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

Global Journal

of Human Social Science: F

Political Science

Regional Cooperation
Dynamics & Implications

Insecurity Challenge
Security and Democracy

Highlights

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

VOLUME 13 ISSUE 2 VERSION 1.0

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Volume 13 Issue 4 was originally issued as F2

Global Journal of Human Social Science: F
Political Science

Volume 13 Issue 4
Originally issued as F2

Global Journal of Human Social Science: F

Political Science

Volume 13 Issue 2 (Ver. 1.0)

Open Association of Research Society

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

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Contents of the Volume

i. Copyright Notice
ii. Editorial Board Members
iii. Chief Author and Dean
iv. Table of Contents
v. From the Chief Editor's Desk
vi. Research and Review Papers

1. Brazil as an Emerging Economic Power: Dynamics & Implications. *1-8*
2. Regional Cooperation: Malay World and The Formation of ASEAN Community. *9-16*
3. Female Prisoners in the US: HIV/AIDS and Opportunistic Co-Infectious Diseases. *17-42*
4. The Age of Security and Democracy, Nigerian Example: The Way Forward. *43-52*
5. Addressing the Insecurity Challenge in Nigeria: The Imperative of Moral Values and Virtue Ethics. *53-63*

vii. Auxiliary Memberships
viii. Process of Submission of Research Paper
ix. Preferred Author Guidelines
x. Index

Global Journal of Human Social Science
Political Science
Volume 13 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2013
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Brazil as an Emerging Economic Power: Dynamics & Implications

By Usman Choudry
International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan

Abstract - There would only be few countries on face of the earth as rich in natural resources as Brazil. These natural resources ranging from minerals beneath the ground to waters on ground, along with dynamic and charismatic political leadership have paved the way for the rise of Brazil as an economic power within the region as well as in the globe. This rising economic power has facilitated Brazil to acquire enhanced political influence both regionally and globally. The last decade has witnessed an obvious transformation in the stature and character of Brazil and has ushered in an opportunity for this state to emerge as a global economic and political power. This article juxtaposes the dynamics and implications of Brazilian economy with the help of existing literature to highlight the relationship of various factors in the Brazilian economy that plays significant role in the rise of politically powerful Brazil.

Keywords : emerging power; natural resources; political influence; BRIC; world politics.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 149999

BRAZILASANEMERGINGECONOMICPOWERDYNAMICSIMPLICATIONS

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Brazil as an Emerging Economic Power: Dynamics & Implications

Usman Choudry

Abstract - There would only be few countries on face of the earth as rich in natural resources as Brazil. These natural resources ranging from minerals beneath the ground to waters on ground, along with dynamic and charismatic political leadership have paved the way for the rise of Brazil as an economic power within the region as well as in the globe. This rising economic power has facilitated Brazil to acquire enhanced political influence both regionally and globally. The last decade has witnessed an obvious transformation in the stature and character of Brazil and has ushered in an opportunity for this state to emerge as a global economic and political power. This article juxtaposes the dynamics and implications of Brazilian economy with the help of existing literature to highlight the relationship of various factors in the Brazilian economy that plays significant role in the rise of politically powerful Brazil.

Keywords : emerging power; natural resources; political influence; BRIC; world politics.

I. Introduction

The modern Brazil emerged out of social, political and economic crisis that hit the South American region in late 1970s. Brazil being the 5th largest country in the world with relatively large population in the region is a significant actor in the regional politics. Brazilians have always dreamt to be one of the great powers in the world (Baer, 2008). However, the widespread economic problems, drugs and other social issues posed obstacle in its way to achieve such high goals. Since President Cordoso took power, Brazilians aspirations to achieve the status of a 'power' not simply became visible but also seemed achievable (Cardoso, 2006: 255).

