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Russia's Future in Political Discourses of the Russian Empire, The U.S.A and the British Empire (XIXth Century)

By O.A. Solopova

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Introduction- The present paper deals with cognitive-discursive analysis of the models of Russia's future in political discourses of the Russian Empire, the British Empire and the United States (middle of the XIXth century – beginning of the XXth century). The author's aim is to look through the text at the part of «the past reality» that lies behind this text and at the model of future constructed in it studying «not only where History was, but also where History is going» [2] and could be going and even could have gone.

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Russia's Future in Political Discourses of the Russian Empire, The U.S.A and the British Empire (XIXth Century)

O.A. Solopova

I. INTRODUCTION

The present paper deals with cognitive-discursive analysis of the models of Russia's future in political discourses of the Russian Empire, the British Empire and the United States (middle of the XIXth century – beginning of the XXth century). The author's aim is to look through the text at the part of «the past reality» that lies behind this text and at the model of future constructed in it studying «not only where History was, but also where History is going» [2] and could be going and even could have gone.

The historic era (middle of the XIXth century – beginning of the XXth century) has been chosen as one of chronological periods for analyzing models of Russia's future in political discourses of the three countries due to inter textual (inter model) relations with other models. It has been stated in previous research that cognitive-discursive matrices constructed for the modern chronological period in Russian, American and British political discourses are characterized by temporal sketchiness (schematism), with «retrospection» – frequent reference to realities of Russia's past in modeling its future [3] – being one of its prominent components.

Synchronous matrices constructed for the chronological period analyzed represent a system of conceptual assumptions concerning a hypothetical situation in Russia's future from the standpoint of the past. To interpret this or that political discourse is to know its background, to understand expectations of the author and the audience, their hidden motives, plot schemes and favorite logic transitions typical for a particular historic era [1].

Speaking about metaphors used to create the image of Russia's future in mass media of the Russian Empire, the United States and the British Empire (middle of the XIXth century – beginning of the XXth century) a system of metaphors – clusters of frequently used metaphorical units belonging to certain conceptual source domains that aim at modeling Russia's future in political discourses of the three countries – can be singled out.

The material for the analysis in the present paper comprises 1409 contexts evoking the use of 17 metaphorical models in British political texts; 1232 metaphorical contexts realizing 16 models in American texts; 1014 contexts and 14 models in Russian discourse.

Examples cited in the paper to illustrate and prove the author's theses have spelling, punctuation and font of original texts (middle of the XIXth century – beginning of the XXth century) in Russian, American and British political discourses; contexts from American periodicals are marked in the text with the label (US), from British texts – with the label (GB).

The corpus under analysis yields numerous examples portraying Russia's future as PATH, choosing a direction and a way is one of the most popular sources of metaphors in modeling future, this metaphor being the most frequent in discourses of Russia and the UK, and the fourth – in terms of frequency – in American periodicals. The fact primarily reflects the human's linear perception of time – the process of the past becoming the future through the present: *But progress implies change; and change involves danger. A man is safe while he stands still; but if he moves, he may fall. The ship is at anchor in port; but if she casts off restraining her chains and starts upon her voyage, the winds will toss and can destroy her. And yet she is a useless hulk unless she moves. And so is growth, improvement, progress involving change, the necessity of all societies. A nation to-day cannot anchor in ages past / The New York Times, 26.11.1851 (US).*

Most frequently metaphors of the source domain PATH are used in Russian political discourse: the Russians are used to starting all over again, totally destroying the old regime. Russia is thought to be a traveller, purposes – her destinations, means – her routes, difficulties – obstacles, counsellors – her guides, achievements – landmarks, choices – crossroads. Having found out that the old one is a dead-end road, she chooses a new direction that is thought to be better: *Крымская война имгла целью повредить России, но только ей и принесла пользу. Веревки, которыми мы были связаны по рукам и ногам – ослабли, перетерлись во время войны, испуганный тюремщик сам померь... И Россия съ тѣх поръ идетъ мощно впередъ по широкой*

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дорогъ, не смотря на всь черепки и битыя бутылки, в родъ Панина, Орлова, Муравьева, оставленные у ней подъ ногами упрямствомъ и небрежностью шоссейнаго смотрителя, не смотря на дворянскія комитетскія лужи и бакалдины, ни на ложныя маяки доктринеровъ / Колоколь, май 1859.

In British political discourse metaphors depicting Russia's future as PATH are often associated with expansionist policy of the Russian Empire: *Onward and on ward, ever on – to the Far East, until the conqueror signs a Treaty of Peace with the vanquished British – that is due of the fixed objects of the Slavonian mind. Every step in advance may be painful and perilous, but the great prize is not grasped at once; it is approached by a systematic course of stealthy advances / The Era, 11.01.1857 (GB).*

Another common domain providing metaphors in the three discourses is that of DISEASE (the third model in terms of frequency in Russian discourse, the second – in the U.S, the fourth – in the UK).

Frequent usage of DISEASE metaphors when modeling future is justified and quite to the point. As in the case with PATH metaphors that conceptualize the country's wrong direction in the past and great obstacles in the present when seeking its future, DISEASE metaphors show that in present the Russian Empire is terribly ill or nearly at death's door: *Россия все еще не здоровая страна, а лазаретъ / Русь, №1, январь 1884.*

Experienced physicians examine her, try to make a diagnosis, prescribe some treatment and find remedies to cure the country from fatal diseases: *It is a sort of clinical study of the situation in Russia, a diagnosis of the case, with a full prognosis and a suggested cure for the existing evil afflicting the body politic / The New York Times, 26.08.1905 (US).*

Depending on the discourse of the country a text belongs to DISEASE metaphors can be realized through at least two scenarios which represent its extremes – «bright» and «grim». Some insist that the Russian Empire suffers from an incurable disease: *The malady of Russia is incurable. It is a political system that places a semi-barbarous population at the feet of one man / The Times, 30.11.1855 (GB).* Others think it possible for her to recover in future: *Въ органическомъ тгль, вследствие извращения естественныхъ отправлений его, могутъ развиваться уродливыя и болгзненныя явленія; но если въ этомъ тгль сила жизни велика, она побгдитъ болгзненное разстройство / Вѣстникъ Юго-Западной и Западной Россіи, январь–декабрь 1863.*

The content of the DISEASE concept varies greatly depending on the ideological position of the author, his intentions, on the fact whether he aims at emphasizing positive aspects of future or, on the contrary, negative ones.

Within metaphors used to conceptualize Russia's future in Russian and American discourses of the analyzed historical period we find a large set specifically equating Russia's future to INANIMATE NATURE, ranking fifth and third in the system of metaphorical models correspondingly.

In American political discourse metaphors drawn upon the source domain «INANIMATE NATURE» are frequently used in description of future of two countries – the Russian Empire and the U.S. - in one metaphorical context: *As we look into the future, with the past and the present for our guides, we see two great objects looming up conspicuously above all others, Russia and the United States, each one having double the population that is now possessed by all Europe / The New York Advertiser, 15.03.1852 (US).*

Despite metaphors of this source domain being saliently less frequent in Russian political discourse, they are brisk and rich in negative connotations of destruction, collapse, “pest” degradation, inability to withstand natural forces: *Да Россія – это океанъ широкій и бездонный. Когда онъ расходится, и прибрежный его прибой – грозень, а въ средингъ его находили и найдутъ неизбгжную могилу отважные аргонавты / Вѣстникъ Юго-Западной и Западной Россіи, март 1863.*

Metaphors of this type in Russian political discourse do not so much focus on modeling Russia's future, but rather warn those who infringe or can infringe on her expanse and power: *Гдгъ начнется разгромъ въ потухнушемъ ли французскомъ кратергъ или на морскомъ днггъ англійской жизни, куда вътеръ не доходитъ, гдгъ бури неслышны, куда самый свгтъ едва проникаетъ? / Колоколь, №4, 1961.*

It should be noted that in Russian discourse one of the richest sets of metaphors used to create a static matrix of future in political texts of the historical period draws upon the domain of LIVING ORGANISM (ranking second in the system of metaphorical models): *Въ Россіи, кажись, пришелъ конецъ нгмецкимъ влгнлгмъ, она серьезно желаетъ стать на свои собственныя ноги и жить для себя, руководствуясь только своими русскими, народными интересами / Исторический вѣстникъ, Т.3, 1882.*

Another frequent domain providing metaphors in Russian political discourse is FLORA: *Оранжерея наша приходитъ все болге и болге въ ветхость, разросшгся насажденгя все сильнгге выпираютъ стекла и стгны, – но этого недостаточно. Всего умнгге въ настоящее время открыто сознать и признать это наше невольное скудоумге какъ плодъ нашей оранжерейной культуры, и устремиться къ тому, чтобъ просвгщенгя сгмена падали въ грунтъ глубоко, въ черноземъ родной почвы и возростали на родномъ, вольномъ воздухъ / Русь, №1, январь 1884. Vegetation*

metaphors usually have positive connotations emphasizing the continuity of life, its gradual development. But when conceptualizing Russia's present they have negative meanings of impossibility for the country to develop further under prevailing circumstances; when modeling future – positive meanings of craving for reforms and change.

It should be emphasized that in English discourses - American and British - the most frequent are four common source domains. Besides PATH and DISEASE metaphors that are frequently used in Russian political discourse as well, in American and English texts concerning the future of the Russian Empire there is a high proportion of CRIME metaphors: *Russia is never at a loss for for such excuses as will, in her own eyes, justify her acts of aggression and robbery* / The Sheffield Daily Telegraph, 29.03.1878 (GB). *Russia having grabbed all the land that she wants under the menace of war now asks for a pause in the conversation that she may grace over her stolen mutton. There is no moral sanction to the czar's proposals* / The Aspen Daily Times, 14.03.1899 (US). *We take all possible precautions against the success of Russian machinations in that direction!* / The New York Times, 08.09.1860 (US).

CRIME metaphors actualize negative connotative aspects of cheating and robbery, they are aimed at modeling a “predatory policy” of the Russian Empire, the need to prevent and stop her dishonest means, methods and maneuvers, since she will always justify herself.

CRIME metaphors in creating the image of Russia's future are most frequently used in British political discourse (being a structured set the model ranks second in the system of metaphors modeling future): *Since he (the Emperor Nicholas) deliberately chooses to stand alone, not against the public opinion of Europe only, since that might be wrong as well as he, but against right and justice – in the face of a reasonable and pacific opponent – in defiance of the best interests of humanity, he makes himself an outlaw, and must expect to be treated as such. If he be suffered to rob and waste other's lands unchecked, there is no security for any one. Peace loads the cannon which are aimed at the disturber. Such being the case, the blow which must be struck is that of the Nemesis. The safety of mankind demands that the blow which he thus dares shall be heavy, sharp, deterrent* / The Hereford Times, 21.01.1854(GB).

When conceptualizing the image of future within the British static matrix of the historic period analyzed, CRIME metaphors negate the absolute monarchy, which leads to regarding the Russian ruler, the Czar, as the head criminal in present and future of his country.

Another domain common for English discourses is FAUNA metaphors (ranking first in American political discourse in modeling Russia's future

and third – in the discourse of the UK): *The highest representative of a newly born sister Republic is now among us – for, though crushed and bound, the Hungarian Republic still lives, – may his mission be accomplished, as well as his presence honored; for the interest of the civilized world demands that the Republic exist, as an outpost to watch and check the Northern Bear* / *The New York Times*, 13.12.1851 (US). *Conscious of his irresistible strength, the British Lion, with a contemptuous glance, is complacently watching the progress of the Russian Bear, as he is waddling up in a direct line towards India, which he has long marked for a prey. It is true that the Lion can and will, by a single effort, release India from the grasp of the Bear, but not till India has been scratched to bleeding. The inevitable struggle between the Lion and the Bear for undisputed supremacy in Asia cannot be long deferred* / *The Derby Mercury*, 18.01.1882 (GB).

In most metaphorical contexts with the source domain FAUNA the authors use the “bear” metaphor identifying the animal with the whole empire. Metaphorical meanings the “bear” metaphor has in British and American discourses reflect Russia's barbarism, aggression and unpredictable behavior.

It is a curious insight into Russian political discourse that the metaphorical domain FAUNA ranks only tenth, more important is the absence of “bear” metaphors in it. It points to the fact that in the XIXth century Russia did not associate herself with the image of a bear that has become so relevant and popular in Russian political discourse The following centuries.

Among frequent metaphors used in describing Russia's future in British political discourse we also find those coming from the domain GAME. Authors of British political texts think the Russian Empire to be constantly playing unfair political games, thinking over shrewd moves, trying to win this or that prize: *Russia is playing an underhand game, and not acting fairly by her two partners, England and France* / *The Star*, 11.07.1895 (GB).

Despite this fact Russia remains a weighty and prominent political actor, she cannot be offside: *Russia can afford to disregard the presumptuous clamour of those who tell her she is played out. A state of her importance is not to be extinguished by a few newspaper articles, and were she ten times more isolated than she is said to be, no change of importance can be effected in Europe without her assent* / *The Standard*, 03.10.1879 (GB).

Thus, conceptualizing Russia's probable future the most metaphorical of the three static matrices is the one based on the material from British political discourse, numbering 17 metaphoric models, the fact is caused by the following historical reasons: the international political situation in the period of the XIXth century, confrontation between Russia and Britain in Central Asia, in the East, in the Pacific Ocean, armed

clashes where countries were acting either as rivals or as allies of warring states.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that of the total number of brisk conceit metaphorical contexts representing the future of the Russian Empire the largest proportion is characteristic of American political discourse, not British, despite the fact that general activity of metaphorical units in it is somewhat lower than in British discourse. However, the British tend to use "common" metaphors, while the Americans – bright and rare ones, which points to linguistic and cultural peculiarities of metaphorical models in political discourses of these two nations speaking the same language.

The most frequent in the discourses of the three countries are metaphors coming from the source domains PATH and DISEASE. Two more common domains are typical for American and British political texts aimed at conceptualizing Russia's future – CRIME and FAUNA metaphors. It is especially worth mentioning that "bear" metaphors are specific for the political discourses of the two countries and never used in Russian discourse. The large set of expressions in American and Russian political discourses of the XIXth century activates metaphors of the domain INANIMATE NATURE. Besides, FLORA metaphors are discourse-specific for Russian texts, while GAME domain is frequent in British political discourse.

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From Civil War to Political Parties: A Comparison of Insurgent Movements in West Africa, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Côte d'Ivoire, and Their Metamorphosis Into Political Parties

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Abstract- The aim of this article is to look at the transmutation of former rebel groups into political parties in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire after long bloody civil wars that claimed thousands of lives in West Africa. One of the foci of post-conflicts transformation is peacebuilding that has many features such as the organization of free and fair elections in order to encourage the former belligerents to embrace multiparty elections as a way to settle grievances through democratic means for peace to return to these countries and by replacing insecurity with security and violence with peace as well as economic reconstruction, political stability and social justice. [t]he ability to hold a "transparent" election is held to be the real test of whether or not democracy has "taken root" in a former troubled society and is seen as a bulwark against further outbreak of war (Moran 2008, p. 1).

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I. INTRODUCTION

The termination of civil war and the promotion of sustainable peaceful coexistence through democracy between the former belligerents have been daunting tasks. The transformation that former rebel groups went through with some processes in the new democratic dispensation as an outcome to the end of the hostilities in the trilogy of post-war reconstruction in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire. Moreover, the trio of William Tubman of Liberia, Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone, and Félix Houphouët-Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire personalized the state by establishing a clientelist system under the one-party system that partly contributed to the civil conflict in their respective countries. Their political heirs proved incapable of sustaining the patronage system in the face of a collapsing economy.

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The paths to multiparty elections or democratization was dependant on the governing party that emerged victorious or controlling the seat of government at the end of the civil war. It is in this light that this paper looks at the balance sheet of the advent of democratization which is the version of the same in the three countries under review.

II. EXPLAINING THE CONTEXTS

War to democratization had taken place in Southern Africa. For example, in Angola, although initially the transition to political parties was difficult because of the intransigence of the Jonas Savimbi led National Union for the total Independence of Angola (UNITA), there was a more peaceful political transformation of the Mozambique National Renaissance (RENAMO) in Mozambique. However the death of Jonas Savimbi in 2002 facilitated the return to a peaceful settlement of the war between the ruling Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) (Wallenstein 2012, 212).

However, one of the lessons to be learnt about the framework of democratization in former war-torn countries is that holding multiparty elections alone is not enough to restore and consolidate peace. Untimely elections can be counterproductive as, seen in Liberia, which relapsed into another bloody civil war after the election of Charles Taylor (Harris 2012, 30). It is even harder for failed states such as Liberia and Sierra Leone when democratization is not carried out in a holistic manner by the allowance of enough time for the reconstruction of the country, as the Liberians first experienced a transition from civil war to democratization. In fact, democratization may be a difficult task to carry out because of the weak nature of the African state because

[i]n weak states, groups have to form, cohere and persuade their members to risk their lives with incentives of infrequently paid wages, loot, promises of future reward and protection from harm. War in this region [West Africa] is so dirty because governments and rebels alike can mainly offer looting plus negative sanctions (Ware and Ogunmola 2010, p.74).

Ruling parties and the political opposition can be seen to be juxtaposed in the above quotation to play the same roles in a democratic dispensation; or as Mbembe (2006, p.300) puts it, "War-time is not different from political time". Moreover, the role of the international community in the promotion of a peaceful end to the conflict, the support for dialogue, negotiation, and mediation by external actors/donors (who are mainly the sponsors of the peace) through their influence are paramount factors that may influence the democratization process. Also, the motivation of the belligerents to take part in the elections will determine the course of action during this period of transition.

However, it is important to highlight the fact that taking part in the election is not enough and accepting its outcome when it is free and fair is the most important concern that will favour a good transition towards the post-election period. If these factors are not taken into consideration they may eventually ruin the outcome of the elections as spoilers thwart the political and peace processes and ignite again the conflict by outright rejecting the results of the elections with the forerunner campaign slogan of "we win or we win" the forthcoming elections as a self-destructive strategy in the post-election period (Côte d'Ivoire).

The three case studies are selected not only because of their geographic location of being neighbouring countries but also because they experienced civil war and are suitable for comparison owing to the fact that they transited from internal conflict to democracy through the formation of political parties. They are also members of the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS). Peacekeeping operations allowed the belligerents to agree to the organization of multiparty elections.

Liberia experienced two transitions from rebel groups to political parties culminating in multiparty elections. While the first experience at multiparty elections was short-lived with the victory and subsequent defeat of Charles Taylor by rebel groups, the second attempt in the post-Taylor era has been enduring with the re-election of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf in 2011. Sierra Leone survived the trauma of war to march steadily on the path and consolidation of democracy with the coming of the opposition to power and the re-election of Ernest Bai Koroma in 2012. The Côte d'Ivoire's course to democratization is similar to the two case studies mentioned earlier with the difference that the Ivorian passage from civil war to multiparty elections almost turned into the Zimbabwean situation, with post-election violence when Robert Mugabe refused to leave power after his defeat at the polls (Diamond 2002; Bracking 2005) or to the disputed elections results of the 2007 Kenyan scenario that led to violent ethnic massacres and ultimately resulted in a power sharing arrangement between the incumbent President Mwai

Kibaki and the nomination of Raila Odinga as the Vice-President (Bangura 2000; Mitton 2009).

III. LIBERIA'S CASE STUDY

The case of Liberia is a good example of a failed transition from internal war to democratization as the country transited twice from conflict to democracy in 1997 after the First Liberian Civil War (1989-1996) with the election of Charles Taylor and in 2005 when Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected President in the aftermath of the Second Liberian Civil War (1999-2005). This shows that the first transition to a multiparty election civil conflict went into a lull of only three years before the outbreak of another violent episode in the history of Liberia.

IV. THE METAMORPHOSIS OF CHARLES TAYLOR'S NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF LIBERIA INTO NATIONAL PATRIOTIC PARTY

Charles Taylor started his rebellion in December 1989 against the Samuel Doe government from the Western part of Côte d'Ivoire. The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) controlled most of the Liberian territory until it was stopped by the Economic Community of West Africa Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) from taking over the capital Monrovia. In the countdown towards the organization of multiparty elections the NPFL metamorphosed into a political party, the National Patriotic Party (NPP) led by Charles Taylor, the United Liberation movement of Liberia ULIMO-K led by Alhaji Koromah became the All Liberia Coalition Party (ALCOP), and Gorges Boley led the Liberia peace council which was transformed to the National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL) (Lyons 1998, 181).

V. THE EMERGENCE OF CHARLES TAYLOR AS CIVILIAN PRESIDENT

The end of the first Liberian Civil War ushered in a new opportunity for Liberia to organize multiparty elections under the supervision of the international community. Taylor's campaign slogan was reminiscent of the recent and endemic violence that had predated the multiparty elections. The slogan of the NNP candidate was "he killed my Ma, he killed my Pa, but I will vote for him" (Ankomah as cited in Outram 1999, 169). Although Charles Taylor renounced the use of violence to conquer power the psychological effect of his threat to go back to war if he did not win was a decisive factor of intimidation in the 1997, as Liberians decided to vote for peace in an election that the international community adjudged to be free and fair, by casting their votes for the former warlord (Ware and Ogunmola 2010, 76). Moreover, Charles Taylor was the only former rebel leader who had the wherewithal to carry on waging war in case of his defeat at the polls

(Outram 1999, 169). Charles Taylor was unambiguously expressing his ambition to rule Liberia either through the barrel of the gun or through the ballot box (then the new option available since the rebellion proved abortive). Charles Taylor was elected and the NPP had the majority in the National Assembly. Charles Taylor had a leeway to finance his campaign due the plundering of the resources of the parts of Liberia under his control (Bangura 2000, p.573) in contrast to his main political opponents (Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Alhaji Kromah, and Dr Togba- Nah Tipoteh). This is in addition to Taylor's warning and threats to resume the civil conflict as well as the ethnic division of the Liberian society that he used to achieve his ambition by scoring a "stunning 75 per cent of the votes" (Bangura 2000, p.572). After his election, Taylor reiterated that his cardinal policies would be the renaissance of Liberia through national reconciliation and unity, the respect for human rights as well as economic liberalization whereas the new President reorganized the armed forces and the bureaucracy with his NPFL members in a clear violation of the Abuja Peace Accords (Outram 1999,170).

VI. THE END OF AN ERA IN LIBERIA: CHARLES TAYLOR'S EXILE IN NIGERIA

The election of Charles Taylor had not really settled many issues that were overlooked during the Abuja II Peace Accord. For example, the poorly handled issues of disarming and demobilization of former combatant programmes that were thwarted by Taylor's NPLF would resurface later on as one of the causal factors of the Second Liberian Civil War, as some of the former warring factions would challenge successfully Taylor's presidency forcing the former warlord into exile in Nigeria (Itano 2003, p.1).

There were also serious doubts that the elections would usher in a new era of peaceful coexistence between Liberians that would silence the cannon completely (Tanner 1998, 135-137). Moreover, Tanner (1998, 137) argues that the collapsed infrastructure, quasi inefficient and inexistent bureaucracy, the inability to resettle the internally displaced, and the high rate of illiteracy were signs that the organization of the general elections was precarious and ill-timed. In addition, the lack of a democratic culture encapsulated by the True Wig Party (TWP) policy of one party political system and the election timetable proved to be unrealistic as it was postponed many times, as well as the failed security reform sector, were evidence that Liberia was not ready for the 1997 elections. If that was the case, why did the elections hold despite the fact that the above analysis points to the opposite?

The decision to hold the elections by all means had some external factors due to the involvement of the international community that believed that multiparty

elections would open a new vista of democracy and the reconstruction of Liberia.

VII. EXTERNAL ACTORS IN POST-CONFLICT TRANSITION TO DEMOCRATIZATION

The role of the external actors was very important in seeking an end to the Liberian conflict. The prolonged presence of the Nigerian contingent in the ECOMOG was having serious financial drawbacks on the already battered economy.

The UN and ECOWAS played foremost roles in obtaining a ceasefire between the belligerents through the Abuja Peace Accords and the organization of the 1997 elections (Pastor 1999, 129) that paved the way for the first post-war election in Liberia. However, the consolidation of democracy by the former warlord was hypothetical. The rebel groups of the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) led by Sekou Conneh, an in-law of President Lansana Conté of Guinea-Conakry, and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) launched insurgencies against Taylor's government. After the exit of Charles Taylor, general elections were organized in 2005 and were adjudged to be free and fair by the international community and observers. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf of the Unity Party (UP) defeated Georges Weah, a soccer star, of the Congress for Democratic Change (CDC); and this paved the way for the economic and social reconstruction of Liberia (Dennis 2006; Harris 2006; Sawyer 2008). Sekou Conneh of the LURD established the Progressive Democratic Party (PRODEM) and became the presidential candidate and scored a paltry 0.6% of the total votes (Harris 2006, 373).

VIII. SIERRA LEONE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE RUF INTO A POLITICAL PARTY

Contemporary rebels, who deliberately use terror as an instrument of war, are aware that their atrocities have alienated them from the society (Bangura 2000, p.573).

