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## Business and Corruption have a Non-Directional Relationship: Evidence from the Harare City Council, Zimbabwe

By Dr. Silas Luthingo Rusvingo

*Great Zimbabwe University, Zimbabwe*

*Abstract-* The Paper seeks to expose corruption cases in Zimbabwe which is host to the Harare City Council (HCC), the subject of this probe. From there, the Paper will descend on the HCC and cite heart-stopping cases of corruption and their adverse effect on the local authority in terms of the quality of services provided by the same corruption-ridden HCC.

The period covered by this probe is 1980, the milestone year of Zimbabwe's independence from Britain on 18 April to date.

As per his tradition, the Paper will proffer a Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations suggested for risk treatment of the significant challenges exposed during the month long probe. This will hopefully bring the discourse to its fitting finale.

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# Business and Corruption have a Non-Directional Relationship: Evidence from the Harare City Council, Zimbabwe

Dr. Silas Luthingo Rusvingo

**Abstract-** The Paper seeks to expose corruption cases in Zimbabwe which is host to the Harare City Council (HCC), the subject of this probe. From there, the Paper will descend on the HCC and cite heart-stopping cases of corruption and their adverse effect on the local authority in terms of the quality of services provided by the same corruption-ridden HCC.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Just ask yourself or your neighbor: What is corruption and what is its adverse effect on business in Zimbabwe? Here is the answer to this searching question. Although the electoral reforms before the watershed July 31 2013 harmonized elections were too piecemeal to excite the Author of this Paper, the good news about the law enforcement agents (The Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) finally voting without the intimidating 'Big Brother' attentively watching proceedings will certainly go down in the turbulent political history of Zimbabwe as the most landmark milestone in the voting history of the people of Zimbabwe.

The Author not used to hearing that from the openly partisan ZRP was shell shocked and could not believe what he for the first ever time heard the other day when he overheard some overambitious policemen openly discussing the then forthcoming harmonized elections expressing their desire to vote for 'Change'. One of them described how in earlier elections he had been forced against his choice to place an 'X' for a candidate that he did not like.

"I spent the whole day in a state of despair. How can you vote freely and fairly when your superior is watching? Just look at our state of affairs. We have old uniforms, no vehicles to go on patrols and just look at our shoes. The rubber heels are terribly worn out. Why should we continue to suffer at the hands of

the few at the top who are earning lots of money with various pecks such as free use of government vehicles during and after working hours?' asked one of the cops who looked very worried in deed.

Their open discussion was about the then 'do or die' crunch elections of 31 July 2013, which to the amusement of the Author was open, frank and factual. What was particularly fascinating about the eavesdropped discussion was that it was coming from two disgruntled members of the police force and in the build up to a poll billed as watershed and life changing in the sense that the much hyped election had the capability to slam the door shut to a 'dark past of 33 years' of ZANU PF<sup>1</sup> misrule and throw open the doors to a bright future of a government minus the errant ZANU PF. Having painstakingly said all this searching the question to ask is; What is the moral of this fascinating story about these two disgruntled members of the police force? The paragraph below has more graphic details citing corruption as taking centre stage in the country's elections which are supposed to be free, fair and credible as per SADC<sup>2</sup> principles and guidelines on democratic elections in member states (Dube, 2013).

## II. THE MORAL OF THE 'POLICE WILL FINALLY VOTE WITHOUT THE BIG BROTHER WATCHING' STORY

The moral derived from the above fascinating story are as below explained;

- The 'Big Brother' watching while a hapless policeman was exercising inalienable right to vote in

<sup>1</sup> ZANU PF is an acronym for Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic front. The ex-liberation movement party has been in power since independence from Britain in 1980 and continues to rule over us to date vowing the "pen" will never remove ZANU PF from power. And the "pen" in this instance is an election which is deemed by ZANU PF to be a non-starter to remove it from power whatever that means.

<sup>2</sup> SADC is an acronym for Southern African Development Community. Its mission statement is to promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio-economic development through efficient productive systems, deeper cooperation, good governance and durable peace and security; so that the region emerges as a competitive and effective player in international relations and the world economy. In order to fulfil this mission member states are guided by the principles and guidelines as stated in Article 4 of the SADC Treaty (Moyo, 2014)

secrecy was actually helping a shadowy political party (ZANU PF) to brazenly steal the watershed election in favour of ZANU PF and in broad daylight. This is corruption at its worst.

- Who does not know that Zimbabwe independence in 1980 brought new evils in the train? That some of the things that have been resorted to in post colonial Zimbabwe could make Apartheid<sup>3</sup> South Africa blush and media extortionists feel like rank amateurs? (Pasipamire, 2014).
- The offence committed by 'Big brother' is both criminal and civil under the laws of Zimbabwe.
- Considering the livelihoods of millions of Zimbabweans adversely affected by the misguided and diabolical actions of 'Big Brother' the Author's proposed sentence for his wrong doing is three life terms plus 70 years in prison with hard labour.
- The crime committed against the state and the said two disgruntled cops are classified as below;
  - (a) Criminal and civil corruption
  - (b) Bad business ethics and
  - (c) Gross human rights violations (Dera, 2013)

Having painstakingly said this, what then is 'ethics' in both 'social and business life?' Below is the definition of the word 'ethics' which according to the Author is the encompassing definition for corruption as well as human rights violation.

#### a) Definition of 'ethics'

According to the Dictionary.com,unbridged 'ethics' is and was defined as;

- A system of moral principles
- A branch of philosophy dealing with right and wrong

In other words and from the perspective of the Author, the right or wrong under the branch of philosophy cannot happen inter changeably that is, no one person is capable of doing the right and the wrong things at the same time or simultaneously.

Having said this the stage is now set to discuss corruption firstly at the national level and then later on zero in on the HCC who as per title of this Paper are the subject of the probe by this Paper.

#### b) An overview of corruption in Zimbabwe from the perspective of the Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa<sup>4</sup> (Act – Southern Africa).

According to the above source, Zimbabwe's post independence era is characterized by a political leadership that has consistently failed to provide the best examples for accountability, transparency and

integrity. The leadership itself has since the 1980s engaged in acts of corruption and also condoned such acts on the part of their associates, relatives and friends (Tariro, 2014). And to prove it a stubborn case that readily comes to mind involves Thabo Mbeki, the former South African President, His Excellence President Mugabe, the President of Zimbabwe since independence from Britain in 1980 and the Cabinet Ministers currently serving in His Excellence President Mugabe ZANU PF government. In December 2012 Thabo Mbeki came to Zimbabwe as guest of honour at the ZANU PF annual conference in Gweru. He told His Excellence President Mugabe in the face that a lot of his cabinet ministers were blocking the much needed foreign direct investment coming to Zimbabwe from South Africa by demanding bribes and kick backs, which they said they were for on lending to Mugabe (Enca News, 2012). As expected, His Excellence initially made some noises about it but for some strange reasons he just went quiet about it to let the implicated cabinet ministers off the hook.

According to Act-Southern Africa there is heavy involvement by the political leadership, their associates, relatives and friends in corruption activities. The classic examples that have tainted the political leadership and their associates include and are not restricted to the under listed scandals lest the suffering masses of Zimbabweans have forgotten;

- The Marange Diamonds Scandals
- The looting of the War Victims Compensation Fund
- The VIP housing Scam
- The Zimbabwe Iron and Steel Company (ZISCO) Scandal
- The Zimbabwe United Passenger Company (ZUPCO) Scandal
- The Kondozi Estate Looting
- The Willowvale Mazda Motor Industry Scandal
- The Fertiliser Scandal
- The National Oil Company of Zimbabwe (NOCZIM) Scandal
- The Harare – Airport road extension scandal, to name but a few

What boggles the mind is that people like Honourable Minister Chombo with his special appetite for wrongdoing in the governance of the HCC, BiataNyamupinga etc have not only been left off the hook but have all been allowed to take part in all the elections past, present and future as if nothing has been said about them in the not too distant past. Before the Author tears into the corruption scandals that have rocked the cash ailing HCC left, right and centre there is no better way to do it with resounding success than to start with the tragedy of the Commons Scenario which is a perfect example of how the pursuit of a self serving corruption agenda resonates with this ancient parable (Tapera, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> Apartheid as practised in pre-independent South Africa is a policy or system of segregation or discrimination on grounds of race, or better still, skin colour (Toro, 2014).

<sup>4</sup> Trust of Southern Africa (Act – Southern Africa is a regional non-governmental and non-political organisation that was set up in 2004 to campaign against corruption and promote good governance in Southern Africa. Act – Southern Africa is registered in Zimbabwe as a non-governmental organisation

c) *The Tragedy of the Commons Scenario*

According to Rusvingo (2008:78) on an agricultural community land there is common land that everybody has an equal right to use (state land in the case of Zimbabwe). Pursuing self interest, each neighborhood farmer acts to make the maximum use of the free resource or state land which quickly becomes worn out. Then a strong wind blows the exposed top soil so that the common land is thoroughly destroyed. The hot pursuit of individual self interest with no consideration for societal interests leads to disaster for each individual and for the whole society because scarce resources are now destroyed (Jones et al, 2000:159).

The tragedy of the Commons Scenario leads us to yet another searching question: Why would business managers behave unethically? The fascinating story rich on morals is on its way as below:

d) *Why would business managers behave ethically?*

According to Rusvingo (2008:78) whether in Zimbabwe or anywhere in this globe of increasing complexity, managers behave ethically to avoid the under listed harm to others and society at large:

i. *Harm to others*

Managers in business including politicians in government should strongly resist pressures to behave unethically because of the harm that unethical behavior inflicts on others. The tragedy of the Commons is perhaps the easiest way to illustrate how unethical behavior results in harm and how also ethical behavior or action brings universal benefits to individuals and the wider society.

ii. *Loss of reputation*

An important safeguard against unethical behavior is the potential for loss of reputation. Reputation, lest you did not know, is the esteem or high repute that individuals or organizations gain when they behave ethically. If a business manager or a politician in government service for that matter, misuses resources and other parties regard such behavior is at odds with acceptable standards of behavior that manager's reputation will certainly suffer. No two ways about it. Behaving unethically in the short run can have serious long term consequences. A business manager or a politician in government service who has a poor reputation has difficulties finding employment with other reputable companies (Jones et al, 2000:159-160).

The above fascinating story about business managers or politicians behaving ethically or unethically leads to yet another searching question in need of a revealing answer: How did the delinquent or unethical behavior of the leadership in the beleaguered HCC result in more suffering to the residents and ratepayers of the HCC?

e) *How did the unethical behavior by the delinquent HCC result in more suffering to the Residents and Ratepayers of Harare*

For strategic reasons the Author would be guilt of jumping the gun to discuss the disaster related corruption in the HCC ahead of first of all the unethical behavior in the external environment given the old adage, that 'musha ndibaba' (meaning Zimbabwe's shape takes its cue from its political leadership). Beside, a fish rots from the head downwards.

i. *The level of corruption in Zimbabwe and its adverse effect on businesses*

According to Rusvingo (2008:8) on 28 January 2008 two senior government employees, the then Attorney General Sobusa Gula Ndebele and the then Grain marketing Board (GMB) Operations Director and former acting Chief Executive Officer, Samuel Muvuti appeared in court facing corruption charges. On that same day a close ally to His Excellence President Mugabe, Nicholas van Hogstraten was being unceremoniously dragged before the magistrate court and charged with illegally dealing in the then scarce foreign currency in the then decade long of an economic meltdown in Zimbabwe from 2000 to about 2008. These tongue wagging episodes in the then corruption ridden country set people of the likes of the inquisitive Author to wonder if these events at long last signaled the beginning of the end of the honeymoon for corrupt government officials and businessmen in Zimbabwe. Was at long last the evangelical Anti-corruption Commission beginning to grow teeth to bite corrupt minded people in Zimbabwe?

This was early days to celebrate as events on the ground were to prove otherwise. Whenever, the paranoid ZANU PF government has its senior government civil servants nabbed for corruption the next tactic was to look for a scapegoat. And in the Anti-corruption Commission they found one. And for more on the story graphic details are on their way as below;

f) *The Zimbabwe Anti-corruption Commission (ZACC) speaks out amid allegations it is anti-government*

In March 2013 ZAAC was at this time of the year very much in the news but for the wrong reasons particularly in relation to its investigations accompanied by search warrants targeting the controversial, iron clad and repressive National Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Board (NIEEB)<sup>5</sup> formed under the Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act (IEEA)

<sup>5</sup> The NIEEB was set up under the iron clad and repressive Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act of 2007. The gist of the then controversial Act was and remains the transfer of a 51% shareholding stake in all foreign owned companies doing business in Zimbabwe. Targeting foreigners for compulsory seizure of assets in a 51 – 49 % investment model is xenophobic against foreigners coming to do business in an impoverished Zimbabwe.



of 2007 in the build up to the 29 March 2008 harmonized elections which His Excellence President Mugabe lost to Morgan Tsvangirai of the MDC<sup>6</sup>. This unprecedented move by ZAAC was interpreted as anti-government the result of which there was a standoff between the Commission and Kasukuwere the then belligerent ZANU PF Minister of Youth and Indigenization and Economic Empowerment. The investigations by ZAAC had been politicized under the wrong insinuations that investigations had been dictated to by political and or party political motivations that seek to denigrate or derail the controversial and iron clad Indigenization and Economic Empowerment programme or to give an unfair advantage to particular elements of a particular persuasion ie, the then vibrant opposition MDC party. The next two or so months was to witness a protracted persecution of ZAAC members by the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP). All said and done it is now time to assess the corruption levels in Zimbabwe then and its adverse impact on the Zimbabwean economy and in particular the beleaguered HCC and its capacity for a world class service delivery. Her Honourable Joyce Mujuru, the second secretary and vice President of ZANU PF will give a key note address to this cancer in Zimbabwe as below.

