's political empowerment.



**b) Pakhtun Codes and Women's Political Empowerment**

*Pakhtunwali* revolves primarily around generosity, hospitality, courage, obligation to take revenge, and to other warrior virtues. There is no written and defined record to *Pakhtun* code of life, however, they are in regular practice and are treated as normal routine activities (Lindholm, 1996; Spain, 1990 and Naz, 2011). The quantitative discussion explicate *Pakhtun* code as the hindering factors in women's political

empowerment that include the local maxims, myths, proverbs, folklores and folkways such as *Nang*, *Haya*, *Ghairat* and *Namus* directly affect women status and decreases their political participation as *Pakhtun* are very sensitive about the chastity and modesty of women honor. The discussion further expounds that gender biased social structure and women's involvement in domestic activities decrease their status in regard of their political empowerment (see table-2 and Fig-2).

*Table 2 : chi-square test (bivariate analysis)*

Pakhtun codes	Political Empowerment		Total
	To Some Extent	To Greater Extent	
<i>Nang</i> affect women's political empowerment	02 (07%)	28 (93%)	30 (100%)
<i>Haya</i> influence women's political empowerment	03 (12%)	22 (88%)	25 (100%)
<i>Ghairat</i> decreases women political empowerment	03 (09%)	30 (91%)	33 (100%)
Domestic chores influence women political participation	02 (06%)	30 (94%)	32 (100%)
<i>Namus</i> decreases women political involvement	03 (19%)	13 (81%)	16 (100%)
Gender bias structure affect women political participation	04 (29%)	10 (71%)	14 (100%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>17 (13%)</b>	<b>133 (87%)</b>	<b>150 (100%)</b>
Chi-square = 1.256	Significance = 0.000**	Lambda = 0.08	Gamma = 0.017

( $P = .000$  ;  $p < .05$  there is highly significance relationship between *Pakhtun* codes and women's political empowerment ( $\chi^2 = 1.256$ , D.f=6)

The bivariate analysis has been used with the help of chi-square test in order to test the hypothesis. Result of chi-square test ( $P=.000^{**} < .05$  there is highly significance relationship between psychological impacts and domestic violence,  $\chi^2 = 1.256$ , D.f=6) demonstrate

that random variable have a strong interaction with non-random variable. The results of chi-square test and numerical value of gamma lambda fall in the acceptance region of symmetric diagram which validate the proposed hypothesis.

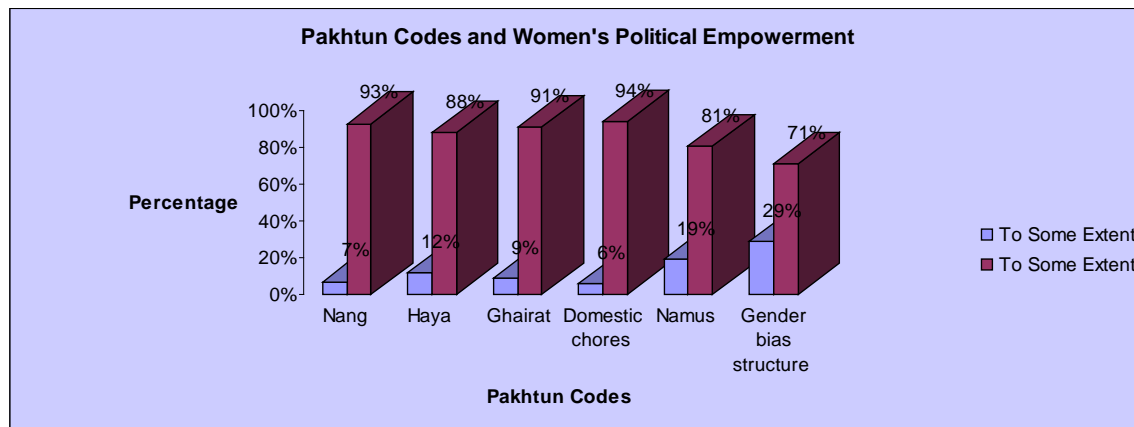
Correlation

Correlation	Analysis	<i>Pakhtun</i> Codes	Women's Political Empowerment
<i>Pakhtun</i> Codes	Pearson Correlation	1	0.946**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	150	150
Women Political Empowerment	Pearson Correlation	.946**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	150	150

(\*\*Correlation is highly significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed),  $r(150) = 0.946^{**}$ ;  $p < .01$ .  $r^2 = 0.89$ ) (Since 89% of the variance is shared, the association is obviously a strong one)

In addition, the correlation further authorize the result like (\*\*Correlation is highly significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed),  $r(150) = 0.946^{**}$ ;  $p < .01$ .  $r^2 = 0.89$ ); since 89% of the variance is shared, the association is

obviously a strong one), which shows that there is positive and simple correlation between the dependent and independent variable.



## VIII. CONCLUSION

Women; being half of the overall population (as discussed in introduction) have been generally ignored in most of the familial, communal and public spheres of empowerment. The secondary information in collaboration with the empirical analyses reflects that women are dis-privileged in public and domestic life, professional engagements, which consequentially influence their overall empowerment. The social organization of the area and communal relations explicitly reflect the patriarchic hold and male dominance, centuries old customs, traditions, norms and values, which barricade women's political empowerment to a greater extent. The study thus concludes that the feudalistic nature of the area as well as the negative perception and over-strict practice of

*Purdah* have key role to block women from attaining political empowerment where males have the overall control of decision-making regarding women's fate.

In addition, the study reveals that the traditional pattern of thinking guides the communal relations and more specifically the formal relations that are regarded as political empowerment. Similarly, the gender-biased social structure and women involvement in domestic chores restrict women to the four walls of their home and affect women's status in regard of their political empowerment. In the nutshell, the over all discussion in collaboration with the experiential and literary facts; the study reaches to the result that most of the women are subject to vulnerability having pathetic life standard through deprivation from political involvement and then empowerment.

## IX. RECOMMENDATIONS

However, without changing socio-cultural, political and economic structural barriers at the national and international levels, the goal of gender equality or women's equal participation in politics and development will remain impossible to attain.

Area of the study is patriarchic and male oriented values prevail dominantly with centuries old traditions are the main socialization agents. In this regard, it is compulsory to provide gender equal socialization; equal facilitation and access to mass media for reduction of conservative thinking and improvement of gender balanced political environment.

Human capacities are dependent on the availability of resources such as education, health and employment that build capabilities and enlarge human choices. Access to education, health and employment is directly linked with women's ability to create space for themselves in politics and development. Women's consciousness of their political rights is another critical element for women's individual and collective agency. Political consciousness through building transformative communities is the sustainable way to transform women politics and development.

A strong women's movement and civil society is another condition of enabling environment that can influence the direction of politics and development in favor of women. Equal opportunities of politics should be provided both to male and female that will erase the concept of male dominance.

The number of female parliamentarians and counselors should be increased as there is lack of female representatives while funds' allocation for women's political emancipation should be ensured.

## REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Aderinwale, A. (1997). *Empowering Women for the 21st Century: The Challenges of Politics, Business, Development and Leadership*. Summary Report of the 9th Annual Conference *Affected by Gender*. American Sociological Review, Vol. 48, No. 3, pp. 316-330.
2. Akutu, C. (1997). *How empowered is the woman in Cameroon today?* Women Outlook March edition NAPMEW, Yaounde. 33.
3. Alam, M. (2004). *New Local Government Reforms in Pakistan-A way Forward towards Inducing Social Change*, UK: School of Public Policy, University of Birmingham.
4. Ali, W., Fani, M. I., Afzal, S., and Yasin, G. (2010). *Cultural Barriers in Women Empowerment: A Sociological Analysis of Multan, Pakistan*. European Journal of Social Sciences – Volume 18, Number 1.
5. Anita, A. (2010). *Depiction of Women in Modern Pashtu Fiction*. Phd Desertation, Noor Ullah Katuzia Printer GT Road Peshawar, P.38.

6. Anjum, Z. (2001). 'New Local Government System: A Step towards Community Empowerment', *Pakistan Development Review*, 40: 4, Part, 11.
7. Asian Development Bank (ADB). (2004). *Regional Report of Technical Assistance in Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan*, ADB.
8. Asian Development Bank (ADB). (2008). *Support for Implementing Gender Reform Action Plans In Pakistan*. www.adb.org/prf.
9. Asif, M. (2008). *Violence against women in politics. South Asia Partnership- Pakistan*. p.20.
10. Aslam, T. (2002). *Women not at War with Men under Feminist Drive*. Jang Group of newspaper, Pakistan dated: Jan 22.
11. Aurat. (2001). *Citizen's Campaign for Women representation in Local Government*, Islamabad: Aurat Publications and Information Service Foundation.
12. Bari, F. (2000). *Local Government Elections*, Islamabad: Ministry of Women and Development.
13. Bari, F. (2005). *Women Political Participation. Issues and Challenges*. P.4.
14. Basu, A. (2005). *Women Political Parties and Social Movements in South Asia*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). <http://www.eldis.ids.ac.uk/static/DOC18454.htm>, retrieved on 23/07/2011.
15. Beal, C. (1994). *Boys and Girls: The Development of Gender Roles*. New York, McGraw- Hill.
16. Begum, S. (1987). *Status of Women in Tribal Areas*. Unpublished Master Thesis, Department of Sociology University of Peshawar, P.11-12.
17. Bell, H. (1984). *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
18. Bodichon, B. Smith. L, and Lacey, (2001). *Women's source library: Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon and the Langham Place Group*. Candida Ann (ed.). Rutledge. p.5.
19. Bose, C. E. and P. H. Rossi (1983). *Gender and Jobs: Prestige Standings of Occupations as Affected by Gender*. American Sociological Review, Vol. 48, No. 3.f.
20. Brand, L. A. (1998). *Women, the State, and Political Liberalization: Middle Eastern and North African Experiences*. New York: Columbia University Press. P. 10.
21. Brody, M. (1983). Mary Wollstonecraft: Sexuality and Women's Rights (1759-1797), in Spender, Dale (ed.) *Feminist Theorists: Three Centuries of key Women Thinkers*, Pantheon 1983, pp. 40-59.
22. Buenaventura-Posso and Susan E. B. (1977) Buenaventura-Posso, E.; Brown, S.E. 1980. *Forced Transition from Egalitarianism to male Dominance: the Bari of Columbia*. In Etienne M.; Leacock, E., ed., *Women and Colonization*. Praeger Publishers, New York, NY, USA.

23. Butler, J. (1995). *Contingent Foundations* in Seyla Benhabib et al., *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange*. New York: Rutledge, pp. 35-58.
24. Buvinic, M. (1983). 'Women's Issues in Third World Poverty: A Policy Analysis', in Mayra, et al. (ed.) *Women and Poverty in the Third World*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
25. Carneiro, R. L. (1977). A Theory of the Origin of the State". *Science* Menlo Park, CA: Institute for Humane Studies, 1977. 3-21. ISSN: 0148-656X
26. Carolyn H. (2004). *Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in the New Millennium. Woman: Her Spiritual Journey*. Wisdom House, Litchfield CT 31 October 2004. p.3.
27. Claire, T. (1974). *The Life and Death of Mary Wollstonecraft*. 144–155. Rev. ed. New York: Penguin
28. Condorcet, de. Marquis. (1790). *On the Admission of Women to the Rights of Citizenship, The First Essay on the Political Rights of Women*. A Translation of Condorcet's Essay "Sur l' Admission des Femmes aux Droits de Cité". By Dr. Alice Drysdale Vickery 1912. Letchworth: Garden City Press.
29. Collins, P. H. (1998). *Fighting Worlds: Black Women and the Search for Justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
30. Coleman, I. (2004). 'Gender Disparities, Economic Growth and Islamization in Pakistan', Washington, D.C.: *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*.
31. Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and Power*. Cambridge, Polity Press.
32. Cornwall, A. and Gaventa, J. (2006). 'Participation in Governance', in A. S. Haque and H. Zafarullah (ed.) *International Development Governance*, London: Taylor & Francis.
33. Daraz, U. (2012). *Pakhtun Social Structure and its Impacts on Women Education*, published MS Thesis Department of Sociology International Islamic University Islamabad.
34. Department for International Development (DFID). (2007). *Gender Equality Action Plan 2007-2009: Making Faster Progress to Gender Equality*, London: DFID.
35. District Survey Report. (2011).
36. Drage, J. (2001). *Women in Local Government in Asia and the Pacific: A Comparative Analysis of Thirteen Analysis*, New Zealand: United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP).
37. Eisenstein, Z. (1984). *Contemporary Feminist Thought*, Unwin, London.
38. Farooq, A. (2003). Waseela-e-Taleem; A Revolutionary Step. Daily Dawn. December 14.
39. Grindle, M. (2007). Good Enough Governance Revisited. *Development Policy Review*, 25 (5).
40. Ibrahim. (2012). *Socio-Cultural and Economic Constraints to Women's Political Empowerment in Pakhtun Society*; unpublished Mphil Thesis Department of Sociology University of Malakand.
41. Jagger, A. (1993). *Political Philosophies of Women's Liberation*. In J.J.
42. Kendall, D. (2008). *Sociology in Our Times (Seventh Ed)*. Thomson Wadsworth, USA. P.486.
43. Khan, W. (2011). *The Role of Pakhtun Social Organization in Gendered Decision-Making (A Case study of Batkhela, District Malakand)*. An Unpublished M. Phil Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Malakand.
44. Khan, W., and Naz, A. (2012). *The Ignominy of Evenness; Pakhtun Social Organization and Gendered Decision-Making process among Pakhtuns of Pakistan*. Lap Lambert Publishing, Germany.
45. Lindholm. C. (1996). *Frontier Perspective: Essay in Comparative Anthropology*. Karachi: Oxford University Press pp. 196
46. Losco, J. (2010). *AmGov*. New York: McGraw-Hill. pp. 3.
47. Mahmood, A. (2004). *Political Empowerment of Women: A Comparative Study of South Asian Countries*. Pakistan Vision. Vol. 10 No 1. P. 151-152.
48. Mirza, N. (2002). *Women's Participation in Local Government Election 2000—2001*. Aurat Publication and Information Service Foundation Islamabad.p.9
49. Naz, A. (2011). *Socio-Cultural and Political Constraints to Gender Development*. An Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.
50. Naz, A. and Rehman, H.C. (2011). *Gender and development: socio-cultural, economic, religious and Political impediments in women's empowerment and gender Development: a case study of Malakand division kpk Pakistan*. **BIOINFO Sociology** Volume 1, Issue 1, 2011, pp-15-24 <http://www.bioinfo.in/contents.php?id=189>.
51. Reyes, and Socorro, L. (2002). *Regional Workshop on the Implementation of Quotas: Asian Experiences, Quotas in Pakistan: A Case Study*. Discussion Paper read at the "Workshop on the Implementation of Quotas: Asian Experiences" Organized by the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance in Jakarta. P. 2.
52. Ritzer, G. (2000). *Sociological Theory* (5<sup>th</sup> Ed.). McGraw-Hill. USA. P.454.
53. Robson, Ann P and Robson John M, (1970). *Sexual Equality*. Writings by John Stuart Mill, Harriet Taylor Mill, and Helen Taylor, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.



54. Roded, R. (2006). *Bint al-Shati's Wives of the Prophet: Feminist or Feminine*. British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 33 (1) (May): 51–66.
55. Saiyid, D. H. (2001). *Women in Politics, Problems of Participation. A case study of Pakistan*. Islamabad.
56. Saleem, W. (2010). *State of Women in Pakistan*. Weekly Report. Daily The News. 22 January.
57. Sarho, J. W. (1997). *Women and Political Participation in Africa: The Limitations of the Immediate Environment*. Empowering Women for the 21st Century: The Challenges of Politics, Business, Development and Leadership. Summary Report of the 9th Annual Conference of the Africa Leadership Forum In Accra, Ghana.
58. Shah, N.M. (1989). *Female Status in Pakistan*. Where are we Know? In K. Mahadevan (ed). *Women and Population Dynamic: Perspectives from Asian Countries*. 150-166. New Delhi; Sage Publication Singhal, Damodar.
59. Shaheed et al, (2009). *Women in Politics: Participation and Representation in Pakistan*. An overview. Shirkat Gah- Women's Resource Centre, Lahore – Pakistan. P. 26.
60. Spain, J.W. (1990). *The Way of the Pathans*; 6th Impression, Oxford University Press, Karachi; P: 22-23.
61. UNDP (2005). *Political and Legislative Participation of Women in Pakistan*, Issue and Perspective.
62. Waylen G. (1998). *Gender, feminism and the state: An Overview*. In V. Randall & G. Waylen (Eds) *Gender, Politics and the State* (1-17) London: Routledge
63. Wollstonecraft, M. (1792). *A vindication of the rights of women with strictures on political and moral subjects*. Peter Edes, Boston, MA, USA.



This page is intentionally left blank





GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE  
Volume 12 Issue 11 Version 1.0 Year 2012  
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal  
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)  
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

## Truth Through the Spectrum of Social Perspectives

By Dr. Shatruddha Tomar  
*Kurukshetra University, Haryana*

*Abstract* - This piece of writing on the theme 'Truth' is an exercise based on philosophical, social science and literary material. The truth with different names--- existence, reality, fact, facticity attracted the attention of galaxy of established authors across disciplines. The status of truth has been attempted here discussing epistemological, linguistic, critical, constructivist, post-structuralist and postmodernist perspectives. It may be concluded that the concept of truth has still remained present in old and new volumes equally, but has lost its prominent position in theory and logical discussions. The concept moved from unifying and universal agreement to the disarrayed concept- either denial of its essentialist core, and designated post modernist anti-essentialist relativism in later year theorist. The debate now concentrates not on truth as such but on 'about truth'. And the 'hype-real' simulations of the real presents before us many versions of truth detached from its existential truth at a higher order.

*GJHSS-C Classification : FOR Code: 160512, 160702, 160703*



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# Truth Through the Spectrum of Social Perspectives

Dr. Shatrudha Tomar

**Abstract** - This piece of writing on the theme 'Truth' is a conceptual exercise based on philosophical, social science and literary material. The truth with different names--- existence, reality , fact, facticity attracted the attention of galaxy of established authors across disciplines. The status of truth has been attempted here discussing epistemological, linguistic, critical, constructivist, post- structuralist and post-modernist perspectives. It may be concluded that the concept of truth has still remained present in old and new volumes equally, but has lost its prominent position in theory and logical discussions. The concept moved from unifying and universal agreement to the disarrayed concept- either denial of its essentialist core, and designated post modernist anti - essentialist relativism in later year theorist. The debate now concentrates not on truth as such but on 'about truth'. And the 'hype-real' simulations of the real presents before us many versions of truth detached from its existential truth at a higher order.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Truth has been attracting philosophers, saints, scientists, the development economists or the statesmen, spiritualists and common men generally feel comfortable with truth and not with falsehood . Truth is both a practical and moral urge simultaneously.

Truth has been still an unabated theme of social science and humanities literature. There is no dearth of references on truth or its variants with different connotations like existence, fact/ facticity , reality and hyper-reality even. Many truths, multiple truths, half truths, contextual truths: truth- real and truth- perceived are another types that give us entanglements that requires solution. But what is the best answer for truth? Is it science or the conscience? In the absence of agreed upon truth or universal truth, the debate in private and public domain is natural to arise.

In the wake of emergence of the knowledge societies or information society, there has been a great demand for a clearer concept of truth and criteria of truth. The credibility of institutions , persons and other agency can be faithfully believed if it operates within the premises of truth. Mahatma Gandhi upgraded the status of truth when he proclaimed that truth is God.

If social sciences aspire to be akin to sciences than it should take worry of validation of truthful statements . However, in behavioural sciences, the

positivist basis of truth is shaken and perhaps we are bound to stay at middle position in objective and subjective truths.

## II. OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

There are two objectives in this conceptual piece that operate in the exercise.

1. To clarify the concept of Truth in relation to reality/ facticity.
2. To place the truth in different social science perspectives.

## III. METHOD

To seek the concept, status in philosophical and social science literature has been explored. The literature on truth and the literature on different perspectives embodying 'truth'/ reality was collected and analysed. However, no empirical data or quantitative analysis was made but literary survey was conducted and the concept of truth was put in different categories of perspectives.

## IV. THE CONCEPT OF TRUTH: THE MEANING

There are a large number of authors or social theorists who interchangeably used the concepts - truth, fact/ facticity and hyperreality. Further, the Oxford dictionary of sociology mentions the meaning of 'Truth' with specification of 'fact'. Thus, 'True facts about something rather than the things that have been invented or guessed'. This indicates the natural truth based on facts observed and not the facts made or created. P.V young,(1966:10) defined truth as fact in general and mentions thus -" Facts must be seen as physical, mental , or emotional occurrences or phenomenon which can be affirmed with certainty and are accepted as true in a given world of discourse.' Foucault (1977) attached the truth with a particular discourse which is subject to change. Being anti-foundationalist for Foucault, truth was relative and contextual but not absolute and universal.

## V. TRUTH: FROM DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES

Truth as a concept is a very difficult subject and warrants treatment in multi perspectives. Derek Layder (2006: 128) suggested that truth must be seen from different perspectives. Earl Babbie (2004:43-44) recommended to look at truth /reality, assuming it more

*Author* : Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra Haryana.  
*E-mail* : satrudtomar@yahoo.fr

complex from the point of views i.e. pre-modern and post-modern.

The author of the paper has classified the material of perspectives into six categories and the truth is discussed herein:

#### *Perspective- 1*

##### *a) Epistemological position of truth*

The truth is subjected to appraisal (Chisholm,1987: 6-7) as it encompasses two elements- one is 'believing' in some position of 'true' or 'false' , and another is 'reasonably perceiving something'. Further, If something is believed as 'beyond reasonable doubt' and 'more reasonable than another' it means that truth is liable to be perceived by individuals with arbitrary but reasonably, he declares.

However, essential truth is rooted in humans' passionate embrace of authenticity. Here, truth is not an objective thing but is emotional in nature. Indian philosophical thinking recognizes soul as the best test for the truth. Greek thinking also recognizes soul in deciding the truth or falsehood . Yet, pragmatism considers truth as socially existing and not absolute. In Black feminist epistemology, -truth lies with in pre existing knowledge system and is believed accordingly. Knowledge remains based in beliefs and beliefs are assumed to be true ( Collins, 2000 ). Yet, there may be categories of believers, non- believers and agnostic affecting the concept of truth. Similarly, 'truth value' components i.e. negation (rejecting), conjunction (acceptance) and alternative propositions are examined for affirmation of truth statements. Truth value of a statement may also be decided by its correspondence or lack of it to an empirical reality outside (Howarth: 2002).

#### *Perspective-II*

##### *a) Existentialist view*

Sartre, an existential phenomenologist and philosopher, viewed existence (truth) as 'nothingness' devoid of any real existence with any meaning and objective. He attributed three characteristics of existence of the world— namely (i) shapeless (ii) purposeless (iii) uncertain and doubtful. It helps understand his stand point on ultimate reality of the world. Sartre developed a phrase— “Je pense donc Je suis” (I think therefore I am ) Otherwise, all reality outside consciousness is illusory and subject to decay and disappear. Yet, he recommends that we should study human realities rather going after 'essence' than existence. Later, following Sartre, Foucault declared that there is no absolute truth/reality and even knowledge that depended upon discourse dominating over in a time with some ideological forte. It is significant to mention that Oriental view on existence represented by Indian Hindu reformer and the founder of Arya Samaj

Maharishi Dayand of India of 19th century, a religious reformer, states that world is not purposeless. However, there is a purpose of God not of individual or collective humanity.

#### *Perspective-III*

##### *a) The constructivist idea of truth*

Absorbing partially the pragmatist view of truth / reality, Berger and Luckman (1966) emphasised that reality is socially constructed through institutionalization of habits of practical life that typify them. Goffman (2007) an interactionist – sociologist, stressed that whatever is presented in open social space, remains a managed affair and there is a difference every time in backstage reality and front stage presentation in an attempt to idealization of self identity showing difference between cultured appearance and manner. He states -- 'Mythology and our popular magazine are full of romantic stories in which the villain and the hero both make fraudulent claims that are discredited... . Here, this sign- accepting tendency puts the audience in a position to be duped and misled. (p 61). Whatever truth/ reality is produced creatively by actors in relationship to each other.

#### *Perspective-IV*

##### *a) Critical or emancipatory perspective on truth*

The emancipatory social philosophers of Frankfurt school like Althusser, Habermas and Gramsci emphasized the role of ideology of the time to bring distortions to reality narration, under the capitalistic operations, through the organ of public opinion which include media , universities, army and writings (Habermas : 2005), while putting forward the idea of communicative action he observed that the ideal speech situation was transgressed by distorted communication made by state apparatus and the truth was suppressed. Gramsci (The Prison Notebooks) also highlighted earlier the hegemonic control of ruling class through media means in their favour at the cost of reality that not appeared. Chomsky (2000) in the series through his monumental work stressed that capitalistic U.S.A was acquiring the 'manufactured consent' and exercising over rest of the world to manipulate the opinion in the developing countries to cover up its hidden capitalistic agenda. All it is through the false propaganda communication .

#### *Perspective-V*

##### *a) Post - structuralist view of truth: Truth is unfoundational*

Post- structuralist French philosopher Foucault was more interested in the effects of truth than the truth itself. He viewed that there is 'a battle' 'for Truth' or at least around truth “..... and battle “about the status of truth.....” ( p 208) . By truth he didn't mean “ensemble

of truth” which are to be discovered and accepted , but it was ensemble of rules according to which the true or false are separated and specific effects of power attached to the “true”. For post-structuralists, the truth is a ‘produced commodity’ which is transmitted under control of political and economic apparatus i.e the university, army, writing and media. Further, every society has ‘regime of truth’ accumulated after ideological struggle . And the dominant discourse of the time has the power to push the effects of truth, identifiable. However, the truth cannot be neutral and objective but a subjective category and is historically determined.

#### *Perspective-VI*

##### *a) Post- Modern view : The hyper-real truth*

The issue of reality /truth becomes further complicated in the post- modern age of “ hyper- reality” and “simulacra” where the difference between real and the images or between signs and simulations of the real has blurred ( Baudrillard:1981). The hyper reality is all about a reality which is ‘more real than real ’ and simulacra is the product of that hyper-reality. The phenomenon has uprooted the necessity of a real world or the true world. 3-D Video games, films, animated images on internet , animated sites of the simulation which promote a physically non- existent virtual world and which is not only better but also utopian . There is a promised and projected utopia built on the death of the real. The result is that the reality is doomed and the question of truth becomes undesirable. It is in the interest of the media promoters to promote hyper reality as it is a vast space which can supersede public rationality and can remove it from the plan of logic and take them in a world which is so ‘other worldly’.

Advertising focuses on removing the real and the rationality and produces exaggerated, inflated images and claims. The audience forgets the difference between real and non real. The question is whether we are comfortable with the unreal real or false?

## VI. CONCLUSIONS

From the above exercise based on pertinent literature mainly of philosophy and social science, some conclusions can be drawn however, with some risk of inherent disagreement. The theme of truth has not been receded even from new age literature. Of course, the concept of truth is expanded from philosophical adventurism to social analysis.

1. The emerging negative and alternative components are developed in methodological and theoretical literature and social sciences.
2. Post -structuralism gave a diversion to the concept as Foucault says now the ‘Battle is not for truth but about truth’.

3. Similarly, Post - Modernist Baudrillard ‘Moved to focus on ‘hyper-real’, not on real or truth. The status of truth concept shifted from moral and universal acceptance to utilitarian purposes serving pragmatist ends. Today, there is no real truth but truth claims.
4. In the last, status of Truth has changed as social progressed in different period of academic and other writings.

## REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Althusser, L( 1971). “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses” in /Lenin and Philosophy, London.
2. Baudrillard, J.(1981) Simulacra and Simulations, simiotext (E), NewYork .
3. Berger P.L and Thomas Luckman (2007) In Craighalton and others (ed) Contemporary Sociological Theory, Second Edition, Blackwell Publishing.
4. Babbie.E,2004: The Practice of social Research, Singapur: Thomson.
5. Chisholm, R.M (1987). The Theory of Knowledge 11nd Ed., New Delhi: PHI.
6. Chomsky, N. (2000) Word Order, New Delhi.
7. Foucault,M. (1977) Truth and Power in Contemporary Sociological Theory 2nd Ed. Calhoun et al : Singapore. Blackwell.
8. Gramsci, A : The Prison Notebooks.
9. Habermas, J.(1984) The Communicative Action : Beacon Press.
10. Howarth, D. (2002) Discourse, Viva Books Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi.
11. Quine, W.V.O(1950:59). The Art of Scientific Investigation Vintage Books, New York .
12. Young,P.V. (1966) Scientific Social Surveys and Research: New Jersey: Prentice Hall of India.

This page is intentionally left blank





GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE  
Volume 12 Issue 11 Version 1.0 Year 2012  
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal  
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)  
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

# The Nexus of Collaboration Among the Horizontal Organs of Government in Nigeria: A Critical Analysis within the Context of Effective Service Delivery and Politics of Hope for Nigeria and Nigerians

By S. T. Akindele & Oluwadare O. Ayeni

*Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria*

*Abstract* - This paper focuses on the nexus of collaboration among the horizontal organs of government in Nigeria in the context of effective service delivery and politics of hope for the nation and its citizens. While specifically examining the three organs of government and their institutional mechanisms of separation of powers and checks and balances in the process, it elucidates the concepts of politics, budgets, servant leadership and, governance. It dichotomizes the latter into two (good and bad governance) with detailed analysis of the imperatives of both and, their implications for the pursuit of effective service delivery for the citizenry in any nation like Nigeria.

*GJHSS-C Classification : FOR Code: 160605*



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*





# The Nexus of Collaboration Among the Horizontal Organs of Government in Nigeria: A Critical Analysis within the Context of Effective Service Delivery and Politics of Hope for Nigeria and Nigerians

S. T. Akindele <sup>α</sup> & Oluwadare O. Ayeni <sup>σ</sup>

**Abstract** - This paper focuses on the nexus of collaboration among the horizontal organs of government in Nigeria in the context of effective service delivery and politics of hope for the nation and its citizens. While specifically examining the three organs of government and their institutional mechanisms of separation of powers and checks and balances in the process, it elucidates the concepts of politics, budgets, servant leadership and, governance. It dichotomizes the latter into two (good and bad governance) with detailed analysis of the imperatives of both and, their implications for the pursuit of effective service delivery for the citizenry in any nation like Nigeria.

## I. INTRODUCTION

A cursory Internet search yields over 300 entries for “globalization”. Yet, interdependence among individuals, among groups, among nations, has always been a reality. Since the 14<sup>th</sup> century, global interdependence has been increasing because of the constant reduction in economic distance—due to improvements in transport technology, tariff cuts, creation of international institutions, telecommunications, etc.—but the acceleration witnessed in the last 10-15 years is spectacular. Thus, “globalization is more than just a catchy term for an old phenomenon....Gone, too, are the days when central government administration had the virtual monopoly of state power. As economic distance between any two areas is reduced, the “space” for the center naturally shrinks. Globally, the nation state occupies the “center”, and the reduction in economic distance has meant a loss in effective national administrative autonomy (through the voluntary “uploading” of substantial powers)...But central governments have been squeezed from below, as well (thus, bringing) a number of public activities within effective reach of local governments.

*Combined with a stronger civil society and a more assertive population, these developments have led to pressures on the center to “download” authority and resources. As an overall trend, internal decentralization (that fosters collaboration) may be as unstoppable as globalization [underlined emphases are mine] (Schiavo-Campo and Sundaram, 2001).*

This statement, which, to some extent, shows both the genesis and the need for collaboration among units or agencies of government administration at both national and international levels of political, administrative and governance processes or actions by the relevant functionaries vis-à-vis the plights or fortunes or misfortunes of the citizenry, is deemed appropriate for commencing the analysis of the subject matter of this topic, the essence of which is located within the contextual purviews of governance and its goodness or otherwise. Governance itself, either good or bad, which forms the barometer for analyzing the essence of this topic, as articulated in this opening sentence, is, in turn, predicated on the wherewithal of politics as an art serving as a mechanism for the attainment and sustenance of human political happiness or otherwise depending on its practice in any given political landscape within the global political space.