Bangura sums up above some of the factors that played against the successful transformation of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) from a terror group into a victorious political party. Furthermore, the act of violence committed by the RUF by plundering the mineral resources in the territory it controlled and by taxing his victims estranged it from the rural dwellers (Bangura 2000, p.573). The metamorphosis of the RUF into the Revolutionary United Front Party (RUFFP) after the long years of an atrocious civil war that attracted the attention of the world by its brutal character singled out the Sierra Leone war by the chopping off of the limbs of its victims (Ware and Ogunmola 2010; Ogunmola 2013). The transformation of the RUF into a political party did not really have any positive impacts among the population because of the violence that was the hallmark of the rebellion. Berdal and Ucko (2009) argue



that the political reintegration of the RUF was flawed on several major premises. First of all, Berdal and Ucko (2009, p.6) point out that the RUF lack a viable political program in addition to the high level of uneducated members among its rank and file, the division and greed among its leaders, and the lack of a deep and practical knowledge of the working of a political party were detrimental to its political transformation in a post-war multiparty setting. Berdal and Ucko (2009, p.6) suggest that a sustainable settlement should have been holistic regarding the grievances of the rebel group because it was an aberration to have allowed the RUF seek elective political posts after the atrocities that the rebellion had committed was untenable. Furthermore, Berdal and Ucko (2009, p.6) point out that it was expedient to neutralize the spoilers in the leadership of the RUF and insulate the rank and file from the control of its leaders. The lack of security after the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) was also a setback as the government relied on the international community for the success of the whole programme. Also, Mitton (2009, p.179) shows that in spite of effectively "fielding 203 parliamentary candidates for the 2002 election", the performance of the RUF was dismal, which was a chronic and recurring occurrence during its short-lived political experience. Furthermore, the RUF was incapable of winning any seats and it scored a paltry "2.2 per cent of the parliamentary vote and 1.7 per cent for its presidential candidate" (Mitton 2009, p.179). It was glaring that the RUF lacks political credibility to win any election due to its antecedents. Eventually, the RUF merged with the APC (Mitton 2009, p.179). As the countdown to the general elections was getting closer, both major political parties, The Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) and the All People's Congress (APC) used the services of the ex-combatants of the RUF and the West Side Boys during these elections (Christensen and Utas 2008, pp.521-522).

The RUF was ill-prepared to face the challenges of a peaceful political transition as it failed woefully to mobilize its supporters who knew how to use arms and ammunition, but were unable to use effectively the ballot box. The electorate did not forget the reign of terror the RUF perpetrated in the areas under its control during the civil war.

IX. CÔTE D'IVOIRE: AN OVERVIEW OF A HYBRID GROUP: RDR/FRCI

The case of Côte d'Ivoire is different from the two preceding ones. The challenge to the government by the opposition was a hybrid as it has a political and a rebel face. The former President (Laurent Gbagbo) signed the loi d'amnistie Amnesty Law that was voted by the National Assembly 179 for and 2 against and 1 abstention on August 23 2003 which allowed Alassane Ouattara and Henri Konan Bédié to run for the planned

presidential elections (Kadet 2012, 257). The journey to the multiparty presidential elections started with the Ouagadougou Political Agreement (APO) after many failed (Accra I and II, Lomé, Linas Marcoursis, Pretoria) attempts at a peaceful resolution of the Ivorian conflict. The peace Accord was consolidated by the Second Amnesty Law of April 12 2007 (Kadet 2012, 257). Although the constitutional mandate had expired in 2005.

The Gbagbo government accused the Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR) of Alassane Ouattara many times of being allegedly supported by Burkina Faso and Liberia under Charles Taylor to be the sponsors of the rebellion that started in September 2002 as the failed coup attempt which led to the division of Côte d'Ivoire between the north controlled by the rebels of the Mouvement Populaire de la Côte d'Ivoire (MPCI) and the south under the government. Meanwhile the situation in the south-west remained convoluted as two other rebel groups, the Mouvement Patriotique du Grand Ouest (MPIGO) and the Mouvement pour la Justice et la Paix (MPJ) were unable to exert firm control of the area. The core leaders of rebels such as Koné Zakaria, Cherif Ousmane, Gaoussou Koné, Koné Messamba alias Jah Gao, Ousmane Coulibaly alias Ben Laden, Tuo Fozié, that were renamed Forces Nouvelles (FN) when the three rebel groups merged, and afterward, Forces Armées des Forces Nouvelles (FAFN) would resurface virtually a decade later. These are the same who emerged as the principal officers of the Forces Républicaines de Côte d'Ivoire (FRCI) that joined the RDR to fight Laurent Gbagbo Forces de Défense et de Sécurité (FDS) after the post election crisis because he refused to accept his electoral defeat by Alassane Ouattara in second run of the Ivorian presidential elections in 2010. It is believed that Alassane Ouattara renamed the FN as the FRCI to challenge militarily the forces loyal to Laurent Gbagbo in order to claim his mandate (Banégas 2011; Djereke 2012). Themnér and wallenstein (2012, 569) point out that [s]everal months of electoral difficulties, interferences and alleged tampering unleashed a wave of violence and the rebel group active in the earlier phase of the conflict-which retained control over northern Ivory Coast-began marching south.

The FRCI was supported in the final offensive against Laurent Gbagbo's last bastion by the French peacekeeping Mission in Côte d'Ivoire La Licorne and ONUCI. Incidentally, the lead political voice of the MPCI, Guillaume Soro, who became Laurent Gbagbo, third Prime Minister during the lingering crisis and cycle of violence (2002-2011) by the virtue of the Ouagadougou Political Agreement (APO), became Alasane Ouattara Prime Minister; subsequently the Speaker of the National Assembly. Simply put, the FRCI was the military arm and the RDR was its political machine. It is argued that Laurent Gbagbo's refusal to recognize the election of Alassane Ouattara favoured Guillaume Soro who had

profited from the crisis when the elected candidate used the former rebellion to remove Laurent Gbagbo from power. This alliance between the RDR and the FN made the threat of external military intervention unnecessary (Charbonneau 2012, 519-520). Thus, the battle of the ballot boxes became the battle of the cannon which resulted in the defeat of the pro-Gbagbo forces and the emergence of Alassane Ouattara in an election marred by violence, argument and counter arguments over its outcome, as well as divided armed forces amid increasing waves of insecurity.

X. CONCLUSION

The transformation of the rebel groups in the three countries reviewed shows that it is important to take into consideration the spoilers that might thwart the processes of democratization. Many parameters need to be weighed against the transformation of rebel groups before a former insurgent organization can take part in an election in a post-war period. The socio-economic chaos and psychological trauma that RUF plunged Sierra Leone into did not augur well for its political metamorphosis, as the polls revealed. In the case of Côte d'Ivoire, the RDR/ FRCI faced a discredited government that was crumbling under economic and political sanctions of the international community and the major powers. It appears that if the transition of former rebel groups to political parties might have damaging consequences if the elections are hurriedly organized and if the electorate sanctions it for its atrocities. The fact of the matter is that these countries are still at the pre-democratic phase. The advancement of multiparty and democracy in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Côte d'Ivoire depend on many parameters as argued in the paper such as the active involvement of the international community in the peace processes, the willingness of the former warring parties to embrace the peace processes.

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The Political Economy of Mass Transit Programme in Nigeria: An Evaluation of Government Post- Petroleum Subsidy Intervention

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Abstract- This paper investigated the political economy of mass transit programme in Nigeria using federal government post-petroleum subsidy removal intervention as a case study. The primary objective of the study is to determine the impact of the intervention on the socio-economic and mobility hardship that resulted from the removal of the subsidy. With the aid of secondary and primary sources of data collection, the paper observed that contrary to its original aim, the mass transit programme now pursues elites' economic interest. It further observed that the programme became an instrument of political settlement and a capitalist programme for profit maximisation because all the government owned mass transit companies have been commercialised. It observed also that the intervention has no positive impact on the socio-economic and mobility hardship of the people. Thus, the paper recommends a reversal of the commercialisation of mass transit companies, government donation of vehicles to labour unions and government own transport companies.

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Abstract- This paper investigated the political economy of mass transit programme in Nigeria using federal government post-petroleum subsidy removal intervention as a case study. The primary objective of the study is to determine the impact of the intervention on the socio-economic and mobility hardship that resulted from the removal of the subsidy. With the aid of secondary and primary sources of data collection, the paper observed that contrary to its original aim, the mass transit programme now pursues elites' economic interest. It further observed that the programme became an instrument of political settlement and a capitalist programme for profit maximisation because all the government owned mass transit companies have been commercialised. It observed also that the intervention has no positive impact on the socio-economic and mobility hardship of the people. Thus, the paper recommends a reversal of the commercialisation of mass transit companies, government donation of vehicles to labour unions and government own transport companies.

1. INTRODUCTION

The development of modern transportation in Nigeria began with government investments for purely economic reasons and ease of passage. The colonial regime evolved the rail transport system for purposes of evacuating Nigeria's mineral endowments and people as slaves to Europe for their industrial and agricultural use. Shortly after Nigeria's political independence, different regional and city governments began to establish public transport system for economic purposes. These include: the Ibadan City Bus Service, the Kano State Transport Corporation (operating then as Kano Line), Kwara Line and Plateau State Transport Corporations among others. Unfortunately, most of these transport lines collapsed between the second half of 1970s and early 1980s due to mismanagement and fraud [Adeniji, 1983; Barret, 1993].

However, from the mid-1980s, other government owned public transport companies were established in Lagos, Kaduna, Port Harcourt, Kwara, Rivers, Oyo and Edo States. With the exception of Water

Line, Bendel Line, Borno Express, Kaduna State Transport Authority and the Lagos State Transport Corporation (LSTC), these transport corporations also collapsed and were closed down completely (Adesanya, 2002; Barret, 1993). Financial impropriety, inadequate government financial support, lack of qualified staff, political interference, and uncontrolled competition from private transport operators were identified as the reasons for their collapse (Adesanya, 2002; Adeniji, 1983; and Barret, 1986).

The collapse of the public transport system in the late 1980s and the ascendancy of individual or private transport system left the Nigerian transport system at the mercy of private transporters. These transporters operate arbitrarily and increase transport fares without control or regulation (Adesanya, 2002) in pursuit of greater profit, business expansion, and as a mechanism for paying back loans within the shortest period to avoid interest payment.

According to Adeyemi (2001), and Adesanya (1996), the consequences of the above uncontrolled extortion, lack of enough vehicles to meet commuters demand, sub-standard and unorganized operational system led to:

1. Unprecedented socio-economic hardship on the citizens;
2. Steady decline in the level of motorization by 50percent between 1990 and 1998 thereby causing acute shortage of transport services;
3. The use of used and discarded vehicles [a.k.a 'tokumbo'] imported from Europe and America;
4. Environmental pollution; and
5. Perverse scourge of road traffic accident that has continued to claim hundreds of lives.

Consequently, the federal government introduced the policy of Mass Transit Programme in 1988 to lay the foundation for and moderate organized mass transit in Nigeria. With the introduction of this policy, the goal of public mass transit system changed from revenue generation to being government intervention programme aimed at alleviating the socio-economic problems of the citizenry.

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The three tiers of government in Nigeria i.e. the federal, states and local governments in pursuance of the mass transit programme have worked to develop transportation by establishing their respective mass transit companies (Adeyemi, 2001). Characteristically, these companies have administrative structure, better trained staff guided by public service rules, workshops and maintenance facilities which most of the private operators do not have. Unlike private operators, their services are scheduled for definite routes, times and fees or fares (Filani, 2002; Osita et al., 2003).

Paradoxically, the problems of transportation increased in spite of these efforts. Inadequate planning and management, lack of intermodal coordination, traffic congestion, shortage of intra-city transport connectivity, shortages and malfunctioning of transport equipment, lack of professional drivers, inadequate capital, and high cost of transport fares prevailed in the system. Most importantly, this government owned mass transit system has consistently charged the same fares with the private operators. Exacerbating these problems, the federal government under the leadership of President Goodluck Jonathan removed fuel subsidy.

The removal of fuel subsidy negatively affected socio-economic activities in Nigeria and generated nationwide unrest particularly among labour unions. Basically, it affected transport fares as motorist tripled transport charges, cost of commodities/goods increased astronomically, movement of people and materials were reduced, and civil servants found it difficult to meet-up with monthly transports bills. According to Ering and Akpan [2012:16],

For instance, people now ride on horse-powered taxis some choose cow-powered land cruisers and even do motorcycle-powered tourist wagon, all in an attempt to avoid the use of petrol and its cost. Increases in transportation always have ripple effects on other social issues. The prices of food stuff also went up.

The removal of fuel subsidy equally increased the cost of haulage of basic building materials such as iron rods, roofing sheets, flouring materials and others. In all, the standard of living became very precarious and portends danger for social unrest or revolution. Consequently, the federal government responded intervened in the transport sector by legalizing the pump prize of fuel to N97.00 and donated 1100 buses to boost the mass transit system. This paper evaluates the political economy of the mass transit intervention in Nigeria's post fuel subsidy removal with a view to assess the impact of the intervention in alleviating the socio-economic hazards associated with it.

The significance of this paper is located in its theoretical and empirical contributions. Theoretically, this work complements available works on mass transit policy, government intervention to alleviate mass poverty

through the transport industry in Nigeria and Africa generally. Thus, it can be relied upon as a source of data for researchers in the field. Secondly, this paper provides information about the implementation of public policy, in this case transport policy, which shall enable relevant organs of governance to develop a new focus/paradigm that will solve the prevailing problems confronting public policy implementation in the state.

Empirically, the paper highlights the major characteristics of federal mass transit system and government intervention to reduce the cost of transportation. It provides an analysis of their operations, and the factor[s] militating against their success. The paper suggests new ways of resolving these problems, which if implemented, shall make government intervention effective and efficient in contributing to socio-economic development improvement in people's standard of living.

II. MATERIALS AND METHODS

This study is quantitative in nature i.e. its adopted survey method of inquiry for the collection of data/information from the 36 states and Abuja that constitute Nigeria. Basically, the paper employed instruments of structured questionnaire, interview and documentary research in the collection of information from unclassified records that has to do with government assisted mass transit system and intervention. Specifically, records on assets/bus inventory, the booking method of buses and transport routes, revenues and expenditures in various depots studied, yearly fiscal allocation to the companies, purchase of new vehicles, and registration of loaned/hired vehicles were consulted. Issues not covered by the questionnaire and these records, and that bother on daily administration and management of these companies, and their relationship with the Executive organ of governance in their respective states and federal government were investigated through interview.

The study chose the regional offices of the National Union of Road Transport Workers [NURTW], federal ministry of transport and federal assisted mass transit companies [i.e. their administrative staff, account officers, loaders, and drivers] in the six geo-political zones of Nigeria; the state ministries of transport and state owned transport companies were chosen as the population of study as its focus of study. The choice of these three categories of offices i.e. trade union, ministries of transport and government established mass transit companies as our focus of study in the evaluation of the implementation of Mass Transit intervention Policy in Nigeria is informed by two fundamental reasons. First, NURTW is the trade union through which the various level of governance in Nigeria dialogue or interact with transporters. Second, the

federal and state ministries of transport are the government organ that articulated, procured executive approval, and implemented government intervention policy in the transport sector. Thirdly, government established mass transit companies are models of socio-economic instruments for poverty alleviation in Nigeria.

From available records in the administrative units of the five offices mentioned above, the total population of workers, which serves as the population of this study, is 12,065. However, the actual sample size for the study was determined by the use of Yaro Yemari [1962] formula for determining sample size, which is:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where n = Sample size

N = Population of the study

e = margin of error [which stands for 0.05 in this study].

1 = a constant

$$\text{Therefore } n = \frac{12,065}{1 + 12065(0.05)^2} = \frac{12,065}{1 + 12065(0.0025)}$$

$$n = \frac{12,065}{1 + 30.16} = \frac{12,065}{31.16}$$

n = 387.195, which is approximately 387.

Therefore the sample size for the study is [387] three hundred and eighty seven respondents wherein 64 respondents were drawn from each of the six states leaving a remainder of 5 [five] respondents that were set aside. Out of the 64 respondents in each state, 12 respondents were drawn from each federal ministry of transport, federal assisted mass transit company; the state ministry of transport, the state owned mass transit company, and the NURTW respectively leaving a balance of 4 respondents that were set aside. Consequently, a total of 360 questionnaires [i.e. 60 X 6] were distributed during the survey.

Stratified cluster sampling wherein study samples were chosen from among clusters of the five offices across the six geo-political centres was adopted for the study. In distributing the questionnaires, the researchers adopted top – down hierarchical approach, which stipulates that distribution starts from the highest ranking officer down the line. For transport operators themselves i.e. the drivers working in the companies, questionnaires were given to them as they enter the depot and pack their vehicle to wait for their loading turn. In selecting the members of management team for interview, those that were interviewed were chosen according to their vital position in the company. Such positions include the Zonal Director, Director of Accounts, Public Relations Officer, Chairman/General Manager, Depot Managers, Loading Officers, and Depot Security Officers.

The instrument used in this work, which is the questionnaire, was first distributed to a sample population that differs from the real sample population of the study to test its reliability and validity. Secondly, the use of Cronbach Alpha reliability test equally ensures the reliability and validity of the instruments of analysis employed in this work. During data collection, the researchers were assisted by twelve field work assistants to distribute questionnaires in the six geo-political areas wherein two assistants were sent to each area. For respondents that do not understanding, read nor write English language, the field work assistants assisted such people by explaining the questions and ticking the answers that such people give in the questionnaire.

During the process of questionnaire distribution and collection, the researchers scheduled interview appointments with the top management of the five offices in each of the six locations studied. Available and unclassified documents in these offices were equally studied after the interview. In addition to the data collected through survey and interview, other sources of data collection include published texts, journal articles, conference and seminar papers, official government publications and gazettes, magazine and newspaper publications as can be accessed on the internet, public and private libraries, and government offices. Arithmetical tools such as % and content analysis were used to analyse the data generated for purposes of inference.

It is important to acknowledge that the data used in this paper are limited only to information generated/collected from the federal ministry of transport, federal assisted mass transit company; the state ministry of transport, the state owned mass transit company, and the NURTW located at the centres of Nigeria's six geo-political zones. Therefore, the paper is limited as follows:

1. It explored planning and management of public mass transit programme in the zones;
2. It explored the operational routines of the public mass transit programme;
3. It investigated the capitalisation or budgetary input into these companies to ensure successful implementation of the mass transit policy;
4. The paper made inquires about ownership, interests and revenue generation in the mass transit programmes;
5. It assessed commuters or customers' satisfaction rating of the mass transit programmes;
6. It made an inquiry into the various problems confronting the programme and there from recommended solutions to the problems observed.

Consequently, the conclusions and or generalizations drawn by this paper are limited only to these areas and locations studied. Application of these

conclusions to other areas of study within and outside Nigeria is only relevant or objective to the extent that similar inquiry is conducted on such studies and locations. However, its geo-cultural and structural spread enabled the paper to draw conclusions that represent realities about the political economy of mass transit in Nigeria, and which facilitated our assessment of the post fuel subsidy removal government intervention in the sector.

III. GAP IN THE EXTANT LITERATURE

a) *The Concept and policy of Mass Transport*

Policy is a set of dynamic ideas, guidelines, goals, aspirations, and vision that guides government actions towards a better society. Generally, it is always a response to the needs of a society (Sumaila, 2008). From this perspective, transport policy is conceptualised in the light of Tolly and Turton (1995) as “the process of regulating and controlling the provision of transport with a view to facilitating the efficient operation of the economic, social and political life of any country at the lowest social cost”. Through transport Policy government set its function in the transport sector with a view to providing a rational, efficient, comfortable, safe, low and cost- effective transport system (Oyesiku, 2004). According to Hodgson (2012), transport policy deal with problems associated with mobility. Hodgson correctly argued that the essence of transport policy is to modify, and or change the pattern of mobility in order to match transport services with the actual peoples’ experiences and transport needs.

On the concept of mass transport, avalanche of literature conceptualized it maximum people access to and movement in terms of quantity of users that encompasses a grid of continuous, direct public transportation channels across metropolitan areas (Mokeya, 2009; Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, 1991). It provides the channel through which people, goods and ideas are adequately moved from one location to another. Mass transport is characterised by three values and principles namely, equity, accessibility and mobility (Chakwizira, 2009). These three values and principles are proactive in improving the service levels of transportation of goods and services in any society at a cheaper rate.

The principles of equity and values inculcates the socio-economic benefits from transport interventions that meets the needs of all segments of the society such as the elderly, youths, children, disabled, women, the poor, those with mobility impairment, and those living in neglected and deprived areas (World Bank, 2008; Chakwizira, 2009]. On its part, mobility refers to physical movement.

b) *Nigeria Transport Policy and System*

The central principle of Nigeria’s transport policy is transportation and transport development is a

national responsibility wherein practices must reflect the entire nation’s needs and resources (FRN, 1965). This 1965 policy led to the establishment of Transport Coordination and Policy Implementation Unit in the Ministry of Transport and Aviation. Practically, in the course of the implementation of this policy, many sub-sectoral policies resulting in fragmented evolution of the transportation system resulted. This led to the 1993 National Transport Policy that focused on achieving adequacy, efficiency and modal development in the transport sector. The policy embarked on diversified funding sources for maintaining and developing the transport industry such as road construction and rehabilitation. This advanced the development of different sub-sectors collectively and individually that heightened the fragmented nature of the transportation system.

In response to this, the federal government brought out another Transport Policy in 2003, which is a major shift that ushered in integrated transport system while retaining the fundamental goals of providing adequate, safe, efficient and pro-people transport system (DETR, 1998). This led to the creation of National Council on Transport for policy implementation. Unfortunately, economic crisis, the pursuit of global best practice, and full liberalisation of the Nigeria’s economic system led to another shift of transport policy in 2008 as the country pursued privatization and deregulation with the goal of a market-driven transport system. Consequently, government transferred its responsibilities in the management of the transport system to the private sector. This reduced and or eliminated government involvement in transport service provision.

The policy pursued a private sector involvement in all aspects of road transport system as the most viable government strategy for developing the industry. Safety and environmental quality and friendliness were uniquely emphasised in the policy. Equally, the Policy specified other economic instruments such as road user charges, port/park charges as sources of funds. Although these rules guided general transport service improvement at modal levels, there are others that were designed to specifically meet the mobility needs of urban and rural dwellers. These include the establishment of Federal Urban Transport Board to solve urban movement problems at any level, the rules and regulations meant to improve traffic discipline, and the integration of urban transport system i.e. buses, rail, water and Para-transit among others, and the provision of adequate interchange points to take care of this integration. The Federal Government has continued to invest substantial of its fiscal operations to the development and viability of the transport sector (Oni and Okanlawon, 2005).

However, evidence and experiences show that these policies have negative impact on the socio-

economic problems which such transport interventions were supposed to resolve. This is due to rapid growth of the population and evolution of more cities (Heraty, 1980; Barret, 1986), lowest level of motorization (Filani, 2002; Kolawole, 2010) and economic recession. Filani (2002) noted that the consequences of this recession include among others:

- i. High cost of new vehicles currency devaluation and the astronomical increase in the prices of spare parts;
- ii. Limited or scarcity of vehicles for transport and inability to maintain available ones;
- iii. Public transport operators increased transport costs or fares; and
- iv. Commuter queues at major transport terminals and routes.
- v. The operations of private and public transport became almost similar;
- vi. Roads and other public transport infrastructure together with transport services have continued to decline (Brain and Knowles, 2000; World Bank, 1996).

Consequently, these problems generated demand for transport services that should be in excess of the short fall of such transport services (Bolade, 1993). In response, the Federal Urban Mass Transit Programme [FUMTP] was established in January 1988 as a panacea for the socio-economic and mobility frustrations and hardships experienced by workers and communities across cities in Nigeria (FUMTP, 1989; Bolade, 1989; Adesanya, 1994).

In this intervention, State-owned mass transit companies were formed in all the states of the federation as target groups for improving the public transport at the State and Local levels. FUMTP offered grant-aided facilities to the states in the form of maintenance; workshop equipments; mobile workshop and tools; traffic improvement measures. The Federal Government equally injected over 2000 Federal Assisted Buses into the public transport service network across the states. About 85% of those buses were given to the state-owned companies under concessionary loan conditions. The remaining 15% of the buses were distributed to Federal Colleges, Universities and other Tertiary Institutions and specialized Agencies as grants (Filani and Abumere, 1993).

The public mass transit system was more organized, have better trained staff and maintenance facilities than most of the private sector operators; their services are often provided on fixed routes, and their fares are relatively cheaper than those provided by private sector operators. They have service schedules, although in practice are rarely followed because of the inadequacy of vehicles, declining fleet utilization rates, growing competition with private operators, poor traffic

management, and congestion especially during peak travel periods (Umar, 2003).

The success recorded by FUMTA and its challenges led to the emergence of another transportation policy in 1993 to strengthen the Mass Transit programme. According to World Bank (1996), the general objectives of the transport policy include; adequacy, economic and financial efficiency, safety, reliability and national self-reliance. However, there was no policy guideline, sanction and deadline for the implementation of the objectives of the 1993 policy. Consequently, the NTP had little or no influence on the government's actions in the transport industry.