*g) Vice President Joyce Mujuru speaks out her mind on corruption then rampant in impoverished Zimbabwe*

In January 2008 Vice President Joyce Mujuru said that the 'broken down and impoverished' nation of Zimbabwe was bleeding profusely because of high levels of corruption in the country's public and private sectors to become a real scourge to affect the fabric of society in the country:

When we appoint these people", said Vice President Mujuru a state function at Hupenyu Hutsva Children's Home, "we assume they are capable but to some extent we have completely misjudged some people who hold important positions in both the public and private sectors. They are full of individualistic feelings and practices. We know what happened during Murambatsvina<sup>7</sup> (Meaning Operation Restore

Order). This is what we call corruption, it is not good. Our society is no longer clean a clear reference to a culture of people paying bribes to put up illegal structures on unauthorized places.

But before her keynote address as above three ZANU PF women and very close to the Vice President were reported involved in a Zim<sup>8</sup> \$10 billion swindle case. The ZRP had referred the damaging case to Amai<sup>9</sup> Mujuru for action but nothing was done under a cloud cover of corruption whose fight Amai Mujuru was spearheading. To prove that no substantive action was taken against any one of the offending three women, one of the offending and accused woman Biata Nyamupinga was allowed to enter the 29 March 2008 harmonized elections, campaigned and won to represent ZANU PF in one of the House of Assembly Parliamentary Seats in Goromonzi Parliamentary Constituency.

So, Her Excellence Vice President Joyce Mujuru like His Excellence President Mugabe on his Cabinet Ministers demanding bribes to block investment coming to impoverished Zimbabwe as per Thabo Mbeki, former South African President confiding in His Excellence, President Mugabe, was actually being a hypocrite by pretending to be an anti-corruption crusader when in actual fact she provides shelter to arrested criminals on remand pending their appearance in court as earlier highlighted (Rusvingo, 2008:80). The then usually philosophical Gideon Gono, the Reserve Bank Governor could not wait to join the anti-corruption crusade and below is what he said which is a good prospect to both the Author and Reader.

*h) Dr Gideon Gono (the then governor of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe) joins Amai Mujuru to speak out against corruption*

A month earlier in November 2008 the reserve bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) governor had said that he knew of many top party and government officials who were engaging in corrupt activities. Gono even lamented that top party and government officials were engaging in corrupt activities to the extent that they were responsible for the three months long cash crunch then experienced in the country which forced him to introduce six sets of high denomination notes on two occasions. Gono said he was prepared to name and shame the implicated top party and government officials. But he seemed to develop cold feet when unexpectedly he failed to turn up for the private meeting with the parliamentary portfolio committee on budget

<sup>6</sup> MDC is an acronym for Movement for Democratic Change which was founded in 1999 as an opposition party to the ZANU PF.

<sup>7</sup> On 25 May 2005, Africa Day, the then paranoid government of Zimbabwe began an operation labelled "Operation Murambatsvina". While government has translated this to mean "Operation Clean Up" the more literal translation of "Murambatsvina" is "getting rid of the filthy". The operation, widely condemned both internally and externally continued throughout the month in June and had affected virtually every town and business centre in the country. From Mt Darwin in the north to Beitbridge in the south, Mutare in the East and Bulawayo in the West, no part of the country had been spared the impact of what could be termed a slow moving earthquake. Every day the nation then awoke to find more buildings had been razed to the ground around them, more families had been displaced. Families were often having their homes and possessions ruthlessly burnt to the ground, or are

given a few hours to remove what they can save before bulldozers come in to demolish entire structure (Sokwanele, 2014).

<sup>8</sup> Zim is an acronym for Zimbabwe the country then known as Rhodesia before independence from Britain in 1980.

<sup>9</sup> Amai is a native (Shona) word for mother in the English Language. Shona in Zimbabwe is the second official language after English in which Ndebele is the third official native language in the country.

and finance. But from information given anonymously indications were then that the officials were also taking part in the corrupt activities given the then multiplicity of quasi-fiscal activities then taking centre stage in the then hopelessly impoverished Zimbabwe (Rusvingo 2008:81). And finally the fascinating story so far on the battered Zimbabwe would remain largely an untold story without an input from the first secretary of ZANU PF, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Head of State and Government and Chancellor of all state-owned Universities in Zimbabwe, His Excellence President Mugabe.

Proverbially speaking tinotimushandibaba (meaning the political or corporate leadership in a country or company is the ultimate authority with a final say on anything adversely affecting the country and business organisation respectively). Therefore, in complying with this old adage His Excellence President Mugabe was given his chance to give a closing address on the pestering problem on corruption and below are the graphic details of what His Excellence President Mugabe.

- i) *His Excellence President Mugabe condemns the scourge of corruption in Zimbabwe as pivotal to both economy and company failure.*

As indication of what Thabo Mbeki, the former South African President had confided in His Excellence President Mugabe when he came to Zimbabwe in December 2012 as guest of honour at the Gweru ZANU PF Annual Conference, Mugabe publicly hinted that officials in government service were corrupt to the bone. In one memorable speech a few years earlier he spoke of top people taking 10% of the total value of Government contracts. But alas, despite this tacit acknowledgement of corruption by Vice President AmaiMujuru, the RBZ Governor Dr Gideon Gono and His Excellence President Mugabe himself, there appears very little progress in completely stamping corruption once and for good (Rusvingo, 2008:81).

Apart from government a multiple stakeholder approach to the burning issue of corruption in Zimbabwe would force the Author to extend his begging bowl to the usually reserved but information rich non-governmental sector for their thoughts and ideas on the burning issue of corruption in Zimbabwe. In pursuit of this idea up next is to hear what Transparency International Zimbabwe (TIZ) has to say on corruption in Zimbabwe. For more on what TIZ said more details are on their way coming to you as below.

- j) *Transparency International Zimbabwe (TIZ) gives its report on the scourge of corruption in Zimbabwe.*

In its integrity systems report what was said therein was a source of discomfort to the Author who from training and practice is comfortable with good governance minus the scourge of corruption. In this

report on Zimbabwe 2007 the international corruption watchdog, TIZ had this to say:

“Corruption in Zimbabwe is fast becoming a way of life. The rise in corruption has become so deep seated and institutionalized that some people now accept it as a means of survival due to a collapse of systems that offer checks and balances”, said TIZ.

Zimbabwe at the same time was ranked 157 among the most corrupt countries in the world. This, said TIZ, is despite the fact that Zimbabwe has a Ministry of Anti-corruption and under it the ZACC (Rusvingo, 2008:81). From the corruption reports awash in the media, various stakeholders were beginning to question the effectiveness of the Ministry of Anti-corruption when statistics on the ground suggest that corruption in the country is ballooning out of control. Below was the public outrage raised against the said Ministry.

- k) *The Ministry of anti-corruption and ZACC branded “useless” against the fight against rampant corruption in the country*

ZACC was under pomp and fan fair, established in 2005 but up to now its effectiveness in the fight against corruption is yet to be realized. The clueless ZACC, it was said by various stakeholders could actually turn out to be another white elephant, just like the disbanded office of the Ombudsman (Rusvingo, 2008:81) A founder member of Transparency International Zimbabwe, Professor John Makumbe was also approached for his opinion on the level of corruption in Zimbabwe below is what he said. Professor John Makumbe blasts government over the spread of corruption in Zimbabwe

The now late Professor John Makumbe, a social science lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe and a respected political analyst believed then that corruption was an indication of the rot in the centre of governance system in Zimbabwe.

The combative Professor Makumbe added that there was no way efforts to fight corruption in Zimbabwe could yield anything when the very people who are supposed to fight it are leading the corrupt vicious circle.

“When systems of government collapse”, said Professor Makumbe, “people resort to corrupt means of survival. At the moment there is no commitment whatsoever to fight corruption. It is almost like there is no one running the country”.

Professor Makumbe said that during an election campaign like this year (referring to 2008) the situation was likely to get worse. And to the Professor’s prophetic words His Excellence President Mugabe with the assistance of the army, police, ZANU PF thugs most of them putting on trousers without underwears because humiliating poverty, had to go overdrive in his violent campaign trail in which 200 MDC supporters lost their

lives to force Tsvangirai to withdraw from the 27 June 2008 Presidential run-off.

"There is no political will to fight corruption especially in election time like 2008. The cost of fighting corruption is very high for government. So, they would leave things as they are. Look at what we have witnessed. We had Gono being stopped from exposing the cash barons. This was to avoid the political damage that would result", said Professor John Makumbe (Tatenda, 2014).

The Anti-corruption Commissioners themselves were also caught in a corruption storm. Below are the graphic details of the story.

*l) Anti-corruption Commissioners caught in a corruption storm*

According to Rusvingo (2008:82) both Wutaunashé and Nhandara the Anti-corruption Commissioners were reported dodging to answer questions on corruption because it was alleged at the time that some of them could be corrupt. Professor John Makumbe said:

"If we are to fight corruption we have to get rid of the commission and the regime that put it in place."

To prove the uselessness and hopelessness of ZAAC is that in 2006 it received 147 cases involving corruption but only a tiny fraction or number of were completed because of a number of challenges ranging from legal, operational, financial, technical and administrative (Rusvingo, 2008:82). About these horrors, TIZ said:

"There is more symbolic than substantive political commitment to curtail corruption and strengthen the integrity system in Zimbabwe (Takudzwa, 2008).

Even the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) and the Registry Department were being fingered in the country's corruption web. For more heart - wrenching details on the story see below.

*m) ZRP, Registry Department fingered in corruption web: TIZ*

According to a TIZ report for 2012, 77% of Zimbabweans think corruption in the country has dramatically increased in the past two years. The TIZ Researcher, Farai Mutondoro told participants at the launch of the TIZ 2012 corruption report in that most corruption issues cited involved:

- Zimbabwe Republic Police
- Politicians across the political divide
- Registrar General's Office
- Football authorities in Zimbabwe and the
- Grain Marketing Board Depots

According to the research findings which were very revealing 62% of Zimbabweans paid a bribe to get service from the morally crippled:

- i. Education system

- ii. Judiciary system
- iii. Medical and health services
- iv. Zimbabwe Republic Police
- v. Registry and Permit Services
- vi. Public utilities such as HCC
- vii. Tax Revenue and
- viii. Land services

Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), public servants especially from the Registry Department and political parties were the most corrupt in the country, closely followed by the Health Sector and the education sector, said TIZ. The highest cases of bribes recorded were:

- i. 53% bribes were paid to ZRP
- ii. 42% of bribes were paid to Registry
- iii. 35% of the bribes were paid to Land Services
- iv. 31% to the Judiciary System
- v. 27% to public utilities
- vi. 27% to Education system
- vii. 26% to Taxes and
- viii. 22% to medical and health services

According to the TIZ report 67% were willing to report corruption but cited lack of action taken against the offender as the most inhibiting factor. Most respondents interviewed cited:

- i. Asiagate match fixing scandal
- ii. Abuse of Constituency Development Fund (CDF)
- iii. Corruption at the Passport offices
- iv. Grain Marketing Board depot and
- v. ZRP (Road Traffic Section) (Ndenda, 2013)

How does this corruption in the external environment as above affect the business community, HCC and its service delivery systems included? For more on this see below.

*n) A water crisis descends upon the HCC June 2013*

The symptoms of a water crisis coming to Harare were as below:

- i. All areas in Harare going at most for five days without water supply and without advance warning being given for the interruption of the water supply
- ii. In the event the water supply is restored the pressure is very low resulting in most vegetable gardens going for days without the necessary watering
- iii. Compromised hygiene eg toilets going for days without the required flushing of human waste etc.
- iv. Leaking water pipes resulting in 20% of treated water lost through leakages
- v. Burst water pipes which are a part of a crumbling water infrastructure now in urgent need of replacement because of obsolescence
- vi. Waterborne diseases such as cholera, typhoid, dysentery, diarrhoea etc, spreading fast eg, the 2008 cholera outbreak countrywide which claimed 4 500 lives (Mukandawire, 2011).

Against this background the HCC has no money to restore adequate water supply to the Harare Residents as it is owed about US\$ 400 million dollars in unpaid rates, water, refuse collection etc.

