

GLOBAL JOURNAL

OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCES: F

Political Science

Neo-Liberal Globalization

Consumption among Students

Highlights

Party Defection and Sustenance

Examination of the Alcohol Party

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

Volume 14

Issue 6

Version 0.1



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE

VOLUME 14 ISSUE 6 (VER. 1.0)

OPEN ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY

© Global Journal of Human Social Sciences. 2014.

All rights reserved.

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

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

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

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

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

Engage with the contents herein at your own risk.

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

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

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

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

Global Journals Inc.

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

Sponsors: Open Association of Research Society
Open Scientific Standards

Publisher's Headquarters office

Global Journals Headquarters
301st Edgewater Place Suite, 100 Edgewater Dr.-Pl,
Wakefield MASSACHUSETTS, Pin: 01880,
United States of America

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

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

Offset Typesetting

Global Journals Incorporated
2nd, Lansdowne, Lansdowne Rd., Croydon-Surrey,
Pin: CR9 2ER, United Kingdom

Packaging & Continental Dispatching

Global Journals
E-3130 Sudama Nagar, Near Gopur Square,
Indore, M.P., Pin:452009, India

Find a correspondence nodal officer near you

To find nodal officer of your country, please
email us at local@globaljournals.org

eContacts

Press Inquiries: press@globaljournals.org
Investor Inquiries: investors@globaljournals.org
Technical Support: technology@globaljournals.org
Media & Releases: media@globaljournals.org

Pricing (Including by Air Parcel Charges):

For Authors:

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

Yearly Subscription (Personal & Institutional):

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

INTEGRATED EDITORIAL BOARD
(COMPUTER SCIENCE, ENGINEERING, MEDICAL, MANAGEMENT, NATURAL
SCIENCE, SOCIAL SCIENCE)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dr. Bart Lambrecht

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

Dr. Carlos García Pont

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

Dr. Fotini Labropulu

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

Dr. Lynn Lim

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

Dr. Mihaly Mezei

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

Dr. Söhnke M. Bartram

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

Dr. Miguel Angel Ariño

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

Philip G. Moscoso

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

Dr. Sanjay Dixit, M.D.

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

Dr. Han-Xiang Deng

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

Dr. Pina C. Sanelli

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

Dr. Roberto Sanchez

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

Dr. Wen-Yih Sun

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

Dr. Michael R. Rudnick

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

Dr. Bassey Benjamin Esu

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

Dr. Aziz M. Barbar, Ph.D.

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

PRESIDENT EDITOR (HON.)

Dr. George Perry, (Neuroscientist)

Dean and Professor, College of Sciences

Denham Harman Research Award (American Aging Association)

ISI Highly Cited Researcher, Iberoamerican Molecular Biology Organization

AAAS Fellow, Correspondent Member of Spanish Royal Academy of Sciences

University of Texas at San Antonio

Postdoctoral Fellow (Department of Cell Biology)

Baylor College of Medicine

Houston, Texas, United States

CHIEF AUTHOR (HON.)

Dr. R.K. Dixit

M.Sc., Ph.D., FICCT

Chief Author, India

Email: authorind@computerresearch.org

DEAN & EDITOR-IN-CHIEF (HON.)

Vivek Dubey(HON.)

MS (Industrial Engineering),

MS (Mechanical Engineering)

University of Wisconsin, FICCT

Editor-in-Chief, USA

editorusa@computerresearch.org

Sangita Dixit

M.Sc., FICCT

Dean & Chancellor (Asia Pacific)

deanind@computerresearch.org

Suyash Dixit

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

President, Web Administration and

Development , CEO at IOSRD

COO at GAOR & OSS

Er. Suyog Dixit

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

SAP Certified Consultant

CEO at IOSRD, GAOR & OSS

Technical Dean, Global Journals Inc. (US)

Website: www.suyogdixit.com

Email: suyog@suyogdixit.com

Pritesh Rajvaidya

(MS) Computer Science Department

California State University

BE (Computer Science), FICCT

Technical Dean, USA

Email: pritesh@computerresearch.org

Luis Galárraga

J!Research Project Leader

Saarbrücken, Germany

CONTENTS OF THE ISSUE

- i. Copyright Notice
- ii. Editorial Board Members
- iii. Chief Author and Dean
- iv. Contents of the Issue

- 1. Party Defection and Sustenance of Nigerian Democracy. *1-10*
- 2. The Examination of the Alcohol Consumption among Students in the University of Vienna (WU) and the University of Győr (SZE). *11-22*
- 3. How and Why the Opposition Mdc-T Party Resoundingly Lost The 31 July 2013 Poll Which the Opposition Party was Widely Expected to Resoundingly Win (2013-2014). *23-35*
- 4. Neo-Liberal Globalization, The State and Conflicts: Some Remarks on Sub-Saharan Africa. *37-42*

- v. Fellows and Auxiliary Memberships
- vi. Process of Submission of Research Paper
- vii. Preferred Author Guidelines
- viii. Index



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE

Volume 14 Issue 6 Version 1.0 Year 2014

Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal

Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)

Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Party Defection and Sustenance of Nigerian Democracy

By Jaja Nwanegbo, Jude Odigbo & Kingsley Nnorom

Federal University Wukari, Nigeria

Abstract- It has always been the practice in Nigeria's unstable party democracy for people to defect to other parties with the intention to secure nominations from the party, and for a good number of them to return after elections to join the winning party to vie for positions in the government. The recent massive party defections by political gladiators in Nigeria were symbolic as it was the members of the ruling party that defected to opposition party and on a non election period. This paper examined the implications of this on democracy in Nigeria. It observed that this particular defection would help build strong opposition that would create a balance in the country's democracy by checking the excesses of the ruling party at any time. It also noted that party defections are integral part of democratic processes. However, it argued that since the present defections are not driven by fundamental ideological consideration, there is still a tendency that the opposition would still crumble in no distant time especially if the motive (which is to stop the incumbent president) is not achieved or even after the struggle as the bond cannot be strong outside ideology. The paper relied on content analysis and adopted abstractions from elite theory. It observed that lack of ideology and internal party democracy appears to have ignited the prevailing squabbles that orchestrated the recent exodus. The paper recommended social re-engineering, reorientation and mobilization that is directed towards inculcation of new values and the essence of entrenching acceptable philosophy in Nigeria's party system.

Keywords: *Party, Defection, Sustenance, Democracy.*

GJHSS-F Classification : *FOR Code: 750699*



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:



Party Defection and Sustenance of Nigerian Democracy

Jaja Nwanegbo^α, Jude Odigbo^σ & Kingsley Nnorom^ρ

Abstract- It has always been the practice in Nigeria's unstable party democracy for people to defect to other parties with the intention to secure nominations from the party, and for a good number of them to return after elections to join the winning party to vie for positions in the government. The recent massive party defections by political gladiators in Nigeria were symbolic as it was the members of the ruling party that defected to opposition party and on a non election period. This paper examined the implications of this on democracy in Nigeria. It observed that this particular defection would help build strong opposition that would create a balance in the country's democracy by checking the excesses of the ruling party at any time. It also noted that party defections are integral part of democratic processes. However, it argued that since the present defections are not driven by fundamental ideological consideration, there is still a tendency that the opposition would still crumble in no distant time especially if the motive (which is to stop the incumbent president) is not achieved or even after the struggle as the bond cannot be strong outside ideology. The paper relied on content analysis and adopted abstractions from elite theory. It observed that lack of ideology and internal party democracy appears to have ignited the prevailing squabbles that orchestrated the recent exodus. The paper recommended social re-engineering, re-orientation and mobilization that is directed towards inculcation of new values and the essence of entrenching acceptable philosophy in Nigeria's party system.

Keywords: Party, Defection, Sustenance, Democracy.

1. INTRODUCTION

The practice of carpet-crossing, defection or party switching appears to have become an undying attribute of party politics in Nigeria. Carpet-crossing by Nigerian politicians is dated back to the First Republic particularly in 1951, a decade to Nigeria's independence in the defunct Western Regional House of Assembly (Adejuwon, 2013). For him, it was an overnight affair when several members of the defunct National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), led by the late Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe decamped to the Action Group (AG), led by late Chief Obafemi Awolowo, purposely to deny Zik and his party, the majority in the Western Region House of Assembly, which he required to form the government in Western Region. With that

decamping, AG was able to form the Government in the region. Also, in that same first Republic, another Premier of the that same Western Region of Nigeria, Ladoke Akintola left the then Action Group in a crisis rooted more in personality clash but explained as personal principles and his conviction to advance the Yoruba race into the Nigeria's mainstream politics to form UNDP and enter into an alliance with Northern People's Congress (NPC). Subsequent republics are not exempted from defections and carpet-crossing. For instance, in the old Ondo State during the Second Republic, Akin Omoboriowo, the then Deputy Governor of United Party of Nigeria (UPN) led government of Michael Ajasin defected and joined the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) to become its gubernatorial candidate (Okparaji, 2010).

Explaining this long history and the consolidation of the trend in Nigerian political system, Mbah (2011:3) observed that political party defection has become an increasingly permanent feature in the Nigerian democratic experience. In fact, for over a decade now since the country returned to democratic governance (1999), party defections and political instability are the greatest challenges confronting Nigeria's democracy. The usual practice in the past has being for politicians to defect to other parties with promises of election tickets if they fail to secure party nominations during their own party's primaries. Some who felt disenchanted or denied of a level playing ground, defect to participate in the election, with some still having the intention of returning to their parties. This has being the practice during election periods especially since 1999. The most recent major defection is different from the usual experiences. It appeared to have heralded an irreconcilable stance of major political gladiators in the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP). Indeed, the formation of splinter unit (New PDP) on August 2013, under Kawu Baraje leadership typified the degree of disillusionment among the party bigwigs in PDP.

Thus, absence of internal party democracy seems to have contributed to party defections in Nigeria. Indeed, this gives rise to unhealthy power contest and intra-party feuds. Arguably, while it could be stated that the defection by these members of the ruling People's Democratic Party in 2013 to opposition party could be linked to 2015 elections, there is overwhelming evidence that crisis of internal party prompted the exodus. As a

Author α: Department of Political Science Federal University Wukari, Wukari-Nigeria.

Author σ: Department of Political Science University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Author ρ: Department of Sociology Kwararafa University Wukari, Wukari-Nigeria. e-mail: judeodigbo@gmail.com

result, intra-party squabbles, disputations have continued to energies the growth of what could be seen as a sordid act of party defection. As was seen, the recent massive party defections in Nigeria and the muzzy struggle that characterized the act were very fierce and intense, almost cutting the breath of the party politics in Nigeria. Indeed, the situation in the other parties, especially the party they defected to is not in any way better. There seems to be absence of internal party democracy in virtually all political parties in Nigeria which always raise another; the issue of question of ideology.

Following from the above, it is important to note that party defections are not exclusive character of one party in Nigeria. It is a general practice. Thus, the magnitude of the current defections and its impacts on the body polity raises fundamental questions on the manifestation of the trend and sustainability of Nigerian democracy. Evidently, it shows a clear indication that the phenomenon has the capacity of either derailing Nigerian democracy or reinforcing opposition with the capacity to provide a guide for democratic consolidation. In fact, its persistency, ubiquity and growth could provide a bleak future on the sustainability of party politics in Nigerian political system. Considering its implications on quality of governance, peace, stability and the challenge of sustenance of Nigeria's democracy, this paper seeks to establish the critical link between defections arising from internal party crisis and the extent it has impacted on sustainability of Nigeria's democracy.

II. DEMOCRACY AND DEFECTION: CONCEPTUAL UNDERPINNINGS

The spread and general acceptability of democracy as an appropriate form of governance tend to have increased intellectual effort at achieving universality in the accepted definition of the concept. Scholars (Osaghae, 1992; Schumpeter, 1990; Nnoli, 2003; Appadorai, 2004; Dahl, 2000; Ake 2003; Awa, 19991; Sen, 1999; Ake 2000; L. Diamond, J. Hartlyn, J. Linz & M. Lipset 1989) have continued to dissect the concept of democracy in a manner it would reflect global practices. In spite of their contributions, democracy is still devoid of generally accepted definition. This could be attributed to structural inadequacy, cultural, environmental and societal imperatives inherent in recipient societies which condition the operation and practice of democracy (Nwanegbo & Odigbo 2013b). Hence, Osaghae, (1992) argued that regardless of the discrepancies that could be observed, one fundamental objective of democracy is "how to govern the society in such a way that power actually belongs to all people". More succinctly, Diamond *e tal* (1989) posited that democracy is a system of government that congregates three vital

stipulations of governance: (a) meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and groups, especially political parties for political offices at regular intervals and excluding the use of force; (b) a highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies, at least through regular and fair elections, such that no major (adult) social group is excluded; and (c) a level of civil and political liberties. For them, these are requisite conditions.

Indeed, to Nnoli (2003), it is a system of government usually involving freedom of individuals in various aspects of political life, equality among citizens and justice in the relations between the people and the government and the participation of the people in choosing those in government. Earlier, Schumpeter (1990) defined democracy as an institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide, by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote. It is a state with unlimited opportunities for adult participation in political life. Democracy does not function in isolation, it is about the people. And its success is measured or dependent on the extent it has empowered people to surmount their basic needs and enjoy unrestrained participation in the policy process (Unah, 1993). In fact, what gives democracy meaning and substance is participation and authority of the people to determine who rules. The extent of involvement encompasses the power to decide who rules, what policy to support and decision which would benefit the greatest number of people. The absence of the above contaminates the functionality and operation of democracy and democratization process. In such condition, democratic values inherently imbedded in its operations tend to be neutralized making democracy to produce contradictory results.

On the other hand, defection could be seen as an act of swapping. Thus, party defection is the act of switching from one party to another. According to Malhotra (2005) party defection is known by different nomenclatures—such as "floor-crossing," "carpet-crossing," "party hopping," "dispute" and "waka [canoe]-jumping" (cited in Janada 2009; Mbah 2011). Indeed, party defection occurs in every political system. It is a global reality and an integral part of political process. King and Benjamin (1986) investigated the rationale behind party defections especially in America, and came to conclusion that party defection is most likely to coincide with important political events such as changes in partisan control of political institutions, with changes in key economic indicators, and in times of military conflict. For Castle and Fett, (1996) it is the ideologically cross-pressured members who are most likely to change parties (cited in Nokken and Poole 2002).

However, Malhotra, in his analysis observed that in some countries party defections "are a non-issue

and not perceived as a problem,” whereas in others the practice threatens government stability and is taken as very serious (cited in Janada 2009). Understandably, this threat and instability arising from defections especially in emerging democracies prompted enactment of anti-defection laws in some societies. Most of the anti-defection laws emphasize parliamentary defection. For instance, India enacted various anti-defection laws in 1973, 1985 and presently the 2003 anti-defection law. According to Malhotra, the 2003 law provides that a person can be disqualified from serving in parliament for “voluntarily giving up the membership of his original party (cited in Janada 2009).

The above legal provision appears to have reduced drastically cases of defection in the polity since one finds it difficult to forfeit one's position or faces parliamentary expulsion. Interestingly, a similar law (anti-defection law) exists in Nigeria. However, major deficiencies and incongruence that fraught the 1999 constitution, its operation and function have stalled the achievement of gains derivable from the law. For instance, the conflicting positions of section 68 (1g) and 109(1) tends to weaken the enforcement. For instance, section 68 (1a) states that:

A member of the Senate or the House of Representatives shall vacate his seat in the House of which he is a member if being a person whose election to the House was sponsored by a political party, he becomes a member of another political party before expiration of the period for which that House was elected. Provided that his membership of the latter political party is not as a result of a division in the political party of which he was previously a member or of a merger of two or more political parties or factions by one of which he was previously sponsored” (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999:34).

The fluidity in formations, mergers and demergers including the orchestrations of internal party crisis has made that section difficult in application as the boundaries between mergers and demergers in Nigeria party politics appear too thin, thereby creating justification for parliamentary defections. In the other vein, it is imperative to note that in most developing political system especially in Latin America and Africa, party defections seem not to be motivated by ideological consideration but several other mundane factors not unconnected with the foundations of party politics in the regions. For instance, in most post-colonial states, parties emerged within the context of religious, ethnic consideration and the financial capacity of few elites. In fact, many of them are driven by such considerations and are ultimately seen as devoid of ideological coherence, heavily personality-driven and relying on an ethnic support base (Carothers 2006). Ideology plays a pivotal role in prolonging the life span of a political party. It neutralizes or reduces internal conflict thereby serving as a binding force. Nnoli (2003)

explaining that ideology is a very crucial aspect of politics, not only by serving as a cognitive structure for looking at society generally and providing a prescriptive formula, that is, a guide to individual action and judgment, but also as a powerful instrument of conflict management, self identification, popular mobilization and legitimization.

In fact, intra party crisis in Nigeria underlies the burgeoning state of party defections in Nigeria. For instance, major parties in Nigeria, like the ruling Peoples Democratic Party, All Progressive Grand Alliance among others are in severe internal crisis. These crises have corresponding impact on the political system, and sometimes ensue in members defecting to other parties. Essentially, internal party democracy is a sine qua non for redressing deep rooted animosity among members and reactivating the fortunes of these parties, since they have lost ideological content. It is through this that parties would be able to select candidates that are capable and alluring for elections. Scarrow (2004) In fact, internal party democracy would serve as a veritable platform for mediation and conflict resolution among party faithful. Following from the above, it could be hypothesized that there are serious ideological poverty in virtually all Nigerian political parties which appeared to have generated intra party conflicts and in turn increased the rate of party defections.

III. THEORETICAL DISCOURSE

The study adopted the elite theory in explaining the interplay in the political horse trading and its impact in evolving credible and open market democracy in Nigeria. The elite theory as developed by Vilfredo, Pareto, Roberto Michels, Gaetano Mosca and Jose Ortega Gassat among others, hinges on the fact that every society is composed of two classes of people (Varma 1975). The two classes are made of minority group who rule and the majority being ruled. More specifically, Roberto Michel's “iron law of oligarchy” dwells on element of organization, which exists in every kind of human society that strives for the attainment of a definite end (Varma 1975). In fact, Michels concluded that as a movement or party grows in size, more and more functions are to be delegated to an inner circle of leaders (elites), and, in course of time, the members of the organization are rendered less competent to direct and control them (see Varma 1975).

The above postulations mirror vividly the state of Nigerian political society. Arguably, the Nigerian elites appeared to have succeeded in rendering the majority incapable of controlling them through the perfected process of managing electoral frauds and heinous manipulation of state institutions. This is manifest in the total delusion of the basic electoral principles symptomatic of the market democracy. Instead of opening up the democratic space genuinely for people's participation,

they created the kind of politics which places in the hands of the very few elite the ultimate control of the political system, including the institutions; the political parties, electoral institutions and agencies, security agencies, judicial organs, etc. That is 'machine politics' (see Ibeanu, 2007). Control of these institutions by the members of the ruling class creates a lot of fierce contests, bad bloods and crisis in the political system.

Attached to this contest is the bad governance principles associated therewith in such societies. Ultimately, associated with machine politics is the control of the state economy by such group of persons (the elites) and the indulgence in the act of buying people's support and conscience and in forcing such support when corrupt mobilization becomes difficult. Further to this is sharing the state resources among the members of the ruling class. Considering that the society including the members of the class is not a monolithic existence, there is a sustained contest among members of that class for the control of the machine as that also means control of the distributive power. The winner usually takes all and the loser loses everything. Hence, the contest is usually very fierce and petty. In the face of this contest, several activities take place, all surrounding the struggles for the acquisition and utilization of the state power. They become victorious or to avert losing out, they play dirty and sometimes, depending on their place in every power equation, engage in act of destabilization and in some occasions, persistent defections. This is in their desperate move to align with other parties or groups where they feel that their individual interest would be secured and by this heating up the polity. People tend to be deluded into accepting flimsy reasons such as crisis, as what propels such defections without emphasizing their (defectors) role in those crises. In many cases political elites tend to manipulate ethno-religious sentiments as tools for gathering political support after

defection (see the instance of the Western Regional House of Assembly). Interestingly, the recipient parties in their desperation to get more members and strength accept the defectors and present them in a manner they could be seen as political "saints" regardless of their previous misdemeanor.

IV. NIGERIA'S DEMOCRACY SINCE 1999: CATALOGUES OF POLITICAL DEFECTION

Nigeria's return to democratic governance in 1999 raised optimism that democratic practices and inherent qualities embedded in it would help to fast-track Nigeria's development trajectory. This hope tends to be becoming a mirage. Nigeria since 1999 appears to have been engulfed with series of confrontations, ethno-religious conflict, economic instability, militancy, terrorism and political squabbles. These crises that rocked major political parties from 1999 till date instigated multiple political party defections in this fourth republic. These defections as noted earlier were mainly to secure party platform or nomination to contest elections. The fact that most of the defectors especially from the ruling parties at the national and state levels later returned to their various parties lend credence to the above assertion. However, there is no indication that the recent exodus in the ruling party would align with what seems to be a noticeable awful character of Nigerian politicians or that there is any "chance of return" at least for now. This is because both defectors and highly placed individuals in the ruling party stand at different extremity with none of them ready to compromise. With this move, number of defection cases has continued to occur and appeared to have overwhelmed the numbers prior to the present republic. Records of the major defections in the Nigeria's political landscape since the commencement of the fourth republic were stated below:

Figure 1 : Major Political Defection since 2003 General Elections

Name	Initial Party	Party Defected to
Ikedi Ohakim (former governor, Imo State)	Progressive People's Alliance (PPA)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Theodore Orji (Abia State governor)	Progressive People's Alliance (PPA)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Rochas Okorocha (Imo State governor)	All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA)	All Progressive Congress (APC), prior to this, he has defected to many parties (initially he started as PDP member)
Chris Ngige (former governor Anambra State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
Achike Udenwa (former governor Imo State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) (but has returned to People's Democratic Party (PDP)
Chibuike Amaechi (River State governor)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
Chinwoke Mbadinuju (former governor Anambra State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Alliance for Democracy (AD) (but has returned to People's Democratic Party (PDP)
Alhaji Attahiru Bafarawa (former governor Sokoto State)	All Progressive Congress (APC)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)



Muritala Nyako (Governor Adamawa State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
Rabiu Kwakwanso (Governor of Kano State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
Abdulfatah Ahmed (Governor of Kwara State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
Aliyu Wamakko (Governor of Sokoto State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
Ifeanyi Ararume (Former Gubernatorial Candidate in Imo State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) (but has returned to People's Democratic Party, PDP)
Isa Yaguda (Former Governor, Bauchi State)	All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Alhaji Mahmud Shinkafi (Governor of Zamfara State)	All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Ibikunle Amosun (Governor Ogun State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Nigerians Peoples Party (ANPP) to Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) and presently All Progressive Congress (APC)
Segun Oni (Former Governor of Ekiti State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
George Akume (Former Governor Benue State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) presently known as All Progressive Congress (APC)
Femi Pedro (Former Deputy Governor of Lagos State)	Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN)	Labour Party (LP)
Segun Mimiko (Governor Ondo State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Labour Party (LP) but has recently returned to Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Late Funsho Williams (Former Gubernatorial Candidate Lagos State)	Alliance for Democracy (AD)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Iyiola Omisore (Former Deputy Governor of Osun State)	Alliance for Democracy (AD)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Orji Uzo Kalu (Former Governor of Abia State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Formed, the Progressive People's Alliance (PPA) but has since returned to (PDP)
Saminu Turaki (Governor of Jigawa state)	All Nigerians Peoples Party (ANPP)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Atiku Abubakar (Former Vice President)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) but returned to PDP and now in APC
Late Chuba Okadigbo (Former Senate President)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Nigerians Peoples Party (ANPP)
Late Harry Marshal (Former PDP Zonal Leader)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Nigerians Peoples Party (ANPP)
Timipre Silva (Former Governor of Bayelsa State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
Tom Ikimi (PDP Chieftain)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC) But has returned to the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Aminu Waziri Tambuwal (Speaker House of Representatives)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)

Source: Compiled by the author from Newswatch, December, 23rd 2013; Vanguard December, 22, 2013; Punch, January 3rd 2014; Sun Newspaper, December 23rd 2013, Vanguard, September, 27th 2014, Sun Newspaper, 9th November, 2014.

Understandably, it could be stated that the above zigzag political roaming tends to be permissible specifically for the executive arm of government under the 1999 constitution. However, such leverages are not extended to the parliament. It is outlawed by virtue of the provision of section 68 sub-section. According to section 68 (1) of the 1999 constitution, a member of the

Senate or of the House of Representatives shall vacate his seat in the House of which he is a member if:

(g) being a person whose election to the House was sponsored by a political party, he becomes a member of another political party before the expiration of the period for which that House was elected; Provided that his membership of the latter

political party is not as a result of a division in the political party of which he was previously a member or of a merger of two or more political parties or factions by one of which he was previously sponsored (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999:68).

Thus, the constitution seems to be explicit on the conditions that could warrant or would demand forfeiture of one's seat in the Nigerian parliament. However, the constitution like in many other sections created gap in the second part which states that such forfeiture is legitimately mandatory "provided that his membership of the latter political party is not as a result of a division in the political party of which he was previously a member" (section 68 (1) of 1999 Nigerian constitution). Considering the nature of Nigerian political parties and perhaps more importantly the character of Nigerian politicians and the fact that no individual or agency is saddled with the responsibility of determining when a party is divided or not, makes this section more complex and ambiguous.