Thus, the National Transport Policy failed to achieve sustainable transport system in Nigeria (Mabogunje, 2008) thereby leading to calls for an effective National Transport Policy with functional strategies for implementation (Adesanwo, 2000; Maduaekwe, 2002). In response, the federal government articulated a new transport policy in its National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy [NEEDS] programme. The NEEDS transport policy envisaged a transport development strategy that is private-sector driven with government guaranteed safe environment that addresses the issues of wealth creation, employment generation and poverty reduction (FGN, 2010).

Scholars like Aworemi and Ogunsiji (2004) noted that in spite of all these reforms, the prices of transport facilities, vehicles and spare parts such as tyres, tubes, fuel and lubricants have risen so rapidly over the years that some private public transport companies have to fizzle out while most of the public or government owned transport companies remained 'a ghost' of themselves. The standard of living became worst (Vasconcellos, 2011), car ownership for transport services decreased rapidly in the hands of many (Adesanya, 2011), while transport operators increased fares geometrically with rascality. As the country is going through this experience, the federal government completely deregulated the down stream petroleum sector by removing fuel subsidy in 2012. This exacerbated the declining standard of living and worsened the country's socio-economic problems and hardship, which resulted in high level pressure against government policies, civil unrest, strikes and instability. Responding to this crisis, government introduced many programmes and policies to cushion the effects of subsidy removal. According to Thisdayonline.com of August 9, 2012, government intervened in the transport industry by releasing 1,600 mass transit buses [although only 1,100 buses were released] to strengthen the programme and ease mobility problems. The Federal Government, 36 state governments, 774 local governments, the Central Bank of Nigeria and several commercial banks are involved. No technical or academic research work has evaluated the distribution

of these busses, their impact on the declining mass transit services and the socio-economic problems caused by the fuel subsidy removal. This paper attempts to fill this gap.

c) Theoretical Nexus

This paper adopts customer satisfaction theory as its framework of analysis. According to Oliver (1996), Edvardson (1996), Haglund and Stålhammar (2001), the protagonists of this theory that is also known as theory of “common good”, the theory views public transport as a common good and studies transportation effectiveness from the perspective of transport user’s satisfaction with the service product. Service product refers to a series of services customer expect the various transport companies to fulfil (Edvardson, 1996; Haglund and Stålhammar, 2001). Such service includes; favourable departure and arrival timetable, standard or good vehicles, safety aspects of both the vehicle and the journey, absence long cues of commuters, good transport fares, drivers and conductors’ behaviour, transit routes to destination i.e. absence of handover to another vehicle during the trip on the road. This theory investigates commuters’ satisfaction with these factors in the federal assisted mass transit project with specific emphasis on the post fuel subsidy removal intervention period.

This theory is relevant to this paper as it enables the paper to investigate the nature, dynamics and impacts of government intervention within this period with a view to ascertain the nuances of commuters’ satisfaction derived from these service issues raised by the theory. It enables the paper to study the politics, administration and interests that characterise the Mass Transit programme. The primary focus herein are the number and standard of vehicles, transport routes, transport fares, safety, pro-poor services, ownership and elite interest in the programme. These shall enable the paper evaluate government intervention in the mass transport programme during the subsidy travail. It enables the paper to assess the implementation of the objectives for which the mass transit programme was established in Nigeria. Consequently, it is relevant for the study.

d) Findings and Discussions

Various attempts made to contact the Commissioners of Transport in the six states, their Permanent Secretaries and the CEOs of these companies were in vein. Thus, other officers like General Managers, Chairman, Public Relations Officers [PRO] and Secretaries were interviewed. Primary information collected during the study from the five offices studied reveals that the entire federal assisted mass transit scheme and state owned mass transit companies have been leased out to private individuals as at the time of the study. These individuals were mandated to manage these companies and pay specified but agreed amount

of money to either the state or federal government monthly depending on who established them. In return, these new managers fix transport fares unchecked by the government, register other privately owned vehicles as chartered vehicles [CV] or Hired Vehicles [HV] in the companies, buy new vehicles [although in their names], manage and discipline the staff of the companies.

We are limited from making deeper analysis here because of refusal of the various Directors/chairmen or managing directors to release copies of such agreements entered into with respective governments that are involved. However, further investigation through interviews reveals that the Chief Executive Officers (CEO) of these companies are top politicians whose contributions and activities during elections led to their acquisition of the transport companies. The fact that the processes of leasing these transport companies were neither advertised nor thrown open tend to support this information. The CEOs are also party stakeholders in their different domains or locations. It is therefore the position of this paper that government’s intervention during the post-petroleum subsidy crisis was an effort to assuage or whittle-down political pressures from these CEOs to remove the negative consequences of the policy on their business. Although there may be other reasons behind government’s distribution of the greater number of 1100 donated buses during the post-petroleum subsidy crisis to these CEOs, we argue that it was geared towards strengthening their companies. They were distributed to them under agreement to repay the cost of such vehicles within a period of about 8 years. We are limited from stating the precise contents of the agreement because the CEOs remained inaccessible and could not release the documents during inquiry. Apart from being highly insufficient to alleviate the mobility hardship facing over 160 million Nigerians, these vehicles were never used for the benefit of commuters.

According to official documents perused in the offices of the transport companies, they have headquarters in all the locations of our study, and depots in all the major urban areas in the states. Equally, they have all the paraphernalia of civil service with a hierarchical administrative structure headed by a General Manager an active servicing/repair workshop with mechanics, purchase and store departments, depot managers, workers within its employ discharging various duties ranging from drivers, loaders, security, account officers, supervisors, secretary, planning and monitoring unit, and personnel among others.

The General Managers interviewed between August 17, 2013 and October 21, 2013 maintained that their companies do not purchase new vehicles on their own rather they depend on state or federal government to donate vehicles to them. This practice imposed the interests of government or top government officials upon other interests in these companies. Consequently, these

companies operate as normal government parastatal rendering service to the public although they are under private or individual control/management. Data generated from the interview reveals that as a consequence, they do not receive annual subvention or allocation from both the federal and state governments. Thus, the CEOs of these companies opted to register individual private vehicles as Hired Vehicles to enable the company meet up with commuters' demands, generate fund for maintenance of company staff and vehicles, and increase their income.

334 respondents representing 93% maintained that all the mass transit companies operate a pure capitalist programme of profit maximization controlled by interest[s] that are politically defined. For instance, some of these companies operate taxi higher purchase programme wherein they purchase taxis and sale them out to interested individuals on higher purchase price and were given two years to pay-up instalmentally. These companies are interested in routes where the possibility of profit maximisation is higher and not on the alleviation of mobility problems across the country as purportedly pursued by the mass transit programme. An evaluation of the Operations Unit Records on these companies reveals that operations along 649 traffic corridors / routes in the states studied for the companies are predominantly inter states. Their official records show that out of 2,632,928 passengers/commuters that travelled along the traffic corridors / routes between 2006 and 2012, only 510,213 of them were moved in the local routes. Equally, the volume or numbers of inter state operations vary along the route of operations with Lagos, Abuja and Enugu routes dominating all others. The implication thereof is that mass transit programme in Nigeria lacks pro-people convenience agenda and pursues elite profit maximisation only.

Further inquiry into the nature of services provided by the companies to commuters reveals that 89% of our total respondents i.e. 320 noted that these mass transit companies do not charge lesser transport fares than other private transporters. 6.5% while 4.6% argued on the contrary. 96.5% of the respondents acknowledged that these companies operate on fixed transport fares that are easily altered during festive and pressure periods. This practice is similar to that of private transport operators. Equally, 349 respondents i.e. 97% noted that their loaders in their companies charge extra fees for passengers' loads or belongings like private operators. The same number of respondents maintained that their vehicles carry the same number of passengers that private transporters carry per role in the bus and as stipulated by the Federal Road Safety Corps [FRSC]. It is our contention or argument here that there is no difference between the transport fares and comfort provided for commuters by these mass transit companies and that of the private operators, and these

are part of the post-petrol subsidy experiences which mass transit was introduced to cushion.

In addition to the above, 99.5% of our respondents revealed that the mass transit companies under study do not provide safe passage/accommodation for commuters who arrive to their destinations late in the night. Further to this, 84.5% of our respondents equally noted that the companies do not pay any compensation to commuters whose luggage are stolen or damaged or missed in their buses during transit. 15.5% of the respondents refused to give any answer to this question. Equally, 349 respondents i.e. 97% noted that their loaders do not make provision for pregnant women and the physically challenged when loading during rush hours and seasons. These observations are synonymous with commuters' experiences in the hands of individual/private operators.

327 persons representing 91% of our respondents noted that none of these companies monitors their drivers to ensure adherence to national speed limit set by the FRSC. On the other hand, 96.5% of the respondents observed that none of the companies have in operation or is preparing to procure any accident emergency scheme like first aid, ambulance service, or mobile doctor treatment for commuters.

In addition to the above responses, 358 respondents representing 99.4% of our study sample noted that the federal government post-petroleum subsidy intervention in the mass transit programme has not made any change on the sufferings of commuters in the hands of private transport operators across the country because of the subsidy removal. Thus, this paper concludes that Mass Transit programme in Nigeria have not generated substantial socio-economic and mobility alleviation programmes in their operations. The ownership and management of the programme has been politicized that its operations enhance the economy or financial base of political patrons to the detriment of the masses.

e) *Summary of Findings*

In the beginning, this paper was set to evaluate the political economy and impact of federal government post-petroleum subsidy removal intervention policy in the transport industry – specifically in the mass transit programme. Mass transit programme was introduced/established in 1988 to cushion the effects of the introduction of SAP. It has continued to be used by governments in Nigeria at the three levels of governance i.e. federal, state and local governments as economic hardship alleviation programme.

With the aid of both primary and secondary sources of information, the paper observed the followings;

- i. The federal government donated 1600 vehicles although 1100 were released to mass transit

- i. companies and other federal institutions across the six geo-political zones.
- ii. All the government owned mass transit companies have been leased out to private individuals who are top politicians as their CEOs.
- iii. None of the three levels of governance in Nigeria gives annual subvention to the mass transit companies.
- iv. The mass transit companies do not buy new vehicles but resort to the registration of individually owned vehicles in their companies as Hired Vehicles to complement government owned vehicles.
- v. The transport fares being paid by commuters in the companies are fixed, not cheaper than those of private operators and are subject to changes due to seasons and pressure.
- vi. There is no security arrangement for luggage and commuters neither are there any provision for pregnant women and the physically challenged in the operations of the mass transit companies.
- vii. The companies focus on external or inter state routes more than local routes with more interest in Abuja, Lagos and Enugu transport routes.
- viii. Commuters pay fees for luggage like in the private operators' companies.
- ix. None of the companies have implemented any safety programme nor do they pay for damages, losses and stolen luggage of commuters.

This paper therefore recommends that government intervention in the mass transit programme should focus on distributing higher number of vehicles to labour unions and government ministries of transport for effective management and low cost fares that will alleviate the economic hardship of the people particularly the workers. The leasing of government owned mass transit companies to private politicians should be reversed while the transport fare for the mass transit system should be cheaper than those of private operators. Each of the mass transit company should establish a conventional security policy that guarantees commuters and luggage safety.

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Election and Voting Behaviour of FELDA Settlers in Felda Chini Pahang, Malaysia

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Election and Voting Behaviour of FELDA Settlers in Felda Chini Pahang, Malaysia

Nurul Saadatun Nadiyah Mohd Ngah ^α & Ilyas Abdullah ^σ

Abstract- This study examines the reasons of FELDA settlers vote for a party and factors that influence the voting behavior of FELDA settlers in Felda Chini, Pahang. Chini (N23) is one of the FELDAs with majority Malay voters and most of the general elections in this area in the past were won by the Barisan Nasional (BN) including during the last general election in 2013. BN was also victorious in the three preceding elections in 1995, 2004 and 2008. FELDA Chini became a stronghold for BN. The study is learned upon questionnaires distributed to the FELDA settlers. Out of 507 questionnaires distributed only 348 were returned giving a return rate of 69% which is considered satisfactory. Overall, the FELDA settlers prefer to vote for the ruling party as a sense of gratitude in order to express their appreciation for the government's contribution. The study finds that Dato' Najib is not the leading factor for them to vote in the election.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Malaysia has consistently conducted national elections since 1959 in order to decide the formation of the government (Khong Kim Hoong, 1991). The first election held in the Federation of Malaya was for the Municipal Council of George Town, Penang, on December 1, 1951. This was followed later by the Kuala Lumpur Municipal Council election of February, 1952. Moreover, the first national level election was held on July 27, 1955 (NSTP Research and Information Services, 1990). Apart from being described as a process for electing and choosing the government, election is the most essential process in a political community. In fact, the elections determine not only who should rule the government but also over what, and under what terms, they may rule (Rashid Rahman, 1994). It is important to determine the authority and political leaders. Thus, indirectly the election is necessary to identify the policy and administration of the country.

II. ELECTION IN MALAYSIA

Moreover, in Malaysia, elections are conducted under 'first-past-the post' system (Chin Ung- Ho, 1997). It is a simple procedure for translating votes into

seats since the party with the highest number of votes wins (NSTP Research and Information, 1990). This system emphasizes that vote percentages do not necessarily have to tally with seat percentages. In fact, there are certain features of this electoral system that can be emphasized for instance; disproportionality where the largest party receives a considerable seat bonus and the fragmentation of the party system which means a large number of parties contest, although the number is reduced by Barisan Nasional's single slate and the mixed record on inter-ethnic coalition (Mavis Puthucheary & Noraini Othman, 2005).

Election is also a good way of expressing people's political hopes and dissatisfactions (NSTP Research and Information, 1990). If they are satisfied with the government's administration, they will vote for the government. Otherwise, people tend to vote against the government as a symbol of dissatisfaction when the government does not perform. The elections give opportunities towards political participation (Palmer, N. D., 1975). Puthucheary argues that Malaysian election cannot be considered as free and fair elections because they do not fulfill the functions required of them in formal democratic theory (Mavis Puthucheary & Noraini Othman, 2005). Due to that, the opposition claims that this situation happens because those who vote for Barisan Nasional candidates are influenced by the promise of material rewards and are fearful of punishment if they vote for the opposition.

III. VOTING BEHAVIOR IN MALAYSIA

According to Rogers, Malaysians people were not involved in politics during the 1960s. They did not have much interest to participate, especially among villagers (Rogers, M. L., 1992). However, this situation has changed gradually throughout the years. Rogers adds, these changes happened because of a few factors, for instance, growing communal concerns, rising levels of education and exposure to the mass media, organization of the UMNO branch in the community, establishment of ties between kampung leaders and UMNO officials, receipt of numerous benefits under the government's rural development programme and increasing political awareness and concern during the election campaigns. Somjee states that campaigns by candidates as well as by members of a party is an exercise in periodic political accountability by sitting members, and an occasion for putting across

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the relative superiority of the policy proposal of one's party to those proposed by the contestant. Through such practices, more and more voters are politically socialized and inducted into the electoral process. Indirectly, it gives them some basic information and the opportunity to make a political choice. In fact, he also stresses that political parties also depend on businessmen during the election process. Political parties will approach them for funds and assistance in transport as well as materials for propaganda. In order to achieve their mission, the businessmen are promised various kinds of help especially in administrative matters.

Malaysian voters demonstrate an apparent psychological commitment to a political party on the basis of ethnic identity. Most Malays vote on party-based influence, especially in rural areas since they are inclined to vote for the party that they identify with (NSTP Research and Information Services, 1990). Therefore, political party is one of the factors which lead people's participation in politics. The stronger the political parties involved in the elections, the larger the voting turn out. The media has a strong social and cultural impact upon society especially during the election. Mustafa states that Barisan Nasional has controlled the media in order to ensure that people vote for its candidates (Mustafa K. Anuar, 2002). Mass media like television, radio and newspapers mostly has more coverage on Barisan Nasional policies, its contributions and campaigns, and give less exposure on the opposition parties' activities and agenda. Furthermore, Brown also argues that BN intends to control the media by using two methods which are legislative regulation and corporate ownership (Brown. G., 2005). Even though the government made regulatory control by implementing certain acts and introducing permits for the media to function, it is hard for the government to restrict the rise of internet usage among people. Interestingly, the internet was widely used in 1998 after Anwar Ibrahim was sacked from the government. Internet became the medium of information between Anwar's supporters and the broader public.

The newspaper also reflects the qualitative change that has occurred in the electorate. There is a correlation between newspaper and vote-intention. Day after day all newspapers feed a maturing electorate with specific arguments, perspectives and a rationale for its proposed political choice (Somjee, A. H., 1979). In addition, Zaharom also discusses that most of the newspapers that exist in Malaysia are owned by the government. For instance, the News Straits Times, Malay Mail, Berita Harian and Berita Minggu are government-controlled newspapers and their content are released under the government's observation. Even during Anwar Ibrahim's stint in UMNO, he used the New Straits Times' newspaper as his campaign's medium in getting support from people to challenge Ghafar Baba in pursuit of the deputy president of UMNO post (Vatikiotis,

M., 1993). Money is also one of the important factors which influence people to vote. Money is used in order to minimize legislative majorities and form or topple ministries. Financial motives are attributed in public and no one sues anyone for libel (Ratnam, K. J., and Milne, R.S., 1967). Politicians will use money to ensure their success in elections. In addition to that, there are rumors relating to the defection of top-level leaders, of various deals that they had entered to cross the party line and the advent of big money from outside to buy votes. Basically, they use rumours in order to prepare the voters for a possible defeat of their side. They are also used as legitimate weapons in the electoral contest, for instance, using rumours to make the electorate much less influenced than is intended by either side. During the 1964 elections, certain issues became the dominant factors for voters to vote. It influenced voters to vote. Among the most important issues raised during that time were religion, Malay privileges and language. During the 1982 election, the government has introduced a slogan "Clean, Efficiency and Trustworthy" and this slogan captured the attention of electorate (Sankaran Ramanathan & Mohd. Hamdan Adnan, 1998). Barisan Nasional's practices of 3Ms which is known as money, media and machineries to ensure the electorates vote for them in the 2004 election (Tunku Mohar Mokhtar, 2008).

IV. METHODOLOGY

In this study, the researcher used questionnaire and interview methods to evaluate the voting behavior among the settlers in FELDA Chini. This questionnaire is constructed in English, and then translated into Malay as it is the language of the respondents in FELDA Chini areas. This questionnaire consists of two types of questions, which are close and open-ended questions. The two pages questionnaire contained one open-ended question and 17 close-ended questions. Basically, the questionnaire is divided into three major parts. The first part of the questionnaire consists of six demographic questions, which are related to sex, age, marital status, level of education, occupation as well as monthly income. The second part of the questionnaire contains the questions regarding their involvement in politics and factors that lead them to participate in the elections. The third part of questionnaire is about their views on the development of FELDA Chini. This part is also important in order to measure their satisfaction of development in their settlements. Interview will also be conducted. This unstructured interview is an encounter between the researcher and respondents, where the respondents' answers will provide the raw data. 10 interviewees were selected from the sample by using random sampling method. As before, interviewees were selected to reflect age, gender and education proportionately. The unstructured interview was

conducted to support the findings of the questionnaire. In order to support the data, the researcher also analyzed relevant newspapers, journals, books and the internet.

V. POPULATION AND SAMPLE

In the 2008 General Election, there were 12,857 registered voters in DUN Chini and from this number; only 10,145 registered voters were from the FELDA Chini areas. Based on the Election Commission's data, there are 55 localities for Chini State Assembly Seats and it includes Kg Balak, Kg Batu Balik, Kg Arung, Kg Belukar Nangka, Kg Mentiga, Kg Paluh Hinai and others. However, this study is only focusing on the registered voters in FELDA Chini area. As mentioned before, the number of registered voters for this area is quite big. It is hard for the researcher to take all of these voters as respondents. Therefore, the researcher decided to choose only five percent (5%) out of this number through the simple random sampling method. Through this method, all units from the sampling frame have an equal chance to be drawn in the sample. Thus, the total numbers of respondents to answer these questionnaires

are 507 respondents, out of 10,145 registered voters. In order to do this research, 507 questionnaires had been distributed to the selected respondents. This number came from the five percent of the total number of registered voters; 10,145. After one month, the researcher got the feedbacks from the resident assistant. There were 364 responses, but 16 answers could not be accepted because they were not fully completed by the respondents. Thus, the researcher was just left with 348 duly filled questionnaires.

VI. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

For the purpose of this study, all respondents have to answer the questionnaires given. These questions were asked regarding factors that influenced FELDA settlers to vote for a particular political party. As shown in Table 4.10, the following factors explain the reasons for people to be involved in politics;

a) Party Achievement b) Family Influence
c) Dato' Najib's Influence d) Religious Influence e) Interest in Politics f) Appreciation towards the Government g) Candidates' Personality.

Table 4.10: Factors that Influence FELDA Settlers to be involved in Politics

Item	Strongly Agree (%)	Agree (%)	Not Sure (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly Disagree (%)	N
1. Party Achievement	23.0	49.7	14.9	1.7	10.6	100
2. Family Influence	9.2	35.6	21.3	19.0	14.9	100
3. Dato' Najib's Influence	19.0	42.0	18.1	7.5	13.5	100
4. Religious Influence	10.3	45.4	23.9	6.6	13.8	100
5. Interest in Politics	9.8	37.6	31.0	8.0	13.5	100
6. Appreciation towards the Government	27	47.1	15.5	2.3	8.0	100
7. Candidate's Personality	14.7	41.1	22.7	7.2	14.4	100

Question 13: "Why did you vote for a particular party and not the other party?"

a) Party Achievement

Item no.1 shows almost 72.7% of the respondents agreed that party achievement is a big influence factor for them to vote for a party in the election. For them, the government is the one responsible to help reduce the number of poverty among them, instead of providing them with good infrastructure and developing many rural areas. The stronger the political parties involved in the elections, the larger the voting turn out. Whereas, 12.3% respondents disagreed that party achievement affects their vote in the election. However, almost 15% of respondents were not sure party achievement may affect their vote in the previous elections.

b) Family

According to item no.2, only 44.8% agreed that family may influence them to cast their votes in election. For the second generation of FELDA settlers, they tend to vote the party that had been voted by their parents. Based on the interview that had been done with young voters, their parents always discussed and advised them to vote for party that they voted for. For them, it is a traditional culture that should be obeyed by them. They should take the responsibility to continue voting for that particular party as they think they are indebted to the ruling party. For them, the amount of agreement between parents and sons varied according to the parents own choice (Himmelweit H.T, Humphreys. P., & Jaeger.M., 1985). However, 33.9% totally disagreed with

this statement. For them, family cannot influence them to vote for a party, but it is their decision to vote for any parties they like. No one including their family could influence and force them to vote for a party they dislike.

c) *Dato' Najib*

The first impression of the researcher was that Dato' Najib is the most influential factor for voters to vote. However, the table shows that only 61% agreed with this. Thus, it can be said that Dato' Najib is not a significant factor to the FELDA settlers' vote in the elections. 18.1% of respondents were not sure whether Dato' Najib might affect their vote and 21% disagreed with this factor. It can be concluded that, the settlers do not really care who they voted for, but take more consideration on the party they vote for. Therefore, as long as the candidate is from the ruling party, they will vote for them. Surprisingly, religion is not the most important factor that influence voters turn out for voting.

d) *Religion*

Based on item no.4, only 55.7% agreed religion is the reason they vote for a party. However, 20.4% of the respondents did not support this statement, while 23.9% were not sure either religion really gives big impact or not to them to cast their vote in the election.

e) *Interested in Politics*

Besides that, according to item no.5, not everyone who voted during the election were interested in politics. This can be proven when 21.55% disagreed with this factor. However, 47.4% agreed that they voted for a party because they were really interested in it. For them, voting was the best way to get involved in politics. 31% of the respondents did not sure whether they vote because they were interested in politics or it was their responsibility to vote in the election.

f) *Express Appreciation towards the Government*

Regarding to the item no.6, there is no doubt for the FELDA settlers to express their appreciation towards the government. Almost 74% respondents agreed with the government's efforts to eradicate poverty among the FELDA settlers through financial aids, plantation and others in order to benefit the FELDA settlers. In fact, they believed that the government is concerned about their needs by providing them with a gift for Hari Raya known as duit hari raya to reduce their burden to prepare for the celebration. Usually, the government provides an amount of RM200- RM400 per person. In 2010, almost 112, 635 of FELDA settlers received RM200- RM400 per person which came up to RM41.82 million (FELDA, 2011). In fact, FELDA settlers are also involved in investment through Koperasi Permodalan FELDA Berhad known as KPF and they received almost 14.2% dividend and bonus annually. Thus, people believe that they are indebted towards the government. Moreover, the government has worked hard to bring FELDA to be a more competitive company for the better future of

FELDA settlers. The good explanation for this statement is the government has successfully brought the country to become one of the developing countries which continuously goes along with the past policy proposed by the five former Prime Ministers before Najib Tun Razak. Only 36 respondents disagreed to express their appreciation to the government.

g) *Candidate*

Candidate's personality is another influential factor for voters to vote. As shown in item no.7, 55.8% respondents agreed that they would consider the candidate's personality before voting for them in the election. This shows that the respondents would evaluate the candidates and chose the best candidate as their representative in their area. In fact, they will vote for someone whom they can trust and fulfill their promises before the elections. However, 79 feedbacks were not sure of the importance of the candidates' personality to cast their vote. They simply voted for those who represented their party at that time. Based on the interview that had been done, many people said that they would look at the personality of the candidate first. They searched for the one who would be a good leader and at the same time cared for their welfare and needs. If the candidates did not possess a good quality as a leader for instance, appear to be unapproachable who just appear during the elections, who did not have good relationship with them and did not care about them, then it would be hard for them to vote for this candidate.