Without any doubt, the architectural layout or topography of any nation’s political practice has a lot of implications and challenges for its service delivery and the expectant responsiveness of services so delivered particularly in the context of its practical politicking and, its propensity or otherwise for the collaborative efforts of its horizontal organs of government namely: the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary within the purviews of its process of governance. In fact, the nature of the political space in terms of its propensity for good governance, to a larger extent determines the point of location of the average citizenry along the continuum of “politics of hope and politics of hopelessness”. In other words, the extent of

Author <sup>α</sup> : Department of Political Science, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria. E-mail : sxakindel@yahoo.com

Author <sup>σ</sup> : Department of Public Administration, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria.

collaboration or lack of it among the legislative, executive and judicial organs in the context of effective public service delivery vis-à-vis the fortunes or misfortunes of the citizenry can only or actually be measured in terms of the nature of the political system and its governance structure or process.

This being the case, we found it imperative within the context of this paper, to, following the introduction, begin with the discourse of the concept of governance as a prelude to the explication of the three horizontal organs of government whose collaboration or lack of it, will, to a significant extent, determine the nature of the public service delivery and, the hopefulness or hopelessness of the political landscape for the nation and its citizens particularly within a polity like Nigeria.

## II. CONCEPT OF GOVERNANCE

The issue of governance and its processes are deep-seated and, rooted in the history of humanity. Thus, the governing of human beings using the requisite techniques of governance is as old as the history of mankind itself as it affects the totality of the universe or global political community. Thus, like most concepts of its kind, the concept of governance, due to its complex weaving of “economic, political and social aspects of a nation” (Shehu 1999), has not been amenable to easy or simplistic definition. In other words, the concept has not been an exception to the volatility and eclecticism for which the disciplines in the Social Sciences have been globally noted.

This explains Esman’s (1997:1) claim that “no two political scientists would agree on what the concept of governance is or what it means”. In fact, as Hyden (1999) once noted, “only few authors (have) define(d) it (the concept of governance) with a view to serving analytical purpose” hence, “governance as a concept has not been extensively used (or defined) in the political literature until very recently when it gained currency” (Nkom and Sorkaa, 1996).

This notwithstanding, as Hyden (1999:24) once argued, “the concept of governance has come to occupy a more prominent position in the discourse of international development”. If this is correct or, should be taken to be correct, the question needs to be asked that: what exactly or actually is governance?

World Bank (1989) defines governance as “the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country’s economic and social resources for development”. According to the World Bank (1993), governance has three dimensions. These dimensions which, Eyinla (1998) equally noted are: “the nature of political regimes; the exercise of authority in the management of social and economic resources and, the capacity of government to design and implement policy and to discharge its functions”.

These dimensions were specifically identified and concretely elucidated by Olowu and Erero (1997), who both conceptualized governance as relating to the “rule-ruler-ruled relationship”. Specifically, Olowu and Erero (Ibid) identified the three dimensions of governance in the context of “rule-ruler-ruled relationship” as inclusive of “functionalism, “structuralism” and “normativism”. According to them, functionally, governance deals with “rule-making, legitimization, and enforcement” while it structurally comprises three distinct institutions: the “ruler or the state”, the “ruled or the society” and, the “rule of law”. In this regard, Olowu and Erero (ibid) viewed governance as the “relationship between state and society institutions”. In the same vein, they claimed that “normatively, this relationship highlights the values associated with good governance”. These values according to them include: “transparency, organizational effectiveness, accountability, predictability, legitimacy, popular participation and plurality of policy choices”.

Within the same context, Boeninger (1992) defines governance as the ‘good government of society’. According to this scholar, governance has three dimensions: political, technical and institutional. Nkom and Sorkaa (1996) synopsisized the interrelatedness of these dimensions thus:

*The political revolves around the commitment to exercise authority or public control in a just, legitimate and rule oriented fashion. The technical concerns issues of efficiency, competence or the capacity to manage public affairs effectively to solve problems, and to produce good results in resource mobilization and public management. The institutional involves options, choices and growth – enhancing activities by the public while ensuring honest or good conduct on the part of the public officials.*

In the same vein, Landell-Mills and Serageldin (1992) argued that governance encompasses two interrelated dimensions: political and technical both of which consist of the government’s “will to govern well and the capacity to efficiently and competently handle public management”. Governance, according to Gould (1972) refers to the act of exercising control over others, inducing others to behave in specified ways as required by law. It is “policy making and policy execution regulated by systems of law and guidelines which are segregated into specific operations to achieve specific national objectives (Shehu, 1999:1). To Brautigam (1991) and Ikpeze (1999:73), governance connotes “the exercise of power and authority in both political and economic spheres”. Thus, as Ejituwu (1997), argued, “governance implies the exercise of power by a person or group of persons for the benefit of the populace” because, as he equally later claimed, it is through

governance, that “the government in power dictates the form of relationship it establishes between it and the people as well as the goal of the state in economic, political and social terms” (Ibid).

Implicit in the foregoing conceptual analysis of governance is the fact that, the latter connotes “the use of political authority and exercise of control over a society and the management of resources” (Wai, 1995). Hence, according to Obadan (1998:24), governance - (in this sense) – includes:

*Institutional and structural arrangements, decision-making processes, policy formulation, implementation, capacity development of personnel, information flows, and the nature and style of leadership within a political system.*

In his contribution to the conceptual discourse on governance, Idowu (1998:74) had this to say:

*Governance refers to the functions undertaken by a government maintaining a unified state, defending its territorial integrity and running its economy... It (equally) means the effective and efficient functioning of government towards securing the well-being of its citizens.*

Jega (1999:101) analysed the concept of governance in relations to the “person entrusted with political power and authority”. In this regard, governance according to him, involves the following:

- *Responsibility and responsiveness in leadership and in public service;*
- *Accountability in the mobilization as well as in the utilization of resources;*
- *Discipline, effectiveness and efficiency in handling public (as well as personal) affairs;*
- *Selflessness and impartial service to the people; and*
- *Popular participation and empowerment of the people in the conduct and management of their common affairs (Ibid).*

For governance as the “duty of government to see to the orderly and stable management of the economy” (Ukpong, 1999), to have the foregoing attributes and, be effective, efficient and beneficial for democratic political arrangement, it has to be good. This is more so, since we can, as well, have bad governance.

### III. BAD GOVERNANCE

The possibility of bad governance could be said to be what the World Bank had in mind in 1989, when it began to dichotomize between good and bad governance by “advocating a political reform approach to government as a way of ensuring positive economic growth” (World Bank, 1989, Idowu, 1998).

In fact, the World Bank (1992) identified the features of bad governance as follows:

- *Failure to make a clear separation between what is public and what is private, hence a tendency to divert public resources for private gain;*
- *Failure to establish a predictable framework for law and government behaviour in a manner that is conducive to development, or arbitrariness in the application of rules and laws;*
- *Excessive rules, regulations, licensing requirements, etc, which impede the functioning of markets and encourage rent-seeking;*
- *Priorities that are inconsistent with development, thus, resulting in a mis-allocation of resources;*
- *Excessively narrow base for, or non-transparency, decision-making.*

This explains Obadan’s (1998:25) characterization of bad governance as a system dominated by “ugly problems like pervasive corruption, lack of public accountability and “capture” of public services by the elites among others”.

### IV. GOOD GOVERNANCE

It is decipherable from the chronology of the discussion in this paper so far on the concept of governance, that, the issue of the latter (i.e. governance), its goodness and utility to mankind cannot be taken for granted without severe consequences. This is particularly so, in that, as Ogunba (1997:1), once noted “the way a people are governed is of paramount importance in determining the quality of life of the people”. It is equally more so, if as Esman (1997:1), opined, “governance is a process that requires a viable authority” through which “the leaders are expected to exercise the power that resides with them in the interest of the state” (Ejituwu, 1997 op cit: 37). The need for good governance is not far fetched looking at the fact that:

*If governance is arbitrary, oppressive and capricious, the collective psyche of a people can be damaged and individuals within the community can suffer various forms of disorientation. If, on the other hand, governance is open, democratic and humanistic, a people can experience a sense of rejuvenation and fulfilment which can lead to highly positive achievements (Ogunba 1997 op cit: 1).*

This explains Obadan’s (1998:39) position that, “it is the responsibility of citizens to demand good governance” because “it (i.e., good governance) may not be forthcoming from the political leaders without prodding”.

Commenting on good governance, Esman (1997:1) argued thus:

*before governance can be considered good, government has got to be effective. It must first command the respect and allegiance of the people over whom it exercises governance and, must satisfy certain basic collective needs.*

He went further to identify some minimal elements and/or essentials of effective (good) governance as inclusive of: "provision of security for the people", "defence of the territorial borders of the state", "protection of lives and property", "enforcement of laws to enhance predictability" and, "economic development". According to this scholar, "governance requires the ability to ensure the wherewithal of sustained government". He equally asserted that "effective (good) governance requires that public authority be able to raise the revenues necessary to pay for services that must be provided". The essence of this argument is that, "effective governance must be able to make possible the performance by the state of certain basic services" – transportation, communication, education and health services – "relatively cheaply and reliably" (Erero, 1996, Esman Ibid).

This is more so, since effective governance means the capacity of the state, through its power of determinism or, authoritative allocation of scarce critical societal resources – to deliver the basic necessities of life to the governed and, equally "facilitate the process of economic development".

These lines of argument tally with those of Obadan (1998:25) and Amoako (1997:10), who have posited that:

*good governance implies efficient and effective public administration, good policies and sound management of natural resources. It calls for the ability of a state to anticipate challenges to its well-being, provide core services with people and then argument these services, act as a catalyst of change, and guide the various forces in a society toward harmony (and national development) devoid of ideological imperialism and multi-dimensional genocidal tendencies) (Emphasis mine).*

Pursuing the same line of argument, Obadan (Ibid), further claimed that:

*Good governance implies ruling on the basis of equity and social justice, and an end to corruption, nepotism and political manipulation of public institutions. Only when citizens have the belief that their government operates on their behalf, in an open and accountable manner, will government be able to obtain their willing co-operation in, for example, mobilizing resources for development.*

Driving home this line of argument, Obadan (Ibid: 34), emphasized that, through good governance, a government should be able to effectively perform, among others, the following tasks:

- *Establishing a foundation of law;*
- *Maintaining a non distortionary policy environment, including macro- economic stability;*
- *Investing in basic social services, infrastructure,*
- *Protecting the vulnerable group in the society; and*
- *Protecting the environment.*

Other scholars have considered good governance vis-à-vis the raison d'être of statehood in this manner as well (Kaufman, Kraay and Zoido-Lobaton, 1999; Corkery and Bossuyt, 1990; Healey and Robinson, 1992, 1994; Bello – Imam, 1997; Ayo and Awotokun, 1996, 1997; Nkom and Sorkaa, 1996; World Bank, 1989, 1992, 1993). These scholars' works on the concept of good governance treat the latter as a system of rulership that is devoid of political expediency and antidemocratic political ends. It is deducible from their works that, good governance stands for dignified existence of all political animals in democratic political settings within the global political community. According to Obadan (1998:24) "good governance consists of five fundamental elements". He listed them thus:

- *Accountability of government officials (political leaders and bureaucrats) for public funds and resources;*
- *Transparency in government procedures, processes, investment decisions, contracts and appointments. Transparency is a means of preventing corruption and enhancing economic efficiency;*
- *Predictability in government behaviour. This is particularly critical to the carrying out of economic transactions between individuals and in taking investment decisions: governments and public institutions should not be capricious in their behaviour and actions;*
- *Openness in government transactions and a reliable flow of the information necessary for economic activity and development to take place. Without information, rules will not be known, accountability is low, and risks and uncertainties are many. With these the cost of committing capital is also huge. An open system should, thus, be encouraged to release information to stakeholders and promote dialogue among the people as well as ensure their active participation in the socio-economic development of the country.*
- *Observance of the rule of law must be adhered to by government and its citizens; this means that governments and institutions should be subject to rules and regulations which are understood by everyone in the society (Ibid).*

The attainment and continuous sustenance of good governance as articulated above, and, the propensity of same for effective public service delivery to the citizens and, creation of a worthy national road map to economic development in any country and, particularly, in a country like Nigeria, require a friction-free political landscape the type of which can only be attained and nurtured to fruition through collaboration among the requisite units, agencies or organs of government most especially the traditionally acclaimed organs of government-Legislature, Executive and Judiciary the collaboration among which forms the nucleus of the subject matter of the topic of this paper. Given this, the next section to which we now turn, synoptically though, concretely examines these organs as mechanisms put in place to enable the government as the instrument of the state to make and enforce its decisions as well as the catalyst-(**doctrine of separation of powers**)-for their existence and, mechanism-(**doctrine of checks and balances**)-put in place to ensure the success of the existence.

## V. THE THREE ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT IN FOCUS

The three organs of government are: the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. The functions assigned to and performed by each of these organs vary from one political system to another but, then each of them perform certain basic functions within virtually all political systems within the global political community. The specificities of these functions on organ by organ basis are as follows:

### a) The Legislature

Law making is the primary function of this organ of government. Its other functions include the following:

- *Determination of ways and means of raising and spending public money.*
- *Checking of executive arbitrariness.*
- *Ratification of treaties.*
- *Approval of appointments (e.g., ambassadorial, ministerial and judicial appointments).*
- *Depending on the system of governance in practice, legislature may be unicameral or bicameral.*

### b) The Executive

The powers of implementation of public policies; enforcement of laws passed by the legislature or the parliament are vested on this organ of government which equally performs the functions of: **appointing government functionaries (e.g., judges, ministers, ambassadors, board members etc.); granting of state pardon and; assenting of bills passed by the legislature before becoming laws.**

### c) The Judiciary

Interpretation of the laws of the land as passed by the legislature is the principal function of this organ of government. It is equally the function of this organ of government to ensure strict adherence to the principles of rule of law and sanctity of the constitution of the nation. This organ equally performs the following functions:

- *Punishment of offenders.*
- *Adjudication of disputes between individuals and the state, and disputes between and among different tiers of government.*
- *Appraisal of the acts of both the legislature and the executive and possible declaration of such acts as null and void in cases of aberration.*
- *Administration of oaths of office to public officers both elected and appointed.*
- *Making of laws through judicial precedents.*

The catalyst put in place for the independent but expected collaborative existence of these organs of government is the doctrine of separation of powers. This is discussed below.

## VI. THE DOCTRINE OF SEPARATION OF POWERS

This doctrine, according to which powers refer to the legislative, executive and judicial powers of the government, happens to be an essential feature of constitutional government. It was first expounded by a French political philosopher, Jean Bodin in the sixteenth century in his book entitled "*The Republic*" (Khan et al, 1972 Akindele et al, 1998, 2000).

A variant of this doctrine was later in the seventeenth century expounded by the first English philosopher, John Locke, who, at that time was concerned with making sure that only one power-**the legislative power be divided between the king and the parliament**. Even, before John Locke, another seventeenth century political theorist, James Harrington in his "*Academia*" (1634) had advocated a more abstract notion of a necessary balance of power.

It was this doctrine of the separation of powers which created the incentive to diverge from the orthodox or conventional method of combining monarchy, aristocracy and democracy which had been the practice or common political thought since the times of Aristotle and Polybius. Moreover, this doctrine was actually and formally propagated and popularized by Montesquieu in his eighteenth century "*Esprit des Lois*" (i.e., The Spirit of Laws) (1748). Montesquieu drew a sharp and logical distinction between and among the legislative, executive and judicial powers, and insisted that they should be handled by distinct and independent bodies of government.

Following his propagation of this doctrine, it was given institutional expression in many constitutions. The precursor in this area at that time was the United States of America. The United States' constitution of 1787 was a landmark in the practical adoption of the doctrine of separation of powers to governmental institutional arrangement. But, it was most fully elaborated in the United States by John Adams who, in a refined manner, adopted it through the flexible doctrine of checks and balances in the quest for much desired collaboration among the three organs without any undue erosion of each other's powers or areas of relevance in the governance process. Also the French constitution of the revolutionary era as well as various Monarchical constitutions of Western Europe in post-Napoleonic period gave recognition to the doctrine of separation of powers.

The doctrine of the separation of powers rests on the notion that powers and functions of government may be divided into three-(Legislative, Executive and Judicial)-in order to remove the possibility of a situation whereby any of the organs will be too strong for the other in the execution or performance of their respective governmental functions or duties. The rationale for this separation was predicated on the assumption that if the powers exercised by each of these organs are concentrated in one hand, tyranny would be the result and this would jeopardize the civil rights. Thus, the central core or idea of the doctrine of separation of powers has since being that the same person or body should not make the laws, enforce them and pass judgment on violators.

The need to ensure the effectiveness and/or productive collaboration among these organs for effective public service delivery and, without erosion of each other's relevance in the governance and service delivery processes brought about the political mechanism of the doctrine of checks and balances.

## VII. THE DOCTRINE OF CHECKS AND BALANCES

This doctrine is a complement to the doctrine of separation of powers. How it became a complement of this doctrine is traceable to the idea that each organ should and will be a check on the others. Thus the idea of checks and balances became a provision of the means through which the different organs of government can check the powers of one another and balance them in such a manner that tyranny, despotism, oppression, domination, violation of fundamental human rights and civil liberties are not encouraged.

Doctrine of checks and balances usually exists between the Legislature and the Executive in the areas of legislative control of the Executive namely: budget approval; appointments; declaration of wars; ratification

of treaties, amendment of the constitution; impeachment; accountability and transparency; refusal, delay or approval of measures proposed by the Executive. Even though, the Executive cannot impose its views in most cases, on the Legislature, it has some measures of control over the Legislature in the areas like the passage of bills into laws. In fact, the Executive can always refuse its signature to a bill or any bill it considers to be unconstitutional or too harsh for the citizens.

The Judiciary as the third organ can also check both the Executive and the Legislature if and whenever their actions are deemed illegal. And the Judiciary is also vulnerable to both the executive and the legislative control if not in all respects but, in the areas of appointment and promotions of Judges. The abuse of this control mostly by the Executives in most developing polities, have brought about some further measures serving as inhibitors to some extent to ensure that the Judiciary is clearly allowed to function as the last hope of the common people. An example of such measures was the establishment in Nigeria of the Nation Judicial Commission which, has to some extent, performed creditably to justify the confidence of Nigerians as far as the independence and fairness of the judicial organ are concerned.

Put together, the idea behind the principles of checks and balances is the protection and safeguarding of individual liberty and freedom through its discouragement of and prevention of nepotism, tyranny, despotism and abuses of power. This doctrine was and still not meant for solving personal, ideological and political scores as most dead-wood and free-loading political actors may wish to believe in their quest for illicit and idiosyncratic political ends.

The practical reality or utility of these mechanisms-(Doctrines of separation of powers and checks and balances) in ensuring the true workability of the organs -(Legislative; Executive and Judicial) - of government in the quest for effective public service delivery and politics of hope for the people varies from one political system to the other depending on the nature and exigencies of each polity's practical politics and understanding of it as a means for improving the lots of the citizenry rather than those of the political actors as it has being in most developing polities Nigeria inclusive due to the dangerous adherence to apolitical understanding of politics or the perception of the latter in the context of what it is not in spite of the need for the opposite. This is put into perspective by the analysis of the subject matter of what is politics and what it is not politics in the immediate section below.

## VIII. THE CONCEPT OF POLITICS: WHAT IT IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT

The concept of politics can be multidimensionally analyzed. It can be looked at as an art and, at the same time looked at as a discipline. But, whichever way one looks at it, politics is a concept which has not been free from disputations ranging from academic, ideological to philosophical. Thus, one can argue that one of the multifaceted problems often encountered is the lack of consensus regarding the actual conception of politics.

This tendency has generated different typifications of politics (as an art and one of the central concerns of political science). These typifications range from "*politics is a dirty game*", "*government by deceit*" to its conception as the "*process at work everywhere*". In short, the concept of politics and, its study (political science) have never been free from both ignorant and intellectual disputations. Generally, the historical development of politics as an art and as a discipline can be retrospectively traced to the ancient Greek period of city-states during which Plato, Aristotle and some of their Greek contemporaries deemed the affairs of the polis – (due to the then intricacies of human political relationship) - worthy of a master science – (Political Science). During this classical period, Aristotle claimed that human Self realization is dependent on political relationship. On the same token, he claimed that "*man is a political animal*" and that politics form the bases of human Social existence because the *interaction of two or more people is synonymous to Political relationship*. Various scholars of international repute have equally addressed the issue of politics vis-à-vis human existence in the Society.

In spite of these disputations, it is an empirical fact that politics (as an art) *structures our lives, explains man's existence as a member of organized human society*, determines our socio-political, psycho-socio-economic, geo-political and ethno-cultural positions and dictates our options due to its embracing characteristics. This being the case, it is the belief here that politics is very embracing and that it involves *competition for public goods, authoritative decisions, compliance and distribution and use of power over human activities in our societies*. Hence, as afore elucidated, many Scholars have defined politics (as an art and as a discipline) in the attempt to provide understanding to our practical involvement in the art of governance and our regard for the institutional paraphernalia of democracy. For an example, Williams Crane and Bernard Moses (1983) have analytically and practically defined politics. To them, analytically, politics deals with the "State as an organism for the concentration and distribution of political powers of the Nation" and, practically, it deals with the "form and substance of actions".

On his own, Alfred de Grazia (1965), defined politics (as an art) as the events that happen around the decision-making centre of government while the study of these connotes his (De Grazia) own definition of Politics as a discipline. In addition to the foregoing, David Easton (1957), defined politics (as an art) as the authoritative allocations of scarce societal values for the society while Harold Lasswell (1958), defined it as the determination of who gets what? When? Where? How? and Why? The materialists on the other hand viewed politics as the struggle between social classes for the control of the state or institutions of the state. The structure within which the struggle takes place is regarded as the political. This conception of politics tends to emphasize the role of economic interest and class conflict in the practice of politics and in the actions of political actors.

Politics is empirical and it deals with the shaping and sharing of power hence, it is studied and analyzed by political scientists. Not minding the divergent views, politics is omnipresent and, it is actually the relationship between the "*rulers and the ruled*" that ranges from conflict to compliance. It does not exist in a vacuum but within a *political system*. It is on this basis that *political life* is taken to mean a *system of activities* ranging from *support and demands or feedback* from the *environment to policy outputs or governmental decisions*. The concept of power is very crucial to the ordering of priorities involved in politics. This explains why David Apter (1977), claimed that "politics requires the learning of power because *human lives take shape and meaning within authoritative boundaries*. This shows that politics includes "*the procedures through which governments, groups and individuals decide how to spend the money of the state and how behaviour will be limited*" (Danziger, 1994: 5). Generally, common definitions of politics are:

- Politics is the exercise of power
- Politics is the public allocation of things that are valued
- Politics is the resolution of conflict
- Politics is the competition among individuals and groups pursuing their interests
- Politics is the organizations and people who make and implement public policies
- Politics is the determination of who gets what, when, how, (where, and why) (Ibid).

These orthodox and universally acclaimed conceptions of politics on both fronts, and, particularly on the practical front notwithstanding, its understanding and practice in Nigeria had, and, continues to take disturbing exceptions. This assertion finds a deep-seated solace in the past and contemporary developments within the Nigerian body politic or political landscapes which had constantly, in spite of its ruins, taken politics to be what it is not and what it can never

be. These apolitical syndromes, to some extent, were principally responsible for the cyclic civil-military-civil rulership political developments in Nigeria and the resultant periodic faulty planning transitions and, their accompanying heart aches, a major example of which was the annulment of June 12, 1993 Presidential Election and its debilitating effects on Nigeria and Nigerians which began to wane though, not at the expected speed, since the commencement of the Fourth Republic in May, 1999.

A retrospective historical analysis of political events in Nigeria shows a disturbing picture in terms of the poverty of political wisdom and constant disregard for the conventional mannerism of practical politicking. Concretely, this analysis shows that ignorance, indifference, parochialism, conservatism, political brigandage, blind ideological persuasion, intolerance, parasitic political philosophy, megalomania syndromes, treatment of political opponents as nonentities, feelings of hereditary-political supremacy by some political actors, political arrogance as a combination, had, and, continues to consistently dictate the character and pace of political activities in Nigeria.

In Nigeria, the concept of government and opposition which has traditionally formed the core of practical politics and, which has gained international or universal acclamation has been unrepentantly abused. Instead of embracing this international or universal acceptance in Nigeria, it is tied to regionalism, ethnicity, cultural heterogeneity, cultural polarization, ostracism and tribal loyalties. The nation's politics and its accompanying activities have been characterized by political vendetta, corruption, son of the soil philosophy, politics of expediency, enthronement of regional loyalties, conferment of pseudo-legitimacy, institutionalized disrespect for economic and financial solvency of the nation, unprovoked liquidation of human lives, political shenanigans, arson and wanton destruction of properties, contractor-controlled political machinery, election rigging, annulment of election, unethical impeachment of elected political actors, stifling of judicial independence and its accompanying cooptation of the judiciary, politics of hopelessness and many other vices.

These disturbing characteristics existed unabated during the first three democratic Republics in Nigeria which were interrupted and dotted by military regimes and their aberrations. They even existed up to the commencement of the fourth Republic in 1999 the fourth phase of which commenced on 29 May, 2011 with the election of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan and the inauguration of the 7<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (Senate and the House of Representatives) (Akindele and Adeyemi, 2011(a); Akindele and Adeyemi, 2011(b)). These apolitical values are yet to be fully understood as inimical to the pursuit of politics of hope and creation of a healthy road map for economic development in

Nigeria by some of our political actors even, at this time of the third phase of the fourth Republic in spite of the seeming good, patriotic and nationalistic intention and, commitments of some of them to the need for servant leadership and its accompanying benefits.

These apolitical developments must be dealt with and taken care of for the Nigerian state to be amenable to politics of hope and attainment of the requisite mechanisms for effective public service delivery to the Nigerian people. This can be done through real commitment by the political actors and the Nigerian people who must always insist on doing things through appropriate mechanisms and routes. What to do in this regard forms the core of the discussion below.

## IX. WHAT TO DO TO ENSURE POLITICS OF HOPE AND EFFECTIVE PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY FOR NIGERIANS

The attainment and sustenance of politics of hope and its accompanying effective public service delivery for the Nigerian people are contingent on the needed existence of certain variables and values which are germane to the healthy authoritative allocation of scarce and critical societal values and resources. Certain things must be done to put these variables and values in place for the betterment of the people. Such things include: existence of good governance; budgetary sanity; professionalism of the public bureaucracies/administration and, collaboration among the three organs of government among. These are respectively discussed below.

## X. EXISTENCE OF GOOD GOVERNANCE

The concept of governance and its goodness or otherwise have been fully discussed in section two of this paper above hence, it is unnecessary to duplicate such analysis here. The points that need to be stressed here is that, to avail the Nigerian nation and its people the indispensable values of politics of hope and effective public service delivery, there must be a total commitment to good governance. With the pursuit of good governance in place, every other thing will follow.

## XI. BUDGETARY SANITY

The need for budgetary sanity in Nigeria and its relevance to the attainment and sustenance of politics of hope and provision of effective public service delivery are compelled by the problems that have been associated with the budgetary process in Nigeria as a result of the lackadaisical attitudes of our political actors to financial probity, accountability and transparency vis-à-vis the fiscal policies of the Nigerian state.

This way of life as it relates to the budget as a whole is very disturbing. There is the need to respect the budget as a tool of national fiscal control. It is our belief that, it is after the recognition of the budget as the only



translator of financial resources into human purposes that, its sectoral allocation could be specifically analyzed in terms of adequacy or otherwise, because once the whole is disregarded as we are now used to in Nigeria, it would be meaningless to dissipate energy on its components.

Our contention here, is grounded on the fact that, in Nigeria, emotional extra budgetary spending by Nigerian leaders at national, state and local levels has made it impossible for the past budgets to perform their predictive functions for the Nigerian economy despite their typifications as “budget of hope” “budget of reconstruction”, “budget of determination” and “budget of consolidation” among other euphemistic terminologies. These problems, apart from those associated with the undemocratic nature of the military regimes when they existed in Nigeria, are more pronounced during the democratic dispensations the nation has had so far due to Executive-Legislative rifts which have disregarded the needed collaboration between them. This way of life is greatly disturbing when viewed against the subject matter of the concept of budget within any given political system (Akindele and Adeyemi, 2010). As a matter of fact, the ability of the Nigerian state to inculcate the values of sane budgetary process and adopt the participatory budgetary method through political mechanism explainable within the context of the functional relevance of the three organs of government is, in part, dependent on the professionalism of the public bureaucracies and the practitioners within them. This is discussed below.

The Professionalism of Public Bureaucracies and Administration in Nigeria: *Its nexus with effective public service delivery and politics of hope.*

To start with, it is our contention that the issue of professionalism of the public bureaucracies and administration in Nigeria and, the determination of who is a professional public Administrator or Bureaucrat can be addressed and/or done through the dichotomy of “self-seeking bureaucrats” and “dedicated civil Servants”. The former usually called “the empire-building bureaucrats”, according to Musgrave and Musgrave (1973:123) “seek to maximize their power and/or income as determined by the size of their bureaus” while the latter “seek to contribute to an efficient operation of the public sector and to the public”. The self-serving bureaucrats (i.e. non professional public administrators) will:

- Ask for more funds than needed to perform a given function.
- Overstate the benefits to be derived from a given level of services.
- Inflate the total budget in anticipation of expected cutbacks (Ibid).

Conversely, the dedicated (professional) civil servants will provide technical expertise in the designing

of programs so as to enable decision – makers (elected government officials) to make intelligent choices, implement and operate programmes once they are enacted, provide an element of continuity to the governmental process, introduce a sense of rationality with the operation (of the governmental process). Given the foregoing, professional public administrators and their development in a democratic culture like Nigeria cannot be taken for granted without severe consequences for effective public service delivery and pursuit of politics of hope for the Nigerian people.

## XII. NEED FOR PROFESSIONALISM OF PUBLIC BUREAUCRACIES AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS IN NIGERIA

Gerth and Wright Mills (1972) once opined that the services of the “dedicated civil servants” or “civil service perspective civil servants” are very crucial to the functioning of the modern state and, to the designing and implementation of public policy”. The need for the development of professional public Administrators in Nigeria can be understood within the context of their instrumentality for the attainment of democratic benefits by ways of policy orientation that can address the inadequacy of our current democratic dispensation.

Through the attainment of professionalism our public bureaucrats will clearly be aware of the constant basic misconceptions of democracy, which may have hitherto, been negatively affecting the performance of their duties. More important, the need for the professionalisation of our Public Administrators in today’s democratic culture can be appreciated within the context of a perturbed Nigerian’s apprehension about what the civil servants (whom he referred to as those who work government) have now become:

*We grew up in the colonial days to know those who work for the government as servants of the public. On considering the current attitudes and role of the bureaucracy, we now find to our regret that the traditional but correct posture of government workers has disappeared. Within any known philosophy, bureaucracy exists to provide the congenial atmosphere for the promotion and survival of economic activities. Let government concentrate on the main business of running the government. Divest itself of over involvement in business operation for which it is ill-equipped. Reach-out and take entrepreneurs into confidence in their formulation of economic policies so that the views they formulate in their air conditioned rooms could be translated into reality by the entrepreneurs who are the risk takers (Oshobi, 2000:22).*

Not only this, the need for the development of professional administrators or professionalisation of the civil service at this time, can be further understood within

the parameters of the humiliation which the public administrators suffered in 1975 in the process of the government's deflation of its ascendancy as a potent social force whose perceptions, interests and actions were determinant in shaping policies and strategies under military rule" (Omoruyi, 1992: 10). This scholar's characterization of the civil service purge of 1975 gives credence to the detestation which the military at that time, had for the public Administrators. This can be seen within the context of his claim that:

*The 1975 purge of the Public Services gave a lie to the "commonality of characteristics and interests" explanation of military-civil service coalition government. What perhaps was significant about the massive purge of the Civil Service is the inference that the service was politically responsible for what General Murtala Muhammed characterised as the 'drift and indecision' of the later years of the Gowon administration which led to his overthrow. Put differently, the Civil Service was no longer considered neutral in political decision-making. If political bosses fall, then, their civil service advisers must equally fall. In this regard, the requirement of the civil service reforms that permanent secretaries should retire along with the regime which appointed them would appear to have laid its precursor in raison d'être of the 1975 purge (Ibid: 10-11).*

It can be reasonably, to some extent, deduced from the foregoing, that the issue of the development of professional Public Administrators for coping with the values of good governance and/or democracy is not alien to the Nigerian polity. Even though, its pedigree and, abrogation/deflation can hardly be examined in isolation from the policy initiatives of the military Regime of General Yakubu Gowon's Udoji Commission Report/Civil Service Reform of 1974 and Babangida's 1988 civil service reform, it held sway during the ill-fated third Republic which was never a full fledged democratic Republic because of its subservience to the military oligarchy. It equally almost came to fruition during the first two phases of this fourth Republic under the Obasanjo administration if not for its dilly-dallying and lack of real and purposeful commitment to such reform. The reform was equally abolished not minding its military pedigree by the same military though, under a different leader-General Sanni Abacha in 1995 (Imhanlahimhim and Edosa, 1999:521).