Beyond constitutional complexities, experiences have shown that the general impact on the stability of the system is terribly monumental especially when it disadvantaged the ruling party. For, instance, over 15 members of the ANPP in the National Assembly have defected to the PDP since 2007 (Mbah, 2011). As a result, the ANPP appeared to have been overwhelmed by the probable loss of its members to the PDP. On its part, the ruling party tends to explain this as heroic, milestone and landmark decision motivated by the successes of the party over a decade of providing leadership. In the senate, Dr Wahab Dosunmu, Senator Adeseye Ogunlere and Senator Musulius Obanikoro all elected on the platform of Alliance of Democracy (AD) Lagos State defected to join the ruling Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP). Senator Arthur Nzeribe (Imo), Senator John Nwanunu (Abia) Dr Usman Kadir (Kogi) the trio defected from the All Nigeria People Party (ANPP) to join the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). While Senator Satti Gogwin, Action Congress (Plateau) defected to join the ruling party (PDP) (see Okparaji, 2010). Also, Patrick Osakwe (LP, Delta State); Patricia Akwasike, (ANPP, Nasarawa State); and Sa'di Yauo (ANPP, Zamfara State) in 2010 defected to Peoples' Democratic Party (also see Baiyewu, 2012).

However, the recent defections from the ruling party to the opposition party have generated enormous tensions. The exodus of thirty seven (37) members of House of Representatives and eleven (11) senators from the ruling party (PDP) was matched with rancor and litigations. This is not unexpected given that party politics in Nigeria are personalized and the seemingly non-institutionalization of political parties in Nigeria tends to increase the magnitude of confrontations. Since parties are the creation of the most influential individuals in collaboration with allies, the processes of conducting

party affairs and regulating the behavior of members have remained hugely conflictual. Arguably, it could be stated that the present trend may prosperously augment the size and growth of opposition party, but it is still vague whether this growth could be translated into good leadership or to be sufficient enough to check and condition the action of the ruling party. What is incontrovertible is that both the opposition and government parties are bereft of ideology and are therefore not rooted on any major foundational belief. The fact that both the abandoned and recipient parties are identical in virtually every attributes indicates that the movement may persist yet the leadership gap may correspondingly broaden. In fact, such exodus has remained ubiquitous over the time. The experiences in the first republic and subsequent republics where internal party conflicts resulted to defections lend credence to the above assertion. Essentially, defections in Nigeria have been more conflictual and indeed, seem unable to promote democracy and good governance. This is really one of the predicaments of democracy in Nigeria over a decade. The reason for that is not unconnected with the absence of major factors on party politics, ideology, etc.

V. IDEOLOGY AND THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRATIC SUSTENANCE IN NIGERIA

The scale of party defections and acrimonies, instability accompanying the act tends to suggest that defection has become one of major threats and destabilizing factor to party politics and sustainable democratic practice in Nigeria. Indeed, political party is essentially a requisite institution in the process of democratization and democratic sustenance. Conventionally, political parties have been understood to rest their existence on sustained ideological foundation. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, is to determine whether ideological status of Nigerian parties is inextricably linked to perennial internal wrangling and to determine its implication on democratic sustenance.

Ideology generally could be seen as a set of shared beliefs regarding the proper order of a society and the means this could be achieved (Seliger, 1976; Gerring, 1997; Iyare, 2004; Omotola, 2009; Jost, Federico & Napier, 2009). According to Van Dijk (2006) an ideology is the foundation of the social representations shared by a social group. As Omotola (2009) rightly noted, ideology functions as a means of self-identification, as an instrument of conflict management, as a prescriptive formula and as a mobilizational and unifying force. Indeed, several other scholars have seen ideology beyond the confines or views of specified party politics (Heberle, 1951; Banskurst, 2005; Fischman & Law, 2005). For Heberle (1951) ideology of a movement in "a broad, non-

technical sense" could be seen as "the entire complex of ideas, theories, doctrines, values and strategic and tactical principles that is characteristic of the movement.

The import of the above definitions is that since ideology is a shared belief, it has the potency of binding people together regardless of their background, sex, religion, culture, status and orientation. It engenders peace and reduces internal bickering thereby promoting decorum, growth and development which extend to the larger polity. This does not mean also absence of conflict of interest, but a party that is fundamentally built on ideology possesses the capacity to democratically managed conflicts of interest. Of course, the tendency that party faithful may resort to compromises to accommodate other competing interest is certain. Buttressing this further, Jost (2006) asserted that different ideologies represent socially shared but competing philosophies of life and how it should be lived (and how society should be governed), it stands to reason that different ideologies should both elicit and express at least somewhat different social, cognitive, and motivational styles or tendencies on the part of their adherents (cited in Omotola, 2009). Yet, it is endowed with internal value mechanisms for addressing basic issues emanating from within.

Contrary to the above, several studies on political parties in Nigeria point to the fact that political parties in Nigeria seem to be confronted with and indeed suffering from ideological deficiency (Omotola, 2009; Iyare, 2004). This could be attributed to flawed foundation and wobbly foundations of these parties since 1960 which according to Omotola (2009) have been largely responsible for their seeming ideological barrenness. He further argued that despite all pretences to the contrary through their manifestoes, as much as the superficial classifications as the "left" and "right", "progressive" and "conservative", Nigerian parties are bereft of clear ideological commitments. Thus, while Omotola (2009) is of the opinion that this faulty origin of political parties in Nigeria is responsible for the party's ideological barrenness, we emphasize further that the poverty of ideology is significantly accountable for the prevailing political harlotry and party defections in the fourth republic. For instance, virtually all political parties in Nigeria seem to have one internal crisis or the other. Sometimes these crises snowballed into full scale conflict, leading to division, factionalization and sometimes even gruesome murder of members. For example, the gruesome murder of former justice minister Bola Ige after indicating his willingness to resign his position and return to help his party for the 2003 election and the murder of former PDP zonal leader Harry Marchall after he defected to ANPP are instances that party politics in Nigeria is not guided by clear commitments and principles.

Thus, while we do not intend to engage on characterization or evaluating major components that

drive party formation and management in Nigeria such as ethnicity, religion, the role of money and influence of powerful individuals, it is thus, important to note that sustaining Nigerian democracy has remained a herculean task that may not be achieved with the present flawed machinery. Political party is an indispensable apparatus of state. Party system that is not institutionalized and lacked the spicy, needed basic ingredients for regulating conduct, aggregate opinion may definitely lack the capacity to sustain itself and the entire political system. In this condition defections occur and may persist. However, it is important to note that defections are not the solution. It can only offer the defectors short period of peace (if at all). For sustenance of democracy in Nigeria, there is need to critically address basic problems that bordered on party formation, structure and management that would be erected based on certain ideological principles. This is essential because just as Seliger (1976) rightly observed "politics is inseparable from ideology". Fundamental among them is the establishment of internal party democracy to give people opportunity to participate and protest on issues they feel strongly about and to get redress within. Absence of that and death of ideology would obviously continue to drive defections in Nigeria party politics.

VI. DEFECTION AND SUSTENANCE OF NIGERIAN DEMOCRACY

It is commonly held that beyond government, the existence of credible, strong and challenging opposition is important for the sustenance of democracy. The recent defection by a section of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) to the All Progressive Congress (APC) ordinarily ought to drive Nigerian democracy to such situation of balance needed in any normal and established democracy for the practice in the country to consolidate. Looking at the equation of the elected officers in the country before and after that defection, one would understand that it really was a very significant development in the position of Nigeria party politics. It was a defection that saw five (5) state governors, Eleven (11) Senators and Thirty-Seven (37) members of the House of Representatives joining the APC to create a rather balanced power equation among the government party and opposition, giving the posture of an increased possibility for a change in the next general election.

Thus, Nigeria might be presenting a democracy with two consolidated or strong parties that would ordinarily place democracy on a competitive ground. That as stated at the early part of this paper is not only good but required. Incidentally, quite some thick clouds cover both the PDP and APC, making the picture unclear. This calls for deeper inquiry in the nature of these parties to aid our arrival to an acceptable

conclusion. One basic consideration is to determine if the parties, PDP that has being in government at the centre for over thirteen (13) years now and APC have major differences. Has PDP's long stay in power and the ability to maintain high population of 'members' made it sustainable? Has the APC, just by its ability to merge with others and assuming the "physical" status of a big opposition (or even ruling) party made its position as party sustainable enough to make a change in the system. What appears common in Nigeria is that virtually all the political parties have very fluid nature. Beyond not being established on any principle, they are easily formed, reformed, changed, merged, demerged and disintegrated. To help our analysis, there is need therefore to establish the measure of sustainability of political parties and infer from that if the parties in Nigeria, especially the party that emerged from the merger and defection (APC) acquired the strength to create the needed balance that would make Nigerian democracy strong.

Generally, a party's sustainability can be measured by its level of adaptability, its resource adequacy, the presence of mechanisms of internal conflict resolution, and the extent to which the party evolves a continuous process of self reincarnation through the positive leadership recruitment and injection of new ideas (wanjohi, 2003: 239). It can be measured in terms of the size of its core membership as well as the character and organizational capabilities of its core leadership. The more homogenous the core membership and the more focused the leadership, the more sustainable a party will be (Wanjohi, 2003). He further explains that political parties may be viewed like other important organizations whose institutions sustainability is a function of a clear mission based on the leaders' vision. He further called this entrepreneurial viewpoint.

Beyond every other consideration Wanjohi (2003) explained that political party's sustainability is dependent on its ability to stay focused on its mission and to be able to transform itself into many forms as may be inspired either by the vision of its leaders or by the prevailing political conditions. Such include mutating into a different type or evolving a new mode of operation. ANC in South Africa under the apartheid regime was able to evolve this adaptable character to survive and achieve its goals. Such too could be seen in the manifestation, through the youth's wing and Zikist movement that came with the NCNC in the Nigerian first Republic to survive certain colonial policies and achieve its objectives of wresting sovereignty out of the hands of the colonialists.

We may need to take the other factors one after the other to arrive at a good assessment of the new merged party. First, the capacity of the new political party to be adaptable to changing circumstances in the political system determines to a large extent how the

political party is. It can be explained as how the political party is able to exist and sustain itself within the various changes and circumstances it meets and be able to survive it. Looking at the most celebrate merger that was built through the defections of some PDP chieftains and their followers, it has actually shown the dynamic characters of the leaders of that party to prepare itself for sustenance in the face of the challenge facing them in elections against a dominant PDP country. However, it has to be explained that this is not the first time such mass organization was built as a political party in Nigeria. Usually, preparatory to elections, political parties have usually sought alliance which many of the time led to defections, mergers and birth of a new bigger party.

Incidentally, the same core organization in this new experiment has always found themselves in these arrangements. Thus, they have usually not been able to adapt to the turmoil that go with primaries and elections in Nigeria. Of course, the principles of democracy have in-built mechanisms to control internal insurrections. However, the undemocratic character of these parties has consistently created problems for them. In fact, the undemocratic nature of these organizations usually makes it very difficult for them to survive and to be sustainable. Already, APC is beginning to manifest such traits with the outcome of the recently concluded party convention that saw their election of national leaders of the party. The fact that one of the contestants for the position of party chairman who was formerly of PDP, Tom Ikimi has returned to PDP lend credence to this assertion.

The above situation indicates absence of genuine internal party democracy. Close to it also, is the absence of good mechanism of intra-party conflict resolution. Indeed, with obvious injustice in the system, any mechanism puts in place will rest on nothing strong to solve problems. It will equally not allow leadership recruitment to be open and would surely stifle new ideas. Looking at APC, it still retains those crops of leaders that were at the centre stage in the second republic (especially UPN) and since 1999 under AD, through ACN to the present new merger. Yet, with good percentage of former PDP members who had defected to the APC. What may look appealing is the new crowd thrown into the party (its new members). Incidentally, describing these people as core members of a political party requires establishing the level of commitment that these (especially new) members have for the party.

The next problem is the challenge of resources. Conventionally, one of the most reliable sources of funding political parties is party membership dues. In Nigeria, the culture of having "party financiers" as few members of the party who by that status almost take over the party structure makes it difficult for one to safely argue that any political party in Nigeria has a sustainable base. If those financiers decide to withhold their

supports and finances, just like some PDP Governors did at the height of their intra-party difficulties in 2013, the finance of the party crumbles. Some of the credible resource basis for political parties is returns from investments. Obviously, no political party in Nigeria has such resources not to think of sustaining it. For the government and opposition party, contributions from members in political positions form the strongest source of funding, complementing and sometimes constituting part of the major financiers.

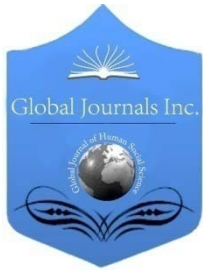
VII. CONCLUSION

From the analysis, it could be stated that one of the major challenges for sustaining Nigerian democracy in the fourth republic is the perennial defections arising from internal party crisis. With huge number of defections, the present republic is facing the problem of stability. This is mainly because of ideological deficiencies among parties and the drive by influential individuals to privatize a political party. Based on the above, this paper concluded that resolving the recurrent defection among party members or ending the persistent defection would demand rethinking and a paradigm change from the hitherto amalgam of political profit making allies representing political parties to erecting party systems that are ideological rooted. More importantly, is the critical role of the civil society groups and state agencies in reversing the present abnormality. Arguably, the beneficiaries of the present rot may pose serious obstacle in this direction. However, sustaining Nigerian democracy demands a sustained radical, social re-engineering, re-orientation and mobilization that would be directed towards inculcation of new values and essence of entrenching acceptable philosophy in the Nigeria's party system.

REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Adejuwon, L. (2013) Of Carpet Crossing and Old Wine in New Bottle. *Newswatch*, 23rd December. p. 21.
2. Ake, C. (2000) *The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa*. Dakar: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa.
3. Ake, C. (2003) *Democracy and Development in Africa*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
4. Appadorai, A. (2004) *The Substance of Politics*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
5. Awa, E. (1991) Democracy and Governance in Africa: Preliminary Statement. In Aderinwale, A. & Mosha, F. N. (Eds.), *Democracy and Governance in Africa*. As Part of Papers presented at a conference of the Africa Leadership Forum, Ota, April 28th.
6. Baiyewu, L. (2012) Defections and the Survival of Deocracy. *Punch Newspaper*, 14th October, p. 8.
7. Barnhurst, K. (2005) News Ideology in the Twentieth Century. In Hoyer S. & Pottker H. (eds.), *Diffusion of the News Paradigm*. NORDICOM: Nordic Information Center for Media and Communication Research
8. Carothers, T. (2006) *The Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
9. Dahl, A. (2000) *On Democracy*. London: Yale University Press.
10. Diamond, L., J. Hartlyn, J. Linz & M. Lipset (1989) *Democracy in Developing Countries*. Boulder: Lynne Reiner Publishers.
11. Federal Government of Nigeria, (1999) *The Constitution of Nigeria's Federal Republic*.
12. Fischman, J. & Law, D. (2005) What is Judicial Ideology, and How should we Measure it? *Journal of Law and Policy*, 29 (8). p. 133-214.
13. Gerring, J. (1997) Ideology: A Definitional Analysis. *Political Research Quarterly* 50 (9). p. 957-994.
14. Heberle, R. (1951) *Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
15. Iyare, T. (2004) "An Overview of Political Parties in Nigeria". In Odion-Akhaine S. (ed.), *Governance: Nigeria and the World*. Lagos: Center for Constitutionalism and Demilitarization.
16. Janada, K. (2009) Laws against Party Switching, Defecting, or Floor-Crossing in National Parliaments. *The Legal Regulation of Political Parties*, the Working Paper 2
17. Jost, J. Federico, C. & Napier, J. (2009) Political Ideology: its Structure, Functions and Affinities. *Annu. Review Psychol.* Retrieved from arjournals.annualreviews.org.
18. King, G. & Benjamin, G. (1986) The Stability of Party Identification Among US Representatives: Political Loyalty, 1789-1984. *Being a Paper Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Convention*, 4th May.
19. Mbah, P. (2011) "Party Defection and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria – 1999 –2009". *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, 2 (2) . p. 1 – 21.
20. Nnoli, O. (2003) *Introduction to Politics*. Revised 2nd Edition, Enugu: PACREP.
21. Nokken, T. & Poole, K. (2002) Congressional Party Defection in American History. *Being a Paper prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*, San Francisco, August 29.
22. Nwanegbo, J. & Odigbo, J. (2013b). Democracy and Institutionalization of Poverty. *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 5 (5). p. 80-89.
23. Okparaji, P. (2010) Political Party, Defection and the Law. *The Tide*, 1st February.
24. Omotola, S. (2009) Nigerian Parties and Political Ideology. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in Social Sciences*, 1(3). p. 612-634.
25. Osaghae, E.E. (1992) Ethnicity and Democracy. In Ayo F. (ed.). *Understanding Democracy*. Ibadan: Bookcraft Ltd.

26. Schumpeter, J. (1990) *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, New York: Harper and Row.
27. Seliger, M. (1976) *Ideology and Politics*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
28. Sen, A. (1999) Democracy as a Universal Value. *Journal of Democracy*, 10 (3). p. 3-17.
29. Unah, J. (1993) *Fundamental Issues in Government and Philosophy of Law*. Ikeja: Jojo Educational Research and Publisher Ltd.
30. Van Dijk, T. (2006) Politics, Ideology and Discourse. *Elsevier*, p.729-740.
31. Varma, S.P. (1975) *Modern Political Theory*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, PVT Ltd.
32. Wanjohi, N. G (2003), Sustainability of Political Parties in Kenya. In Salih M. A. (ed.) *African Political Parties, Evolution, Institutionalization and Governance*. London: Pluto Press.



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE

Volume 14 Issue 6 Version 1.0 Year 2014

Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal

Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)

Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Examination of the Alcohol Consumption among Students in the University of Vienna (WU) and the University of Győr (SZE)

By Péter Huszka & Ida Ercsey

Széchenyi István University, Hungary

Abstract- In our accelerated world people's drinking habits have constantly been changing. From time to time new trends show up, and people follow them either consciously or unconsciously. In Hungary and in Austria healthy lifestyle is a trend which gradually comes into fashion. Is this really the case? To find this out, we questioned 150 students each at both universities. The task of the present research is to analyse, within the frames of an exploratory research, whether there is a difference between the health behaviour and the alcohol drinking habits of the students of Wirtschaftsuniversität in Vienna and those of Széchenyi István University in Győr.

Keywords: health behaviour, alcohol consumption, university students.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 160699



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:



The Examination of the Alcohol Consumption among Students in the University of Vienna (WU) and the University of Győr (SZE)

Péter Huszka ^α & Ida Ercsey ^σ

Abstract- In our accelerated world people's drinking habits have constantly been changing. From time to time new trends show up, and people follow them either consciously or unconsciously. In Hungary and in Austria healthy lifestyle is a trend which gradually comes into fashion. Is this really the case? To find this out, we questioned 150 students each at both universities. The task of the present research is to analyse, within the frames of an exploratory research, whether there is a difference between the health behaviour and the alcohol drinking habits of the students of Wirtschaftsuniversität in Vienna and those of Széchenyi István University in Győr.

Keywords: *health behaviour, alcohol consumption, university students.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Due to changes in social environment today's generation of adolescents and young people undergo changes. The role of the family and the school has been decreasing in the socialisation of young people, while the role of friends and acquaintances has been increasing, and the influence of media – mainly the electronic media – and that of consumer industry is growing.

The pressure of time and performance, the early independence, the challenges and the growing competition increase the endangerment of young people. As a result of these many people use different performance-enhancers (and drugs as well) and/or consume alcohol. We mustn't ignore that among young people there can be big differences regarding the risk of developing harmful addictions. The role of personality in this question can be mentioned as a glaring example since personality may appear in alcohol consumption and in subsequent behavioural patterns as well¹. For the experience of these it is enough to look around in the buildings of secondary schools or universities as well as in the different pleasure-grounds (and in their vicinity).

*Author α: Associate professor, Universität Wien – University of Vienna.
e-mail: huszkap@sze.hu*

*Author σ: Associate professor, Széchenyi István University - Győr.
e-mail: ercsey@sze.hu*

¹ Löre V. (2013): Személyiségtípusok az emberi erőforrás menedzsmentben. Ekonomické štúdie - teória a prax: Gazdasági tanulmányok - elmélet és gyakorlat, Komárno: International Research Institute, pp. 255- 270.

It is important to mention and clarify that in modern marketing it is an outdated approach that companies have to meet the short-term needs of customers the most effective way possible. The short-term needs (demands) of customers often clash with the long-term interests of customers and society (e.g. health condition, the improvement of life quality, the avoidance of pollution). All of these are especially true in case of young people who nowadays almost demand and consider evident that 'they make their own decisions about their lives' and they almost feel offended if for example they are not served with tobacco products and alcohol, that is to say their freedom of self-determination is restricted.

The domestic decadence of health condition has been going on since the mid 1960s, and as a consequence of this, Hungary is increasingly lagged behind compared to – mostly Western-European – countries having developed health culture. The health condition of the population is even worse than what could be explained by the country's state of development. Good health condition is not only the 'interest' of the individual but that of the society as well, since the 'working person' as labour force is an important element of the production and value-production (transformation) process. Thus his/her health condition and the maintenance of his/her health condition is the basic interest of the society as well. (In Hungary the death rate of 55-65-year-olds is extremely high, which is very 'tragic for the individual', but the economy loses its experts having professional routine and experience. These experts cannot share their experience with the younger generation.)

The importance of the research is also emphasised by the fact that 'university years' mean that important phase of human life, when those habits develop, which later impact the health condition throughout the whole life. Konczosné et al. – when examining the consumer behaviour of students in higher education – state that 'in the supply of university restaurants more and more space should be given to green salads, natural kitchen poultry meats, fruits, sugar-free beverages and calorie-tables indicated in a

clearly visible place.”² A further statement of them is that there is a growing need of wellness (‘the expectations of students as consumers reflect in the importance of the growing needs of sporting, programs offering leisure time experience, extreme sports and the enjoy of life’).³

In our accelerated world people's drinking habits have constantly been changing. From time to time new trends show up, and people follow them either consciously or unconsciously. In Hungary and in Austria healthy lifestyle is a trend which gradually comes into fashion. Is this really the case? Or it is just a clever communication trick with which certain manufacturers want to increase the turnover of their products!?

Considering the above-mentioned during my research we sought for an answer to the question whether the pursuit of healthy lifestyle are reflected in the alcohol consumption habits of Hungarian and Austrian university students.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW, HYPOTHESES

In accordance with the aims set for the research and the methodological logic that has been drawn up,

secondary findings will be presented first and then those will be followed by the findings of the primary market research. Let's review first what factors compose health, the individual's health behaviour and what are the elements of it.

a) *Health Behaviour/Consciousness and its Elements*

Health has been explained by many people in many ways similarly to those factors that mostly influence the health of our body. According to Baum, Krantz and Gatchel (1997), health behaviour and health-consciousness are all those attitudes that may affect our health, while we are healthy.⁴ This system is, however, ‘flexible’, since nowadays, in the age of IT revolution and its widespread use, the credibility of information and the ability to quickly adapt (to our environment) also affects/may affect our health. The most important elements of health behaviour are illustrated by Figure 1.

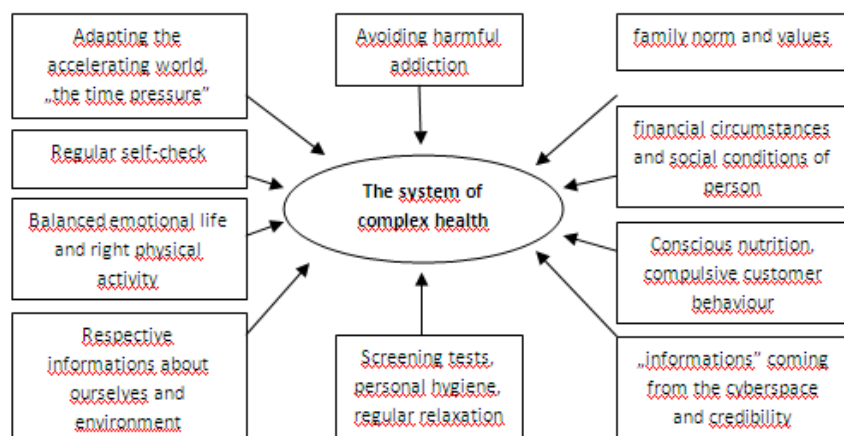


Figure 1 : The complex system of health behaviour⁵

² Konczosné Szombathelyi M., Kovácsné Tóth Á., Zakariás G., Budaházi J. és Dusek T. (2010/a): A generációs marketing jelentősége egy felsőoktatási intézmény példáján. In: Csépe A. (szerk.) „Új marketing világtrend” tanulmánykötet. Magyar Marketing Szövetség Marketing Oktatók Klubja 16. országos konferenciája. Budapesti Kommunikációs és Üzleti Főiskola Marketing Intézete: Budapest. 806.o

³ Konczosné Szombathelyi M., Kovácsné Tóth Á., Zakariás G., Budaházi J. és Dusek T. (2010/b): „Nem csak a húszéveseké a világ”: az egészség/fittség/fiatalság trend és az „új idők generáció”-t célzó egyetemi marketingkommunikáció. In: Kuráth G. és Pálfi M. (szerk.) III. Felsőoktatási Marketing Konferencia. Konferencia CD, Pécsi Tudományegyetem, Pécs. 192.o.

⁴ Baum, A., Krantz, D. S., and Gatchel, R. J. (1997): An introduction to health psychology, New York: McGraw-Hill

⁵ Own research and compilation based on the work of Harris and Guten. Huszka P.: Divat a korai dohányzás? – avagy dohányzási szokások vizsgálata a 12–16 évesek körében. Egészségfejlesztés, 53 (4), 9-15, (2012 a), Harris DM, Guten S (1979) Health protecting behaviour: An exploratory study. Journal of Health and Social Behaviour 20: 17-29.

It is clearly visible from the illustration that health behaviour is a complex system that consists of physical activity, mental health, conscious nutrition, hygiene and last but not least, the avoidance of harmful excise goods or the norm- and value-system of the family and its strength, as well as the 'information' coming from the cyberspace and its credibility. The complex system also includes the financial status and opportunities of the individual (it is enough to think about nutrition and its quality, but the 'access' to medical care also depends on it in most cases), 'time pressure' and the adaptation to the accelerating world or its absence as well, which according to Süle (2013) depends on the subjective assessment of time. This latter leads in most cases to mental (and psychical) illness and due to this to the consumption and the excessive use of different 'sedative (pass) products' like alcohol, drugs, smoking and internet addiction as well.