To prove that HCC was and is in a cash squeeze to solve its water crisis the Daily News reported HCC had dispatched a high powered delegation to China to conclude a multimillion dollar deal to effectively tackle the water crisis that had hit most parts of the city. The cash ailing HCC needs about US\$ 144.4 million loan from China to address the Harare water crisis. But US\$ 2 million of that money was diverted to the purchase of vehicles for senior HCC Managers (Sithole, 2014). That move by the Town Clerk, Tendai Mahachi torched a public outrage with the Combined Harare Residence Association urging ratepayers to stage a massive rates payment boycott. (Tsungai, 2014).

Apart from the above water crisis the HCC 600kilometre road network is heavily potholed for want of resources to mend the potholes which are now a permanent feature. Public street lighting is nonexistent in most parts of the HCC to turn them into a haven for night muggers. Grass cutting in open spaces and along road verges is not done regularly to turn Harare into a mosquito breeding place during the hot summer months from October to April. Storm water drainage systems are in a state of disrepair to cause flooding in some places resulting in some reported deaths. (Munjoma, 1994).

Refuse removal going uncollected for weeks if not months causing the wide spread of housefly related diseases such as diarrhea, stomach ache, vomiting etc (Mazorodze, 2013). Proverbially speaking, like father like son. If the external environment can be so user unfriendly to business because of corruption, how about corruption in the HCC. And the heart stopping HCC Vs Chodokufa (1998) story has some good prospect for both the Author and the Reader as below.

#### *o) Harare City Council Vs Chodokufa (1998)*

According to Rusvingo (2008:83) the harm to society and the loss of reputation by an individual is amply demonstrated in the above case law, a graphic demonstration of the existence of corruption right in the power corridors of the HCC. Chodokufa was employed as the Highways and Works Superintendent in the Department of Works of the Harare City Council (HCC). Through loose morals he turned his private secretary at work into his girl friend unknown to his wife married to him under customary law. The girl friend was accommodated at a house leased and furnished at his expense in the High density low income Harare Suburb of Mufakose. Among some of the private secretary's duties was to book and maintain the overtime records of the Highways and Works Section which is situated at the Coventry Road Workshop yard. For more than five years Chodokufa, the Works Yard Superintendent used

to be booked and paid overtime which he did not earn because the overtime records were the responsibility of his private secretary who also happened to be his girlfriend as aforementioned. The love triangle ran into serious problems when one night Chodokufa went to the girlfriend's rented premises in Mufakose only to find her in bed with another man. After knocking for several minutes without response, he smashed one bedroom window only to spot another man being entertained on his bed and on premises leased by him on behalf of his girlfriend that was being abused. This did not go down well with Chodokufa and in a feat of extreme rage he forcibly knocked down the main door to the house to gain access into the house. Once inside and using his bare knuckled hands and booted feet he severely attacked the offending and trespassing man whom he left for dead. He then turned to the double dipping girlfriend who he thoroughly beat. She was left lying in a pool of blood and in a state of semiconsciousness and with two broken ribs and several missing teeth. The enraged Chodokufa then turned to the house furniture which he reduced to rubble. Satisfied the offending girlfriend had met the full justice of her offence, he set off on the 25 kilometer journey to Chitungwiza, a dormitory town to Harare driving his HCC provided vehicle. When he got there around midnight and in clothes which were blood stained, his wife, smelling a rat, demanded to know where he was coming from at that ungodly hour of the night. When she could not get a satisfactory and convincing answer to her probing questions from the double dipping Chodokufa all hell broke loose at his Chitungwiza house. All the household furniture including the HCC provided vehicle went up in smoke in the ensuing domestic violence. And for the night the badly injured Chodokufa had to seek overnight refuge from the nearby Chitungwiza Police Station.

At work, the following morning the disgraced girlfriend, in a vengeful mood was spilling the beans that the morally bankrupt Chodokufa fraudulently earned overtime pay for which he did not shed an iota of sweat. Chodokufa with a loss of reputation, he lost his high earning job with the HCC. He also lost both his girlfriend and wife in the Mufakose Chitungwiza fracas respectively. For the damage he caused to the lessor's house in Mufakose he was sued for millions of Zimbabwean Dollars. The stolen overtime earned for five years and running into several millions of Zimbabwean Dollars were recovered from his terminal benefits which proved insufficient to the point that his Chitungwiza marital house was auctioned off for a song to recover the stolen money. For theft and malicious destruction of property in Mufakose and Chitungwiza he was jailed for five years with hard labour and without the option of fine. Such was the long term consequences of Chodokufa's unethical behavior – loss of reputation and harm to wider society including his close family who were to suddenly become destitute because their



breadwinner was no more. The saddening reports that are given in confidence by practitioners in commerce and industry suggest that a third of the contract values awarded to the business community by the equally cash ailing Zimbabwe Government goes towards the greasing of the palms of Senior government officials in 'kick backs'. (Rusvingo, 2008:82).

This makes unethical behavior or corruption one of the biggest variables to undermine business confidence in Zimbabwe to compete with the country's poor governance, poor economic performance, an overregulated trading environment and a backward technological environment. 'Chisingapere chinoshura' (Meaning everything never mind how entertaining has to come to an end. The extremely fascinating and sensational World Cup 2014 in Brazil which started in Sao Paulo on 12 June 2014 had to come to a grinding halt on 13 July 2014. And so is this probe into how corruption has been pivotal to many businesses collapsing in Zimbabwe. With that uppermost in the mind up next is the Summary of this article for publication.

### III. SUMMARY

As a way of recapping on the contents of this Paper the discourse kicked off by listening to the conversation between two delighted policemen who sounded greatly relieved for at last voting in the 31 July 2013 harmonized elections without the 'Big Brother' watching which was to become the first encounter with corruption in this Paper. The moral from this story was also discussed. The relationship between business ethics and corruption was also discussed and how it is pivotal in the failure of many businesses in Zimbabwe. An overview of corruption in Zimbabwe was carried out with the Act – Southern Africa turning centre stage. Next was the tragedy of the commons which taught us that pursuit of self interest at the expense of wider society is harmful to both you the perpetrator and the wider society. The need for managers to behave ethically was also discussed and so was the how and why the unethical behavior by the delinquent HCC brought untold suffering to the Harare Residents and Ratepayers. The Anti-corruption Commission and the Anti-Corruption Ministry joins the fray but the puzzle remains that corruption instead of dying down is in fact on an upward trend.

On the level of corruption in the country Amai Joyce Mujuru, the Vice President gave the keynote address followed by the RBZ Governor, Gideon Gono. The closing address was given by His Excellence President Mugabe. The chorus from all of them without exception was a relentless attack on corruption which they all said was pivotal not only to the meltdown of the Zimbabwean economy but the collapse of commerce and industry in the impoverished SADC country. From

the non-governmental organization sector came the Transparency International Zimbabwe (TIZ) and Professor John Makumbe who also condemned corruption in the strongest of terms. The Ministry of Anti-Corruption and ZAAC are singled out for not doing enough to eradicate corruption in the country as ZAAC commissioners are themselves caught in a corruption storm. ZRP and Registry departments are fingered as the most corrupt institutions in the country, among others such as Education system, Judiciary system, medical and health services, land services etc. Up next is how corruption has left a trail of destruction in the HCC service delivery with the heart-stopping corruption case law of HCC Vs Chodokufa (1998) closing the discourse in this Paper. Either of the Null (Ho) or alternative (H1) hypothesis has to be accepted in the light of the literature review carried out. Research methodology and the data analysis, presentation and discussion of research findings were also carried out in the Paper. To carry out the verdict on this probe is the Conclusion which is up next.

### IV. CONCLUSION

In any country the people rely on the media, print and electronic to get to grips with what is going on in the country be it political, economic, legal, technological, ethical, corruption and diplomatic developments taking place in the country and below is what the media in Zimbabwe said about corruption in the years 1980 and 2014. First to open up on corruption in Zimbabwe was Agere (2013) who said because of rampant corruption in the HCC, Harare had lost its glamour. Pamire (2013) said that Zimbabwe was ranked '157' among the most corrupt countries in the World. Takawira (2014) said that corruption was very rife in schools where teachers were allowed to do extra lessons for a fee. Tigere (2014) also reiterated that corruption in any economy is and was enemy number one. Tonderai (2014) hinted that political interference thwarts efforts to combat corruption.

The Honourable Minister of Media and Broadcasting services Jonathan Moyo had been treated as weevil bent on destroying ZANU PF from within and should be treated as an oddball. Bere (2014) had remarked that there were so many of his ministers caught in the corruption web and it was high time His Excellence President Mugabe took punitive action against bad apples in his government. Tonderai (2014) came out in the media bitterly complaining that time was ripe to deal decisively with corruption and not gloss over it. Reference was to the high profile bribery case involving Masimirembwa. The bribery was to the tune of US\$ 6 million and the complainant against Masimirembwa was developing cold feet in what is that big fish are never brought to book but only small fish are caught (Tarumbwa, 2014). Dera (2014) had remarked



that if corruption is left to take root as elsewhere reported in the corruption tolerant Zimbabwe it is the economy that will suffer. All the people implicated in corrupt activities have been allowed to walk scot free. And finally, Tatenda (2014) had suggested that unless His Excellence President Mugabe had genuine interest to fight corruption or graft, the corruption cancer would spread like wild fire.

All said and done, therefore the implicit alternative hypothesis that corruption is and continues to buffet the comatose Zimbabwean economy left right and centre. Given the acceptance of the alternative hypothesis as above, what then in the recommended risk treatment to eliminate corruption in the impoverished Zimbabwe? Below are the Recommendations.

## V. RECOMMENDATIONS

According to the Chief Reporter (2014) who did not disclose his name to the Newsday readership, he had this to say about government coffers running dry, among other debilitating issues battering Zimbabwe left, right and centre:

'The biggest challenge in the country is the leadership. The country has no leader. The ship has no captain and the country is in the middle of an economic hurricane. That the ship will sink is inevitable'.

The Chief Reporter cannot say it better than that. What he/she said resonates with media consensus on corruption in the country that :

"Mugabe has no genuine interest to fight graft (Tatenda, 2014). "Mugabe must act on bad apples in his government" (Bere, 2014). Political interference thwarts efforts to combat corruption (Tigere, 2014).

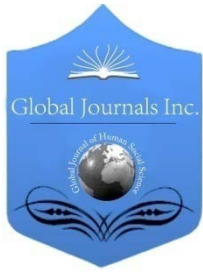
So, until the country gets the appropriate political leadership, 'Mwari tibatsirei', (Meaning, God help us. Amen).

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## Corruption and the Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria: Political Economy Implications

By Angela Ajodo-Adebanjoko & Nkemakolam Okorie

*Federal University, Lafia, Nigeria*

**Abstract-** Nigeria is a country with potentials for greatness; a large population comprising of a dynamic workforce, a growing economy, natural resources, raw materials and oil deposits which make her the largest exporter of crude oil in Africa. Despite these indices for greatness, fifty-four years after independence, Nigeria is yet to find her feet among the comity of nations as insurgency continues to take its toll on the country and make life insecure for the ordinary Nigerian citizen. Corruption is a major cause of conflicts and insecurity which continue to pose a challenge to development in the country. This paper examines the issue of corruption and insecurity in Nigeria and the challenge this poses to the development of the country. The paper shows that corruption is a major cause of insecurity in the country and it is therefore suggested that the Nigerian Government should find lasting solutions to the crises while giving top priority to eradication of corruption in its transformation agenda.

**Keywords:** *corruption, conflict, insecurity, prebendalism, political economy.*

**GJHSS-F Classification :** *FOR Code: 349901*



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# Corruption and the Challenges of Insecurity in Nigeria: Political Economy Implications

Angela Ajodo-Adebanjoko <sup>α</sup> & Nkemakolam Okorie<sup>σ</sup>

**Abstract-** Nigeria is a country with potentials for greatness; a large population comprising of a dynamic workforce, a growing economy, natural resources, raw materials and oil deposits which make her the largest exporter of crude oil in Africa. Despite these indices for greatness, fifty-four years after independence, Nigeria is yet to find her feet among the comity of nations as insurgency continues to take its toll on the country and make life insecure for the ordinary Nigerian citizen. Corruption is a major cause of conflicts and insecurity which continue to pose a challenge to development in the country. This paper examines the issue of corruption and insecurity in Nigeria and the challenge this poses to the development of the country. The paper shows that corruption is a major cause of insecurity in the country and it is therefore suggested that the Nigerian Government should find lasting solutions to the crises while giving top priority to eradication of corruption in its transformation agenda.