The development of professional public Administrators for the new democratic culture or democratic culture in Nigeria can only be understood and/or appraised within the context of the political character of the public service progenized by the new thinking that "politics is synonymous with public administration" or "public administration as politics". In other words, the challenges of this new thinking as earlier discussed in this paper have to be understood in

terms of the concrete dilemmas they have created for our Public Administrators.

Strangely, some of Public Administrators, ignorantly too, still cling to the outdated belief that they are neutral, anonymous, and impartial and above all, apolitical in the conduct of their official duties as Public Servants. In other words, the Political character of Public Administrators must not be taken for granted in the process of striving to make them true professionals. This is particularly so in that as Musgrave and Musgrave (Op. Cit: 124) once articulated.

*Civil servants not only are aids to elected representatives but they themselves affect the (policy outputs) and outcomes. In the conduct of government, as anywhere else, knowledge is power. Public programmes are complex and elected officials may have neither the time nor the expertise to analyse them. That branch of government which is backed by technical experts is thus at a greater advantage. Moreover, in rendering advice, the technician can hardly avoid (and may not wish to avoid introduction of his or her policy judgement. Similar considerations apply when it comes to the role of the civil servants in implementing policies after their enactment. Legislation is typically passed in more or less general terms and, its application to specific cases requires interpretation (usually in most cases, done by the civil servants who can hardly avoid and, may not wish to avoid the introduction of their values and personal policy judgement) – (Emphasis mine)*

There is no gainsaying the fact that Nigeria's public administration (or public Service) needs transformation into one that will be most efficient and professional in the real sense of it. The need for this transformation is decipherable from the standpoint of what Olowu (1989:62) termed the general perspective on the public service in Nigeria. According to this perspective:

*The public service of Nigeria will be transformed into one of the most efficient of its kind in the world. On the other hand the general perspective is that the public service has not justified the huge resources made available to it to transform the country. The poor performance of major public utilities, the failure of major government projects and the poor maintenance of governmental institutions as well as the growing incidence or knowledge of bureaucratic corruption have contributed to denude the public service of its grandeur. (ibid 62-63)*

This perspective among other things, led to the depiction at one point in time of Nigeria's public service thus:

*The civil service today is a battered institution which has virtually lost its vital attributes of anonymity,*

*neutrality and security of tenure; an institution in which morale has reached its nadir, in which excessive caution, undue bureaucratic practices and interminable delays have become the hall-marks of an institution seemingly resistant to dynamic changes, an institution which has become the object of constant public criticism. (ibid: 63).*

The need to reverse the foregoing makes it mandatory for our Public Administrators of today to be professional in all ramifications. The Public Administrators have to be professional in that, as Takaya (1985:151) once opined, they possess the “instruments of Public Administration” which are “the main agents of change that preconceive, designs, implements and coordinates the process of change in the society. Without doubt, they cannot but be professional because they are involved in “social engineering” that deals with “the action part of government, the means by which the purposes and goals of government are achieved. Not only this, they have to be professional because the social engineering in which they are constantly involved deals with:

- *Designing the process of the change from old to new (ideal) society*
- *Creation of new institutions*
- *The planning and regulation of the economic system.*
- *Rendering advice to and guiding the leaders of the political system and*
- *The setting of new norms and standard of morality to guide the society (ibid).*

### XIII. PROFESSIONALISM OF PUBLIC BUREAUCRACIES AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS IN NIGERIA: THE REQUIREMENTS

The professionalization of the Public Bureaucracies and the Practitioners within them, demands that certain requirements must be met and put in place. In other words, there are varieties of things to be done in this regard. This is more so considering the fact that the core of the environmental expectations from the bureaucracies and their functionaries occurs within the political space and, most especially in today's new democratic culture. Thus, we would contend that the discussion of the expectations from the professional Public Bureaucracies and the Bureaucrats within them rightly falls within the concept of democracy, its relevance and, indispensability in today's world of public administration. Thus, in order to be professional, our Public Administrators must, to begin with, understand what the challenges of democracy in the context of politics of hope and its propensity for effective public service delivery and, creation of the necessary road map

to economic development are today in Africa and, indeed, in Nigeria. As Kaunda (2002:1, 2), recently opined:

*The challenges of democracy in Africa are great because of the nature of the continent, its people, and its history. Africa is a complex continent requiring complex solutions in order to enable a democratic and fruitful life for its citizens to develop. Africa is not only the big continent it is, but has diverse cultures and experiences. At the same time, Africa has similarities Democracy and development are closely linked. We find that the ideal components of democracy, development, and peace are common in all these terms. Indeed, one is in the other. They are partial terms of the desired holistic state of human and world harmony.*

Arguing further, Kaunda (ibid: 2) claimed that:

*Democracy is a living process. In general, all over the world, democracy is enhanced or constrained by systems and practices found in a society. Ideally, for progress, these systems and practices must also be working effectively, at all times, and in all areas of human endeavour. Democratic systems and practices should involve all institutions and sectors of society. Included are the legislature, the executive, judiciary, the media, business, and civil society. The more independent and thoughtful a sector is the better for society. The quality of participation and enjoyment of human rights in a society is affected by how integrated and active the members are with the systems and practices of that society. A measurement of democracy is also how a society responds to the view of its members who are trying to be involved in deciding the collective direction of their society at a critical point.*

Our public Administrators must consider many factors to be able to meet the challenges of democracy. These challenges according to Kaunda (ibid:3), include: “physical geography of the place”, “population and density”, “ethnic diversity”, “Religion and spirituality”, “culture”, “language”, “colonial links”, “economic situation”, “political system”, and “people on the margins”. The issue of the “people on the margins” which is one of the factors identified in the immediate paragraph above is very important and relevant to the Nigerian political space and its administrative landscape. Thus, our public Administrators to be truly professional must understand and continue to strive to do so because:

*Governance and democracy is affected by how many people on the margins become actively involved in society's affairs. People on the margins have gone onto those areas because social and*

*governance systems have ejected them. They include women, the young the elderly and people from ethnic groups not favoured by others. The situation varies from culture to culture and from place to place. As in other parts of the world people on the margins are from various backgrounds, including those with disability and other special groups. Democratic practice requires the active involvement of all members of society (ibid: 4).*

The essence of this position is that our Public Administrators, to be called and regarded as real Professionals, must, in the performance of their duties, recognize that democratic culture calls for the protection of the minority rights. This is particularly so, in that as Buendia (1994:373), once stated; “the outcome of economic vulnerabilities, induced by global integration, (usually becomes) a local economic conflict with ethnic colour.” Kothari (1989:36) had once advanced the reasons for this thus:

*Developmentalism, as economism, has become a source of new economic vulnerabilities, and new inequalities. In multi-ethnic societies, where overlap has existed between religious and regional identities and economic functions, issues of economic insecurity and contradictions are very conveniently transformed by the elite into issues of ethnic, caste and religious issues.*

Given the foregoing, to be able to deal with this kind of issue, our Public Administrators (if they are professional) must understand the asymmetrical aspirations of the people in the democratic environment. This is particularly desirous of their understanding because:

*Evidently, it is not simply diversity which is responsible for strife in view of the fact that divergent groups have existed, had lived for centuries but conflicts did not reach the grandiose scale and intensity as it has attained in the age of post-industrialism. However, what is new in the current era of post-modernism are the processes involved which made cultural identity incompatible with diversity and made cultural identity a means to gain economic survival and power. Ostensibly, the sharpened conflicts, not between classes as the Marxists expected but between ethnic grouping - one who holds political and economic power on one hand, and those marginalized who aspire to redeem their lost power on the other hand - are reactions against the centralism of the state which tries to homogenize the entire polyethnic society under a single dominant culture held by the power-wielders in order to effectively respond to the imperatives of world capitalism (Buendia: op cit 373-374).*

Kothari (op cit: 16) further puts this into perspective thus:

*Ethnicity is a response – including reaction – to the excesses of the modern project of shaping the whole humanity (and its natural resources base), around the three pivots of world capitalism, the State system and a ‘world culture’ based on modern technology, a pervasive communications and information order and a ‘universalising’ educational system. The project of modernity entails a new mode of homogenising and of straight jacketing the whole world.*

More important, our public Administrators, to be professional within our democratic culture must understand that “the application of standards embodying the values of only one culture over the other cultures is indeed an affront to the latter” (Buendia, op cit). Thus, they should have at the back of their minds, the need to redress some of the pitfalls of the fundamental assumptions of democracy in the performance of their official duties because, as Clark (1999:2) contends “democracies around the world are being swept by a new form of politics guided more by issues than by traditional distinction between liberal and conservative positions”. Concretely, their own interpretation of democracy must understand the need, due to the increasing complexities of our societies, to redefine the fundamental assumptions of mass democracy. They should and must understand that democracy:

*Must not only guarantee the democratic rights of the majority but assure the minority of their rights to differ from the majority. These are without any obligation on the part of the former to yield their rights and abide by the he erosion of identity and survival of ethnic groups. Otherwise, the minority would simply be persecuted by the majority.*

*The persistence of a mosaic of ethnic groups who operate in accordance with their own rules and perseveres in their legitimate rights to self-governance either outside or within the realm of the State is slowly giving rise to “mosaic democracy” as distinguished from mass democracy. Mosaic democracy appears to correspond to the mosaics in the economy and diversified or “de-mystified” peoples needs and political demands. (Ibid: 382).*

To be professional, our Public Administrators today must fully imbibe the code of conduct of their professional bodies (e.g. the Institute of Public Administration of Nigeria), set in line with the undercurrents and demands of contemporary trends in public administration. By virtue of their training, they must continuously strive to ensure public accountability as a sine-qua-non to their administrative behaviour.

They must, and, should not allow themselves to be captured by the temptations of the now obviously erroneous and deliberate view or doctrine that they are apolitical and neutral tools of policy implementation for the ruling class (i.e. political Actors) on behalf of the citizenry. Captivity by this belief would make them to unfortunately take for granted the possibility of another tomorrow or post retirement problems that may arise should the need develop for the public to revisit the balance sheet of their conducts while fully engaged. Our public Administrators, today, to be professional in our democratic political culture must understand that, as Appleby (1952) articulated:

*Personal Ethics in the public service is compounded of mental attitudes and moral qualities. Both ingredients are essential, Virtue without understanding can be quite as disastrous as understanding without virtue.*

*The three essential mental attitudes are: (1) a recognition of the moral ambiguity of all men and of all public policies, (2) a recognition of the contextual forces which condition moral priorities in the public service, and (3) a recognition of the paradoxes of procedures. The essential moral qualities of the ethical public servant are: (1) optimism, (2) courage, and (3) fairness tempered by charity. These mental and moral qualities are relevant to all public servants in every branch and at every level of government. They are as germane to judges and legislators as they are to executives and administrators. They are as essential to line officers as to staff officers. They apply to state and local official as well as to national and international officials. They are needed in military, foreign, and other specialized services quite as much as they are needed in the career civil service and among political executives. They, of course, assume the virtue of probity and the institutional checks upon venality which Appleby has so brilliantly elaborated. They are the generic attitudes and qualities without which big democracy cannot meaningfully survive.*

To be professional in the new democratic culture, our Public Administrators must, and, should do away with corruption and proclivities for it which are closely linked with capital flight that is, an unethical leakage of capital from one country to another (PA-Net, 2000). It is necessary for them to do this, because, corruption is a threat to democratic culture. As Kukah (1995:96) once argued "corruption remains the most invidious obstacle to stability in Nigeria both under the military any civilians.

The attainment of professionalism within the landscapes of the institutional and practical public service in Nigeria will definitely enhance effective public service delivery for the Nigerian people subject to the existence of politics of hope within the Nation's political

space. However, given the issues and/or factors that have been variously identified and articulated in this paper, the attainment of the goals of effective service delivery; politics of hope and, creation of a worthy road map to economic development within the Nigerian state is anchored on the collaborative nature of the relationship among the relevant units or agencies of the state particularly the three organs of government. Thus, it is our contention that collaboration among the three organs of government in Nigeria is needed because it is very important and crucial to the attainment and sustenance of politics of hope and effective public service delivery for the Nigerian people and, creation of useful economic road map for the Nation.

There is no doubt that the ability of any nation to do this, and, get out of policy issues/problems can hardly be explained or analyzed in isolation from administrative competence, and politically responsive policy implementation in the fullest sense of democratic practice and process. Holistically relevant and indispensable policies have been more often than not implemented by public servant/Administrators in most polities of the (developed) world. Thus, Nigeria cannot and must not be an exception or, remain behind. The ability of her public service to meet the challenges associated with the efforts these duties often demand is a key to her existential relevance today and beyond. To be able to exist beyond today, Nigeria's public service and its practitioners must hasten to grasp with the "most important feature of contemporary public administration" which, as recently noted: "is the declining relationship between jurisdiction and public management" (Fredrickson, 1999:1).

It has equally been further argued that:

*"Jurisdictions of all types-nation-states, states, provinces, cities, counties, and special districts – are losing their borders. Economic activity, which was once at least somewhat "local" in the sense of being contained within the borders of a jurisdiction, is increasingly multi-jurisdictional or non-jurisdictional. Investments, production, and consumption are seldom geographically contained, and this trend is destined to increase. The new global economy is sometimes described as "the end of geography." The revolution in telecommunications has forever altered the meaning of physical space and thereby forever altered the importance of borders and boundaries, a primary element of the idea of jurisdiction. These changes in economics and telecommunications have changed human social relationships, particularly relationships between those who are educationally, economically, and politically significant, and their "residence" or their "citizenship." These people are linked less and less to a single specific locale or jurisdiction and are*

*linked more and more bicoastally, transnationally, and globally (Frederickson, 1999 and Strange, 1996).*

Not only this, “public administration is steadily moving away from theories (of clash of interests, of electoral and interest group competition) toward (theories of) co-operation, networking, governance and institution building and maintenance (Frederickson 1999). To some extent now, in the contemporary period, public administration is referred to as public management with a broad based redefinition of “what it means to be public”: In the history of traditional public administration, the public was usually understood to mean “government.” Public management is now understood to include government but also all of those organizations and institutions that contract with government to do governmental work, those institutions and organizations that are essentially public serving--the so-called nongovernmental organizations--and the wide range of organizations and institutions that are essentially quasi-governmental in their relationship with citizens--such as privately held utilities. The distinctions between institutions that are essentially public in character and institutions that are private and profit making are now fuzzy. Modern public management has developed a nuanced conception of institutions that are governmental, nonprofit, and corporate, but also primarily public serving, on the one hand, and institutions that are clearly profit making and in an identifiable market, on the other hand” (Frederickson, 1999).

There is no gainsaying the fact the foregoing issues have created “contours of modern management and a specter of problems quite beyond the capacity of those (public servants) expected to cope with them. Nigeria's public service to be relevant for today and survive for tomorrow and beyond must first of all be knowledgeable about the problems and their linkage with the disarticulation of the state as already elucidated here-in. They must be particularly abreast of “new institutionalism” “network theory” and “governance theory” as mechanisms specifically designed to solve, ameliorate or “at least address the issues associated with the disarticulation of the state, high jurisdictional and disciplinary fragmentation and diminished bureaucratic capacity” (Ibid: 4). Generally and specifically, the public service in Nigeria at this time of the new millennium, must be knowledgeable about the current trends and the position of Public Administration in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Schiavo-Campo and Sundaram, 2001) particularly within the context of globalization and its “impact on most dimensions of government administration in most countries and constraints or the ability of national governments to act independently”, which, we have earlier highlighted in this paper. Above all, the future of the public service in Nigeria, even

though, specifically and concretely dependent to a significant extent, on compliance with the dictates and complexities of the technologically based villagized world and its thesis and/or constitution, can actually be guaranteed by the adherence of the practitioners (i.e., the Public Servants/Administrators) to the ethical obligations and codes of conducts” which from our perspective remain the indispensable pillars of the public service. These ethical obligations include the following (which are far from being exhaustive): loyalty, accountability, courtesy and respect, discipline and integrity, honesty and impartiality and, confidentiality” (Shellukindo and Baguma op cit: 26).

It is through respect for these obligations, that the degeneration and/or erosion of public service ethics which has been variously contextualized in terms of the ascendancy of corruption and proclivities for Kleptocracy by public officials in the course of performing their official duties can be reversed for the sustainability of the Nation's public service for today and the future. The sustainability is equally dependent on the provision of enabling environment by the State for the realization of what has been termed practical agenda for promoting ethics and accountability in contemporary African public service (Rasheed, 1993:289). These include: fostering and promoting enabling conditions of service to enhance professional and ethical standards; advancing and affirming sound policies on recruitment, training and public personnel management, encouraging public service occupational associations to play a leading role in institutionalizing professional values and defending occupational interests; promoting a psychology of service in political and public life; upholding the integrity and effectiveness of public institutions of accountability; fostering popular participation to ensure the accountability of governance (Ibid).

We found the provision of this enabling environment germane to the success and future of the Nigerian public service because, as Ake (1993) once observed:

*Our problem is not so much a problem of character defect or ethical failure as it is one of misunderstanding arising from decontextualizing and dehistoricizing social phenomena. We are making judgments based on false analogies and false comparisons on the separation of meaning from social context, behaviour from cultural milieu, and action from social structures. Our judgments are based on representations especially the perception that the Western State, and its correlates, market society and bureaucratic organization exist in Africa or ought to exist. They are not based on the realities on the ground.*

To our mind, the realities on ground do not exculpate the political angle of the policy process in our

democratic culture where, politics according to Ake (Ibid: 15), is not a peaceful competition for the control and exercise of state power ostensibly in the public interest but rather a bitter struggle among political factions for the appropriation and privatization of state power". This type of bitter struggle and competition can be minimized if not totally removed from the Nigerian political space or landscape through purposeful collaboration among the organs of government that will not be an end in itself but a means to a people-oriented ends that will benefit all and sundry and, which will create room for economic development. This collaboration which is needed among the three organs of government in Nigeria for the betterment of the Nigerian people is the subject of analysis below.

#### XIV. THE NEED FOR COLLABORATION AMONG THE THREE ORGANS - (LEGISLATURE, EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIARY) - OF GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA

In order for Nigeria and Nigerians to attain and benefit from "**politics of hope**" and its usually accompanying provision of "**effective public service delivery**" and, creation of workable road map to economic development there must be unity of purpose among the nation's horizontal organs of government. This unity calls for collaboration among them. This collaboration can be brought about through many means depending on the nature of the political system and its exigencies from time to time. However, what we consider relevant for attaining this in Nigeria forms the subject matter of discussion in this section.

The first thing to be done in this regard is to truly understand and embrace the need for collaboration and, where relevant actors both at the governmental/political and citizenry levels stand in the scheme of things within the landscape of the political system. This is more so because, the indispensability of the criteria of "*good governance*", "*good economics*", "*sane budgetary process*", "*participatory budgeting*", "*professionalism of the public bureaucracies and the practitioners within them*", "*cordiality of political actors and actions among the three organs of government*", to the attainment and sustenance of "*effective public service delivery*" and "*politics of hope*" for the Nigerian people compels the need for collaboration. This collaboration among various administrative and governmental units is in line with the imperatives of today's **existential globalism** which clearly constrains unproductive and arrogant independence, individualism or isolationism in preference for collaborative efforts can only be taken for granted at any nation's perils.

This need is further compelled by the quest for efficient and effective public policies and the need to sustain them for the benefits of the people in most

polities of today's global village. In fact, the constant erosion of the virtual monopoly of state powers and/or, the continuous shrinkage of such powers as a result of the thesis of globalization and its subscription to public sector networks calls for collaboration that is geared towards economic development and its mechanism of good governance which is clearly predicated on the **four pillars** of "*accountability*"; "*transparency*"; "*predictability*" and; "*participation*".

Generally, the developments across international borders which are not without their impacts on individual states' internal governmental structures and processes further compel the kind of collaboration under discussion here. It is interesting to note that today, public administration in the modern form is a key element in the effectiveness of government hence, the need for its professionalization in Nigeria as articulated above.

#### XV. THE NATURE OR TYPE OF COLLABORATION NEEDED AMONG THE THREE ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA

The collaboration needed among the three organs of government in Nigeria is expected to be positive particularly in the interest of the citizenry. In most developing countries Nigeria inclusive, collaboration among these organs has, in most cases, been very disadvantageous to the people in terms of policy decision and outputs.

This has been largely due to corruption and the unrepentant proclivities for same. Through such negative collaborations the hopes of the masses had often been dashed. None of the organs could be excused from this in some of these polities in the past. In such situations which had existed with arrogance in Nigeria to some extent, the Executive and Legislative arms have been known to have expediently connived to the detriment of the citizenry while the Judicial arm had, in the process been co-opted to dash the hope and aspirations of the people through deliberate misinterpretation(s) of the laws/constitution of the land and questionable judicial decisions/pronouncements.

The reverse of this negative trend which existed in Nigeria even up to the first phase of the fourth Republic is what is now required in today's Nigeria. And, to some extent, things appeared to have been moving in the positive direction with the commencement of the second phase of the fourth Republic though, not without some apparent hiccups in the legislative-executive relations which have had their impacts on the policy processes and their attendant outputs. More important, the judicial organ in Nigeria appeared to have clearly started the process of emancipating itself from the manacle of executive strangulation towards the end of the second phase of the fourth Republic. This is

exemplified by the landmark decisions or judgments particularly in the context of the deliberate misunderstanding by the executive of the pendulum of power and, the struggle for its possession within the executive arm (i.e., the Presidency) on the one hand and, in the context of the electoral process as it affected the franchise or suffrage of Nigerians and the political actors or gladiators.

Succinctly put, a positive collaboration among these organs of government is what is expected and needed in Nigeria. What to do in this regard to foster the attainment and sustenance of politics of hope, effective public service delivery and economic development forms the core of the analysis in the next section below to which we now turn.

## XVI. WHAT TO DO THROUGH COLLABORATION AMONG THE THREE ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA

In order for the Public Bureaucracies and the Practitioners within them to be relevant and provide the requisite guidance and technocratic road map for the political actors in the quest for effective public service delivery and politics of hope for Nigeria and the Nigerian people in the context of real economic development, the collaboration in focus must encompass friction-free existence among the three organs of government and, particularly between the Executive and the Legislative organs as it affects the fiscal policy and politics of the State.

To begin with, the Legislative and Executive organs of government as key decision makers on the budget have not been really able to perform their respective functions in the budgetary process due to the unwarranted problems of role and powers misconception and flexing of political muscles which has been to the disadvantage of the citizenry over the years. In the process, the issues of funds, its allocation and control have been expediently politicized. It appears that both actors in the budgetary decision making at all levels of the nation's political landscape (local, state and federal) do not really understand their roles, powers and, limitations. In most cases, these political actors (the Legislators and the Presidency) had, in the past and, even at present abused the system of democratic governance to the extent of using the mandate freely given to them by the citizens as a device for settling expedient political differences between and among themselves. These political gladiators have in most cases, abused the provisions of Chapter V Sections 80-89 (for the National Assembly) and Sections 120-129 (for the States Assembly) and, Chapter VI Sections 162-168 (for the Federal Executive) of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as they affect the powers and control over public funds or public revenue.

These respective allocated constitutional powers have not been dispassionately used in most cases by the affected organs of government. None of these organs can actually be exculpated from these abuses. In most cases, the Executive arms at the National and state levels have been subjected to avoidable trauma by the legislative arms. The Executive arms are sometimes asked to seek approval for projects in all ramifications even when such projects have already been approved in the budget(s). This attitude is untenable in the sense that such unrestricted policing may lead to redundancy and double approval for some programmes/projects. Attachment of too much importance to words like "ratification", "authorization", "approving", "ensuring" etc by the lawmakers in some cases without the expected understanding of the fact that these words are only meant to provide for a balance of power in the nation's democratic landscape are contributory factors to these problems.

It is important to stress the fact that the lawmakers' ambiguous uses and interpretations of these words and words like "vetting" and "monitoring" as synonyms for the word "approval" are parts of the causal factors of these problems. The constancy of these problems within the Nigerian political space once led to an observation that:

*Monitoring is the appraisal of performance which takes place during various stages of execution...the primary motive of budget monitoring is to assess as the implementation progress, the degree of the achievement of original objective with a view to correcting any negative variance (and, as such, it does not call for fresh or any approval) (Adelowokan 1991).*

In other words, the Legislative organ in Nigeria at the three-tier levels must be allowed to perform their constitutional roles or functions as they affect the "power of the purse" which is "an incontestable fundamental put in place to ensure that the revenue and spending measures it authorizes are fiscally sound" in terms of "matching the needs of the population with the available resources" so as not to engage in "a total waste of time" (Nzekwu, op cit). It must equally be allowed to perform its functions of checks and balances which "are necessary to ensure good governance in budgeting in the medium to long term, which requires the answerability of the executive to the legislative and, the ability of the latter to take appropriate actions in cases of poor performance" (Ibid.). The Legislative organ should equally be allowed to play its role of openness and transparency, participation and consensus building as well as that of budget policy impact.

These legislative roles call for Executive tolerance particularly on the required publicity of the drafting process which has traditionally elicited hostilities of the executive organ towards the legislative organ.



These roles equally call for legislative organ's provision of suitable *"platform for establishing broad based consensus"* on views and inputs into budget decisions *"with regard to difficult budgetary trade offs"*. It should equally be allowed to exercise a *"significant influence on budget policy"* instead of merely rubber stamping *"executive draft budgets without any changes"* which even up till now has characterized *"most state houses of assembly"* in Nigeria. If the Legislative organ in Nigeria is allowed to perform its roles and functions identified and analyzed above, the factors *(both internal and external)* like *"instability"*; *"deficiencies in the structures and processes of legislative budgeting"*; *"inadequacy of technical advisory capacity"*; *"deficient legislative budget research capacity"*; *"presidential arrogance/nature of the political system"*; *"over reliance of/on executive decisions"*; *"skewed electoral incentives"*; *"fragmented political party system/structure"*; *"fuzzy delineation of government-party lines"*; *"defective legislative oversight and external auditing"* (Ibid. *Some of my own emphases are included*) would be minimized if not totally removed.

Generally, in the performance of their roles, the executive and the legislative organs must ensure that they strive for the balancing of their struggles and/or, "impulses for independence with the need to be fiscally responsible". The extent and nature of the executive-legislative relations is largely dependent on the nature of this balancing act and its maintenance. The essence of this has been summed up thus:

*Strengthening parliaments' (legislatures') fiscal capacities and budgetary responsibilities would certainly help parliaments (legislatures) enhance their role and influence in the budgetary process in a fiscally responsible way, including streamlining legislative procedures, reforming the committee system, strengthening party caucuses, or reinforcing advisory and research capacities (Ibid. Emphases are mine).*

As for the Judicial organ, both the Executive and Legislative organs should allow it to perform its constitutional role without political arrogance or, stifling the organ with their constitutional leverage over it in terms of appointments of the Judges, their remunerations, enactment of laws and, enforcement of judicial decisions/judgments, most of which have happened and continued to happen and/or, take place on a daily basis within the Nation's political landscape. More importantly, both the Executive and Legislative organs should and must learn to abide by and obey all judicial decisions/judgment not only those that affect them positively or, help them to do their apolitical bids either ethical or unethical within the Nation's political space.

## XVII. CONCLUSION

We have examined the nexus of collaboration among the three organs of government with the provision of effective public service delivery and politics of hope for Nigeria and the Nigerian people in this paper. In the process, we elucidated the concept of governance and dichotomized it into two (good and bad governance) with detailed analysis of the imperatives of both and, their implications for the citizenry in any nation like Nigeria.

We argued that good governance is central to the attainment of a healthy political system erected on positive collaboration among the three organs of government in the quest for finding political fulfillment for the citizens in any country like Nigeria. And, that for this fulfillment to be attained and sustainable there is need for sane budgetary process and professionalization of the public bureaucracies and the practitioners within them in addition to the existence of good governance. The essence of these – *(sane budgetary process and, professionalism of the public bureaucracies and the bureaucrats within them)* – for effective public service and, politics of hope was respectively analyzed.

Against this analytical background, it is our contention that, for effective public service delivery and politics of hope to be attained in a polity like Nigeria, there is need for collaboration among the three organs of government. This can only meaningfully come to fruition in the absence of political arrogance, arrogance of powers which are backed or supported with commitment to a holistic pursuit of national aspirations and/or, agenda. In other words, the attainment of effective public service delivery and politics of hope in Nigeria can be actually enhanced through the catechism of servant leadership. The essence of this can be appreciated against the thesis of servant leadership which has seen many organizations to greatness within many polities of the world which is synoptically analyzed at this concluding part of the paper.

## XVIII. THE THESIS OF SERVANT-LEADERSHIP

The concept of servant leadership is not all that new in our organizational world or to the lexicon of organizational discourses. As a matter of fact, its pedigree can be traced back to about four decades. Specifically, the concept was developed in 1970 by Robert K. Greenleaf ([www.greenleaf.org](http://www.greenleaf.org); [www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership](http://www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership)). Servant leaders provide services – through committed stewardship spirit – to the people. They serve the people they lead. To a servant leader, employees/subordinates are an "end in themselves rather than a means to an organizational purpose" (Ibid.). Specifically, servant leaders have been taken to mean people or leaders who:

*devote themselves to serving the needs of organization members, focus on meeting the needs those they lead, develop employees to bring out the best in them, coach others and encourage their self expression, facilitate personal growth in all who work with them, listen and build a sense of community*  
([www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership](http://www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership)).

According to Greenleaf (1970, [www.greenleaf.org](http://www.greenleaf.org)):

*The servant-leader is servant first... It begins with the natural feeling that one wants to serve, to serve first. The conscious choice brings one to aspire to lead. That person is sharply different from one who is leader first, perhaps because of the need to assuage an unusual power drive or to acquire material possessions... The leader-first and the servant-first are two extreme types. Between them there are shadings and blends that are part of the infinite variety of human nature.*

This scholar went further to identify the difference between the “servant-first leaders” and “leader-first leaders” thus:

*The difference manifests itself in the care taken by the servant-first to make sure that other people’s highest priority needs are being served. The best test, and difficult to administer, is: Do those served grow as persons? Do they, while being served, become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, more likely themselves to become servants? And, what is the effect on the least privileged in society? Will they benefit or at least not be further deprived*  
([www.greenleaf.org](http://www.greenleaf.org);  
[www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership](http://www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership)).

Without doubt, looking at the thesis of servant-leadership, it can be articulated to some extent that its undercurrent philosophy is critically relevant to the attainment of organizational goal and; as a matter of fact, the concept of servant-leadership has enhanced the ability of organizations to reach their full potential. Through it “servant leaders” are felt to be effective because the needs of followers are so looked after that they (often) reach their full potential”. Even though, the concept of servant leadership has been criticized through the assertion that “serving people’s needs creates the image of being slavish or subservient” and/or “that it is not a very positive image”, the principles of servant leadership has been characterized as admirable  
([www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership](http://www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership)).