If the individual can or could keep all these elements or just the majority of them, one could live a healthy life. Unfortunately, in most cases this is not or just hardly conceivable in Hungary. In 2011 one author of this article commissioned by the Local Government of Kőbánya visited more bars and pleasure-grounds in the district to collect information about the health status of the customers and their 'use' of health behaviour elements. The research findings revealed a distressing picture!⁶

Some other studies also state that young people (and unfortunately either the members of the older generation) do not care about their health:⁷

- ✓ Regular alcohol consumption can be observed since the age of 13,
- Every fifth of 14-year-olds consumes alcohol weekly,
- 25-32% of the 14-year-olds smokes at least once a week,
- More than half of the 18-19-year-olds feed irregularly or unhealthy,
- Only 33% of the 15-year-olds do sports regularly,
- 13% of Austrians have significant overweight.

Studies that deal with the analysis of subjective quality of life show that health is the most important dimension based on the evaluation of Hungarian respondents.⁸ However, the findings of the pilot

research show that not age but sex and qualification play the important role in the judgement of the importance of health.⁹

According to another approach (Matarazzo 1984) health behaviour has two different manifestations. The first one is the so-called risk or health risk behaviour (e.g. smoking, unhealthy nutrition), whereas the second one is the so-called preventative health behaviour (e.g. doing sports, participation in medical screening tests).¹⁰

b) Some thoughts about Alcohol Consumption

Drinking habits changed a lot over time. In the middle Ages, the consumption of beer and wine was spread all over Europe even for breakfast as well. Tea, coffee and cocoa were put on the 'list of beverages' after the great geographical discoveries. The production technology of liquors was developed by the discoveries of the alchemists.

Drinking habits show a very mixed picture in the different countries of the world. It can be said in general that growing wealth has changed the drinking habits in the developed West-European countries since the 1960s and as a result of this the number of alcohol consumers increased and the quantity of alcohol consumption of teenagers has significantly increased (Table 1), which means that alcoholism has become a serious social problem in more European countries. From the table it can be seen how the structure and the quantity of alcohol consumption changed in Austria during 15 years. It can be stated that during this period the quantity of alcohol consumed by 16-17-year-olds increased almost two and a half times (unfortunately this tendency is the same in case of Hungarian youngsters as well).

⁶ Huszka P. (2012/b): "Körültekintés A Kőbányai kocsmákban" avagy egy kérdőíves vizsgálat eredményei Budapesten. VII. KHEOPS Tudományos Konferencia, 5-16, Mór

⁷ Matarazzo, J. D. (1984): "Behavioural health: A 1990 challenge for the health sciences professions", in: Matarazzo, J. D., Weiss, S. M.; Herd, J. A.; Miller, N. E., Weiss, S. M. (eds.), Behavioral health: A handbook of health enhancement and disease prevention US, John Wiley & Sons Inc., 3-40; Aszmann A. (2003): Iskoláskorú gyermekek egészségmagatartása. Országos Gyermekkegészségügyi Intézet Nemzeti Drogmegelőzési Intézet, Budapest, 2003; Uhl, S. Bachmayer et.al (2011)

⁸ Ercsey I. (2012/a): "The roles of the perceived value in the evaluation of the subjective quality of life", In: Ethics, Sustainable Consumption and Other Current Challenges for Public and Non-Profit Marketing, Abstract Book, pp. 29. ISBN 978-9955-19-437-8, Editor: assoc.prof. dr. Algirdas Monkevicius, 11th International Congress on Public and Non-Profit Marketing, June 14-15, 2012 Vilnius, Lithuania; Ercsey I. (2012/b): „Észlelt érték szerepe a szubjektív életminőség vizsgálatában”, In: Marketing Oktatók Klubja 18. Országos Konferencia, „Coopetition – verseny és együttműködés a marketingben, Miskolci Egyetem

⁹ Ercsey I. (2012/b): „Észlelt érték szerepe a szubjektív életminőség vizsgálatában”, In: Marketing Oktatók Klubja 18. Országos Konferencia, „Coopetition – verseny és együttműködés a marketingben, Miskolci Egyetem

¹⁰ Matarazzo, J. D. (1984): "Behavioural health: A 1990 challenge for the health sciences professions", in: Matarazzo, J. D., Weiss, S. M.; Herd, J. A.; Miller, N. E., Weiss, S. M. (eds.), Behavioral health: A handbook of health enhancement and disease prevention US, John Wiley & Sons Inc., 3-40

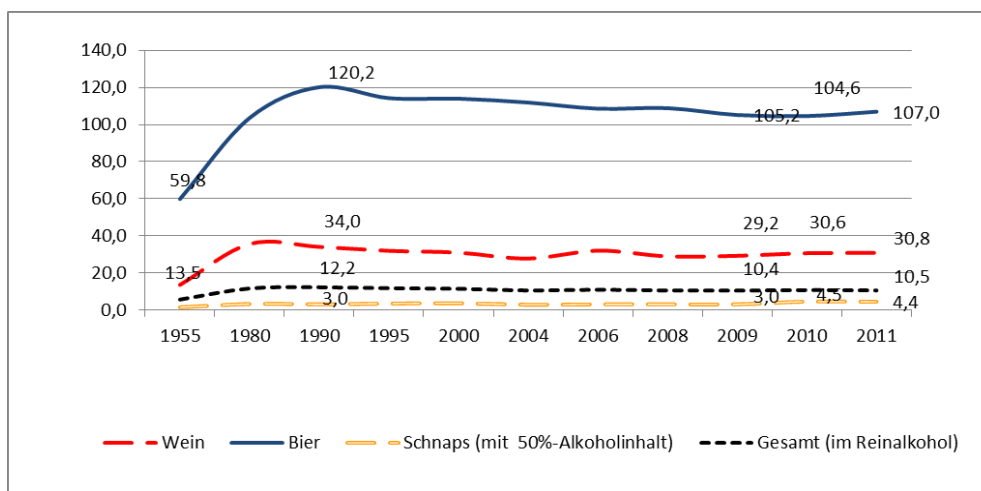
Table 1 : Changes in the quantity of 'average alcohol consumption' in different periods in Austria¹¹

	1993/94			2004				2008			
Men and Women/ Age	16-17	18-20	21-99	14-15	16-17	18-20	21-99	15	16-17	18-20	21-99
The average quantity of alcohol consumed	9	22	32	13	18	24	28	22	22	25	28
Average alcohol consumption (litre)/year	4,2	10,2	14,8	5,9	8,2	11,1	13,1	10,2	10,2	11,6	13

Thus, there is a similarity in that more and more young people drink alcohol both in Hungary and in Austria, what's more they try them for the first time in younger and younger ages. One of the main reasons for this is the so-called 'alcopop'-drink (that is beverages mixed with alcohol).¹² These drinks are very popular since these are more tasteful than hard alcohols and their effect is manifested in a slower way. Besides these (according to a study), the beer consumption of German youngsters is very high as well. The age of regular alcohol consumers generally begins with 13-year-old, but according to some certain surveys 1% of 11-year-olds consume alcohol regularly.¹³

The per capita consumption of food, beverage, tobacco and nutrients (alcohol is considered a special food) are regularly examined in both Hungary and Austria. In Figure 2 and 3 we compared the per capita consumption quantities of most commonly consumed beverage types in Austria and in Hungary.

Here it can be mentioned as well that some pieces of research stated that the consumption of a small amount of alcohol is not harmful, what's more it has an advantageous effect on health condition – especially in case of the consumption of red wine.¹⁴

*Figure 2* : Beverage consumption in Austria (litre)¹⁵

¹¹ Own compilation based on „Handbuch Alkohol – Österreich“ Band 1: Statistiken und Berechnungsgrundlagen 2013 Wien, März 2013. Alfred Uhl – Sonja Bachmayer – Alexandra Puhm Julian Strizek – Ulrike Kobra – Michael Musalek Wien: Bundesministerium für Gesundheit (2013)

¹² Bacardi-Martini GmbH (2006): Bacardi Marktbericht 2005, Schriftliche Mitteilung von Gerhard Manner, Wien; Bacardi-Martini GmbH (2008): Mitteilung über IWSR (International Wine and Spirit Record) Zahlen für RTD (Ready To Drink) in Österreich, Schriftliche Mitteilung von Mag. Leopold Machacek, Wien

¹³ Bacardi-Martini GmbH (2006): Bacardi Marktbericht 2005, Schriftliche Mitteilung von Gerhard Manner, Wien; Bacardi-Martini GmbH (2008): Mitteilung über IWSR (International Wine and Spirit Record) Zahlen für RTD (Ready To Drink) in Österreich, Schriftliche Mitteilung von Mag. Leopold Machacek, Wien

¹⁴ Burger, M., Brönstrup, A. and Pietrzik, K. (2004): „Derivation of tolerable upper alcohol intake levels in Germany: A systematic review of risks and benefits if moderate alcohol consumption“, Preventive Medicine, 39, 111-127; Nógrádi, K. (2012): „Mértékletes ivás“, http://egeszseg.origo.hu/cikk/0602/917659/mertekletes_1.htm

¹⁵ Own compilation based on „Handbuch Alkohol – Österreich“ Band 1: Statistiken und Berechnungsgrundlagen 2011 Wien, Jänner 2011. A. Uhl, S. Bachmayer, A. Puhm, J. Strizek, U. Kobra, M. Musalek Wien: Bundesministerium für Gesundheit (2011). „Handbuch Alkohol – Österreich“ Band 1: Statistiken und Berechnungsgrundlagen 2013 Wien, März 2013. Alfred Uhl – Sonja Bachmayer – Alexandra Puhm Julian Strizek – Ulrike Kobra – Michael Musalek Wien: Bundesministerium für Gesundheit (2013) alapján saját szerkesztés Alfred Uhl – Sonja Bachmayer – Alexandra Puhm Julian Strizek – Ulrike Kobra – Michael Musalek

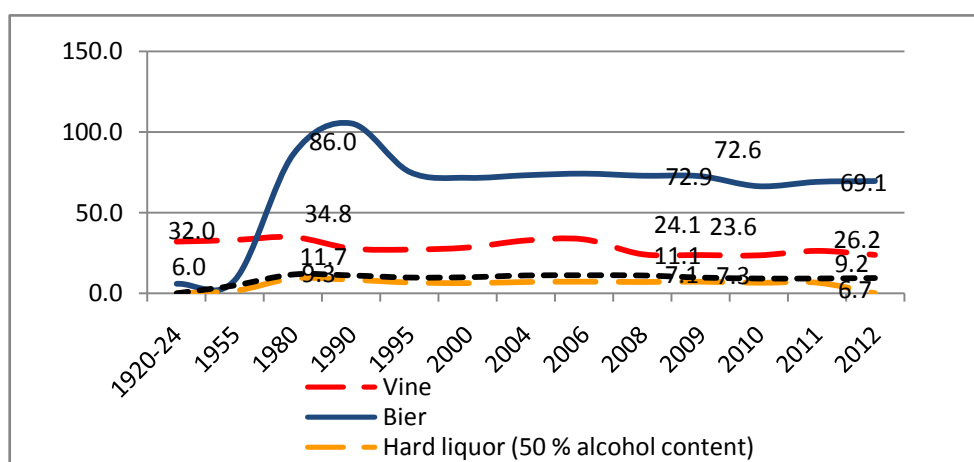


Figure 3 : Beverage consumption in Hungary (litre)¹⁶

In the figures it is well-seen that there are differences between the 'average' alcohol consumers of the two countries. In Hungary the consumption of distilled liquor stagnates (but in a very high level), while the consumption of beer and vine shows a slightly decreasing trend. In connection with beer consumption if we consider that in the meantime the alcohol content of beer increased, the decrease in consumption can only be seen as symbolic. Regarding vine consumption almost a 15% decrease can be observed compared to 1990, one reason for this may be that in the country between 2006 and 2012 real incomes decreased significantly and parallel to this overheads significantly increased (as well as the consumer price of vine). This statement is true even if we consider the fact that in the past one and a half years the governmental economic policy has moved toward the direction of overhead reduction. This advantageous fact and the parallel "commenced" real income growth, however, appear in different levels of household consumption. Although it is also a fact that almost 30% of domestic population still earn near the minimum wage, thus most of them try to save money on the consumption of these products, which is reflected in the consumption data.

In Austria (a bit surprisingly) the measure of alcohol consumption counted in pure alcohol is more by 14% (10.5 litres). However, the structure of alcohol consumption 'is considered to be more favourable'. According to the national specificities they consume more beer by 55% than in Hungary and their vine consumption also exceeds the value measured in Hungary by almost 18% and it reaches an average of 30,8 litres annually. However, they consume significantly less hard liquor. In Hungary people consume an average of 6,7 litres of short drinks annually, while in Austria less than two thirds of this is drunk, that is 4,4 litres. All of these together with the differences in

nutrition and lifestyle lead to that in Hungary the men's average life expectancy at birth was 72 years (in 2013), for instance. In the same year in Austria the men's average life expectancy at birth was 78 years.

III. HYPOTHESES

Based on secondary data we framed the following hypotheses:

H 1 : While young people consume alcohol earlier and earlier and more frequently, the majority of students are aware of the harmful health effects of alcohol consumption.

H 2 : The rate of those having already tried the alcohol at a young age is high, and the date of 'knowing' this harmful passion mostly takes place at the beginning of adolescence.

H 3 : There is no essential difference between the alcohol consumption habits of students studying at the universities of Vienna and Győr.

IV. MATERIAL AND METHOD

The task of the present study is to analyse within the frames of an exploratory research whether there is a difference between the health behaviour and the alcohol consumption habits of students studying at 'Wirtschaftsuniversität' in Vienna and at the Széchenyi István University in Győr (Hungary). The analysis of the motivations of alcohol consumption and the judgement of alcohol as a product is similarly important.

We chose these two universities because the authors of the study work at the university in Győr, and because one of them had spent 5 months from September 2011 as a research professor at the 'Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien'. On the other hand, the time spent at the universities and there the discussions with university students as well as the personal experiences

¹⁶ Own compilation based on the Statistical yearbooks of KSH (1970-2009), KSH Statadat data-table, Egészségügyi statisztikai évkönyv 2008, <http://faostat3.fao.org/faostat-gateway/go/to/download/FB/FBS/E>

convinced the authors that there is no difference between the drinking habits of the students of the two universities 'at first sight'.

Is this really the case? To find this out we questioned 150 students each at both universities. Because of the exploratory research we did not try to reach representativeness, however, we 'tried to choose' university students in a random manner (every third student participating in lectures was questioned at the university and its surroundings), but unfortunately not always successfully. In spite of this we think that the research enables comparison between the alcohol consumption habits of the students of the two universities that are 120 kilometres far from each other.

The large amount of data was processed with the help of SPSS for Windows 14.0 mathematical-statistical program. By using the program, we analysed the correlation of the variables to each other and to the

background variables with the help of frequency distributions and cross-tables. Besides mean calculations we also made significance-tests with Chi-squared test.¹⁷

V. THE ANALYSIS OF CONSUMER HABITS AND ATTITUDES (PRIMARY RESEARCH)

The findings of the secondary research made it clear that alcohol consumption and unhealthy way of life mean a serious endangerment among population and especially young people. But what do young people think about alcohol consumption? The answers to this question provide information about the health behaviour of the university students. Respondents could choose among five alternatives (Figure 4). The data of Figure 4 show sad facts.

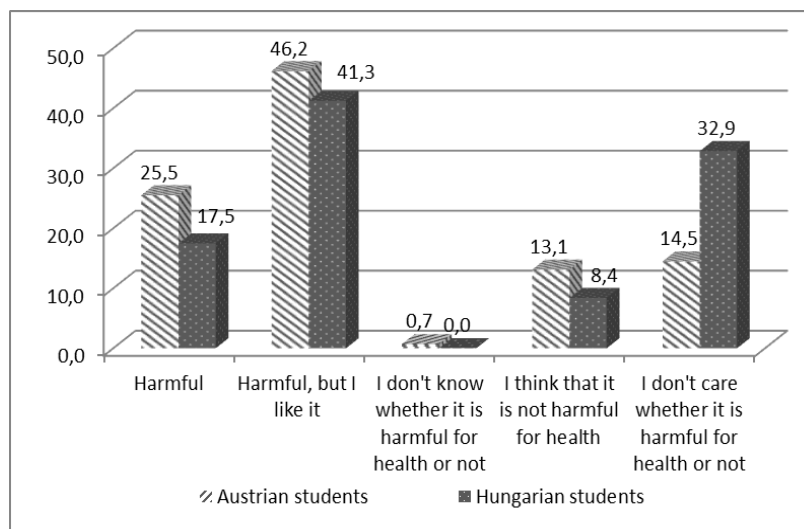


Figure 4 : What do you think about alcohol consumption? (%)¹⁸

Only 25.5% and 17.5% of the respondents think that consuming alcohol is harmful. The majority of this group also consume alcohol (based on the answers given to the other questions), but they are considered to be moderate alcohol consumers. Every person not consuming alcohol can be found in this group.

The 'noticeable majority' also agrees with this statement (46.2% and 41.3%), but for them the consumption of alcohol means a culinary delights, which are supported by the consumption data. This means that the members of this group consume alcohol regularly and in a relatively large amount.

Even more shocking than this statement is that according to 13.1% and 8.4% of the respondents' alcohol consumption doesn't damage health. This opinion is shocking! The question arises whether

respondents (who were university students!) really don't know that alcohol damages health or just they don't care about this fact.

The statement that 32.9% (Hungarian consumers) and 14.5% of respondents do not care about the unhealthy being of the product is considered to be amazing. Approximately 41% of Hungarian university students belong to these two latter groups opposite to the 28% of the Austrian university students. There is a strong significant difference ($\chi^2=15.339$, $df=4$, $p=0.004$) regarding this question between the youngsters of the two nations. Therefore it can be stated that the university students of Győr do not care about the harmful health effects of alcohol in a larger extent than the university students of Vienna.

¹⁷ Malhotra, N. K. (2007): Marketing Research: An Applied Orientation, 5th Edition, published by Pearson Education, Inc., publishing as Prentice Hall

¹⁸ Own compilation

If we try to make a distinction based on sex, we also receive a significant result ($\chi^2=30.750$, $df=12$, $p=0.002$). It can be stated that women (regardless of their nationality) consider alcohol harmful in a significantly higher rate than men. However, it is a sad fact (from a Hungarian viewpoint) that 27.7% of the 'girls of Győr' do not care about the unhealthy being of alcohol, while only 10.7% of the 'girls of Vienna' do so. In general it can also be observed that students with better academic achievements are considered to be more moderate alcohol consumers.

However, the data of Figure 4 show that the majority of the respondents are aware of the unhealthy being of alcohol. But in this case what 'motivates' students to consume alcohol? To find this out we asked open question from the students.

The findings of the survey clearly show that there is no essential difference between students studying at Austrian and Hungarian universities regarding motivations. Based on the findings we can state that university students most often consume alcohol: 'because it is good' or 'just because', and not to stand out from their companions!

Some other typical opinions: „Manchmal trink man Alkohol, weil es schmeckt und wenn man schlechte Laune hat“ oder „kann man etwas schlechtes im Vergangenheit vergessen“, or: 'alcohol diminishes stress', 'to be happy'. I think the responses speak for themselves!

It is justifiable to frame the question that how much those attention-raising advertisements are worth, which wants to enlighten the young people about the harmful effects of these products. Is this type of marketing activity effective; does community marketing reach its target?

Based on the data we can only answer 'no'! Therefore we can reject the first hypothesis.

As the continuation of the research we were wondering when the first time was when the respondents consumed alcohol. Regarding this question the first finding of the survey may be that there is no essential difference in the date of 'the first conscious alcohol consumption' between the Austrian and Hungarian university students; therefore we illustrate means in Figure 5.

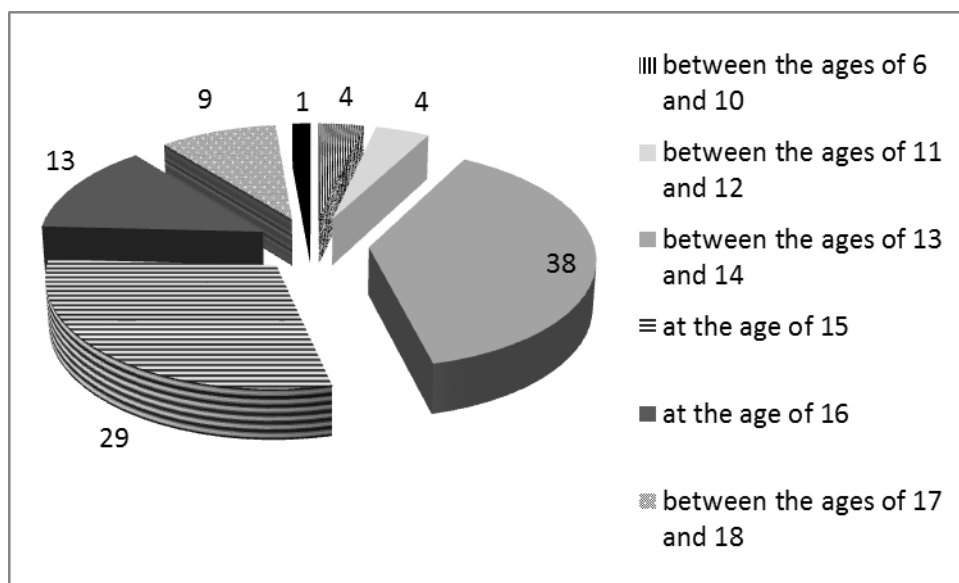


Figure 5 : When did you consume alcohol first 'consciously'? (%)¹⁹

Having a look at the data of the figure, we can make two distressing statements:

- The first one is that 8% of the respondents consumed alcohol before the age of 13, which directs the attention to the role of family! If we focus on the children of divorced parents regarding background variables, it can be clearly stated that the majority (64%) of those children who consumed alcohol before the age of 13 had grown up in a divorced family! The lack of harmony in the family 'pushes' the children towards deviance which is partly manifested in alcohol consumption.

- The other distressing statement is the alarmingly high rate of alcohol consumption between the ages of 13 and 16. As it can be seen in the figure, 80% is the rate of those who first consume alcohol at this age!

Based on all these knowledge, it is justifiable to frame the question here as well: how much the laws are worth if our children neglect them and consume alcohol. Or maybe they see it from the adults, from those who they should look up? Perhaps their alcohol consumption is the part of their 'adolescent rebellion'?

¹⁹ Own compilation

Based on the introduced research findings we have to accept the second hypothesis!

As the continuation of the survey we measured how the members of the age group evaluate their own health condition. In Hungary after the 20 years passed since the transformation of the system and several domestic public health program, the finding of the research show that not everything is fine, and the

judgement of own health practically did not change and became overvalued (Figure 6a and b). The analysis among university students also shows that this is (partly) true in case of Austrian youngsters as well. It is also true even though we are aware of the fact that in Austria the average life expectancy at birth is higher by 9 years in case of men and by 6 years in case of women than in Hungary.

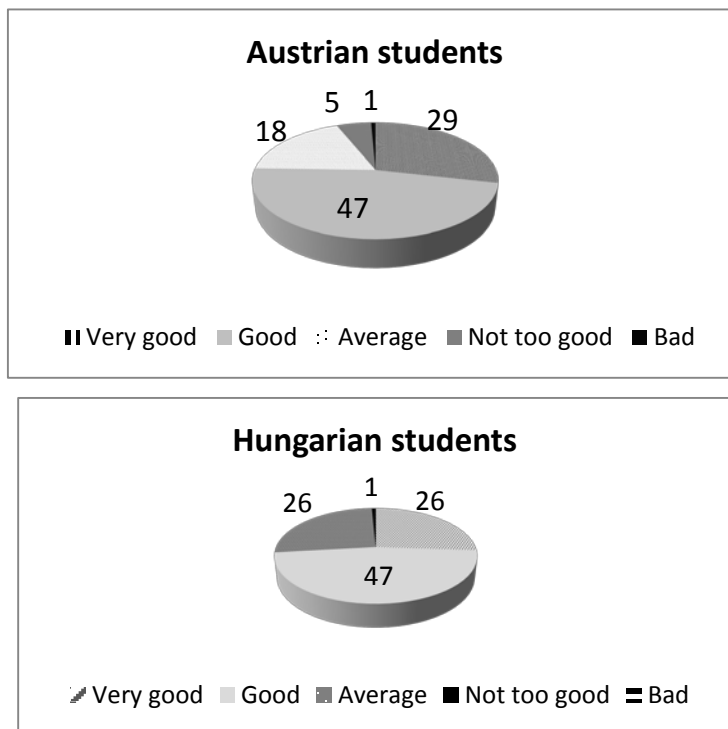


Figure 6 a and b : The distribution of answers given to the question – ‘What do you think about your own health condition?’ (%)²⁰

The data reflect that ‘on average’ 74% of the members of the age group considers their own health good and very good, and 22% of them consider it average. 3% is the rate of those who consider it not too good and only 1% of them see it as bad.

More detailed analyses showed that the members of this latter group ‘are the closest to their own realities’. To this group (who consider their own health the worst) ‘only such students belong’ who daily use some kind of health-damaging product. According to their responses, they regularly go to party as well, where they consume a significant amount of alcohol – mainly hard liquor. It is also an interesting observation that they consider themselves who live better financial circumstances than the average. Although the relatively low sample size (10 members belong to this very unfavourable group) does not enable to make in-depth conclusions, we have to emphasise that 9 girls belong to this group (8 Austrian and 1 Hungarian) whose academic achievement is better than the average.