**Keywords:** *corruption, conflict, insecurity, prebendalism, political economy.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is the second largest country in Africa in terms of area and the most populous nation in Africa with a population estimated at 160 million people. It is often said that one out of five black men is a Nigerian. Nigeria is Africa's treasure in view of her brotherly role to other African countries in times of conflicts and even peace times. With its crude oil for exports which generate revenue for her dynamic role in Africa and the world, Nigeria is major contributor to regional and international organizations such as the African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and the United Nations Organization (UNO) to mention a few. Nigeria is also Africa's voice in the UN with her recent re-election as non-permanent member Security Council of the world body. In addition, efforts are on ground to make her one of the permanent members of the Security Council. Nigeria boasts of notable people like the Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka, Chimamanda Adichie, Chinua Achebe, amazons like Finance Minister and Coordinating Minister of the Economy, Ngozi Okonjo - Iweala one of the most powerful women and intelligent minds in the world, Joy Ogwu, Nigeria's Permanent Representative to the UN, and Former Director of National Agency For

Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC) and Minister of Information, late Dora Akunyili and a host of others. Despite this, the country is becoming one of the most dreaded places on earth with insurgency assuming centre stage. No day passes in Nigeria without the news of one form of bombing or the other. Kidnapping has also become the order of the day with the recent Chibok kidnapping of over 200 school girls in Borno State followed by subsequent kidnapping of other women including children and young men. These spates of abductions are currently generating global attention. Nigeria has become almost a pariah state as a result of insecurity. In addition to the problem of insecurity, Nigeria ranks as one of the most corrupt countries in the world and behind every ill in the society is corruption. With independence four decades ago, it was believed that the country would be ushered into the promised land of milk and honey but this has become a mirage and mere wishful thinking. Rather, the country has been experiencing a plethora of conflicts ranging from secessions, civil wars, regional conflicts, and internal crises (ethnic, religious etc) which continue to affect the country's development (Ikejiaku 2009). Internal crises such as rampages, riots, and violent demonstrations are a common feature of the polity. These conflicts have destabilized the country and their costs in terms of loss of human life and property, and the destruction of social infrastructure are enormous. As a result of conflicts, many people have been forced to flee their homes and have become refugees in their own country and in neighboring countries. This paper is an examination of the twin problem of corruption and insecurity in Nigeria. The paper begins with an introduction and clarifies the concepts of corruption and insecurity while providing a theoretical basis for the study. It also establishes the relationship between corruption and insecurity followed by an in-depth discussion of their implications on the Nigerian political economy. The last section is the conclusion and thereafter recommendations were made.

## II. CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

The concepts to be clarified are corruption and insecurity

### a) Corruption

Corruption is the use of public office for private gain. It refers to any behavior that deviates from the

*Author α σ: Department of Political Science Federal University, Lafia.  
e-mails: Angelaigo@yahoo.com, okorienkemakolam@yahoo.com*

norm or is socially unacceptable. There are different types of corruption each with its own characteristics. Some types of corruption include grand corruption, political corruption, economic corruption, religious corruption, moral corruption, professional corruption, organized corruption and working class corruption. Corruption may also take the form of cronyism, bribery, favouritism, patronage, extortion, influence peddling, fraud and embezzlement. The causes of corruption in Nigeria include; greed, the social environment, ostentatious living, societal and family pressure, get-rich-quick syndrome, poor reward system, inadequate motivation and clumsy handling of corruption cases among others. The magnitude of corruption in Nigeria is alarming and disheartening. Corruption permeates every sector of the Nigerian economy and is found among the educated as well as the uneducated, among the rich and as well as the poor.

Corruption remains a major cause of insecurity in Nigeria if acknowledge that the factors that give rise to insecurity are the product of corruption.

#### b) *Insecurity*

Insecurity is a state of being subject to danger or threat. Most scholarly articles on insecurity in the Cold-War era focused on the traditional approach to security which is state-centric. In this regard, insecurity can be conceived as threats to the state which often accounted for the race for arms and nuclear weapons to defend the state (Ajodo-Adebanjoko and Ugwuoke 2014). In the post-Cold War era however, human security or a people centred view of security has assumed centre-state. This is based on the fact that threats to human life emanate not only from situation of violent conflicts but other non-conflict sources (Saliu, Luqman and Abdullahi 2007). In this regard, insecurity refers to a situation of fear or anything that causes fear, harm or has the capability to cause fear or harm to an individual. Such issues could be politico-strategic, socio-economic, or ecological in nature; for instance political instability, poverty, environmental degradation, lack of access to education, discrimination on the basis of gender, diseases and unemployment.

#### c) *Theoretical Framework*

A combination of Prebendal theory and Frustration-Aggression theory would help our understanding of the issue of conflict and insecurity.

#### d) *Prebendal Theory*

Prebendalism refers to primitive acquisition. The concept is credited to Joseph Richard who depicts the politics of corruption in Nigeria where cronies or members of an ethnic group are compensated when an individual from the group comes into power or where; "state offices are regarded as prebends that can be appropriated by office holders who use them to generate material benefits for themselves and their

constituents and kin groups (Joseph 1996). This patron-client or identity politics has encouraged corruption in the country to the extent that appointments, promotions, admissions, award of contracts among others are done with consideration for one's ethnic or religious affiliations.

#### e) *Frustration-Aggression Theory*

The theory stipulates that aggression is the result of frustration which results from an individual's inability to attain their goals. Accordingly, insecurity is the product of aggressive behaviour which results from issues such as poverty and unemployment among others. Applying this to the study, corruption in the country has resulted in abject poverty, unemployment, environmental degradation, injustice, absence of infrastructure, ethnic conflicts, militancy which in turn have resulted in insecurity.

### III. THE CORRUPTION-INSECURITY NEXUS

Fifty-four years after independence, insecurity continues to pose a challenge to Nigeria. At the root of this is corruption. Corruption remains one of the greatest challenges to security in the country. The connection between corruption and insecurity is not far-fetched. Corruption fans the embers of poverty, crimes and by extension insecurity. For instance, armed robbery, cultism, terrorism, disease, unemployment and other factors which lead to insecurity are directly or indirectly related to corruption (Dike 2005). The advent of militancy, kidnapping and terrorism in Nigeria can be traced to corruption. In the Niger Delta region where militancy first occurred, it was championed by political thugs who were initially recruited by corrupt politicians prior to elections in the region. These thugs who became idle after the elections had no other job but found one in the form of militancy which eventually metamorphosed into bombing of oil installations and kidnapping of foreign oil workers for ransom. Despite amnesty granted to the militants leading to the sheathing of sword, kidnapping for ransom or rituals spread across the country and till date many find it a 'lucrative' business. The same is also true of the North-East of the country where the Boko Haram sect continues to make life insecure for citizens. Like their predecessors, Niger Delta militants, many of the sect members were once political thugs.

Political corruption is one of the major causes of poverty. Despite its oil wealth and abundant resources, owing to corruption, Nigeria remains one of the poorest countries in the world with many Nigerians living below the poverty line. According to a recent World Bank report (2005), Nigeria is one of the poorest countries in the world. This poverty status of the country results from the fact that selfish individuals divert funds needed for development into their pockets while the masses are left in abject poverty. Such funds no doubt could have been



used to better the lot of the citizenry. It is on record that more than \$400 billion was stolen from the treasury by Nigeria's leaders between 1960 and 1999 while the country's GDP per capita fell from US \$1,010.00 in the early 1980s to US \$300.00 in 1999 (Okaduwa 2007). When people are frustrated because their needs are unmet they may resort to conflict as a way of expressing their frustration. This is in line with the saying that a hungry man is an angry man. In the Niger Delta region cited earlier on, embezzlement of funds by past officials of the state such as former Governors and local government Chairmen have robbed their respective states and local government areas of the needed funds for development purpose. In addition, the middlemen between the community and the Multinational Oil Companies diverted the compensation meant for the various communities to their private use while the people were left aggrieved as a result of environmental degradation and poverty. This twin factor contributed to militancy in the area. The poverty level and educational backwardness in the North East Zone of the country is also said to be one of the contributory factors to the conflicts in the area.

In the case of unemployment, when people are not engaged in meaningful work and are lacking the basic necessities of life, they bring attention to their plight by engaging in destructive behaviour at the slightest provocation. There is a common saying that 'an idle mind (hand) is the devil's workshop'. Nigeria is made up of jobless youths who are ready to do anything, even engage in criminal activities as a way of engaging themselves if nobody does. These Jobless youths resort to armed robbery, electoral violence, assassinations, kidnapping, and rituals as a way of making a living. This is why according to political activist Odumakin (2012) "with 60 million unemployed youths, Nigeria'll have no peace." While we are not oblivious of the fact that there are other reasons why people engage in criminal activities, we cannot rule out the fact that activities resulting from unemployment are indirect consequences of corruption. Corruption leads to unemployment, unemployment to conflicts and conflicts to insecurity. Many Nigerian youths have become preys to terrorists and are easily radicalized. In the Niger Delta region for instance, unemployed youths were the ones employed in the armed conflicts between Multinational Oil Companies and militants while many of such youths are members of the Boko Haram sect.

Furthermore, criminal and corrupt elements in the country use their ill-gotten wealth to sponsor acts inimical to the security of the country. For instance, corrupt politicians use state money or money they have embezzled to sponsor political thugs in different parts of the country.

#### IV. THE COSTS OF CORRUPTION AND INSECURITY ON THE NIGERIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY

The cost of corruption in Nigeria is huge and spans every sector of the economy.

Economically, Corruption and insecurity encourage capital flight as many foreign investors are reluctant to invest in Nigeria for fear of losing their money to swindlers and fraudsters. This is because many have been victims of swindlers popularly known as '419ers'. On the other hand, insecurity continues to take its toll on the economy. In many parts of the country, property worth billions of naira has been destroyed and many businesses have come to a standstill. In addition, many foreign investors have been discouraged from doing business with the country while many have returned to their various countries.

The cost of corruption is also seen in the fact that fifty-three years after independence Nigeria has not been able to celebrate one day of uninterrupted power supply and is still battling with access to potable water.

Politically, corruption undermines democracy, good governance and rule of law. It flouts or even subverts formal processes, undermines the legitimacy of government and such democratic values as trust and tolerance. This lack of legitimacy in turn creates enabling environment for insecurity to thrive (Okaduwa 2007). The situation in Nigeria has become such that most people no longer have confidence in the government but now seek for self-protection rather than depend on the government apparatus. Recently over 480 soldiers were said to have defected to Cameroun while running away from the Boko Haram sect. During the same period, over 28 police officers at a Police Academy at Gwoza were abducted by the sect and in one of the interviews granted a few days later, one Assistant Inspector General of police announced publicly that the sect was able to overpower the police because the former had more sophisticated weapons in addition to be more in number. The question is, where did the billions allocated for military hardware go to? It is a known fact that many corrupt officials profit from the ongoing terrorist acts in the country. Such people make the polity ungovernable. They not only embezzle funds earmarked to fight terrorism but sometimes use such funds to oppress the people by sponsoring these terrorists. In the same vein, funds allocated for infrastructural development have been embezzled and diverted into private accounts. It is a shame that in this twenty-first century we can still find pupils in many parts of Nigeria sitting on bare floors because there are no furniture or classrooms where they can learn. While many government officials send their children to foreign countries to study they leave the poor at the mercy of teachers who embark on strike regularly to protest the



poor state of the educational sector. Also, many people have died and continue to die from lack of medical care for factors that could easily have been dealt with. The high rate of deaths resulting from unnecessary surgeries and fake drugs are attributed to corruption. Victims are mostly the poor as the wealthy has access to medical treatment abroad. Furthermore, many roads in the country are not motorable and accidents are a common feature of our roads. Even travelling by air is sometimes not safe as aircrafts that should have been grounded are often bought and used in Nigeria. In addition, while millions are suffering and cannot boast of three square meals a day, individuals including government officials now own private jets. Corruption therefore continues to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Socially, corruption and insecurity have done more damage to the country's image globally than any other phenomenon. Nigeria is currently reputed as one of the most corrupt and insecure countries in the world. As a result, the country has lost credibility as its image has been battered before the international community.

## V. CONCLUSION

Corruption in Nigeria can be traced to the politics of the colonial era where the Native Authority system encouraged the native police to collect bribes and pervert justice. Even after independence corruption continued and was entrenched during the various military regimes in Nigeria particularly during the regimes of Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha when the public treasury was looted and the gains were used for personal aggrandizement. Up till this moment, there is hardly any administration in the country that has not been found guilty of the act of corruption. Corruption has made Nigeria a sleeping giant and has done more damage to the country than anything else we can think of, if we consider that it is directly or indirectly at the root of every evil. Corruption encourages kleptocracy, breeds poverty, unemployment and contributes to as well as exacerbates conflicts. Insecurity in the country results from conflicts and non-conflict sources. Corruption and insecurity are therefore twin problems of development in Nigeria. While corruption is the result of various factors ranging from political, social to economic, insecurity is mainly the offshoot of corruption.

The effects of corruption and insecurity on Nigeria's socio-political and economic development are myriad. Corruption and insecurity therefore pose a serious development challenge to the nation as they threaten to the existence of Nigeria as a nation.

Since corruption gives rise to insecurity, there is need to first eliminate corruption. If this is done, insecurity would be dealt a lethal blow. In this regard, the following are recommended:

Improvement in the standard of living of the people is necessary if the fight is to be won. This

involves provision of jobs and socio-economic transformation.

Assets declaration by civil servants as required by the code of Conduct Bureau must be adhered to by every civil servant as a way of checking illegal acquisition of property.

The society should shun individuals with ill-gotten wealth or whose sources of income are questionable while the government, traditional/religious leaders should not give recognition or titles to such individuals.

Good governance, transparency, accountability and the rule of law are necessary if the fight against corruption and by extension insecurity is to be achieved.