The criticism of servant-leadership notwithstanding, it has become one of the operational cornerstones of most organizations today. This has been largely so because servant-leaders “view others (subordinates) as friends not as servants and, they

interact with them in a spirit of openness, humility and vulnerability” (YHDC, 2009).

The creed of servant leadership is that the size of true leadership is determined by how many persons he has served and will be served contrary to the philosophy of other leadership styles whose measuring-rod of size and values of leadership is determined by the number of people serving the leader (Ibid.). The success or attractiveness of servant leadership is further put into a clearer perspective by its “credo” which Greenleaf (1970, [www.greenleaf.org](http://www.greenleaf.org) [www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership](http://www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership)), articulated thus:

*This is my thesis: caring for persons, the more able and the less able serving each other, is the rock upon which a good society is built. Whereas, until recently, caring was largely person to person, now most of it is mediated through institutions – often large, complex, powerful, impersonal; not always competent; sometimes corrupt. If a better society is to be built, one that is more just and more loving, one that provides greater creative opportunity for its people, then the most often course is to raise both the capacity to serve and the very performance as servant of existing major institutions by new regenerative forces operating within them.*

It is clear from this “credo” that “**the servant leader serves others, rather than others serving them**” and that “serving others comes by helping them to achieve and improve their conditions” (Ibid.). Thus; the basic assumptions of servant leadership are that:

1. The leader has responsibility for the followers.
2. Leaders have responsibility towards society and those who are disadvantaged and;
3. People who want to help others best do this by leading them

([http://changingminds.org/disciplines/leadership/style/servant\\_leadership.htm](http://changingminds.org/disciplines/leadership/style/servant_leadership.htm)).

As a concept developed and/or coined for the attainment of organizational goals and, accomplishment of mission statement, servant-leadership has some principles oiling the wheels of its success. These principles are:

- **Transformation** as a vehicle for personal and institutional growth.
- **Personal growth** as a route to better serve others.
- **Enabling environments** that empower and encourage service.
- **Service** as a fundamental goal.
- **Trusting relationships** as a basic platform for collaboration and service.
- **Creating commitment** as a way to collaborative activity.
- **Community building** as a way to create environments in which people can trust each other and work together.

- *Nurturing the spirit as a way to provide joy and fulfillment in meaningful work (www.greenleaf.org).*

These Principles clearly serve as the foundation and/or pillar of and/or for the characteristics of a servant-leader which include amongst others the following:

- *Service to the people.*
- *Avoidance of self promotion/publicity.*
- *Open acceptance of all people that come his/her way.*
- *Non-favouritism.*
- *Avoidance of nepotism.*
- *Honesty.*
- *Self confidence.*
- *Trust.*
- *Meekness/Patience.*

Given the immediate foregoing, it is our conclusion therefore, that for Nigerians to be able to truly have a sense of belonging and, be seen to be hopeful of having “politics of hope” within the Nigerian body politic, the indices of “*true leadership*”; “*servant leadership*”; “*listening/performing leadership*”; “*people-oriented leadership*” must become the nucleus of the practical political catechism in Nigeria. These indices must be fused to give birth to a true rather than a “*cosmetic servant leadership*”. That is, a leader that will not idiosyncratically/expediently take for granted the always seeming gullibility and/or easily trusting predispositions of Nigerians on the issues of their political and policy preferences and general governance. This is more so because there is no other way through which a real and dedicated road to economic development can be realistically constructed at this point of the Nation’s existence.

## REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Ake, C, (1993) “Deeper into Original Sin: The context of the Ethical Crisis in Africa’s Public Services” in Rasheed, S and Olowu D (eds) 1993. Ethics and Accountability in African Public Services, Addis-Ababa: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa: pp12-23.
2. Akindele, S. T. (1998) “Concept of Democracy and Governance: A Theoretical and Empirical Examination” Nnamdi Azikiwe Journal of Political Science, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp 42-58.
  - a. Akindele, S. T.; Obiyan, A. Sat; and Owoeye, J. (2000). The Subject matter of Political Science, Ibadan. College Press and Publishers Ltd. (First published in 1998).
3. Akindele, S. T. (2000) “Legislative-Executive Relations under the 1999 Constitution with special reference to the control of public funds”, A paper presented at the Workshop organized by Osun State Investment Company Limited in conjunction with the Osun State House of Assembly on “Appropriate handling of budgeting by the Legislature” at Miccom-Golf Resort, Ada, Osun State, on Monday 17<sup>th</sup> January, 2000.
4. Akindele, S.T., Gidado, T.O. & Olaopa O.R. (2002). Globalisation, Its Implications and Consequences for Africa. Globalization: [iucode:http://www.icaap.org/iucode?193.2.1.1]
5. Akindele, S.T., Asaolu, T. O., and Oladele, P. O. (2005) “Public Administration and the Issue of Professionalism in the New Democratic Culture: A focus on the Nigerian Political Space” European Journal of Scientific Research Vol. 11, No 3, November pp 309-363.
6. Akindele, S.T., Asaolu, T. O., and Oladele, P. O. (2006) “The Nigerian Public Service yesterday and today: What hope for tomorrow” Research Journal of International Studies, Issue 2, February pp86-131
7. Akindele, S. T. (2007) “Democratic Governance and Participatory Budgeting”, A paper presented at the Five-Day Workshop on “Legislative budget and negotiation” organized by the Policy Analysis and Research Project (PARP), National Assembly between Monday 19<sup>th</sup> and Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 2007 at the Crystal Garden Hotel, Isa Kaita Road, Kaduna, Nigeria.
8. Akindele, S. T., and Adeyemi, O. (2010) (Eds). Managing Interruptions in National Development: A Discussion Analysis of the menace of Time Robbery, Financial-Sector Mis-Management, and Militancy in Nigeria. Saarbrucken, Germany: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing GmbH & Co. KG.
9. Akindele, S. T., and Adeyemi, O. (2011a) (Eds). Corruption and the Nigerian State: A Critical Discourse. Saarbrucken, Germany: LAP Lambert Academic Publishing GmbH & Co. KG.
10. Akindele, S. T., and Adeyemi, O. (2011b) (Eds). “Challenges and Impediments to the Legislature in Nigeria, 1999 – 2011”. In Alabi, Mojeed O. A & Ajayi, O (2011) (Eds), Unbroken Legacy of Service: Speaker Bello’s Twelve Years under Three Administrations in Osun State. Ilorin: Intellectual Research Institute.
11. Alfred De Grazia (1965): Political Behaviour, New York: Free Press.
12. Amoako, K.Y, (1997): “Speech by Dr. K.Y. Amoako: The Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission, No 3 (December).
13. Appleby, P.H (1952) Morality and Administration in Democratic Government Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press cited in Bailey, S.K. “Ethics and the Public Service” in Stillman, R.J (Ed) (1976) Public Administration: Concepts and Cases Boston: Houghton Mithing Company pp 313-322.
14. Apter, David. (1977): Introduction to Political Analysis. Cambridge: Winthrop Publishers.

15. Ayo, S.B., and Awotokun (1996): "Governance of Cities and Village Communities in Nigeria: Ilawe and Awo Ekiti as Case Studies" *African Journal of Institutions and Development (AJID)* Vol. 2. No 1, pp. 56.
16. Ayo, S.B., and Awotokun (1997): "Governance of Cities and Village Communities in Nigeria: Ilawe and Awo Ekiti as Case Studies" in Olowu, D and Erero, J. (eds) (1997). *Indigenous Governance System in Nigeria, Ile-Ife: Research Group on Local Institutions and Socio-Economic Development, Department of Public Administration, Obafemi Awolowo University, Nigeria.* pp.
17. Bailey, S.K (1976) "Ethics and the Public Service" in Stillman, R.J. (Ed) (1976) *Public Administration: Concepts and Cases* Boston: Houghton Miffling company pp 313-322.
18. Bello-Imam, I.B (1997): "Introduction" in Bello-Imam, I.B (Ed) (1997): *Government in Nigeria: Politics, Economy and Society in the Adjustment Years, 1985-1995.* Ibadan: Stirling-Hoden, Nigeria Ltd.
19. Bello-Imam, I.B and Agba, A.V. (2004) 'Fiscal Federalism, The National Question and Resource Control: Practice and Prospect' in Bello- Imam, I.B and Obadan, M.I. (2004) (Ed): *Democratic Governance and Development Management in Nigeria's Fourth Republic 1999-2003.* Ibadan: Centre for Local Government and Rural Development studies, Chapter 4, Pp52-74.
20. Boeminger, E. (1992): "Governance and Development: Issues and Constraints" in *Proceedings of the World Bank Annual Conference on Development Economics.* Washington D.C: The World Bank
21. Brautigam, D (1991): *Governance and Economy: A Review* World Bank Working Papers (WPS 815).
22. Buendia, R. G. (1994) *Ethnicity and Empowerment: Looking Beyond the Theory of "Democracy" in Governance* Philippine Journal of Public Administration Volume XXXVIII, October, Number 4, pp 365-384
23. Corkery, J, and Bossuyt, J (Eds) (1990): *Governance and Institutional Development in Sub-Saharan Africa, Europeans Centre for Development Policy Management, Seminar Report 28-30, March.*
24. Clark, T.N. (1999) "University of Chicago Sociologist defines new political culture" *The University of Chicago News, Illinois: University News Office.*
25. Crane, William W. and Moses. B. (1983): *Politics,* New York and London, Pp. 1-2.
26. Danziger, J.N. (1994): *Understanding the Political World: A Comparative Introduction to Political Science,* New York: Longman.
27. Easton, D (1968) *The System Analysis of Political Life* New York: vile.
28. Easton, D. (1959) "An Approach to the Analysis of Political System" *world politics* vol. ix, April.
29. Ejituwu, C.N. (1997): "Electoral Process and Governance: Rigging of Elections in U.S.A. and Nigeria" in Ogunba O. (1997) (Ed) *Governance and the Electoral Process: Nigeria and the United States of America;* Lagos American Studies Association of Nigeria, Pp. 37-50.
30. Erero, J., (1996): "Introduction: Return to the Source: Towards Improved Governance in Nigeria". *African Journal of Institutions and Development (AJID)* Vol. 2, No 1 pp1-5.
31. Esman, M.J. (1997): "Good governance and devolution of power" in *Africa Notes,* May, pp 1-3.
32. Eyinla, B.M. (1998): "Prospects for Democracy and Good Governance in Nigeria" in *Governance, Democracy and Civil Society: Conference Proceeding, Ife: Ife Social Sciences Review (July).* pp 70-82.
33. Fabayo, J. A., and Akindede, S. T. (2005) "Harmonizing political and economic objectives towards achieving balanced resources mix and coping with administrative constraints", *European Journal of Scientific Research* Vol. 11, No 4, December, pp497-524.
34. Feridun, M. and Akindede, S. T. (2005) (Eds) *NIGERIA ECONOMY: Essays on Economic Development,* Morrisville, North Carolina, U.S.A., Lulu Publishers Inc.
35. Fredrickson, H. G. (1999) "The repositioning of American Public Administration (<http://www.findarticles.com>)
36. Gerth, H. H. & Wright Mills, C. (1972) *From Max Weber,* New York Oxford University Press
37. Gould J. (Ed) (1972): *A Dictionary of Social Sciences.* New York: UNESCO Publication.
38. Greenleaf, R. K. (1970): ([www.greenleaf.org](http://www.greenleaf.org); [www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership](http://www.leadersdirect.com/servantleadership)).
39. Guy Peters, B and Rose, R 1980: "The Growth of Government and the political Consequences of economic overload" in Levine, C. (Ed) (1980) *Managing Fiscal Stress: The Crisis in the Public Sector,* New Jersey: Chatham House Publishers Inc. pp 33-51
40. Healey, J. and Robinson, M. (1992 Reprinted in 1994): *Democracy, Governance and Economic Policy: Sub-Saharan African in Comparative Perspective,* Overseas Development Institute.
41. Hyden, G. (1980): *Beyond Ujama in Tanzania,* Berkeley, University of California Press.
42. Hyden, G. (1995): "Conjectures and Democratisation" in Olowu, D., Soremekun, K., and Williams, A., (eds) (1995). *Governance and Democratisation in Nigeria: Spectrum Books Limited.* pp. 49-64.

43. Hyden, G. (1999): "Rethinking the Study of African Politics" in Olowu, D., Williams, A. and Soremekun, K. (eds) (1999): *Governance and Democratisation in West Africa*. Senegal: Codesria. pp. 9-27.
44. Hyden, G. and Bratton, M (eds) (1992): *Governance and Politics in Africa*, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
45. Idowu, A.A. (1998): "Effective Realization of Enduring Democracy, Good Governance and Protection of Human Rights in Nigeria: Why, How and When? In *Governance, Democracy and Civil Society*" Conference Proceedings: *Ife Social Sciences Review* (July) pp 264-274.
46. Ikpeze, N.I (1999): "Forms of Government and Economic Policy in Nigeria" in *Governance and the Nigerian Economy: Proceedings of the One-Day Seminar Held on January 19, 1994* first published in 1999 by The Nigerian Economic Society (NES) pp. 71-87.
47. Jega, A. (1999): "Governance and the Nigerian Economy" in *Governance and the Nigeria Economy: Proceedings of the One-Day Seminar Held on January 19, 1994* first published in 1999 by The Nigerian Economic Society (NES) pp 101-104.
48. Jega, A. (2000) "Keynote Address delivered at the 22<sup>nd</sup> Annual Conference of NPSA, Zaina, January" in *The Nigerian Political Science Association (NPSA) Newsletter*, Volume 1 No. 1 (July) pp. 3-10.
49. Kaunda, K.D (2002) "Democratization, Development, and the challenges for Africa" *Africa Notes*: New York: published by Institute of African Development, Cornell University July/August) pp. 1-5
50. Kothari, R. (1989) "Ethnicity" in Kumar David and Santasilam Kadirgamar, (eds) (1989) *Ethnicity, Identity, Conflict and Crisis*, Kowloon, Hongkong: Arena Press
51. Landel-Mills, P. and Seragelding, I., (1991): "Governance and the Development Process", *Finance and Development* (September).
52. Landel-Mills, P. and Seragelding, I., (1992): proceedings of the World Bank Annual Conference, "Governance and External Factors" in *Op.Cit.*
53. Levine C. (Ed) (1980) *Managing Fiscal Stress: The crisis in the public sector* New Jersey: Chattam House Publishers, Inc.
54. Levine, C (198) "Organizational Decline and cutback management" in Levine C, Ed (1980) *op cit* Pp 13 – 29.
55. Levine, C. (1980) "The new crisis in the public sector", in Levine C (Ed) (198) *op cit* Pp 3 – 12
56. Musgrave, R.A. & Musgrave, P.B. (1980) *Public Finance in Theory and Practice* New York: Oxford McGraw Hill Book Company.
57. Musgrave R.A. and Musgrave P.B. (1998) *Public Finance in theory and Practice* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
58. Niebuhr, R (1944) *The Children of light and children of Darkness* New York: Scribners cited in Bailey, S.K. (1976) "Ethics and the Public Service" in Stillman, R.J. (Ed) (1976) *Public Administration: Concepts and Cases* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company pp 315-322.
59. Nkom, S.A., and Sorkaa, A.P. (1996): "A Comparative Analysis of Grassroots Governance in Two Nigerian Communities: A Case Study of Samaru and Abwa-Mbagen" in *African Journal of Institutions and Development (AJID)*, Vol. 2. No 1. pp 41-55.
60. Nzekwu, G. (2007) "Institutional arrangement for budget accountability and control" A presentation to the workshop on Legislative Budgeting and Negotiation organized by the Policy Analysis and Research Project (PARP) National Assembly between Monday 19<sup>th</sup> and Friday 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 2007 at the Crystal Garden Hotel, Isa Kaita Road, Kaduna, Nigeria.
61. Obadan, M.I (1998): "The State, Leadership, Governance and Economic Development" (Monograph) Presidential Address Delivered at the Annual Conference of the Nigerian Economic Society, Kano, July 22-24.
62. Obadan, M.I. 1993. "The Workings of Free Enterprise Economy in the Nigeria Economic Society "Managing a Free Enterprise Economy: Proceeding of a National One-day Seminar Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs February 17.
63. Ogunba, O. (1997): *Governance and the Electoral Process: Nigeria and the United States of America*, Lagos: American Studies Association of Nigeria.
64. Olowu, D. (1989) *Bureaucracy and Development: Implication for Public Service Improvement in Nigeria*, in Sandal et al: (1989) *Managing Performance in Nigeria's Public Sector*, Ife: Faculty of Administration, O.A.U. Ile-Ife, pp52-68
65. Olowu. D. and Rasheed, s. (1994): "Ethics and Accountability in African Public Services" *AAPAM*
66. Omoruyi, O. (1993): "Democratisation: The Nigeria Model in Comparative Perspective" in *Role Enhancement Training Programme for Youth Party Activists*. Abuja: Centre for Democratic Studies.
67. PA-NET 2000. *Capital Flight in Nigeria: Effecting a change of Direction* Ibadan: Development Policy Centre January Volumes 8.
68. Rasheed, S. (1993) *Conclusion: Towards an Agenda for Action in Enhancing Ethics and Accountability in African public Services* in Rasheed, S and Olowu D, (eds) (1993). *Ethics and Accountability in African Public Services*, Addis-Ababa:

69. Schiavo-Camp, S., and Sundaram, P (2001) "Public administration in the 21<sup>st</sup> century" Excerpted from "improving public administration in a competitive world", Asian Development Bank pp 1-23.
70. Shellukindo W.N. & Baguma, R (1993): "Ethical Standards and Behaviors in African Public Services" in Rasheed, S and Olowu, D (Eds) (1993), Ethics and Accountability in African Public Services. Addis Ababa, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. Pp.25-39.
71. Strange, S. (1996): The retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
72. Ukpong, I.I. (1999): "The Problems of Governance in Nigeria" (Keynote address) in Governance and the Nigerian Economy: Proceedings of the One Day-Seminar Held on January 19, 1994 published in 1999 by The Nigerian Economic Society (NES) pp. 1-9.
73. Wai, D. (1995): "Capacity Building in Policy Analysis and Development Management in Africa". Presentation to the Forum of ACBF – Supported Institutions, Kampala; Uganda; January 23-25.
74. Wildavsky, A (1976): "Public budgeting: The concept of budgeting as the political art of compromise and strategy" in Stillman II, R. J. (ed) (1976): Public Administration: Concepts and cases. Houghton Mifflin Company.

### XIX. SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS

1. Adelowokan, (1991): Public Speech as the Secretary to Osun State Government.
2. Federal Republic of Nigeria: Public Service Review Commission Main Report. Lagos; Ministry of Information (1984) Sect ([http://changingminds.org/disciplines/leadership/style/servant\\_leadership.htm](http://changingminds.org/disciplines/leadership/style/servant_leadership.htm)).
3. Nigeria Common Country Assessment (NCCA), Published by United Nations System in Nigeria (2001).
4. The 1979, 1989 and 1999 Federal Republic of Nigeria's Constitutions. Lagos: (Daily Times Publications).
5. What is Servant Leadership? ([www.leadersdirect.com/servant-leader](http://www.leadersdirect.com/servant-leader); [www.greenleaf.org/whatissl](http://www.greenleaf.org/whatissl)).
6. Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.
7. World Bank (1989): "Sub-Sahara Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth: A Long Term Perspective Study": (IBRD) Washington, D.C.
8. World Bank (1992): "Governance and Development". International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), Washington, D.C.
9. World Bank (1993): "Governance: The World Bank's Experience" (IBRD Washington D.C., Operations Policy Department).
10. Youth Heritage Development Centre (YHDC), (2009). "Styles of Leadership", Leadership Training, Part I.



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE  
Volume 12 Issue 11 Version 1.0 Year 2012  
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal  
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)  
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

## Farmland Sale in Ikwerre Selected Communities & Rural Economy; An Emerging Perspective

By Dr. Eze Wosu

*University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria*

*Abstract* - The paper examined the act of outright farmland sale in the Ikwerre rural communities to non-agricultural purposes and the increasing decline in agricultural food production. The paper argued that the process of farmland sale to non agricultural purposes will further impoverish the people and hamper development. We deplored the interview and observation methods of eliciting data. The use of Ikwerre dialect became an effective communication tool in gathering data; as the rural peasant people are predominantly illiterates. The theoretical framework is the Political Economy Approach which served as a study and method. The findings are that the increase in sale of farm land to non agricultural activities had destroyed the livelihood of the rural economy and hampered development. Also, that the decision of communities to share farmland for sale to avert the forceful taken their lands with little or no benefits by the government had created paucity of land, scarcity of food, communal conflict, enmity and death mortality rate.

*Keywords* : *Rural Economy, Land, Livelihood, Ikwerre, Peasant.*

*GJHSS-C Classification* : *FOR Code: 160804, 160507*



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



© 2012. Dr. Eze Wosu. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/>), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

# Farmland Sale in Ikwerre Selected Communities & Rural Economy; An Emerging Perspective

Dr. Eze Wosu

**Abstract** - The paper examined the act of outright farmland sale in the Ikwerre rural communities to non-agricultural purposes and the increasing decline in agricultural food production. The paper argued that the process of farmland sale to non agricultural purposes will further impoverish the people and hamper development. We deplored the interview and observation methods of eliciting data. The use of Ikwerre dialect became an effective communication tool in gathering data; as the rural peasant people are predominantly illiterates. The theoretical framework is the Political Economy Approach which served as a study and method. The findings are that the increase in sale of farm land to non agricultural activities had destroyed the livelihood of the rural economy and hampered development. Also, that the decision of communities to share farmland for sale to avert the forceful taken their lands with little or no benefits by the government had created paucity of land, scarcity of food, communal conflict, enmity and death mortality rate.

**Keywords** : Rural Economy, Land, Livelihood, Ikwerre, Peasant.

## I. THE PROBLEM

Rivers State government in 2010 embarked on massive acquisition of the Land of Ikwerre people through the Greater Port Harcourt. The vast land acquisition by the government for non agricultural activities created doubt and fear in the minds of the people. Moreso, the Ikwerre people are more of agrarian society. While policy makers, sociologists are busy thinking on the need to strengthen initiatives to diversify our economies, others are busy directly or indirectly depleting the only means of production (farmland).

As an explorative study, the youths in Ikwerre communities are agitating for the various communities to share remaining farmland for sale since; the government is in a bid to acquire their land without compensation. This affects the declining rate of agricultural production. However, some study had been done on the land tenure system in Ikwerre (Okodudu edited 1998, Ekong 1983), but no study has been carried out on the increase sale of farmland. Some people uphold the view that land tenure problems were of no importance and therefore require no consideration or the process of economic development will automatically solve any land tenure problem that exist

(Wosu, 1999). But the present case proves contrary to this assertion as the economic and cultural heritage of the people is eroded.

Ikwerre people are predominantly an agrarian community and like every agricultural community, if the people's farmland are sold or acquired by external authority like the government for purposes other than those that could promote agricultural and related activities; the people are likely to be adversely affected. We had argued elsewhere that the citing of projects by the government in Akpor and Rivers State government (Greater Port Harcourt) without adequate compensation nor aid in modernising the traditional agricultural system of the people has helped not only displacing people from their land, but communities have decided to share and sell their farmland to non agricultural purposes.

Generally speaking, peasant rural dwellers have always been the looser because of their disposition, hence expanse of arable land has been sold and some converted to non agricultural uses. Consequently, dispossession, loss of farm incomes, and agricultural production of the people is the outcome.

Onwulala (2010) asserted that farming and cultivating are carried out using predominantly traditional methods with hand tools thereby limiting agricultural production to subsistence level. Also, lack of technology and non application or research funding, make it extremely difficult to achieve the desired level of rural development. Other factors are poor state of infrastructure, poor access to market, low income – livelihood.

Against the backdrop of poor state of the rural economy, and the incursion of government on farmland led to communities to sell out their lands for non agricultural purposes. What will be the consequences of this land sale to the rural economy? Will the sale of farmland be sustainable and what will happen to the livelihood of future generation? These hypothetical questions will guide this study.

## II. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Political Economy Approach (PEA) as a theoretical framework is a method which has material conditions, particularly economic factors as its major tool for the explanation and cognition of human life.

*Author* : Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Port Harcourt.  
*E-mail* : ewosu@yahoo.com



Once we understand the material conditions and constraints of a society, how the society produces goods to meet its material needs, how the goods are distributed, and what type of social relations arise from the society of production, brings us to understanding the culture of the society, its laws, its religious systems, its political, social and even its mode of thought – consciousness. Again, the political economy examines the economy and its interplay with socio-political institutions with particular emphasis on the internal dynamics and factors of change. This enables us to understand the historical changes in the Ikwerre kingdom. Also, it enables us to take account of the systematic interactions of the different structures in society, especially the economic, political, social and belief systems. According to this theory, it is the economic factor which is the most decisive of these elements of society and which largely determines the characteristics of others. The method therefore offers the opportunity to understand what goes in the society as a result of change in the traditional (material) productive process. Thus Marx asserts that:

*In the social production of their existence, man enters into definite, necessary relations of production: corresponding to a determinate stage of development of their material forces of production. Consequently, the totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structures of society. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in generals. It is not the consciousness of man that determines their being, but on the contrary it is their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production (Lenin, 1978 cited in Wosu, 1999).*

This contradiction constitutes the bane of the rural economy in Ikwerre communities. We deplored the interview methods and observation technique of data collection. We interviewed one thousand, two hundred respondents. Those interviewed were rural peasant women, men and able bodied youths on some selected Ikwerre communities. The interview was informal and unstructured which did not limit the respondents to confined questions. Issues of living conditions, community development, land sale, etc. The interview method was used because the farming population was largely non-literate. More so, the illiterate women were interviewed to prod them into unveiling their inner most minds on their alienation from land and the increase in land sale dispossessing them from farming.

The selection of the towns were purely based on the condition of the presence of companies, institutions of higher learning and other government projects which in totality give insight into the degree of diversion of land to non-agricultural purposes. Ogbogoro, Choba and Rumuolumeni are the most populous towns. Incidentally, Rivers State College of Education (now Ignatius Ajeru University of Education Port Harcourt) is sited at Rumuolumeni whereas the University of Port Harcourt is sited at Choba. Thus, both Choba and Rumuolumeni had to be chosen on the bases of the presence of the tertiary institutions and companies for which Ogbogoro was also chosen. Ozuoba, Rumuosi, Alakahia, Rumuokwachi, Rumuekini and Aluu were included because they lost reasonable acreage to the University and the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA), channel 10 Port Harcourt and African Independent Television (AIT).

### III. FINDINGS

Our findings are as follows :

Table 1 : Shows primary and secondary schools in Akpor and Land acreage taken.

Community	No. of Schools		hectares		Remarks
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	
Ozuoba	1	1	7.00	10.00	State Govt.
Rumuosi/Rumuekini	1	1	4.00	6.00	do
Rumuokwachi	1	Nil	4.678	nil	do
Alakahia	1	Nil	3.009	nil	do
Choba	2		5.515		do
Ogbogboro	2	1	6.00	10.00	do
Rumuolumeni	3		9.671		do
Total	11	3	43.00	26.00	

The table explains the acreage of farming land lost and these are rural peasant people. They cannot carter for the upkeep of their families having been dispossessed of their means of livelihood. Another phenomenon about the acquisition of farm lands for

building of schools is that neither the Federal nor the State government pays compensation probably due to the assumption that the community where the school is build has the responsibility of providing land free of charge. The logical implication is that land was

appropriated to build primary and secondary schools, but how many people were allowed or have the capacity to go to school. Or what alternative means of livelihood do the parents possess to cater and train their children. Hence, the Ikwerre people lost the colonial education

and equally lost their farm lands. This was corroborated by the Paramount Ruler of Ogbogoro community; that the Ikwerre indigenes were late comers in the white man's education.

*Table 2* : Shows tertiary institutions in some parts of Ikwerre communities and Acreage taken.

Community	Hectare Acquired
Rumuekini	657.725
Alakahia	179.604
Choba	125.466
Rumuokwachi	2.51
Ozuoba	31.85
Rumuosi	405.00
Rumuolumeni	42.52
Total	1.502.145

*Source* : *Ofoma Associates and Phil Annia and company, 1988 culled from Wosu, 1999.*

Now, a critical look at the hectare of land lost for the establishment of tertiary institutions by the government stunts the imagination. A total of 42.52 hectares were acquired from Rumuolumeni community in 1971 on which was built the then College of Education, now Ignatius Ajeru University of Education, Port Harcourt. Of this land area, only about one fourth is presently developed. Similarly, in 1975, the state government acquired approximately 9.500 acres or 3.800 hectares of farm land for the establishment of University of Port Harcourt. The land belongs to different communities in Akpor kingdom. The essence was a trade off for anticipated educational and employment opportunities for the people. According to a survey by Anikpo, the decision of the lost of farm land was formally taken by the traditional council of chiefs and elders tele-guided by younger business merchants to become contractors, without due requisite qualification to work in the new organisation. By the time the survey began, bitter complaints from the various communities revealed that very few individuals had reaped the type of benefits that were anticipated. The then Nye-nwe-ali Akpor bitterly complained if they had told us ...., if only I had known I would rather die than agree to the acquisition of vast land. Meanwhile, University admissions were to be based on tangible qualifications and not on manipulation of friendly networks of patronage (man knows man) or on the basis of host communities syndrome. The indigenes had demanded that 50% admission quota be reserved for the communities; by 1980 only 3 Choba youths had in fact gained admission into the university. Also, contrary to expectations, only three Choba contractors had been registered by that time – Messrs T. Ohakwu, J. Agbara and S. Owume; and only 38 men and women were in the University employment mostly women in catering, cleaners and elderly men in security. This has being the problem till date. The Ikwerre sons and daughters have being

agitating for been marginalized in terms of admission, employment, contracts and above all becoming for once the Vice Chancellor of the university. This agitation had metamorphosed to a serious protest in 2010 by the indigenes over the Vice Chancellorship position. The Ogbakor Ikwerre Convention (an umbrella body) made representation to State and Federal government respectively. The answer for the agitation was that the University operates on a federal principles and character and not on pre-bendal politics. Even the earlier 'gentleman' agreement of 50% admission quota had never being implemented by any administration. Presently, vast expansion of arable land beyond the earlier acquired acres of the people are being taken by the university without due compensation. Rather, the communities' wallows in abject poverty having been alienated from their farm land. Hence, they resort to land sale to individuals and companies rather than government taken their lands without compensation of any sort.



Table 3 : Shows companies in Ikwerre communities and land acquired.

Community	Name of company	Acreage Acquired	Remarks
Choba	Wilbros	4.079	Data not available (n.a) as at the time of this study, but the companies occupies a vast portion of the community's land
	Horizon Fibres	19.00	
	Indomie Noddles	n.a.	
Ogbogoro	Tidex WAOS	3.137 n.a.	
Rumuolumeni	Eagle Cement	15.500	
	Aker	n.a	
	Saipiem	n.a	
	Nissco Mordant Marine	n.a n.a	
Ozuoba	NTA	n.a	
	AIT	n.a	

These companies settle and operate on land and not in the air. Their presence involves land lost. From the land acquired, compensation and rent on damaged crops and economic trees were not adequately paid. The emergence of the multi national corporations totally changed and disarticulated the rural economy. The people became alien in their own land. The cultural values of the people became destroyed and no more communal sense of social cohesion. The land has been desecrated by the activities of foreigners with their culture. We have argued elsewhere that urbanization and/or industrialization has eroded the cultural heritage of the Akpor kingdom (Wosu, 2012). We now witness high level of crime in the communities as our norms have given way to urban life.