Regarding own health we weren’t able to make significant distinction between the students of the two universities. However, it is important to call the attention to the fact that Austrian students (mainly women) are more criticising about the judgement of their own health. This is shown by that 9 members from the above-introduced group containing 10 members were Austrian. It is also a sad fact that 62% and 68% of those who regularly consume alcohol consider their own health better than the average both in Vienna and Győr. This group also contains ‘big party students’, but the majority of them consume alcohol ‘only’ two or three times a week. In their alcohol consumption beer consumption (Austrian respondents) and wine and partly beer consumption (Hungarian respondents) dominates rather than the consumption of hard liquor. They usually live in cities and their academic achievement cannot be considered bad.

In the followings (Figure 4) we briefly compare the frequency and the structure of the alcohol consumption of students studying at Austrian and Hungarian universities. We mainly focus on the consumption of wine, beer and hard liquor during the analysis.

²⁰ Own compilation

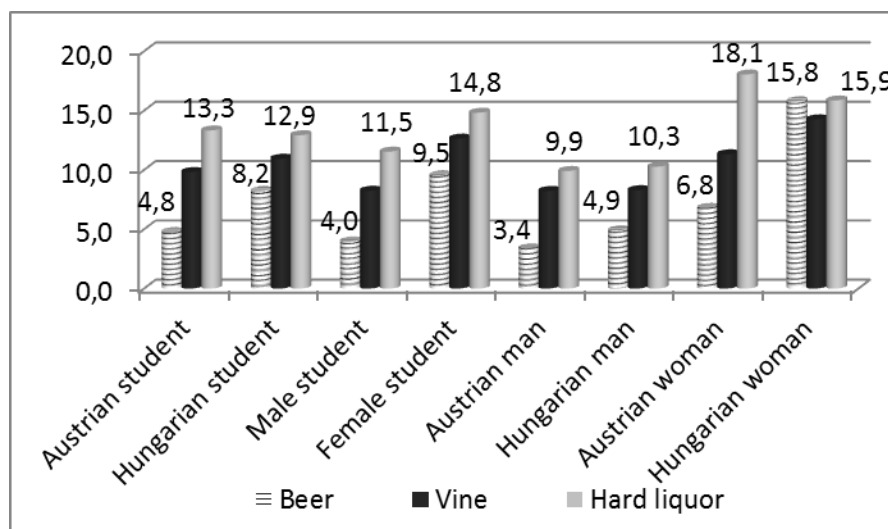


Figure 4 : The frequency and the structure of alcohol consumption ²¹

Having a look at the data of Figure 4 we can state that (which is also supported by an observational analysis conducted parallel to this survey) students studying in Austria consume beer significantly more often than Hungarian students. With the help of an index number elaborated and applied for food consumption in Hungary (Szakály 1994, Huszka 2008) the data of the figure show that how often (daily frequency) the respondents consume the different products. It means exactly that while in Vienna on every 4.8th day an average student drinks a beer, in Győr on every 8.2nd day. If we see behind means, we can state that the alcohol consumption of women significantly lags behind that of men in every category of alcohol regardless of nationality (in the figure higher values mean more rare consumption frequencies). It can be observed that boys studying at the university in Vienna drink beer at least twice a week (every 3.2nd day) and at that time they usually drink two bottles of it.

Means show a lot of things but hide several other important things as well. Namely means hide that in Vienna the rate of those students who do not consume beer does not reach 20%, while this rate in case of Hungarian consumers (by showing a significant difference) exceeds 30% ($\chi^2=18.305$, $df=7$, $p=0.011$). It is also an interesting statement that there is no essential difference between the drinkers in Austria and Hungary in case of real heavy drinkers (I mean those who drink more than three bottles of beer occasionally).

Regarding consumption frequencies the consumption of vine is on 'the second place'. In this case there is no significant difference regarding either nations or sex. However, regarding the quantity of vine consumption significant difference ($\chi^2=29.729$, $df=5$,

$p=0.000$) can be observed between the nations. In Austria university students mostly consume between 1 and 2 decilitres (32%) and between 3 and 4 decilitres (29%) of vine (once a week so to speak), while in Hungary (practically with the same frequency) they consume between 3 and 4 litres (35%) and between 5 and 8 decilitres (31%) of vine. The rate of heavy drinkers in the quantity of vine consumption is an average of 6.5%, and they occasionally consume more than 9 decilitres of vine. The rate of women among the member of this group slightly exceeds 15%. In any case it is conspicuous that every girl drinks in Viennese pleasure-grounds. It is also noteworthy that the majority of the members of this group consider their health condition good or very good similarly to 'heavy beer drinkers'.

Since the number of cells under 5 in the statistical program exceeds 20%, it is impossible to find significant difference between the university students of the two cities in case of the consumption of hard liquor as well. In spite of this, significant differences can be observed. If we want to summarise the findings of the research briefly, we could state that in Vienna university students consume this product 'in a significantly clever way' than students studying in Győr. The data of Figure 5 clearly show this.

²¹ Own compilation

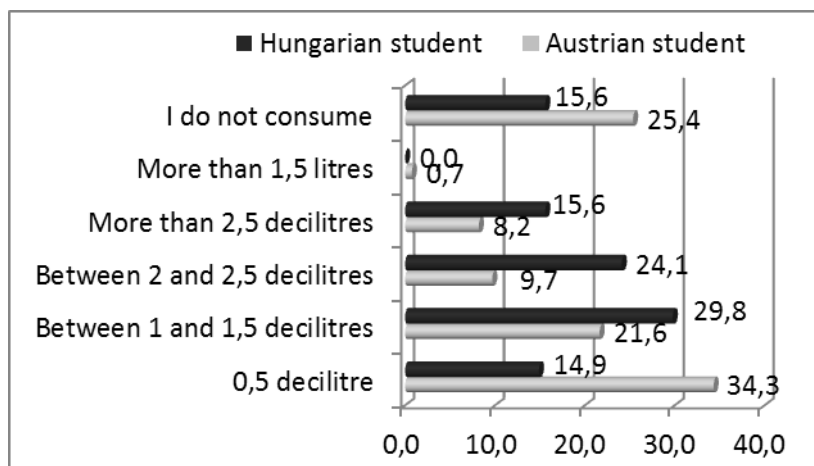


Figure 5 : The quantity of the consumption of hard liquor among university students ²²

The data point out those Austrian university students mostly drinks (34.3%) half decilitre and 21.6% of them consume between 1 and 1.5 decilitres. Although from Hungarian respondents significantly fewer students consume 'a shot', but definitely more students consume quantities that are harmful for their health. The number of those Hungarian university students who consume occasionally between 2 and 2.5 decilitres is two and half times more than that of Austrian students; what's more the number of those Hungarian students who occasionally consume more than 2.5 decilitres is almost two times more than the of Austrian students. The number of those who do not consume the product is less by 30% among students studying in Vienna. However, those university students of both cities who consume hard liquor overvalue their health conditions, and those students who regularly drink much mainly consider their health conditions good. It can be questioned even though this type of alcohol is relatively rarely (Figure 5) – almost every second week – consumed by respondents. However, this is the 'mean', since men consume this product almost every week! Regarding the alcohol consumption of students it is also a sad fact that only 7% of the respondents have never been drunken, but 41% of them have already been drunken more than ten times!

VI. CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of the research conducted among the students studying at the economic universities of two neighbouring countries it can be stated that students (especially Hungarian ones) most often overvalue their health.

Based on the analyses it can be stated that we are not clearly aware of the fact that we have a worth – our health! It only depends on us how long this treasure is going to be in our possession. This is also shown by

that according to almost 13.3% and 8.4% of the respondents alcohol consumption does not damage health. The statement that 32.9% (Hungarian consumers) and 14.5% of the respondents don't even care about the unhealthy being of the product can be considered really amazing. Regarding this question a strong significant difference ($\chi^2=15.339$, $df=4$, $p=0.004$) can be shown between the youngsters of the two nations. Therefore H1 hypothesis can be rejected.

The finding of the analysis also revealed that the lack of harmony in family 'pushes' the students towards deviance which is partly manifested in alcohol consumption. The other distressing statement is the alarmingly high rate of alcohol consumption between the ages of 13 and 16 (therefore H2 hypothesis can be accepted).

Significant differences can be observed between the alcohol consumption habits of students studying at the universities of Vienna and Győr. If I want to summarise the findings of the research briefly, I could say that students consume alcohol 'in an essentially cleverer way' in Vienna than in Győr, which means that they consume significantly less from hard liquor that especially endangers health. The rate of those who do not consume this product is less by 30% among student studying in Vienna than those studying in Győr (thus H3 hypothesis cannot be accepted).

Based on all these data we can state that health and healthy lifestyle as an approach has to be strengthened by workers of public and higher education, and every research and approach-shaping which could help us in this should be an important task of professionals dealing with marketing, education and health care! However, it should become clear as well that knowledge dissemination is not satisfactory; the problem cannot be solved without the active involvement of the stakeholders!

²² Own compilation

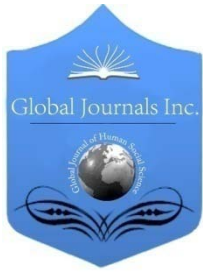
REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Aszmann A. (2003): Iskoláskorú gyermekek egészségmagatartása. Országos Gyermek egészségügyi Intézet Nemzeti Drogmegelőzési Intézet, Budapest, 2003
2. Bacardi-Martini GmbH (2006): Bacardi Marktbericht 2005, Schriftliche Mitteilung von Gerhard Manner, Wien
3. Bacardi-Martini GmbH (2008): Mitteilung über IWSR (International Wine and Spirit Record) Zahlen für RTD (Ready To Drink) in Österreich, Schriftliche Mitteilung von Mag. Leopold Machacek, Wien
4. Baum, A., Krantz, D. S., and Gatchel, R. J. (1997): An introduction to health psychology, New York: McGraw-Hill
5. Bencsik A.– Dernóczy A. (2007): Felsőoktatási „szerepjáték” nemzetközi mérlegen VI. Nemzetközi Konferencia Miskolc Tanulmány Kötet I. 2007. p. 276-283
6. Burger, M., Brönstrup, A. and Pietrzik, K. (2004): „Derivation of tolerable upper alcohol intake levels in Germany; A systematic review of risks and benefits if moderate alcohol consumption”, Preventive Medicine, 39, 111-127
7. Currie, C., Gabhainn, S. N., Godeau, E., Roberts, Ch., Smith, R., Currie, D., Picket, W., Richter, M., Morgan, A. and Barnekov, V. (2008): „Inequalities in Young People’s Health HBSC”, International Report from the 2005/2006 Survey, World Health Organization (WHO) Europe, Copenhagen
8. Currie, C., Hurrelmann, K., Settertobulte, W., Smith, R. and Todd, J. (2000): „Health and Health Behaviour Among Young People” World Health Organization (WHO) Regional Office for Europe, Copenhagen
9. Ehrenstein, C. (2007): „Alkohokonsum von Jugendlichen steigt an”, www.welt.de/politik/article1288489/Alkohokonsum_von_Jugendlichen_steigt_an.html.22.10.07
10. Ercsey I. (2012/a): „The roles of the perceived value in the evaluation of the subjective quality of life”, In: Ethics, Sustainable Consumption and Other Current Challenges for Public and Non-Profit Marketing, Abstract Book, pp. 29. ISBN 978-9955-19-437-8, Editor: assoc.prof. dr. Algirdas Monkevicius, 11th International Congress on Public and Non-Profit Marketing, June 14-15, 2012 Vilnius, Lithuania,
11. Ercsey I. (2012/b): „Észlelt érték szerepe a szubjektív életminőség vizsgálatában”, In: Marketing Oktatók Klubja 18. Országos Konferencia, „Coopetition – verseny és együttműködés a marketingben, Miskolci Egyetem,
12. Harris, DM., Guten, S. (1979): Health protecting behaviour: An exploratory study. Journal of Health and Social Behaviour 20: 17-29.
13. Huszka P. (2012/a): Divat a korai dohányzás? – avagy dohányzási szokások vizsgálata a 12–16 évesek körében. Egészségfejlesztés, 53 (4), 9-15
14. Huszka P. (2012/b): „Körültekintés A Kőbányai kocsmákban” avagy egy kérdőíves vizsgálat eredményei Budapesten. VII. KHEOPS Tudományos Konferencia, 5-16, Mór
15. Huszka P. (2010): „Az egészségmagatartás néhány elemének vizsgálata primer kutatás alkalmazásával”, V. KHEOPS Tudományos Konferencia, Mór
16. Huszka P. (2008): Vásárlási szokások és döntések az élelmiszerpiac egyes területein. CD-kiadvány. Versenyképesség - Változó Menedzsment, Marketing Konferencia Székesfehérvár
17. Konczosné Szombathelyi M., Kovácsné Tóth Á., Zakariás G., Budaházi J. és Dusek T. (2010/a): A generációs marketing jelentősége egy felsőoktatási intézmény példáján. In: Csépe A. (szerk.) „Új marketing világtrend” tanulmánykötet. Magyar Marketing Szövetség Marketing Oktatók Klubja 16. országos konferenciája. Budapesti Kommunikációs és Üzleti Főiskola Marketing Intézete: Budapest: 800-811.
18. Konczosné Szombathelyi M., Kovácsné Tóth Á., Zakariás G., Budaházi J. és Dusek T. (2010/b), „Nem csak a húszéveseké a világ”: az egészség/fitness/fiatalság trend és az „új idők generáció”-t célzó egyetemi marketingkommunikáció. In: Kuráth G. és Pálfi M. (szerk.) III. Felsőoktatási Marketing Konferencia. Konferencia CD, Pécsi Tudományegyetem, Pécs. 188-199.
19. Lőre V. (2013): Személyiségtípusok az emberi erőforrás menedzsmentben. Ekonomické štúdie - teória a prax: Gazdasági tanulmányok - elmélet és gyakorlat, Komárno: International Research Institute, 255- 270. old
20. Malhotra, N. K. (2007): Marketing Research: An Applied Orientation, 5th Edition, published by Pearson Education, Inc., publishing as Prentice Hall
21. Matarazzo, J. D. (1984): „Behavioural health: A 1990 challenge for the health sciences professions”, in: Matarazzo, J. D., Weiss, S. M.; Herd, J. A.; Miller, N. E., Weiss, S. M. (eds.), Behavioral health: A handbook of health enhancement and disease prevention US, John Wiley & Sons Inc., 3-40
22. Nógrádi, K. (2012): „Mértékletes ivás”, http://egeszseg.origo.hu/cikk/0602/917659/mertekletes_1.htm
23. Süle E. (2013): Lehetőségek az óraidőn túl – a negyedik dimenzió ígéretei (Tér-Gazdaság-Ember, A Széchenyi István Egyetem Kautz Gyula Gazdaságtudományi Karának tudományos folyóirata, 2013. I. évf. 2.
24. Svéhlik Cs. (2003): Kemény idők: A magyar beszállítói iparág kihívásai és stratégiája

napjainkban a versenykörnyezet tükrében,
Marketing & Menedzsment, 2003/3.

25. Svéhlik Cs. (2004): Humán értékek szerepe az iparvállalatok marketing tevékenységében MTA Tudományos Konferencia „Magyarország és a 21. század kihívásai az Európai Unióban” Komárom, 2004. ápr. 29.
26. Svéhlik Cs. (2007): Marketing a 21. században, szakkönyv, KHEOPS Automobil-Kutató Intézet
27. Szakály Z. (1994), „Korszerű állati eredetű alapélelmiszerek piacképességének vizsgálata”, Kandidátusi értekezés, Kaposvár.





GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE

Volume 14 Issue 6 Version 1.0 Year 2014

Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal

Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)

Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

How and Why the Opposition Mdc-T Party Resoundingly Lost The 31 July 2013 Poll Which the Opposition Party was Widely Expected to Resoundingly Win (2013-2014)

By Dr. Silas Luthingo Rusvingo

Great Zimbabwe University, Zimbabwe

Abstract- The Paper seeks to agonizingly trace the reasons why the opposition MDC-T party resoundingly lost the 31 July 2013 poll which against all odds it was expected to resoundingly win. Proverbially speaking, 'tinoti musha ndibaba' (meaning for anything that goes wrong with any business organization, the Chief Executive Officer will be held accountable first). For that reason alone and nothing else, Morgan Tsvangirai, the opposition MDC party leader will be the first to come up for public scrutiny. Next is his opposition MDC party. What was its contribution to this jigsaw puzzle? Next in that order are the contribution of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU PF), the people in general the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the African Union (AU) and finally the SADC facilitator, Jacob Zuma, the South African President from 2009 to date. To wind up the long and fascinating discourse the Author will, as per his tradition, proffer a Summary, Conclusion and some Recommendations primarily designed for risk treatment.

Keywords: *opposition, lost, poll, win, resoundingly.*

GJHSS-F Classification : *FOR Code: 160699*



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:



How and Why the Opposition Mdc-T Party Resoundingly Lost The 31 July 2013 Poll Which the Opposition Party was Widely Expected to Resoundingly Win (2013-2014)

Dr. Silas Luthingo Rusvingo

Abstract- The Paper seeks to agonizingly trace the reasons why the opposition MDC-T¹ party resoundingly lost the 31 July 2013 poll which against all odds it was expected to resoundingly win. Proverbially speaking, 'tinoti musha ndibaba' (meaning for anything that goes wrong with any business organization, the Chief Executive Officer will be held accountable first). For that reason alone and nothing else, Morgan Tsvangirai, the opposition MDC party leader will be the first to come up for public scrutiny. Next is his opposition MDC party. What was its contribution to this jigsaw puzzle? Next in that order are the contribution of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front² (ZANU PF), the people in general the Southern African Development Community (SADC)³, the African Union (AU) and finally the SADC facilitator, Jacob Zuma, the South African President from 2009 to date. To wind up the long and fascinating discourse the Author will, as per his tradition, proffer a Summary, Conclusion and some Recommendations primarily designed for risk treatment.

Keywords: *opposition, lost, poll, win, resoundingly.*

Author: Department, Faculty of Commerce, Great Zimbabwe University, Masvingo, Zimbabwe. e-mail: srusvingo@yahoo.com

¹ Opposition Movement for Democratic Change – Tsvangirai (MDC-T) was formed 2005 from the ashes of the original MDC formed in 1999 from civic organisations such as Zimbabwe congress of Trade Union of which Tsvangirai was the Secretary General, Zimbabwe National Students Movement (ZINASU), among others. Morgan Tsvangirai became the founding president to October 2014 when the opposition MDC-T party is expected to go into an elective congress to come up with a new leadership party to re-energise the party tottering on the brink of collapse ever since its resounding defeat at the hands of the ruling party in the 31 July 2013 harmonized poll.

² Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) was formed in 1977 from the ashes of the original Zimbabwe African national Union (ZANU) under the leadership of Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole since its formation in 1963. With His Excellence President Mugabe as its founding president, ZANU PF has been the ruling party since the country's independence from Britain in 1980 to date.

³ The Southern African Development Community (SADC) mission statement is to promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio-economic development through efficient production systems deeper co-operation and integration, 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 (SADC Secretariat 2014).

I. INTRODUCTION

Even the neutrals among them the Author of this Paper were shell shocked to hear through the one and only Zimbabwe television (ZTV) channel on 03 August 2013 that the opposition MDC-T party had resoundingly lost in the 31 July 2013 poll they were expected to resoundingly win. The preamble to this astonishing episode was that in the 29 March 2008 poll His Excellence President Mugabe had been run rugged by Morgan Tsvangirai of the opposition MDC-T. Come the 31 July 2013 harmonized election the general assumption was that Tsvangirai was entering this election which meant that he was coming home to finish the unfinished business. But this was not to be. Tsvangirai had been resoundingly thumped by His Excellence President Mugabe to trigger the question how and why did it happen? To answer this question convincingly up next for public scrutiny is Morgan Tsvangirai.

II. THE REVIEW OF THE APTITUDE OF TSVANGIRAI AS THE SPIRITUAL LEADER OF THE DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE FOR CHANGE IN ZIMBABWE

The year was 1999 in October when the then vibrant MDC party was formed with Morgan Tsvangirai as both its substantive and spiritual leader in their democratic struggle for change in Zimbabwe. Morgan Tsvangirai then had a storming start in his job as the substantive and spiritual leader of the democratic struggle for change in Zimbabwe. All civil society groups such as unions, student's movements among others, came under the then charismatic leadership of Morgan Tsvangirai. The party formed from labour movements was then so vibrant even His Excellence President Mugabe started having sleepless nights. All the people in Zimbabwe, black, white, yellow, among others were all convinced they had finally found a character with the correct aptitude to deliver democratic change to Zimbabwe. Little did the celebrating people in Zimbabwe know Morgan Tsvangirai was flattering to

deceive. The turning point for the then impressive Tsvangirai came on 6 March 2009 when Tsvangirai's wife for more than three decades was killed in a road accident on the 80 – 90 kilometer peg on the Harare to Masvingo highway. From media reports then Tsvangirai and his wife were occupying the back seat of the government supplied vehicle. On this fateful day instead of Tsvangirai sitting on the right side of his wife he chose the left side of the wife. When what the Author believed was a stage managed road accident happened, the wife Susan Tsvangirai instead of Morgan Tsvangirai was killed on the spot to leave behind Tsvangirai and six children born out of the marriage. From then on, life for Tsvangirai with his mediocre educational background never looked the same again (Wikipedia 2014). All said and done time is now ripe to painstakingly address how Tsvangirai and his wayward personality in the post Susan Tsvangirai era contributed to the once upon a time vibrant MDC party finding its place in the political wilderness and with Morgan Tsvangirai himself one foot in the political dustbin. The sad and heart-wrenching story not user friendly to people of a nervous disposition pens out as below:

- i) With the position of prime minister safely in his pocket, a luxury house in plush and leafy Highlands's suburb of Harare and the deceased Susan Tsvangirai conveniently out of the way suddenly the media in Zimbabwe was awash with heart-wrenching stories that the once impressive Morgan Tsvangirai was going all places with his zip open. People with questions to ask then said if Tsvangirai as aspiring presidential candidate can allow himself to sink so low what more if he becomes substantive President of Zimbabwe. Party supporters, waxing lyrical about Tsvangirai's delinquency categorically demanded that the cynical Morgan Tsvangirai be ousted from the leadership at the MDC party in a 'Leadership renewal movement' whose chorus for change then was growing louder and louder.
- ii) According to Nyamutata (2014) Tsvangirai's life had been a roller coaster since the untimely death of his wife Susan Tsvangirai on 06 March 2009. He became Prime Minister in February 2009, remarried Locadia Karimatsenga whom he tried to pay a bride price for in the month of November 2011 knowing fully well that any marriage ceremony in the month of November is culturally forbidden in Zimbabwe. For that cultural mischief alone Tsvangirai stole the lime light for the wrong reasons. The latest episode relating to separation with his new wife, Elizabeth, daughter to a Senior ZANU PF member was only a sequel of the MDC leader's turbulent private life. The promiscuous life by Tsvangirai torched yet another public outrage by concerned supporters from within and without his party then showing signs of a sunset party. That then he aspired to be the

next president was about the only legitimate reason people should subject him to public scrutiny rather than celebrate his personal misfortunes. For a presidential aspirant then, it was most unfortunate that negative private affairs about him had often spilled into the public domain which was to the detriment of his political career. All these misfortunes had made Tsvangirai to become too susceptible to attack from his opponents that he should consider stepping down as leader of the MDC party.

- iii) And finally is his political and personal judgments – some argue his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of a ZANU PF senior official, was a reflection of such impaired judiciousness – that has spawned serious misgivings about his suitability as a national leader. In a nutshell, what marriage to a daughter of a senior ZANU PF member effectively meant was that as leader of the main opposition MDC party he had sold out to ZANU PF.

And by that he was telling every one of his supporters to also sell out to ZANU PF which idea was as delusional as it was stupid. Hence the MDC party then finding its place in the political wilderness and the unfortunate Tsvangirai with one foot in the political dustbin. Up next are the reactions or responses of the rank and file in the MDC-T to the astonishing Tsvangirai shenanigans.

III. THE 2005 MDC SPLIT ON TRIBAL GROUND

Against the backdrop of the lack of effective political activity in Zimbabwe and the defeat of the MDC in the parliamentary elections of March 2000 the last thing Zimbabweans needed then was a fragmented opposition MDC party. The battle then for the soul of the movement for Democratic Change in South Africa had reduced Zimbabwe's main opposition to a tribal wreck at a time when they should be regrouping and launching a fresh onslaught on the iron rule of His Excellence President Mugabe, then aged 83. And this came as sad news for Zimbabweans, then battling to overthrow the country's then ruling ZANU PF of His Excellence President Mugabe, the ageing dictator who had been in power for an uninterrupted 25 years since independence from Britain in 1980. In March 2000 the MDC had lost parliamentary elections to ZANU PF, scattering into the ground the people's moods and hopes for the long awaited refreshing change. The party was now picking up the pieces and mobilizing more of international pressure to then save Zimbabwe, from the then political and economic meltdown that had reduced the country from the breadbasket of Africa just two decades ago to the begging bowl case it had then become (Ncube 2014). The MDC then represented fading hope for Zimbabweans, but after their defeat in the March 2000

parliamentary elections, which some observers said were rigged, but which South Africa endorsed as free and fair, those hopes had been dashed. The MDC also lost to Mugabe in 2002, the elections being declared a political fraud by international observers but surprisingly being okayed by Pretoria. The tribal in-fighting within the MDC structures in Johannesburg had claimed the life of Lungile Moyo, a then young activist from Lupane in Matabeleland, who was found dead on the streets of Hillbrow barely 24 hours after he reportedly gave police information on the abductions of two other activists, Liberty Ncube and Musa Mhlanga. The two then were feared dead or tortured after they were abducted in Hillbrow on June 7, 2005.