VII. SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Based on the study, the factor that affects the settlers' voting behavior is mostly as an appreciation towards the government since the government has provided them with the development in terms of facilities, health care, education and others. Nowadays, the level of awareness about politics is increasing among the FELDA settlers. It can be inferred that since the FELDA settlers receive direct aid from federal government, they are politically indebted to the ruling party. This is supported by a previous study by Rashila Ramli, who confirms that FELDA is the stronghold of Barisan Nasional. In fact, the settlers are obsessed with this party since they believe that Barisan Nasional has contributed much in their life. The development that has been provided by the government in these areas like facilities and infrastructures, education and economy affect their vote during the election. As a symbol of appreciation towards the government, the settlers have decided to support the government till the end (Rashila Ramli, 2003). Similar to a study by Rashila Ramli in FELDA Jengka 8, FELDA settlers in Chini believe that voting for the government is the best way for them to show their appreciation towards the government that have provided good facilities to them. Interestingly, like other Malaysian voters, most of the respondents in

FELDA Chini voted for a party on the basis of ethnic identity. The party achievement is also the main reason they vote for one party over the others. Just like a study by Marvin, voting is significant for people as it is a way of expressing communal solidarity in which they reaffirm loyalty to the Malay community, to UMNO and to prominent politicians. Moreover, Dato' Najib's influence, the candidate's personality, religion and family influence are also the factors that can be considered to affect their voting behavior. Just like the Rogers' study, FELDA settlers are so much attached to the agent of political socialization. Some of them get involved in politics because of social pressure or desire to be with friends. Discussing political issues with their friends in coffee shop, indirectly gives impact to the way they think and behave in the politics. In fact, for the middle-class parents they are more interested in delivering political topics to their children and they spend some time in doing so (Dawson. K.S., 1980). They tend to discuss politics generally with their children in order to foster their children's participation. Thus, discussing about politics with friends and family members also contribute to voting behaviour. Therefore, the three main factors that affect voting behavior among the settlers in FELDA Chini are; the candidates' personality, the party achievement and their votes represent an appreciation towards the government. These people strongly believe that the government helps them a lot in their lives and they are responsible to pay back by giving fully support to the government or ruling party. Based on the result, the rank of factors that affect voting behavior is; a) Appreciation towards the government (74%) b) The party achievement (72%) c) Dato' Najib's influence (61%) d) Candidate personality (58%) e) Religious influence (55.7%) f) Interest in politics (47.4%) and Family influence (44.8%).

VIII. CONCLUSION

This study suggests that FELDA settlers realized their responsibility as citizens by voting in the elections. Due to that, almost 84.2% of FELDA settlers in FELDA Chini turned out for voting during the 2008 General Election. For them, election is significant because it may draw the future of their children. Moreover, they recognized election as a medium for them to choose a good government to the country at the same time it is the best way to practice their right as citizen by voting the best candidate as their representatives in order to fulfil their needs. Furthermore, they believed that politics is highly significant in their daily life. Therefore, they prefer to vote for a certain party as a sense of gratitude in order to express their appreciation for the government's contribution. Even though they earn a small income, not more than RM1,500 per month; it does not restrict their involvement in the political arena because they think that, they are

politically indebted to the ruling party which encourages most of them to vote for them in the general elections. The second generation of FELDA settlers are highly influenced to vote for the party that are voted by their parents. Some parents who are fanatic with certain political party forced their children to vote for the party that they support. On the other hand, some of them do not really know what the election is all about. They do not know the reason and the significance of voting to them. This situation leads them to vote for the party, not for the candidates that can satisfy their needs. Based on the study, there are three main factors that affect the voting behaviour in FELDA Chini area; the candidates' personality, party achievement and voting as a symbol of appreciation towards the government. Dato' Najib probably is one of the factors, but it does not give a significant impact that may influence people to vote. Thus, Dato' Najib is not the leading factor for them to vote in the election. However, the new technology recently succeeded to attract new generation to participate in political issues. The people today do not only depend on the news on television or newspaper which is deemed to favour the government party but the existence of new technology such as blog and internet access rejuvenate the interest among FELDA settlers to take part in politics.

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Legal Challenges to Election Coverage in Nigeria: A Political Communication Discourse on the Nigerian 2007 and 2011 General Elections

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Abstract- The main thesis in this study is anchored on the declaration of Omu (1978, p. 248) and Dare (1997, p. 537) on the performance of post-independence press in Nigeria. While Omu states that the post-independence press in Nigeria “provided a remarkable example of overzealous and irresponsible partisanship”, Dare, quoting one of the architects of modern Nigeria, Anthony Enahoro equally states that “the Nigerian press lacked men of stature as well as the vision to recognize danger and the courage to oppose wrong”. There is no doubt, election periods are usually exciting moments in every democratic society. It is a period for the showing of strength by political parties and candidates from constituency to constituency. It is also a period when the electorate shows appreciation and support to candidates and political parties who had fulfilled their electoral promises. During this period, proprietors of newspapers daily smile to the banks as the sale of newspapers pick up just as advert patronages also increase.

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Abstract- The main thesis in this study is anchored on the declaration of Omu (1978, p. 248) and Dare (1997, p. 537) on the performance of post-independence press in Nigeria. While Omu states that the post-independence press in Nigeria “provided a remarkable example of overzealous and irresponsible partisanship”, Dare, quoting one of the architects of modern Nigeria, Anthony Enahoro equally states that “the Nigerian press lacked men of stature as well as the vision to recognize danger and the courage to oppose wrong”. There is no doubt, election periods are usually exciting moments in every democratic society. It is a period for the showing of strength by political parties and candidates from constituency to constituency. It is also a period when the electorate shows appreciation and support to candidates and political parties who had fulfilled their electoral promises. During this period, proprietors of newspapers daily smile to the banks as the sale of newspapers pick up just as advert patronages also increase.

However, it is a challenging moment for newsmen as the urge to report unfolding scenario on the political turf could fetch them the wrath of the law. This study focuses on such challenges with special reference to the 2007 and 2011 General Elections in Nigeria. While noting that law is necessary to guarantee orderly conduct of polls and through that ensure a hitch-free civilian-to-civilian transition, the paper notes that Nigerian newsmen are occasionally overzealous and careless in their handling of political issues which fetched some newsmen the wrath of the law. The paper, therefore, recommends the need for training as well as refresher courses to update the knowledge of Nigerian political reporters.

I. INTRODUCTION

The origin of the newspaper press in Nigeria has been traced to 1859 when British Missionary, Rev. Henry Townsend began the publication of *Iwe Irohin* in Abeokuta, South Western Nigeria. However, in spite of the early take off, it was not until the birth of Sir Hugh Clifford's constitution of 1922 that political reporting/election coverage began. According to Ezera (1960, p. 46), the constitution provided for the election of some members of the Legislative Council. Specifically, three were from Lagos and one from Calabar. With the elective provisions, then, there must be campaign and once there is campaign, proceedings at the various campaign venues must be reported. Hence, according

to Dare (1997, p. 535) “the introduction of democratic elections on the basis of the Clifford constitution added a significant dimension to the role of newspapers, which now became outlets for electoral mobilization and instruments in the fierce campaign against British colonial rule”.

It would be recalled that the first Nigerian daily, the *Lagos Daily News* was established in this era of electoral politics in 1925. There and then, election reporting assumed a greater dimension in the Nigerian body politics. However, much as the public would have appreciated the wonderful contributions of the media to election coverage in the country, the fact that the media were fingered in virtually all the violence which characterized the conduct of post-independence elections in the country robbed them of this appreciation. To checkmate the trend, government for the first time in the history of electioneering in the country enunciated a set of comprehensive rules through the *2006 Electoral Act*. Following the enunciation of the rules, the 2007 and 2011 elections were conducted with the Act as a guide. The objective of the study is therefore to evaluate the performance of the Nigerian media with reference to the coverage of the elections

II. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The paper addresses the following research questions.

1. What factors are responsible for government owned media not giving equal access to registered political parties or candidates on daily basis while reporting electioneering campaign?
2. What factors are responsible for government in power using state apparatus including the media to the disadvantage of opposition parties?
3. How desirable is the provision in the Electoral Act that political advertisements shall stop 24 hours before the conduct of every election?
4. Is the existence of a separate advertisement rates for politics a negation of equal access provision in the Electoral Act?

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III. METHODOLOGY

This study adopted the survey method in gathering data from respondents who are senior editorial staff members of print and broadcast media establishments in metropolitan Lagos. Simple open-ended questionnaire was administered on the editors who by their experience and professional callings are more suited to tackling the listed questions. The choice of open-ended questionnaire was informed by the need to provide the respondents ample opportunity to freely react to the various questions.

1. The Guardian
2. The Nation
3. The Sun
4. The Punch
5. Business world newspaper
6. Daily Champion
7. ThisDay
8. Nigerian Compass
9. The Nigeria newspaper
10. Daily Trust newspaper

In some of the above listed print media establishment producing three titles i.e. Daily, Weekend and Sunday, three questionnaires were administered. In all, 40 instruments were administered from which we were able to retrieve 20. That is, 50%.

1. Lagos State Television (LTV)
2. Unilag FM
3. Silverbird TV
4. DBN
5. Eko FM
6. Voice of Nigeria (VON)
7. News Agency of Nigeria (NAN)
8. Beat FM
9. Top Radio
10. Bond FM
11. Superscreen TV

V. LITERATURE REVIEW

An area over which several probing questions have been raised by communication scholars concerned the legal challenges faced by the Nigerian newsmen in the discharge of their statutory/professional duties. While colonial as well as post-colonial governments in the country have been accused of intolerance of press criticism, the press too has been accused of recklessness and overzealousness.

Coker (1968, p. 53) traces the origin of government hostility towards the press to 1903 when the criminal code was strengthened with provisions to deal with newspapers whose activities were getting more and more on the nerves of the British Government. "Thus, on 6th November, 1909, the Legislative Council of the colony of Lagos passed the Seditious Offences Ordinance"

IV. SAMPLE SIZE

The sample size was picked from the list of 57 print media establishments in the country identified by Akinfeleye (2003, p. 47-57) through accidental or convenience sampling. According to Sobowale (2008, p. 39), this method affords the researchers the opportunity of interviewing a particular group of person. The newspapers and magazines media establishments within metropolitan Lagos, including the NUJ where the questionnaires were administered in the month of May 2010 and June 2012 include:

11. The Business Hallmark
12. PM News
13. Nigerian Tribune
14. Vanguard
15. Daily Independent
16. National Encomium
17. City People Magazine
18. News watch magazine
19. Tell Magazine
20. The News magazine

In a bid to ensure a true representative sample, the instrument were equally administered on the 15 broadcast media establishments based in Lagos listed by Komolafe (2004, p. 116-130) as well as seven others that were established between 2004 and 2012. They are:

12. Ray Power FM
13. MITV
14. NTA Lagos
15. Wazobia FM
16. Galaxy TV
17. Inspiration FM
18. AIT
19. Tell Magazine
20. Radio Continental
21. Cool FM
22. Rhyth FM

Coker (Ibid, p. 530) traced the background to this measure to 1908 when government took several measures concerning water rate and acquisition of land from private owners for public use. These measures, according to Coker (Ibid, p. 53) "raised a storm of protests from the indigenous people and a protracted agitation instigated by the newspapers".

Section 3 of the Ordinance states that:

Whoever by words either spoken or written or by signs or visible representation is otherwise brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection, disloyalty or feelings of enmity towards His Majesty or the government established by law in southern Nigeria, shall be punished with imprisonment of up to two years or fine or shall be liable to both fine and imprisonment.

Seven years later, precisely in 1916, the law was reviewed with stricter provisions by increasing the amount of punishment from two years to three for a first offender and seven years for an offender with previous conviction.

As earlier pointed out, Omu and Dare rated the performance of the press after independence below standard.

A classical example to buttress Enahoro's earlier assertion was provided by Anifowose (1982, p. 221) while assessing the performance of the press in the defunct Western Region.

According to him,

There were conflicting reports of the results. The ENBS which had a mobile station at Oke-Ado residence of Chief Awolowo, in Ibadan, broadcast one set of results, while the WNBS/WNTV and the NBC in Lagos and Ibadan broadcast another.

While some newspapers – the Daily Times, Morning Post, the Daily Sketch and the Nigerian Citizen (published in Kaduna) led with the news of the victory of Akintola and NNDP, others like the Nigerian Tribune, The West African Pilot and the Nigerian Outlook announced that the UPGA had won sixty-eight out of ninety-four seats in the election.

Based on several instances of unprofessional conduct of the Nigerian press in the coverage of election in the country during the Republic, Enahoro was quoted by Elias (1969, p. 136) saying "whoever and whatever ruined the First Republic did so with the active collaboration and connivance of the greater part of the Nigerian press".

A perplexing aspect of this problem was the fact that the trend continued with a greater dimension and embarrassment even in the Second Republic. Uche (1989, p. 111-112) for instance, notes that the 1983 elections were not only rigged but that false and bogus election figures were equally released over federal government-owned media as well as those of the states under the control of the defunct National Party of Nigeria (NPN).

According to him,

The opposition parties in control of the other states also released their own election results that conflicted with those of the NPN through the media they also controlled.

Uche (Ibid, p. 111) further gave an instance in which the then governor of Imo State, Chief Sam Mbakwe without waiting for the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) to officially announce the results of the gubernatorial poll in the state went straight to the state owned radio and television to make a live broadcast declaring himself as winner.

The following day, the Imo State Government owned newspaper, the Nigerian Statesmen, unstatemanly carried the election results as declared by governor Mbakwe (Uche, Ibid, p. 112)

Uche stressed that the governor took the decision because he had suspected a foul play. The truth of the matter is that such unauthorized election results have been identified as part of root causes of violence which trailed the conduct of several post-independence elections in Nigeria.

In most cases, members of the public that should have been fed with objective, truthful and accurate information vent their anger on some of the media establishments.

In Ondo State during the republic, Uche (Ibid, p. 112) states that "an angry mob burned down the Nigerian Television Authority station, Akure, for allegedly declaring falsified results that made the incumbent governor of the state, Chief Michael Adegunle Ajasin, the loser".

Orhewere (2003, p. 140) while kicking against this pattern of coverage described it as highly partisan and lacked objectivity, fairness and balance. He noted that this partisanship characterized the conduct of the election which ushered in the third republic in 1979 as well as that of 1983. According to him,

During the period, the NPN was in control of the national government. The federal government owned media pulled along behind the NPN line, acting as the organ of government propaganda. Within the period, the media gloated over the achievements of the NPN – led government, while at the same time criticizing other parties. In non-NPN led states, the state media took on the NPN, trying to expose what was perceived as corruption, while at the same time extolling the virtues of the state government and party in power.

An intractable problem which Nigeria is yet to tackle in spite of the various legislations promoting fairness to all parties in election coverage is the problem of over bearing influence of the owners. Even government that enacted the law is guilty of this allegation. The various media establishments at federal and state levels existed to serve the interests and needs of the ruling party at federal and state levels. Not that newsmen are ignorant of the various laws as well as code of conduct for election coverage, the fact remains that of over bearing influence of the owners. It is when a solution is found to this problem that appropriate answer could be provided to the challenge raised by Omu (1996, p. 17).

The crucial challenge facing journalism however is how it can be a handmaid and catalyst of social development. To achieve this, it has to work harder for greater public acceptance. It has to be closely associated with the popular struggle against poverty and disease, against deprivation and want and against inequality and injustice. It has to show a greater sensitivity to the issues that concerns the destiny of the nation. When journalism becomes the hope of the ordinary man and woman, press freedom will enjoy enduring protection and will be complete.

A school of thought says not that government at both federal and state levels are equally ignorant of the right thing to do but that their reluctance to allow the media under their control to freely carry out their duties is a part of the problem of human nature. According to Haruna (1991, p. 111) "Man, by nature, loves power and hates to lose it".

Meanwhile, it has been asserted that the refusal of the federal government – controlled media to reflect the views of opposition was the main factor responsible for the proliferation of electronic media in the states controlled by political parties opposing the federal government. According to Nwankwo et al in a 1993 publication,

The private press was not left out as the political interests of the owners reflected overtly in their publications (Nwankwo et, al 1993, p. 31).

Using the *Nigerian Tribune* owned by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, leader of the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) for example. Nwankwo et al states that the UPN was the unofficial opposition to the ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN). As such, the *Nigerian Tribune* never saw anything good in the Shagari government, while at the same time extolling the virtues of Chief Awolowo and UPN.

Indeed, it was a carry-over from the 1980s and in this dispensation, it opened the way to the Concord newspapers, set up in 1980 to promote the political fortunes of Chief MKO Abiola (and initially the NPN Satellite and Trumpet newspapers in Enugu, the Eagle and Nation in Aba, the Triumph in Kano and several others, set up to promote the political interests of their owners. (Nwankwo et. al Ibid, p. 31).

The ownership factor therefore is a threat to professionalism and healthy growth of democracy. Muazu (2003, p. 375) observes that "the media can contribute to the escalation or de-escalation of conflicts by the manner they gather, process and package and disseminate information to the public". Efforts should therefore, be geared towards the direction of realizing the role of the media in democracy as enunciated by McQuail (2004, p.4) in which the media are seen as "an essential element in the process of democratic politics by providing an arena and channel for wide debate, for making candidates seeking office widely known and for distributing diverse information and opinion".

A similar role was canvassed for the media by McCombs and Shaw (1972, p. 583) through provision of mobilizing information that would enable the citizenry act with certainty including "popularizing personalities both elected and unelected".

The Nigerian press, based on the various issues so far raised in this paper has been criticized in different ways by various scholars. According to Owens-Ibie (2004, p. 393), "criticisms centre around poor news judgement, inability to distinguish between opinion and

information, carelessness with facts and the professional standards of journalists".

Interestingly, these are part of the issues which Gate-keeping theory which formed the theoretical foundation of this study addresses.

VI. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A great number of communication scholars locally and internationally had through various studies affirmed the appropriateness of the theory in dealing with various editorial issues which could portray the media negatively in the eyes of the public. Such efforts could be found in McQuail, (1990, p. 156 & 162 – 7), Bittner, (1989, p. 11-13), Blake & Haroldsen, (1975, p. 109-110), Folarin, (1998, p. 88-89), Schramm (1960, p. 170) among others. All the scholars agreed that the theory was originally propounded by social scientist, Kurt Lewin.

According to McQuail (1990, p. 162)

The first studies of gate-keeping were restricted in scope to the activity within newsrooms of choosing from among the large number of incoming wire telegrams and pictures from news agencies for the content which makes up or governs the bulk of news in a typical paper.

The gatekeepers, according to Schramm (1960, p. 170) "are reporters, news editors, wire editor, division heads, etc who are at the same time making more decisions and more important decisions concerning the flow of news".

On the imperativeness of gatekeeping, Folarin (1998, p. 88) says

No media establishment can transmit all the messages it receives in the course of a day's routine. Some individuals have to decide which information to transmit, which to defer, which to modify and which to delete entirely. Such individuals as it were, open and close the "gate" that stands between the information source and the recipient.

Quoting the General Manager, Delta State printing and newspaper publishing corporation, Mr. Ekeli, Folarin further says,

Gatekeeping is nothing but voluntary self-censorship performed by the media themselves. Gatekeeping emanates from the understanding by journalists that apart from legal restrictions on what is to be published, including photographs, journalist have a moral right to be socially responsible to their readers whatever materials they package for them.

In its intent and purpose therefore, gatekeeping could be perceived as editorial screening of every news item that is meant for dissemination. In the words of Folarin, it therefore "means communicating some themes and suppressing others". According to Popoola (2003, p. 54-55), newsgathering by mass media

organization is a complex process in any society. To have an overview of newsworthy events on a daily basis requires deployment of reporters to various beats where news are gathered.

Having gathered the stories from the beats, it is mandatory for reporters to file in their stories after they have been anchored. All the stories are then put together in a schedule from which those publishable or airing are selected. Those whose responsibility it is to decide those to publish and those to drop are the gatekeepers. In many of our news organizations, the News Editors (print media) or the Director of News (Broadcast media) wield enormous power to decide the fate of almost 2/3rd of the stories to be published or aired.

At times, he delegates some of the powers to the line editors. Thus, in such a situation, the News Editor or Director of News might not be privy to certain stories until they are published or aired.

This is the danger in our mass media operations. The way the Nigerian print media is structured, for example, is that reporters are allocated to beats i.e. political, business, sports, aviation, maritime etc. Each of the beats/desks is headed by a senior journalist. The reporters, by routine, report to him on a daily basis. The head of the desk has the discretion to determine where reporters stories will be published i.e. he decides whether it is page one material, news page material or material for the desk's page. It is only in exceptional cases that the head of the desks have deputies or assistants. The daily editorial conference where the merits or demerits of stories are discussed is therefore usually restricted to that of the cover and back page stories where such pages are open to news stories. Therefore, a position being canvassed through this study is that the daily editorial conference, which is the official gatekeeping platform should not be restricted to the front and back page stories only, rather, it should be extended to all the news stories gathered for dissemination. It is only this approach that could checkmate the publication of stories that are in bad taste.

VII. DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

As earlier pointed out, this study adopted the survey method in gathering data from respondents who are senior editorial staff members of print and broadcast media establishments in metropolitan Lagos. The respondents' responses to the survey are hereby presented.

Question 1: What factors are responsible for government-owned media not giving equal access to registered political parties or candidates on daily basis during electioneering campaign?

VIII. DISCUSSION

A number of reasons were given by the editors concerning non realization of the provision in section 102 (1) of the *2006 Electoral Act* which says "a government-owned print or electronic medium shall give equal access on daily basis to all registered political parties or candidates of such parties". Gbenga Omotosho, editor of the *Nation* newspaper attributed this to the political interest of the owners. Ikenna Emewu, the deputy editor of the *Sun* on his part blamed the non adherence to the law on lack of openness and probity within the system. Sylvia Okereke of the NUJ however attributed the problem to the do or die attitude of Nigerian politicians. Wole Adeyemo, the Editorial Director of *Tell* magazine says the problem could be attributed to government censorship as well as partisanship on the part of senior members of staff of government-owned media.

Wole Alakija, the General Editor of *City People* magazine attributed the problem to fear of reprisal measures including sack from the management if opposing views are aired/published. All the sampled print editors however agreed that the law is appropriate and should be implemented to the letter.

From the broadcast respondents, Martin Uzokia, the Head of Business Desk of *Silverbird TV* says "with over 50 political parties and thousands of contestants, it is difficult to give equal access. The ownership factor is another factor". The News editor of *Continental Broadcast Services*, Emmanuel Malagu expressed a similar view adding that "as at 2007, Nigeria had 52 registered political parties as a result of which it would be difficult to comply with the rule. Furthermore, media ownership is another reason which obstruct compliance with that provision in the Electoral Act.

Jacob Onahaegte, Manager of News & Current Affairs of *NTA* however attributed the problem of the LTP policy at NTA (Let then pay). He said political parties and candidates can access airtime as long as they are willing to pay.

Pat Chukwuelu, a supervisor of News at *FRCN* however said FRCN as a rule abides by the law except that the political parties/candidates are usually not forthcoming.

An Editor with *Bond FM*, Victor Okichie says the law would be difficult to complied with by state-owned media as a result of funding.

Lekan Onimole of *Top Radio* says, all the Government-owned media are being managed by political appointees and that they will end up favouring the interests of their bosses.

Taiwo Junaid, Manager News, *LTV* on his part says "the law is ineffective because journalists in

government-owned media are loyal to the party in power for fear of not losing their jobs”.

Tolu Olanrewaju, Acting News Editor of *Radio Unilag* says “it is generally believed that government owned media should support the government in power and deliberately exclude the opposition. It is a moral issue”.

Wale Hassan, acting controller of programme of *Eko FM* says “most media organizations are now being forced into the market to source funds, governments which pays the media use it for political purposes”.

Question 2: What factors are responsible for government in power using state apparatus including the media to the disadvantage of opposition parties?

DISCUSSION: Section 103(ii) of the *2006 Electoral Act* states that “state apparatus including the media shall not be employed to the advantage of any political party or candidate at any election”.

Assessing the performance of the media in the 2007 and 2011 elections on the basis of this provision, Bala Dan Abu, Executive Editor of *NewsWatch* magazine says “state media are strictly controlled by state governments and they cannot but support their pay masters” stressing that “it is a game of survival first. That is why they didn’t perform well”. Dan Abu’s counterpart at *Tell* magazine, Wole Adeyemo contended that politicians in public office can go to any length in achieving their aim. He cited the example of Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State (BCOS), Ibadan, where a former General Manager was redeployed because he gave air time to opposition parties.

Wole Alakija the General Editor of *City People* magazine noted that virtually all the state-owned media in the country, including the NTA aired more contents on the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) to the detriment of other political parties.

Gbenga Omotoso, Editor of the *Nation* newspaper equally described state-owned media as mouth pieces of their professionals and business organization”.