Law enforcement agents should be equipped adequately to deal with the problem of terrorism.

There must be zero tolerance for corruption by the government and corrupt individuals who use their ill-gotten wealth to sponsor acts of terrorism should be prosecuted accordingly if found guilty.

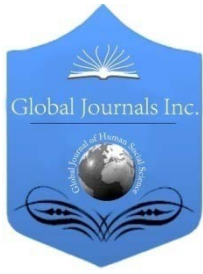
Corruption and insecurity need to be eliminated for Nigeria to be able to effectively play its role as the giant of Africa and a force to be reckoned with globally. Eradicating corruption and insecurity from Nigeria is a task that should not be left to the government alone; all hands must therefore be on deck if the country is to be purged of this twin evil.

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## Civil Wars and the Legislative

By Pedro Neiva & Artur Zimmerman

*University of Brasilia, Brazil*

*Introduction-* Civil wars are a phenomenon with diverse and heterogeneous geographical distribution. The studies about them have multiplied in recent decades, but few have tried to assess its relation with the various institutional settings. As far as it is known, none of them dealt specifically with the high chambers, legislative houses fundamental for the political organization of the countries where they are located, especially those which are in the process of transition (or consolidation) towards democracy. This is the main purpose of the paper: assess the extent to which the high chambers serve as a tool of negotiation between elites, in order to reduce the occurrences of civil wars in the country.

The proposal seems to make sense, if we consider the high chambers usually represent the upper classes and the privileged minority interests (UHR, 2008), thus making the change of the status quo more difficult (TSEBELIS; MONEY, 1997). In addition, they tend to be extremely flexible in their composition and operation, they are adapted to many contexts and situations and count with different forms of recruitment of their members (the majority is chosen indirectly). The idea is that they may be easily set up and configured to assist in the negotiation between privileged segments of the population, as well as serving as one more channel available to dictators, authoritarian regimes, to co-opt representatives of the elites.

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# Civil Wars and the Legislative

Pedro Neiva<sup>α</sup> & Artur Zimmerman<sup>ο</sup>

## I. INTRODUCTION

Civil wars are a phenomenon with diverse and heterogeneous geographical distribution. The studies about them have multiplied in recent decades, but few have tried to assess its relation with the various institutional settings. As far as it is known, none of them dealt specifically with the high chambers, legislative houses fundamental for the political organization of the countries where they are located, especially those which are in the process of transition (or consolidation) towards democracy. This is the main purpose of the paper: assess the extent to which the high chambers serve as a tool of negotiation between elites, in order to reduce the occurrences of civil wars in the country.

The proposal seems to make sense, if we consider the high chambers usually represent the upper classes and the privileged minority interests (UHR, 2008), thus making the change of the status quo more difficult (TSEBELIS; MONEY, 1997). In addition, they tend to be extremely flexible in their composition and operation, they are adapted to many contexts and situations and count with different forms of recruitment of their members (the majority is chosen indirectly). The idea is that they may be easily set up and configured to assist in the negotiation between privileged segments of the population, as well as serving as one more channel available to dictators, authoritarian regimes, to co-opt representatives of the elites.

They are also justified by their own geographical distribution of such legislative houses. On the one hand, there is a reasonable concentration of strong and long-lasting Senates in some countries of South America, a region with little incidence of civil war. Also, the creation of various high chambers in recent years in the countries of Africa and Eastern Europe, regions that are democratizing rapidly and are peppered with ethnic and religious conflicts. In the specific case of the region with the highest incidence of civil wars, Africa, it is seen that about 40% of the countries adopt a bicameral conformation, against 30% in the rest of the world.

On the other hand, there is a low frequency of dual-chambered systems in two quite distinct groups of countries: 1) In the Middle East, a region with a high rate. Lastly, the impression is that many Senates appear in contexts reasonably peaceful and/or with the of wars; 2) in the Scandinavian countries and suchlike<sup>1</sup>, which

reached a high degree of social development and that experienced few military conflicts. prospect of peace; they are less frequent in situations where there is no conflict or where they are very sharp and/or with low perspective of change. Up to a certain point, within its limitations, this perception suggests a relation with the thesis that the incidence of civil war is greater in the so-called "anocracies" (or "semi-democracies" / "hybrid regimes") and lower in consolidated democracies and authoritarian systems.

The relation between bicameral arrangements and civil wars is not evident. It is added to that the fact that this type of conflict is complex and involves many facets. Neither the high chambers present only one model or configuration, in the case of "a concept still in search of a theory" (SMITH, 2003, p. 3; UHR, 2008). Nevertheless, we believe it is possible to think about relations between the two variables. In the next section we began the discussion by making a brief review of the literature on civil wars and trying to identify their supposed explanatory variables. Next, we situate the discussion of the institutions in this context, with emphasis on the role and characteristics of the high chambers. In section III we do the analysis of our data by means of three logistic regression models, which have as dependent variable the incidence of civil war in a certain country, in a particular year. Finally, in section IV, we make some final considerations, drawing attention to the need for further study of the species, as a way to get a more complete understanding of this so important phenomenon to the contemporary world.

## II. TRADITIONAL JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THE CIVIL WARS

The justifications for the outbreak, permanence and finalization of civil wars have followed differentiated criteria, with multiple approaches. One of the most addressed concerns has to do with degree of democratic development of the country. On the one hand, some authors have found that its impact was not significant or had ambiguous effects (Collier; Hoeffler, 2004); others have found a negative association between the two variables (GURR, 2000); and still others found this negative association when the anocratic regimes repress a considerable portion of the population (Zimmerman And Alves, 2007).

A more complex relation, involving other intervenient aspects was identified by some authors. Hegre (2001) found the effect of democracy on the incidence of civil wars also depended on the income

<sup>Author α:</sup> University of Brasília. e-mail:prneiva@gmail.com

level of the population; according to him, in the societies in which it was lower, the risk of war was greater. For some authors, more important than the degree of democracy itself is the type of representation: according to Reynal-Querol (2005), violence is less likely in proportional systems. When working with the concept of civil rights, Fearon (2004) identified its absence helped explain the outbreak of violent conflicts. But Pezzini and MacCulloch (2004) found they reduced the propensity for revolution.

A well-established thinking argues that the relation is not linear. Hegre et al. (2001), for example, found the anocracies (or semi-democracies/hybrid regimes) were more prone to conflict than largely democratic or authoritarian regimes. Other authors have pointed in the same direction, that is, they found that authoritarian states, as well as institutionally consistent democracies, experienced less civil wars than regimes that were in intermediate stages (DE NARDO, 1985; FRANCISCO, 1995). One of the explanations given is that, in semi-democracies there is the possibility of the population to get organized, but its capacity for collective action towards peace is still limited (VREELAND, 2008). It is worth adding that the level of repression in those regimes is not enough to prevent rebellions, at the same time the institutions and mechanisms for resolving conflicts are not sufficiently developed yet.

Another aspect widely considered in the justification of the civil wars is the ethnic identity. Here there is also no consensus among the authors. Some claim these variables are strongly related (FEARON; LAITIN, 2003). Others, that this relation is not as important, unless there is a dominant ethnic group (CAREY, 2007; Collier, 2003; Collier; Hoeffler, 2002, 2004). But Sambanis (2001) considers it has effect only for ethnic wars.

In addition to ethnic issues, the religious ones also have a share in the explanation of civil wars. According to Reynal-Querol (2002), societies divided by religion are more prone to experiencing intense conflicts than those where the main cleavage is linked to social class or the language. Because the religious identities are fixed and particularly difficult to be negotiated, thus increasing the chance of violence. The author shows empirically that the religious polarization is one of the most important factors in the explanation of the incidence of civil war.

A third factor widely considered as a predictor of civil war has to do with geographical features, either in its physical or human aspects. De Soysa (2002) found the population density was positively associated with the probability of conflict. However, Collier and Hoeffler (2004) found no evidence in that direction. With regard to location, Sambanis (2001) found the fact of a civil war happening in the previous year in a neighboring country increases the risk of its outbreak, once guerrilla

groups of the country may support rebels in the other, with weapons, expertise and human resources, thus enabling them to a rebellion. However, part of the literature found no support for these hypotheses (CAREY, 2007; J. FEARON; LAITIN, 2003; HEGRE, et al., 2001). Whereas a civil war involves armed conflict between the State and rebel groups, some authors have also taken into account the location of the capital, that is, the place where the power is established (BUHAUG; GATES, 2002).

The topography of the country seems to be especially important. Mountainous terrain and forest cover were used as predictors of conflicts (FEARON; LAITIN, 1999, 2003; COLLIER; HOFFFLER, 2001; GURR, 2000). According to Buhaug and Gates (2002), in areas of mountains and forests, in addition to greater dispersion of the population, the rebel troops have greater freedom of movement and transport of arms, in addition to having greater possibility to hide and avoid attacks of the enemies.

Economic factors also have been presented as important in the explanation of civil wars. According to some authors, poor countries which have low per capita income and low level of growth, are more prone to experiencing them (COLLIER; HOFFFLER, 1998; DE SOYSA, 2002). The great proportion of primary products in export tariff, which generate resources for the financing of weapons by rebel groups, is also highlighted (CAREY, 2007; DE SOYSA, 2002; FEARON; LAITIN, 2003; FEARON, 2004; HUMPHREYS, 2005; ROSS, 2004). This is what has happened in several countries, from the extraction of oil, timber and precious stones. There also happens to be associated with the cultivation and smuggling of illegal drugs (FEARON, 2004; ROSS, 2004).

#### *a) The Role of the Institutions*

In recent decades, literature in political science has emphasized the role of the institutions in the pacification of conflicts, either in the consolidated or consolidating democracies<sup>2</sup>. In the first ones, Lijphart (1977) affirms the institutions promote the division of power, facilitate the accommodation and the cooperation between the elites, thus making them more prone to stability and good governance. According to the author, the elites - in their various segments - form a kind of "cartel", with the goal of resolving the inter-ethnic differences and avoiding self-destruction. In countries undergoing democratic transition, Snyder (2000) also states that the consolidation of democracy involves the accommodation of the elites, even those which may have been excluded from the electoral process.

In a non-democratic system, there are those who say the institutions are "fake" and it makes no sense to analyze them (FRIEDRICH; BRZEZINSKI 1961, BROOKER 2000, PACKENHAM 1970). We must consider, however, that even dictators need to maintain

a political support to continue in power. After all, the use of force has a cost and may not always be used efficiently. In that sense, they try to build coalitions from the co-opting of groups that do not participate in it (BUENO DE MESQUITA ET AL., 2003; LINZ, 1973; O'DONNELL, 1979), making political concessions by means of an institutionalized environment. On the same line, Gandhi and Pzeworski (2007) claim the autocrats must be able to realize the strength of the threats and comply an institutional response to them, under penalty of having their permanence in power either reduced or compromised.

In the opinion of Gandhi and Pzeworski (2007), the legislative are the locus ideal for that, once they are capable of revealing the demands, control access, organize the commitments and draw up the legal and public agreements. On the same line, Gandhi and Vreeland (2004) found that dictatorships where there was a legislative power<sup>3</sup> were less inclined to try a civil war than those which did not have one. According to the two authors, that happens because the first ones combine a mixture of optimal repression to divergent insurgencies and accommodation/co-opting of different social groups. With that, they suggested the key institutional element to explain the existence of civil war is not the fact of being a dictatorship or a democracy, but of there being or not a legislative power. More specifically, Leonard (2013) suggests that a Senate, with members of the professional, religious, business elites and representatives of regional assemblies and civil associations would be a good instrument for the control of other government bodies.

Our assumption is that the Senate is an instrument in the hands of the rulers for the division of power and for the construction of agreements. And that happens independently of the fact of being an autocratic country or being in the process of transition to democracy. It also depends on the extension of formal legislative powers, once even the high chambers politically weak exert some influence (HELLER, 1997; Tsebelis; Money, 1997). Our point is that, just like it happens in democratic systems, bicameralism system is also used in authoritarian and semi-democratic regimes as an element promoter of its stability and survival, as well as inhibitor of violence. The main hypothesis is that the high chambers are used as a tool for building consensus among elites. Consequently, they reduce the occurrence of civil wars, as they help solve the problem of political instability generated by the majority rule, thus creating a set of stable results (a "core"). When the legislature is divided into two chambers, it is more difficult to form a coalition consisting of the majority of each of them (HAMMOND; Miller, 1987).

This assumption is justified by two main reasons. First of all, by the fact that the high chambers are taken as elitist, often chosen on the basis of class

criteria and with severe restrictions with regard to the minimum level of income of their members. This is the case, for example, of the House of Lords in the British parliament, the French Senate, the Brazilian Senate during the Empire and the extinct Senates of Denmark and Sweden (CONGLETON, 2002).