With South Africa, in particular the former South African President Thabo Mbeki and two other unnamed forces being cited as the forces behind this unfortunate split the inevitable had to happen. Professor Welshman Ncube, then founding Secretary – general of the original MDC broke away on tribal lines to form his MDC – Ncube and in the process walking away with three Matabeleland Provinces⁴ in the name of Matabeleland North, Bulawayo and Matabeleland South to leave a once upon a time vibrant MDC party at its weakest point ever. Ironically the parliamentary seats won by both the MDC – T (Tsvangirai) and MDC – N (Ncube) put together the MDC formation became the majority party in parliament to blow yet another golden chance to overthrow ZANU PF from power. There were more drama and comic episodes awaiting the Reader as the Author approaches the nerve wrecking MDC leadership renewal era beginning in April 2014 which is up next.

IV. THE NARRATIVE OF THE HEART-STOPPING EVENTS LEADING TO YET ANOTHER DEVASTATING SPLIT THIS TIME BASED ON INTELLECTUAL APPEAL WITHIN THE MDC-T

Buoyed by the astonishing win against the treacherous ZANU PF party in the 29 March 2008 harmonized elections and weighed by the comfort of high office in the four year Government of National Unity (GNU) (2009 – 13) and the nerve wrecking Tsvangirai shenanigans during this dark period for the MDC – T and the distant rumblings of a leadership renewal agenda within the main opposition MDC party, the embattled MDC – T party mistakenly entered the watershed 31 July harmonized elections with a one mistaken mindset i.e., they were coming home to finish the unfinished business of 29 March 2008) harmonized elections. But against this backdrop, they, unlike the

wounded lion in the name of ZANU PF, the lackadaisical MDC-T had not done its homework as thoroughly as did the shrewd ZANU PF to torch a resounding loss in an election they cynically dismissed as another cake walk in the park for them. After a serious soul searching and self introspection in the MDC – T party there was inevitably a witch hunt in the same beleaguered MDC-T to degenerate into another disastrous break – up of the party to leave the clueless MDC party lost at sea and in the political wilderness. According to Chiripasi (2014) and Zulu (2014) in April 2014, the MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai expelled Tendai Biti and this Democratic Renewal Campaign team for gross indiscipline. All members of parliament who had attended the Mandel Training Centre meeting were also expelled to leave the beleaguered party divided between the intellectuals and the not so intellectuals in the then torn apart MDC party. Up next is what the people in general said to contribute to the MDC-T resoundingly losing an election they were expected to resoundingly win.

V. WHAT THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL SAID ABOUT THE MDC-T GLARING FAILURES WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO ITS ELECTION DEFEAT IN THE 31 JULY 2013 HARMONIZED ELECTIONS

For the long wait of 14 years people in general said they had waited long enough for the democratic change which was proving elusive. Four election defeats at the hands of the same ZANU PF was enough confirmation democratic change via the MDC-T was and will forever remain a pipe dream. Above all the endless break-ups first on tribal lines (2005) and later in 2014 on intellectual appeal in the main opposition MDC-T party while there was none in the ruling ZANU PF was confirmation yet again that for now and in the foreseeable future ZANU PF will continue to steal the limelight. The opposition MDC party for a long time flattered to deceive (Chinepfu 2014). Up next is the literature review on how the ruling ZANU PF contributed to the MDC resoundingly losing an election they were expected to resoundingly win. Below are the graphic details of how it all penned out.

VI. HOW DID ZANU PF CONTRIBUTE TO MDC-T RESOUNDINGLY LOSE AN ELECTION THEY WERE EXPECTED TO RESOUNDINGLY WIN

Dube and Makaye⁵ (2013) had said:

⁴ Ethnically Zimbabwe has many tribes, chief among them Shonas domiciled in the four Mashonaland provinces of Mashonaland East, West, central and Harare. Ndebeles domiciled in the three Matabeleland provinces of Matabeleland North, Bulawayo, and Matabeleland South, Karanga in Masvingo province and Manyika in Manicaland Province.

⁵ Dube and Makaye are co-authors of a published thesis titled "How ZANU PF won the 2013 harmonized elections in Zimbabwe. Dube is a lawyer by profession and has law firm in Gweru, Zimbabwe by name Gundu and Dube Legal Law Firm. Makaye is a development studies Lecturer at Midlands State University in Gweru, Zimbabwe.

"Against general expectations of an MDC-T victory it was the former ZANU PF party that claimed victory that stunned all and sundry. Out of 210 contested seats in the National Assembly the born again ZANU PF garnered 160 seats while the opposition MDC-T managed a paltry 46 seats with the remainder going to the independent candidates".

With respect to the Presidential election Dube and Makaya (2013) went on to say:

"Mugabe of ZANU PF outpolled Tsvangirai of the opposition MDC – T party by 61% to 34% thereby giving Mugabe of ZANU PF the presidency of the country to send the perennial cry baby Tsvangirai that the harmonized elections were a huge farce".

The pertinent question to ask then was: How did ZANU PF achieve that against a backdrop of a seemingly less popular party than the opposition MDC-T party?

"A combination of factors could be proffered to explain that phenomenon. First and foremost ZANU PF went all four front gears to organize itself following the defeat in 2008 harmonised elections and its indigenization programme sold well with the electorate than the MDC-T's juice (Jobs, upliftment, investment, capital and environment", explained Dube and Makaya in their published thesis.

According to Kuvirimirwa (2014) the MDC-T's pledge to create one million jobs in five years from 2013 through foreign investors was going to be still born as no funding will come from the West which is grappling a severe financial crisis, analysts had said.

On why the tactless MDC-T remained in deep slumber with a few months to go before the do or die 2013 harmonised elections, Dube and Makaya further explained as below:

"Second, the tactless MDC-T had laxity until a few months before the 31 July 2013 harmonised elections. Third and most importantly were a series of electoral shenanigans unjustly employed by ZANU PF in complicity with the partisan Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC). It was therefore the electoral shenanigans which were at the centre of ZANU PF's victory which mattered most than anything else".

Below are the sumptuous details of comic drama and theatrics that accompanied the ZANU PF stunning victory in the 31 July 2013 harmonised elections. Coming your way is the shocking and sudden resignation of one of the ZEC Commissioners, who out of better conscience cited heart wrenching shenanigans in the conduct of the theatrical harmonized elections of 31 July 2013.

VII. ANOTHER OF THE ZEC COMMISSIONERS RESIGNS CITING HEART WRENCHING SHENANIGANS IN THE CONDUCT OF THE HARMONIZED ELECTIONS (DUBE AND MAKAYA 2013)

According to Dube and Makaya (2013) on 03 August 2013, just three days after the date of the 31 July 2013 harmonized elections and hours before the announcement of results one of the commissioners with a good conscience Mkhululi Nyati abruptly resigned. In his resignation letter to His Excellence President Mugabe, Nyati stated:

"I do not wish to enumerate many reasons for my resignation but they all have to do with the manner the Zimbabwe harmonized elections were conducted and proclaimed" (Zimbabwe light 2013).

This was a mouthful statement from a man who had seen it all and with a good conscience had said enough of this was enough and he had no choice but to resign and of course being careful not to disclose the full reasons for his abrupt resignation for security reasons. And what was then certain about this disputed election was that any statement made or picture sighted had 'a special meaning'

"Beside this extra-ordinary episode there had been a lot of speculation about who was exactly in charge of these disputed harmonized elections. The major force behind this election was the military with the assistance from Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP)⁶, Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO)⁷ and the ZANU PF mafia. ZEC was merely there with its truckloads of ineffectiveness as a toddler playing referee to an adult football game, who is just there in name only but otherwise could just not be there (Zimbabwe Light⁸ 2013).

All said and done what is never to be missed is the new concept of the theoretical framework from the fertile imagination of Dube and Makaya (2013). It was a political strategy employed by the astute ZANU PF to turn the tables against the then clueless MDC-T then boasting the presence of more and better intellectuals

⁶ Augustine Chihuri is the current Commissioner General of the Zimbabwe Republic Police who, as a former freedom fighter under ZANU PF has vowed that he is so much ZANU PF in blood he would never ever serve Zimbabwe under presidency of none other than His Excellence President Mugabe (Staff Reporter 2014).

⁷ The Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) is the national intelligence agency or 'secret police' of Zimbabwe under the leadership of Happyton Bonyongwe. Historically, it was conceived as the external intelligence gathering arm of the British South Africa Police Special branch in the early 1960s, under Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister Winston Field (Staff Reporter 2014).

⁸ Zimbabwe Light is an organization based in the Scenic Victoria Falls which reviews and advise on hotels, resorts, flights, vacation, rentals, travel packages and lots more (Staff Reporter 2014).

than exist in ZANU PF (Dube and Makaye 2013). Details on this concept coming your way in just a moment.

VIII. ZANU PF EMPLOYS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK TO CRASH AND THEN USURP (DUBE AND MAKAYE 2013)

On this new concept of a ZANU PF theoretical framework to crash and then usurp, Dube and Makaye (2013) had this to say:

"ZANU PF made use of two theories, one micro and the other macro. The micro theory says that in adult politics politicians demonise first in order to have a justification for destruction of the enemy. In this case the more shrewed and astute ZANU PF labeled the MDC-T party and Tsvangirai as sellouts and stooges of the Western Imperialism (Bond and Manyanya 2003) and (Blair 2005). They were described as being very unpatriotic and against the historic land reform programme. The more astute and shrewed ZANU PF politicians demonized the opposition MDC-T party to justify their popular slogan. 'Pasi naTsvangirai' (meaning down with Tsvangirai).

And for the clueless Tsvangirai and his MDC-T party they had no viable strategy on which to launch an equal fight back but sleep and sleep on the job until 'Tsvangirai ne bato rake vave marengenyana kana kuti madzoto evanhu' (meaning Tsvangirai and his then clueless MDC-T party had been reduced to mere bystanders in a carefully planned strategy to usurp political capital from them). According to Dube and Makaye all this vitriol against the opposition MDC-T, then rueing why they were ever born in Zimbabwe, was meant to dissuade any remaining voters from voting for the 'voetsacked or pfutseke Tsvangirai' (meaning get away from here Tsvangirai and his sellout party). There was no worse dressing down than this. Beside all this what was most damaging to the already vulnerable MDC-T then on its knees with fatigue and stress, more so when this was communicated to the gullible rural voter most of them putting on no underpants because of abject poverty, most if not all of them lack sophistication to decide what the truth is from propaganda by the astute ZANU PF. Even to the neutrals, among them the on looking Author, it was as obvious as the sun rises from East and sets in the West or one did not need the second home coming of Jesus Christ to convince himself or herself that it was game over for the MDC-T party. The only hope for them was to assume they would live long and fight another day.

Dube and Makaye (2013) went on:

"To ZANU PF, this was enough damage to an ever sleeping opposition MDC-T party which had been not only a serious opposition party but one that paused a serious threat to the power dynamics in Zimbabwe. The other undeniable or irrefutable theory

about election in Zimbabwe is that they are always rigged.

On how and why elections in Zimbabwe are always rigged affair Dube and Makaye explained thus:

"The partisan institution and all the actors siezed with elections in Zimbabwe such as the media, civil servants and the election management body ZEC⁹ are so diverse in character and objectives such that there is no way they can be totally impartial and therefore can never be free from bias.

Chigora and Dewa¹⁰ (2012) also made a very valuable contribution on vote rigging as below:

"Vote rigging is directly related to electoral fraud. Electoral fraud is the illegal interference with the process of an election and vote rigging involves a whole range of pre, during and post voting activities whose objectives would be to work in the direction of assisting a preferred candidate or party. Vote rigging involves the following institutions/individuals tasked with particular election duties: media (both print and electronic, election management body (ZEC) constituency delineation commission, polling officials and peace officers. Therefore, given the diversity and vested interests of these appointed institutions having elections that are completely free and fair is almost impossible.

A fascinating story which should never be a miss for any reader is to find out how the astute and shrewed ZANU OF reorganized itself from scratch after their first ever embarrassing electoral defeat by an opposition party in the famous 29 March 2008

⁹ ZEC is an acronym of Zimbabwe Electoral Commission whose vision, mission and core values are as below:

- Vision
To be a centre of excellence in the management of elections and referendums. Really? The media is awash with stories that most of the judges that make up ZEC are beneficiaries of commercial farms given to them by His Excellence President Mugabe under the controversial and chaotic land reform programme of 2000 to compromise their integrity in their professional conduct of elections which is biased in favour of ZANU PF (Staff Reporter 2014).
- Mission
To conduct elections and referendums in accordance with the laws of Zimbabwe and electoral management and best practice through a well resourced commission and in collaboration with relevant stakeholders. This is again not true and mere paper work to appease its paymasters who are government and ZANU PF. Poll material had to be destroyed at the orders by ZEC to stop Tsvangirai from proving that the 31 July 2013 Poll was rigged (Matambanadzo 2013)
- Core Values
-Voter education
-Voter's roll removals and additions
-running the 31 July 2013 harmonised elections etc on any of the above listed core values ZEC has never come out clean (Staff Reporter 2014).

¹⁰ Chigora and Dewa are co-authors of an African journal of political science and international relations from Zimbabwe Open University where both are political science Lecturers. Their journal was titled 'Surviving in a hostile environment: An analysis of Zimbabwe's foreign relations in 21st Century international relations (Staff Reporter 2014).

harmonized elections. Details on this story coming your way sooner than later.

IX. A REVIEW OF THE ZANU PF REORGANIZATION FOLLOWING THEIR FIRST EVER EMBARRASSING DEFEAT IN THE 29 MARCH 2008 HARMONIZED ELECTIONS

"After their first ever humiliating electoral defeat in the 29 March 2008 harmonized elections, ZANU PF wasted little precious time and went straight to the drawing board while for the MDC-T party it was booze and party time. Part and parcel of the reorganization included the revamping of its party structures from cell up to provincial leadership countrywide. ZANU PF was not content with just a membership card but to vote and vote for the party. Since a number of development programmes were co-ordinated by the traditional chiefs and district Administrators aligned to ZANU PF it can be insinuated that this ZANU PF reorganization had undertones of compulsion, explained Dube and Makaye.

Dube and Makaye (2013) further explained as below:

"A number of villagers would register for fear of being left out of development and other programmes, not least among them, being the issue of food in a perennially drought stricken Zimbabwe to unleash hunger and starvation on the people. As the party went about feeding the people in the drought stricken rural areas, it was also the opportune time to lambast and discredit the unsuspecting MDC-T party for corruption and running a parallel government among other evils. Unknown to the ever-sleeping MDC-T party, War Veterans were deployed full swing to campaign for ZANU PF during the tenure of the government of national unity such that during the duration of the dysfunctional government of national unity (GNU) ZANU PF remained in a campaign mood spearheaded by War Veteran leader Jabulani Sibanda while for the fast asleep MDC-T party it was tea and booze celebrating their first ever defeat of ZANU PF".

On the time spent on campaigning Dube and Makaye said:

"The time spent in the field and the timing of the harmonized elections meant that the once beaten and shy ZANU PF party had awakened from its deep slumber" of 2008. Unknown to the MDC-T Party the ZANU PF reorganization included the exploitation of the country's mineral resources from under the carpet. The windfall from such murky activities such as the covert management of the sale of diamonds would then be used to finance the party and its campaign activities".

His Excellency President Mugabe had this to amusingly say:

"If you are eating from the same table with the enemy you must use the long spoon". Said Dube and Makaye (2013).

According to Dube and Makaya (2013) what was clear from this mouthful statement was that there were a number of things that were hidden from the partying MDC-T which were meant to advantage ZANU PF party in the long term and at the expense of the MDC-T then famous for ever-sleeping on the job as if there was no tomorrow. While for ZANU PF it was Bhora mughedhi (meaning score goals in a soccer match) it was bhora musango (meaning scoring no goals in a soccer match) for the ever-sleeping MDC-T. More details coming your way in just a moment.

X. MDC-T IN A SURPRISE RE-AWAKENING LATE IN THE DAY MUCH TO THE DISAPPOINTMENT OF ITS DEAR SUPPORTERS FOR MANY YEARS (DUBE AND MAKAYE 2013)

Proverbially speaking, a fool is known by cutting his/her nose to spite his/her face. Like a fool the then ever-partying MDC-T party after its defeat of the ZANU PF party in the 29 March 2008 harmonized elections it simply joined the Government of national Unity (GNU) to make fools of themselves and for that alone the Author wishes to have it on record by lambasting them as:

"Shame, shame, shame on you MDC-T for your disservice to the people of Zimbabwe".

On corruption Dube and Makaye (2013) did not mince their words. They had this to shame and expose the MDC-T:

"There was corruption involving the MDC-T in all places like Harare, Chitungwiza, Gweru, Kwekwe, to name just a few. Another glaring error of commission was to spend so much time and energy seeking high posts in local and central government".

On corruption Simvula (2013) had put the issue beyond doubt when he said:

"MDC-T expended most of its energies in fighting for self enrichment of its top elite by insisting on hefty appointments to central and provincial governors, attorney general and minister of Agriculture instead of focusing its energy on constitutional reforms".

Simvula (2013) was right when he highlighted that the ever-sleeping MDC-T party totally and unforgivably misplaced its priorities. Reorganisation of the party structures nationwide and campaigning were ignored for a long time until a few months before the landmark elections. The youthful national organizing secretary was given a rude awakening by the partisan supreme court judgment that the elections originally thought to be a year or so away were in fact to be held on or before 31 July 2013 to put everybody in a

quandary as to whether to go for the impromptu elections or go for a boycott because nobody except ZANU PF was ready for them. Even the joining hands by the two MDC formation at the SADC summit in Maputo to push for a delay in the holding of the watershed elections so that the outstanding reforms could be implemented. With the election date of 31 July 2013 proving unstoppable at the behest of ZANU PF, the caught unawares MDC-T had to hurriedly hold primary elections in which candidate impositions were among other errors of commission to result in many disgruntlements which were destructive to the then limping MDC-T losing focus at the advantage of the shrewed ZANU PF. The nationwide disgruntlements resulted in the then limping MDC-T having 29 of its members standing as independents while for the shrewed ZANU PF party that number was only as few as 3, a confirmation that the then visibly injured and limping MDC-T was destined for the graveyard in the landmark 31 July 2013 harmonized elections.

But the ZANU PF electoral shenanigans are a good prospect for you the Reader. And these and other details certainly on their way coming to you in just a moment.

XI. ZANU PF'S ELECTORAL SHENANIGANS DESTINE THE CLUELESS MDC-T TO THE GRAVEYARD ACCOMPANIED BY A PRAYER "ZORORAI MURUGARE MDC-T" (MEANING MDC-T REST IN PEACE) (DUBE AND MAKAYE 2013)

On electoral shenanigans designed to destine the MDC-T to the graveyard, Dube and Makaye (2013) said:

"To ensure its victory in the harmonized elections, the re-energised ZANU PF party machinery engaged a plethora of electoral shenanigans that could be described in simple language as vote rigging. These ranged from coming up with more constituencies in its traditional strongholds, gerrymandering, the surprise unilateral announcement of election date without consultations with other opposition parties, a voter registration exercise driven by a concoction of baboon and monkey tricks, voter migration to the intimidation of the gullible rural voter and for the first time ever, the involvement of the criminally enterprising Israeli company called Nikuv in the electoral processes of the country.

Like the Germans in the just ended World Cup 2014 in Brazil the preparations were so thorough and meticulous nothing was left to chance until final victory on the night of 13 July 2014, at the Marakana Stadium, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (Sky Sports 214). Below is a chronicle by Dube and Makaye (2013) of how the

shrewed ZANU PF party turned the tables against the MDC-T party.

On electoral shenanigans to ensure ZANU PF electoral victory over the MDC-T party Dube and Makaya (2013) had a long list of shenanigans that ZANU PF employed to ensure its resounding electoral victory over the clueless MDC_T party. Below is a chronology of what the two said:

1. Delineation of constituencies (Dube and Makaye 2013)

"The drawing of the constituency boundaries was done in a manner which favoured ZANU PF at the expense of the MDC-T party. Since the inception of MDC party in 1999 rural areas which bore the brand of the liberation struggle of the 1960s and 1970s are home to the rural folk which are traditionally ZANU PF strongholds. The gullible rural folk are easily intimidated. By merely being told there would be war again if ZANU PF lost to the sellout MDC party, meant that, with the memories of the brutal armed struggle still lingering in their minds they tend to be gullible and vote ZANU PF "en masse", said Dube and Makaye (2013).

2. Gerrymandering (Chigora and Dewa 2012)

"This is another form of vote rigging that was upheld by the partisan ZEC commissioners. It is a form of redistributing in which electoral districts or constituency boundaries are manipulated to disadvantage one party at the expense of the other. A typical case of gerrymandering is Harare South constituency which has components of Harare urban as well as peri-urban areas where there was land redistribution, spearheaded by ZANU PF party", said Chigora and Dewa (2012) in explaining what gerrymandering is all about.

3. Surprise announcement of election date (Dube and Makaye 2013).

On the surprise announcement of the election date of 31 July 2013 Dube and Makaye said:

"The announcement of 31 July 2013 as the election date caught many contestants by complete surprise to give ZANU PF an electoral advantage at the expense of the other contestants eg MDC-T party. The expected was to consult the MDC-T party but to catch the MDC-T off guard the astute ZANU PF decided to go it alone without Global Political Agreement (GPA) reforms such as electoral, media, security sector reforms and a road map to the elections", explained Dube and Makaye (2013) on the reasons behind the surprise announcement of an election date for the harmonized elections.

4. Voter registration and voter migration (Dube and Makaye 2013)

"The demand for voter registration in the urban areas was cumbersome while in the rural areas it was a cake walk in the park. The national identity document was the basic requirement but in urban

areas an additional burden was proof of residence. In the end a huge number decided to vote with their feet. For those who took the burden to register, come polling day, quite many had been placed in wrong constituencies or wards. The forced voter migration disenfranchised many especially in the MDC-T strongholds which was to the advantage of ZANU PF at the expense of the MDC-T and other opposition parties. The partisan ZEC reported that as many as 305 000 had been turned away from polling stations for a variety of reasons such as inappropriate documentation and turning up in wrong constituencies or wards", explained Dube and Makaye (2013), the shenanigans which characterized voter registration and the reasons behind the benefit of ZANU PF at the disadvantage of MDC-T and other opposition parties.

5. Voters'roll (Dube and Makaye 2013)

On the voters roll Dube and Makaye (2013) had this to announce which was certainly anomalous to advantage ZANU PF and to disadvantage MDC-T and other minor opposition parties:

"According to the electoral laws Zimbabwe's register of voters is kept by ZEC and anyone who needs to access it must do so at the payment of an appropriate fee. In this election of extra-ordinary episodes political parties and individuals were not allowed free access to the voters' roll which in actual fact was not in the general custody of ZEC but in the Registrar General's Office, Tobaiwa Mudede, a distant relative to His Excellence President Mugabe. Any attempts by Morgan Tsvangirai of the opposition MDC-T party to force the Registrar General's Office to make the voter's roll availed to Tsvangirai found no takers at the material time Dube and Makaya (2013) painstakingly explained how anybody else except ZANU PF were denied free access to the voter's roll which impeccable sources said was teeming with not only dead voters but names of 114 year olds or more.

6. Intimidation of and by traditional chiefs on a country that prides itself with the highest literacy in Africa (Chetsanga 2010).

According to Chetsanga (2010) he explained the intimidation of and by traditional chiefs as follows;

"It becomes ironical that the country had such a very high number of assisted voters. The partisan ZEC had reported that as many as 207 000 people were assisted voters who needed help from partisan polling officers to cast their votes (Tapiwa 2013). What seemed to have happened was that there was gross intimidation of traditional chiefs by ZANU PF so that they would whip into line people under their jurisdiction to vote for ZANU PF compared with the 29 March 2008 harmonized elections where there was no such questionable numbers of assisted voters and it becomes preposterous to think that five years later Zimbabweans had become less literate", deliberated Professor Chetsanga (2010).

According to Wikipedia (2014) Zimbabwe leads Africa in having an adult literacy rate of approximately 90% which compares favourably to Tunisia at 87% (Wikipedia 2014).

7. More polling stations to cope with the large numbers of voters who turned up for voting (Dube and Makaye 2013)

The partisan ZEC was said to have came up with an additional 65 polling stations (Shumba 2013). This was an irregularity on the part of ZEC because the law stipulates that participants in the election should be notified of the places where polling stations would be set up three weeks before polling. Echoing this sentiments Dr Simba Makoni, leader of Mavambo Kusile Dawn who had forged an alliance with Morgan Tsvangirai then said:

"ZEC acknowledged the irregularities and that an additional 65 polling stations were established on polling day in contravention of section 51 of the Electoral Act which stipulates that they should be published 3 weeks before polling day (Shumba 2013). This requirement of publication is not frivolous as it gave the belligerents enough time to prepare for deployment of polling agents well in advance. It is not clear whether or not the opposition political parties were able to deploy their election agents at the new polling stations. If they could not then that could give credence to allegations of rigging or ballot stuffing or even double voting", said Dube and Makaye (2013).

8. The involvement of and Israeli consultancy company in 31 July 2013 harmonised elections raised some suspicions of vote rigging (Dube and Makaye 2013).

On the Israeli consultancy company, Nikuv getting involved in the 31 July 2013 harmonised elections, Dube and Makaye (2013), eager to explain the anomaly had said:

"Naisni projects, a South African company claims that a delicate ballot paper was issued to rig the election alleging that the ballot that was used had a water mark X against Mugabe and ZANU PF's name such that if any ink was placed on the paper the substance remove the ink and that activated the water marked X into print (Shumba 2013). The same paper reported that some teachers who took part in the counting of ballot papers claimed that some of the Xs were very faint. A number of claims on the ground gave credence to such claims. First there has been considerable secrecy and suspicion regarding the place where the ballot papers were printed. In a transparent, free and fair system there is no need for such secrecy. Second, as the MDC-T was preparing for its court challenge against the credibility and fairness of the poll it requested for material used in the election but domain was that those election materials were not given forcing Tsvangirai to withdraw the petition from the constitutional court", (Marwadzo 2013), Dube and Makaya (2013) went at length to

prove that the 31 July 2013 harmonized elections had something somewhere which was terribly amiss to give credence the said election could have been massively rigged in favour of His Excellence President Mugabe to disadvantage Tsvangirai of the main opposition MDC-T party.