Owing to various factors, Brazil economy sustained remarkable during the economic recession. Sustained growth along with stability of the economy facilitated Brazil's membership of the G-20 (Chin, 2010). Brazil played significant role in the formation of UNASUR in 2008, a regional bloc and of a prototype of the EU. UNASUR has proved instrumental for regional integration and has transformed the image of the region as fragmented and disintegrated region short of unity (Wigell, 2011).

Brazil has taken lead in greenhouse industrial production to reduce dependence on oil energy, the major cause of global warming. The rising economic strength of Brazil is stretching its sway beyond its shore particularly to Europe and the Middle East (Davidson, 2012). On diplomatic front, Brazil is playing a significant role in mitigating the torrid nature of the Middle East conflict (Kamrava, 2011). There is little doubt that this South American giant is beginning to show its influence within the region and beyond it. It is also willing to play a greater role to become a player in global politics (Dauvergne & Farias, 2012).

II. Brazil as an Emerging Economic Power

Brazil's economy is believed to be one of the emerging economies of the new century. It is the economy that has raised the significance of this South American country at the global sociopolitical and economic scene (Jain, 2006). Brazil's economy is rated as the ninth largest in terms of purchasing power parity (PPP) in the world, largest in the whole of South America and undoubtedly second in the western hemisphere after U.S. Brazilian has achieved the economic growth following the principles of the liberal market economy which has offered Brazil immense opportunities both within the region and on global level. As part of the BRIC, it is expected that Brazil's economy will outmatch many developed economies (O'Neill, 2008).

On account of various natural resources and international economic treaties, the Brazilian economy has established itself as a major force within the region (Sotero, 2009). Particularly it has negotiated with Argentina and Venezuela to increase regional trade. It also took the initiative for the formation of South American Union. The role of Brazil in WTO Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), economic relations as the new India-Brazil-South Africa Dialogue Forum (IBSA) and BRIC are manifestation of Brazil's progressing global role (Schmalz, 2009).

Brazil like other members of BRIC has taken good advantage of its size and natural resources to gear up industrialization and export oriented economy. Brazil's natural resources contributed a good deal for the growth of its agricultural, mining, manufacturing industries and service sectors (Jonathan, 2002). With capability to balance its import and export, the Brazilian economy has created enormous opportunities for new generation of business professionals (Pricewater house Coopers, 2010). Just like every other developed economy, Brazil's exports have been trilling in both

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consumable and industrial products to both developing and developed nations respectively. Brazil's financial institutions were hit by recession but through the effort of its Central Bank, Brazil successfully sailed through the recession (Da Silva, 2012).

III. Dynamics of Brazilian Economy

Brazil by all standards is no more a mono-economy dominated by agricultural productions; rather it is a diversified economy having almost 60% of it in the shape of manufactured goods exported. Brazil is the largest country of South America, housing the largest population and economy in the region. It is also the single largest Portuguese-speaking country in the Americas and the world over. Having the enormous resources and size, Brazil is the world's fifth largest country (Baer, 2008).

a) Natural Resources

Brazil's numerous natural resources have been the force behind its economic development and have facilitated it to have a significant share in the world gross domestic product (Baer, 2008). Its significance can be rightly comprehended by emphasizing its geography and climatic conditions. Though it shares borders with many other countries, but most importantly it is covered by numerous oceanic islands. The topography of this South American country is diverse, maintaining different levels of land i.e. highlands, plain, hills and mountains (Baer, 2008).

Brazil is rich in valuable natural resources which include iron ore, manganese, bauxite, nickel, granite, limestone, clay, sand, tin, gold, platinum, uranium, petroleum, phosphates, timber and hydroelectric power. Brazil is considered as one of the most resourceful country in the world (Polaski et al., 2009). The emerging status of this country in international politics and economy shows that the government has effectively utilized its natural resources along with its effective management of its industry to raise political economic significance of the country (Mia, 2009).

b) Water Resources

Water resources are the hallmark of Brazilian economy. It has numerous and complex water sources. The rivers flow into the Amazon Basin, the Orinoco river system and finally into the Atlantic (World Bank, 2004). The usefulness of water to Brazil's economy and development goes well with the dictum that there will be no Egypt without the Nile. Brazil has the second largest river in the world accounting for its productivity.