Martin Uzoka, the Head of Business Desk of Silverbird TV on his part identified a number of factors as being responsible. They include lack of independence, financial autonomy couple with the fact that government in power appoints the Chief Executives of the organizations including board members.

Kayode Ladeinde, supervisor, News & Current Affairs of *Degue Broadcast Network (DBN)* argued that media professionals in the employment of state owned media can’t resist the quest by government to use the media to the disadvantage of opposition parties due to fear of losing their jobs or being intimidated by the government.

Lekan Animole, the Chief Operating Officer of *Top Radio* however declared that “there is no human being who is not biased. He stated that “even the

workers in state media cannot speak against the incumbent government and go free”.

The contention of most of the respondents is that it would be an herculean task for government not to use state media apparatus to the detriment of opposition parties, especially against the backdrop of the fact that they appoint the Chief Executive, the Board members and pay their salaries.

Table 1: Question 3: How desirable is the provision in the Electoral Act that political advertisements shall stop 24 hours before the conduct of every election?

Response	Frequency		Percentage	
	Print media	Broadcast media	Print media	Broadcast media
Desirable	17	13	85	59
Not Desirable	2	9	10	41
Undecided	1	-	5	-
Total	20	22	100%	100%

From table 1 above, it is quite interesting to note that while 85% of the respondents supported the provision in Article 104 of the *2006 Electoral Act* which states that all advertisements shall stop 24 hours preceding every election, 10 percentage said the law is unnecessary while 5 percent were undecided. However, 59 percent of the Broadcast respondents said the rule is desirable while 41 percent said it is unnecessary.

It is instructive to add that in exercise of this provision, *Channels Tv* and *AIT* were sanctioned during the 2007 elections and were consequently fined N500,000 each while during the 2011 elections, *Zamfara radio* was fined N500,000 for airing unauthorized results.

Those who supported the rule and consequently said it’s desirable contended that at this critical moment during elections, all hands must be on deck to ensure there is peace and tranquility. It is also stated that there must be no undue advantage to any political party. Another reason added is that the provision will prevent advertisement which could unduly influence the opinion of the electorate. The need for fairness and equity was another reason being put forward to support the rule. Another contention is that it is a global rule. Bunmi Idowu, Assist News Manager of NTA says the law is necessary for the avoidance of slander or libel from rival parties as there is limited time to respond.

Among the reasons put forward by those who said the provision is unnecessary are the need to recognize the fact that many of the broadcast stations which violated the rule are privately owned which needed the money to survive.

Stanley Okoye, the News editor of *Radio Continental* said the provision is unnecessary because

there is need for the political parties to woo the electorates until the last day of election.

Martin Uzoka, Head of Business Desk of *Rhythm FM* also said the law is unnecessary pointing out that “what about the Bill Boards? What about the posters on the walls etc.? I strongly feel the advertisement should be allowed as long as it falls within acceptable content level”

Table 2 : Question 4 : Is the existence of a separate advertisement rates for politics, a negation of equal access provision in the Election Act?

Response	Frequency		Percentage	
	Print media	Broadcast media	Print media	Broadcast media
Yes	15	8	75	36
No	5	13	25	59
Undecided	-	1	1	5
Total	20	22	100%	100%

From table 2, question 4 above, 15 out of the 20 respondents, that is 75 percent from the print media agreed that the creation of a separate advertisement rates for politics by the Nigerian mass media is a negation of equal access provision in the *2006 Electoral Act*, while five respondents from same print media, that is, 25 percent disagreed. However, 15 out of the 22 respondents from the Broadcast media, that is, 59 percent disagree with the question while 8, that is, 36 percent agreed. One respondent, (5 percent) undecided.

Among the reasons adduced by the 75 percent respondents from the print media are:

- ❖ That all parties should be treated equally or a level playing ground for all the parties be provided as against the current practice.
- ❖ Not all the registered political parties/candidates could raise the required fund to advertise.
- ❖ While the ruling party can afford it, the weaker parties may not and it may be within the weaker parties that we can get better candidates.
- ❖ It can encourage unprincipled compromises as parties/politicians struggle to make up the high advert rates.

Among the reasons put forward by the 25 percent print media respondents who disagreed are the following reasons.

- ❖ Business should be separated from politics, it is not wrong to exploit it and through that lift up financial fortunes of the organization.
- ❖ Media operation is a business and the main motive in business is to maximize profit. Therefore, if profit could be made from this angle, why not tapping it?

- ❖ The argument being put forward in certain quarters about the Social Responsibility function of the media which is being used to criticize the existence of a separate advertisement rates for politics does not hold water as media business is a business venture for profit making.

From the Broadcast media survey, among the reasons put forward by the 36 percent respondents who agreed with the question are the following reasons:

- ❖ Some parties may not be as rich as others and yet have better candidates that are ready to deliver.
- ❖ When politics becomes cash and carry, the burden falls eventually on the people who consequently suffers the implication.

From the 59 percent broadcast media respondents who disagreed are the following reasons:

- ❖ Most politically related adverts come in chips, bits and bite. If the volume is high, discounts are usually offered. There is also the issue of timeliness, displacement of on-going adverts and programmes. This usually attracts surcharge. Campaign fund all over the world is high and understandably so.
- ❖ Government grants to all the parties are on the principle of blanket rate.
- ❖ Media houses should be allowed to maximize all the gains they can muster during elections. Any political party that cannot muster the resources to use the media for campaign is not ready for business.
- ❖ A serious political party plans its campaigns well by drawing up a budget which of necessity includes publicity. The party could then source for funds from members.
- ❖ Access to popular media is not cheap, privately owned media are in existence for profit and therefore can charge so much premium rate for premium access.
- ❖ The media should not be denied of its fair share since there is budget provision for every political party.

IX. CONCLUSION/RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper examined the challenges facing newsmen with special reference to election coverage and compliance with the provisions of the Nigerian 2006 Electoral Act. While noting that the motive behind the Act should be commended, the paper observes that some positive steps should be taken by all the stakeholders to realize all the provisions in the Act and through that strengthen the country’s nascent democracy. To achieve this goal, the paper put forward the following recommendations.

1. That government which set the machinery into motion with regard to the enactment of the Electoral Act should lead by example by compelling all the

- government-owned media to give equal access to all the registered political parties and candidates as stipulated in section 102(1) of the Act.
2. Even though it is the responsibility of government to appoint the Chief Executive of government-owned media, including the management board, this should not be a hindrance to the implementation of section 103(ii) of the Electoral Act which states that "state apparatus including the media shall not be employed to the advantage or disadvantage of any political party or candidate at any election". Our government and appointees of government-owned media should be interested in growing our democracy as done in advanced democracies across the world.
 3. The idea of a separate political advertisement for politics, which is the highest on the rate card of all the surveyed media houses, should be discouraged so as to allow a level playing ground for aspiring politicians and emergence of better candidates at the polls.
 4. The government should avoid the policy of selective approach to the implementation of policies. This study notes that government was swift in sanctioning the AIT, and Channels TV during the 2007 elections and Zamfara radio during the 2011 elections for airing unauthorized election results and consequently fined them N500,000 each, yet, same government failed to implement other provisions in the Act by sanctioning government owned media which violated the law.
 5. The government should consider the need for the establishment of a body with the sole responsibility of monitoring media allocation of time to all the registered political parties in the country.
 6. For the privately-owned media to give equal access to all the registered political parties, government should device a way of encouraging them financially. This could be done by earmarking a fraction of the government grants to all the registered political parties to take care of them.
 7. There is need for training and re-training of media men in order to improve their proficiency.

If all the above recommendations are considered, government would have succeeded at moving our democracy near the realm of perfection.

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Terrorism and Humanitarian Crisis in Nigeria: Insights from Boko Haram Insurgency

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Keywords: terrorism; boko haram; insurgency; humanitarian crisis; counter terrorism; national security.

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Terrorism and Humanitarian Crisis in Nigeria: Insights from Boko Haram Insurgency

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I. INTRODUCTION

Terrorism, arguably, is the biggest threat to global peace and stability in the contemporary times. Since the dawn of this millennium, the incidence of the terrorism has been on a steady rise worldwide. Hitherto, terrorism was more or less a national or regional affair. This trend, however, has since changed as brilliantly observed by Awake:

Just few years ago, terrorism seemed to be restricted to a few isolated places, such as Northern Ireland, the Basque Country in Northern Spain, and some areas of the Middle East. Now - especially since September 11, 2001, with the destruction of the Twin Towers in New York - It has mushroomed into a worldwide phenomenon (June, 2006:4).

Indeed, the worldwide manifestation of terrorism has been evident in Africa, but also in Nigeria. With particular reference to Nigeria, the phenomenon has found expression in the emergence of Boko Haram insurgency (2001-date). Since its advent, the sectarian insurgency has wrecked immense havoc in the country, especially by "using explosives and firearms with gruesome, fatal" consequences (Awake June, 2006:6). A critical corollary of this violence is dire humanitarian crisis that threatens human security in Nigeria. It is the

need to examine this development that has informed this paper.

II. AIM, SCOPE, RATIONALE, METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

This paper aims at exploring the relationships between terrorism and humanitarian crisis in Nigeria from the standpoint of the Boko Haram insurgency. This is against the backdrop of the prevalence of campaign of terror by members of the Boko Haram sect, which has so far defied all remedies.

The significance of the paper derives from the fact that it is expected to proffer newer insights into the on-going discourse on the Boko Haram problematique. Most recent studies on the subject matter have not adequately addressed the humanitarian consequences of the sectarian phenomenon (Eze, 2013; Nchi, 2013; Sani, 2013). In effect, there appears to be little or no conscious attempts to situate the humanitarian effects of the raging insurgency with a view to underscoring their implications for national security in Nigeria. Among other things, this paper seeks to fill this apparent gap in the literature in order to add to the extant knowledge on the subject matter. Besides, it is expected that the study would make valuable policy recommendations on how to reposition the fight against terrorism in Nigeria for better results.

The paper considers its subject matter within the purview of the on-going campaign of terror by members of the Boko Haram Islamic sect since the early 2000s. In this context, the paper applies itself to analyzing the nature, bases, dimensions, and humanitarian consequences of the sectarian insurgency with a view to emphasizing its implications for Nigeria's national security.

The method of the paper is qualitative and exploratory in nature. By way of descriptive analysis of secondary sources, the paper draws insights from scholarly exegesis and empirical historical evidence. The outcome of this forms the substance of the analysis the paper. For convenience of systematic organization of thought, the thrust of analysis in this paper is schematically presented under a number of select themes and sub-themes carefully formulated to prosecute the paper's derived assumption to wit: terrorism as exemplified in the Boko Haram insurgency is a threat to Nigeria's national security.

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In addition to the foregoing introductory sections, the balance of the paper is structured as follows: conceptualizing terrorism and insurgency, analytical/conceptual framework, terrorism in Nigeria, humanitarian effects of terrorism in Nigeria, implications of terrorism for Nigeria's national security, and conclusion and recommendations.

III. CONCEPTUAL/ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper adopts the concept of humanitarian crisis as its principal frame of reference. A humanitarian crisis is an event or series of events that represents a critical threat to the health, safety, security or wellbeing of a community or other large group of people, usually over a wide area (Humanitarian Coalition, 2013, para 2). Humanitarian crisis can be classified as follows:

1. Natural disasters: earthquakes, floods, storms and volcanic eruptions
2. Man-made disasters: conflicts, plane and train crashes, fires and industrial accidents
3. Complex emergencies: when the effects of a series of events or factors prevent a community from accessing their basic needs, such as water, food, shelter, security or healthcare; e.g. war, terrorism (Humanitarian Coalition, 2013, Para 3).

According to the Humanitarian Coalition (2013, Para 4), complex emergencies are typically characterized by:

1. extensive violence and loss of life;
2. displacement of populations;
3. widespread damage on societies and economies;
4. the need for large-scale, multi-faceted humanitarian assistance;
5. the hindrance or prevention of humanitarian assistance by political and military constraints;
6. significant security risks for humanitarian relief workers in some areas.

With reference to the subject matter of the present discourse, it is to be observed that terrorism typifies a complex emergency. In effect, it necessarily involves and/or leads to dire humanitarian crisis with far-reaching implications for national sustainability of Nigeria. It is in the light of this that this paper posits that terrorism, as exemplified in the Boko Haram insurgency, constitutes a threat to Nigeria's national security.

IV. UNDERSTANDING TERRORISM AND BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY

The phenomenon of terrorism has been widely interrogated in the literature. According to Schmid (1998), terrorism is:

An anxiety inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by semi clandestine individuals, groups or state actors for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons... (Cited in Barga, 2012:1).

Apart from its idiosyncratic or criminal motivation, terrorism is essentially political. In this regard, Hoffman (1998) argues that terrorism in its most contemporary understanding is inherently political. Indeed, it is the political essence and characterization of terrorism that distinguishes it from other forms of violence (Barga, 2012).

To say that terrorism is political, among other things, implies that it is related to power and influence. In this regard, Barga (2012:2) opines that terrorism:

Is also ineluctably about power, the acquisition of power and the use of power to achieve political change at all cost. Terrorism is thus the actual or threatened use of violence in an attempt to advance a politically motivated end.

The A-B-C of terrorism is to use force (coercion) to instill popular fear (anxiety) in a bid to cause a desired behavioural stance among the target. In this respect, the United States Department of Defence defines terrorism as "unlawful use of force or violence against individuals or property to coerce end intimidate government to accept political, religious or ideological objectives" (cited in Eze, 2013:90).

In contemporary social discourse, the concept of terrorism has been used to denote forms of unconventional, illegitimate violence targeted by a group at the state or society, or any section of the population thereof. In this direction, Sani (2012:93) observes:

Terrorism is the aggression unjustly carried out by individuals, groups or states against human beings. It includes forms of unjustly terrifying, harming, threatening, and killing of people and banditry. It also includes any violent act or threat carried out as part of individual or collective criminal plan aimed at terrifying or harming people or endangering their lives, freedom or security (corroborating Saudi Arabia stance on terrorism, 2004).

Terrorism is essentially sectarian in nature (Nchi, 2013). It is usually associated with the activities of a fringe and ideologically misguided sub-group of a larger religious or political movement. In this regard, Shabayany (2012:33) observes that it "is a fanatical war waged by a puritan few against the massive army of innocent people of different religions, class and gender".

Terrorism thrives on what this paper may designate as 'hit-and-run combatancy'. This is typified by surprised aggression, brutal militancy and clandestinism. In terms of specific strategies, terrorists globally have adopted the following as means of executing their diabolical designs:

1. arson
2. mass killing by gunfire
3. suicide bombing
4. use of improvised explosives
5. high-jacking of aircraft, ship, etc

6. hostage-taking (kidnapping)
7. media propaganda and advocacy
8. piracy
9. jail break
10. forced enlistment/recruitment of combatant, etc.

To underscore the crux of our conception of terrorism in this paper, it suffices to note that terrorism consists in “the unlawful use of threatened use of force or violence by a person (at an instance of a group agenda) or organized group against people or property with the intention of intimidating or coercing societies or governments, often for ideological or political reasons” (cited in Awake, June 2006:4). This definition of terrorism is germane, plausible, and best suits the purpose of the foregoing discourse.

Terrorism is a veritable instance of collective violence. In effect, it is perpetrated by groups who believe in the use of such tactic as a means of advancing a group cause. Based on insights from extant literature and historical evidence, the following types of terrorist organization can be identified:

Table 1 : Types of Terrorist Organization

Type	Examples
Rebel/Militia Groups	The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA); The M23 in Congo, DRC
Islamist Insurgents	Al Qaeda; Al Shabaab (Somalia); Boko Haram (Nigeria)
Political Movements	Taliban (Afghanistan); Hamas (Palestine)
Government Agents	Janjaweed of Sudan
Clandestine Organizations	Violent cults and underworld organizations

Source: Authors

Terrorism could be said to be an unconventional method of political militancy. It is an antithetical phenomenon whose means, more often than not contradicts and therefore negates its end. When directed to the state, it often takes the posture of anarchro-nihilism. It is employed by disgruntled sub-national movements or clandestine, criminal groups as a means of furthering nefarious agenda. In this light, the Boko Haram (inappropriately interpreted by transliteration as Western Education is sinful), insurgency has been referred “as the violent assertion of a fringe sectarian identity based on the dogma of a sub-group of a larger national confessional group” (Nchi, 2013:200). In this regard, the “larger national group” refers to the wider Islamic community of Nigeria. The sub-group in question is the *Yusufiya* sect (more formally known as *Jama'atu Ahlus-sunnah Lidda' Awati Wal Jihad*). The sect's mode of terrorism thrives on anti-state offensive wherein 'soft-targets', namely the civilians and non-combatant populations, have been massively targeted. Their activities have been decried as

insurgency because they are tantamount to a rebellion against Nigeria's avowed secularity and sovereignty.

V. NIGERIA'S GLOBAL TERRORISM PROFILE

According to the latest Global Terrorism Index (GTI), Nigeria currently ranks the 7th most terrorized country in the world (Osundefender, 2013, Para 1&2). This ranking makes Nigeria the most terrorism stricken country in African alongside Somalia. The table below provides useful insight.

Table 2 : The World's Most Terrorized Countries

Country	Gti Scale	World's Ranking
Iraq	9.56	1 st
Pakistan	9.05	2 nd
Afghanistan	8.67	3 rd
India	8.15	4 th
Yemen	7.30	5 th
Somalia	7.24	6 th
Nigeria	7.24	7th

Source: Adapted from Osundefender (2013, para 182)

The GTI uses four critical indicators to scale the impact of terrorism. These indicators are as follows:

1. The number of terrorist incidents;
2. the number of deaths;
3. the number of casualties; and
4. the level of property damage (GTI, 2013)

The aforementioned indicators are used to create a weighted five year average for each country, taking into cognizance the lasting effects of terrorism in that context. The score given to each country in essence “indicates the impact of a terrorist attack on a society in terms of the fear and subsequent security response” (Osundefender, 2013, para 7). It was in the light of the above indices that Nigeria was rated the 7th most terrorized country of the world for the past decade of 2002 to 2011. Some of the specifics of Nigeria's record in this regard can be rendered thus:

Table 3 : Nigeria's Terrorism Records (2002 – 2011)

Fact	Figure(S)
Worlds position	7 th of 158
Number of incidents	168
Number of Deaths	437
Number of Injuries	614
Number of property damaged	33

Source: Adapted from Osundefender (2013, para 2)

Nigeria's terrorism profile has since degenerated in view of the rising incidence of attacks by the Boko Haram insurgents in many parts of Northern of Nigeria. In effect, figures pertaining to casualties/fatalities of terrorism in the country have more than doubled. Consequently, Nigeria is believed to have lost more than 1,500 lives to terrorist acts by 2011(Salkida, 2012: para 10).

In terms of observed incidence and prevalence, the North-east geo-political zone of Nigeria has been worst hit by the Boko Haram insurgency. With the exception of Jigawa State, this geo-political zone has been most prone and most vulnerable to various scales of terrorist attacks, with States like Borno, Yobe and Kano as critical flashpoints. Elsewhere in parts of the North-east and North central zones, the activities of the insurgents have also been pronounced. The table below shows the deferential patterns of terrorist incidence in some northern States that are considered to be axis of the Boko Haram insurgency over the years.

Table 4: Nature of Terrorist Incidence among selected Nigerian States

S/N	States	Nature Of Terrorist Incident
1.	Borno	Pervasive
2.	Yobe	Pervasive
3.	Kano	Appreciably prevalent
4.	Adamawa	Appreciably prevalent
5.	Bauchi	Sporadic
6.	Kaduna	Sporadic
7.	Plateau	Sporadic
8.	Gombe	Sporadic
9.	Niger	Sporadic
10.	Taraba	Scarcely occurring
11.	Kogi	Scarcely occurring
12.	Nasarawa	Scarcely occurring
13.	FCT Abuja	Sporadic

Source: Authors

In addition to the above, States such as Sokoto and Katsina have been associated with a few isolated instances of Boko Haram activities. In Sokoto State, for example, there have been cases of counter-terrorism raids whereby government forces attacked Boko Haram hideouts with a view to dislodging the insurgents. Suffice it to note, however, that these States have not witnessed any major Boko Haram attacks.

VI. CONTEXTUALIZING TERRORISM AND BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA

Terrorism and human security crises go hand in hand. Ogwu (2003:7-9) observes that these realities typify new trends in the global security agenda that have assumed greater urgency in the 21st century. The emergence of terrorism on the global scene is a dangerous trajectory because it poses a serious threat to human existence, collective peace and global society. In view of the enormous threats posed by global terrorism, the international community has been faced with the challenge of bringing the phenomenon under control, since its activities transcend national boundaries.

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon in world history in that it has existed in every age for several centuries. Historically, the following examples of

important terrorist groups can be identified: Baader Mainhof gang of West Germany, the Japanese Red Army, the Italian Red Brigade, the Palestinian al Fatah, Israeli Haganah, Lebanese Hezbollah, Osama Ibn Laden's Al-Qaeda, Khmer Rouge of Cambodia, the Viet Cong in Vietnam, Somalian al-Shabaab, Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM), to mention but a few prominent ones (Livingstone, Bruce and Wanek, 1978:3; Ngare, 2012). The Nigerian Boko Haram has recently been listed among the league of world's terrorist groups by the United States in 2013.

The word 'terrorism' was first coined in the 1790s to refer to terror meted out during the French Revolution by revolutionaries against their opponents. Peacock (1985:45-47) posits that the Jacobin party of Maxi Milieu Robespierre (1793-1795) unleashed a reign of terror involving mass execution by the guillotines as a means of encouraging revolutionary virtue. Since then, terrorism has often been adopted by groups, religious or political movements globally as a means of expressing their grievances. Sometimes terrorism is carried out by the state for various reasons mainly to create a climate of fear or to propagate national ideology, or declared economic and political goals. In 1972, Israeli athletes were kidnapped and later killed by the Palestinian Liberation Organization at Munich Olympic Games. This development pointed to a new dawn of contemporary global conflict, which has been on progressive degeneration over the years. Finemann (2001: 29-38) reports that the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon building near Washington, D.C by the Al-Qaeda signified the rise of terrorism as an instrument of hegemonic and/ or civilizational struggles.

Nigeria broke from the shackles of British colonial rule in 1960. Since then, she has increasingly found it difficult to surmount her basic security challenges. Security and stability appear to have been the major challenge in the nation's chequered political history. Fwatshak and Ayuba (2007: 255-272) clearly posit that since independence, not a single decade has passed without at least one major cataclysmic crises in Nigeria. Nigeria experienced the Western region political crises in 1960's, incessant military coups, and a fratricidal civil war between 1967 and 1970. The last three to four decades also witnessed some of the worst civil and sectarian crises. Cases in point include the Maitasine riots, starting in Kano and spreading to most parts of Northern Nigeria in the 1980s, ethno-religious crises in Kafanchan and Zango Kataf both in Southern Kaduna in 1987 and 1992, and the June 12, 1993 post election crises. These forms of violence have variously created humanitarian problems and have threatened Nigeria's desire towards achieving sustainable political and economic development.

Since the 1970s oil has become the mainstay of Nigeria's political economy. The popular expectation

was that this development would stimulate rapid socio-economic transformation for Nigeria. Unfortunately however, Nigeria has continued to grapple with sapping and multi-dimensional security challenges, the worst of which has been terrorism. The emergence of terrorism in Nigeria marked a threshold in the dramatic reign of public insecurity, which has generated widespread anxiety in the country. Added to the threats of ransom kidnapping, politically motivated killings, armed robbery, and other acts of criminality, the nation's image abroad has been at stake.

In 2002, Nigeria came face to face with a new security challenge arising from the activities of Boko Haram sect (otherwise known as the Yusufiyya movement). This genre of violence was fuelled by religious extremism. Boko Haram is a Jihadist militant organization based in North Eastern Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger and Chad. The movement was founded by a radical Islamic cleric, Mohammed Yusuf (Ngare, 2012). The sect originated precisely in Borno and Yobe States of Nigeria, but its activities are pronounced across the entire North Eastern Nigeria except Jigawa State.

According to Higazi (2013:1) the Jihadist officially prefer to be called "*Jama'atu Ahlis Sunnah Lidda'awati Wal Jihad*" meaning "people committed to the propagation of the prophets Teaching and Jihad. Boko Haram colloquially translates 'Western education is forbidden'. Boko Haram as the name suggests is adamantly opposed to what it sees as Western-based incursions that threaten the orthodox values, beliefs, and customs among Muslim communities in Northern Nigeria.

Mohammed Yusuf, the founder of the sect, started the movement as an itinerant preacher and gradually won the hearts of people mostly youth through his radical Islamic ideology. A Salafist by training (a subscriber to the school of thought often associated with Jihadism) he is reported to have been deeply influenced by Ibn Taymiyyah, a 14th century legal scholar who preached Islamic fundamentalism. He has been a major influence on radical Islamic groups in the Middle East (see "Nigeria's Boko Haram and Ansaru", Wikipedia, 2013). There are several attributes that identify the Boko Haram sect and distinguishes it from the rest of its contemporaries. First, the group holds no territory neither does it provide social services to the local population to win support unlike the Taliban of Afghanistan and al-Shabaab in Somalia. It remains largely faceless and mysterious to many Nigerians; yet the sect attracts a large following.