The only compensation by the multinational corporation was the pollution of the land and rivers by oil spills and other toxic chemicals which have seriously affected and destroyed the rural peasant economy. They only engage the indigenes as casual workers like security men, tea girls, cleaners etc. Objectively speaking, the land lost to the MNCs cannot be equated with the benefits meted to the people if any. This has been the bane of communal conflicts between the host communities and multinational corporations.

In the light of the above, the people decide to sale off their remaining portions of land to individuals and corporate organisation for non agricultural project. They claimed that these individuals pay them more than the government or companies under the instrumentality of the state government. The climax of this was the acquisition of mass Ikwerre land by the Rivers State Government christened the Greater Port Harcourt. The situation is that government without due recourse to the people take vast portions of their farmland with a paltry sum of three hundred thousand naira as compensation. Meanwhile, a plot of land is sold for N1.5m depending on the place said one elder in Choba community. This has created violent and sharp reactions by individuals and communities. Some communities have resorted to litigations as the land tenure system in Ikwerre land is

either individually or communally owned. A cross section of interviews conducted by some community paramount rulers and elders attest to this fact. Thus, the communities resolved to share and sell their lands on high price to private individual organisation instead of losing them to strangers. An interview with one of the chiefs from Ogbogoro – Egbelu community asserted that he sold his own portion of land to an individual who established a filing station.

The implication is that the rural economy (agriculture) of the people is disarticulated. The people are alienated from their farm land and the synthesis is the decision to share and sell the remaining land to wealthy and 'powerful' individuals for non agricultural purposes. We now witness paucity of land and low food production. The people are no longer interested in farming. A cross interview with rural peasant women opined that they now prefer to rent a market stall and trade in the urban city rather than remaining in the rural communities toiling from morning till night in the name of farming without food sufficiency. Our interview with the women revealed that a basin of garri now cost as much as N2, 500 and above. This is because they are dispossessed from cultivating their staple food. They travel to far communities to buy garri. This has equally affected other agricultural products – vegetables, okoro, yam, corn, pepper etc.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The decision to sell farm land by Ikwerre communities to non agricultural purposes was a contradiction by the acquisition of land by state and corporate organisation without due benefits and recourse to the people's livelihood. This has created not only paucity of land, but food scarcity. It has also created inter and intra communal conflicts over boundary and rightful land owners. In some cases they are subject of litigation. The youths now engage themselves as land agents, a job or occupation not sustainable but lucrative in terms of the money involved. A plot of land is sold for over N1.5m with its commission

for the agent. So the number of plots of land the higher the commission fee. They sell and resell a land earlier bought because no more land to sell. Rather than investing the money in a meaningful project, they live flamboyant and ostentatious lives. The serious contradiction therefore is that the federal government is clamouring to revert to agriculture in the face of communities' land being sold out rightly to individual and corporate organisation. What will happen to future generations when the only means of livelihood of the people (Land) is destroyed? This negates the principles of sustainable development. The question is where do we go from here? Will negation keep on negating?

### REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Ake, C. (1981) *A Political Economy of Africa*, Longman, Nigeria.
2. Lenin, V. I. (1978) *Marx. Engels. Marxism*. Foreign Language Press, Perking.
3. Nora Dudwick, Katy Hull, Roy Katayanina, Forhad Shupi and Kenneth Similer (2011) *From Farm to Firm: Rural – Urban Transaction in Developing countries*, World Bank Washington, D.C.
4. Okodudu, S. (1988) ed. *Issues in Community Development*, Emhai Printing and Publishing Co. Port Harcourt.
5. Wosu, E. (2012), *The End of Culture in Akpor: An Emerging Perspective*; published in Journal of Social Sciences and Development – Vol. 1 No. 3 May 2012.
6. Wosu, E (1999) *Women and Access to Land in Akpor*, unpublished M.Sc thesis.
7. Management in Nigeria: perspectives on Global Economic Meltdown- April – June 2010 a publication of Nigerian Institute of Management Vol, 46; No.2.
8. Pan African Social Sciences Review (PASSR) No. 1 October, 1984.



This page is intentionally left blank





GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE  
Volume 12 Issue 11 Version 1.0 Year 2012  
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal  
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)  
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

## From Social Justice to Islamic Revivalism: An Interrogation of Sayyid Qutb's Discourse

By Dr. Ibrahim Olatunde Uthman  
*University of Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria*

*Abstract* - While Sayyid Qutb is an acclaimed Islamist and leader of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, that he has not been fully understood is confirmed by the persistent view that he laid the foundation for the prevailing 'Islamic terror and Islamist fundamentalism' all over the globe. Though there is a panoply of works that have attempted to explain and clarify this misunderstanding of Qutb's Islamic revivalism and reformism through a study of his writings and works yet the argument that his Islamic revivalism added to his zeal for rejecting modernity, leading to 'Islamic terror and Islamist fundamentalism' leaves some questions such as how did he move from a pure social justice crusader to an Islamist, why did he hate America, does his work provide inspiration for Islamic militancy, fundamentalism and terrorism etc and did his childhood upbringing, education, works and Islamic revivalism give insight into the so-called phenomenon of 'Islamic terrorism still begging for answers.

*GJHSS-C Classification : FOR Code: 160803 , 220403*



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# From Social Justice to Islamic Revivalism: An Interrogation of Sayyid Qutb's Discourse

Dr. Ibrahim Olatunde Uthman

**Abstract-** <sup>1</sup>While Sayyid Qutb is an acclaimed Islamist and leader of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, that he has not been fully understood is confirmed by the persistent view that he laid the foundation for the prevailing 'Islamic terror and Islamist fundamentalism' all over the globe. Though there is a panoply of works that have attempted to explain and clarify this misunderstanding of Qutb's Islamic revivalism and reformism through a study of his writings and works yet the argument that his Islamic revivalism added to his zeal for rejecting modernity, leading to 'Islamic terror and Islamist fundamentalism' leaves some questions such as how did he move from a pure social justice crusader to an Islamist, why did he hate America, does his work provide inspiration for Islamic militancy, fundamentalism and terrorism etc and did his childhood upbringing, education, works and Islamic revivalism give insight into the so-called phenomenon of 'Islamic terrorism still begging for answers. This paper is premised on the argument that Qutb, as a true African, despite his critical analysis and condemnation of the West and in fact all Muslim societies which he terms *Jahili* Societies was totally opposed to all acts of terrorism as well as irrational and extreme interpretation of Islamic fundamentals as revealed in his revivalist and reformist works, especially *Fi Zilal al-Qur'an*, which are still inspiring Muslims, especially his views on the rights of Muslim women and their place in modern society.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The role of Sayyid Qutb (1324–1386/1906–1966) in Islamic activism, particularly his leadership of the re-organization of the Muslims Brotherhood after it was outlawed by the government of Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir and his mentorship of the 1952 Egyptian military coup during which he provided the intellectual inspiration for

*Author :* Department of Arabic and Islamic studies, University of Ibadan, University of Ibadan. Oyo State, Nigeria.  
*E-mail :* ibrahimuthman@yahoo.com

<sup>1</sup> The original version of this paper was presented at the First Biennial Faculty of Arts, University of Ibadan International conference, June 6-9 2011.

<sup>2</sup> See for instance, Badmas 'Lanre Yusuf, *Sayyid Qutb: A Study of his Tafsir* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2009); Thameem Ushama, *Sayyid Qutb: Between Reform and Revolution* (Malaysia: IIUM Press, International Islamic University Malaysia, 2009; Roxanne L. Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman (Ed. and Intro.), *Princeton Readings In Islamic Thought: Text and Contexts from Al-Banna to Bin Laden* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009); Noor Muhammad Usmani, "Fi Zilal al-Qur'an: A Methodological Study," an Unpublished M.A. Thesis, International Islamic University, Malaysia, 1995; Rashid Rashid, "Studies on the Political Dimensions of Sayyid Qutb's Interpretation of the Qur'an," an Unpublished M.A. Thesis, the University of Sydney,

to his Islamist,<sup>3</sup> intellectual,<sup>4</sup> revolutionary,<sup>5</sup> ideological<sup>6</sup> and political leadership as well as his total rejection of the West and all un-Islamic systems.<sup>7</sup> It is this stance that made many scholars to believe that he abandoned his initial reformism and embraced radicalism. I quote Yvonne Y. Haddad who writes that "Reform was no longer sufficient... Only a radical transformation...the categorical destruction of the old system, can guarantee the flourishing of God's system..."<sup>8</sup>

I argue here that despite the above Haddad and others' description of him as a revolutionary because of his total rejection of the West and un-Islamic systems,<sup>9</sup> Qutb as a true African was totally opposed to all acts of terrorism. Therefore this paper will make a critical analysis and review of some of Qutb's works and Islamic thoughts, to answer the questions on why he hated America and the West, whether his works and Islamic activism provided inspiration for 'Islamic militancy, fundamentalism and terrorism' and if his biography truly gave insight into the so-called phenomenon of 'Islamic terrorism.' The answers to these and other similar questions will reveal the true Qutb, an African Islamic revivalist, feminist and social crusader.

## II. THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS AND ECONOMIC MILIEU AND BACKGROUND OF SAYYID QUTB

With the establishment of al-Azhar University during the Fatimid dynasty in the tenth century, Egypt has always played leading intellectual, literary, political

1993 and Agbetola A., "The Religious Thought of Sayyid Qutb," an Unpublished M. Phil Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1978.

<sup>3</sup> Anwar al-Sadat, *In Search of Identity* (New York: Harper, 1978), 66.

<sup>4</sup> Abu al-Hasan 'Ali al-Nadwi, *Mudhakkirat Sa'ih fi al-Sharqi al-'Arabi*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risalah, 1975), 66.

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Qutb, *Sayyid Qutb al-Shahid al-'A'zal*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Cairo: al-Mukhtar al-Islami, 1972), 23.

<sup>6</sup> Asaf Husayn, *Islamic Movements in Egypt, Pakistan and Iran* (Great Britain: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1983), 9.

<sup>7</sup> Yvonne Haddad, "The Qur'anic Justification for an Islamic Revolution: The view of Sayyid Qutb," *Middle Eastern Journal*, winter, 1983, vol. 37: 17.

<sup>8</sup> John Esposito, *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, Oxford, 1983, p. 78

<sup>9</sup> Yvonne Haddad, "The Qur'anic Justification for an Islamic Revolution: The view of Sayyid Qutb," *Middle Eastern Journal*, winter, 1983, vol. 37: 17.

and religious role in the African, Muslim and world affairs. So in the 20th century, it was destined to witness again serious political and religious developments and changes that were to reverberate throughout the world till today. From 1250 to 1789, Egypt was under foreign rule, first the Mamluk and then the Ottoman Turkey. It was again invaded by Napoleon in 1789 and it remained under the French until they were driven out by a combination of British and Turkish forces in 1805. Muhammad 'Ali ruled Egypt, first as a governor of the Ottoman Caliphate and later as the imperial representative of the French and British on whom his Khedive family depended in running the administration and government of Egypt.<sup>10</sup>

The above western imperialism led to a lot of resentment among the Egyptian people. For instance in 1881 the Egyptian army under the leadership of Ahmad 'Urabi, an officer, organized a popular revolution during the reign of Tawfiq. The revolution was almost successful but the British army interfered and defeated the forces of 'Urabi, ending the revolution though it was supported by the people. Though Britain promised France that its occupation of the country was temporary, Egypt became a colony of Britain from 1882, leading to the gradual agitation of the people for independence which culminated in independence talks and the holding of parliamentary elections in 1923.<sup>11</sup>

Subsequent to the above colonization of Egypt, two dynamic trends started to emerge in Egyptian national life. Secularism and its attendant nationalism began to spread among the young, promising future leaders of the country with most of the political ideologues that were destined to lead the country such as Sa'ad Zaghlul, Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid and 'Abdul 'Aziz Fahmi graduating from the British modern and secular universities. This was the first trend, which culminated in the establishment of nationalist political parties such as the Nationalist Political Party by Mustapha Kamil, the National liberation Party by 'Abd al-Khaliq Tharwah and Muhammad Farid and the Arab Socialist Party. The second trend was the consequence of secularization of Egypt, leading to the immersion of the country into western, materialistic and un-Islamic way of life that reflected in the non observance of Islamic festivals as hitherto done, even during the occupation of Egypt by Napoleon army. Egyptian women were also discouraged from observing the Islamic dress code with Huda Sha'rawi, the leader of the secular feminist movement, championing this cause. As a consequence, Egyptians lost confidence in both their national

leadership and its political structure.<sup>12</sup> There began to spread an anti western and anti secular Islamic spirit among the Muslims. This Islamic trend was ignited by Sheikh Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838-1897) who came to Egypt during the reign of the last Ottoman Caliph, Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II and taught at al-Azhar University in Cairo. He championed pan-Islamism and appealed to the people to rise in support of the Ottoman Caliphate headed by Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II.<sup>13</sup>

Sheikh Muhammad 'Abduh (d. 1905), who was al-Afghani's famous disciple later became the grand mufti of the country and he implemented his teacher's Islamic legal and educational reforms. Following these reforms, he awakened the Muslims to the materialistic, sensate and decadent aspects of Western civilization as well as the superstitious, backward and un-Islamic nature of the prevalent Muslim civilization. The reforms he implemented were therefore targeted at eradicating both aspects of *Jahiliyyah* in the two civilizations and returning Muslims to the path of divine guidance, Islamic system and dynamism.<sup>14</sup> His reforms are still having impact in Egypt today and must have influenced the establishment of political parties with religious tendencies such as *al-Ummah* (the Muslim community) and *al-Islah* (the Reform) Party. Zaghlul above who was one of the three leading students of Sheikh 'Abduh also founded an elite party called the *Wafd* Party. The other two disciples are Muhammad Rashid Rida, whose Islamic activism and writing influenced greatly the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Sheikh Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949) in Egypt and Qasim Amin whose books on the emancipation of Muslim women contributed in no small measure to the emergence of Islamic feminism in Egypt as championed by Zaynab al-Ghazzali.<sup>15</sup> Muhammad Rashid Rida (1865-1935) Carried the banner of the above reforms from from 'Abduh and his *al-Manar* (The Light of Islam) championed religious and political activism. He condemned the existing political structure in the Muslim world and the corrupt Muslim intellectual and political leadership. He struggled to achieve the dreams of both al-Afghani and 'Abduh in reviving the caliphate and the implementation of the Islamic Law.<sup>16</sup>

The above efforts culminated in the establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood by Sheikh Hasan al-Banna in 1928 in the Egyptian town of Isma'iliyyah. Al-Banna who received his revivalist ideas from Rida, also struggled for the formation of a

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> 'Abd al-Rahman al-Rafi'i, *Jamal al-Din al-Afghani Ba'th Nahdat al-Sharq* (N.P.: al-Kitab al-'Arabi, 1961), 48.

<sup>14</sup> Muhammad 'Abduh *al-Islam Din al-'Ilm wa al-Madaniyyah* (Cairo: Dar al-Hilal, N.D.), 56-72, 84-97, 138-147 and 150-155.

<sup>15</sup> Salah 'Abd al-Fattah al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al-shahid al-Hayy* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Amman: Maktabat al-Aqsa, 1985), 18-34.

<sup>16</sup> Malcom H. Kerr, *Islamic Reform: The Political and Legal Theories of Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashid Rida* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1976), 5-16.

<sup>10</sup> Thameem Ushama, "A Political History of Islamic Resurgence in Egypt" in *IKIM Journal of Islam and International Affairs*, Malaysia (2004) vol. 1, no. 3, 85-105.

<sup>11</sup> Stephen Adebajji. Akintoye, *Emergent African States: Topics in 20th Century African History*, (London: Longman, 1976), 228-235.



Commonwealth or League of Islamic Countries following his attack of the imperialist designs of the West and the Super Powers. He explained that the support of the ruling Khedive for the Caliphate in Turkey when the First World War broke out and his subsequent removal and replacement by Britain compelled Egypt to act against the Caliphate and became an ally of Britain. Thus Egypt was used as a base for the British forces and this facilitated the colonization of Palestine and Syria by the British. He therefore called for total war against these foreign powers through the unification of all Islamic countries.<sup>17</sup>

Sayyid Qutb was born in 20<sup>th</sup> century Egypt during the above prevailing socio-political and religious milieu. He would later join the Hasan al-Banna's Muslim Brotherhood, the organization that has stood at the heart of Islamic activism throughout the world till today and lead its re-organization and revival for which he is today labeled the father or grandfather of the 'Islamic militancy, extremism, terrorism and fundamentalism'. It is therefore important to now examine the childhood, education and career of Qutb and how he found the Muslim Brothers and his Islamic activism in 20<sup>th</sup> century history, perhaps this may give insight into his vision of Islam and terrorism, why he hated America and whether his vision, activism, ideas and writings were capable of nurturing terrorism.<sup>18</sup>

### III. A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF SAYYID QUTB, HIS EDUCATION AND CAREER

Sayyid Qutb Ibrahim Husayn al-Shadhili was born in the village of Moshe in the Asyut district in Upper Egypt on the 9<sup>th</sup> of September or October 1906.<sup>19</sup> He was born into a religious, intellectual and politically enlightened family. Qutb's father, Ibrahim was well known for his legendary piety, political activism, love and generous treatment of his servants as well as general hospitality.<sup>20</sup> Qutb's mother was also a pious daughter of a wealthy, pious and well educated father who graduated from the famous al-Azhar University. By virtue of her family's university education, she encouraged her children to pursue university education. She loved listening to the recitation of the Qur'an and on account of her love for it; Qutb's father made its recitation a constant feature of his house. She was also generous and gave out charity regularly to the poor for the sake of God.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Hasan al-Banna, *Majmu'at al-Rasai'il* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risalah, N.D.), 10-25.

<sup>18</sup> Ushama, "A Political History, 85-105.

<sup>19</sup> Ushama, *Sayyid Qutb*, 26.

<sup>20</sup> Salah 'Abd al-Fattah al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb min al-milad ila al-Istishhad* (Damascus: Dar al-Qalam, 1991), 19-29 and Sayyid Qutb, *Tiflun min al-Qaryah* (Jeddah: al-Dar al-Su'udiyah lin-Nashr, N.D.), 21, 37, 75-79, 120, 145-147, and 192-196.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 21 and Sayyid Qutb, *Al-Taswir al-Fanni fil-Qur'an* (Cairo: al-Dar al-Shuruq, N.D.), 5.

Qutb's mother, the second of two wives had five children for his father. The eldest was three years older than Qutb and was named Nafisah Qutb. Qutb was the second child in the family and the next child to him was Aminah Qutb who was a literary scholar, author and Islamist like Qutb and his remaining siblings.<sup>22</sup> She was followed by Muhammad Qutb who was thirteen years younger than Qutb. The last of Qutb's siblings was Hamidah Qutb who completed her studies in Cairo after their family moved to join Qutb in Cairo. She also took after Qutb in her literary and *da'wah* activities. After the arrest of Qutb in 1954, she served as a conduit of passing his instructions and directives for the Muslim brotherhood to Zaynab al-Ghazzali with whom she was later imprisoned in 1965.<sup>23</sup>

However, the most relevant aspect of Qutb's childhood to this study was his education which started at the village school when he was six years old. The educational curriculum followed two streams, one was that of government owned schools under the Ministry of education and the other was that of autonomous Qur'anic schools with parents paying subscriptions to pay the teachers. The students who followed the second stream were known as *Kutab* while their schools were called the *Katatib*.<sup>24</sup> Qutb was admitted into the first stream because of its academic standard. In his second year, it was decided that the teaching of the Qur'an would be removed from the curriculum and this annoyed many parents and they were compelled to send their children to the *Katatib*. Qutb was one of those affected by this development but he hated so much the unhygienic and unclean surroundings of the Qur'anic school that after his first day in the school, he went back to the state school, conveyed his dissatisfaction to the Head teacher and begged him to convince his father to allow him remain in the school. Contrary to the claim of Esposito above,<sup>25</sup> Qutb hated the unhygienic and unclean surroundings of

his first day in the school, went back to the state school.

The above point is important here because Qutb's abandoning of the Qur'anic school from the first day, he was admitted there, is a clear indication that he never received any Islamist, extremist not to mention terrorist training from the Qur'anic school or the *madrasah*. As a matter of fact, after his father gave his permission to withdraw from the local school, Qutb resolved to personally enhance his own memorization of the Qur'an.<sup>26</sup>

After his graduation from the primary school in 1918, he wanted to continue his education in Cairo but was compelled to remain in his village for another two

<sup>22</sup> Qutb, *Tiflun*, 202- 207.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>24</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al-shahid*, 80-84.

<sup>25</sup> John Esposito, *Voices of Resurgent Islam*.

<sup>26</sup> Qutb, *Tiflun min*, 22-44.

years because of the above 1919 popular revolution led by Zaghlul of the *Wafd* Party against the British government which disrupted the transportation system. Qutb describes his father's role in the revolution. Their house served as a centre for the villagers where political meetings and gatherings were held. Again, in his father's nationalist and political activism, could be located, Qutb's later social and political activism in life.

He finally left for Cairo in 1921.<sup>27</sup> When he eventually made it to Cairo, Qutb initially stayed with his uncle, a journalist, Ahmad Husayn Uthman who was a graduate of al-Azhar. Though there is no record of what Qutb was doing between 1921 and 1925 before he was admitted into the Teachers' College in Cairo, he must have been learning journalism from his uncle. His later literary inclinations, I believe must be located in this period. After the completion of his Teachers' certificate, Qutb enrolled into the pre-university course of *Dar al-'Ulum* (Centre for Arabic and Islamic Studies) in 1928 and degree programme of the tertiary section of *Dar al-'Ulum* that is affiliated to the Faculty of Arts and Literature of Cairo University in 1930 and graduated in 1933 at the age of twenty seven with B.A. in Literature and diploma in Education. This, he believed was useful for his future, no doubt, journalistic and educational activities.<sup>28</sup>

His journalistic activities started as a student when he started writing and publishing poems. After his graduation in 1933, Qutb worked briefly with *al-Ahram*, the famous government newspaper, and began freelancing for *al-Risalah* and al-Thaqafah, two Egyptian magazines before starting his career as a teacher with the Ministry of education and Culture. He taught for six years while he continued engaging in literary activities as a freelance. He later became an administrative officer, inspecting general education and culture in the department of inspection. He remained in the office for eight years until he was sent by the Ministry in 1948 to closely study, evaluate and analyze the American educational system. After returning from the US, he worked as a special advisor to the Ministry and delivered lectures at *Dar al-'Ulum* before he was finally redeployed there to teach.<sup>29</sup>

#### IV. HIS AMERICAN EXPERIENCE AND BEGINNING OF HIS INVOLVEMENT IN THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

As I have stated above, Qutb was certainly no Islamist not to mention being an 'Islamic terrorist or fundamentalist' while growing up. His upbringing and education made becoming either impossible. He grew up within the milieu of Arab upper class family system,

Egyptian nationalism and political awareness where his father was an activist and leading member of the Egyptian National Party and an executive committee member of his village branch of the party.<sup>30</sup> Qutb was also educated at the upper class elitist schools from primary to the university; he was not a product of the *madrasah* as he ran away from the Qur'anic school after his first day there. So when did he start to hate America and the West? When and how did he meet the Muslim brotherhood and 'Islamic terrorism?' The answers to these and other similar questions are what this section seeks to provide.

In 1948 as stated above, Qutb was sent to America ostentatiously to study, evaluate and analyze the American educational system. In reality, the journey was an ingenious way of curtailing his growing condemnation of the country's ruling class and his social crusade against the poor and deteriorating conditions of the masses in Egypt. His various articles in the literary journals, magazines and newspapers had become too critical and condemning of the political, social and economic conditions of the people. He used to be a strong and vocal member of the *Wafd* Party which was the ruling party since his adolescence while he was a pre-university student but was however compelled to resign from the party in 1942 and joined the *Sa'ad* Party. Finally he retired completely from politics in 1945 because of undemocratic and anti people's practices of political parties. In the same year, he wrote two of his fiery articles titled '*addilu Baramijakum* (Make just your programmes) and *Ayna Anta Ya Mustafa Kamil* (Where are you O Mustapha Kamil). The King, Faruq was not amused at all and in fact wanted the Prime Minister to put Qutb in detention straight away. However, his former membership of the ruling party and acquaintanceship of literary giants like 'Abbas Mahmud al-'Aqqad impressed the Prime Minister. So the Prime Minister arranged with the Ministry of Education to send him to America with the goal of transforming his vision, corrupting him with western culture and mobilizing him to the service of the Egyptian ruling class through western indoctrination and cultural decadence. In short, it was to enlist him into becoming an agent of the bourgeoisie government in Egypt.<sup>31</sup>

Unfortunately this plan backfired as Qutb rather became more committed in his criticism as well as religious life. This turning point in Qutb's religious commitment started from the ship that took him by sea from Alexandria to America. His first experience of cultural and western decadence came when a young beautiful and charming girl knocked on the door of his room in the ship and entered, seeking his permission to be his guest throughout the night. He apologized for his

<sup>27</sup> Qutb, *Tiflun min*, 146-217.

<sup>28</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al-shahid*, 88-89.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 31.

<sup>30</sup> Qutb, *Tiflun min*, 37, 145-147, and 192-196.

<sup>31</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al-shahid*, 126.

inability to accommodate her because his room had only one bed and she replied that "many single beds are meant for two persons." Qutb was compelled to shut the door on her face and heard her falling along the corridor and realized she was stark drunk. That was only the beginning of the attempt to seduce him by American ladies. According to him, he was chased by these ladies from one place to another and one city to another. A staff of the hotel solicited sex from him, a nurse tried to seduce him while he was hospitalized at George Washington hospital, a university student inundated him with claims of sex being a merely biological and not moral issue while an Arab boy inundated him with stories of sexual escapades with American girls.<sup>32</sup>

The climax of his experience of the decadence of the American and western way of life however came when he was hospitalized in San Francisco and was astonished at the jubilation of the hospital staff over the assassination of the founder and first General Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1949. This was also the scenario at a departmental store where he saw American men and women jubilating over the above assassination. This singular incident had an everlasting impression on Qutb and his attention was directed to the comments of American newspapers on the assassination as well as books on Al-Banna and his Muslim Brotherhood. Mitchel quotes Qutb as saying that he read the book, *Religious and Political Trends in Modern Egypt* written by a British Intelligence officer while he was in America and the book also confirms to him, the threat of Hasan al-Banna and his Muslim brotherhood to the West in general.<sup>33</sup>

That Qutb was disgusted by his above experiences which he saw as proofs of the decadent styles of living in the west was made clear by him in his various articles and books, such as, *Hamaim fi New York* (Pigeons in New York) *al-Islam wa al-mushkilat al-Hadarah* (Islam and the Problems of Civilization), *Ma'alim fi al-Tariq* (Milestones) and *Amrika allati ra'ytu'* (The America which I saw) which contained his depictions of the American dream. He portrays his attempts at overcoming the temptations he confronted in America and how he found solace and succor in Islam, the Qur'an and *da'wah* activities. The divine light, according to him, entered his heart and he found Islamism with new tastes, perspectives, dreams, aspirations and philosophy of life in America. In other words, by turning his back against American decadence, Qutb found Islam and ultimately the Muslim Brotherhood on American soil. Qutb diagnosed the American way of life and rejected what he observed and witnessed. It was his witness of a people's jubilation at

the death of their fellow human being that eventually drew him into the fold of the Muslim Brotherhood and so, we will now turn to his activism after his acquaintance with the Muslim Brotherhood on American soil and the rest of his life thereafter.

## V. QUTB'S DA'WAH ACTIVITIES AND ISLAMISM IN THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

Following Qutb's discovery of the Muslim Brotherhood on American soil, he developed a new link with the Qur'an, turning away from his previous literary and artistic reading of the Holy book and ended up the rest of his life and in fact literary career thereafter, inspired by the Qur'an in his goal of reforming the Egyptian society. The first outcome of this Qur'anic outlook which I argue marked the beginning of his Islamic reform and *da'wah* activities in his writings was the publication of his book *al-'Adalah al-Ijtima'iyah fi al-Islam* (Social Justice in Islam), almost six months after his arrival in the US. While it has been argued that since the work was completed before he left for the US, the Islamic activism and bias of the book had nothing to do with the Muslim Brotherhood and his founder, Al-Banna,<sup>34</sup> I argue that though the book was written before his trip to America, it was quite easy for Qutb to have revised its dedication and one or two sections of the book since it was not published until many months after he had arrived there. That he did revise some parts of the book after he arrived in America is proven by Qutb's admission in one of his lectures at Cairo University that he was a heretic for almost eleven years of his life and was lost from the Islamic outlook until he wrote the book, *al-'Adalah al-Ijtima'iyah fi al-Islam*.<sup>35</sup> Since, it has been shown above that he found Islam in America, it stands to reason that it must have been in America, that he wrote what he referred to in the Cairo lecture as his Islamic direction in *al-'Adalah al-Ijtima'iyah fi al-Islam*. It is no doubt after his trip to the US that it could be truly argued as Nasru Rejwan has done that "the authenticity and deep knowledge of his Islamic outlook and his interpretation are not disputed even by those who would not agree with his conclusion."<sup>36</sup>

I therefore reiterate here that the book marks the beginning of Qutb's integration with the Muslim Brotherhood. A beginning demonstrated by the similarity between his reform vision and aspirations expressed in the book and those of the Brotherhood as well as his perceived dedication of the book to the youth of the Brotherhood. This perception was both that of the Brotherhood and the Egyptian government. Members of the Brotherhood who were in prison when the book was

<sup>32</sup> Salah 'Abd al-Fattah al-Khalidi, *Amerika min al-Dakhil* 1<sup>st</sup> edition (Jeddah: Dar al-Manarah, 1985), 21-32.

<sup>33</sup> Richard Mitchel *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* quoted in Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb min al-milad*, 320.

<sup>34</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al-shahid*, 133 and 315.

<sup>35</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb min al-milad*, 234.

<sup>36</sup> Nasru Rejwan, *Nasserist Ideology* (New York: John Wiley and Son, 1974), 42.

published understood that the dedication was referring to them and they began to distribute copies of the book while in prison. Even the other members of the Brotherhood outside the prison also distributed copies of the book and in fact, their General Guide once held a copy of the book in public and declared that the Islamic thought of the book is the thought of the Brotherhood and it was probable that its author was one with the Brotherhood.<sup>37</sup> This was also the perception of the government and the book was banned and withdrawn from the market and the government announced that it would remain banned until such a time when the author remove the dedication of the book to the youth of the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>38</sup>

Contrary to the arguments of those who opine that the above perception was wrong based on the explanations given by Qutb and his younger brother, Muhammad, the book was dedicated to the youth of the Muslim Brotherhood. In his interview granted to al-Khalidi, Muhammad explains that Qutb only refers in the dedication of his book to the youth of the Muslim Brotherhood metaphorically and not literally because he intends the Muslim youth in general. This clarification by Muhammad is purportedly supported by Qutb's explanation in his alleged "Li-madha A'damuni" published in *al-Muslimun* (The Muslims) in Saudi Arabia in 1985, two decades after his execution. In this journal, Qutb is allegedly reported to have written that though the Muslim Brotherhood perceived that the dedication of his book referred to them, this was not true. However my assertion that the book was dedicated to the youth of the Muslim Brotherhood is confirmed by the fact that in the second edition of the book that appeared in 1954, after his involvement in the Muslim Brotherhood had become widely known, Qutb specifically and unambiguously dedicated the book to the youth of the brotherhood.