9. More ballot papers printed (Dube and Makaye 2013)

"Nikuv allegedly assisted ZEC to print 35% more ballot papers than the registered voters (Pindurai 2013). This raised eyebrows given that international standard of best practice pegs the extra threshold at 5%. Allegations of vote rigging became difficult to rebut under difficult circumstances. The question to pose was: Why would election management authorities waste so much paper ink and time printing a lot more ballots that were not necessary unless they had something up their sleeves? The printing of such a big number over and above the required ballots gives substance to allegations of vote rigging. The state media was in a way a contributory factor to the problem under investigation. And below was the contribution of the state media to the eventual downfall of the opposition MDC-T party," said Dube and Makaye (2013) to convince the Author that every picture that one saw and every word that was uttered about this election had a 'special meaning'.

10. Dube and Makaye (2013) went out of their way to explain how the partisan public media, print and electronic, played a major role to contribute to the eventual premature death and burial of the opposition parties after the 31 July 2013 harmonized elections by saying that:

"The post 2000 society of Zimbabwe had been faced with a myriad of complex ethical dilemmas in the public media. The public and general media reforms were part of the fundamentals the GNU was mandated to tackle before the 31 July 2013 harmonised poll. The public media ie the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) and Zimpapers are owned by government and they are expected to report their news in a way that favours ZANU PF at the expense of the opposition MDC-T party. They are also expected to give equal coverage to the activities of all political parties. During this poll in 2013 ZANU PF and its presidential candidate His Excellence President Mugabe held 10 provincial rallies in all the ten provinces of Zimbabwe with live coverage as if they were state or national events. This is called a 'contradictory dual decay of democracy and authoritarianism' (Rauming et al 2000). Quite evident was that the single television broadcasting and ZBC were controversially assisting one party to campaign at the expense of the other opposition parties. The Zimbabwe media Commission failed to register other independent players before the 31 July 2013 poll to

effectively ensure that come elections, the public would be starved of election campaign broadcasting for the opposition MDC parties and others like ZAPU. The public media fought in the corner of ZANU PF by labeling ZANU PF as a patriotic party while the MDCs especially the much hated MDC-T were labeled derisively as parties for traitors. The impact of this message was to sway voters away from the MDCs in favour of ZANU PF. The state media, a version of nationalism that essentially divided Zimbabweans into two groups ie, either patriotic and therefore supporting ZANU PF or traitors supporting the MDC-T (Ranger 2005). Between the dissolution of parliament and the announcement of the election in 2013 the public broadcaster had depicted Morgan Tsvangirai as a person in a state of confusion and a person who approaches issues with a 'shut mind and an open mouth'. The perpetuation of unmitigated propaganda journalism greatly aided ZANU PF to run riot against the MDC-T", said Dube and Makaya (2013) in protest against the public media taking sides with ZANU PF while Tsvangirai of the MDC-T is 'voetsacked' (meaning rubbish) as a sellout and traitor to the Western Imperialists.

And finally another factor which contributed to ZANU PF running riot against the MDC-T was the unfair legal framework which is on its way coming to you.

11. The unfair legal framework

"Under the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) which can be seen as the colonial Law and Order Maintenance Act (LOMA) incarnate, it is a requirement for organizers of political meetings to first of all notifying the partisan and ZANU PF aligned Zimbabwe republic Police (ZRP) to provide them with protection. However, in practice the politics of incumbency has been at play. In almost all the instances, ZANU PF would hold its campaign rallies without much ado, while the MDC-T would be frustrated in its attempts to hold its campaign rallies. For its last star rally at Freedom Square near the Harare Rainbow Towers on 29 July 2013, the MDC-T was nearly denied permission to hold the star rally by the partisan police who argued that they had already deployed their officers to polling stations and therefore did not have the capacity to provide security (Mapako 2013). This was just a tip of the iceberg. The senior police officers who have liberation war credentials have not hidden their covert support and bias for ZANU PF and have been on record for frustrating MDC-T. One of the senior police officers, Olivia Mandipaka, left the force and went on to contest in the harmonized elections on a ZANU PF ticket and he went on to win a Buhera constituency seat. All this goes to show that by and large the legal framework is tilted in favour of ZANU PF at the expense of the opposition MDC – T party and this had scuttled all operations of the MDC-T in a big way", said Dube

and Makaye (2013) much to the full agreement by the Author.

Up next is to find out how the unprincipled SADC contributed to the MDC-T being run rugged by the SADC favoured ZANU PF party turning the tables against the MDC-T party? Coming your way in just a moment is this fascinating story.

XII. HOW DID SADC CONTRIBUTE TO MDC-T BEING RUN RUGGED BY THE SADC FAVOURED ZANU PF IN THE 31 JULY 2013 POLL?

For strategic reasons, in discussing the SADC's contribution to the governance problem under investigation the Author will abort his favorite narrative approach in preference to the question and answer approach. And below is how he kicks the ball to start the soccer match. As SADC and AU are one and the same thing the Author will again opt to discuss the two as one and the same at the same time.

1. According to SADC and AU were the Zimbabwe harmonized elections free, fair and credible?

Initially SADC said the elections were 'free and peaceful' but withheld the 'fair and credible' stamp to leave His Excellence President Mugabe still facing a legitimacy problem in the aftermath of the 31 July 2013 poll. And two days after the poll the AU observer mission had expressed satisfaction with Zimbabwe's electoral processes to effectively shut the door on this chapter.

2. Did His Excellence President Mugabe have the merit to be elevated to the SADC Vice Chairmanship position.

Given the manner in which he had gate-crashed his way to State House, His Excellence President Mugabe did not deserve to hold any position in SADC. His elevation was vindictive to the wounded MDC-T then leaking its wounds after its disastrous performance in the 31 July 2013 poll. The body language to the MDC-T then was come to SADC for an appeal at your own peril and humiliation with His Excellence President Mugabe then elevated to SADC Deputy Chairperson (Moyo 2013).

3. Did Zimbabwe meet its side of the bargain during the 31 July 2013 poll declared 'free, fair and generally credible' by SADC?

According to Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, there was non-compliance with eight guidelines and only partial compliance with six.

"It is difficult to accept the SADC election observer mission report as a true reflection of the credibility of Zimbabwe's 31 July 2013 poll. Only one principle was fully complied with which relates to the holding of elections at regular intervals.

4. Did Zimbabwe ensure 'full participation of its citizens in the political process as demanded by the SADC guidelines?

Apart from the partisan SADC observers, other internal observers said, "full participation was effectively compromised by disenfranchisement through the failure to register and vote". The Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) said 730 000 potential voters were turned away by the Registrar General office while many cases of intolerance were cited including the Security Service Chiefs' statements that they would not accept a Morgan Tsvangirai election victory beside their partisan campaign for ZANU PF in flagrant disregard of the country's constitution which prohibits such unconstitutional practices.

5. Did Zimbabwe take all necessary measures and precautions to prevent the perpetration of fraud, rigging or any other illegal practices throughout the whole electoral process?

Eldred Masunungure, a political science lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe said SADC's endorsement was a clear message to the MDC parties especially Tsvangirai's MDC-T that the regional bloc considers the elections 'water under the bridge' and all Zimbabweans must now refocus on the future.

"This implies that the doors have been firmly shut in the face of the MDC-T and it can no longer pursue any diplomatic channels to resolve what it calls a massive electoral fraud," said Masunungure.

Addressing journalists in Harare after the polls, ZESN Chairperson Solomon Zwana said urban voters had been systematically disenfranchised as many were turned away for various reasons including anomalies on the voters' roll.

"Over 750 000 urban voters were missing on the voters' roll compared to rural voters. In contravention of the law the final voter's roll was not made available in electronic format prior to election day. Thus there was no way to assess the bias on the final voter's roll."

The voter turn away in urban areas was 82% of the polling stations while in the rural areas that figure was 38% to effectively mean Tsvangirai was worse off on statistics than His Excellence President Mugabe (Moyo 2013). And finally, did Zuma contribute anything to worsen the governance problem under investigation? Below is his disastrous contribution.

XIII. DID ZUMA NEGATIVELY CONTRIBUTE TO THE MDC-T GETTING A HUMILIATING DEFEAT IN 31 JULY 2013 POLL?

After Thabo Mbeki came President Jacob Zuma as the SADC facilitator on the long running Zimbabwe political saga. Unlike Mbeki, Zuma had made a storming start to his job as facilitator and at one time forcing His Excellence President Mugabe to pull out of SADC due to an increase in pressure from Zuma through his foreign affairs advisor, Lindiwe Zulu. Only after the 31 July 2013 poll did the people of Zimbabwe

realize Jacob Zuma had been flattering to deceive. Soon after SADC had endorsed the 31 July 2013 poll, the SADC leaders led by Zuma, the bloc's facilitator to the Zimbabwe political question wasted precious little time in heartily congratulating His Excellence President Mugabe and ZANU PF for their victory. To cement their position on His Excellence President Mugabe, the SADC leaders led by Zuma elevated Mugabe to Deputy Chairperson of Joyce Banda, then President of Malawi and SADC Chairperson. The role that Jacob Zuma played in this plot surprised the MDC-T but cost Zuma the goodwill with the people of Zimbabwe to bring the discourse to its finality. Up next are the Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations. But the Summary will come ahead of the other two as below.

XIV. SUMMARY

The governance problem under investigation in this Paper is how and why the opposition MDC-T party resoundingly lost the 31 July 2013 poll which the opposition party was widely expected to win (2013-14). First to come up for public scrutiny was the aptitude of Morgan Tsvangirai as the spiritual leader of the democratic struggle for change in Zimbabwe. After the loss of his wife in 2009 in a road accident the life of Tsvangirai had been a roller coaster hooking up with many women with known ZANU PF links such as Locardia Karimatsenga and Elizabeth Macheka to influence his loss of focus on the democratic struggle for change in Zimbabwe. To weaken the opposition MDC-T party there was the first tribal split in 2005 followed by the second in April 2014 spearheaded by Tendai Biti and Elton Mangoma in the aftermath of a disastrous electoral performance in the 31 July 2013 poll in which Tsvangirai was outpolled by His Excellence President Mugabe in the presidential, senatorial, parliamentary and local government elections. ZANU PF had employed electoral shenanigans to turn the tables against the opposition MDC-T party. For SADC it ignored all its guidelines on Zimbabwe elections to influence ZANU PF to have a cake walk in the park in an election they were not supposed to win. The same can be said about the partisan AU. Zuma, the SADC facilitator on the Zimbabwe long running political saga disappointed the people of Zimbabwe when he became the first one to lead the SADC leaders to communicate

their hearty congratulations to His Excellence President Mugabe and ZANU PF for winning the 31 July 2013 Zimbabwean poll with flying colours. But contrary to this SADC solidarity, the international community spearheaded by the USA and the EU rubbished the elections to condemn and confirm Zimbabwe's place in the political wilderness. Up next is the Conclusion given in the context of this depressing Summary of events in Zimbabwe then.

XV. CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, it was evident that the two theories informing this study were quite robust in explaining the phenomenon under investigation in this study. The 31 July 2013 poll was characterized by atrocious demonization of the opposition MDC-T party to sway votes in favour of ZANU PF and not to mention vote rigging. In assessing the combination of factors that explain a ZANU PF victory the Author averred that it was the cocktail of electoral shenanigans rather than popular support that were pivotal in ensuring ZANU PF's sham 'victory'. In all this, it appears that the election management body, ZEC was a willing accomplice, no small wonder two of its commissioners resigned, one of them, Mkhululi Nyati during the disputed poll citing lack of professionalism in the manner the partisan ZEC was handling the elections without giving much away at the time for security reasons. The other one to call it quit was Professor G. Feltoe immediately after the elections without shedding light on the reasons for doing so obviously with personal security uppermost in his mind. If peaceful avenues for the transfer of power can be frustrated with this kind of impunity then the future and the serious implications that this will have on the security and development aspects of this country are certainly bleak. Zimbabwe is neck deep in the throes of a liquidity crunch because of this 'don't care attitude'. A case in point is ably demonstrated by the Table 1 below on the unattractiveness of Zimbabwe and a perception of high risk as an investment destination in the SADC region of modest economic growth. For the year ended 31 December 2012 Zimbabwe's attractiveness for foreign direct investment destination was assessed against the likes of the neighboring Zambia and Mozambique. The results do not look good for Zimbabwe at all.

Table 1 : Foreign Direct Investment (fdi) inflows into Zimbabwe compared with Mozambique and Zambia for the year ended 31 December 2012:

Country	Foreign Direct Investment Inflow (Billion Us\$)	Ranking	Percentage (%)
Mozambique	5	1 st	78
Zambia	1	2 nd	16
Zimbabwe	0.4	3 rd	6
	6.4		100

Source: Matombo (2013)

While the traditionally lowly countries of Mozambique and Zambia in the SADC region were winning gold and silver in the race for fdi in the SADC region respectively, Zimbabwe was happy with winning a wooden spoon prize money from her distant 3rd position in Table 1 above. Put differently for every \$100 of fdi brought to the three countries as in Table 1 above, Zimbabwe is taking home a paltry US\$6 while the lowly Mozambique and Zambia are taking home US\$78 and US\$16 respectively in fdi as in Table 1 above. 'Mwari neVadzimu tibatsirei!' (meaning God and the Ancestral spirits please help us!). With the foregoing depressing Conclusion now out of the way up next is the required risk treatment or Recommendations for the identified debilitating risks as per the carried out literature review, research methodology and research findings in this Paper.

XVI. RECOMMENDATIONS

The Author once and for all would want to put the record straight here and now to benefit the sick Zimbabwe and its comatose economy now on life support system in the intensive care unit of a rural missionary hospital. Unknown to delinquent Zimbabwe the United States of America and the European Union are the emerging prefects of this modern world of increasing complexity. They are again the custodians of fdi for which the poor Zimbabwe is in desperate need given its extensively destroyed and damaged infrastructure. The two super powers are not the sort of countries any, sane person would willy nilly dare tell 'to keep your money while I keep my Zimbabwe' as once said by His Excellence President Mugabe'. That mouthful of a statement coming from His Excellence President Mugabe was highly deplorable.

Closer home look at South Africa and its elevated status in the SADC region and Africa. The polished country is an envy to every well meaning Zimbabwean, African, European and even American. A short story and a good prospect for the Reader is when the Author took his first ever flight to South Africa in the early 1990s, on his touch down in Johannesburg, the beauty and sophistication of the buildings around him convinced the Author, coming from Zimbabwe with its extensively destroyed and damaged infrastructure that he was in a vastly developed Europe and not a developing and Third World South Africa who joined the Brics (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) organization in 2010. President Barrack Obama was last in South Africa in July 2013. But the nearest ever that Obama has been to Zimbabwe was Botswana and South Africa. Why? The two have a history of good governance based on democracy whose spiritual home is USA. To the Americans democracy and respect for human rights are the cornerstones of their religion. Any one like Zimbabwe who glaringly comes short on these international standards of best practice such as

democracy and respect for human rights is a cursed country not worth to receive financial aid or state visit from them (Table 1). Those who do not want to change risk to enjoy irrelevance in this modern world of increasing complexity. For today the Author will rest it here but not before the short prayer to benefit Zimbabwe reportedly drowning in deadly sin, 'Mwari neVadzimu tibatsirei kuti Zimbabwe iponeswe' (meaning God and the Ancestral Spirits please help the cursed Zimbabwe to embrace good governance (democracy and the respect for human rights. Amen).

XVII. KEY ASSUMPTION

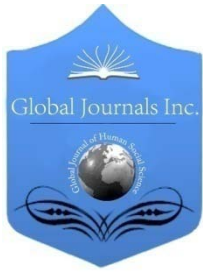
In presenting this Paper the Author would, right from the outset, wish to reassure the beloved Reader that all the facts and figures contained herein are stated as they are on the ground without fear, favour or prejudice.

REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. Blair, D. (2005) Degree in violence: Robert Mugabe and the struggle for power in Zimbabwe. London: Continuum
2. Bond, P. and Manyanya, M. (2003) Zimbabwe's plunge: Exhausted nationalism, neoliberalism and the search for social justice. Harare: Weaver Press.
3. Chetsanga, C. (2010) Speech on accepting the Honorary Doctorate awarded to him for his immense contribution to science in Zimbabwe.
4. Chigora, P. (2012) Politics in Zimbabwe in the 21st century. Lambert Academic Publishing Company.
5. Chiripasi, T. (2014 July 18) and Zulu, B (2014) Tsvangirai Expels Tendai Biti. Leadership Renewal Team. Retrieved on <http://www.voa.zimbabwe.com/1903520.html>
6. Dube, B. and Makaye, P. (2013 October 13) How ZANU PF 'won' the 2013 harmonized elections in Zimbabwe. A published thesis Midlands State University, Gweru, Zimbabwe. Retrieved from <http://www.yhssi.org.volum2.issue10>.
7. Kuvirimirwa, F. (2014 July 16) No flavor in MDC-T's juice. Retrieved on <http://www.herald.co.zw/no-flavourinMDC-T...>
8. Mapako, T. (2013 July 30) Police deny MDC permission to hold star rally. Retrieved on <http://www.zimbabwesituation.com/300713>
9. Marwadzo, P. (2013 December 22) Poll material destroyed Tsvangirai Retrieved on <http://www.newsday.com.zw/2013/12/22/poll-on...>
10. Matamba, A. (2014 July 23) Zimbabwe needs new capital injection. Newsday, p10.
11. Matambanadzo, S. (2013 December 2013) Poll material destroyed. Tsvangirai Ex PM insists on fresh elections. Newsday, p3.
12. Moyo, H. (2013 September 6-12) SADC ignores on guidelines on Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe Independent, p14.

13. Ncube, J. (2014 July 17) MDC splits on tribal lines. Retrieved on <http://www.newzimbabwe.com/.../news.aspx>
14. NM (2014 September 11) Zim drowning in deadly sin. Newsday, p9.
15. Nyamutata, C. (2014 July 17) Tsvangirai's wife overstepped mark. Retrieved on <http://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2014/0...>
16. Pindura, C. (2013 August 5) More ballot papers printed. Retrieved on <http://www.zimbabwesituation.co/news/05/08/13>
17. Rauming, H. and Kupe, T. (2000) The dual legacy of democracy and authoritarianism: The media and the state in Zimbabwe. In Curran and Jin Part, M. Eds. Dewesternising media studies. London: Routledge.
18. SADC Secretariat (2014 July 16) SADC mission. Retrieved on <http://www.int/...sadc.mission/>
19. Shumba, M. (2013 August 5) More polling stations. Retrieved on <http://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2013/08/05>
20. Simvula, J. (2013) Zimbabwe elections: Contest that never was. The Herald, 21 August, Harare, Zimbabwe.
21. Sky Sports (2014 July 14) Kings of the world. Newsday, p32.
22. Staff Reporter (2014 October 4) MSU student in love triangle counter sues/the Herald. Retrieved on <http://www.herald.cozw/msu-student-in-love!!!>
23. Staff Reporter (2014 October 5) Research and Publications. Zimbabwe Open University. By Dewa, D. and Chigara, P. of Arts and Social Sciences, Volume 1 (2) pp32 – 38 October 2012, ISSN (2251.0028) Retrieved on <http://www.zou.ac.zw/regionalcentres/mid>
24. Staff Reporter (2014 October 5) Retrieved on <http://www.zec.gov.zw/site.map/articles>
25. Staff Reporter (2014 October 5) Zimbabwe in the early morning light. Retrieved on <http://www.tripadvisor.com>Africa.VictoriaFalls>ThingstodoinVictoria>
26. Staff Reporter (2014 October 7) Bibliography Wits University of the Witwatersrand. The dual legacy of democracy and Authoritarianism: The media and the state in Zimbabwe by Rauming, H and Kupe, T. (2000) Retrieved on <http://www.widespread.wits.ac.za/bitsstream/han...>
27. Tapiwa, R. (2013 August 9) The number of assisted voters on the 31 July 2013 poll. Retrieved on <http://www.zimbabwesituation.com/news.9/08/13>
28. Wikipedia (2014 July 16) Susan Tsvangirai died on 6 March 2009. Retrieved on <http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/susantsvangirai>
29. Wikipedia (2014 October 5) Augustine Chihuri. Wikipedia retrived on <http://www.enwikipedia.org./AugustineChihuri>
30. Wikipedia (2014 October 5) Central Intelligence Organisation. Wikipedia. Retrived on <http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/centralintelligence>
31. Wikipedia (2014 October 6) Education in Zimbabwe. Wikipedia. Retrieved on http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/education_in_
32. Wikipedia 92014 October 6) Christopher Chetsanga. wikipedia. Retrieved on http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/chistopher_C...Zimbabwe light (2013 August 3)

This page is intentionally left blank



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE

Volume 14 Issue 6 Version 1.0 Year 2014

Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal

Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)

Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Neo-Liberal Globalization, The State and Conflicts: Some Remarks on Sub- Sahara Africa

By Adeniyi S. Basiru

University of Lagos, Nigeria

Abstract- This article interrogated, in theoretical cum descriptive fashion, the linkage(s) between neo-liberal globalization, the state, the arena of politics and conflicts, using sub-Sahara Africa as a research backdrop. Drawing from secondary data sourced mainly from textbooks and journals; and leaning on dependency theoretical platform, it found out that neo- liberal globalization has affected states in the global system differentially. While the developed states of the north had developed various strategies to deal with the enigma and had even made huge success of it, the dependent, post-colonial states in Africa have been at the mercies of this technologically driven post- cold war phenomenon.

Merciless, it argues that globalization has dented the integrity of these states in manner that made them to lose legitimacy in the eyes of citizens under their confines. The outcome of such state of affairs was the relocation of legitimacy from them to the sub-state movements, which, in most cases, have now become the new sites of conflicts in the region.

Keywords: *globalization, conflicts, the state, legitimacy, integration.*

GJHSS-F Classification : *FOR Code: 360199*



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:



© 2014. Adeniyi S. Basiru. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/>, permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Neo-Liberal Globalization, The State and Conflicts: Some Remarks on Sub- Sahara Africa

Adeniyi S. Basiru

Abstract- This article interrogated, in theoretical cum descriptive fashion, the linkage(s) between neo-liberal globalization, the state, the arena of politics and conflicts, using sub-Sahara Africa as a research backdrop. Drawing from secondary data sourced mainly from textbooks and journals; and leaning on dependency theoretical platform, it found out that neo- liberal globalization has affected states in the global system differentially. While the developed states of the north had developed various strategies to deal with the enigma and had even made huge success of it, the dependent, post-colonial states in Africa have been at the mercies of this technologically driven post- cold war phenomenon.

Merciless, it argues that globalization has dented the integrity of these states in manner that made them to lose legitimacy in the eyes of citizens under their confines. The outcome of such state of affairs was the relocation of legitimacy from them to the sub-state movements, which, in most cases, have now become the new sites of conflicts in the region.

The article recommended two action areas for reversing the trends. First, at the national level, the state, the epicentre of the socio-economic space, needs to be reconstituted. It is expected that a genuinely democratic nation-states could serve as building blocks for continental integration. Second, sub-Sahara African states must move the integration process beyond rhetoric.

Keywords: globalization, conflicts, the state, legitimacy, integration.

I. INTRODUCTION

The end of the cold war has witnessed an upsurge in intra- state conflicts in Africa with very low incidence of inter-state conflicts. Most of these conflicts assumed peculiar characteristics by nature of their localization. They challenge regional security and stability more than they pose a threat to global security as would have seen the case during the cold war era (Tamuno, 1991, p.2).

The above statement by one of Nigeria's foremost Historian, captures the realities of the post-cold war sub-Sahara Africa: the prevalence of intra-state conflicts. To some observers and commentators, the state in sub-Sahara Africa is at the centre of these crises (read Williams, 2004; Stedman, 1996). To be more specific, the state in this turbulent region seem to have failed in creating national community from the different groups that composed it.

Author: Ph. D Candidate, Department of Political Science, University of Lagos, Lagos, Nigeria. e-mail: asbash72@yahoo.com

As Rotberg (2004:8) opines '*the inability to build national commonwealth of like minds has tended to generate inter-group animosities and by extension primordial tensions and conflicts which has grown in intensity since after the Second World War*'.

One question logically flows from Rotberg's opinion, namely: can the prevalence of internal conflicts in sub-Sahara Africa be solely explained from the perspectives of the internal structures of states? Obviously, the reality of the post-cold war neoliberal globalization seems to have relegated the internal structure thesis to the background, this writer is of the view that given the post-cold war reality, the thesis cannot adequately describe and explain the dynamics and the prevalence of intra-state conflicts in sub-Sahara Africa in the cold war era.

As Nabudere (2000) and Ninsin (2001) argue, the post-cold war global politico-economic architecture and the forces of transnationalization it unleashes have continued to downsize the duties of the Westphalia state in economic management. In fact, Ake (1995), Rodrick (1997) and Toyo (2002) concur with Nabudere when they aver that globalization has increased national and local inequalities within states but has also dented the integrity of the state mainly in the south.

At this juncture, a question is apt: if neo-liberal globalization has downsized the strength of the state, does that predisposes it to conflicts? or put differently, is there a theoretical linkage between globalization, the state and conflicts? This paper intends to answer these questions in the light of sub-Saharan Africa's experience and in order to set about achieving this task; the paper is organized as follows: The first section sets the background to the study. Section two lays the conceptual frameworks for the paper. The third section examines the post-cold war global politico-economic architecture and its bearing on Africa. Section four, in an analytical cum discursive manner, connects globalization, the state and conflicts in sub-Sahara Africa. The fifth section concludes the paper with a number of recommendations.

II. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL ISSUES

Concepts are of fundamental importance in seeking knowledge, in guiding inquiry and in expressing knowledge. Indeed, our perceptions provide a basis for conceptions and once conceptions have been developed, we are more likely to see what they name

(Van Dyke, 1960:64) Therefore, when a knowledge seeker, like this writer, perceives a new pattern or a new phenomenon and gives it a name, or creating a new concept, many other become aware of its existence.