As an emerging sect, the Yusufiyya movement based its teachings on works of Ibn Taymiyyah who emphasised the strict adherence to the Koran of the Prophet Mohammed and was also devoted to the concept of religious (Islamic) war. (Daily Trust, May 24, 2012:56). The Boko Haram violence has been in the main motivated by the sect's dichotomization between

secularism and Islamic values. For instance, adherents of the sect reason that the elements of modern Western education system conflict with the fundamentals of Islam; hence his movement's sobriquet: Boko Haram meaning 'Western Education is forbidden'.

Xan (2012:56) posits that in line with strict Islamic practices, Boko Haram opts for policy and curriculum reforms on the present education system. This position is represented in the following citation:

He did not want mixed schools, or the teaching of evolution in schools. He wanted children to have more time to study their religion. Democracy is also alien to him because he succinctly stated that he will not support a government whose constitution was not based on the Koran (Xan, 2012:56).

Scholars and analysts have raised several fundamental questions as to whether Boko Haram was founded on strict Islamic ideology. This is in view of the sect's preference to violence as a means of proselytization and societal change. It is equally important to note that Sharia Law was already in place in some Northern Nigeria before Boko Haram was launched in 2002. It could have been thought that all that the sect needed to do was to call for internal reforms to entrench a proper Islamic order rather than resorting to violence.

Forest (2012) contend that that Boko Haram is largely a product of wide spread social – economic and religious insecurity whose repercussions resonate among certain communities in the North. But this begs the question: if the region for several decades has co-existed with these ills without conflict, why are the ills (pervasive poverty, endemic corruption, inequality, injustice, youth unemployment and absence of good governance) now serving as a catalyst for the emergence and spread of the Boko Haram insurgency. Nonetheless, it could be argued that the basis of the Boko Haram insurgency is more socio-economic than it is political or ideological. As aptly observed by Nchi:

Poverty and ignorance are fertilizers for insurgency anywhere and in any age. When they combine and cloak themselves in religious, ethnic, or other partisan robes, they become ready incendiary for the most brutal and reckless of violence (2013:210).

In addition to the afore-mentioned are the factors, such as youth employment, social inequality, social and economic exclusion, as well as the practice of itinerant Islamic catechism known in Arabic as the Al-majiri system. All these factors combine to explain the rise and prevalence the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria.

The Boko Haram sect made an unobtrusive entry into Nigeria's political landscape between 2002 and 2009. Forest (2012) avers that the membership of Boko Haram sect cut across ethnic divide with greater membership primarily drawn from the Kanuri ethnic

group. Beginning as an itinerant preachment in early 2000 at Maiduguri, Borno State, Mohammed Yusuf's radical ideology gained a following among disaffected young men who became susceptible to recruits. The largest following came from semi-illiterate, unemployed youths, who were forced to make a living between the twin divide of creativity and criminality. The sect leader roundly condemned the prevailing social economic and political system of the Nigerian state which he believed is in conflict with his interpretation of Islam.

Boko Haram insurgency according to Brock (2012:16) came to lime light in 2009 when security agencies clamped down on the sect's members, who had resisted a law requiring motor cyclist to wear helmets. This sparked a furious backlash. Police stations and government offices in Borno were burned to the ground while hundreds of criminals were released in a Jail-break in the aftermath of the violent confrontation between the sect and the government forces. This marked the beginning of the sectarian violence that spread in some northern parts of Nigeria in 2009. The security challenges became enormous and demanded that a quick action was desirable. The arrest and detention of several sect members including their leader, Mohammed Yusuf, by the state security was a response to restore break down of law and order in the North East. The eventual ex-judicial killing of Yusuf was the major impetus for Boko Haram insurgency and the spate of violence that followed.

Following the clamp-down on members of the, those who survived arrest and trial went underground telling their stories of injustice and nursing their grievances in exile. It is believed that the contact the group had with Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM) and al-Shabaab in Somalia must have been achieved during this period (Wikipedia, 2012). The change in ideology from being merely a Salafist to being a Salafist Jihadist group is understood against the backdrop of the sect contact with afore-mentioned international terrorist groups.

In 2011, Boko Haram initiated a campaign of suicide bombing, a phenomenon witnessed for the first time in Nigeria's history. The Federal Government responded to these security threats by declaring an anti-terror war on the sect. The escalation of the insurgency in between 2012 and 2013 led to the declaration of state of emergency on three North Eastern States of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa. In spite of this development, the activities of Boko Haram have tended to have continued unabated. The outcome of these activities has created unprecedented humanitarian crises for the country with colossal effect on public safety and human security.

Since the last five years the Boko Haram sect has continued to wage a vicious campaign of terror against the Nigerian state, as well as the civil population of the country. The sect started with sporadic attacks on security formations. With time, they graduated to

offensives on Christian churches, schools and other public places. The use of improvised explosives and suicide bombing has since added to the ever degenerating complexion of insurgency. So far, no lasting remedy is in sight as the faceless leadership of the sect has remained rather intransigent and malignant.

VII. HUMANITARIAN CONSEQUENCES OF THE BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY

Apart from the Nigerian Civil War (1967 – 1970), no other single event of complex emergency in the country has been as debilitating as the Boko Haram insurgency in terms of humanitarian impacts. Granted, the Niger Delta crisis (1999 – 2009) occasioned dire outcomes that threaten the national security of Nigeria (Okoli 2013). Nonetheless, its humanitarian consequences could not compare that of the Boko Haram insurgency in terms of scope, degree and diversity. In effect, the humanitarian impacts and implications of the Boko Haram insurgency have been historically remarkable and unprecedented. In the sub-sections that follow, an attempt is made to highlight the humanitarian consequences of the insurgency with a view to underscoring their implications for Nigeria's national security.

a) Public insecurity: Since the escalation of the Boko Haram insurgency in the North-east Nigeria in 2009, life in the region has been characteristically 'nasty', 'brutish and, in most cases, 'short' (to apply Hobbe's analogy). According to Salkida:

Since the outbreak of sectarian violence in 2009, the north-east, Borno and Yobe States in particular, has ceased to know civil normalcy. Intermittent suicide and car bombings have become the part of their daily lives. Hate-filled adherents of the extremist sect called Boko Haram and other criminals assuming their identity wielding semi-automatic riffles speed through streets at intervals to shoot down, randomly at their ever widening targets (2012: para 5).

The above scenario has created an atmosphere of civil siege and volatility. The implication, of this for public peace, safety and security has been critically dire.

b) Livelihood crisis: The repercussions of the sectarian violence as well as government's counter-violence on the livelihood conditions of the affected States have been disastrous. Owing to public security volatility in these states, normal productive, agricultural and commercial activities have often been constrained. The enforcement of curfews and emergency rule has restricted movement and communications in a manner that hampered economic activities. In addition, the fear of attacks by the insurgents has often driven communities into hiding. Furthermore, counter-insurgency measures, such as the ban on the use of motorcycles have

resulted in loss of means of livelihood and subsistence for some households. In effect, the whole trend points to debilitating livelihood cum human security crises. This trend has been put in perspective thus:

It is of course a truism that the north has had a devastating effect on families and livelihood of many economic groups. The massive destruction of infrastructure, the destruction of telecommunication facilities, frequent attacks on markets and businesses, short business hours, have made many relocate to other safer parts of the country, bringing down incomes and increasing poverty levels (Salkida, 2012: para 10).

c) Human right abuses: According to the Human Rights Watch (2012), Boko Haram insurgency has led to violation of human rights and commission of war crimes by both the insurgents and the government forces. The military and police, for instance, have committed human rights abuses and extra-judicial killings. A prominent case in point is the killing of the pioneer leader of the Boko Haram sect, Mohammed Yusuf, in 2009 by the Nigerian Police (Ngare, 2012). On the side of the insurgents, heinous human rights abuses and war crimes have also been committed. Relevant instances include:

1. forced conversion of people of other faiths to Islam;
2. wanton attacks on churches and mosques
3. murder, torture and persecution of members of other religions;
4. killing of women, children and civilian (non-combatant) populations (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

The high-handedness and arbitrariness exhibited by the Joint Task Force (JTF) in dealing with the insurgents have been decried by many as a crime against humanity. These excesses of the government forces have been documented thus:

During raids in communities, often in the aftermath of Boko Haram attacks, members of the security forces have executed men in front of their families; arbitrarily arrested or beaten members of the community; burned houses, shops, and cars; stolen money while searching homes; and in, at least one case documented by Human Rights Watch, raped a woman. Government security agencies routinely hold suspects incommunicado without charge or trial in secret detention facilities or have subjected detainees to torture or other physical abuse (Human Rights Watch, 2012:9).

On the whole, both the insurgents and the government forces (the JTF) have had records of human rights abuses and crimes against humanity. The terrorist impunity of the insurgents has often been greeted with immense crudity. The scenario that plays out in this regard is unjustifiable reign of terror, wherein the insurgents and the security forces are equally culpable.

d) Population displacement and refugee debacle: Boko Haram insurgency has led to the displacement of huge human population in the affected States. Available information suggests that the number of internally displaced persons and refugees associated with the insurgency has been enormous. Based on a recent United Nations Humanitarian Commission on Refugee (UNHCR) report, no fewer than 5,000 people have been displaced in the North East region of Nigeria as a result of the raging insurgency (Adebowale, 2013: para 6). The UNHCR further reveals:

Some 10,000 Nigerians have also crossed into neighbouring Cameroon, Chad and Niger in recent months. Most – around 8, 100 – have sought refuge in Cameroon according to local authorities who say that Nigerians are continuing to arrive. The number of Nigerian refugees in Niger is 2,700 and in Chad 150 (Adebowale, 2013: para 7).

The plight of these displaced people in their various places of refuge can be best described as critically threatening. This is more so considering the fact that they have been dislocated from their family and social capital bases. Recent figures from the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) indicate that 16, 470 Nigerian are displaced with “conflicts and ethno-religious crises and emerging terrorism” constituting the main sources (Alkassim, 2013:10). In effect, the rising wave of Boko Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria has been largely responsible for the spate of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in the country in the recent times.

e) Human Casualties/Fatalities: By far, the worst humanitarian consequences of the Boko Haram insurgency have been its tolls on human life and safety. As the table hereunder vividly indicates, the insurgency has led to loss of many lives, in addition to various degrees and dimension of human injury.

Table 5 : Selected Incidents of Boko Haram Attacks (2009 – 2012)

S/N	Dates	Location	Nature Of Attacks	Remark(S)
1	July 26, 2009	Bauchi	5 days uprising and attack on the police station that spread to Maiduguri, Borno, Yobe, and Kano	Over 800 people killed
2	July 27, 2009	Yobe	Attack on Potiskum, Yobe State Divisional Police Headquarters	3 Police men and 1 fire service officer died
3	March 13, 2010	Plateau State	Churches and markets	300 people killed
4	Sept. 7, 2010	Bauchi	Attacked Prisons	Killed 5 guards and freed 700 inmates, including former sect members
5	Oct. 1, 2010	Abuja	Explosions near the Eagles Square	12 people killed and many injured
6	Oct. 11, 2010	Maiduguri	Bombing/gun attack on a police station	Destroys the station and injured three
7	Dec. 24, 2010	Barkin Ladi, Jos	Bomb attack	8 people killed
8	Dec. 28, 2010	Jos	Christmas eve bomb attack on church	38 people killed
9	Dec. 31, 2010	Abuja	The group attack a Mammy market at Army Mogadishu Barracks	11 people killed
10	Jan. 21, 2011	Maiduguri	Attack on politicians	8 persons killed including ANPP governorship candidate
11	March 2, 2011	Kaduna	Three residence of the Divisional Police Officer, Mustapha Sandamu	2 policemen killed
12	March 30, 2011	Damaturu, Yobe State	Bomb attack	Injured a police officer
13	April 8, 2011	Niger State	Bombing of INEC office in Suleja	Killed 8 Corps members
14	April 9, 2011	Unguar Doki Maiduguri	Bom explosion occurred at a polling unit	Killed 17 people and many injured
15	April 29, 2011	Bauchi State	Army Barracks in Bauchi bombed	No death
16	May 29, 2011	Bauchi State	Explosion at Mammy market of Shandawanka barracks	Claimed 18 lives and left many injured
17	May 30, 2011	Maiduguri	Bombs exploded early morning on Baga road in Borno State	13 persons died and 40 injured
18	June 7, 2011	Maiduguri	Series of bomb blasts	Claimed five lives and injured many others
19	June 16, 2011	Abuja	Bombing of Nigerian Police Headquarters	3 killed and many vehicles damaged
20	June 16, 2011	Maiduguri	Bomb blast at Damboa town	4 children killed
21	June 20, 2011	Katsina State	Boko Haram stormed Kankara Police Station	9 policemen killed
22	July 9, 2011	Maiduguri	A clash between Boko Haram and the military	31 persons killed
23	July 11, 2011	Kaduna State	Tragic explosion at a relaxation joint in Fokados street	Many people killed
24	July 12, 2011	Borno State	Boko Haram threw an explosive device on a moving military patrol vehicle	5 persons killed
25	July 15, 2011	Borno State	Explosion in Maiduguri	Injured five people
26	July 23, 2011	Borno State	An explosion close to the palace of the Shehu of Borno, Abubakar Garbai Elkanem	Injured three soldiers
27	July 25, 2011	Maiduguri	Bomb explosion near the palace of traditional ruler	8 persons died
28	Aug. 25, 2011	Maiduguri	Bank robbery	Killed 4 policemen, 1 soldier and 7 civilians and removed undisclosed sum of money
29	Aug. 26, 2011	Abuja	A Suicide Bomber Drove into The United Nations building	25 persons killed and 60 injured
30	Sept. 12, 2011	Bauchi State	Bomb attack on a police station in Misau	7 people, including 4 policemen
31	Sept. 13, 2012	Maiduguri	Armed attack on military vehicle	Injured 4 soldiers

32	Oct. 3, 2011	Maiduguri	Attack on Baga Market	3 people killed
33	Nov. 4, 2011	Yobe State	Attacks on Damaturu villages	150 people killed
34	Dec. 24, 2011	Jos	Bomb attacks in churches and markets	80 people killed
35	Dec. 25, 2011	Niger State	Christmas Day Bombing in Mandalla	50 people killed
36	Dec. 30, 2011	Maiduguri	Bomb attacks	7 people killed
37	Jan. 5, 2012	Gombe State	Bomb attack in a church	6 people died
38	Jan. 6, 2012	Yola	Bomb attack in a Christ Apostolic Church	17 people died while 20 Igbo people were also killed in Mubi
39	Jan. 20, 2012	Kano State	Bomb attacks	250 people killed in multiple attacks
40	Jan. 22, 2012	Bauchi State	Attacks in churches and the headquarters of Balewa Local Government Area in the state	Two churches destroyed, two military personnel, a DPO and 8 civilians killed
41	Feb. 10, 2012	Kano	Attacked a Police Station in Shagari Quarters	Many injured
42	Feb. 15, 2012	Kogi State	Caused Jail Break in Koton Karji Prisons	A warder killed and 199 prisoners released
43	April 26, 2012	Abuja	Bombing of three media houses	Killed 8 people and injured many people
44	April 29, 2012	Kano	Attack on Bayero University, Kano	Killed 13 Christian Worshippers and senior non-academic staff and two Professors
45	April 30, 2012	Jalingo	Bomb explosion	11 persons killed and several others wounded

Source: Eze (2013: 92-94).

Recent occurrences in 2013 indicate that the insurgents have exhibited more brutal efficiency in their campaign of terror. For instance, the attacks on Bama Village of Borno State led to the loss of 55 persons, while that of a school of Agriculture at Gujuba in Yobe State cost 42 lives (Wikipedia, 2013; Aljazeera, May 13). If these figures point to a new trend in the sectarian insurgency, it then implies that the situation is degenerating.

It has been problematic to establish the actual death tolls of the Boko Haram insurgency in terms of absolute numbers. Sources place the figures at between 1,500 and 2,000 (Salkida, 2012; Eze, 2012). However, it is contended that the death tolls so far would stand in the region of 3,000 (see for instance the suggestion of the Human Rights Watch, 2012). Note however, that this figure includes those killed by the government forces.

VIII. TERRORISM IN NIGERIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

To say that terrorism threatens Nigeria's national security is to state the obvious. This observation is a truism considering the destructive and destabilizing impacts of terrorism in Nigeria over the recent years. As we have established in the preceding sub-sections, the activities of the Boko Haram sect have created an atmosphere of siege and desolation in most parts of Northern Nigeria. The resultant public security volatility in the region has been an impediment to trade and investment, peaceful co-existence and stability, as well as sustainable livelihood and development. This scenario has since complicated and accentuated the

plight of the region as a developmentally challenged section of Nigeria.

In respect of the implications of terrorism for the wider polity of Nigeria, it is to be noted that the Boko Haram insurgency has led to negative perception of Nigeria as an unsafe country by the wider world. This has damaged Nigeria's profile as a favourable international destination for investment, travel, tourism, scholarship, and migration. The implication of this is that Nigeria is gradually drifting into the status of an ostracized nation. This does not augur well for the sustenance of the country's national security.

Furthermore, the extent of violence and destruction that has been associated with the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria has been horrific. The advent of suicide bombing as a strategy for prosecuting terrorism by members of the sect has since signaled a new dimension to the national security challenge in Nigeria. To say the least, the rising incidence and prevalence of terrorist attacks in Nigeria have exposed the country to serious levels of humanitarian and territorial vulnerabilities. In the face of this situation, the sustenance of Nigeria national security is at best problematic.

IX. CONCLUSION

This paper set out to explore the nexus between terrorism and humanitarian crisis in Nigeria. The essence of the paper is to situate the humanitarian consequences of the phenomenon of terrorism in Nigeria. From the standpoint of the Boko Haram insurgency in northern Nigeria, the paper observed that

terrorism has resulted in dire humanitarian consequences in Nigeria. These consequences include human casualties/ fatalities, population displacement and refugee debacle, human rights abuses, livelihood crisis, as well as public insecurity. In the light of the foregoing, the paper submitted that terrorism constitutes a veritable threat to national security in Nigeria, hence the need to devise a means of ensuring a pragmatic solution to it. In this regard, the paper recommends a paradigm shift from anti-terrorism to strategic counter-terrorism as the way forward.

Strategic counter-terrorism presupposes combating terrorism through preventive and mitigative measures. This emphasizes the use of strategic intelligence, pragmatic policies and proactive strategies to counter the terrorists' designs in an attempt to forestall and/or mitigate terror. This approach to dealing with terrorism defers from the traditional anti-terrorism campaign, whereby terror is confronted by way of reactive and hyper-defensive combatancy. Effective counter-insurgency must be predicated on strategic intelligence and reconnaissance. It is not enough to deploy troops to combat the insurgents on the field; it is much more expedient to engage the insurgents proactively by way of systematic surveillance and reconnoitering in an attempt to stop them before they strike.

Unlike the anti-terrorism approach that is largely based on 'brutal and extrajudicial response to the insurgency' Nchi (2013), counter-terrorism strategy is characterized by the following:

1. Effective network for intelligence gathering and analysis;
2. Strategic surveillance aimed at dictating membership, motivation, and operational modalities of the sect;
3. Clinical investigation and prognostication of the socio-psychological and socio-economic currents that underlie the emergence, growth and sustenance of the sect and its activities;
4. Identifying and foreclosing sources of inspiration, funding and recruitment to the sect;
5. Proactive engagement of civil society stakeholders in the fight against the sect; and
6. Tactical exploration of the diplomatic option in an attempt to come to terms with legitimate (if any) grievances of the sect.

It is the candid position of this paper that the adoption of counter-terrorism strategy would go a long way in making the current efforts at containing the Boko Haram insurgency more worthwhile and more fruitful. It therefore behooves the Nigerian government, through its relevant agencies, to put measures in place towards actualizing this motion in the interest of national security.

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Table 6 : (Appendix) Boko Haram at a Glance

S/N	ITEMS	RELEVANT FACT(S)
1.	Official designation	Congregation of the people tradition for proselytism and Jihad (Arabic: <i>Jama'at ahl as-Sunnah hid-da 'wu wal-jihad</i>)
2.	Mission/Objectives	(i) Islamization of (Northern)Nigeria (ii) Implementation of Sharia (iii) Sanitization/purification of the practice of Islam
3.	Core Doctrines/Precepts	i. Rational (but heretical) Islamism ii. Anti-west (hostility to western civilization and education) iii. Pro-sharia (it favours Islamic state based on the principle of Sharia)
4.	Manifest ideology	Neo-jihadism in furtherance of revivalist Islamic proselytism
5.	Main operational base	Borno in the northern-eastern geopolitical zone
6.	Span of activity	2001 – present
7.	Ideological influence/ motivation	Religious extremism/Islamic fundamentalism
8.	Mode of operation	i. mass killing ii. suicide bombing iii. Arson iv. Hostage-taking v. Banditry vi. Media propaganda and advocacy vii. Guerilla warfare
9.	Leaders	i. Abubkar Shekau (current) ii. Momodu Bama (late) iii. Mohammed Yusuf (late)
10.	External allies	Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb
11.	Source of funding	i. Bank robbery ii. Ransom kidnapping iii. Forced and freewill donations iv. Financial aids from international terrorist groups
12.	Area of operation (by country)	i. Northern Nigeria ii. Northern Cameroon iii. Niger Republic iv. Chad
13.	Opponents	i. The Nigeria state ii. The Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) iii. The military and para-military outfits (police, the state security service – SSS – etc.
14.	Major battles	i. The Sharia riots (2001) ii. Sectarian violence 2009
15.	Membership and command system	Cult-like membership, and leadership characterized by marked absolutism

Source: Author's adoptions from Nchi (2013: 119-221); Wikipedia (2013), http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boko_Haram.



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Levels, Causes and Consequences of the Fear Phenomena: Findings from a Pilot Study in Tanzania

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Introduction - According to the Economist Intelligence Unit, Tanzania is the most democratic nation in the East Africa region, although according to UNDP (n. d.) popular attitudes towards democratic practice in the country are ambivalent (Sunday Citizen, 15/01/ 2012). A comparative civic study done by Riutta (2007) concluded that Tanzanians were generally interested in politics. Despite this there is also a sense that citizens do not get the chance to truly engage in the political process for several reasons, including fear, apathy and domination by a single party for a good part of the country's political history. Citizens often lack awareness of their rights and how these rights can be voiced and channelled into the government system. Indeed according to critical analysts (Chaligha et al, 2002; Schellschmidt, 2006; Jensen, 2010), Tanzanian villages are more used to receiving government directives than being involved in making decisions that involve the government. In 1993, the renowned judge Lugakingira had occasion to observe that Tanzanians found contentment in being "receivers" rather than "seekers", and hinted that, "...over the years since independence Tanzanians have developed a culture of apathy and silence" (Lugakingira, 1993).

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Levels, Causes and Consequences of the Fear Phenomena: Findings from a Pilot Study in Tanzania¹

Simeon Mesaki^α & Edmund Matotay^ο

I. INTRODUCTION

According to the Economist Intelligence Unit, Tanzania is the most democratic nation in the East Africa region, although according to UNDP (n. d.) popular attitudes towards democratic practice in the country are ambivalent (Sunday Citizen, 15/01/2012). A comparative civic study done by Riutta (2007) concluded that Tanzanians were generally interested in politics. Despite this there is also a sense that citizens do not get the chance to truly engage in the political process for several reasons, including fear, apathy and domination by a single party for a good part of the country's political history. Citizens often lack awareness of their rights and how these rights can be voiced and channelled into the government system. Indeed according to critical analysts (Chaligha et al, 2002; Schellschmidt, 2006; Jensen, 2010), Tanzanian villages are more used to receiving government directives than being involved in making decisions that involve the government. In 1993, the renowned judge Lugakingira had occasion to observe that Tanzanians found contentment in being "receivers" rather than "seekers", and hinted that, "...over the years since independence Tanzanians have developed a culture of apathy and silence" (Lugakingira, 1993). Lange, et al (2000) found that the "culture of silence" that developed during one-party rule seemed to prevail and apparently there was no culture of voicing discontent, not to mention taking action. An African Afrobarometer Survey of 2002 concluded that Tanzanians exhibited a high level of patience, which was manifested through "uncritical and passive acceptance" of the status quo (Chaligha, et al op. cit). The survey went on to claim that there was a tendency among Tanzanians to accept whatever their

leaders gave them, resulting in a paradox whereby trust in government institutions and satisfaction with the performance of political leaders endured, even if people were disgruntled. The same survey found that civic competence was extremely weak, demonstrated by a lack of awareness of rights and duties and limited constructive engagement with political actors (Chaligha, et al op.cit). A more recent study claims that in Tanzanian society there is no culture or tradition of speaking up or petitioning (Jensen, 2010). Another recent study (Rabé, et al, 2012) of power and participation at the local level, using the "power cube" analytical framework, quotes verbatim from a focus group discussion (FGD) held in rural Tanzania as follows, "...we normally discuss our family issues, not development issues...we fear to make our views heard. If you want your life to be safe and stable in this village, you'd better stay calm and engage [in] your affairs". It refers to the lack of agency that is related to poor leadership or limitations in the formal participation process, due to villagers' fear of [their] leaders ("we are afraid of the leaders; no-one can speak out"; The report concludes, "...fear and frustration appears to stymy any motivation for collective action and results in a kind of tyranny of low expectations" (Rebe et al, op cit). The leader of the opposition in the Tanzanian Parliament, (Bunge), Hon. Freeman Mbowe, was reported to have discovered and was disappointed by the fact that most Tanzanians were fearfully obedient instead of adhering to the cardinal tenets of demanding basic rights and obligations. Alluding to how Tanzanians are renowned for their fear and failure to air basic demands, he said that statistics showed that as many as 78% of Tanzanians were fearful (Tanzania Daima Februari, 13, 2011).