While there is disagreement on when he actually became an official member of the brotherhood, I argue that following his fraternization with it from the US and the dedication of his above book to it, Qutb, in order to fulfill his new Islamic thought, vision and mission, did not hesitate to join the brotherhood immediately he returned back to Egypt from America. On his return from the US in 1950, Qutb naturally turned to the Muslim Brotherhood and became one of his members as reflected in many incidents about him and the brotherhood. It was his membership that drew youth of the brotherhood to him in 1950 and they complained about their inability to carry on the activities of the brotherhood because of its 1949 proscription. Following his new Islamic commitment and disposition, he must have seen their move as the divine answer to his desire

and goal. Hence, He welcomed the youth around him and started to provide leadership for them. This is the first point in support of Qutb's immediate membership of the brotherhood after he returned from America.<sup>39</sup>

Secondly, when the brotherhood led an attack against the British army in the Suez Canal in late 1951 and the British forces retaliated by brutally killing or wounding its members and destroying their homes, the brotherhood became divided on the appropriate action. While some of them including Muhammad Tahir Munir, the president of the Suez branch of the brotherhood called for patience and perseverance on the part of the brotherhood, others including Muhammad al-Ghazali, a member of the Guidance Office called for immediate counter attack against the British forces and interestingly, these two leading figures of the brotherhood published their differing views in the newspaper, *al-misri*. At this critical period of the brotherhood's trial, it was Qutb who appealed to the General Guide of the brotherhood to issue a conclusive statement of the brotherhood because according to him, neither of the two leaders had the right to issue an official statement on behalf of the brotherhood. Immediately, the General Guide, responded two days after and praised Qutb for his views on the issue and added that perhaps no one knew the views of the brotherhood on the issue other than him. This is the clearest statement from the General Guide of the brotherhood on not only the membership of Qutb but also his active and deep involvement in the brotherhood as well as his knowledge of it.<sup>40</sup> What is therefore clear is that Qutb officially joined the brotherhood in 1951, the year he refers to as his date of birth because it was the date of his joining the brotherhood<sup>41</sup> though he had been a member since 1950.

Perhaps the biggest point in support of Qutb's immediate membership of the brotherhood after he returned from America was his involvement with the Muslim brotherhood in the 1952 revolution that toppled King Faruq and appointed Muhammad Najib, the leader of the coup as the first president of the Egyptian republic. Qutb was subsequently publicly praised by the leaders of the revolution for his role in the success of the revolution and he was invited to play a leading role in the government that followed. His involvement in the revolution, I argue could only be explained in the light of his membership and indeed leadership in the Muslim Brotherhood. This is because the role of the

<sup>39</sup> Al-Khalidi recorded the story of these youth around Qutb in his *Sayyid Qutb min al-milad*, 314 while denying that Qutb ever nursed the intention of establishing a new movement to replace the Muslim brotherhood but he did not accept that Qutb related with these youth around him as a member of the brotherhood.

<sup>40</sup> Both this observation of Qutb and the response of the General Guide of the brotherhood were quoted by Al-Khalidi in *ibid*, 328 yet he disagreed with the view that Qutb wrote as a member of the brotherhood.

<sup>41</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al-shahid*, 138.

<sup>37</sup> This observation of Hasan al-Banna was quoted and commented upon in Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb min al-milad*, 316.

<sup>38</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al-shahid*, 315.

brotherhood in the 1952 revolution has been traced back to the time of its founder and first General Guide, Hasan al-Banna when a military wing of the brotherhood called *al-Ikhwān al-Dubbat* (The Brotherhood Officers) was formed. One of the Brotherhood Officers was Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, a senior Military Officer who was to play a leading role in the 1952 independent revolution and subsequently become the president of Egypt. Though he later broke away from the *al-Ikhwān al-Dubbat*, renamed *al-Dubbat al-ahrar* (The Free Officers) by forming the *Dubbat al-Jaysh* (The Army Officers) on the claim of security reasons, Abdul Nasir came back and renewed his relationship with the brotherhood and the *al-Dubbat al-ahrar*, before the execution of the 1952 revolution. Consequently the revolution took place with the collaboration of the brotherhood through Abdul Nasir. This collaboration afforded the military junta the opportunity to use the resources of the brotherhood and its *al-Dubbat al-ahrar* in conjunction with Qutb as its ideologue and intellectual leader.<sup>42</sup>

Shortly before the above 1952 revolution, Qutb broke away completely from the ruling elite by resigning from his position at the Ministry of Education because of his disgust at the authorities' rejection of his proposals for reforms in the educational system and their request that he should stop his political articles on national problems and issues. Qutb on many occasions, attempted to reform the Ministry of Education, establish a special professional department that would overhaul the entire educational system and its curricula but all his proposals were rejected.<sup>43</sup> He must have thus devoted his attention to providing leadership and guidance to the leaders of the revolution. As a result of his contribution to the success of the revolutionary coup by the military junta that toppled the King, Qutb was regarded as the father of the revolution and was likened to the famous Mirabeau who contributed to the success of the French revolution. As mark of respect, many honours were bestowed on Qutb and he was even offered the position of the Minister of education which he turned down. He also declined the offer of the position of the Director General of Broadcasting and Information. He like the brotherhood was not interested in political positions but rather in the Islamic reform of the country. This objective was clearly mentioned by Qutb in a talk he delivered at a public event organized by the revolutionary Military junta in August 1952.<sup>44</sup>

However 'Abd al-Nasir later in a meeting he held with the General Guide, denied that there was any agreement or collaboration with the brotherhood and the revolution to carry out Islamic reforms. He rejected all the peace gestures of the brotherhood thereafter and the gaps between them started widening gradually.

Then Muhammad Najib, the leader of the coup and president did not last in his office and was replaced by 'Abd al-Nasir and he decided to form a liberation organization in 1953 ostentatiously to carry out Islamic reforms. Upon his insistence, Qutb who was by then a member of the brotherhood's Guidance office and the Director of *da'wah*, and was representing the group in various local and international conferences,<sup>45</sup> was compelled to accept the position of the General Secretary of the Liberation Organization in order to mobilize the people and consolidate the achievements of the revolution through Islamic reforms.

Following the refusal of the leadership of the brotherhood to merge it with the newly formed Liberation Organization of 'Abd al-Nasir, there was a conspiracy to ferment trouble that would lead to the forceful removal of Hasan Hedaybi, the General Guide and the appointment of a new General Guide and formation of a new Guidance office loyal to Abd al-Nasir. The government loyalists and conspirators broke into the house of the General Guide and sought to make him resign from his position under duress. They then proceeded to the brotherhood's headquarters on 27 November 1953 and declared the dissolution of the Guidance Office and the formation of a new one headed by Sayyid Sabiq, a great Islamic scholar and leading member of the brotherhood. Qutb was among the delegation from all branches of the brotherhood that came on 29 November, 1953 to pledge their continuous support to the incumbent General Guide, Hasan Hedaybi. He gave a powerful speech, in which he called on all the representatives to recognize the threat of the conspiracy of 'Abd al-Nasir and his intention to destroy the Islamic movement in Egypt and therefore urged them to renew and reaffirm their pledge and trust in Hasan al-Hedaybi.<sup>46</sup>

Having become convinced of 'Abd al-Nasir's ploy to use the Liberation organization to undermine the Muslim brotherhood and his own beliefs in the Islamic thoughts and reforms of the brotherhood, Qutb resigned and dissociated himself from the organization after all his efforts to reconcile the president and the brotherhood failed. The moment Qutb resigned from the Liberation Organization, 'Abd al-Nasir who was ruling with abominable martial powers turned against him and the Muslim Brotherhood. He implicated them in a purported attempt to assassinate him. Qutb and the members of the Muslim Brotherhood fell out of favour with the military junta and were arrested and detained in prison. Qutb was imprisoned along with other members of the brotherhood in 1954 for three months.<sup>47</sup>

Nevertheless, after their release from prison, Qutb in collaboration with Zaynab al-Ghazzali al-Jubayli, a front burner and pace setter in both the Muslim

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 294-298.

<sup>43</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al-shahid*, 98 and 125.

<sup>44</sup> Al-Khalidi *Sayyid Qutb min al-milad*, 294-304.

<sup>45</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al-shahid*, 144.

<sup>46</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al-shahid*, 144.

<sup>47</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb min al-milad*, 337.

Brotherhood and Islamic feminist struggles pioneered the attempts at the re-organization of the brotherhood after it was banned in 1954 by the government of 'Abd al-Nasir.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps it is this insistence by Qutb and the young elements of the brotherhood to revive its activities that 'informs' their labeling as 'Islamic terrorists, fundamentalists and extremists' since John Esposito, a contemporary and influential scholar of Islam has branded them as "neo-fundamentalists, extremists or fanatics."<sup>49</sup> The insistence of Qutb and the youth to initiate the revival and re-organization of the brotherhood soon provided an excuse for 'Abd al-Nasir to re-arrest Qutb and accused him of planning to assassinate him and overthrow his government, for which he was sentenced to fifteen years with hard labour. Out of this, he spent ten years in prison and was only released on the appeal made by the then Iraqi President, "Abd al-Salam 'Arif in May 1964."<sup>50</sup>

Qutb continued to lead the re-organization of the brotherhood both inside and outside the prison. In prison, he conducted meetings and trainings with the fellow Muslim Brothers imprisoned with him while providing intellectual, moral and spiritual guidance for those outside. On his release, in 1964, he assumed the full leadership of the re-organization till he was again re-arrested in August 1965.<sup>51</sup> 'Abd al-Nasir succeeded in penetrating the brotherhood through 'Ali Ashmawi, a member of the youth Council of Five responsible for the re-organization and a retired Accountant in the Egyptian Public Service. He became an agent, spy and protégé of the government and his statement was used to convict Qutb and many other leaders and members of the brotherhood of treason and felony against the state. The government confiscated their property, tortured and persecuted them and against all international and human right norms sentenced many of them to death including Qutb in 1966.<sup>52</sup>

I will now examine the most serious allegations against Qutb which portrayed him as a champion of terrorism, extremism, militancy or fundamentalism.

## VI. A CRITICAL REVIEW OF MAJOR ALLEGATIONS AGAINST SAYYID QUTB

One of the most serious allegations against Qutb is that he as the leader of the re-organization of the Muslim brotherhood, supported by its youth, conceived, planned and conducted an armed revolt against the government. This allegation, for which Qutb was arrested, convicted and sentenced to fifteen years

imprisonment in 1954 only to be finally hung in 1966 was not fully investigated and neither was Qutb's trial guided by universal democratic and human rights norms. He was tried by special military courts headed by judges who were army officers and characterized by legal and technical anomalies, irregularities and discrepancies. For instance, at the time the brotherhood's prosecution was closed in 1954, the court was told that the government was dropping its charges against Qutb on humanitarian grounds because he was diagnosed of a pectoral ailment and tuberculosis. However this was a ploy used to postpone his prosecution because of the presence of the representative of the International Human Rights. After the departure of the representative, he was brought back to court to face his legal prosecution and then sentenced.<sup>53</sup>

Similarly, Qutb and his fellow Muslim Brothers were tried under a retroactive law in 1966 during which the government banned members of the public and the press. Even the lawyer sent by the Amnesty International as an observer in the court proceedings was as well prohibited from attending the proceedings. One of the unfortunate results of these legal irregularities was the death sentence also handed down on Farid 'Abd al-Khalid and Munir Dallah along with Qutb in 1966. Though the two were among the leaders of the brotherhood, they were not involved in its re-organization and in fact, rejected the idea when they were invited to lead it before Qutb was appointed. They vehemently opposed the re-organization because they considered it hazardous and dangerous. They went further to complain to the General Guide and called for the abolition of the idea.<sup>54</sup> In short, the government itself orchestrated the conspiracy that entrapped Qutb and the Muslim brothers. For this reason, the government prohibited the members of the public, the press and all the lawyers who came forward to volunteer their services in the defence of the accused from attending the court proceedings.

Another allegation against Qutb was that he was extremely harsh in his condemnation of the West and the entire Muslim societies as *jahili* societies. Rather than rejecting everything in the West and the Muslim societies as *jahili*, Qutb welcomed and praised the good aspects of the two. He was praiseful of many Western disciplines such as English and other languages, psychology and education contrary to the view of Islamic scholars who opposed the teaching of foreign languages in Islamic institutions. As a result of his love for foreign languages, he was disillusioned by the absence of foreign languages in the curriculum of his alma mater, *Dar al-'Ulum*.<sup>55</sup> He believes that this is one

<sup>48</sup> Zaynab al-Ghazzali, *Ayyam min Hayati* (Days from my Life) (Cairo: Dar al-Shuruq, 1986), 30-33.

<sup>49</sup> See his John L. Esposito (ed.) *Voices of Resurgent Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

<sup>50</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb min al-milad*, 293-314.

<sup>51</sup> Aal-Ghazzali, *Ayyam min*, 33-40.

<sup>52</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb min al-milad*, 252-253 and 402-404.

<sup>53</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb min al-milad*, 350.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 379.

<sup>55</sup> Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al-shahid al-Hayy*, 89.

of the areas where Muslim practices violate the tenets of Islam, especially on the stifling of freedom.

Qutb also rejects western and American leaders because of their opposition to the struggles for the rights of the Egyptian people. In his book on the clash between Islam and capitalism, Qutb dissected the Egyptian society and became disgusted by the secular and western imperialist use of their stooges in government to plunder and devour his country's resources. This he said had devastated and impoverished the people while the upper classes monopolized the national income, consuming more than one third though their number was insignificant. As a result, he calls on the masses to rise and fight western imperialism and feudalism reflected in capitalism and communism, socialism and Marxism as these secular ideologies could never avail the people materially and spiritually.<sup>56</sup>

In order for the rights of the masses to be guaranteed in practical terms, all they would require, according to him, is education. He however believes in an all inclusive and holistic education as he called for the integration of Islamic emphasis and Islamic philosophy of education in the national curriculum.<sup>57</sup> He was totally against the prevalent un-Islamic educational system, which he argues was under the tutelage of the Zionist Jews, Christians and Communists and concluded that this was dangerous to the Muslim *Ummah*.<sup>58</sup> Consequently, the mindset of Muslim intellectuals became infected by a Zionist orchestrated conspiracy that makes a Muslim graduate from the so-called secular schools "abandons Islam in actuality if not in name."<sup>59</sup> As a result of this dominant Zionist brainwashing of Muslim intellectuals, Qutb called for a revolutionary, ideological and total rejection of the Zionist Western and un-Islamic educational systems.<sup>60</sup>

In his description of both the western and Muslim societies as *jahili*, Qutb brings a new Islamic dimension to the already diverse and differing definitions of society.<sup>61</sup> He does not view the society as merely "the totality of social relationships among men,"<sup>62</sup> a civilized social way of life or organized community of people. By this definition, society is based on civilized organization

and not just population.<sup>63</sup> Qutb conceives the Islamic society as not just a civilized community of organized Muslims characterized by its Islamic public practice and way of life through ritual worship and social norms of Islam. To Qutb, the Islamic society must be characterized, in addition to the above, by the implementation of the Islamic law by its political leadership. On this premise, he charges the Muslim rulers who rule by what has not been revealed by Allah as unbelievers and expels them from the fold of the believers.<sup>64</sup> He argues further that the implementation of the Islamic law by both Muslim political leader and their people is the most important norm or standard of the Islamic society. In other words, this norm must constitute the "specific guides to conduct which apply either to everyday activities or to situations that not occur often."<sup>65</sup> Accordingly, he insists on the obligation of enforcing this norm in Islamic societies in order to help humanity out of its socio-economic, political and spiritual logjams.<sup>66</sup> Expectedly, while commenting on the need to establish the Islamic society based on an Islamic government that promotes the Islamic norm of *al-amr bi al-ma'ruf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar* (Enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong), Qutb notes that this norm of collective checks and balances must be done standing on the sacredness of the truth, mutual counseling, patience and freedom of worship. He stresses that non-Muslims residing in the Islamic society are permitted to be judged by the law of their religions.<sup>67</sup> He therefore sees the Islamic society as "holistic, describing the whole humanity as a society and considers society as an organic entity."<sup>68</sup>

It is in the same vein that that Qutb charges only Muslims who propound the lawfulness of the prohibited and the prohibition of the lawful as guilty of unbelief, transgression and infidelity. So, mere weakness or inability of Muslims to observe Islamic rulings on the lawful or prohibited matters in Islam does not attract the charge of unbelief. In his Magnus opus, *Fi Zilal al-Qur'an*, which is regarded as one of his most significant and highest achievements,<sup>69</sup> his greatest contribution to Islamic scholarship<sup>70</sup> and which has been translated into

<sup>63</sup> David L. Sills, *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1972), vol. 13, 577.

<sup>64</sup> Sayyid Qutb, *Fi Zilal al-Qur'an* (Beirut: Dar al-Shuruq, 1992), vol. 2, 693 and 895-902 and vol. 3, 1052.

<sup>65</sup> L. Broom, et. al (eds.), *Essential of Sociology* (Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers Inc., Hasca, 1985), 36.

<sup>66</sup> Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones* (Kuwait: International Islamic Federation of Students Organizations, 1978), 85.

<sup>67</sup> Qutb, *Fi Zilal*, vol. vol. 3, 3967-3968.

<sup>68</sup> D. Martindale, *The Scope of Social Theory* (Houston: Cap and Gown Press, 1984), vol. 2, 191.

<sup>69</sup> Ahmad Sallah al-Din Mousalli, "Contemporary Islamic Political Thought: Sayyid Qutb, Ph. D Dissertation, University Microfilm International Dissertation Service, 1988, 23.

<sup>70</sup> Davidson, "Contemporary Islamic Political Thought: Sayyid Qutb, *Encyclopedia and Dictionary*, n.p, n.d..

<sup>56</sup> Sayyid Qutb *Ma' rakat al-Islam wa al-Ra'smalīyyah* (Beirut: Dar al-Shuruq, 1980), 11-23.

<sup>57</sup> Sayyid Qutb *Al'Adalah al-Ijtima'iyyah fi al-Islam* (Beirut: Dar al-Shuruq, 1978), 249-250.

<sup>58</sup> Al-Nadwi, *Mudhakkirat Sa'ih*, 1-66 and Abu 'I Hasan 'Ali al-Nadwi, *al-Sira' bayn al-Fikrah al-Islamiyyah wa al-Fikray al-Garbiyyah* (Kuwait: N.P, 1968), 1-115.

<sup>59</sup> Haddad, "The Qur'anic Justification for an Islamic Revolution, 25.

<sup>60</sup> Qutb, *Sayyid Qutb al-Shahid*, 1- 23, Husayn, *Islamic Movements in Egypt*, 9 and al-Sadat, *In Search*, 65-67.

<sup>61</sup> J. Gould, et. al (eds.) *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences* (N.P. N.D.), 674.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 574 cited in Yusuf, *Sayyid Qutb*, 156-157.

many major languages such as English, Bahasa Malayu, French and Persian,<sup>71</sup> he upholds this view throughout his interpretation of verses that dwell on unbelief, transgression and infidelity. In his commentary on the prohibition of usury (Q2: 276) for instance, he explains that any Muslim who permits usurious transactions and rejects his unlawfulness is an unbeliever, transgressor and infidel because to reject a part of Islam is tantamount to rejecting it in its entirety.<sup>72</sup> The above view of Qutb on the *takfir* (Unbelief or infidelity of a Muslim) is in line with the views of classical scholars. Ibn Kathir writes that leaving the rule of Allah because of the belief that it is not obligatory makes a person an unbeliever.<sup>73</sup> This is the opinion of Ibn Mas'ud when he refers to Q5: 44 to substantiate that it is unlawful not to judge with what Allah has revealed and that it is unbelief which entails both big or small.<sup>74</sup>

Qutb also reflects upon the conditions of women in the Egyptian society where they were oppressed, maltreated and dominated upon. They generally lacked education, training and marital security and could be disposed off at the whims and caprices of their husbands. It was against this background that Qutb, like the Muslim Brotherhood addressed the feminist questions in Islam and demonstrates that Islam had granted Muslim women total freedom from oppression and domination.<sup>75</sup> In his commentary, Qutb explains the Islamic concept of marriage as well as the philosophy behind its principles of family formation, maintenance, sexuality polygamy and inheritance etc. He discusses how these principles address the rights and welfare of Muslim women. For instance, he argues that Islamic law on forming the family through the conduct of a public marriage between a man and a woman leads to a high degree of security for women and children as well as increased sense of responsibilities for men. Another aspect of Islamic marriage, polygamy is also discussed by Qutb while commenting on the verse of multiple marriages in Islam (Q3:4). The verse, according to him, not only limits the number of wives a man can marry to four, it also emphasizes the obligatory fulfillment of justice by a man in respect of the provision of his wives' economic, medical and sexual needs.<sup>76</sup>

He also employs a rational juristic understanding based on the traditional methodological approach in Qur'anic exegesis, *al-tafsir bi al-ma'thur* and delineates all legal rulings pertaining to the rights of

a widow to both inheritance and bequest in her marital residence for one year. By opposing the general notion of *naskh wa'l-mansukh* (theory of abrogation and the abrogated), he restores to Muslim women, their divine right to bequest. Therefore rather than rejecting absolutely the use of philosophy in the interpretation of the Qur'an, he only advocates making revelation the basis of Islamic outlook, exegesis and the application of reasoning and rationality.<sup>77</sup>

## VII. CONCLUSION

This paper has analyzed the Islamic personality and activism of a Muslim reformer who believes in, and holds tenaciously, to the Islamic teachings. He, therefore, does not fit into the same descriptive role of 'Islamic terrorists' with people like Osama Bin Laden. The Qutbian texts examined in this article constitutes part of his social, political Islamic struggles against the oppression of the Egyptian people in 20<sup>th</sup> century Egypt. Through his writings, this paper has recorded that Qutb, like the Muslim brotherhood is first and foremost involved in improving the family, social and political conditions of Egyptians, including the conditions of Muslim women through their Islamism as today confirmed by the Egyptian struggle which has culminated over the years in a popular revolution that defeated tyranny as symbolized by the fall of Husni Mubarak's despotic government on February 11, 2011. This movement which has demonstrated that the use of force should not constitute a corner stone of the Islamic movement and a barrier to the western acceptance of its activism, and Islamic change, is today reverberating throughout the Muslim world today and arguably it is reflected in the recent developments all over the Arab World.

<sup>71</sup> M. A. Salahi (Trans), *In the Shade of the Qur'an* (London: MWH London Publishers, 1979), ix.

<sup>72</sup> Sayyid Qutb, *Fi Zilal*, Vol.1, 328.

<sup>73</sup> Ibn Kathir, *Tafsir al-Qur'an al-'Adhim* vol2. 67.

<sup>74</sup> Muhammad Ibn Jarir *al-Tabari, Jami' al-Bayan 'an Ta'wil al-Qur'an* (Egypt: Dar al-Ma'rif, n.d.), vol. 10, 357.

<sup>75</sup> W. S. Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt* (London: Thomas Nelson Printers Limited, 1968), 34-36.

<sup>76</sup> Sayyid Qutb, *Fi Zilal*, vol. 2, 579 and 633.

<sup>77</sup> Qutb *Al'Adalah al-Ijtima'iyah*, 24.





GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE  
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS & POLITICAL SCIENCE  
Volume 12 Issue 11 Version 1.0 Year 2012  
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal  
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)  
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

## Islamic Finance: A Bulwark against Crisis?

By Hatem Derbel, Neila Dammak & Ali Chkir

*University of West Paris, France*

*Abstract* - The aim of this paper is to show that the Islamic finance is more stable than the conventional finance constituting, thus, a means to reduce the impact of financial crisis. Using a VAR model for the financial indexes of France (SBF250), United States (DOW JONES), United Kingdom (FTSE100), Indonesia (JAKISLM) and Saudi Arabia (TADAWUL) covering the period (26/02/2007- 12/20/2010), we show that the effect of a shock on the American market during the period of crisis is negatively transmitted on all other markets, but with a small extent on the market using the method of Islamic financing.

*Mots clefs* : *Islamic Finance, Conventional Finance, financial crisis, VAR model.*

*GJHSS-C Classification* : *FOR Code:150202 JEL Code: G01*



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# Islamic Finance: A Bulwark against Crisis?

Hatem Derbel<sup>α</sup>, Neila Dammak<sup>σ</sup> & Ali Chkir<sup>ρ</sup>

**Abstract** -The aim of this paper is to show that the Islamic finance is more stable than the conventional finance constituting, thus, a means to reduce the impact of financial crisis. Using a VAR model for the financial indexes of France (SBF250), United States (DOW JONES), United Kingdom (FTSE100), Indonesia (JAKISLM) and Saudi Arabia (TADAWUL) covering the period (26/02/2007- 12/20/2010), we show that the effect of a shock on the American market during the period of crisis is negatively transmitted on all other markets, but with a small extent on the market using the method of Islamic financing.

**Mots clefs** : *Islamic Finance, Conventional Finance, financial crisis, VAR model.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

If we exclude the introduction's trials of Islamic financial institutions in the mid of the 40s in Malaysia and in Pakistan at the end of the 50s, the first Islamic bank was established in 1963 in Mit Ghamr in Egypt (Sid Ahmed, 1982). However, the existence of this bank did not last for a long time and it was closed in 1967. It is only from the seventies where we noted the true launching of Islamic finance with the creation of the first Islamic banks, notably Islamic Development Bank (Jedda), Dubai Islamic Bank and Albaraka Banking Group (Bahrain).

Since, the Islamic financial institutions have developed in a remarkable way through several countries mainly in the Arab world (Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Dubai) and in Asia (Malaysia, Indonesia). From the 80s, Europe became interested in Islamic finance by opening in 1983 in Luxembourg the first insurance company (takaful) based on Islamic law, Shari'a, then by the creation of the first Islamic bank in 2004 which is The Islamic Bank of Britain. The aim of these financial institutions is the development and the promotion of new ways of financing in compliance with the precepts of Islam.

Nowadays, the area of Islamic finance is booming. According to a study established by an Islamic bank (Calyon), this market represents between 500 and 1000 billion dollars. Some products show an impressive growth as the Islamic bond market, the sukuks.

*Author α* : Researcher at « Economix » at the University of West Paris Nanterre La Defense and URDEE (FSEG, Sfax Tunisia).  
E-mail : derbelhatem@yahoo.fr

*Author σ* : Researcher at « IRG » at the University of Paris Est Creteil Val de Marne. E-mail : dammak\_neila@yahoo.fr

*Author ρ* : Professor at the FSEG (Sfax Tunisia) and Director of the URDEE. E-mail : Ali.chkir@fsegs.rnu.tn

The development of this sector does not come only from the increase of the Muslim population immigrant or not, who is looking for financial products conform to Shari'a, but also from its efficiency and its performance. Several financial analyses show that Islamic finance constitutes an ethical choice that avoids the drift of speculation while reinstating some values neglected by conventional finance, like trust. It prohibits not only investment in sectors considered "illicit" such as alcohol, pork, prostitution and gambling, but also it prohibits the payment of interest and speculation. Only investments in tangible assets are allowed.

The Islamic finance market is attracting a great interest. With annual growth rates of 15-20% on average over the last five years, it represents an international segment recording the fastest growth in the finance sector. This led us to be interested in this subject and to wonder us on the contribution of Islamic finance in comparison with the conventional finance. A big part of literature contains comparisons of instruments used in Islamic and conventional banking, and discusses the challenges of normalization and supervision linked to the Islamic banking (Sundararajan and Errico (2002); World Bank and FMI (2005); Ainley et al. (2007); Semelle (2007); Jobst (2007)).

However, there are very little empirical analysis on the role of Islamic finance in the financial stability. Some papers discuss the risks in Islamic financial institutions only in a theoretical framework, while empirical studies on Islamic banking are concentrated on issues linked to efficiency (Yudistira (2004); Moktar Abdullah and Al-Habshi-Habshi (2006)). Although several studies on Islamic finance have been developed, its role in financial stability has not yet been analyzed in a consistent, transnational and empirical way.

Our contribution in this paper is to lead an empirical study in order to check whether a finance based on Islamic law is more stable or not than a conventional finance. To this end, this paper is structured as follows: in section 2 we present the difference between Islamic finance and conventional finance. Section 3 discusses the relationship between Islamic finance and financial stability. In section 4, we will conduct an empirical study to determine whether countries using Islamic finance were less affected or not by crisis in comparison with those who opt for traditional finance. Finally, section 5 concludes the paper.

## II. ISLAMIC FINANCE AND CONVENTIONAL FINANCE: CONVERGENCE OR DIVERGENCE?

The purpose of a financial system, whether it is conventional or Islamic, is the mobilization of financial resources and their allocation among various investment projects. However, the basic principles which govern an Islamic financial system are different from the spirit of conventional finance. If in the "classic" finance, the norm which chairs the decisions of an economic agent is to optimize the couple return - risk of its investments, the profitability is not the only nor the main criterion of decision for the Islamic operators.

Islamic finance is a financial system which relies primarily on *Shari'a*. This last is a set of laws and rules which govern in Islam the economic, social and political life. The existence of such system lies in the desire to ensure that financial products are compatible with legal and ethical principles of Islam.

The prohibition of *riba* is one of the sources of divergence of view between Islamic finance and conventional finance. From the etymological point of view, the term *riba* comes from the Arab word "arba" which means to increase. This term refers to two distinct concepts in the terminology of conventional finance, namely the interest rate and usury. The first term indicates the amount paid for the use of money, whereas the second one refers to the offence committed by one who lends money at excessive rate. Although usury in conventional societies should be condemned, the interest on the contrary is accepted. However, Muslim philosophy condemns and prohibits any interest rate it is usury or not.

The prohibition of the practice of interest is not foreign for other religions. Indeed, it also prevailed among Christians and Jews. The prohibition of *riba* in Islam finds its origin in the Quran, the sacred book of Muslims and the main source of Islamic law. The Quran forbids expressly, in several times, the practice of *riba*. «... O the believers! Fear Allah and abandon the usurious interest, if you are believers ». Quran, Sura 2, Verse 278.

The perception of a fixed remuneration, only after the passage of time and disconnected from the real profitability of the investment project, is prohibited by the Shariah. It is considered unproductive and socially destructive. In fact, achieving substantial profits from usurious contracts, the owners of capital would take more risk or to engage in commerce or in any economic activity. This will lead to the emergence, alongside the loans with interest, other behaviors as harmful as the wear that is hoarding. In this particular vision come from two other requirements of Islamic law. First, hoarding is prohibited because it diverts funds from productive activities. Then, what is even more

fundamental, any financial transaction must be backed by real assets. Thus, financial products such as subprime mortgages can not be created in this system.

The prohibition of *riba* is a logical perception that Islam has the function of money in an economy. In conventional economies, money has three functions: medium of exchange, unit of account and instrument of transfer value over time (store of value). But according to the logic of Muslim philosophy, money is a simple instrument to create real value and to facilitate trade but do not become the object of exchange itself. It therefore does not fulfill this role transfer value over time.

The elimination of interest plays a central role in establish order in the economic. The Islamic economy is based on a different perception of the value of capital. It is the work that generates wealth, not capital. Money trading is not comparable to other businesses. Muslim philosophy and endorse the trade of goods but prohibits any profit from a transaction purely "financial".

The management of uncertainty and profit sharing between different stakeholders in a financial transaction is another source of conflict between Islamic finance and conventional finance. Islamic finance promotes equitable sharing of gains and risk between the investor (lender) and the entrepreneur (borrower), whatever the form of financing used. A financial transaction that transfers all the risks associated with an investment project on a single stakeholder is therefore contrary to the principles of Shari'ah. Sharing arrangements must be agreed in the contract signed by the determination of a proportion of loss or gain. Thus, some forms of financing from conventional financial system are all in keeping with the spirit of the Shariah and replicable in Islamic financial system, while others, including the classical debt contract, are automatically excluded. In a financial system based on sharing profits and risks, such a situation could occur because investors (ie banks) are able to properly monitor the progress of the investment project.

Moreover, Muslim jurisprudence prohibits the uncertainty in the terms of a contractual relationship. The concept of *gharar* refers to any exchange in which there is an imprecise, ambiguous, or uncertain element. That includes not only trade in goods that the salesman is not in position to sell, but also the contracts which depend on an unpredictable event. The uncertainty in case of sale of a future product consists in the impossibility of predicting the quality and/or the quantity of the sold product. This last must be clearly defined and known so that the sale is valid and so that there is no hazard.

It should be noted that goods, the object of the exchange, should not necessarily exist at the time of the signing of contract. Thus, the forward sale is not condemned. The transaction is in conflict with the *Shari'a* principles only if the terms of the exchange are

conditional on a dubious future event which does not depend on the contractors.