The world's surface water resource of Brazil is estimated around 12%. However it is quite apparent that Brazil shares these water resources with other neighboring countries in the region and this often becomes a source of brawl, as water serves a great deal for generating energy among these countries (European Commission, 2007). The fact that Brazil is bigger than most of its neighbors, therefore its water consumption is naturally higher. This reflects the legitimate concern of neighbors over the disproportionate distribution of water.

The Amazon largely flows in Brazil, covering 48% of country's territory, therefore, it accounts for Brazil's 75% of freshwater resources. The Amazon has added to the development of Brazil's southeast agricultural and industrial sectors (Baer, 2008). Brazil has three major river basins which include the Amazon, Tocantins, and Sao Francisco. Besides this, Parana, Upper Paraguay, and Uruguay are other sub-basin contributing to the water reserves of the country. On the north and south of Brazil, the Atlantic Ocean is also facilitating sea food, transportation and various other benefits. The Amazon is the largest river, volume wise and the longest after the river Nile (Butler, 2006).

Besides agricultural benefits, these water resources play significant role in the power generation sector. The Itaipu dam is manifestation of Brazil's huge infrastructural development. Itaipu hydropower plant serves as a huge resource for power supply to Brazilian economy and society. The Itaipu Hydropower plant accounts for almost 81% of Brazil's total power generation (Mejia et al., 2003).

c) Petroleum

Brazil is also blessed with fossil fuel by nature (Schwieger, 2009). It is significant to understand that the open market economy adopted by Brazil makes its market accessible to foreign investment particularly in the value added sectors like the oil and gas sector, unlike the Middle East oil rich countries (Baer, 2008). Brazil like many in the region is deeply involved in water oil exploration as well (Rodriguez & Suslick, 2009).

As an estimate, 73% of Brazil's oil reserves come from deep water oil exploration. Having developed oil industry, the economy of Brazil has been capable of functioning itself effectively even without dependence on oil import. The other sources of energy complement oil industry and offer Brazil a competitive advantage. Brazil is rated as the 15th largest oil producer in the world, which is primarily under the authority of the Petróleo Brasileiro S.A. However, due to its liberal economic practices, Brazil gives license of exploration to both domestic and foreign oil companies and this has contributed to the growth of the industry and the economy at large. Despite this liberalization Petrobras remains a major player with an output of more than 2 million barrels (320,000 m3) of oil equivalent per day (KPMG, 2010).

d) Ethanol

Ethanol fuel is emerging as an alternative source of energy amid the rising climatic concerns (Sims et al., 2007). This energy is believed to be environment friendly as compared to the traditional oil and gas energy. Brazil has taken a lead in this sector

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along with the United States. In perspective of its ethanol fuel production, Brazil is considered as a stakeholder and hegemon of bio-energy (Osava, 2004). As Brazil is the largest sugarcane producer in the world, it is easier to be at edge in production of this energy over rest of the world. According to the data from Odia Online, six Brazilian states are reputable for the production of the 82% sugarcane which is the major source of Brazil's ethanol (Economia, 2007).