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II. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The research emanated from Oxfam's Chukua Hatua-CH (Take Action) programme, which began in August 2010, the goal of which is to achieve increased accountability and responsiveness of the government to its citizens by creating active citizenship; that is citizens who know their rights and responsibilities, are demanding them, and are able to search for and access information. The overall objective was to assess the

status and constraints of citizens' interaction, deliberation and advocacy on issues of societal importance, including participation in politics and governance systems and what progress has been made in grappling with the embedded "culture of silence" or "fear factor".

III. PHILOSOPHY, APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

This was a qualitative research using ethnographic methods and techniques, including participant observation, face-to-face interviews, FGD and life histories, which were deemed more appropriate for this type of research as being more comprehensive, relativistic, giving the 'bigger picture' and entailing thick description. In total, the study involved twelve villages from the six districts of the former Shinyanga region before some of its wards were transferred to form the new Simiyu and Geita administrative regions.

IV. VILLAGES AND DISTRICTS INVOLVED

District	Villages
Maswa	Sola
	Kidema
Bariadi	Gaswa
	Mahembe
Shinyanga (rural)	Ishinabulandi
	Mwambasha
Kishapu	Itilima
	Negezi
Kahama	Kakebe
	Mimwe
Mbogwe (formerly Bukombe)	Masumbwe
	Lugunga

V. STUDY FINDINGS

These findings were gleaned from the responses gathered in the field from various categories of people, such as women, men and youth, from FGD and one-to-one interviews (with prominent persons, currently working and retired civil servants, political and religious leaders and disabled persons). The findings are arranged according to the way in which the questions were posed, and the chronological order of the study's specific objectives is also considered.

VI. LEVEL AND EXTENT OF PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL POLITICAL PROCESSES

The aim here was to ascertain the level and extent of participation in local political processes and politics and the findings have been arranged in four categories:

a) *Meaning of politics*

The respondents varied in their understanding of the meaning and concept of politics. Whereas some

viewed politics as a form of persuasion (*ushawishi*), others perceived it as joke or game (*mchezo*), and yet others believed it to be propaganda and some argued that politics has matured into falsehood (*siasa ni uongo uliokomaa*). In Sukuma language: "Nduhu ning'we, ng'wandandya sela guhe" (Gaswa village activist). Beyond these stereotypical responses, the study could not go into a detailed discussion on the purpose of politics given its nature and the perceived level of understanding of the respondents. However, there were some more informed respondents, especially those who had been exposed to the outside world or retirees and returnees, who viewed politics as involving questions and ideologies and political parties striving to control or retain political power.

b) *Political participation*

With regard to participation and engagement, the UHURU NA KAZI women's group of Shenda (Masumbwe) claimed that political participation had declined significantly because people have become disillusioned with dishonest political leaders, the opinions of people not being acted on, government budgets not meeting the needs of the citizens, and elected leaders (MPs and councillors) failing to come back to their electorate, resulting in loss of confidence in the government. However, the respondents had the following perspectives on political participation.

c) *Voters' registration and voting*

The respondents explained that registering to vote and being able to vote was a measure of participation in politics. However they believed that women were more likely to vote than other categories of people. According to Mwilima, a ruling CCM functionary, "...it is estimated that 68% of the total number of eligible voters prepared to turn up to vote on Election Day are women" (Mwilima, UWT National Secretary in FES Political Handbook, 2011). On the other hand, it was said that older males voted to make sure that the ruling party wins, fearing that if opposition parties came to power there would be chaos. In the same vein, most youths do not vote if their preferred candidates are not nominated to contest elections. If participation in politics is to be gauged by electoral behaviour, i.e. registering and voting, then the past four general elections have shown a declining trend, in that whereas voter turnout in electing MPs in 1995 was 76.51% it went down to 72.77% in 2000, fell a bit to 72.52% in 2005 and plummeted to 39.49% in 2010 (The Citizen, 11/10/2011). This drastic decline has been described as, "...a remarkably low figure by any standard.... In addition, this figure represents only those who registered, and thus the turnout in terms of eligible voters is appallingly low" (Gahnström, 2012)." The fortunes of the ruling party vis-à-vis the opposition is illustrated by Makulilo (2012:6), who found that, "...in 1995 opposition popular votes stood at 38.2% while the

ruling party got 61.8%, ...in 2000, the ruling party gained up to 71.7% and the opposition dropped to 28.3%, ...in 2005. The ruling party gained further to 80.2% of support while the opposition got 19.8%, ..in the 2010 elections, CCM dropped to 61.17% while the opposition gained 38.83%". This trend has led some political analysts to suggest that Tanzania should enact a compulsory voting law as is the case in countries like Bolivia, Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, Greece and the Netherlands, to mention a few (see A. Tairo in the Citizen 11 October 2011).

d) Presence and vibrancy of opposition parties

Another measure of political participation was the growth of opposition parties. In the past the ruling party, CCM, had no opponents, but since the 2010 elections the Civic United Front (CUF) and Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) have shown their presence and vitality as an alternative. The respondents viewed this change as a sign of increased levels of political participation. It is interesting to note that Shinyanga region, previously regarded as a CCM stronghold, in the 2010 parliamentary elections four rural constituencies were won by opposition parties (i.e. Meatu, Bariadi East, Maswa West and Bukombe).

e) Forums for people to speak up

The official forums in which people in the study villages air their views include the sub-village (kitongoji) meetings, whole village assemblies, emergency meetings (Mwano²), inter-village meetings, and Ward Development Committee meetings. Village assemblies are formal meetings, convened by village and local government leaders, which are supposed to be held every 3 months. These meetings discuss people's concerns and receive reports on revenue and expenditure. However the manner in which these meetings are conducted often reflects the power play between groups and individuals. For example, in Itilima village, Kishapu district, the village leaders would not or could not respond to the questions directed at them in a village assembly and in fact they went to the extent of warning that court action awaited the alleged "trouble makers". Indeed in Negezi village, the people believe a conspiracy was hatched to arraign and convict a person who, in the village meeting, had questioned the misuse of funds for the construction of a school building. He was sent to jail for eight months, although he appealed and was set free after being incarcerated for only three months. In Ishinabulandi village, a youth was remanded in prison after he had inquired about the money provided for reconstructing a water pipeline destroyed during the construction of the Mwanza road. Such examples are not uncommon and deter people from asking questions and inquiring about things they think

are wrong. As regards informal settings, dances (mbina), beer-drinking clubs, coffee-drinking places and even funerals were mentioned. There are also 'emergency meetings' (Mwano), which involve a village or more than one village. These meetings are held in response to episodes such as the theft of cattle, or somebody being killed allegedly through witchcraft. In these meetings, apart from discussing the major issues that brought together a large crowd, other societal issues are also discussed. Participation in these meetings depends on the nature of the Mwano, for if it is about theft, then women will not be in conspicuous attendance. It is youths and a few old people who will respond to such a traditional emergency. Mwano occasions are organized and chaired by the leaders of militia (Sungusungu) groups and not the usual government bureaucrats, and they have their own modalities of engagement, so that people are more confident to speak about their problems. It was claimed that it is easy to report a problem to a sungusungu leader, who will handle it in a way that will not jeopardise the complainant. In fact, people who are afraid of government and village leaders go straight to sungusungu commanders, where they can air their concerns freely.

f) Factors that preclude people from speaking out without fear

The main factor that prevents people from speaking out without fear is threats from leaders, especially local government leaders. These threats include being taken to court, jailed, threat to life, blackmail, and verbal warnings, which were reported in all the villages sampled. People fear to enter [government] offices, as sometimes they are not sure of the right office to take their problems to and this makes them end up being disappointed "nahene nduhu umhayo" ('to be disappointed, embarrassed' in Sukuma, a native language). Other reasons mentioned after probing include lack of knowledge of the constitution and their constitutional rights, as well as legal and human rights issues and skills, lack of confidence in matters relating to rights, and outmoded customs and taboos. Generally people do not know their basic rights, but they also have a natural propensity to fear the state and its machinery. In addition, few people know where to start when they are faced with a particular issue. People refrain from speaking out because they think it will get them into trouble with the militia or police, who may demand a bribe. Income poverty was also mentioned as a factor. People living in poverty felt they had no say in matters concerning them for two reasons: one is they fear they will not be listened to given their economic situation and secondly if they get a chance to speak, they will not be taken seriously. People also mentioned that the meetings are badly planned and are disorganised. Some meetings do not follow the agreed

² Form of collective summoning by villagers to attend a matter of urgency

time schedule, but instead are called on an ad hoc basis and so potential attendees are uninformed, thus missing the occasion. Agendas are also not availed beforehand to allow people to prepare themselves. In addition, in many of the meetings it was alleged that village leaders allowed only people in favour of them to speak or those who were prearranged and staged to speak on issues that were in favour of the village leaders. Furthermore, sometimes the meetings started late and/or were adjourned for failure to get a quorum. All these factors preclude people from showing up when meetings are called. With regard to women's participation in village meetings, it was evident that old customs prevail to a considerable extent. The women in Sukumaland are brought up to understand that their position is in the domestic realm and that men are the leaders in society. It is unusual for women to feature in most public meetings out of custom but also because they are prohibited by their husbands. Another factor why some members of the community do not attend meetings is that they have become disillusioned after failing to get answers to the questions they ask and the fact that sometimes leaders do not fulfil the promises they made. The findings above confirm that many factors preclude people from speaking without fear, including risks, sanctions and overt as well as covert control mechanisms. People understand that the government has an "iron hand", is forceful, and so people are afraid.

g) Breaking the wall of silence

The study also examined the reasons that lead people to break the wall of silence and become campaigners on issues in their locality. Education was mentioned as the first reason. It was argued that educated people in the villages have a better understanding of their rights and how the government is supposed to be run. Few people in the villages have been taught or are aware of how to deal with state power. Indeed, as the dictum goes, education is power; knowledge of the workings of government gives people the confidence to ask questions and demand or even defend their rights in a manner that will not harm them. Therefore having a more educated citizenry was seen as essential to ensure that the wall of silence will eventually be broken. Leaders' misuse of public resources was also considered to be a trigger causing people to react and talk about such misdeeds. Consistent suppression, abuse of power and misconduct by leaders and law-enforcement agents eventually leads to people feeling fed up and the need to stand up. When people get tired of such actions they decide to come together and talk in order to stop them or defend their rights. Frequent and publicised misuse of public resources has raised people's awareness so that others in neighbouring villagers or hamlets would want to do the same thing by demanding the accountability of officials and leaders.

Villagers are encouraged when the effort of raising their voices is rewarded by action being taken against the culprits, even if it is not spectacular. For example, in the cases concerning the misuse of funds in Mwambasha, Negezi and Itilima villages, the money that had been misappropriated was repaid by the culprits, which will give villagers a common voice to ensure local leaders' accountability in the future. The respondents also felt that women's awareness of their position in terms of rights and responsibilities has been important in raising their voices. It was mentioned that following various efforts, women are slowly but surely becoming aware of their rights and are confronting their husbands over being given a fair share of the proceeds of their labour on the farm and in the household. In many cases women are starting to ask questions. Reforming the electoral procedure could be instrumental in changing confidence levels and encouraging people to speak up without fear. According to the respondents, the lack of transparency and alleged 'unfair electoral processes' has disillusioned many voters when it comes to what happens before and after elections. The respondents felt strongly that now is the time for the electoral process to become fair, free and transparent so that the results will reflect the will of the people.

h) Government openness

Much of the discussion focused on the failure of government and political leaders to open up and give citizens space as regards governance, participation and involvement. The following comments reflect common issues cited by the respondents:

- *Protection of their position:* The respondents believe that leaders are afraid of losing their position when issues and concerns are raised openly. Leaders are perceived to use different ways to conceal their misdeeds and present an image that things are well when they are not.
- *Corruption:* There is a perception that some leaders are actually bribing vocal people in the villages not to speak during meetings or mobilising others to give a collective voice at a village meeting and not to expose or discuss issues that are not being done properly. The respondents said that such leaders fear being held accountable.
- *Inadequate budget:* The respondents said that elected leaders often fail to honour their promises made during election campaigns because of the inadequate budget and so they fear having an open discussion as they will be criticised because they have not kept their promises. As Mollel (2010:95) put it with respect to the overall situation in Tanzania, "...the current system does not facilitate local empowerment. For instance, local people are not empowered to be able to develop and execute their plan. Besides, the resources at the local level are limited and those transferred through the council

are earmarked for specific areas leaving little room for local discretion.”

- *Fear of criticism:* It was mentioned that leaders in some areas are afraid of obtaining critical views and opinions on what they are or are not doing. These can either be from people of their own affiliation or from those supporting opposition parties.
- *Incapable leaders:* The respondents said that some of the leaders have a low level of education, and lack experience and confidence. This makes them afraid to listen to the grievances and opinions that may reveal their ignorance and poor performance.
- *Prejudice against the poor:* The respondents felt that some leaders do not think that the opinions and views of poor people add value to socio-economic and political development. These people then feel disillusioned and stop attending meetings because they feel their voice is not listened to.
- *Illiteracy:* In some villages it was reported that the leaders take advantage of the illiteracy level of the community and try to push forward their agenda quickly, sometimes not following the required procedures or faking the minutes of meetings.

i) *Perceptions of good governance*

In gauging villagers’ perceptions and understanding of the concept of good governance, the respondents were asked about what they think causes the village government and the associated machinery not to work as they would like. The following examples were mentioned as being anti-good governance practices.

- *Poor performance of the existing system:* A ↑ Core Welfare Indicator Surveys (CWIQ for Shinyanga of 2006 (URT, 2006) probed into governance issues, including satisfaction with leaders, and the main reasons for dissatisfaction with governance at different levels of government. Reasons ranged from embezzlement/corruption to people not being listened to, and from favouritism to the failure of leaders to visit citizens.
- *Inequality in the provision of opportunities:* The respondents alleged that people related to political leaders benefit most from any opportunities arising, such as when there was a programme to help youths become self-employed. This kind of nepotism was regularly cited as an indicator of poor governance in the villages.
- *Lack of transparency:* The respondents also mentioned lack of transparency as an indicator of the lack of good governance. There were many examples of those in authority failing to give reports on income and expenditure and of corruption, including selling a plot of land earmarked for the construction of a health centre and a secondary school and misusing the money supplied by the

Tanzania Electricity Supply Company for installing high tension electricity poles in villages in Shinyanga Rural District.

- *Lack of freedom to express views:* There was a recurrent perception that ‘good governance is a joke’ (utawala bora ni uchizi). People are not involved in decision making; they feel they do not have any power regarding how decisions are reached or projects implemented.

Overall, the respondents felt that good governance means respect for the pillars of democracy which they perceive as being transparency, responsibility and truth. When asked to rate their own villages in terms of good governance, the average score given was 50%, while they rated the central government at 60%.

“*They don’t care about us (their voters)*” was commonly cited by villagers as a factor underlying poor governance. An example was given where cotton buyers were allowed to come to the villages to buy the crop at a very low price. The farmers became angry and even attacked the cotton buyers but the District Commissioner intervened and warned the people not to take the law into their own hands. In the end the farmers had no option but to sell their cotton at give-away prices and their anger remains to date against the leaders.

The concept of governance and how it fares in Shinyanga region has been well captured in the following box, as expounded by Oxfam's Chukua Hatua project:

"Relative to many countries, Tanzania has an impressive structure in place for local governance at the sub-village, village, ward and district level. However, the effectiveness of this structure in really allowing local people to be influential is questionable. Village- and district-level councils are elected and it is their role to oversee bottom-up planning and decision making through to the full council at district level. However, effective control at both levels tends to be held by centrally appointed officials. Elected representatives at local level often lack the desire or capacity to hold these appointed officials to account. At local level, meetings are only called by the village chair and executive. These should take place quarterly, but often they happen rarely or not at all. When they do take place, they are not well attended because local people have little faith in them, as one young artist points out: 'We ask questions in meetings but don't get satisfactory or truthful answers or we are prevented from asking because only a short time is set aside for questions.' There is also a sense of insecurity: people are afraid of being excluded from the patronage system and of losing its benefit or protection. There is evidence of more direct threats to individuals who speak out. Party polarization is also an issue, with any challenge by ordinary citizens often taken by leaders as an indication of opposition politics. In addition, there is a lack of information about policies, laws, people's rights and even what is happening in the country. In rural areas, most people get their information from the radio, but the reception is sometimes poor and people, women in particular, do not have time to listen. Print media are less popular because newspapers arrive very late (up to a week after publication) and in any case many people cannot read" (Oxfam, 2012)

j) *"What has culture got to do with it"?*

This study was also interested in learning from the villagers their perception of the role of culture in influencing people's capacity and willingness to speak out. Culture is complex in the way in which it shapes an individual's relationships across households, between men and women, a girl child and a boy child, people and their environment, common beliefs, and interpersonal perceptions, attitudes and conduct. Following are some of the issues raised by the respondents on cultural and traditional issues and how these affect citizens' ability and interest in speaking out.

- *"In Sukuma, but it is also African culture, youths are supposed to obey elders and comply with what they want due to the fear that they will be cursed, evicted from their families and alienated from them. This then becomes an inherent tendency for youth not to speak in front of elders. As it starts at the household level, this tendency develops further until it becomes dominant so that youths keep silent when they should speak in village or school meetings".* This was concluded by the research assistant who worked for a month in villages in Kishapu and Shinyanga rural districts.
- *"People with disabilities (including people with albinism) are not given equal access to education, and economic and social activities, in the belief that they cannot perform up to expectations. For example, in Itilima village an albino girl was about to be killed by unknown people, but when her father tried to follow this up with the proper authorities, community leaders prevented him with the explanation that if the culprits became known and were sent to court and tried and then jailed, this would bring shame on the village. Therefore, they advised the father to drop the issue. This is an example of an intention influenced by culture to*

prevent a person with a good cause from being able to speak and follow up on what he think is right for him and his child" Again this is an observation by the research assistant, who worked for a month in villages in Kishapu and Shinyanga rural districts.

- *"The traditional activities during which societal issues were aired meaningfully are on the decline these days. Those that are being practised, e.g. 'beni & dongo' (traditional activities, including the 'ngoma' used during the farm cultivation period), 'wigashe' (old people's songs) and 'kwaya' (choir) do not nowadays contain powerful messages regarding governance, participation or human rights. Instead they are concerned with showing off",* A quote from the councillor for Gaswa Ward, Shinyanga rural.
- *"There are cultural activities and dances, like "mbina ja bhakima na beni", but they only sing about personal things, like praising traditional healers called "bafumu" and how powerful they are in the game (healing...), they don't talk about governance or basic rights or about speaking on people's behalf".* A quote from CCM Ward Secretary, Sola Ward.
- *"Because people are afraid to air their views, a school has developed the idea of a 'suggestion box' as a technique for making them speak out. Some of them use it, but many don't".* A quote from a Sola Primary School Teacher.
- *"People don't like to be exposed in meetings. They are afraid of making mistakes when speaking, which can lead to one being a laughing stock in public".* A quote from Women's Entrepreneur group, Kakebe. *"Some people were born that way, and so they ask others to assist in airing concerns. They are afraid of making mistakes when speaking (in Sukuma: "hamo naguhuba" - maybe I will make mistakes), or ("huwe guhe naneke, nagwita*

mashidima" - let me just leave him alone, otherwise I will rise up and make an enemy)" A quote from the Village Chairman Kidema.

- "Sometimes villagers are afraid of making enemies of their leaders. This is because they lack awareness when raising issues as they tend to think that if they ask questions it could result in more problems". A summary of the responses from the FGD.

As the above responses testify, there is a complex nexus between culture and empowerment. The nation's Vision 2025 takes a more general approach. It states: "Efforts must be made to empower the people and catalyze their democratic and popular participation. The strategy should entail empowering local governments and communities and promote broad-based grassroots in the mobilization of resources, knowledge and experience with a view to stimulating initiatives at all levels of society." (URT, 1999: 15)

k) *Gender-based opportunities, constraints and consequences of speaking out*

"We have been affected by the male dominated system; women desire to be more active but society has not given them a chance and has yet to have trust in them. In Kisukuma they normally say, 'duteng' we mdili" meaning we can't be led by weak people, that is women". A quote from the Councillor, Mahembe Ward

In writings on gender and language, the "silencing of women" as a dominated group has been identified as a matter of great concern, their experience being described as that of a "muted group". While any group in a society generates its own ideas about reality, articulation of these ideas is only listened to if expressed in the mode of the dominant group. Women are not only told to be silent, limits are also set as to what they may say and how they may say it (Houston et al 1991 quoted in Hanak, 1997). Women are silenced through socialization, social pressure or overt force. Women defying social norms of conduct and acquiescence often experience restrictions and obstacles from others. Hanak (1997) points out that in many societies silence is ascribed to particular groups as appropriate behaviour, with silence often seen as suitable behaviour for the younger generation and women. Silence as communicative behaviour forced on dominated or powerless groups becomes oppressive, particularly when these groups are not allowed to break the silence of their own accord. In the case of Tanzania, Swilla (1995) describes how in official gatherings in rural Tanzania, "men dominate in speaking and women are often reduced to silent listeners...traditions and practices that exclude women from participating effectively in the community are widespread and lead to

self-censorship, which is born out of fear of being ridiculed, attacked or ignored".

Within Tanzania and in the study area, the power relations between women and men are such that men tend to be dominant in terms of ownership of assets, their voice and position. This study probes how gender relations have an impact on political participation and speaking out. Some of the responses on the question of gender are reproduced below:

- *"Progressively these days many people have come to recognise the importance of valuing women. Though it may take time, efforts were being made to integrate women and girls into the militia (Sungusungu). In fact in Mwabujiku village the Mtemi (Commander) of the militia (sungusungu) is a woman."* A quote from the Sungusungu leader, Sola Ward.
- *"About 20% of village leaders are female and even at family level they are given the same chances as men. Therefore it is just a question of confidence and not of being oppressed".* A quote from a religious leader, Sola Village.
- *"Most women are afraid to talk, (in Sukuma, 'nugubuka guhe boba gete)"* A quote from the Village Chairman, Gaswa)
- *"We are not free to talk because male parents and in-laws attend meetings together. There is a natural shame of speaking openly when your father in-law or mother in-law is among the listeners. ('aliho nkwilima' shame of speaking in front of your in-laws). Women don't talk much and they don't believe in themselves, whereas by nature men have enough confidence to speak out. Women are afraid of making mistakes or being ashamed if they fumble"* A quote from the village Chairman, Gaswa
- *"Many women are despised by their husbands. They are branded as being too talkative and even hypocrites by their husbands if they dare to speak in public places/meetings" (in Sukuma 'uligayombi no nang'ho, ugubiza galomolomo)"* A quote from the Acting Village Executive Officer, Kidema.
- *"Gender equality in leadership is okay, 50%. But in meetings few women (about 25%) ask questions, and most of them pass the questions to men to air on their behalf - "wanawanong'oneza wanaume" (Swahili for 'they whisper to men')." A quote from the CCM Branch Secretary, Kidema.*

l) *Gender-inspired efforts on political participation*

AcT (n. d.) observes "Women's participation in the political process is severely restricted by their position in society. Patriarchal customs and attitudes mean that women have fewer opportunities to participate than men and, although they do attend meetings, they rarely speak". The Government of Tanzania on its part has made considerable efforts to minimize gender imbalance and inequality that would

prevent society from realizing its full economic, social and political development potential. Significant efforts have been made to promote women's participation in political and leadership positions. The proportion of women in leadership positions has reached 30%. Women's participation in public service also increased from 20% in 2004/05 to 22% in 2008/09 and 25% in 2011. Gender equity in both private and public schools shows a positive trend. The World Bank rating, which measures gender equality by the extent to which a country has installed institutions and programmes to enforce laws and policies that promote equal access for men and women in relation to education, health, the economy and their protection under the law, was 4 (out of 6) for four consecutive years until 2009. Despite the strides made in gender mainstreaming, challenges remain in addressing gender issues, especially at the community level.

m) Youths and their voice

A survey by the NGO "Restless Development" (2011) showed that young people's knowledge of and participation in policy development, implementation and monitoring was low at 10.4%, and awareness of key national policies, such the anti-poverty strategy popularly known as MKUKUTA, stood at 24% in some regions. Nevertheless, TAMASHA's ('Taasisi ya Maendeleo Shirikishi Arusha or Institute for Youth Participatory Development) recent survey (2012) listed the following aspects regarding Tanzanian youths:

- Young people have few resources and limited access to credit (which is tied to their lack of resources).
- There are no projects for young people to enable them to develop themselves.
- They are not expected to have a voice but only to provide the free labour required of them by the villages or households
- They have no institutions or organizations of their own to enable them to look after their own interests and negotiate with government institutions and other forces.
- Where young people have been given the chance to be involved in governance, they have proved to be enthusiastic and effective.
- The needs and rights of young people are not being addressed at any level and attention needs to be given to these needs and rights to allow them to play a useful role in society.

n) Limited Chances for youth to open up and have their voices heard

The study examined the limited chances for youths to open up and have their voices heard. Following are some of the opinions gathered by the research.