Case studies and also comparative studies offer support for the idea that the high chambers concentrate specific groups of elites, often favoring some of them. In the United States, Weingast (1991) showed the over-representation of slave states in the Senate, at the beginning of the Republic, ensured that no liberating legislation was approved, even if a majority of the population (or the House of Representatives) would be favorable. According to the author, that way, the bicameralism system became a key mechanism for the protection of a minority of owners of slaves<sup>4</sup>. In Latin America, Samuels and Snyder (2001) suggest the disproportionality of representation - much greater in the high chambers - tends to encourage politically conservative districts (and their elites), at the expenses of urban and politically progressive districts. On the same line, Stepan (2000) says the over-representation, especially in the Senate, happens in the states with the worst income distribution and with strong oligarchic traditions.

The second justification for our hypothesis is the adapting ability of the high chambers to different contexts. In such a way that Tsebelis and Money called them "protean", that is, they are able to take different forms and characteristics and easily adapt to various situations. In fact, this seems to have been a frequent mark in many high chambers in the world, especially in periods of accelerated transformation. In Brazil, it is worth mentioning the so called Pacote de Abril - Package of April, which went into force in 1977 by the former President Geisel, by means of which he arrogated to himself the indication of half the senators<sup>5</sup>. In the period of democratic resume, the best example of rapid transformation of the Senate took place when the former territories became states, thus increasing the number of senators of a more poor and politically backward region (SOARES, 1973). It is also worth of mention the privilege granted to former presidents of several countries (Chile, Paraguay, Rwanda, Burundi, etc.) to occupy the office of senator after the end of its mandate.

Our assumption is that the high chambers play, in various countries, the function of accommodating some elites in power. In the regimes under transition, it allows the process to be done in a negotiated settlement. In the specific case of this work, our expectation is that its existence in a given country is associated with the occurrence of civil wars, and their reduction more specifically. A suggestive example of this last situation is the creation of the Senate of Lebanon in 1989, from the explicit forecast in the so called

"Agreement of Ta'if", which ended the conflict in the country<sup>6</sup>. It also seems to have been what happened in Tajikistan, where the introduction of the bicameralism system responded to the concerns of stabilization of the political situation and consolidation of the new democratic regime in the period after the civil war (ZAVRABYAN, n/d). In the case of the United States, it was related to the greater stability of public policy in the twentieth century, in contrast with the instability in the United Kingdom: according to Riker (1992), in the context of the "almost" British single cameralism, the two most important changes made in the economy in the period after World War II returned to the status quo ; as for the United States, the two major changes made in the same period (the New Deal and the law of civil rights) were not reversed.

Our supposition is supported by the empirical observation that the adoption of a bicameral system was related to the process of democratization in various countries in recent years. In addition to Tajikistan, that's the case for Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, in 2005, and the Czech Republic and Poland after 1992 (ZAVRABYAN, n/d). In accordance with the thesis of Tsebelis and Money (1997), states where the bicameralism provides more sustainable political results, reduce the conflicts for a single main dimension.

It is also worth noting the statement of Dahl (1958) that the political efficiency of a group depends on both its potential to control and its unity potential. According to this author, a group with a relatively small potential control, but with a high potential for unity, may be politically more effective than a group with high control potential, but with low potential for unity. As the high chambers are in general smaller than the low chambers, they tend to rely on greater unity between its members, thus facilitating the commitments and collective actions (OLSON, 1971).

In a study on the bicameralism system in Africa, Neiva (2010) found a strong association between the existence of an upper chamber and the occurrence of civil wars. The author did not identify, however, the direction of this relation, that is, whether the bicameralism system was the cause or consequence of the existence of this type of conflict. It is possible for both situations to coexist. Works on the theme are rare and do not inform in this respect. The absence is justified by the very lack of studies on such institutions; although their number has increased substantially in recent years, the high chambers are still little known.

Beforehand, it is important to remember these are fairly heterogeneous institutions, even with respect to their functions and political force. One of the perceptions on this was provided by Lijphart (1980; 1999), who ranked the bicameral systems in four main types, from two specific dimensions: congruence and symmetry. The first one concerns to the preferences of each one of the Houses; the second one, to their

powers. Despite the different bicameral arrangements, it is important to mention that also high chambers that seem weak or insignificant perform some type of influence (TSEBELIS; MONEY, 1997), even if they does not give the final word and have only an advisory role to the acting ruler.

### III. DATA ANALYSIS

Our research involves all countries of the world with population greater than one million inhabitants in each year that is being investigated, during a period of 57 years (1950 to 2006). A total of 148 countries were researched, making a total of 6,618 observations. It is worth remembering that many countries were created in recent decades, only by entering the data bank from its creation. The analysis will be made by using a logistic regression model, which has as dependent variable the incidence (or not) of civil war in a certain country in a given year. If so, it will be coded with the number "one"; otherwise, with "zero".

Our main explanatory variable concerns to the existence of the bicameralism in the country. We want to know up to what extent it impacts on the occurrence of civil war; in other words, we assessed whether the existence of a high chamber is not associated with the existence of internal conflicts. Our assumption is that its presence reduces the probability of such disputes, based on previously presented theoretical foundation.

To assure that the effect of bicameralism is effectively what was observed, we also consider the possible impact that other important variables may have. With this aim, we use control variables relating to geographic, political, economic and social aspects of the respective countries. As a result of the variables 'population' and 'neighbor at war' relying on few observations, we decided to included them only in the second and third models. The results are presented in the following table. A detailed description of each of the variables, and their respective sources, is presented in appendix 1.



*Table 1* : Determinants of the incidence of Civil War (1950 to 2006)

	Odds Ratio (Z test)	Odds Ratio (Z test)	Odds Ratio (Z test)
Bicameralism	0,73*** (-4,41)	0,70*** (-4,47)	0,75*** (-2,92)
Anocracy	1,85*** (7,27)	1,70*** (5,82)	2,39*** (7,89)
Mountains	1,18*** (5,41)	1,09*** (2,62)	1,13*** (3,00)
Diamonds	1,19 (1,17)	1,05 (0,35)	0,79 (-1,17)
GDP per capita (log)	0,86*** (-5,01)	0,90*** (-3,36)	0,91*** (-2,56)
Neighbor at war	-	2,24*** (9,33)	1,73*** (5,19)
Population size (log)	-	-	1,58*** (12,63)
N	4,783	4,097	3,667
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.037	0.058	0.12
Qui-square	164.07	223.32	364.07

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

"z" test between brackets

In general, the three models confirm our expectations: almost all variables showed statistical significance at the level of 1 %. The most important results for our purposes relate to the "bicameralism" variable. It presented negative signal in all three models, proving our initial hypothesis. As seen in the first of them, the fact of having a high chamber in the country reduces by 27% the chance of incidence of a civil war in a given year. In the second and third models, that number was 30% and 25 %, respectively <sup>7</sup>.

These results suggest that, in fact, the Senates serve as a stabilizing mechanism of the political system. Possibly, because they help promote an agreement among the elite of the country, thus including those that may have been away from other political disputes, either electoral or non-electoral ones. As a House lower than the lower chamber and which is often chosen indirectly, the second House usually has a structure much more flexible than the first one, thus allowing it to act in the negotiation and reduction of conflicts between distinct segments. Moreover, in several of the examined countries, they rely on the representation of different groups: ethnic, religious, regional and/or professionals <sup>8</sup>. Such differentiating characteristics confirm the suggestion of Tsebelis and Money (1997) that the high chambers are "protean", that is, they are easily transformed and adapt to many situations.

The model also confirms expectations prevailing in the literature. The fact that the country is an anocracy (in contrast with being a consolidated

democracy or to be driven by an authoritarian regime) increases the tendency to have a civil war. In model 1, 85%, in model 2, 70%, and in model 3, 139% in this type of regime. It remains, therefore, the idea that the differences are resolved in a peaceful and negotiated way in democratic regimes and by the dictator in command in the authoritarian regimes.

The three models reinforce the idea that a rough terrain (mountain) and of difficult movement in and out favors the incidence of civil war, once the rebel groups would have movement advantages, without being noticed. In model 1, the existence of mountains increases in 18% the chance of a civil war taking place in a given year.

The impact of the variable "GDP per capita (logarithmically)" also confirms what the literature has stated on the topic: the income increase reduces the possibility of civil war. In model 1, this reduction is nothing less than 14%. The fact of having a 'neighbor at war' also appears to influence our dependent variable: model 2 shows it gets to increase this chance at 124%. Although model 3 may count with a smaller number of observations, it confirms the previous results and shows the great impact exerted by the "population size" variable.

The only variable that has not confirmed the expected results was the one that informs about the fact that the country is a diamond producer. In the first and second models it presented a positive signal and a negative signal in the third one. However, none of them was statistically significant. The ideal would be for this variable to also cover other natural resources that generate exacerbated greed, such as gold and oil. However, such information is not readily available for a large number of countries and for a long period of time.

#### IV. FINAL REMARKS

The literature on the outbreak and occurrence of civil wars has improved itself in recent years. However, only recently it started to deal with the impact exerted by political institutions. In this work, we suggest the fact that the country adopts a bicameral system reduces the chance of civil war incidence, even after controlling the possible influences of other explanatory factors. In some way, not yet clearly perceived, it seems the high chambers play an appeasing role, either because it serves as a flexible decision center for decision making, or because it presents itself as one more possibility of power-sharing between representatives of the elites.

These, however, are not exhaustive or definitive explanations. We once more remind there is no single model of bicameralism nor an explanatory theory consolidated in its respect. As advises Uhr (2008), we must be careful when we present generalizations on the role of high chambers, even because their powers and practices are often renewed. On the same line, Norton



(2007) talks about the difficulty in defining the number of bicameral countries in the world, once it is not always easy to identify to what extent the legislature of a country is effectively bicameral.

Nevertheless, despite the difference in the format of the bicameralism adopted by the countries, it is important to continue unraveling the purposes, functions and justifications for the high chambers. According to the proposal of the 'Founding Fathers' in the North American original model, it would be the one to control and serve as a counterweight to other powers (checks and balances). In this article, we see that, even if the control function is not present, the counterweight seems to be more frequent, especially in the sense of giving greater overall balance to the political system.

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## APPENDIX

*Table 2* : Variables included in the models

Variable	Description	Source
Civil War	Dependent variable. Identifies the incidence (or not) of civil war in countries in a given year, with value "one" in all the years the internal conflict was active, and "zero" for the other years.	Harbom, Lotta and Peter Wallensteen, 2009. "Armed Conflict, 1946-2008." <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> 46(4). Original citation: Gleditsch, Nils Petter, Peter Wallensteen, Mikael Eriksson, Margareta Sollenberg, and Håvard Strand. 2002. "Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset." <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> 39(5).
Bicameral	Identifies the existence or not of a high chamber in the country in a particular year.	Own elaboration, from information collected in the respective constitutions (current and previous), pages of legislation on the internet, historical texts in general.
Mountainous	Identifies the mountainous percentage in the territory of the country (natural logarithm), according to the geographer A. J. Gerard.	Fearon, James D; Laitin, David D. Ethnicity, insurgency and civil war. <i>American Political Science Review</i> , 97(1), February 2003pp. 75-90.
GDP	Natural logarithm of the Gross Domestic Product <i>per capita converted to Purchasing Parity Power</i> (cgdp2)	Data base <i>Penn World Tables</i> . Alan Heston, Robert Summers and Bettina Aten, Penn World Table Version 7.1, Center for International Comparisons of Production, Income and Prices at the University of Pennsylvania, July 2012. Access: <a href="https://pwt.sas.upenn.edu/php_site/pwt71/pwt71_form.php">https://pwt.sas.upenn.edu/php_site/pwt71/pwt71_form.php</a>
Anocracy	Identifies whether the country is an "anocracy", assuming the value "one", if so, and "zero", otherwise. The countries that received the classification of -5 to 5 in Polity IV Project were classified as anocracies. And as "non anocracies", the authoritarian countries (graded from -10 to -6) and the democratic ones (graded from 6 to 10).	Polity IV Project: <a href="http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm">http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm</a> .
Diamonds	Country production of diamonds in the previous year.	Macartan Humphreys. "Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution: Uncovering the Mechanisms", <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> August 2005 49: 508-537. <a href="http://jcr.sagepub.com/content/49/4.toc">http://jcr.sagepub.com/content/49/4.toc</a>
Neighbors in war	Countries that are at internal or external war and share border with other countries. In this case, the country sharing border with the one at war is marked with value "one" and "zero" if it is not at war.	Sambanis, Nicholas. Do ethnic and non-ethnic civil war have the same causes? A Theoretical and empirical inquiry (part I). World Bank, January 2001.
Population size	Natural logarithm of the size of the population of each country	Sambanis, Nicholas. Do ethnic and non-ethnic civil war have the same causes? A Theoretical and empirical inquiry (part I). World Bank, January 2001.



<sup>1</sup> Some of these countries closed their high chambers: New Zealand (1950), Denmark (1953), Sweden (1970), Iceland (1991), Scotland (1999). Others count with a little evident bicameral arrangement (Norway) or with high chambers with few powers (UK, Canada).

<sup>2</sup> However, there is no agreement on which institutions are most appropriate for that. As regards the decentralization, for example, some authors affirm the larger it is, the greater will be the incentives for the violence of peripheral groups (HECHTER, 2000; A. LIJPHART, 1980). But Tucker (2012) found no effect of federal arrangement on the propensity of conflicts of this type.