Brazil is a global player and advocate of alternative energy in the world, which helps it reduce dependence on fossil fuel. Following Brazil, many countries have begun alternative energy search after the 1970s oil crisis and the new alternative energy was channeled at liberating the automobile industry from dependence on fossil oil. Ethanol became a popular alternative energy source aiding the Brazilian economy (Arguello, 2009). Meanwhile, as the energy capacity grows, the Brazilian government has been championing the cause of exporting this energy to the rest of the world and has turned out to be its major player in global energy market. The Pró-Álcool or Programa Nacional do Álcool (National Alcohol Program) was a government sponsored project meant to achieve the independence from fossil oil. Ethanol to certain extent liberated Brazil from the claws of oil exporters and cartel countries that can always determine the oil production and export. With the achievements in the field of ethanol, Brazil is undoubtedly becoming a hub for this alternative energy believed to be environment friendly and cost effective in comparison to the huge capital intensive oil exploration and refinery. It is estimated that the production and consumption of this alternative energy will reach 5% of diesel in 2013. 47% of Brazil's energy is produced from renewable sources, 18% of which comes from sugarcane (Sruthil, 2009). Hence the government plan to further augment its ability to produce ethanol on a large scale depends on the fact that Brazil produces 26 billion liters of ethanol today and will reach 64 billion liters in 2019, and would be in a position to export it.

e) Agricultural Resources

Brazilian economy does not solely depend on mineral resources, but it also have healthy agricultural sector. The latter sector is among the other reasons for which Brazil is known across the world. Its agricultural products include sugarcane, corn, potatoes, cocoa, peanuts, cassava, rice, beef, cattle, pork, soybeans, oranges, wheat, dry beans, coffee, cotton, tomatoes (Schuh, 2005).

According to Rostow's five stages of development, agricultural society is the essential step for any society to start with before proceeding to the greater stages of development (Rostow, 1962). Although agriculture does not alone narrates the history of Brazil but it was its integral part that shaped the country's history before colonial rule, during colonialism and in post-independence era. Due to the diversified environments in Brazil, agricultural practices vary from region to region, involving certain pros and cons associated with the ecology of the environments. The Southern Brazil receives substantial rainfall and produces valuable agricultural yields with the help of modern technology. The region is well-known for Brazil's grains and oil seeds and export crops. Unlike the south, the northeast of Brazil where the Amazon lies is characterized by the largest rain forest in the world and produces important forest products and other cash crops for export. On the other end is the Central Brazil with scattered tree and grassland (Schnepf, 2001).

As highlighted earlier Brazil produces numerous agricultural products and this makes it a self sufficient country, having 8% of GDP coming from the agricultural sector and 35% of Brazil's export rest on this sector. It has also been providing employment opportunity to one-quarter of the labour force. Brazil's agricultural sector is divided between field crop and livestock 60% and 40% respectively. Both farm products and livestock have gained global recognition. These products have become competitive alongside other emerging and developed economies. The world of the forest is another symbolic expression of Brazil due to Amazon, but the forest is facing the threat of deforestation and that has received both domestic and international attention (Frey, 2002).

Brazil is increasingly becoming a major and biggest exporter of coffee, soybeans, beef, sugar cane, ethanol and frozen meats and chickens. The expansion of the latter industries has given a new meaning to the Brazilian consumers and is responsible for the demand of Brazilian poultry and milk products (EIU, 2010).

f) Science & Technology

It is evident that resources become productive by the application of technology. The rise of any civilization rests on the availability of resources and application of technology, which ultimately contributed in development (Tehranian, 2004). This is also true for the rise of capitalism as a global order or system (Slater, 2003; Tehranian, 2004). The same logic explains the rise of Brazil. The developments that this country is experiencing are all product of resources and technology. The Brazilian government understood the implications of the dearth of technology for an aspiring economy, and took essential measures accordingly (European Commission, 2007).

Research aiding technological advancement is being carried out in most of Brazil's public universities and research institutes with the support of the government. Therefore, an advanced agricultural research corporation is facilitating agribusiness in the country. With the available Uranium in the country, Brazil has been able to build and enrich it in Resende nuclear fuel factory for producing fuel to meet its energy demands. The country plans to have such more enrichment plants. The Brazilian Space Agency and

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Aerospace Technical Centre have done remarkably well by placing Brazil ahead of other countries in the region. It is believed that Brazil is having one of the best operational synchrotron laboratory, a research facility enhancing applied and natural sciences in the country. All of these technological advancements are facilitating Brazilian economy to excel higher.