Concepts must of course be defined in order to give clarity to them. As Rubin and Babbie (1989) notes: 'we specify what we mean when we use particular terms for the purposes of facilitating their contextual operationalization and comprehension'. Hence, in this paper, the concepts of *globalization the state and conflict* are identified as conceptual frames of reference but because they are essentially contested concepts (see Gallie, 1962). Thus, rather than dissipating much energies on conceptualizing these concepts, this paper adopts a framework that links the three concepts analytically. In terms of analysis, the conceptual linkage between globalization, the state and conflicts in sub-Sahara Africa would be better explained within the dependency paradigm in international economic relations.

The dependency theory, like all other structural frameworks in international economic relations, seeks to explore the process of integration of the periphery into the world capitalist system and to assess the developmental implications of this integration. In the views of dependency theorists, the relationship between the northern core and the southern periphery far from being a relationship of mutual interest and co-operation connotes both the subordination of the latter to the former and the exploitation of the latter by the former (Caporaso, 1978:2; Frank, 1972)

Thus in the eyes of *dependentistas*, the poor countries do not lack capital and lag behind the rich because they lie outside or on the edge of the capitalist world, as claimed by the modernization theorists but rather because they have been integrated into the international class structure of the capitalist system (Dougherty and Pfallgratz Jr, 1996:241; Rostow, 1960; Valenzuela, 1978; Frank, 1981).

The dependency theorists further argue that neocolonialism which operates without colonies but is nevertheless imperialistic has created a hierarchical structure in which the rich states in the centre of the world economic system dominate the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) on the periphery of the system (Frank, 1976). In fact, Onimode (1981:79) sums up the nature of the dichotomization thus:

In the context of the history of the world during the age of imperialism, the relationship between it and development has been direct and symmetrical for the imperialist countries and perverse for the wretched of the earth. This is perhaps, the most eloquent testimony to the fundamentally materialist and exploitative character of imperialism. It has generated phenomenal development in Western Europe, North American and Japan during all its

phases, while it has produced and sustained incredible underdevelopment in the third world.

The fact that imperialism has produced global inequality, whether in its current phase of globalization or mercantilism of old, is no longer in dispute. To be sure, imperialism under the guise of neoliberalism had continued unabashedly to reproduce the same pattern of unequal development (Amuwo, 2009). In real terms, globalization, in its present epoch, represents another round of unequal exchange between the North and the South. As it will soon be made clearer, the neo-liberal onslaught against African political economies in the past three decades has almost everywhere incapacitated the neo-colonial state, jeopardized its performance legitimacy and emptied it of its content.

To be more specific, the penetrating influence of contemporary neo-liberal globalization has not only delegitimize the state in Africa but has also exacerbated human insecurity which ultimately promote conflicts. In fact, this reality has been recognized by all the actors in the international system including some of the custodians of the lopsided arrangement (Clinton, 2007). It is in this paradigmatic context that this paper links globalization, the state and conflicts in sub-Sahara Africa.

III. THE POST-COLD WAR POLITICO-ECONOMIC ARCHITECTURE AND SUB – SAHARA AFRICA

For decade prior to 1989, the overreaching concern of western governments and many theorists of IR had been to deter conventional conflicts that could escalate to the nuclear level Dougherty and Pfallgratz Jr 1996 :1). These developments though in the politico-diplomatic and security spheres have had important impact on international power relations (Lairson, 1994). Indeed, for triumphalist like Francis Fukuyama, it was not just the end of an epoch but the "end of history suggesting victory for capitalist liberal democracy as well as the idea that liberal democracy could not be improved upon as a form of government (Fukuyama, 1992).

As the subsequent "third wave" of democratic movement spread throughout the globe, so too did the talk of democratization (Huntington, 1991). These unfolding global events in all ramifications marked a major paradigm shift in scholarly thinking about international political economy because through out the cold war, the international economic system retained a seemingly recognizable shape, despite occasional deep freezes between the west and the east.

In fact, during this period, international political economists developed coherent theories and engaged sometimes in esoteric debates that centered on liberalism versus communism. Although, there were often disagreements in terms of ideas but they fitted into

comprehensive framework based on the bipolar international system. As the polar structure of the international system changed from bipolarity into unipolarity courtesy of the global armageddon, the international politico-economic architecture changed dramatically too. The reality of this transition forced many scholars, policymakers and governments to rethink global economic ideas.

Prior to this period, Washington and Moscow had been the headquarters for promoting liberal and socialist ideas respectively but the realities of the 1990s shifted the 'ideological compasses' toward Washington. Onimode (2000:20) put the then reality thus: '*Unfortunately, the achievement of the détente between the erstwhile super powers in 1989 has left the world with one dominant super power in the USA*'. By this time, neo-liberalism, now masquerading as globalization, became forcefully entrenched into the world economy under the watchful eyes of the global hegemon (see Amin, 2006). It is however recognized that though the process intensifies the integration of people and nations, it impacted on countries and people in an unbalanced manner, marginalizing many and rewarding few (Khor, 2001).

In other words, distribution of benefits and losses of globalization. In another vein, it is contended that globalization expands the North and weakens the South, erodes global and national solidarity, and brings about the impoverishment and exclusion of the third world (UNDP, 1999; Indeed, Joseph Stiglitz (2003:42) once remarks '*there is an increased economic and social gap within countries and between countries, the richers are becoming richer and poorer becoming poorer*'.

Critically, globalization argues Aina (1997:37) manifests itself in the area of neo-liberal economic reforms. As a matter of fact, these market-oriented reforms are promoted by the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs) mostly in the developing countries and by embracing these policies, most sub-Saharan African states have had to withdraw from the developmental roles ascribed to them at independence and thereby heightening poverty and human insecurity. According to Chossudovsky (1998) '*the globalization of poverty in the 20th century is unprecedented in world history*'. As politics reinforces the economy in international relations, political democracy based on neo-liberal assumption ought to support economic globalization but the experiences of the states in sub-Saharan Africa have shown that, globalization and liberal democracy are dialectical in their relationship. For example, by using sub-Saharan Africa as their analytical backdrop, Mkandawire and Olukoshi (1995) have drawn our attentions to the contradictions between globalization and liberal democracy.

Indeed, this position is arrived at and defended at different levels by scholars working within the broad

radical political economy school⁴². It is argued by these radicals that contrary to the position expressed by the neo-liberal Africanists⁴³ about democracy-enhancing power of neo-liberal package, the policy given its unpopularity in many African countries and its failure to deliver tangible benefits, has rather than spurring democratization, intensifies authoritarianism that has been the proclivity of the state in colonial and post-colonial Africa (Bangura, 1986). Thus, neo-liberal globalization does not spur democratization the argument goes. According to Olukoshi (2003:243-4)

It is the process of organization of resistance to the authoritarianism and repression associated with structural adjustment that begins to open up (new) democratic possibilities based on self organization of groups opposed to the programme and in spite of state repressiveness. If, therefore, the period of implementation of structural adjustment has witnessed the growth of democratic pressure in many African countries as evidenced by public demonstrations for political change in all four corners of the continent, it is not because of structural adjustment qua structural adjustment but in spite of it

While liberal democracy may be attractive, there is no doubt that its values have been denigrated by the prevailing neo-liberal agenda, marauding as globalization. In sub-Saharan Africa, attempts by the people to seek greater access to economic resources and power, under the regime of globalization, have led to many social upheavals, including industrial disputes strikes and violent protests in different African countries and in several cases, conflicts between the people and the governments and sometimes between the different ethnic groups.

IV. NEO-LIBERAL GLOBALIZATION, STATE INCAPACITY AND CONFLICTS IN SUB-SAHARA AFRICA

Since the emergence of the modern state via warmaking, it has been accorded the central role in economic management. However, effective management of the economy requires a capable state but in the anarchic international system, this critical function is performed differentially by the units. For example, while some societies due to immense state capacity, have prospered economically, many capacity-deficient states have gone into stagnation and chaos (Tilly, 1975; Joseph, 1999; O Edigbeji, 2006)

In the context of sub-Saharan Africa, the reality of state incapacity has manifested in poor human conditions as well as insecurity. Although, a combination of internal and external factors been documented in literature to account for the seeming weakness of the African state but as argued earlier the external forces seem to have wreaked much havoc on its integrity (see Chapham, 1996). To be more specific, the state in the

region, whether in colonial or post-colonial situations, has been harassed by the forces of imperialism. However, the new globalization, underwritten by neo-liberal epistemology, aside from deterritorializing the post-colonial state further eroded its sanctity.

Functionally, the state is expected to provide the socio-political and security goods but when it flounders, it gets connected from the society and the people. Through this prism, the post-cold war nation-states in sub-Sahara Africa, in terms of functionality, never lived up to expectation.

Although, many factors have been deployed in scholarly and policy circles to explain this state of affairs. Indeed, to some, it results from prebendalism while to some others, it is a function of criminality but strong evidence from extant literature establishes that the beginning of state delegitimation in Africa could be traced to early 1970s following the collapse of the Keynesian development model (Joseph, 1987).

However, the post-colonial nations in Africa did not feel the impact of this global policy somersault until the early 1980s following the ascendancy of right wing regimes in Washington and London. Incidentally, this era coincided with that when African countries were engulfed with chronic debt crisis. Once incurred, these debts tended to grow quickly resulting in huge stock of external debts that Africa owed. (Olukoshi, 2003). The World Bank (1992) noted that *'the total debt stocks for the continent amounted to a little over U S \$109.1 bn in 1980; by 1990 this figure had increased to a massive U S \$272.7 bn'*. Thus, during this era, these countries under the excruciating burden of external debts coupled with pressure from the donor financial agencies, had no choice than to embrace the adjustment regime.

In its prototype, the Adjustment programme, as briefly outlined earlier, enjoins the governing elites of the indebted states in Africa to pursue economic policies which include: the liberalization of foreign trade; currency devaluation; cutbacks in social expenditures, particularly education, health, housing etc.; subsidy removal; privatization of state-owned enterprises. In short, allowing the market forces to regulate not just supply but demand.

However, disappointingly, the reform that was meant to bail the continent out of its indebtedness turned out to be a disaster (ECA, 1989). As at 1990, in spite of the resistance to the continued implementation of the reforms in Africa coming from African intelligentsia, the World Bank continued to justify its *raison d'être* but it was not too long when the reality of the global economy forced the Bank to rethink globalization-informed S A P in Africa.

Precisely in 1997, the Bank, for the first time not only admitted the failure of the programme in the south but also passed 'a vote of confidence' on the state. In a highly publicised Report in 1997 titled *'The State in A*

Changing World', the Bank claimed that, contrary to all suggestions, it has never discounted the role of the state in the economic process. Thus, African state that has been demonized in the early 1980s, was now seen as the engine of growth under the second phase of neoliberal reform, that is. the post-adjustment phase (Mkadawire,) Expectedly, the Bretton Wood Institutions and the donor community by this time, sought to promote governance and democratic reforms in Africa.

Unfortunately, the neoliberal globalization marauding as liberalization and democratization launched a new phase of assault on the already weakened neopatrimonial state. While liberalization further deepened the economic crisis, democratization unleashed the centrifugal forces that have been tamed for decades under various authoritarian regime (see Ntalaja, 1997; Nnoli, 1994). In many cases in Africa, the pressure for democratization spurred by authoritarianism inherent in post-adjustment reforms, coincided with the era of the demand for ethnic equity. For example, Lemarchand (1993) in his insightful study demonstrates how the push for democratization spurred the ethnic conflicts in Burundi and Rwanda in 1994.

Thus, gingered by democratic impulse, the marginal groups in the four corners of the continent began to question the legitimacy of authoritarian regimes. In fact, ethnic mobilization may have accounted for the descent of some countries into statelessness; Liberia (1990), Somalia (1991), Rwanda (1994), and Zaire (1997).

At this juncture, it is instructive to note that as democratization was opening up the political spaces in Africa, for ethnic mobilization, the post-adjustment globalization policies embraced by African states not only weakened their capacities but further heightened poverty and inequality. As remarked by Jeffrey (2005): *'While substantial progress has been made in some regions of the world, Africa on the whole has not achieved progress and has experienced significant regress in many areas. The continent is the epicentre of the global power.'*

The above passage has been quoted *in extenso* in order to present the post-cold war African reality. Poverty inadvertently represents human insecurity at the highest level. To be more specific, poverty and inequality especially when differentially distributed within the country, constitute the greatest threat to the nation-state (see Omeje 2010). In fact, literature on grievance-conflicts nexus gives the two variables high explanatory prominence (Sambanis, 2004). In other words, income disparity among groups within a state often trigger conflicts (Adekanye, 2007). As Stewart (2002) argues:

unequal access to political, economic and social resources by different groups can reduce individual welfare and where such inequalities in resource access and outcomes coincide with cultural

differences, culture can become a powerful mobilizing agent

Thus given the reality of the post-cold war sub-Sahara Africa, neo-liberal globalization has weakened the capacity of the state to perform its traditional distributive and mediatory roles leading to the erosion of its legitimacy by groups attempting to 'exit' from it. For example, before Chad, Zaire and Rwanda descended into anarchy and finally collapse, the remnant of the state could only be found in N'Djamena, Kinshasa and Kigali respectively.

As the capacity of the state to perform its legitimate role wanes, state failure looms. As Van de Walle (2004:169) observes 'nature abhors a vacuum and the weakness of the central state is as often the cause of civil conflict as its consequence' Stephen Ellis (1999:112) supports Van de Walle empirically by putting the situation thus:

In Sierra Leone and Liberia similarly, the failure of the central state and the emergence of civil war among rival ethnic warlords led to the current situation; cause and effect may be impossible to disentangle.

V. CONCLUSION

The main thrust of this paper was to examine the nature of the linkage between neo-liberal globalization, the state and conflicts in sub-Sahara Africa. Working within the theoretical purview of the dependency theory, it explicated how the external forces of globalization, driven by the market logic, has implicitly and explicitly weakened the capacity of the sub-Saharan

African State to perform the roles expected of it. Given this reality, turning things around must entail actions at two levels, First, at the national level, the state, the epicentre of the socio-economic space, needs to be reconstituted. It is expected that a genuinely democratic nation-states could serve as building blocks for continental integration. Second, sub-Sahara African states must move the integration process beyond rhetoric.

REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

- Adekanye Bayo (2007) *Linking Conflict Diagnosis, Conflict Prevention, Conflict Management in Contemporary Africa*, Lagos, Ababa Press Ltd,
- Aina Tade (1997), *Globalization and Social Policy in Africa: Issues and Research Directions* Dakar, CODESRIA, 1997, p.37
- Ake, Claude (1995) 'The New World Order: The View from Africa' in Holm Hans- Henrik and George Sorensen (eds) *Whose World Order. Uneven Globalization and the End of the Cold War*, London West view Press,
- Amin Samir, (2006) *Beyond US Hegemony: Assessing the Prospects for a Multipolar World*, Beirut, World Book Publishing,
- Amuwo, Kunle (2009) 'Capitalist Globalization and the Roles of the International Community in Resource Conflicts in Africa' *Africa Development*, vol xxx, no 3 & 4
- Bangura Y. (1986) 'Structural Adjustment and the Political Question' *Review of African Political Economy*, 37, 1986
- Caporaso, James (1978) 'Dependence and Dependency in the Global System' *International Organization*, 32, winter, p.2
- Chapham Christopher, (1996) *Africa and the International system*, London, Cambridge University Press.
- Chossudovsky, M, (1998) *Globalization of Poverty: Impact of IMF and World Bank Reforms*, London Zed
- Clinton Bill, (2007) 'World without Walls', *The Guardian*, London, January 26,.
- Dougherty and Pfallgratz Jr, (1996) *Contending Theories of International Relations*, New York, Longman, 1996 p.241.
- ECA, (1989) *African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation*, Addis Ababa, ECA,.
- Edigbeji, Omano (2006) 'Affirmative Action and South State Capacity for Redress' *Nigerian Journal of International Affairs*, vol 3, no 2,
- Ellis Stephen (1996) *The Mask of Anarchy*, New York,
- Frank, A.G., (1972) 'The Development of underdevelopment' in Cockcroft James et al (eds) *Dependence and underdevelopment: Latin America Political Economy*, London, Anchor Book
- Frank, A.G (1976) *Dependent Accumulation and Under development in Latin America*, New York, Monthly Review Press,
- Frank, A.G. (1981) *Crisis in the Third World*, New York, Holmes and Meier,
- Fukuyama Francis (1992), *The End of History and the Last Man*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, Gallie, W.B 'Essentially Contested Concepts' in Max Black (ed) *The Importance of Language*, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1962
- Huntington Samuel (1991) *The Third Wave: Democratization in the late Twentieth Century*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press
- Joseph, Richard (1999) 'The Reconfiguration of State Power in Late Twentieth Century' in R. Joseph (ed) *State, Conflict and Democracy in Africa*, London, Lynne Renner Publishers
- Joseph, Richards (1987) *Democracy and Prebendalism in Nigeria*, New York, Cambridge University Press,
- Khor, Martin, (2001) *Rethinking Globalization: Critical Issues and Policy Choices*, London, Zed Books,.

23. Lairson, T. and Skidmore, D.(1994) *International Political Economy: The Struggle for Power and Wealth*, New York, Harcourt Press,.
24. Lemarchand, Rene (1993)'Burundi in Comparative Perspectives: Dimensions of an Ethnic Strife' in J. McGarry and B. O'Leary (eds) *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Resolution*, London, Routledge
25. Mkadawire, Thandika (2001) 'Thinking about Developmental State in Africa' *Study No 9 in the UNCTAD Series on Africa Development in Comparative Perspectives*, Geneva, UNCTAD.
26. Mkandawire Thandika and Olukoshi Adebayo, (ed)(1995) *Between Liberalization and Oppression; The Politics Of Structural Adjustment In Africa* Dakar, CODESRIA Book Series.
27. Nabudere Dani (2001) 'Globalization', the African Post-Colonial State, Post Traditionalism and the New World Order' in Nabudere (ed) *Globalization and the African Post- Colonial State*, Harare, AAPS Books 2001
28. Ninsin Kwame (2000) *Globalization and the Future of the Africa*, Harare, AAP Occasional Paper Series, 4 (1)
29. Nnoli, Onwudiba (1994) *Ethnicity and Democratization in Africa*, Lagos, Malthouse Press Ltd,.
30. Ntalaja, Nzogola (1997)'The State and Democracy' in N. Ntalaja and M. Lee (eds) *The State and Democracy*, Harare, AAPS,
31. Olukoshi, A.(2003) 'The Elusive Prince of Denmark: Structural Adjustment and Crisis of Governance' in T. Mkadawire and C. Soludo (eds) *African Voices on Structural Adjustment*, Asmara, Africa World Press Inc, pp. 243-4.
32. Omeje Keneth et al (eds)(2010) *Conflict of Securities: Reflections on State Human Secirity in Africa*, London, Adison and Abbey Publishers Ltd,
33. Onimode Bade,(1981) 'Imperialism and Nigerian Development' in Nnoli, O.(ed) *Path to Nigerian Development*, Dakar, CODESRIA 1981p.79
34. Onimode, Bade (2000) *African in the World of the 21st Century*, Ibadan, Ibadan University Press,
35. Robertson, R., (1993) *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*, London, Sage Publication
- Rodrick Dani (1997)' Globalization, Social Conflict and Economic Growth' *Being lecture delivered at Prebisch lecture*, UNCTAD, Geneva, 24th October.
36. Rostow Walter,(1960) *Politics and the stages of Economics Growth*, Cambridge University Press 1960
37. Rotberg, Robert (2004) ' The failure and Collapse of Nation-States: Breakdown, Prevention and Repair' in Robert Rotberg (ed) *When States Fail; Causes and Consequences*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press,p.2
38. Rubin, A., and Babbie E, (1989) *Research Methods for Social Works*, Belmont, California, Wadsworth,
39. Sachs Jeffrey (2005)'Small Steps Can Make a Big Difference: Achieving Millennium Goals in Practical Investment', *Africa Renewal*, January , 2005, vol 18, no 4
40. Sambanis Nicholas (2004) *Poverty and the Organization of Political Violence*, Brooklings Trade Forum,
41. Stedman Stephen (1996) 'Conflict and Conciliation in sub -Sahara Africa' in Michael Brown (ed). *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, Boston, 1996.
42. Stewart, Frances (2002) *Horizontal Inequalities :A Neglected Dimension of Development*, Working Paper, No81, Oxford, QEH Working Paper Series
43. Stiglitz Joseph, (2003) *Globalization and its Discontent*, New York, W.W Norton,
44. Tamuno Tekena (1991) *Peace and Violence in Nigeria*, Ibadan, History Project, p. 2
45. Tilly C. (1975) 'Reflection on the History of European State-making' in C.Tilly (ed) *The Formation of Nation-States in Western Europe*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
46. Toyo Esko (2002) *Background to Globalization*, Ibadan, ASUU
47. UNDP (1999) *Human Development Report; Globalization with Human Face*, New York, OUP
48. Valenzuela, S., and Valenzuela, A.(1978) 'Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment" *Comparative Politics*, 1 July
49. Van De Walle Nicholas (2004)"The Economic Correlates of State Failure" in Rotberg (ed.) *When States Fail; Causes and Consequences*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press,
50. Van Dyke Vernon (1960) *Political Science: A philosophical Analysis*, California, Stanford University Press, p.64
51. Williams Adebayo (2004)' Remapping the Nation: National Boundaries and Normative Bounds' *The Constitution*, vo14, No1,
52. World Bank, (1997) *The State in a Changing World*, Washington, DC, World Bank

GLOBAL JOURNALS INC. (US) GUIDELINES HANDBOOK 2014

WWW.GLOBALJOURNALS.ORG

FELLOWS

FELLOW OF ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY IN HUMAN SCIENCE (FARSHS)

Global Journals Incorporate (USA) is accredited by Open Association of Research Society (OARS), U.S.A and in turn, awards “FARSHS” title to individuals. The 'FARSHS' title is accorded to a selected professional after the approval of the Editor-in-Chief/Editorial Board Members/Dean.



- The “FARSHS” is a dignified title which is accorded to a person’s name viz. Dr. John E. Hall Ph.D., FARSS or William Walldroff, M.S., FARSHS.

FARSHS accrediting is an honor. It authenticates your research activities. After recognition as FARSHS, you can add 'FARSHS' title with your name as you use this recognition as additional suffix to your status. This will definitely enhance and add more value and repute to your name. You may use it on your professional Counseling Materials such as CV, Resume, and Visiting Card etc.

The following benefits can be availed by you only for next three years from the date of certification:



FARSHS designated members are entitled to avail a 40% discount while publishing their research papers (of a single author) with Global Journals Incorporation (USA), if the same is accepted by Editorial Board/Peer Reviewers. If you are a main author or co-author in case of multiple authors, you will be entitled to avail discount of 10%.

Once FARSHS title is accorded, the Fellow is authorized to organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journal Incorporation (USA). The Fellow can also participate in conference/seminar/symposium organized by another institution as representative of Global Journal. In both the cases, it is mandatory for him to discuss with us and obtain our consent.



You may join as member of the Editorial Board of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) after successful completion of three years as Fellow and as Peer Reviewer. In addition, it is also desirable that you should organize seminar/symposium/conference at least once.

We shall provide you intimation regarding launching of e-version of journal of your stream time to time. This may be utilized in your library for the enrichment of knowledge of your students as well as it can also be helpful for the concerned faculty members.





The FARSHS can go through standards of OARS. You can also play vital role if you have any suggestions so that proper amendment can take place to improve the same for the benefit of entire research community.

As FARSHS, you will be given a renowned, secure and free professional email address with 100 GB of space e.g. johnhall@globaljournals.org. This will include Webmail, Spam Assassin, Email Forwarders, Auto-Responders, Email Delivery Route tracing, etc.



The FARSHS will be eligible for a free application of standardization of their researches. Standardization of research will be subject to acceptability within stipulated norms as the next step after publishing in a journal. We shall depute a team of specialized research professionals who will render their services for elevating your researches to next higher level, which is worldwide open standardization.

The FARSHS member can apply for grading and certification of standards of the educational and Institutional Degrees to Open Association of Research, Society U.S.A. Once you are designated as FARSHS, you may send us a scanned copy of all of your credentials. OARS will verify, grade and certify them. This will be based on your academic records, quality of research papers published by you, and some more criteria. After certification of all your credentials by OARS, they will be published on your Fellow Profile link on website <https://associationofresearch.org> which will be helpful to upgrade the dignity.



The FARSHS members can avail the benefits of free research podcasting in Global Research Radio with their research documents. After publishing the work, (including published elsewhere worldwide with proper authorization) you can upload your research paper with your recorded voice or you can utilize chargeable services of our professional RJs to record your paper in their voice on request.



The FARSHS member also entitled to get the benefits of free research podcasting of their research documents through video clips. We can also streamline your conference videos and display your slides/ online slides and online research video clips at reasonable charges, on request.





The FARSHS is eligible to earn from sales proceeds of his/her researches/reference/review Books or literature, while publishing with Global Journals. The FARSHS can decide whether he/she would like to publish his/her research in a closed manner. In this case, whenever readers purchase that individual research paper for reading, maximum 60% of its profit earned as royalty by Global Journals, will be credited to his/her bank account. The entire entitled amount will be credited to his/her bank account exceeding limit of minimum fixed balance. There is no minimum time limit for collection. The FARSS member can decide its price and we can help in making the right decision.

The FARSHS member is eligible to join as a paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and can get remuneration of 15% of author fees, taken from the author of a respective paper. After reviewing 5 or more papers you can request to transfer the amount to your bank account.



MEMBER OF ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY IN HUMAN SCIENCE (MARSHS)

The ' MARSHS ' title is accorded to a selected professional after the approval of the Editor-in-Chief / Editorial Board Members/Dean.