<sup>3</sup> The authors cite the example of Poland, where the communists entered into an agreement with Catholic groups. It also happened in King Hussein's Jordan, where the Muslim community reduced the resistance to the Hashemite dynasty, after obtaining legislative office, ministerial posts and the influence on educational and religious policies (SCHWEDLER, 2000).

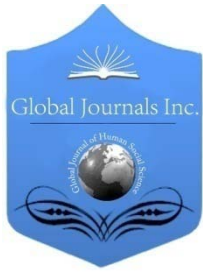
<sup>4</sup> The Civil War broke out when the number of free states and slave owners decreased, thus allowing the formation of a new anti-slavery coalition (MILLER; HAMMOND; KILE, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> These senators were known as "bionic", an allusion to the TV series "The man of six million dollars", also known as the "bionic man".

<sup>6</sup> The agreement provided for the election of a lower chamber on non-confessional basis and the creation of a Senate, which would represent "all spiritual families".

<sup>7</sup> For the reader unfamiliar with statistics, we explain the origin of this number. In order to express the result in percentage terms, we reduced in one unit the amount expressed by the *odds ratio* and we multiplied the result by 100. When the final product is less than "one", the impact will be negative; when larger than one, it will be positive. In the example above the "bicameral" variable,  $(1 - 0.73) * 100 = 27 \%$ .

<sup>8</sup> Some representative examples of specific groups in high chamber are: a) *ethnic groups* - Burundi, Burkina Faso, Madagascar; b) *professional groups* - Ireland, Morocco, Egypt, Ecuador; c) *religious groups* - Lebanon, Burundi, and Burkina Faso.



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## The Relationship between Perception of Organizational Politics, Emotional Intelligence and Work Outcomes: Empirical Evidence from Banking Sector of Pakistan

By Ali Asad, Muhammad Basit Saleem & Ahmad Bemisal Durrani

*National College of Business Administration and Economics" Multan Campus, Pakistan*

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**Keywords:** *emotional intelligence, organizational politics, work outcomes.*

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# The Relationship between Perception of Organizational Politics, Emotional Intelligence and Work Outcomes: Empirical Evidence from Banking Sector of Pakistan

Ali Asad <sup>α</sup>, Muhammad Basit Saleem <sup>σ</sup> & Ahmad Bemisal Durrani <sup>ω</sup>

**Abstract-** Emotional intelligence and organizational politics are an essential part of organizational lifespan and a politically charged organization is discouraging to work in. The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between perceived organizational politics and emotional intelligence and work outcomes. The major objective is to explore the role of emotion in organizational politics in the banking sector of Pakistan. The self-designed questionnaire was used for data collection from 105 employees who are working at managerial level and non managerial level in banking sector. The findings of the study showed the positive relationship between emotional intelligence and perception of politics and these findings help the top management of banking sector to know the how emotion and organizational politics affect on the work out comes of the employees. The finding will also be useful in designing and implementing the strategic management decisions.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

To generate modest advantages and durable success, recent thinking by researcher and experts alike expresses to the value of providing a dedicate work environment for employees. Organizations are combinations of individual with different views, beliefs, ideas and attitudes. These differences influence the way these individuals infer events in the organization. These differences feed into the individual understanding related with organizational actions like politics (Silvester, 2008). Organizational politics explained as actions that authorize people in organization to attain goals without going through proper channels. Whether political activities support or spoil the organization depends on whether the goals of individuals are dependable with the organizational goals. There has no doubt that political beliefs are an ordinary observable fact in every organization.

Organizational politics represented devious behavior of employees towards their work environment only for their self interest. These self interests may be at the cost of other employees or may be organizational goals as well.

Organizations that are common with politics give an uncomfortable environment for employees and fail to create workable behavior for their employees. During the past two decades, research on organizational politics has paying attention mostly on testing the perceptions of organizational politics model. According to the model, organizational, work environment and personal influences of perceptions of organizational politics, which in turn give rise to a number of work outcomes like job involvement, job satisfaction, anxiety, turnover and absence (Ferris et al., 1989). Research examined the negative implications of perceived organizational politics for various work attitudes, behaviors, and performance measures, including job satisfaction, organizational commitment, job burnout, stress, turnover intentions, and negligent behavior (Chang et al., 2009).

Politics is a fact of life in organizations. People who ignore this fact of life do so at their own peril. This means that politics in organizations is a reality and therefore largely seen as a necessary evil. Thus, organizational politics is a prevalent element of virtually all work environments, and its influence has been substantiated across a variety of domains. It has been viewed negatively, neutrally or positively. However, until recently the emotional and feelings implications of organizational politics have been overlooked.

Mayer and Salovey(1997) suggests that “emotional intelligence involves the ability to perceive accurately, appraise and express emotions; the ability to access and generate feelings when they facilitate thought; the ability to understand emotion and emotional knowledge; and the ability to regulate emotions to promote emotional and intellectual growth”. In recent times, the researchers have begun to identify the role of emotion in organizational politics. Drawing from affective events theory, which holds that emotional experiences at work influence employees’ attitudes and behaviors. Researcher suggested that emotion and

*Author α: PhD Scholar, (Business Administration) National College of Business Administration & Economics, Lahore Campus, Pakistan.  
e-mail: aliasaducp@gmail.com*

*Author σ ω: M. Phil. Scholar, (Business Administration) National College of Business Administration & Economics, Multan Campus, Pakistan.*



emotional behaviors mediate the relationship between perceptions of politics and several attitudinal and behavioral outcomes (Liu et al., 2006). Emotional intelligence influences how organizational politics is perceived, thereby indirectly affecting employees' attitudes and behaviors. A recent study of Vigoda-Gadot and Meisler (2010) addressed this question and explored the relationship between emotional intelligence, perception of organizational politics and several work outcomes. Findings from that study found no support for the suggested relationship between emotional intelligence, perception of organizational politics.

#### a) *Purpose of the study*

This study aims to examine the relationship between perceived organizational politics and emotional intelligence and work outcomes and explores the role of emotion in organizational politics in banking sector of Pakistan.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

### a) *Organizational politics*

The phenomenon of organizational politics was first introduced in academic literature by Burns (1967). According to him politics occurs when others are made use of as resources in competitive situation. Since then the construct has been conceptualized differently by researcher. In the same line, the researcher view organizational politics as a behavior, formal or informal that is motivated by self-interest, executed with the sole purpose to satisfy individual interest now or in the future. Organizational politics refers to actions taken within the organization in order to acquire, develop, and use power and other resources in a way that will lead to preferred personal outcomes (Pfeffer, 1981). A literature review reveals that most research in the field has taken a negative view of this phenomenon, focusing on semi-legal actions, manipulation, and coercive influence (Ferris and King, 1992). Previous research has studied the antecedents and consequences of influence tactics employed in organizational power struggles. More recent studies have focused on exploring the effects of political skill on career success, job effectiveness, and work performance (Todd et al., 2009).

The manners, in which employees perceive organizational politics, and the implications of such perceptions, have also been studied. In this regard, Ferris et al. (1989) model has been recognized as a useful tool for discussing how organizational politics functions within organizations, and various studies have validated its key elements, documenting negative correlations between perception of organizational politics and desirable work attitudes such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment, and positive correlations between perception of organizational politics and undesirable outcomes such

as job burnout, stress, turnover intentions and negligent behavior (Chang et al., 2009). Lately, organizational politics researcher have started to acknowledge the potential contribution of emotion to both the perceptions and implications of organizational politics. In a revised version of the perception of organizational politics model, researcher suggested positive and negative affectivity as antecedents of perception of organizational politics.

Hochwarter and Tread way (2003) took a somewhat different approach and proposed an interaction effect of positive and negative affectivity and perception of organizational politics on job satisfaction. Their study found empirical evidence for this line of thinking. Other studies have integrated emotion in organizational politics from a different perspective. Focus on affective events theory, Liu et al. (2006) agreed that emotion and emotional behaviors serve as intermediate linkages in the association between perception of organizational politics and various attitudinal and behavioral outcomes. According to him, political acts by oneself and others can be viewed as work events that trigger emotional reactions, which serve as a core mechanism through which perception of organizational politics affect attitudes and behaviors such as burnout, cynicism, job satisfaction and affective commitment. Rosen et al. (2009) followed a similar line of thought that the daily hassles associated with organizational politics arouse negative emotional responses, which link perceived politics with job satisfaction and other work outcomes. They found that frustration partially mediates the relationship between perception of organizational politics and job satisfaction, and that frustration and job satisfaction together mediate the effects of perceived politics on task performance, organizational citizenship behavior and turnover intentions.

### b) *Emotional intelligence*

Mayer and Salovey (1997) define emotional intelligence as "the ability to perceive accurately, appraise, and express emotions; the ability to access and/or generate feelings when they facilitate thought; the ability to understand emotions and emotional knowledge; and the ability to regulate emotions to promote emotional and intellectual growth". In their model, known as the ability model, emotional intelligence combines intellectual intelligence and emotion (Mayer et al., 2008), as it involves an intellectual understanding of emotion and how emotion can guide both thought and actions.

Theoretical approaches to emotional intelligence can be divided according to whether they focus on specific abilities or on a more global integration of those capacities. The specific ability approaches concern individual mental capacities that are important to emotional intelligence. The integrative model

approaches regard emotional intelligence as inter related global ability. Specific ability approaches to emotional intelligence study issues such as how well a person identifies emotions in faces or how well a person understands emotional meanings. Integrative model approaches to emotional intelligence focus on the study of specific abilities combined together. In recent years, scholars have also introduced a third approach to emotional intelligence, called a mixed model (Neubauer and Freudenthaler 2005). This approach includes a variety of non emotional intelligence qualities and consequently, appears to fall partly or largely outside the boundaries of the concept.

The mixed model typically studies some relevant, emotion specific abilities but also includes motives, social styles, self related qualities and other traits that do not focus primarily on emotion or emotional reasoning. Thus, models of emotional intelligence begin with emotional intelligence related qualities such as the ability to perceive emotions accurately, and add (1) motives such as the need for achievement (2) social styles such as gregariousness and assertiveness (3) self related qualities such as self esteem and (4) control related qualities such as flexibility and control (Mayer, Roberts, and Barsade 2008). The integration of these additions creates the mixed models for emotional intelligence. All the foregoing models for the study of emotional intelligence are relevant and should be considered in a study of the banking sector where a few approaches can be used to initiate a useful discourse on the topic. The mixed models have led some critics to question the validity of emotional intelligence as a construct, with particular concerns about its components, measurement, and overlaps with personality traits (Davies et al., 1998).

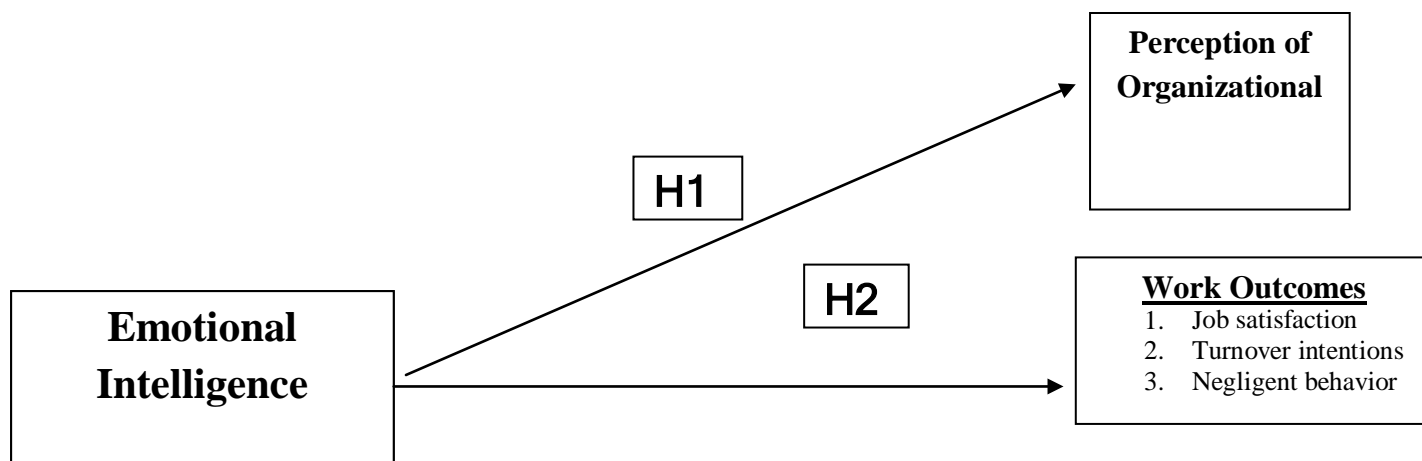
Research during the past decade has shown that high emotional intelligence improves outcomes on various career and work measures, including transformational leadership, conflict resolution, success in job interviews, job performance, perceived organizational justice, and job satisfaction (Meisler, 2012). Aside from its direct effects on such work outcomes, emotional intelligence is also thought to play a moderating role, enhancing the effects of other determinants of career success. Other researchers have explored the possibility that the associations between emotional intelligence and work outcomes are mediated by intervening variables (Mikolajczak et al., 2007). Other findings from the same study showed that emotional intelligence moderates the relationship between perceptions of organizational politics and organizational commitment, as well as the relationship between political skill and absenteeism among public personnel. A significant relationship between emotional intelligence and political skill was also found by Meisler (2012).