The respondents said that the concerns of youth are not often discussed in village meetings. Even if they are discussed the opinions and views of the youth are not taken seriously and their problems not addressed seriously. Poor education was mentioned as something that limited youth in the study areas. For two consecutive years Shinyanga was in last position in terms of performance in primary as well as secondary education. In Ishinabulandi village there are 506 households with 7,826 children, but there is only one primary school. The only secondary school available is the ward secondary school, which is overcrowded, has very few teachers and lacks working equipment. The poor performance in education is reflected in low literacy levels and lack of confidence when it comes to speaking out. The educated youths alienate themselves from the general community as they consider themselves superior, as they have acquired some education like their teachers. They enter the extension service or work in public management and so live in urban or semi-urban areas. According to the findings from Shinyanga and Kishapu, leaders tend to divert attention away from their involvement in development activities and scapegoat youths as being the source of conflicts, while the truth is these youths are uncovering the hidden bad doings of leaders. Consequently, there is a perception that young people do not realize their potential because of the stereotype that they are troublesome. There are also allegations from all the research sites (see field notes and reports) that youths are lazy, that they take life easy and do not want to work. They are overly dependent on their parents and are unable to think independently, which prevents them from having a common voice in the community. This sense of alienation is leading some youths to engage in deviant behaviour, including criminal acts and drug abuse. At the same time it should be borne in mind that it is the poor economic situation that causes many youths to lack confidence. During the dry season they have few opportunities and there is no real productive activity they can engage in. Some migrate away from their villages and those who are remain feel that politics and what is entailed in the whole process is of no importance to their lives.

To be sure youths face many challenges in trying to improve their economic situation that affects their ability to engage in the political process. They lack access to productive resources and property and find it very difficult to access credit and financial services. There has been a build-up of unemployed youths feeling disenfranchised and lacking a sense of having a stake in society. The patriarchal system and the culture preventing the girl child from going to school so that she can get married and bring bride wealth was also mentioned as that which silences the voice of youth early in life. Once a girl is married while young, and given the patriarchal system dominating society, her

voice is lost. She will have very few or no opportunities at all to speak. The respondents said that there is a lack of cooperation among the youth. Many shy away from joining age-groups with a common purpose, as was the case in the past such as dance, cultivation and cultural groups.

o) The influence of youth on formal and informal avenues

While formal political forums seem to sideline youth, the study did find some avenues that could be used or are available to youths to exercise their influence in matters that impact their lives. It must be appreciated that in this pilot study it was not possible to go deeper into the parameters of inclusion and exclusion.

p) Formal avenues

- The problems of youth are discussed in election campaigns, especially by the opposition parties. There appears to be more opportunities for youths to hold leadership positions in opposition parties than in the ruling party.
- CCM has a youth wing in which youths' problems are discussed and it has a number of youth-related programmes to prepare youths to become leaders of the future. However the concerns of youth are not a strong issue in CCM campaign rallies where youth are mainly visible as Green Guards for security.
- Youths' problems are discussed in some religious meetings and gatherings, and there are religious groups that youths can join where they are provided with the opportunity to be trained to work as religious leaders and on productive ventures.
- The Village Community Bank keeps the savings of members and provides loans. Youths can join these groups and increase their chances of economic advancement. Economic and social groups are ready-made places for airing concerns and creating a dialogue on issues touching life.
- The Chukua Hatua Group provides civic education. With this, and the use of a leaflet and the books supplied, youths got the chance to excel in terms of political awareness of rights and responsibilities and political accountability.
- Agape is a religious institution, which is involved in the provision of human rights education. This organisation is able to provide human rights education that is fundamental to the building up of active citizenship.
- The Roman Catholic Tanzania Youth Coalition prepares youths to become God's Shepherds. Apart from religious studies, the church provides its youth with a typical secular education, including training for technicians, training in entrepreneurship and even a teacher training programme. This is an important avenue through which youths and their

communities can start raising their voices, hence bringing about change.

- The Tanzania Social Action Fund (TASAF) provides support for development activities. Youths can also join some groups supported by TASAF, thereby increasing their economic opportunities.
- Barrick Gold Mine provides employment to youths and offers support for development activities. For example, Barrick supported the construction of a school and houses for teachers in Ishinabulandi village in Shinyanga district.
- World Vision supports development projects, especially for youths in difficult circumstances. This is an important avenue too, because the influence starts with a small group, which then spreads to the wider community.
- Youths, through the African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF) programme, get the chance to discuss their lives, their bodies, their environment and the institutions that affect them. Through this, new voices are born, hidden voices stand a good chance of being rejuvenated, and sidelined voices are heard due to confidence building.
- In some villages institutions like World Vision and Oxfam support village-based groups like farmers in their activities. This provides them not only with the opportunity to acquire some needed practical skills and gain experience, but the training acts as an eye-opener to many and so they start to be issue-based campaigners in their communities.

q) Informal Institutions

Sukuma society with its traditions also offers informal settings for youths to be visible. The most important of such institutions is the local militia, popularly known as Sungusungu. Participating in Sungusungu is the yearning of many a youth in Sukumaland, to the extent that these days even female youths aspire to join and in Mwabujiku village the commander of Sungusungu is a woman. The following paraphrased quotation from a research assistant's report says that it is all about the value of this unique informal institution. "In most villages Sungusungu is more honoured for its governance than the normal local government structures. People believe in and respect Sungusungu leaders and respect their decisions. They can easily face Sungusungu leaders when they have problems, even personal problems. It is obviously wise to depend on Sungusungu leaders because they are more reliable and trustworthy. When problems are reported to the local government machinery it usually involves giving bribes and often it ends up with the problems not being solved appropriately and not on time. In short, people trust Sungusungu more than government systems. Although traditional drama and dance groups are legendary among Sukuma people for providing entertainment and the chance to socialise,

these days they are important entry points for delivering information on HIV/AIDS, and above all some political messages.” A quote from the Research Assistant in Bariadi and Mwaswa districts.

VII. NEW STATE-SOCIETAL RELATIONSHIPS NEEDED

The study sought suggestions from people concerning a new relationship between the state and the people in order to break the wall of silence. Following is a summary of what was suggested:

- The main stumbling block is the lack of education and awareness on the part of the people. Therefore providing the general public with civic and human rights education is essential. People have to be educated on basic civic and human rights and the importance of participating in the political process, such as attending meetings, voting in elections and being involved in political party matters and other civil activities. There is no officially mandated institution or agency responsible for the conduct of civic education in a systematic and consistent way. There should be some systematic efforts to ensure this happens.
- Establish and strengthen official militia groups and community policing.
- Establish functioning community/family/clan reconciliation structures.
- Use legal experts (advocates/paralegals) to represent people in court who cannot represent themselves.
- Use fully the ongoing constitution-making exercise and create awareness of the importance of the basic laws, rights and responsibilities and political accountability in the country.
- Conduct free and fair elections in order to put in power those leaders who really understand the problems of the people who elected them, and who are ready to work for the people. Of course it has to be realised that free and fair elections are only one element of democratic development and democratic practice, and the furtherance of the civil and political rights of citizens (cf. UNDP's "Democratic Empowerment Project Tanzania 2012-2015")
- Those in power, their associated machinery and the people too should adhere to and observe the rule of law and democratic principles.
- Develop programmes that encourage and facilitate the capacity to speak out, which is important given the nature of society whereby only one group in society tends to speak. People's problem with this is in their minds and so their mindset needs to be changed. This could be done through sensitisation and advocacy programmes, which aim to liberate

them from the shackles that are reinforced by their poverty.

- Women need to be empowered and motivated to fight for their rights to ensure that they are able to participate fully in politics, including voting and vying for political positions at various levels.
- Leaders should be judged on the results of their performance and be held accountable for the expectations they raised.
- The Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) should be strengthened and enabled to oversee the work of law enforcement organs because there are many things needing independent analysis.
- The reforms brought about by the Local Government Reform Programme should be put into effect. They look good on paper, but their implementation is still lacking.
- There should be a time limit for those serving as councillors and members of parliament, e.g. a maximum of five years only.
- The appointment of leaders should be abolished as they tend to safeguard the interests of the one who appointed them, for example, regional and district commissioners and members of parliament with special seats. These types of leaders should be elected by the people and be accountable to the people.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions can be drawn from the pilot study: -

It was evident that a number of factors prevent people from speaking out and fear is one of them. Others are apathy, passivity, the lack of civic awareness or competence, ignorance of basic human rights, lack of faith in the system and/or public officials and traditional beliefs or customs, etc.

- Factors that make people afraid to speak out ranged from verbal and tangible threats from those in power, to leaders allowing only the people they favour or those who were prearranged to speak. In addition, most people do not know how to deal with the state and are also hampered by illiteracy.
- A number of reasons were mentioned by citizens for the failure of government and political leaders to open up and give citizens space as regards governance, participation and involvement. These include protection of their position, corruption, budgetary constraints and fear of criticism.
- Despite the many factors constraining them, some people dare to speak out.
- The respondents varied in their understanding of the concept of politics, as well as the extent of participation and engagement. Participation in voting may not necessarily mean that citizens

- influence policy and decision making. The way in which power is exercised leads many people to despair and stop taking part in the political process.
- The forums in which people in the study villages aired their views were both formal (village government meetings) and informal (dances, funerals). The formal channels were more 'frightening', with cited examples of intimidation, threats and people being stopped from asking questions and inquiring about things that go wrong. The informal forums were more harmonious.
 - The respondents gave their understanding of good governance and mentioned lack of transparency, such as those in authority failing to give reports on income and expenditure because as they have misused/misallocated the funds as an example of bad governance, as well as people not being free to express their views.
 - Cultural factors said to influence people speaking out or not included age, belief system and disability.
 - Gender-based constraints were spelt out showing that women's voices were being silenced by traditions, norms and socialisation.
 - The respondents felt that more thought needs to be devoted to dealing with the situation of youths in the country.
 - Young people have a limited understanding of participation. A recent study (2012) by the Institute of Participatory Development Arusha (TAMASHA) found that young people think that participation means the act of being present and has nothing to do with whether or not they took part in influencing or making decisions. The needs and rights of young people are not being addressed judiciously.
 - Young people are not adequately aware of how they can become involved in decision making and that is why they are not getting involved.
 - Tanzania does not have a national youth council to unite young people and help them to raise their voices and channel their ideas to influence public decisions.
 - The Tanzania youth council, which should have been established, never was, because civil society organisations would not participate in a government council steered by the CCM youth wing.
 - A number of national strategies and policies refer to young people, but as yet do not include young people in their design and implementation or in the monitoring of progress.

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ACRONYMS

AcT	Accountability Tanzania
AMREF	African Medical Research Foundation
CHADEMA	Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CH	Chukua Hatua-Take Action
CWIQ	Core Welfare Indicator Surveys
CUF	Civic United Front
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
MKUKUTA	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini
PCCB	Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau
TAMASHA	Taasisi ya Maendeleo Shirikishi Arusha
TASAF	Tanzania Social Action Fund
VEO	Village Executive Officer
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
UWT	Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania (Tanzania Women's Organisation)
WEO	Ward Executive Officer





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Issues of Legitimizing Political Power in Late Modernity

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Abstract- The issue of legitimizing political power has specific dimensions in the context of ample protest movements against the establishment from different countries. Which movements can be considered justifiable and which measures must the governments in question adopt? What role do the common values play in the legitimating of power in a democratic society? How do we make the difference between a legitimate appeal and an illegitimate one, between civism and terrorism? Here are a few questions according to which this article is synthetically structured.

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Issues of Legitimizing Political Power in Late Modernity

Nicolae Iuga

Abstract- The issue of legitimizing political power has specific dimensions in the context of ample protest movements against the establishment from different countries. Which movements can be considered justifiable and which measures must the governments in question adopt? What role do the common values play in the legitimating of power in a democratic society? How do we make the difference between a legitimate appeal and an illegitimate one, between civism and terrorism? Here are a few questions according to which this article is synthetically structured.

I. POLITICS

Both in theory and the level of common sense, the concept of politics has the same fundamental meaning, namely that which means the science to govern the state, the art and practice to govern human societies, the manner of governing a state or supervising its national affairs. Politics is seen at the same time both as art and science. On both dimensions, science and art, politics is the study subject of political sciences or politicology.

The concept of politics also involves a series of related concepts. We're referring to here to institutions, political programs and parties, as well as the political culture, i.e. the ensemble of principles, norms and representations through which people relate to the political life of the society in which they live.

Some authors consider that politicology must be a science of the state. Max Weber¹ argues that the subject of politicology consists of the distribution of power between states or different social groups within the same state. This definition does not exclude, however, that political science refers to the organizations of the political power, the analysis of the forms of political dominance, to political associations, to the role that political ideas play in the consolidation and development of the political power's organisms and the separation of powers in the state.

II. POLITICAL POWER

In defining political power we must start from the fact that it is primarily an ideological character concept. The concept of power expresses, consolidate

and interprets the position and interests of a social-political force.

Any political force or movement, when ruling society, has a certain vision about the concept of power, which it puts into practice precisely by exercising its power. Usually, the political forces in power will explicitly give, for public use, a certain meaning to the concept of power, and the actual exercise of power will deviate more or less from this concept. The difference between what is claimed at a lexical level and what is happening in reality, when exercising power, is in fact the ideological ingredient of the concept of power.

This is true both for totalitarian societies, where there is a single political party, as well as for democratic societies, characterized by a multiparty system. In both cases there will be smaller or larger discrepancies between what is expressed in the political discourse and what exists in reality. In totalitarian societies, in the absence of organized opposition forces that balance the scales of exercising power, the discrepancy between the political language and reality will gradually increase to an aberrant level, till it reaches a language unrelated to reality, to forms of paranoia, in the sense of political culture. And in democratic societies, characterized by a multiparty system, there will always be parties or alliances in power, as well as parties in the opposition. The discourse of the parties in power will have an excessively justified character in relation to the political decisions, and the discourse of the opposition parties will have an excessively critical character in relation with the same political measures. The discrepancy between the discourses of the two forces, regarding the same fact, will also show the ideological character in which the concept of power is understood.

Given these specifications and also methodological precautions, we can define political power through its components, such as: (1) the sovereign power of the state, (2) the power of the political parties, organizations and institutions, (3) the power of the media, (4) a state's political power manifested internationally.²

The sovereign power of the state is the main form of exercising political power, the most visible and with immediate effects for citizens. The state's power is the ability to express, impose and realize the will of the

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¹ Max Weber, *Politics, a Vocation and a Profession*, Anima Publishing House, Bucharest, 1992, p.8.

² A. Carpinski, *Political Science*, Al. I. Cuza University Publishing House, Iasi, 1998, p. 49.

political forces in power as a general-compulsory will for all citizens. It manifests as a mechanism, namely a sum of hierarchically organized institutions, that can ensure the achievement government's political will, on the edge, by coercion. Parties are the main institutionalized expressions of political power, whether they exercise power directly, as parties in power, or indirectly, through influence and pressure on the government, as is the case of opposition parties. The media is a component of the political power, since it creates, shapes and guides the public opinion in relation to the power's other institutions. Internationally, the political power of a state is manifested by its ability to obtain the recognition and respect of their sovereignty, to impose themselves in the regulation of international relations, in the absence of a universal authority worldwide.

The main component of the political power is the state's power, but it is not limited only to the latter. Aside from the state as such, in the system of political power there are also other institutions such as parties, the form of government, mass-media, the influence of foreign policy factors etc.

In comparison with other forms of power (moral, juridical, financial etc.), political power has a number of unique characteristics. (1) Political power has an integrative character, which consists of the capacity to subordinate the other forms of power, to transform them in tools to express its own goals and interests. This feature is explained by the fact that through political power, the act of leading a society in general is achieved. (2) Political power has a sovereign character, being the only supreme court in a national state. It has, in principle, the capacity to take and implement decisions, without the influence of any exterior powers. (3) Political power has a relational and asymmetrical character.³ It involves two unequal partners, the management and the citizens that are governed, those who impose themselves and those who submit. (4) Political power is instrumented through the state through the state, the entire state apparatus, as well as through political institutions in general.

However, we should mention that political power is, first and foremost, a state power, one which is organized and legitimized. Recognition of this power, when it is held as legitimate, involves the compulsory submission of all citizens to the laws. Nevertheless, the state's power is not limitless or arbitrary, because the state exercises its attributes, including those of repression and coercion, on the basis of some principles and laws. An important issue arises however, namely that if the laws in the juridical sense, which are human creations that sometimes reflect group interests, can have an arbitrary or abusive character. More specifically, if there are any arbitrary laws, then how

exactly can they be made compulsory for citizens to obey? Is it sufficient for a law to be unanimously accepted, the fact that it is issued by the state? Thus, we enter a vicious circle: the state of law must be accepted because it is preferable to that of force, but the abiding of the law can be imposed only by force. We therefore identify political power with force. An important thinker, like Max Weber⁴, but also practitioners of politics such as Lenin, have shown that "the state has a monopoly on legitimate coercion". The acceptance of the norms prescribed by the power must be based on consciousness of power legitimacy. And on the awareness that "political power is a supreme court in society, there is no other superior authority to which to turn to challenge the decisions of the previously stated"⁵.

a) *The Legitimacy of the Political Power*

Legitimacy is an essential characteristic of political power and it basically means that the political forces that are in power, got there legally.

The very term "legitimacy", etymologically speaking, derives from the Latin word *legitimus*, which means that a certain fact is consistent with the law. In time, in a political sense, legitimacy became and founding and justification principle of a government system, political power being held by a certain political force, which came to power by means deemed legal.

The idea of political legitimacy implies a double dimension of consciousness, on the one hand we have the consciousness of the government's right to govern, and on the other hand the recognition of this right by those governed. The idea of legitimacy implies a reciprocal relationship freely and tacitly accepted. The legitimacy of power gives the state the attribute of state of law, which offers it the possibility to exercise authority in relation to the citizens. The principles of legitimacy are actually justifications of the power, entitling it to rule.

i. *Legitimacy in Max Weber's Conception*

According to Max Weber, there are three sources of legitimate domination and legitimacy. "There is, first of all, the authority of the traditional custom as being the right way, through its very immemorial oldness of its practice and through the habit which it created. We're talking here about a traditional domination, as exercised by the patriarchs and ruling princes of old"⁶. It is a legitimacy based on the belief that what is established by tradition since time immemorial would be sacred in itself and sufficient to justify itself as such.

Secondly, there is "the authority bestowed upon by a person's unusual grace (charisma), that is strictly

⁴ Max Weber, *Politics, a Vocation and a Profession*, Anima Publishing House, Bucharest, 1992, p. 8

⁵ Virgil Magureanu, *Political Sociology Studies*, Albatros Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995, p. 104

⁶ Max Weber, *idem*, p. 9.

³ Ioan Jude, *The Paradigms and Mechanisms of Power*, The Didactical and Pedagogical Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, p. 191.

his personal endowment through which he gains others' trust in his qualities, clairvoyance, heroism and leadership skills"⁷. This is the charismatic authority exercised by the prophet of old or, in politics, by the leader of the army, the prince, and in modern times by the head of the party. People believe in the charismatic leader and feel the need to submit to the order created by him.⁸ Finally, there's also the domination in virtue of "legality", in virtue of faith in the validity of a legal status, based on rational principles, "a domination based on an attitude of submission to legal duties".⁹ Namely the legitimacy of the vote. It is the domination exercised by the modern man of state, and people submit to it in a way somewhat for granted, because it supports the basic rule: power is legitimately conferred to the one who has more votes.

ii. *Legitimacy According to Karl Jaspers*

Another important thinker of the twentieth century, Karl Jaspers (1883-1969), utilizes different criteria to distinguish between the different types of legitimacy, resulting in a more simplified and relevant classification. According to Jaspers, there are two main ways of manifesting legitimacy, divine legitimacy (supernatural) and civil legitimacy.¹⁰ Then, this dichotomous classification can branch out and diversify. The first method knows different forms of manifestation, from the "direct involvement in politics of the sacred's value"¹¹, to the divine legitimization of the monarch, of the government forms and of the institutions specific to monarchy. In ancient Egypt for example, there was a theocratic government, the pharaohs themselves being considered as having a divine nature. There are other variants of theocracy. In other civilizations of antiquity, in the Judaic civilization for example, the prophet, the legislator, the head of the army or the king were not conceived as being themselves of divine nature, but were essentially considered as mere agents of the divine, the state was still theocratic, governed by the divinity through its people, not by people in an autonomous way. The divine legitimization of the political power is not limited to remote antiquity, but is a constant of history. We can find such a legitimization in the case of feudal monarchies based on divine right, and even in the case of modern constitutional monarchies, where the monarch's legitimacy sources, mentioned as such in the documents of the office are: "the grace of God and the national will". Also, in the contemporary religious-fundamentalist regimes, the legitimization by divine right is fundamental. A legitimate power, no matter how it is legitimated, can govern without fear, based on public

consensus. Instead, illegitimate power shows fear in front of its own people and, out of fear, it will seek to consolidate its position by terrorizing its own people, therefore fear becomes the ultimate state of mind of all, both of the governors and of the governed alike. "Legitimacy is like a magic formula, through which one gains the trust of the nation and an indispensable order is created."¹²

But the bases of liberty are exposed to philosophical critic, Jasper shows, therefore they can always be doubtful. In other words, every means of legitimation has its advantages and limitations. The legitimation by divine right or hereditary legitimation of the monarch may have the advantage that it operates in absolute, it is stable and cannot be questioned in terms of common sense. But on the other hand, this legitimation has the disadvantage of being irrational, because it can legitimate through divine will even the intellectually incapable one, affected by a psychic pathology, as well as the ones lacking character. Similarly, the legitimation of political power by a majority vote seems to eliminate the inconveniences caused by a hereditary legitimation, it seems to have the advantage of a rational and responsible choice, without taking into consideration the interference of foreign wills. But in reality, things are not this way. Elections by majority have their limits, as they may be subject to error, to chance and corruption, the elections may be held under the momentary effect of a grand mass suggestion, of a large-scale manipulation etc. Considering the disadvantages of both, the balance is tipped by pragmatic considerations. Basically the choice is between despotism and democracy, that is why you will usually hear that democracy is not perfect either, but it is better to choose a democratic political regime, because democracy has the least inconveniences when it comes to the possibility of error correction without resorting to violence, struggles for power and the legitimacy of power. The contemporary age sees the source of the power's legitimacy in free elections and in decisions taken with the vote of the majority.

III. CONCLUSIONS

In general, legitimacy is manifested as a "tacit consent accepted in relation to the existence of a government system, between the autonomous and equal parts".¹³ In relation to the idea of legitimacy, the political systems must follow certain rules. These rules require the government's obligation to protect the civil rights and liberties on the one hand, and on the other hand the recognition of the power's institutions by the citizens, the community's confidence in them and a consensus based on beliefs and the recognition of common values. The lack of consensus and sharing of

⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸ Ioan Jude, *op. cit.*, p. 397

⁹ Max Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 9

¹⁰ Karl Jaspers, *Autorité et liberté*, in *Essais philosophiques*, Payot, Paris, 1970, p. 116-140

¹¹ Ioan Jude, *op. cit.*, p. 397 and following

¹² Karl Jaspers, *op. cit.*, p. 131

¹³ Ioan Jude, *op. cit.*, p. 398

common values leads to what is called a crisis of legitimacy. This basically translates into the lack of trust in the political power's institutions, especially when they are burdened by corruption, and has a negative impact on the governance act and on the political stability in general.

Finally, the idea of political legitimacy is not necessarily equally imposed to all members of society. There are many apolitical citizens, who simply ignore the political events, who do not have a sufficiently formed political culture, but nevertheless critically relate to the political power. They ignore the real meaning of certain political events, and the political power, in its turn, ignores these critics. These opposing trends result in a real cleavage in the contemporary society, which also induces political legitimacy crises.

Legitimacy is the principle on which a government system is based and justified. The principle requires, on the one hand, the government's awareness that they have the right to govern, and on the other hand the recognition of this right by those governed. The consequence is the political obligation of citizens to comply with the standards established by that government.

There is also the possibility that some citizens disagree with certain norms, which may then resort to objections of conscience and civil disobedience. These are political behaviors that express disagreement with the political power. There are phenomena of political dissent, peacefully manifested and derived from civil disobedience, and there are also phenomena of contestation, with violent means, of a determined political power, legitimate or not, phenomena diversified as manifestations, but all generically known as political terrorism.

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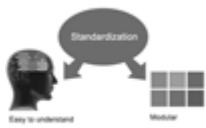
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16. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense, to present those events that happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate future happening events. Use of improper and 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.

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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.

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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
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- Present your points in sound order
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- Use past tense to describe specific results
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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.

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- 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 an 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
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- 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.
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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
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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."
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- 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.



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<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
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<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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