The *maysir* is defined as any form of contract in which the right of the contracting parties depends on a random event, such as gambling. The operations which rest on pure speculation in order to carry out a profit are illicit (*haram*) and thus are prohibited in Islamic law.

Finally, Islamic finance prohibits investment in the illicit economic activities. The financed assets must be *halal*, i.e. relative to an activity in conformity with *Shari'a*, which exclude for example the activities related to the sectors like alcohol, the armament, the pornography,... etc.

Two important points summarize the main difference between Islamic finance and conventional finance:

- The moral dimension in the decisions financial entails change in the internal organization of the bank (including the establishment of a Shariah board) and involves a number of additional obligations (such as managing Funds collected through Zakat).
- The rules operating of the Islamic bank will also change the relationship bank-customer as it exists in the world of conventional finance. Since the applicant is, to some extent, investor and it is partly the same risks that the bank can no longer talk only of a depositor-relationship bank or lender-borrower relationship but a real investor-entrepreneur, similar to that which exists in direct investment transactions. Thus, in its credit allocation decisions, the assessment will take as an entrepreneur and the economic potential of his project. For its part, the client takes into consideration not only the profitability of investment offered by a bank but also its social commitment and his commitment to the principles of *Shari'ah*.
- However, in reality, there are a number of convergences between conventional finance and Islamic finance:
- In search of greater profitability, conventional banks are expanding their investment activities.
- The Islamic banks are developing products such as Murabaha, close to the traditional debt instruments on own account and on behalf of others.
- These trends partly blur the differences between Islamic banks and conventional banks.

### III. FINANCIAL CRISIS AND ISLAMIC FINANCE

The financial crisis which was triggered in 2006 by a crash of the subprime mortgages in the United States, and revealed to the world in February 2007, then transformed into international financial crisis since August 2007 is considered as the most serious of the post-war period. It did not only affect the mortgage credits granted to the risky American households, but it

was propagated towards the banking and financial system. It has crippled the financial systems of several countries and caused the disappearance of the major financial institutions. The crisis has shown that conventional finance is very vulnerable and unable to survive alone. Islamic finance has been erected as an alternative to the conventional financial system.

However, the debate on the relationship between Islamic finance and stability during the period of subprime crisis is with double edge. On the one hand, several financial analysts consider that the Islamic finance, by its nature, is more stable than the conventional finance (Moody's (2008), Bouslama.G (2008), Drown.C (2009)). Indeed, in conventional finance, the proliferation of financial innovations in deregulated markets has led to a massive monetary creation with a very thin real basis. The excessive use of models of securitization made difficult to understand the characteristics of new products in terms of risk. The central bank may also play a crucial role in financial instability if it allows an expansion of the credit not sustained by adequate resources, i.e. a credit growth without a sufficient growth of the saving in the system. So the central bank allows, through its monetary policy, the banks to be involved in an expansion of credit without counterpart (in terms of savings). In fact, it is not the expansion of the credit which can result in a crisis situation, but it is the expansion of credit without counterpart which leads to a diversion of the real saving from the productive activities towards the non-productive activities, which in its turn weakens the creative process of real wealth. The absence of these devices in Islamic finance made this type of financing a more stable system. The prohibition of interest and devices of sharing profits and losses create a financial system based on real assets. Consequently, banks cannot initiate or accentuate a speculative process. The credit is based on real savings and this one can release an output only if it is directly invested in productive activities. The banks are competed only for the real investment and their resources are reinvested in real activities. As a result, economic growth is durable and does not contain negative impact on social justice since inflation cannot be used to impoverish creditors and employees and to enrich debtors and speculators.

In addition, deposits in a bank cannot be transformed into loans or used to buy financial assets and become reserves or a base for a new loan at another bank, contributing thus to a creation of purchasing power and to inflation. The deposits must be reinvested directly by the bank in production and trade activities.

The Islamic financial system is a system where there are no assets without risk and where all the transactions are based on the sharing of profits or losses. The contracts like futures, options, swaps are prohibited because their realizations are characterized

by an obvious uncertainty. However, the operations and the products of Islamic finance are not only strongly leaned and closely related to the real economic sphere but also completely independent and are disconnected from the traditional financial sphere. This has the effect of reducing uncertainty, duct savings towards the real and material investments, and the completely elimination of speculation and its effects which, often, distort economic predictions, skew the prices of goods and inflate the consequences of a possible crisis.

In Islamic finance, interest rate is not used as monetary policy instrument. The central bank does not refinance the banks, and does not provide financial instruments to the banks as it is the case in conventional finance. The central bank applies quantitative ceilings on the monetary aggregates. Such a policy was effective in maintaining financial stability and in the exclusion of speculative booms and inflation.

The sources of financial instability of the conventional system, i.e. the abundance of liquidities, the credit without counterpart, the speculation and the fixing of interest rate by the central bank are absent in Islamic finance, ensuring, thus, the stability of this system. A finance based on the rules of *Shari'a* condemns the interest which encourages the polarization of money in the hands of minority, but institutes, in compensation, the sense of sharing and equitable redistribution of wealth.

On the other hand, other financial analysts consider that Islamic banks are unstable and may lead to many risks in the financial system that differ from those of conventional banks, such as liquidity risk, operational risk and legal risk. Choong and Liu (2006) argue that Islamic banking services, at least as practised in Malaysia, diverge from the sharing of profits and losses principle, and in practice are not very different from the traditional system. Their results suggest that the quick growth in Islamic banking sector is principally fed by the revival of Islam in the world rather than by the advantages of the sharing of profits and losses principle, and that Islamic banks should be regulated in a similar way as their western counterparts.

The prohibition of interest may result in the underdevelopment of funding sources. Thus, Islamic banks face specific obstacles in the management of liquidity. Moreover, as indicated by Noyer.C (2009), the weakness of standardization of the products and the lack of harmonization of Islamic norms, due to differences between the interpretations of the *Shari'a* specialists, may increase the operational risk and legal uncertainty making, thus, the follow-up of the sharing of profits and losses principle much more complex as the volume of the bank transactions increases. Similarly, the prohibition to finance certain sectors limits the categories of assets eligible for investments, which contributes to increase the risk of concentration in sectors more sensitive to the conjuncture. In the same

context, Cihák.M and Hesse.H (2008) show that the more the size of the Islamic banks increases, the more they find difficulties of adjusting their monitoring systems of the credit risk. They also note that the market share of Islamic banks has no significant impact on the financial strength of other banks.

The analysis of the principles of Islamic finance does not allow, alone, resolving the question of the relationship between Islamic finance and financial stability. It is necessary to supplement them by an empirical analysis. For this reason, we will conduct an empirical study to check whether countries practicing Islamic finance were relatively less affected by the crisis than those using the conventional method of financing.

## IV. EMPIRICAL STUDY

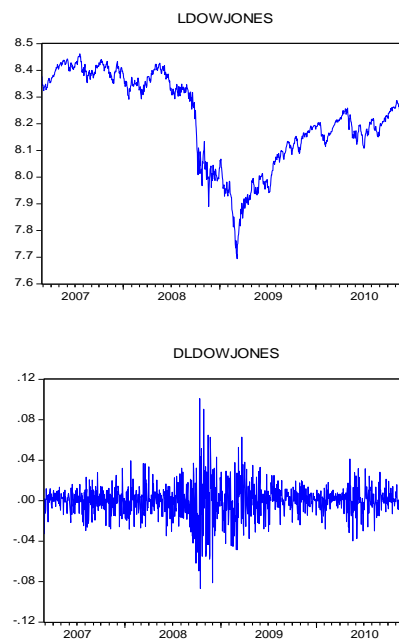
### a) Data and methodology

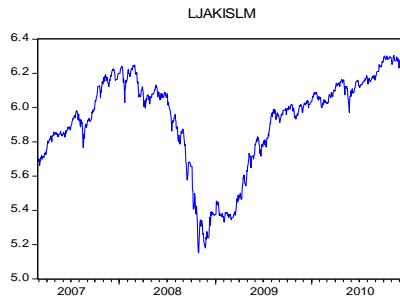
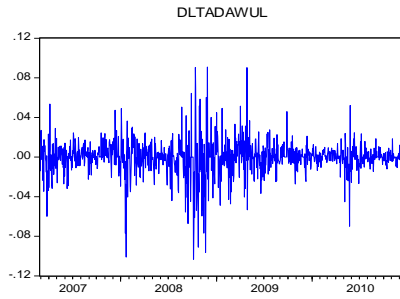
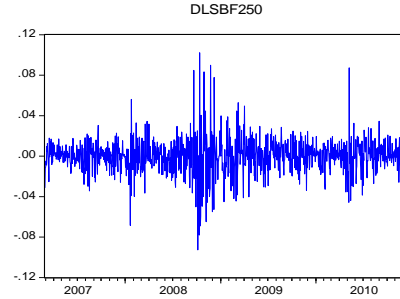
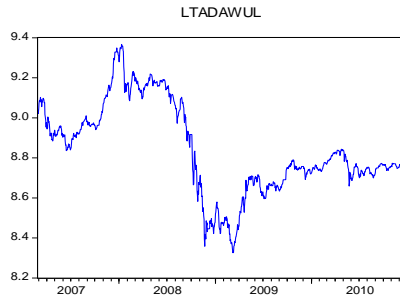
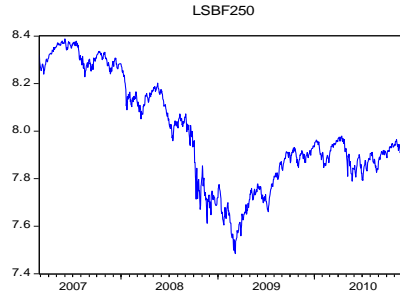
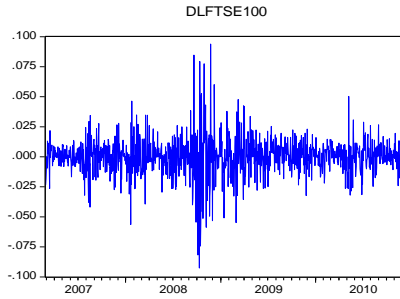
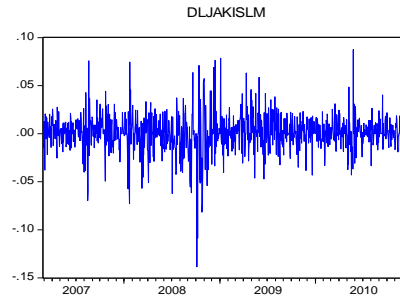
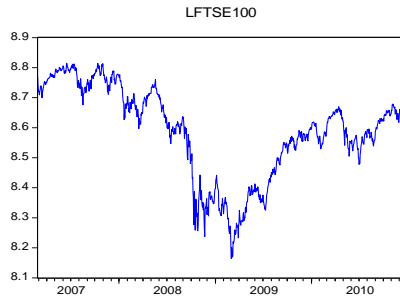
Our purpose in this empirical section is to determine whether Islamic finance is able to absorb shocks in the context of a global economy very disturbed by the world financial crisis. To do this, we use a VAR model including a sample of 5 markets indexes: of France (SBF250), United States (DOW JONES), United Kingdom (FTSE100), Indonesia (JAKISLM) and Saudi Arabia (Tadawul). The data, collected from Datastream, are daily frequencies and cover the period from 26/02/2007 to 12/20/2010.

### b) Descriptive study

According to Fig.1, we note that all series in level have an upward trend which disappears when the series are in first difference. All series of the market indexes relating to the United States, France, Saudi Arabia, United Kingdom and Indonesia, are a priori non-stationary.

Figure 1 : Descriptive study





*c) Unit Root test*

To study the stationarity of variables, we use the Augmented Dickey-Fuller test (ADF). Table 1 reports the results of this test. These results show that all the market indexes are non-stationary in level, but stationary in first difference and, consequently, they are integrated of order one (I (1)).

Table 1 : Unit Root Test

	Lag	Model*	Stat ADF	T <sub>ADF</sub>	Processus
LSBF250	1	3	-0.720197	1% -2.567288 5% -1.941142 10% -1.616485	DS
DLSBF250	1	3	-33.40500	1% -2.57291 5% -1.941142 10% -1.616485	Stationnary
LDOW JONES	2	3	-0.158381	1% -2.567293 5% -1.941142 10% -1.616485	DS
DLDOW JONES	2	3	-25.84998	1% -2.567293 5% -1.941142 10% -1.616485	Stationnary
LFTSE100	1	3	-0.472821	1% -2.567293 5% -1.941142 10% -1.616485	DS
DLFTSE100	1	3	-33.40500	1% -2.567291 5% -1.941142 10% -1.616485	Stationnary
LJAKISLM	1	3	0.704948	1% -2.567288 5% -1.941142 10% -1.616485	DS
DLJAKISLM	1	3	-29.46087	1% -2.567291 5% -1.941142 10% -1.616485	Stationnary
LTADAWUL	1	3	-0.472411	1% -2.567293 5% -1.941142 10% -1.616485	DS
DLTADAWUL	1	3	-29.16458	1% -2.567291 5% -1.941142 10% -1.616485	Stationnary

(1) : Model no constant and no trend

(2) : Model with constant

(3) : Model Model with constant no trend

#### d) The cointegration test

The unit root test indicates that all the series of market indexes exhibit the same order of integration. According to the terminology of Engel and Granger (1987), there may be a possible long-term stable relationship between these variables. To test

cointegration, we use the approach of Johansen (1995). The first stage of this analysis is to determine the number of gap of the autoregressive vectorial model (i.e. VAR (p)). To do this, we estimate some numbers of autoregressive processes and we retain the one that jointly minimizes the criteria of Akaike and Schwartz. Table 2 presents the overall results.

Table 2 : Number of lags.

	P=1	P=2	P=3	P=4	P=5
Akaike information criterion	-29.27527	-29.72890	-29.77227	-29.79541	-29.77246
Schwarz criterion	-29.12745	-29.45768	-29.37744	-29.27679	-29.12985

The minimization of the Akaike criterion led to retain 4 gaps, whereas for the Schwartz criterion, that leads us to retain two gaps. According to the principle of parsimony, we adopt two gaps (P=2). From table 2, we can conclude that this is a VAR model of order (2).

Johansen (1995) proposed a test based on the vectors corresponding to the highest eigenvalues of the matrix





DLDOW JONES does not Granger Cause DLSBF250		183.298	2.E-38
DLTADAWUL does not Granger Cause DLDOW JONES	994	0.84101	0.3593
DLDOW JONES does not Granger Cause DLTADAWUL		53.0819	7.E-13
DLJAKISLM does not Granger Cause DLDOW JONES	994	0.01533	0.9015
DLDOW JONES does not Granger Cause DLJAKISLM		93.4584	3.E-21
DLSBF250 does not Granger Cause DLFTSE100	994	3.44048	0.0639
DLFTSE100 does not Granger Cause DLSBF250		3.36008	0.0671
DLTADAWUL does not Granger Cause DLFTSE100	994	16.5732	5.E-05
DLFTSE100 does not Granger Cause DLTADAWUL		22.7182	2.E-06
DLJAKISLM does not Granger Cause DLFTSE100	994	0.00797	0.9289
DLFTSE100 does not Granger Cause DLJAKISLM		42.5797	1.E-10
DLTADAWUL does not Granger Cause DLSBF250	994	22.3118	3.E-06
DLSBF250 does not Granger Cause DLTADAWUL		25.2581	6.E-07
DLJAKISLM does not Granger Cause DLSBF250	994	1.01411	0.3142
DLSBF250 does not Granger Cause DLJAKISLM		47.1066	1.E-11
DLJAKISLM does not Granger Cause DLTADAWUL	994	15.8019	8.E-05
DLTADAWUL does not Granger Cause DLJAKISLM		6.60096	0.0103

In light of the results of Granger causality tests, we observe bidirectional causality between the couples of markets (France, Arabie Saoudite) et (Arabie saoudite, Indonésie). However, we note the presence of unidirectional causality from the U.S market to all markets and from France to Indonesia.

The absence of cointegration between nonstationary series and the existence of causalities between the series stationary in first difference, leads us to estimate a model VAR in difference.

#### f) Estimation of the model

The estimations are provided by the Eviews software. The found results are better analyzed by using response functions to a shock. In this paper, we are only interested in analyzing the impact which a shock could have on the US market on the other markets. This shock, occurring in one period, is not maintained. But, since the model includes an autoregressive and an economic dynamic, through functions of reaction, the shock persists in attenuated form during some time. The initial positive shock on the DOW JONES tends to be reduced gradually as other markets take it into account later in their functions of reaction.

– We note first that the effect of the shock on DOW JONES is more important in the markets where finance is conventional (about 0.016 in the U.S and 0.01 in France and United Kingdom ) in relation to those where finance is Islamic (about 0.004).

- We also note that the shock on the DOW JONES is transmitted negatively on all other markets but with a different extent. In France, we observe a continuous decrease of the SBF250, which becomes negative after two periods and a half. This last reaches its minimum on the level of the 3rd period (- 0,003). A reversal of the trend is also noted. Indeed, it reaches a positive sign but very weak on the fourth period and then decreases again to have a negative sign during the fifth period. In the U.S and United Kingdom, almost the same trend was observed. Indeed, we notice a continuous reduction of the index which reaches its minimum at the end of the 2nd period (- 0,004), then it increases while remaining negative before the effect of the shock fades. On the other hand, in Saudi Arabia and Indonesia, we note, at the beginning, a positive effect during the first two periods, and then the indexes start to decrease gradually to reach a minimum during the fourth period of about -0.0001.

In the light of this work, it is clear that the current financial crisis was transmitted negatively on all the markets. This effect is of weak extent in the markets where finance is Islamic. Consequently, Islamic finance can constitute an effective additional financing system beside conventional finance in the Western countries in order to reduce the effect of crisis.

## V. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper is to highlight the benefits of Islamic finance. Theoretically, several studies have shown that this type of financing can reduce the effect of crisis. In order to illustrate this report empirically, we used an econometric model, specially a VAR model for the case of the financial markets of the United States, France, Saudi Arabia and Indonesia. The results show that the transmission of the current crisis is weak in the markets which are used Islamic finance. Indeed, regarding the extent of the effect, we noted that the reduction in indexes is more important in the United States, United Kingdom and in France compared to those in Saudi Arabia and in Indonesia. So, the negative effect of the shock is more important in the markets where finance is only conventional.

Unlike conventional finance which is periodically hit by crisis of varying severity, Islamic finance can be regarded as a stable and efficient financial system to absorb shocks, and able to promote growth and job creation. Nevertheless, juridical and fiscal adjustments are necessary to accelerate its development.

## VI BIBLIOGRAPHIE

1. ABDELKADER SID AHMED (1982) :« Finance Islamique et développement »; Revue du tiers monde, Vol. 23, Numéro 92, pp. 877-890.
2. ABDELKADER SID AHMED (1990): « Economie Islamique, principes et réalités : l'expérience récente des pays arabes. Une première évaluation »; Revue du tiers monde, Vol. 31, Numéro 122, pp. 405-435.
3. AINLEY M., MASHAYEKHI A., HICKS H., ARSHADUR R.ET RAVALIA A. (2007): « Islamic Finance in the UK: Regulation and Challenges »; London: Financial Services Authority.
4. BANQUE MONDIALE ET FMI (2005) :« Financial Sector Assessment »; A Handbook, Washington: Worldbank.
5. BOUSLAMA G. (2008) : « La finance Islamique : une rescapée du tsunami des *subprimes* ? », *Banque Stratégie*, n°264, novembre, pp. 36-38.
6. CHOONG, BENG SOON, AND MING-HUA LIU (2006): « Islamic Banking: Interest-Free or Interest Based? »; Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=868567>.
7. DENNIS OLSON AND ZOUBI TAISIER A. (2008): « Using accounting ratios to distinguish between Islamic and conventional banks in the GCC region »; The International Journal of Accounting, Vol. 43, Issue 1, March 2008, Pages 45-65.
8. DICKEY D.A. AND FULLER W.A. (1979): « Distribution of the Estimators for Autoregressive Time Series with a Unit Root »; Journal of the American Statistical Association, Vol. 74, pp. 427-431.

9. ENGEL R.F. AND GRANGER C.W.J. (1987): « Cointegration and Error Correction: Representation, Estimation and Testing »; *Econometrica*, Vol. 55, N° 2, pp. 251-276.
10. GRANGER C. W. (1969): «Investigating Causal Relations by Econometric Models and Cross Spectral Methods »; *Econometrica*, 37, 424-438.
11. JOBST A. (2007): « The Economics of Islamic Finance and Securitization »; IMF Working Paper No. 07/117 (Washington: International Monetary Fund).
12. JOHANSEN S. (1995): « Likelihood-Based Inference in Cointegrated Vector Autoregressive Models »; New York: Oxford University Press.
13. KRICHENE N. ET SAIDANE E. (2009): « Résilience et stabilité de la Finance Islamique »; <http://www.webmanagercenter.com/management/article.php?id=71657>.
14. CIHAK MARTIN AND HESSE HEIKO (2008): « Islamic Banks and Financial Stability:An Empirical Analysis »; International Monetary Fund, Working Paper WP/08/16.
15. MOKTAR, HAMIM S., NAZIRUDDIN ABDULLAH, AND SYED M. AL-HABSHI (2006): « Efficiency of Islamic Banks in Malaysia: A Stochastic Frontier Approach »; *Journal of Economic Cooperation among Islamic Countries*, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 37-70.
16. MOODY'S INVESTORS SERVICES (2008): « Gulf Islamic Banks Resilient Amid Global Credit Woes »; *Special Comment*, novembre, 19 pages.
17. NOYER C. (2009): « Stabilité mondiale, l'avenir des marchés de capitaux et de la finance Islamique en France »; Séminaire Euromoney, Conférence de Paris sur la Finance Islamique, Paris 29, 30 Septembre 2009, Banque de France Eurosysteme.
18. SUNDARARAJAN V. ET ERRICO L. (2002):« Islamic Financial Institutions and Products in the Global Financial System: Key Issues in Risk Management and Challenges Ahead »; IMF Working Paper 02/192, pp. 1-28, 2002. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=880303>.
19. THE ECONOMIST (1994): « On Shaky Ground »; The Economist p.9, December.
20. YUDISTIRA D. (2004): « Efficiency in Islamic Banking: An Empirical Analysis of Eighteen Banks »; *Islamic Economic Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 1-19.

## Annexe 1 : Resultats of the Estimation

Vector Autoregression Estimates

Date: 12/23/10 Time: 01:03

Sample (adjusted): 3/01/2007 12/20/2010

Included observations: 993 after adjustments

Standard errors in ( ) &amp; t-statistics in [ ]

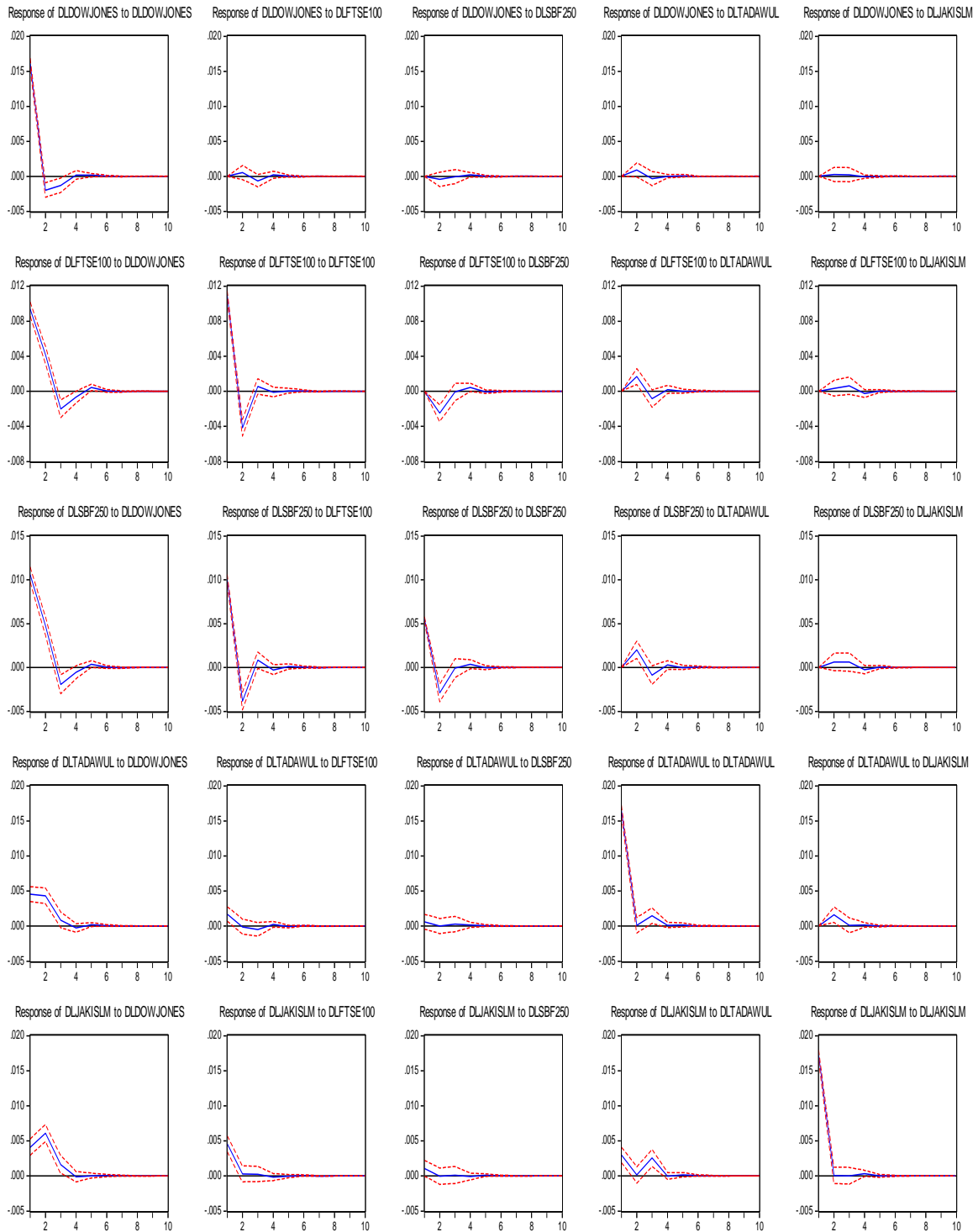
	DLDOW JONES	DLFTSE100	DLSBF250	DLTADAWUL	DLJAKISLM
DLDOW JONES(-1)	-0.148853 (0.04318) [-3.44706]	0.519027 (0.03872) [ 13.4038]	0.544000 (0.04185) [ 12.9990]	0.276393 (0.04608) [ 5.99826]	0.364000 (0.04970) [ 7.32386]
DLDOW JONES(-2)	-0.091502 (0.04702) [-1.94590]	0.142940 (0.04217) [ 3.38992]	0.120939 (0.04557) [ 2.65384]	0.091765 (0.05018) [ 1.82884]	0.097132 (0.05412) [ 1.79472]
DLFTSE100(-1)	0.113512 (0.09633) [ 1.17843]	0.022698 (0.08638) [ 0.26278]	0.114505 (0.09335) [ 1.22660]	-0.030402 (0.10279) [-0.29578]	0.031942 (0.11086) [ 0.28812]
DLFTSE100(-2)	-0.025864 (0.09534) [-0.27127]	0.055234 (0.08550) [ 0.64603]	0.084359 (0.09240) [ 0.91297]	-0.130977 (0.10174) [-1.28739]	-0.046435 (0.10974) [-0.42316]
DLSBF250(-1)	-0.088724 (0.09273) [-0.95682]	-0.466164 (0.08315) [-5.60624]	-0.543301 (0.08987) [-6.04569]	-0.018773 (0.09895) [-0.18973]	-0.009799 (0.10672) [-0.09182]
DLSBF250(-2)	-0.019746 (0.09303) [-0.21226]	-0.210387 (0.08342) [-2.52208]	-0.206308 (0.09015) [-2.28839]	0.043653 (0.09927) [ 0.43976]	0.046474 (0.10707) [ 0.43406]
DLTADAWUL(-1)	0.051075 (0.03153) [ 1.62011]	0.099567 (0.02827) [ 3.52210]	0.115901 (0.03055) [ 3.79355]	-0.011522 (0.03364) [-0.34252]	0.007355 (0.03628) [ 0.20270]
DLTADAWUL(-2)	-0.016791 (0.03120) [-0.53812]	-0.030734 (0.02798) [-1.09843]	-0.034737 (0.03024) [-1.14873]	0.079228 (0.03330) [ 2.37953]	0.134818 (0.03591) [ 3.75403]
DLJAKISLM(-1)	0.015178 (0.02946) [ 0.51528]	0.020149 (0.02641) [ 0.76281]	0.035754 (0.02855) [ 1.25244]	0.093866 (0.03143) [ 2.98632]	0.004011 (0.03390) [ 0.11829]
DLJAKISLM(-2)	0.010594 (0.02881) [ 0.36772]	0.035548 (0.02583) [ 1.37600]	0.033224 (0.02792) [ 1.18997]	0.002630 (0.03074) [ 0.08554]	-0.005056 (0.03316) [-0.15248]
C	-0.000106	-0.000252	-0.000552	-0.000246	0.000632

	(0.00051) [-0.20580]	(0.00046) [-0.54662]	(0.00050) [-1.10829]	(0.00055) [-0.44886]	(0.00059) [ 1.06849]
R-squared	0.028831	0.194505	0.188270	0.076940	0.120310
Adj. R-squared	0.018941	0.186303	0.180004	0.067540	0.111351
Sum sq. resids	0.254977	0.205026	0.239477	0.290326	0.337759
S.E. equation	0.016114	0.014449	0.015616	0.017194	0.018546
F-statistic	2.915256	23.71268	22.77622	8.185298	13.43017
Log likelihood	2695.715	2803.970	2726.854	2631.253	2556.119
Akaike AIC	-5.407281	-5.625317	-5.469997	-5.277449	-5.126122
Schwarz SC	-5.352993	-5.571029	-5.415709	-5.223161	-5.071834
Mean dependent	-5.31E-05	-4.67E-05	-0.000326	-0.000229	0.000557
S.D. dependent	0.016268	0.016018	0.017245	0.017806	0.019674
Determinant resid covariance (dof adj.)		7.73E-20			
Determinant resid covariance		7.31E-20			
Log likelihood		14832.00			
Akaike information criterion		-29.76233			
Schwarz criterion		-29.49089			

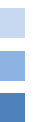
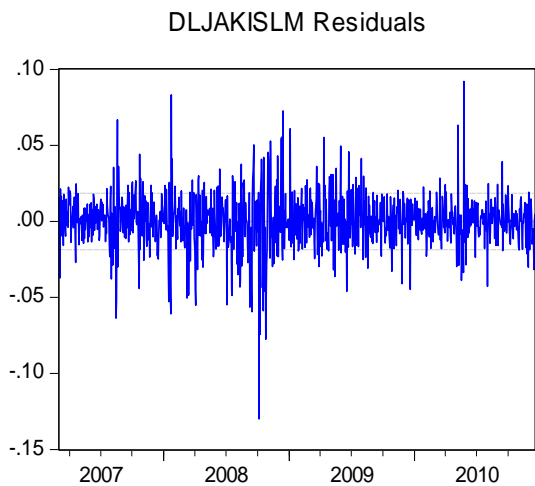
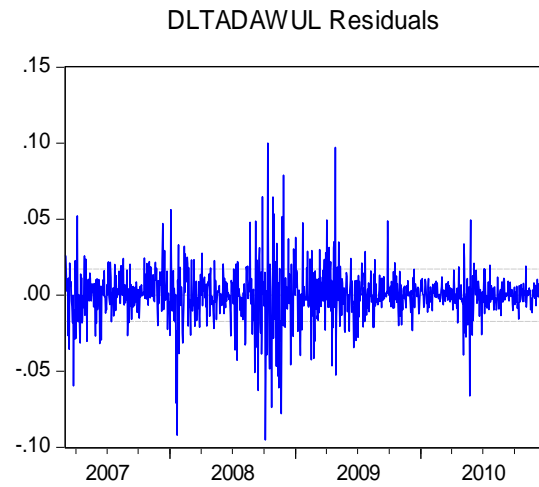
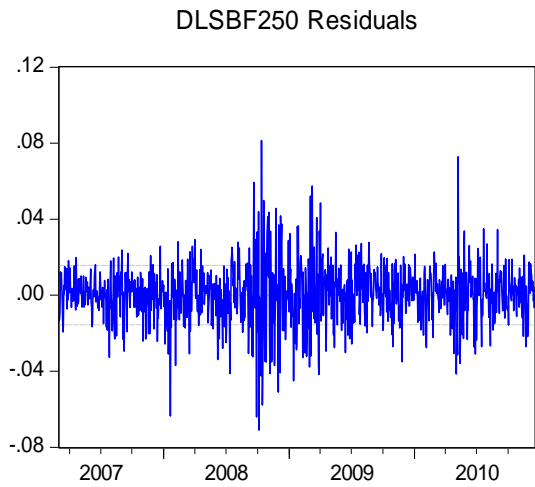
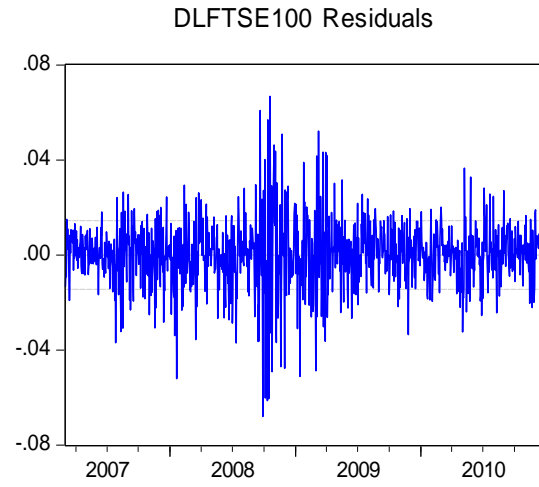
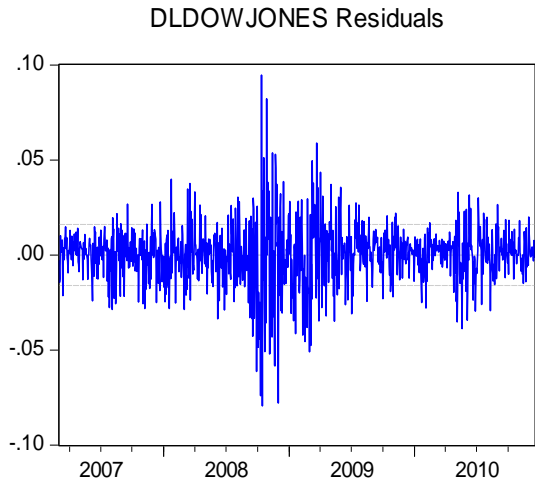


Annexe 2 : Results Response Functions.