### c) *Organizational politics with emotional intelligence*

It is difficult to imagine that organizational politics does not inducing force ful emotions among those who participate in, or even witness, the political game. It is much more reasonable to assume that organizational politics inducing emotions such as anger and frustration. Given the contribution of emotional intelligence to understanding and regulating positive and negative emotions (Mayer, 2001). It is surprising that the effects of emotional intelligence on the perceptions and implications of organizational politics have not yet been extensively studied.

The present study will address this issue and explore the relationships between perceptions of organizational politics, emotional intelligence, and three attitudinal and behavioral outcomes. Empirical evidence from the public sector, presented by Vigoda-Gadot and Meisler (2010), showed an insignificant relationship between emotional intelligence and perception of organizational politics. Furthermore, findings from that study found no support for the assumed mediation effect of perception of organizational politics on the relationship between emotional intelligence and work outcomes.

d) *Proposed Research Model*



The model suggests that employees' emotional intelligence affects the manner in which organizational politics is evaluated and perceived, and affects the work outcomes through its effect on perception of organizational politics.

Studies have found a positive correlation between emotional intelligence and job satisfaction (Sy et al., 2006), a negative correlation between emotional intelligence and negligent behavior and inconsistent findings concerning the relationship between emotional intelligence and turnover intentions (Wong and Law, 2002). Therefore it is believed that the effect of emotional intelligence on job satisfaction, turnover intentions and negligent behavior is at least partly a consequence of its effect on perception of organizational politics. Higher emotional intelligence is expected to lead to lower perceptions of organizational politics, which in turn will enhance employees' job satisfaction and reduce both turnover intentions and negligent behavior.

e) *Hypotheses of Study*

The study suggests the following hypotheses:

H1. Emotional intelligence will be negatively related to perceived politics.

H2. Emotional intelligence will positively relate to job satisfaction and negatively relate to turnover intentions and negligent behavior.

### III. METHODOLOGY

This research employs descriptive and analytical methods involving the quantitative approach. The primary data has been collected from participants by using a questionnaire specifically designed for this research.

a) *Participants and procedure*

The target population consisted of employees working in banking sector in Lahore, Pakistan. A comparable sampling frame of 200 employees working at managerial position and non managerial position was elicited from the target population.

b) *Data collection instrument*

The self designed questionnaire was used for data collection based on five point likert scale (from strongly disagree to strongly agree) to measure the Relationship between perception of organizational politics, emotional intelligence and work outcomes.

c) *Measures*

This study used the Wong and Law Emotional Intelligence Scale (WLEIS) to measure emotional intelligence (Wong and Law, 2002). This study chose to use this self-report scale because in a recent study (Law et al., 2008) the Wong and Law Emotional Intelligence Scale was found to be a better predictor of objective job performance compared to the performance based emotional intelligence test. The scale consists of four dimensions:

(1) Self emotion appraisal (2) Others' emotion appraisal (3) Regulation of emotion and (4) Use of emotion and responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) and the reliability was 0.609.

For the measurement of Perceptions of organizational politics, this study using 12 items from Kacmar and Carlson's (1997) scale. This scale is the most accepted measure of perception of organizational politics in the literature and responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) and the reliability was 0.727. The study used the Schriesheim and Tsui (1980) six-item scale to measure the Job satisfaction where respondents were asked to indicate how satisfied they were with different aspects of their job. The responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) and the reliability was 0.65. For Turnover intentions variable, the study used a four-item scale based on Farrell and Rusbult (1992). The responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) and the reliability was 0.75. For Negligent behavior, used the four-item scale of Vigoda-Gadot and Meisler (2010). The responses ranged from 1

(strongly agree) and the reliability was 0.75. For Negligent behavior, used the four-item scale of Vigoda-Gadot and Meisler (2010). The responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) and the reliability was 0.78. This study has collected several

control variables as a routine procedure. These control variables are age, tenure, gender and education were also tested throughout the various stages of the analysis.

#### IV. RESULT

Job Experience	N	Percent %
0-5	48	45.7
6-10	41	39.0
11-15	3	2.9
above 16	13	12.4
Total	105	100.0

Gender	N	Percent %
Male	80	76.2
Female	25	23.8
Total	105	100.0

Age	N	Percent %
below 25	12	11.4
26-30	44	41.9
31-35	33	31.4
above 35	16	15.2
Total	105	100.0

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics and inter correlations matrix of the research variables. Descriptive statistics such as means and standard deviation scores were computed for the independent and dependent variables. Mean and standard deviation scores are presented in Table below. As the table shows EI is positively related to POP ( $r = 0.327$ ). This finding disagreed with the hypothesis (H1) that emotional intelligence will be negatively related to perceived politics.

The prediction that EI is positively related to job satisfaction ( $r = 0.157$ ) negatively related to turnover intentions and negligent behavior ( $r = -0.179$ ,  $r = -0.125$ ) respectively was supported H2. In addition, POP is positively related to job satisfaction ( $r = 0.074$ ) and negatively related turnover intentions and negligent behavior ( $r = -0.126$ ,  $r = -0.175$ ).

Table : 2  
Correlations

	Mean	S.D	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.EI	3.7613	.65179	1								
2.Self—Emotions Appraisal	3.8143	.90672	.635**	1							
3.Others—Emotions Appraisal	3.7079	.76334	.546**	.438**	1						
4.Use of Emotion	3.8365	.73986	.619**	.370**	.334**	1					
5.Regulation of Emotion	3.6857	1.63239	.709**	.086	.010	.174	1				
6.Perceptions of politics	3.1263	.51795	.327**	.059	.096	.261**	.325**	1			
7.Job satisfaction	3.3698	.54252	.157	-.114	-.203*	.019	-.102	.074	1		
8.Turnover intentions	3.1063	.81711	-.179	-.165	-.059	-.211*	-.070	-.126	-.143	1	
9. Negligent behavior	2.5254	.86302	-.125	-.420**	-.274**	-.255**	.278**	-.175	-.155	.548**	1

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The correlations between POP and each of the separate EI facets were significant: self-emotion appraisal ( $r = 0.635$ ), others' emotion appraisal ( $r = 0.546$ ), use of emotion ( $r = 0.619$ ) and regulation of emotion ( $r = 0.709$ ).

## V. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The study investigated the relationship of emotional intelligence (EI), organizational politics (POP) and work outcomes in banking sector of Pakistan. In line with this, the direct relationship between EI and organizational politics and work outcome; Job satisfaction, turnover intentions and negligent behavior was examined..It should be noted that in contrast to previous research which found negative relationship between EI and POP (Vigoda-Gadot and Meisler, 2010). The present study show positive relationship between the two variables. Findings of this study the show that elements of emotion can shape perceptions of politics and that the manner in which employees understand and regulate felt emotions affects their interpretation of the political arena. The most salient finding in this study was the direct relationship between EI and job satisfaction, which match with previous studies (Sy, Tram, and O'Hara 2006). In addition, other work outcomes were also affected by EI, directly or indirectly (Van Rooy and Viswesvaran 2004). One of the contributions of this study is the reconfirmation of the idea that healthy emotional constructs and the emotional intelligence of the employees adds to job satisfaction and thus may be used as a performance indicator for the quality of banking services.

Aside from its contribution to the organizational politics literature, this study also offers insights for the field of emotional intelligence. Surprisingly, little research has explored the contribution of EI to shaping employees' work attitudes, behaviors and performance (Law et al., 2008). Most research on emotional intelligence in the workplace has explored its contribution to leadership behaviors (Wong and Law, 2002) rather than its effect on the general employees population and the small number of studies that have examined the effect of EI on behavioral and attitudinal outcomes have chiefly tested direct relationships between these variables (Sy et al., 2006). The current study is one of them to explore direct relationships between emotional intelligence and employees' work attitudes/behaviors.

## VI. RECOMMENDATION FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The current study and its findings raise a number of ideas for future research. The present study explored the associations between emotional intelligence, perceived politics, and the three attitudinal and behavioral outcomes: job satisfaction, turnover intentions and negligent behavior. Future studies might expand the model to include other dependent variables, including performance variables such as task performance, organizational citizenship behavior, and absenteeism.

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3. Submission of Manuscripts,
4. Manuscript's Category,
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**29. Think technically:** Always think technically. If anything happens, then search its reasons, its benefits, and demerits.

**30. Think and then print:** When you will go to print your paper, notice that tables are not be split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

**31. Adding unnecessary information:** Do not add unnecessary information, like, I have used MS Excel to draw graph. Do not add irrelevant and inappropriate material. These all will create superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should NEVER take a broad view. Analogy in script is like feathers on a snake. Not at all use a large word when a very small one would be sufficient. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Amplification is a billion times of inferior quality than sarcasm.

**32. Never oversimplify everything:** To add material in your research paper, never go for oversimplification. This will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be more or less specific. Also too, by no means, ever use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions aren't essential and shouldn't be there used. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands and abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas, that are, not necessary. Parenthetical words however should be together with this in commas. Understatement is all the time the complete best way to put onward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

**33. Report concluded results:** Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. Significant figures and appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibitive. Proofread carefully at final stage. In the end give outline to your arguments. Spot out perspectives of further study of this subject. Justify your conclusion by at the bottom of them with sufficient justifications and examples.

**34. After conclusion:** Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium through which your research is going to be in print to the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects in your research.

## INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

### Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form, which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criterion for grading the final paper by peer-reviewers.

### Final Points:

A purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people to interpret your effort selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, each section to start on a new page.

The introduction will be compiled from reference matter and will reflect the design processes or outline of basis that direct you to make study. As you will carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed as like that. The result segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and will direct the reviewers next to the similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you took to carry out your study. The discussion section will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implication of the results. The use of good quality references all through the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness of prior workings.



Writing a research paper is not an easy job no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record keeping are the only means to make straightforward the progression.

### **General style:**

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear

- Adhere to recommended page limits

Mistakes to evade

- Insertion a title at the foot of a page with the subsequent text on the next page
- Separating a table/chart or figure - impound each figure/table to a single page
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence

In every sections of your document

- Use standard writing style including articles ("a", "the," etc.)
- Keep on paying attention on the research topic of the paper
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding for the abstract)
- Align the primary line of each section
- Present your points in sound order
- Use present tense to report well accepted
- Use past tense to describe specific results
- Shun familiar wording, don't address the reviewer directly, and don't use slang, slang language, or superlatives
- Shun use of extra pictures - include only those figures essential to presenting results

### **Title Page:**

Choose a revealing title. It should be short. It should not have non-standard acronyms or abbreviations. It should not exceed two printed lines. It should include the name(s) and address (es) of all authors.





### Abstract:

The summary should be two hundred words or less. It should briefly and clearly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript-- must have precise statistics. It should not have abnormal acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Shun citing references at this point.

An abstract is a brief distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approach to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Yet, use comprehensive sentences and do not let go readability for briefness. You can maintain it succinct by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study, with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to maintain the initial two items to no more than one ruling each.

- Reason of the study - theory, overall issue, purpose
- Fundamental goal
- To the point depiction of the research
- Consequences, including definite statistics - if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account quantitative data; results of any numerical analysis should be reported
- Significant conclusions or questions that track from the research(es)

### Approach:

- Single section, and succinct
- As a outline of job done, it is always written in past tense
- A conceptual should situate on its own, and not submit to any other part of the paper such as a form or table
- Center on shortening results - bound background information to a verdict or two, if completely necessary
- What you account in an conceptual must be regular with what you reported in the manuscript
- Exact spelling, clearness of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else

### Introduction:

The **Introduction** should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable to comprehend and calculate the purpose of your study without having to submit to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give most important references but shun difficult to make a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. In the introduction, describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will have no attention in your result. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here. Following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study
- Shield the model - why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? You strength remark on its appropriateness from a abstract point of vision as well as point out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. Status your particular theory (es) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Very for a short time explain the tentative propose and how it skilled the declared objectives.

### Approach:

- Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done.
- Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point with every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need a least of four paragraphs.



- Present surroundings information only as desirable in order hold up a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read the whole thing you know about a topic.
- Shape the theory/purpose specifically - do not take a broad view.
- As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity and correctness of sentences and phrases.

#### **Procedures (Methods and Materials):**

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A sound written Procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replacement your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt for the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to spare your outcome but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section. When a technique is used that has been well described in another object, mention the specific item describing a way but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to text all particular resources and broad procedures, so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step by step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

#### **Materials:**

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

#### **Methods:**

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

#### **Approach:**

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

#### **What to keep away from**

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

#### **Results:**

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

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



## Content

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

### What to stay away from

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surroundings information, or try to explain anything.
- Not at all, take in raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present the similar data more than once.
- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
- Never confuse figures with tables - there is a difference.

### Approach

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

### Figures and tables

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

### Discussion:

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

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

### Approach:

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



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





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