The “MARSHS” is a dignified ornament which is accorded to a person’s name viz. Dr John E. Hall, Ph.D., MARSHS or William Walldroff, M.S., MARSHS.



MARSHS accrediting is an honor. It authenticates your research activities. After becoming MARSHS, you can add 'MARSHS' title with your name as you use this recognition as additional suffix to your status. This will definitely enhance and add more value and repute to your name. You may use it on your professional Counseling Materials such as CV, Resume, Visiting Card and Name Plate etc.

The following benefits can be availed by you only for next three years from the date of certification.



MARSHS designated members are entitled to avail a 25% discount while publishing their research papers (of a single author) in Global Journals Inc., if the same is accepted by our Editorial Board and Peer Reviewers. If you are a main author or co-author of a group of authors, you will get discount of 10%.

As MARSHS, you will be given a renowned, secure and free professional email address with 30 GB of space e.g. johnhall@globaljournals.org. This will include Webmail, Spam Assassin, Email Forwarders, Auto-Responders, Email Delivery Route tracing, etc.





We shall provide you intimation regarding launching of e-version of journal of your stream time to time. This may be utilized in your library for the enrichment of knowledge of your students as well as it can also be helpful for the concerned faculty members.

The MARSHS member can apply for approval, grading and certification of standards of their educational and Institutional Degrees to Open Association of Research, Society U.S.A.



Once you are designated as MARSHS, you may send us a scanned copy of all of your credentials. OARS will verify, grade and certify them. This will be based on your academic records, quality of research papers published by you, and some more criteria.

It is mandatory to read all terms and conditions carefully.



AUXILIARY MEMBERSHIPS

Institutional Fellow of Open Association of Research Society (USA) - OARS (USA)

Global Journals Incorporation (USA) is accredited by Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS) and in turn, affiliates research institutions as “Institutional Fellow of Open Association of Research Society” (IFOARS).

The “FARSC” is a dignified title which is accorded to a person’s name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FARSC or William Walldroff, M.S., FARSC.



The IFOARS institution is entitled to form a Board comprised of one Chairperson and three to five board members preferably from different streams. The Board will be recognized as “Institutional Board of Open Association of Research Society”-(IBOARS).

The Institute will be entitled to following benefits:



The IBOARS can initially review research papers of their institute and recommend them to publish with respective journal of Global Journals. It can also review the papers of other institutions after obtaining our consent. The second review will be done by peer reviewer of Global Journals Incorporation (USA). The Board is at liberty to appoint a peer reviewer with the approval of chairperson after consulting us.

The author fees of such paper may be waived off up to 40%.

The Global Journals Incorporation (USA) at its discretion can also refer double blind peer reviewed paper at their end to the board for the verification and to get recommendation for final stage of acceptance of publication.



The IBOARS can organize symposium/seminar/conference in their country on behalf of Global Journals Incorporation (USA)-OARS (USA). The terms and conditions can be discussed separately.

The Board can also play vital role by exploring and giving valuable suggestions regarding the Standards of “Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS)” so that proper amendment can take place for the benefit of entire research community. We shall provide details of particular standard only on receipt of request from the Board.



Journals Research
inducing researches

The board members can also join us as Individual Fellow with 40% discount on total fees applicable to Individual Fellow. They will be entitled to avail all the benefits as declared. Please visit Individual Fellow-sub menu of GlobalJournals.org to have more relevant details.



We shall provide you intimation regarding launching of e-version of journal of your stream time to time. This may be utilized in your library for the enrichment of knowledge of your students as well as it can also be helpful for the concerned faculty members.



After nomination of your institution as “Institutional Fellow” and constantly functioning successfully for one year, we can consider giving recognition to your institute to function as Regional/Zonal office on our behalf.

The board can also take up the additional allied activities for betterment after our consultation.

The following entitlements are applicable to individual Fellows:

Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS) By-laws states that an individual Fellow may use the designations as applicable, or the corresponding initials. The Credentials of individual Fellow and Associate designations signify that the individual has gained knowledge of the fundamental concepts. One is magnanimous and proficient in an expertise course covering the professional code of conduct, and follows recognized standards of practice.



Open Association of Research Society (US)/ Global Journals Incorporation (USA), as described in Corporate Statements, are educational, research publishing and professional membership organizations. Achieving our individual Fellow or Associate status is based mainly on meeting stated educational research requirements.

Disbursement of 40% Royalty earned through Global Journals : Researcher = 50%, Peer Reviewer = 37.50%, Institution = 12.50% E.g. Out of 40%, the 20% benefit should be passed on to researcher, 15 % benefit towards remuneration should be given to a reviewer and remaining 5% is to be retained by the institution.



We shall provide print version of 12 issues of any three journals [as per your requirement] out of our 38 journals worth \$ 2376 USD.

Other:

The individual Fellow and Associate designations accredited by Open Association of Research Society (US) credentials signify guarantees following achievements:

- The professional accredited with Fellow honor, is entitled to various benefits viz. name, fame, honor, regular flow of income, secured bright future, social status etc.



- In addition to above, if one is single author, then entitled to 40% discount on publishing research paper and can get 10% discount if one is co-author or main author among group of authors.
- The Fellow can organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and he/she can also attend the same organized by other institutes on behalf of Global Journals.
- The Fellow can become member of Editorial Board Member after completing 3yrs.
- The Fellow can earn 60% of sales proceeds from the sale of reference/review books/literature/publishing of research paper.
- Fellow can also join as paid peer reviewer and earn 15% remuneration of author charges and can also get an opportunity to join as member of the Editorial Board of Global Journals Incorporation (USA)
- • This individual has learned the basic methods of applying those concepts and techniques to common challenging situations. This individual has further demonstrated an in-depth understanding of the application of suitable techniques to a particular area of research practice.

Note :

//

- In future, if the board feels the necessity to change any board member, the same can be done with the consent of the chairperson along with anyone board member without our approval.
- In case, the chairperson needs to be replaced then consent of 2/3rd board members are required and they are also required to jointly pass the resolution copy of which should be sent to us. In such case, it will be compulsory to obtain our approval before replacement.
- In case of “Difference of Opinion [if any]” among the Board members, our decision will be final and binding to everyone.

//



PROCESS OF SUBMISSION OF RESEARCH PAPER

The Area or field of specialization may or may not be of any category as mentioned in 'Scope of Journal' menu of the GlobalJournals.org website. There are 37 Research Journal categorized with Six parental Journals GJCST, GJMR, GJRE, GJMBR, GJSFR, GJHSS. For Authors should prefer the mentioned categories. There are three widely used systems UDC, DDC and LCC. The details are available as 'Knowledge Abstract' at Home page. The major advantage of this coding is that, the research work will be exposed to and shared with all over the world as we are being abstracted and indexed worldwide.

The paper should be in proper format. The format can be downloaded from first page of 'Author Guideline' Menu. The Author is expected to follow the general rules as mentioned in this menu. The paper should be written in MS-Word Format (*.DOC,*.DOCX).

The Author can submit the paper either online or offline. The authors should prefer online submission.Online Submission: There are three ways to submit your paper:

(A) (I) First, register yourself using top right corner of Home page then Login. If you are already registered, then login using your username and password.

(II) Choose corresponding Journal.

(III) Click 'Submit Manuscript'. Fill required information and Upload the paper.

(B) If you are using Internet Explorer, then Direct Submission through Homepage is also available.

(C) If these two are not convenient, and then email the paper directly to dean@globaljournals.org.

Offline Submission: Author can send the typed form of paper by Post. However, online submission should be preferred.



PREFERRED AUTHOR GUIDELINES

MANUSCRIPT STYLE INSTRUCTION (Must be strictly followed)

Page Size: 8.27" X 11"

- Left Margin: 0.65
- Right Margin: 0.65
- Top Margin: 0.75
- Bottom Margin: 0.75
- Font type of all text should be Swis 721 Lt BT.
- Paper Title should be of Font Size 24 with one Column section.
- Author Name in Font Size of 11 with one column as of Title.
- Abstract Font size of 9 Bold, "Abstract" word in Italic Bold.
- Main Text: Font size 10 with justified two columns section
- Two Column with Equal Column with of 3.38 and Gaping of .2
- First Character must be three lines Drop capped.
- Paragraph before Spacing of 1 pt and After of 0 pt.
- Line Spacing of 1 pt
- Large Images must be in One Column
- Numbering of First Main Headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman Letters, Capital Letter, and Font Size of 10.
- Numbering of Second Main Headings (Heading 2) must be in Alphabets, Italic, and Font Size of 10.

You can use your own standard format also.

Author Guidelines:

1. General,
2. Ethical Guidelines,
3. Submission of Manuscripts,
4. Manuscript's Category,
5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,
6. After Acceptance.

1. GENERAL

Before submitting your research paper, one is advised to go through the details as mentioned in following heads. It will be beneficial, while peer reviewer justify your paper for publication.

Scope

The Global Journals Inc. (US) welcome the submission of original paper, review paper, survey article relevant to the all the streams of Philosophy and knowledge. The Global Journals Inc. (US) is parental platform for Global Journal of Computer Science and Technology, Researches in Engineering, Medical Research, Science Frontier Research, Human Social Science, Management, and Business organization. The choice of specific field can be done otherwise as following in Abstracting and Indexing Page on this Website. As the all Global

Journals Inc. (US) are being abstracted and indexed (in process) by most of the reputed organizations. Topics of only narrow interest will not be accepted unless they have wider potential or consequences.

2. ETHICAL GUIDELINES

Authors should follow the ethical guidelines as mentioned below for publication of research paper and research activities.

Papers are accepted on strict understanding that the material in whole or in part has not been, nor is being, considered for publication elsewhere. If the paper once accepted by Global Journals Inc. (US) and Editorial Board, will become the copyright of the Global Journals Inc. (US).

Authorship: The authors and coauthors should have active contribution to conception design, analysis and interpretation of findings. They should critically review the contents and drafting of the paper. All should approve the final version of the paper before submission

The Global Journals Inc. (US) follows the definition of authorship set up by the Global Academy of Research and Development. According to the Global Academy of R&D authorship, criteria must be based on:

- 1) Substantial contributions to conception and acquisition of data, analysis and interpretation of the findings.
- 2) Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.
- 3) Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

All authors should have been credited according to their appropriate contribution in research activity and preparing paper. Contributors who do not match the criteria as authors may be mentioned under Acknowledgement.

Acknowledgements: Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned under acknowledgement. The specifications of the source of funding for the research if appropriate can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with address.

Appeal of Decision: The Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed elsewhere.

Permissions: It is the author's responsibility to have prior permission if all or parts of earlier published illustrations are used in this paper.

Please mention proper reference and appropriate acknowledgements wherever expected.

If all or parts of previously published illustrations are used, permission must be taken from the copyright holder concerned. It is the author's responsibility to take these in writing.

Approval for reproduction/modification of any information (including figures and tables) published elsewhere must be obtained by the authors/copyright holders before submission of the manuscript. Contributors (Authors) are responsible for any copyright fee involved.

3. SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts should be uploaded via this online submission page. The online submission is most efficient method for submission of papers, as it enables rapid distribution of manuscripts and consequently speeds up the review procedure. It also enables authors to know the status of their own manuscripts by emailing us. Complete instructions for submitting a paper is available below.

Manuscript submission is a systematic procedure and little preparation is required beyond having all parts of your manuscript in a given format and a computer with an Internet connection and a Web browser. Full help and instructions are provided on-screen. As an author, you will be prompted for login and manuscript details as Field of Paper and then to upload your manuscript file(s) according to the instructions.



To avoid postal delays, all transaction is preferred by e-mail. A finished manuscript submission is confirmed by e-mail immediately and your paper enters the editorial process with no postal delays. When a conclusion is made about the publication of your paper by our Editorial Board, revisions can be submitted online with the same procedure, with an occasion to view and respond to all comments.

Complete support for both authors and co-author is provided.

4. MANUSCRIPT'S CATEGORY

Based on potential and nature, the manuscript can be categorized under the following heads:

Original research paper: Such papers are reports of high-level significant original research work.

Review papers: These are concise, significant but helpful and decisive topics for young researchers.

Research articles: These are handled with small investigation and applications

Research letters: The letters are small and concise comments on previously published matters.

5. STRUCTURE AND FORMAT OF MANUSCRIPT

The recommended size of original research paper is less than seven thousand words, review papers fewer than seven thousands words also. Preparation of research paper or how to write research paper, are major hurdle, while writing manuscript. The research articles and research letters should be fewer than three thousand words, the structure original research paper; sometime review paper should be as follows:

Papers: These are reports of significant research (typically less than 7000 words equivalent, including tables, figures, references), and comprise:

- (a) Title should be relevant and commensurate with the theme of the paper.
- (b) A brief Summary, "Abstract" (less than 150 words) containing the major results and conclusions.
- (c) Up to ten keywords, that precisely identifies the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
- (d) An Introduction, giving necessary background excluding subheadings; objectives must be clearly declared.
- (e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition; sources of information must be given and numerical methods must be specified by reference, unless non-standard.
- (f) Results should be presented concisely, by well-designed tables and/or figures; the same data may not be used in both; suitable statistical data should be given. All data must be obtained with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage. As reproduced design has been recognized to be important to experiments for a considerable time, the Editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned un-refereed;
- (g) Discussion should cover the implications and consequences, not just recapitulating the results; conclusions should be summarizing.
- (h) Brief Acknowledgements.
- (i) References in the proper form.

Authors should very cautiously consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate efficiently. Papers are much more likely to be accepted, if they are cautiously designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and be conventional to the approach and instructions. They will in addition, be published with much less delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.



The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and to make suggestions to improve brevity.

It is vital, that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

Format

Language: The language of publication is UK English. Authors, for whom English is a second language, must have their manuscript efficiently edited by an English-speaking person before submission to make sure that, the English is of high excellence. It is preferable, that manuscripts should be professionally edited.

Standard Usage, Abbreviations, and Units: Spelling and hyphenation should be conventional to The Concise Oxford English Dictionary. Statistics and measurements should at all times be given in figures, e.g. 16 min, except for when the number begins a sentence. When the number does not refer to a unit of measurement it should be spelt in full unless, it is 160 or greater.

Abbreviations supposed to be used carefully. The abbreviated name or expression is supposed to be cited in full at first usage, followed by the conventional abbreviation in parentheses.

Metric SI units are supposed to generally be used excluding where they conflict with current practice or are confusing. For illustration, 1.4 l rather than $1.4 \times 10^{-3} \text{ m}^3$, or 4 mm somewhat than $4 \times 10^{-3} \text{ m}$. Chemical formula and solutions must identify the form used, e.g. anhydrous or hydrated, and the concentration must be in clearly defined units. Common species names should be followed by underlines at the first mention. For following use the generic name should be constricted to a single letter, if it is clear.

Structure

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals Inc. (US), ought to include:

Title: The title page must carry an instructive title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) wherever the work was carried out. The full postal address in addition with the e-mail address of related author must be given. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining and indexing.

Abstract, used in Original Papers and Reviews:

Optimizing Abstract for Search Engines

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or similar. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. This in turn will make it more likely to be viewed and/or cited in a further work. Global Journals Inc. (US) have compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Key Words

A major linchpin in research work for the writing research paper is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and Internet resources.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy and planning a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Search engines for most searches, use Boolean searching, which is somewhat different from Internet searches. The Boolean search uses "operators," words (and, or, not, and near) that enable you to expand or narrow your affords. Tips for research paper while preparing research paper are very helpful guideline of research paper.

Choice of key words is first tool of tips to write research paper. Research paper writing is an art. A few tips for deciding as strategically as possible about keyword search:



- One should start brainstorming lists of possible keywords before even begin searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.
- It may take the discovery of only one relevant paper to let steer in the right keyword direction because in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.
- One should avoid outdated words.

Keywords are the key that opens a door to research work sources. Keyword searching is an art in which researcher's skills are bound to improve with experience and time.

Numerical Methods: Numerical methods used should be clear and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Acknowledgements: Please make these as concise as possible.

References

References follow the Harvard scheme of referencing. References in the text should cite the authors' names followed by the time of their publication, unless there are three or more authors when simply the first author's name is quoted followed by et al. unpublished work has to only be cited where necessary, and only in the text. Copies of references in press in other journals have to be supplied with submitted typescripts. It is necessary that all citations and references be carefully checked before submission, as mistakes or omissions will cause delays.

References to information on the World Wide Web can be given, but only if the information is available without charge to readers on an official site. Wikipedia and Similar websites are not allowed where anyone can change the information. Authors will be asked to make available electronic copies of the cited information for inclusion on the Global Journals Inc. (US) homepage at the judgment of the Editorial Board.

The Editorial Board and Global Journals Inc. (US) recommend that, citation of online-published papers and other material should be done via a DOI (digital object identifier). If an author cites anything, which does not have a DOI, they run the risk of the cited material not being noticeable.

The Editorial Board and Global Journals Inc. (US) recommend the use of a tool such as Reference Manager for reference management and formatting.

Tables, Figures and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be few in number, cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g. Table 4, a self-explanatory caption and be on a separate sheet. Vertical lines should not be used.

Figures: Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always take in a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g. Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in electronic form by e-mailing them.

Preparation of Electronic Figures for Publication

Even though low quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (or e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Do not use pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings) in relation to the imitation size. Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement Form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution (at final image size) ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs) : >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.



Color Charges: It is the rule of the Global Journals Inc. (US) for authors to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that, if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a color work agreement form before your paper can be published.

Figure Legends: Self-explanatory legends of all figures should be incorporated separately under the heading 'Legends to Figures'. In the full-text online edition of the journal, figure legends may possibly be truncated in abbreviated links to the full screen version. Therefore, the first 100 characters of any legend should notify the reader, about the key aspects of the figure.

6. AFTER ACCEPTANCE

Upon approval of a paper for publication, the manuscript will be forwarded to the dean, who is responsible for the publication of the Global Journals Inc. (US).

6.1 Proof Corrections

The corresponding author will receive an e-mail alert containing a link to a website or will be attached. A working e-mail address must therefore be provided for the related author.

Acrobat Reader will be required in order to read this file. This software can be downloaded

(Free of charge) from the following website:

www.adobe.com/products/acrobat/readstep2.html. This will facilitate the file to be opened, read on screen, and printed out in order for any corrections to be added. Further instructions will be sent with the proof.

Proofs must be returned to the dean at dean@globaljournals.org within three days of receipt.

As changes to proofs are costly, we inquire that you only correct typesetting errors. All illustrations are retained by the publisher. Please note that the authors are responsible for all statements made in their work, including changes made by the copy editor.

6.2 Early View of Global Journals Inc. (US) (Publication Prior to Print)

The Global Journals Inc. (US) are enclosed by our publishing's Early View service. Early View articles are complete full-text articles sent in advance of their publication. Early View articles are absolute and final. They have been completely reviewed, revised and edited for publication, and the authors' final corrections have been incorporated. Because they are in final form, no changes can be made after sending them. The nature of Early View articles means that they do not yet have volume, issue or page numbers, so Early View articles cannot be cited in the conventional way.

6.3 Author Services

Online production tracking is available for your article through Author Services. Author Services enables authors to track their article - once it has been accepted - through the production process to publication online and in print. Authors can check the status of their articles online and choose to receive automated e-mails at key stages of production. The authors will receive an e-mail with a unique link that enables them to register and have their article automatically added to the system. Please ensure that a complete e-mail address is provided when submitting the manuscript.

6.4 Author Material Archive Policy

Please note that if not specifically requested, publisher will dispose off hardcopy & electronic information submitted, after the two months of publication. If you require the return of any information submitted, please inform the Editorial Board or dean as soon as possible.

6.5 Offprint and Extra Copies

A PDF offprint of the online-published article will be provided free of charge to the related author, and may be distributed according to the Publisher's terms and conditions. Additional paper offprint may be ordered by emailing us at: editor@globaljournals.org.



Before start writing a good quality Computer Science Research Paper, let us first understand what is Computer Science Research Paper? So, Computer Science Research Paper is the paper which is written by professionals or scientists who are associated to Computer Science and Information Technology, or doing research study in these areas. If you are novel to this field then you can consult about this field from your supervisor or guide.

TECHNIQUES FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY RESEARCH PAPER:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is searched by the interest of author but it can be also suggested by the guides. You can have several topics and then you can judge that in which topic or subject you are finding yourself most comfortable. This can be done by asking several questions to yourself, like Will I be able to carry our search in this area? Will I find all necessary recourses to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area? If the answer of these types of questions will be "Yes" then you can choose that topic. In most of the cases, you may have to conduct the surveys and have to visit several places because this field is related to Computer Science and Information Technology. Also, you may have to do a lot of work to find all rise and falls regarding the various data of that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information.

2. Evaluators are human: First thing to remember that evaluators are also human being. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So, present your Best.

3. Think Like Evaluators: If you are in a confusion or getting demotivated that your paper will be accepted by evaluators or not, then think and try to evaluate your paper like an Evaluator. Try to understand that what an evaluator wants in your research paper and automatically you will have your answer.

4. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

5. Ask your Guides: If you are having any difficulty in your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty to your guide (if you have any). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work then ask the supervisor to help you with the alternative. He might also provide you the list of essential readings.

6. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of Computer Science, then this point is quite obvious.

7. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable to judge good software then you can lose quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various software programs available to help you, which you can get through Internet.

8. Use the Internet for help: An excellent start for your paper can be by using the Google. It is an excellent search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question how to write my research paper or find model research paper. From the internet library you can download books. If you have all required books make important reading selecting and analyzing the specified information. Then put together research paper sketch out.

9. Use and get big pictures: Always use encyclopedias, Wikipedia to get pictures so that you can go into the depth.

10. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right! It is a good habit, which helps to not to lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on Internet also, which will make your search easier.

11. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it and then finalize it.



12. Make all efforts: Make all efforts to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in introduction, that what is the need of a particular research paper. Polish your work by good skill of writing and always give an evaluator, what he wants.

13. Have backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either in your computer or in paper. This will help you to not to lose any of your important.

14. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several and unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating "hotchpotch." So always, try to make and include those diagrams, which are made by your own to improve readability and understandability of your paper.

15. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history or current affairs then use of quotes become essential but if study is relevant to science then use of quotes is not preferable.

16. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense, to present those events that happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate future happening events. Use of improper and wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid the sentences that are incomplete.

17. Never use online paper: If you are getting any paper on Internet, then never use it as your research paper because it might be possible that evaluator has already seen it or maybe it is outdated version.

18. Pick a good study spot: To do your research studies always try to pick a spot, which is quiet. Every spot is not for studies. Spot that suits you choose it and proceed further.

19. Know what you know: Always try to know, what you know by making objectives. Else, you will be confused and cannot achieve your target.

20. Use good quality grammar: Always use a good quality grammar and use words that will throw positive impact on evaluator. Use of good quality grammar does not mean to use tough words, that for each word the evaluator has to go through dictionary. Do not start sentence with a conjunction. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Ignore passive voice. Do not ever use a big word when a diminutive one would suffice. Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. Prepositions are not expressions to finish sentences with. It is incorrect to ever divide an infinitive. Avoid clichés like the disease. Also, always shun irritating alliteration. Use language that is simple and straight forward. put together a neat summary.

21. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments to your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

22. Never start in last minute: Always start at right time and give enough time to research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

23. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time proves bad habit in case of research activity. Research is an area, where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work in parts and do particular part in particular time slot.

24. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if evaluator has seen it anywhere you will be in trouble.

25. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend for your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health then all your efforts will be in vain. For a quality research, study is must, and this can be done by taking proper rest and food.

26. Go for seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.



27. Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give rest to your mind by listening to soft music or by sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory.

28. Make colleagues: Always try to make colleagues. No matter how sharper or intelligent you are, if you make colleagues you can have several ideas, which will be helpful for your research.

29. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, then search its reasons, its benefits, and demerits.

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

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

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

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

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

INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

Key points to remember:

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

Final Points:

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

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



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

General style:

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

To make a paper clear

- Adhere to recommended page limits

Mistakes to evade

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

In every sections of your document

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

Title Page:

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



Abstract:

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

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

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Yet, use comprehensive sentences and do not let go readability for 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.



THE ADMINISTRATION RULES

Please carefully note down following rules and regulation before submitting your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc. (US):

Segment Draft and Final Research Paper: You have to strictly follow the template of research paper. If it is not done your paper may get rejected.

- The **major constraint** is that you must independently make all content, tables, graphs, and facts that are offered in the paper. You must write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The Peer-reviewers need to identify your own perceptive of the concepts in your own terms. NEVER extract straight from any foundation, and never rephrase someone else's analysis.
- Do not give permission to anyone else to "PROOFREAD" your manuscript.
- **Methods to avoid Plagiarism is applied by us on every paper, if found guilty, you will be blacklisted by all of our collaborated research groups, your institution will be informed for this and strict legal actions will be taken immediately.)**
- To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use please do not permit anyone right to use to your paper and files.



CRITERION FOR GRADING A RESEARCH PAPER (COMPILATION)
BY GLOBAL JOURNALS INC. (US)

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals Inc. (US).

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



INDEX

A

Alcopop · 16
Appadorai · 2, 9, 47, 54
Armageddon · 59

C

Chossudovsky · 59

G

Gaetano · 3, 48
Gassat · 3, 48

J

Janada · 2, 3, 9, 47, 48, 54

K

Karimatsenga · 32, 43
Kőbánya · 14

L

Locardia · 43

M

Matarazzo · 14, 30
Michels · 3, 48

N

Nokken · 2, 9, 47, 55

S

Schlechte · 21
Shrewed · 35, 36, 38
Széchenyi · 11, 18, 30

T

Tsvangirai · 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45

V

Vergangenheit · 21
Vergessen · 21
Vilfredo · 3, 48



save our planet



Global Journal of Human Social Science

Visit us on the Web at www.GlobalJournals.org | www.SocialScienceResearch.org
or email us at helpdesk@globaljournals.org



ISSN 975587

© Global Journals