Response to Cholesky One S.D. Innovations  $\pm 2$  S.E.



Annexe 1: Model validation



GLOBAL JOURNALS INC. (US) GUIDELINES HANDBOOK 2012

---

[WWW.GLOBALJOURNALS.ORG](http://WWW.GLOBALJOURNALS.ORG)

### FELLOW OF ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY IN HUMAN SCIENCE (FARSHS)

- FARSHS' title will be awarded to the person after approval of Editor-in-Chief and Editorial Board. The title 'FARSHS' can be added to name in the following manner. eg. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FARSHS or William Walldroff Ph. D., M.S., FARSHS
- Being FARSHS is a respectful honor. It authenticates your research activities. After becoming FARSHS, you can use 'FARSHS' title as you use your degree in suffix of your name. This will definitely will enhance and add up your name. You can use it on your Career Counseling Materials/CV/Resume/Visiting Card/Name Plate etc.
- 60% Discount will be provided to FARSHS members for publishing research papers in Global Journals Inc., if our Editorial Board and Peer Reviewers accept the paper. For the life time, if you are author/co-author of any paper bill sent to you will automatically be discounted one by 60%
- FARSHS will be given a renowned, secure, free professional email address with 100 GB of space eg.johnhall@globaljournals.org. You will be facilitated with Webmail, SpamAssassin, Email Forwarders, Auto-Responders, Email Delivery Route tracing, etc.
- FARSHS member is eligible to become paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Inc. to earn up to 15% of realized author charges taken from author of respective paper. After reviewing 5 or more papers you can request to transfer the amount to your bank account or to your PayPal account.
- Eg. If we had taken 420 USD from author, we can send 63 USD to your account.
- FARSHS member can apply for free approval, grading and certification of some of their Educational and Institutional Degrees from Global Journals Inc. (US) and Open Association of Research,Society U.S.A.
- After you are FARSHS. You can send us scanned copy of all of your documents. We will verify, grade and certify them within a month. It will be based on your academic records, quality of research papers published by you, and 50 more criteria. This is beneficial for your job interviews as recruiting organization need not just rely on you for authenticity and your unknown qualities, you would have authentic ranks of all of your documents. Our scale is unique worldwide.



- FARSHS member can proceed to get benefits of free research podcasting in Global Research Radio with their research documents, slides and online movies.
- After your publication anywhere in the world, you can upload your research paper with your recorded voice or you can use our professional RJs to record your paper their voice. We can also stream your conference videos and display your slides online.
- FARSHS will be eligible for free application of Standardization of their Researches by Open Scientific Standards. Standardization is next step and level after publishing in a journal. A team of research and professional will work with you to take your research to its next level, which is worldwide open standardization.
- FARSHS is eligible to earn from their researches: While publishing his paper with Global Journals Inc. (US), FARSHS can decide whether he/she would like to publish his/her research in closed manner. When readers will buy that individual research paper for reading, 80% of its earning by Global Journals Inc. (US) will be transferred to FARSHS member's bank account after certain threshold balance. There is no time limit for collection. FARSHS member can decide its price and we can help in decision.

## **MEMBER OF ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY IN HUMAN SCIENCE (MARSHS)**

- MARSHS title will be awarded to the person/institution after approval of Editor-in-Chief and Editorial Board. The title 'MARSHS' can be added to name in the following manner: eg. Dr. Thomas Knoll, Ph.D., MARSHS
- MARSHS can submit one paper every year for publication without any charges. The paper will be sent to two peer reviewers. The paper will be published after the acceptance of peer reviewers and Editorial Board.
- Free 2GB Web-space will be allotted to 'MARSHS' along with sub Domain to contribute and participate in our activities.
- A professional email address will be allotted with free 1GB email space.
- MARSHS will be authorized to receive e-Journal GJHSS for lifetime.

# AUXILIARY MEMBERSHIPS

---

## ANNUAL MEMBER

- Annual Member will be authorized to receive e-Journal GJHSS for one year (subscription for one year).
- The member will be allotted free 1 GB Web-space along with subDomain to contribute and participate in our activities.
- A professional email address will be allotted free 500 MB email space.

## PAPER PUBLICATION

- The members can publish paper once. The paper will be sent to two-peer reviewer. The paper will be published after the acceptance of peer reviewers and Editorial Board.



## PROCESS OF SUBMISSION OF RESEARCH PAPER

---

The Area or field of specialization may or may not be of any category as mentioned in 'Scope of Journal' menu of the GlobalJournals.org website. There are 37 Research Journal categorized with Six parental Journals GJCST, GJMR, GJRE, GJMBR, GJSFR, GJHSS. For Authors should prefer the mentioned categories. There are three widely used systems UDC, DDC and LCC. The details are available as 'Knowledge Abstract' at Home page. The major advantage of this coding is that, the research work will be exposed to and shared with all over the world as we are being abstracted and indexed worldwide.

The paper should be in proper format. The format can be downloaded from first page of 'Author Guideline' Menu. The Author is expected to follow the general rules as mentioned in this menu. The paper should be written in MS-Word Format (\*.DOC,\*.DOCX).

The Author can submit the paper either online or offline. The authors should prefer online submission.Online Submission: There are three ways to submit your paper:

**(A) (I) First, register yourself using top right corner of Home page then Login. If you are already registered, then login using your username and password.**

**(II) Choose corresponding Journal.**

**(III) Click 'Submit Manuscript'. Fill required information and Upload the paper.**

**(B) If you are using Internet Explorer, then Direct Submission through Homepage is also available.**

**(C) If these two are not convenient, and then email the paper directly to dean@globaljournals.org.**

Offline Submission: Author can send the typed form of paper by Post. However, online submission should be preferred.



# PREFERRED AUTHOR GUIDELINES

## MANUSCRIPT STYLE INSTRUCTION (Must be strictly followed)

Page Size: 8.27" X 11"

- Left Margin: 0.65
- Right Margin: 0.65
- Top Margin: 0.75
- Bottom Margin: 0.75
- Font type of all text should be Swis 721 Lt BT.
- Paper Title should be of Font Size 24 with one Column section.
- Author Name in Font Size of 11 with one column as of Title.
- Abstract Font size of 9 Bold, "Abstract" word in Italic Bold.
- Main Text: Font size 10 with justified two columns section
- Two Column with Equal Column with of 3.38 and Gaping of .2
- First Character must be three lines Drop capped.
- Paragraph before Spacing of 1 pt and After of 0 pt.
- Line Spacing of 1 pt
- Large Images must be in One Column
- Numbering of First Main Headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman Letters, Capital Letter, and Font Size of 10.
- Numbering of Second Main Headings (Heading 2) must be in Alphabets, Italic, and Font Size of 10.

**You can use your own standard format also.**

### Author Guidelines:

1. General,
2. Ethical Guidelines,
3. Submission of Manuscripts,
4. Manuscript's Category,
5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,
6. After Acceptance.

### 1. GENERAL

Before submitting your research paper, one is advised to go through the details as mentioned in following heads. It will be beneficial, while peer reviewer justify your paper for publication.

### Scope

The Global Journals Inc. (US) welcome the submission of original paper, review paper, survey article relevant to the all the streams of Philosophy and knowledge. The Global Journals Inc. (US) is parental platform for Global Journal of Computer Science and Technology, Researches in Engineering, Medical Research, Science Frontier Research, Human Social Science, Management, and Business organization. The choice of specific field can be done otherwise as following in Abstracting and Indexing Page on this Website. As the all Global



Journals Inc. (US) are being abstracted and indexed (in process) by most of the reputed organizations. Topics of only narrow interest will not be accepted unless they have wider potential or consequences.

## 2. ETHICAL GUIDELINES

Authors should follow the ethical guidelines as mentioned below for publication of research paper and research activities.

Papers are accepted on strict understanding that the material in whole or in part has not been, nor is being, considered for publication elsewhere. If the paper once accepted by Global Journals Inc. (US) and Editorial Board, will become the copyright of the Global Journals Inc. (US).

**Authorship: The authors and coauthors should have active contribution to conception design, analysis and interpretation of findings. They should critically review the contents and drafting of the paper. All should approve the final version of the paper before submission**

The Global Journals Inc. (US) follows the definition of authorship set up by the Global Academy of Research and Development. According to the Global Academy of R&D authorship, criteria must be based on:

- 1) Substantial contributions to conception and acquisition of data, analysis and interpretation of the findings.
- 2) Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.
- 3) Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

All authors should have been credited according to their appropriate contribution in research activity and preparing paper. Contributors who do not match the criteria as authors may be mentioned under Acknowledgement.

Acknowledgements: Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned under acknowledgement. The specifications of the source of funding for the research if appropriate can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with address.

**Appeal of Decision: The Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed elsewhere.**

**Permissions: It is the author's responsibility to have prior permission if all or parts of earlier published illustrations are used in this paper.**

Please mention proper reference and appropriate acknowledgements wherever expected.

If all or parts of previously published illustrations are used, permission must be taken from the copyright holder concerned. It is the author's responsibility to take these in writing.

Approval for reproduction/modification of any information (including figures and tables) published elsewhere must be obtained by the authors/copyright holders before submission of the manuscript. Contributors (Authors) are responsible for any copyright fee involved.

## 3. SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts should be uploaded via this online submission page. The online submission is most efficient method for submission of papers, as it enables rapid distribution of manuscripts and consequently speeds up the review procedure. It also enables authors to know the status of their own manuscripts by emailing us. Complete instructions for submitting a paper is available below.

Manuscript submission is a systematic procedure and little preparation is required beyond having all parts of your manuscript in a given format and a computer with an Internet connection and a Web browser. Full help and instructions are provided on-screen. As an author, you will be prompted for login and manuscript details as Field of Paper and then to upload your manuscript file(s) according to the instructions.



To avoid postal delays, all transaction is preferred by e-mail. A finished manuscript submission is confirmed by e-mail immediately and your paper enters the editorial process with no postal delays. When a conclusion is made about the publication of your paper by our Editorial Board, revisions can be submitted online with the same procedure, with an occasion to view and respond to all comments.

Complete support for both authors and co-author is provided.

#### 4. MANUSCRIPT'S CATEGORY

Based on potential and nature, the manuscript can be categorized under the following heads:

Original research paper: Such papers are reports of high-level significant original research work.

Review papers: These are concise, significant but helpful and decisive topics for young researchers.

Research articles: These are handled with small investigation and applications

Research letters: The letters are small and concise comments on previously published matters.

#### 5. STRUCTURE AND FORMAT OF MANUSCRIPT

The recommended size of original research paper is less than seven thousand words, review papers fewer than seven thousands words also. Preparation of research paper or how to write research paper, are major hurdle, while writing manuscript. The research articles and research letters should be fewer than three thousand words, the structure original research paper; sometime review paper should be as follows:

**Papers:** These are reports of significant research (typically less than 7000 words equivalent, including tables, figures, references), and comprise:

- (a) Title should be relevant and commensurate with the theme of the paper.
- (b) A brief Summary, "Abstract" (less than 150 words) containing the major results and conclusions.
- (c) Up to ten keywords, that precisely identifies the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
- (d) An Introduction, giving necessary background excluding subheadings; objectives must be clearly declared.
- (e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition; sources of information must be given and numerical methods must be specified by reference, unless non-standard.
- (f) Results should be presented concisely, by well-designed tables and/or figures; the same data may not be used in both; suitable statistical data should be given. All data must be obtained with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage. As reproduced design has been recognized to be important to experiments for a considerable time, the Editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned un-refereed;
- (g) Discussion should cover the implications and consequences, not just recapitulating the results; conclusions should be summarizing.
- (h) Brief Acknowledgements.
- (i) References in the proper form.

Authors should very cautiously consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate efficiently. Papers are much more likely to be accepted, if they are cautiously designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and be conventional to the approach and instructions. They will in addition, be published with much less delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.



The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and to make suggestions to improve brevity.

It is vital, that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

## Format

*Language: The language of publication is UK English. Authors, for whom English is a second language, must have their manuscript efficiently edited by an English-speaking person before submission to make sure that, the English is of high excellence. It is preferable, that manuscripts should be professionally edited.*

Standard Usage, Abbreviations, and Units: Spelling and hyphenation should be conventional to The Concise Oxford English Dictionary. Statistics and measurements should at all times be given in figures, e.g. 16 min, except for when the number begins a sentence. When the number does not refer to a unit of measurement it should be spelt in full unless, it is 160 or greater.

Abbreviations supposed to be used carefully. The abbreviated name or expression is supposed to be cited in full at first usage, followed by the conventional abbreviation in parentheses.

Metric SI units are supposed to generally be used excluding where they conflict with current practice or are confusing. For illustration, 1.4 l rather than  $1.4 \times 10^{-3} \text{ m}^3$ , or 4 mm somewhat than  $4 \times 10^{-3} \text{ m}$ . Chemical formula and solutions must identify the form used, e.g. anhydrous or hydrated, and the concentration must be in clearly defined units. Common species names should be followed by underlines at the first mention. For following use the generic name should be constricted to a single letter, if it is clear.

## Structure

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals Inc. (US), ought to include:

Title: The title page must carry an instructive title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) wherever the work was carried out. The full postal address in addition with the e-mail address of related author must be given. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining and indexing.

*Abstract, used in Original Papers and Reviews:*

### Optimizing Abstract for Search Engines

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or similar. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. This in turn will make it more likely to be viewed and/or cited in a further work. Global Journals Inc. (US) have compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

### Key Words

A major linchpin in research work for the writing research paper is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and Internet resources.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy and planning a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Search engines for most searches, use Boolean searching, which is somewhat different from Internet searches. The Boolean search uses "operators," words (and, or, not, and near) that enable you to expand or narrow your affords. Tips for research paper while preparing research paper are very helpful guideline of research paper.

Choice of key words is first tool of tips to write research paper. Research paper writing is an art. A few tips for deciding as strategically as possible about keyword search:



- One should start brainstorming lists of possible keywords before even begin searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.
- It may take the discovery of only one relevant paper to let steer in the right keyword direction because in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.
- One should avoid outdated words.

Keywords are the key that opens a door to research work sources. Keyword searching is an art in which researcher's skills are bound to improve with experience and time.

Numerical Methods: Numerical methods used should be clear and, where appropriate, supported by references.

*Acknowledgements: Please make these as concise as possible.*

#### References

References follow the Harvard scheme of referencing. References in the text should cite the authors' names followed by the time of their publication, unless there are three or more authors when simply the first author's name is quoted followed by et al. unpublished work has to only be cited where necessary, and only in the text. Copies of references in press in other journals have to be supplied with submitted typescripts. It is necessary that all citations and references be carefully checked before submission, as mistakes or omissions will cause delays.

References to information on the World Wide Web can be given, but only if the information is available without charge to readers on an official site. Wikipedia and Similar websites are not allowed where anyone can change the information. Authors will be asked to make available electronic copies of the cited information for inclusion on the Global Journals Inc. (US) homepage at the judgment of the Editorial Board.

The Editorial Board and Global Journals Inc. (US) recommend that, citation of online-published papers and other material should be done via a DOI (digital object identifier). If an author cites anything, which does not have a DOI, they run the risk of the cited material not being noticeable.

The Editorial Board and Global Journals Inc. (US) recommend the use of a tool such as Reference Manager for reference management and formatting.

#### Tables, Figures and Figure Legends

*Tables: Tables should be few in number, cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g. Table 4, a self-explanatory caption and be on a separate sheet. Vertical lines should not be used.*

*Figures: Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always take in a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g. Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in electronic form by e-mailing them.*

#### Preparation of Electronic Figures for Publication

Even though low quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (or e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Do not use pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings) in relation to the imitation size. Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement Form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution (at final image size) ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs) : >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.





Color Charges: It is the rule of the Global Journals Inc. (US) for authors to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that, if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a color work agreement form before your paper can be published.

*Figure Legends: Self-explanatory legends of all figures should be incorporated separately under the heading 'Legends to Figures'. In the full-text online edition of the journal, figure legends may possibly be truncated in abbreviated links to the full screen version. Therefore, the first 100 characters of any legend should notify the reader, about the key aspects of the figure.*

## **6. AFTER ACCEPTANCE**

Upon approval of a paper for publication, the manuscript will be forwarded to the dean, who is responsible for the publication of the Global Journals Inc. (US).

### **6.1 Proof Corrections**

The corresponding author will receive an e-mail alert containing a link to a website or will be attached. A working e-mail address must therefore be provided for the related author.

Acrobat Reader will be required in order to read this file. This software can be downloaded

(Free of charge) from the following website:

[www.adobe.com/products/acrobat/readstep2.html](http://www.adobe.com/products/acrobat/readstep2.html). This will facilitate the file to be opened, read on screen, and printed out in order for any corrections to be added. Further instructions will be sent with the proof.

Proofs must be returned to the dean at [dean@globaljournals.org](mailto:dean@globaljournals.org) within three days of receipt.

As changes to proofs are costly, we inquire that you only correct typesetting errors. All illustrations are retained by the publisher. Please note that the authors are responsible for all statements made in their work, including changes made by the copy editor.

### **6.2 Early View of Global Journals Inc. (US) (Publication Prior to Print)**

The Global Journals Inc. (US) are enclosed by our publishing's Early View service. Early View articles are complete full-text articles sent in advance of their publication. Early View articles are absolute and final. They have been completely reviewed, revised and edited for publication, and the authors' final corrections have been incorporated. Because they are in final form, no changes can be made after sending them. The nature of Early View articles means that they do not yet have volume, issue or page numbers, so Early View articles cannot be cited in the conventional way.

### **6.3 Author Services**

Online production tracking is available for your article through Author Services. Author Services enables authors to track their article - once it has been accepted - through the production process to publication online and in print. Authors can check the status of their articles online and choose to receive automated e-mails at key stages of production. The authors will receive an e-mail with a unique link that enables them to register and have their article automatically added to the system. Please ensure that a complete e-mail address is provided when submitting the manuscript.

### **6.4 Author Material Archive Policy**

Please note that if not specifically requested, publisher will dispose off hardcopy & electronic information submitted, after the two months of publication. If you require the return of any information submitted, please inform the Editorial Board or dean as soon as possible.

### **6.5 Offprint and Extra Copies**

A PDF offprint of the online-published article will be provided free of charge to the related author, and may be distributed according to the Publisher's terms and conditions. Additional paper offprint may be ordered by emailing us at: [editor@globaljournals.org](mailto:editor@globaljournals.org) .



the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area? If the answer of these types of questions will be "Yes" then you can choose that topic. In most of the cases, you may have to conduct the surveys and have to visit several places because this field is related to Computer Science and Information Technology. Also, you may have to do a lot of work to find all rise and falls regarding the various data of that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information.

**2. Evaluators are human:** First thing to remember that evaluators are also human being. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So, present your Best.

**3. Think Like Evaluators:** If you are in a confusion or getting demotivated that your paper will be accepted by evaluators or not, then think and try to evaluate your paper like an Evaluator. Try to understand that what an evaluator wants in your research paper and automatically you will have your answer.

**4. Make blueprints of paper:** The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

**5. Ask your Guides:** If you are having any difficulty in your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty to your guide (if you have any). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work then ask the supervisor to help you with the alternative. He might also provide you the list of essential readings.

**6. Use of computer is recommended:** As you are doing research in the field of Computer Science, then this point is quite obvious.

**7. Use right software:** Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable to judge good software then you can lose quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various software programs available to help you, which you can get through Internet.

**8. Use the Internet for help:** An excellent start for your paper can be by using the Google. It is an excellent search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question how to write my research paper or find model research paper. From the internet library you can download books. If you have all required books make important reading selecting and analyzing the specified information. Then put together research paper sketch out.

**9. Use and get big pictures:** Always use encyclopedias, Wikipedia to get pictures so that you can go into the depth.

**10. Bookmarks are useful:** When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right! It is a good habit, which helps to not to lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on Internet also, which will make your search easier.

**11. Revise what you wrote:** When you write anything, always read it, summarize it and then finalize it.

**12. Make all efforts:** Make all efforts to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in introduction, that what is the need of a particular research paper. Polish your work by good skill of writing and always give an evaluator, what he wants.

**13. Have backups:** When you are going to do any important thing like making research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either in your computer or in paper. This will help you to not to lose any of your important.

**14. Produce good diagrams of your own:** Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several and unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating "hotchpotch." So always, try to make and include those diagrams, which are made by your own to improve readability and understandability of your paper.

**15. Use of direct quotes:** When you do research relevant to literature, history or current affairs then use of quotes become essential but if study is relevant to science then use of quotes is not preferable.



**16. Use proper verb tense:** Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense, to present those events that happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate future happening events. Use of improper and wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid the sentences that are incomplete.

**17. Never use online paper:** If you are getting any paper on Internet, then never use it as your research paper because it might be possible that evaluator has already seen it or maybe it is outdated version.

**18. Pick a good study spot:** To do your research studies always try to pick a spot, which is quiet. Every spot is not for studies. Spot that suits you choose it and proceed further.

**19. Know what you know:** Always try to know, what you know by making objectives. Else, you will be confused and cannot achieve your target.

**20. Use good quality grammar:** Always use a good quality grammar and use words that will throw positive impact on evaluator. Use of good quality grammar does not mean to use tough words, that for each word the evaluator has to go through dictionary. Do not start sentence with a conjunction. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Ignore passive voice. Do not ever use a big word when a diminutive one would suffice. Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. Prepositions are not expressions to finish sentences with. It is incorrect to ever divide an infinitive. Avoid clichés like the disease. Also, always shun irritating alliteration. Use language that is simple and straight forward. put together a neat summary.

**21. Arrangement of information:** Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments to your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

**22. Never start in last minute:** Always start at right time and give enough time to research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

**23. Multitasking in research is not good:** Doing several things at the same time proves bad habit in case of research activity. Research is an area, where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work in parts and do particular part in particular time slot.

**24. Never copy others' work:** Never copy others' work and give it your name because if evaluator has seen it anywhere you will be in trouble.

**25. Take proper rest and food:** No matter how many hours you spend for your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health then all your efforts will be in vain. For a quality research, study is must, and this can be done by taking proper rest and food.

**26. Go for seminars:** Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.

**27. Refresh your mind after intervals:** Try to give rest to your mind by listening to soft music or by sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory.

**28. Make colleagues:** Always try to make colleagues. No matter how sharper or intelligent you are, if you make colleagues you can have several ideas, which will be helpful for your research.

**29. Think technically:** Always think technically. If anything happens, then search its reasons, its benefits, and demerits.

**30. Think and then print:** When you will go to print your paper, notice that tables are not be split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

**31. Adding unnecessary information:** Do not add unnecessary information, like, I have used MS Excel to draw graph. Do not add irrelevant and inappropriate material. These all will create superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should NEVER take a broad view. Analogy in script is like feathers on a snake. Not at all use a large word when a very small one would be



sufficient. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Amplification is a billion times of inferior quality than sarcasm.

**32. Never oversimplify everything:** To add material in your research paper, never go for oversimplification. This will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be more or less specific. Also too, by no means, ever use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions aren't essential and shouldn't be there used. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands and abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas, that are, not necessary. Parenthetical words however should be together with this in commas. Understatement is all the time the complete best way to put onward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

**33. Report concluded results:** Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. Significant figures and appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibitive. Proofread carefully at final stage. In the end give outline to your arguments. Spot out perspectives of further study of this subject. Justify your conclusion by at the bottom of them with sufficient justifications and examples.

**34. After conclusion:** Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium through which your research is going to be in print to the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects in your research.

## INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

### Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form, which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criterion for grading the final paper by peer-reviewers.

### Final Points:

A purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people to interpret your effort selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, each section to start on a new page.

The introduction will be compiled from reference matter and will reflect the design processes or outline of basis that direct you to make study. As you will carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed as like that. The result segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and will direct the reviewers next to the similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you took to carry out your study. The discussion section will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implication of the results. The use of good quality references all through the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness of prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record keeping are the only means to make straightforward the progression.

### General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear

- Adhere to recommended page limits

Mistakes to evade

- Insertion a title at the foot of a page with the subsequent text on the next page



- Separating a table/chart or figure - impound each figure/table to a single page
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence

In every sections of your document

- Use standard writing style including articles ("a", "the," etc.)
- Keep on paying attention on the research topic of the paper
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding for the abstract)
- Align the primary line of each section
- Present your points in sound order
- Use present tense to report well accepted
- Use past tense to describe specific results
- Shun familiar wording, don't address the reviewer directly, and don't use slang, slang language, or superlatives
- Shun use of extra pictures - include only those figures essential to presenting results

**Title Page:**

Choose a revealing title. It should be short. It should not have non-standard acronyms or abbreviations. It should not exceed two printed lines. It should include the name(s) and address (es) of all authors.

**Abstract:**

The summary should be two hundred words or less. It should briefly and clearly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript-- must have precise statistics. It should not have abnormal acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Shun citing references at this point.

An abstract is a brief distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approach to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Yet, use comprehensive sentences and do not let go readability for brevity. You can maintain it succinct by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to



shortening the outcome. Sum up the study, with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to maintain the initial two items to no more than one ruling each.

- Reason of the study - theory, overall issue, purpose
- Fundamental goal
- To the point depiction of the research
- Consequences, including definite statistics - if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account quantitative data; results of any numerical analysis should be reported
- Significant conclusions or questions that track from the research(es)

Approach:

- Single section, and succinct
- As a outline of job done, it is always written in past tense
- A conceptual should situate on its own, and not submit to any other part of the paper such as a form or table
- Center on shortening results - bound background information to a verdict or two, if completely necessary
- What you account in an conceptual must be regular with what you reported in the manuscript
- Exact spelling, clearness of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else

**Introduction:**

The **Introduction** should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable to comprehend and calculate the purpose of your study without having to submit to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give most important references but shun difficult to make a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. In the introduction, describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will have no attention in your result. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here. Following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study
- Shield the model - why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? You strength remark on its appropriateness from a abstract point of vision as well as point out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. Status your particular theory (es) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- 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.

### ADMINISTRATION RULES LISTED BEFORE SUBMITTING YOUR RESEARCH PAPER TO GLOBAL JOURNALS INC. (US)

Please carefully note down following rules and regulation before submitting your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc. (US):

**Segment Draft and Final Research Paper:** You have to strictly follow the template of research paper. If it is not done your paper may get rejected.





- The **major constraint** is that you must independently make all content, tables, graphs, and facts that are offered in the paper. You must write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The Peer-reviewers need to identify your own perceptives of the concepts in your own terms. NEVER extract straight from any foundation, and never rephrase someone else's analysis.
- Do not give permission to anyone else to "PROOFREAD" your manuscript.
- **Methods to avoid Plagiarism is applied by us on every paper, if found guilty, you will be blacklisted by all of our collaborated research groups, your institution will be informed for this and strict legal actions will be taken immediately.)**
- To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use please do not permit anyone right to use to your paper and files.



CRITERION FOR GRADING A RESEARCH PAPER (COMPILATION)  
BY GLOBAL JOURNALS INC. (US)

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals Inc. (US).

Grades			
	A-B	C-D	E-F
<i>Abstract</i>	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
<i>Introduction</i>	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
<i>Methods and Procedures</i>	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
<i>Result</i>	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
<i>Discussion</i>	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
<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



# INDEX

---

---

## A

Abolition · 32, 98  
Ameliorate · 35, 39, 76  
Anguish · 2  
Authoritarian · 22, 35, 38, 39  
Awkward · 12

---

## B

Bulwark · 101

---

## C

Causality · 36, 107, 108  
Cognizance · 6, 29

---

## D

Decentralization · 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26  
Deflationary · 38  
Dehistoricizing · 76  
Dichotomy, · 1, 6  
Discernable · 1  
Distortions · 5, 60  
Dramatized · 27  
Dwindling · 45

---

## E

Elucidates · 63  
Emancipate · 23  
Emancipatory · 60  
Endogeneity · 35, 36, 38  
Entrapped · 98  
Exaggerated · 61  
Extravagant · 29

---

## F

Feudalistic · 54  
Fiduciary · 12, 13

---

## H

Hedge · 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14  
Hiccoughs · 20

---

## I

Incumbent · 41, 97  
Indispensability · 73, 77  
Instrumentalization · 18, 21

---

## J

Jostling · 3  
Jubilation · 95

---

## M

Metamorphosed · 87  
Metaphoric · 22  
Montesquieu · 67  
Mortgage · 43, 103  
Multipartyism · 19

---

## O

Obliterated · 49  
Omnipresent · 69  
Orchestrated · 98, 99  
Ostentatiously · 94, 97

---

## P

Pakhtunwali · 50, 51, 52, 53  
Paradoxical · 1  
Patriarchy · 49, 51, 52  
Peasant · 85  
Propensity · 1, 6, 63, 67, 73

---

## S

Scandinavian · 34  
Sectoralactivities · 28  
Succinctly · 78

---

**U**

Unprecedented · 32, 41, 44

---

**V**

Vindication · 51



save our planet



# Global Journal of Human Social Science

Visit us on the Web at [www.GlobalJournals.org](http://www.GlobalJournals.org) | [www.SocialScienceResearch.org](http://www.SocialScienceResearch.org)  
or email us at [helpdesk@globaljournals.org](mailto:helpdesk@globaljournals.org)



ISSN 975587

© 2012 by Global Journals