g) Political Leadership

Political leadership with a vision, will-power, character and strength to lead is imperative for the development of any state (Kaufmann, 2002). In this perspective at least two names would be remembered in history. The remarkable achievements associated with the Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva are efforts which for many analysts should be well shared between Lula and his predecessor. Former President Fernando Henrique Cardoso is believed to have laid the foundations for Brazil to enter into the forum of the developed world through various measures and strategic policies. The stabilization of the currency, socio-economic redistribution and welfare programmes are all fundamental policies initiated by Cardoso which were inherited by Lula. Thus, it is worthy to note that Lula's background could also offer an explanation why the Cardoso's path was given full commitment. Lula's humble background and being an adherent of the worker party made him understand the worth and importance of having a developed economic and relatively egalitarian society. Since he came to power, Brazilian economy has continued to experience remarkable changes reflected in all sectors of the country due to reduction in inequality of wealth, accessibility to health and other social services and relative increase in income level around the country (Neri, 2008).

The liberal economic policies of President Lula's government paved the way for the World Economic Forum to recognize the achievements of this South American country. According to the Forum's 2009 report, Brazil's economy surpasses many economies and turns out to be eight times more competitive. It has outmatched Russia, a member of G8 and BRIC. Brazil's economy has retained competition in all sectors and continues to project the image of an emerging economic power where both public and private sectors are contributing enormously to the economy (Sala-i-Martin, et al, 2009).

It can be contended that Brazil under President Lula has crafted a bright future for itself so much that its economy is becoming invincible in the region and reckonable in the global arena (Daltorio, 2009). Lula's political insightfulness owes much to the glory of Brazil as a BRIC member. However though certain view suggests that Lula's predecessor Fernando Henrique Cardoso should be credited as the leader who set the pace for Brazil's economic rise (Neri, 2008). However, Lula is believed to be the only working class president in Latin American history with a distinctive style of governance. The success of this working class president is in discharge from Lula's style of governance and broad based approach to issues (Love & Baer, 2009).

h) Trade

Brazil's bilateral and multilateral trade across the globe is increasingly becoming a powerful pillar of the thriving Brazilian economy. Brazil's Latin America trade, Brazil-EU economic relations cannot be underestimated, Brazil-Arab world trade ties, Brazil-South Asia and Brazil-Africa cooperation are all testimony that its economic tentacles is far beyond the realm of South America. According to the Brazil's ministry for development, industry and commerce, the economic and commercial partnership of Brazil with the rest of the world has been noted as remarkable. Brazil's major trade relations in 2008 were with Mercosur and Latin America (25.9% of trade), EU (23.4%), Asia (18.9%), the United States (14.0%), and others (17.8%).

IV. Implications

The emerging economic significance of Brazil has a various political, economic and social implications for the region and world as well.

a) Politically Influential Status

On account of Brazil's political and economic power, it will not be far to justify the claim that Brazil like India in the subcontinent is becoming a hegemon. But such assertion without constructive evidence will be baseless. The hegemonic power and clout of Brazil evolves around the attainment of commercial supremacy and production efficiency over others in the region and outside South America.

The most recent display of Brazil political influence was its ability to spur countries in the region to disengage from disunity and strive to foster integration and cooperation. The birth of UNUSAR was no coincidence but a brainchild of Brazil to encourage regional integration, modeled in the fashion of the EU (Ribeiro & Ramos, 2009). Similarly, the diplomatic integrity of Brazil on global arena cannot be underestimated. Brazil's role in the Honduras's military cum supremecourt coup against ex-President Manuel Zelaya was a testimony to its regional clout (Padgett & Downie, 2009). Brazil's criticism of Britain and the United Nations over the disputed Falkland Island between Argentina and Britain also manifests that Brazil values highly the territorial integrity of the region (Naughton & Elliott, 2010). In a similar terrain, the manner with which it meddles into the issue of Colombia-US military bases also reflects how Brazil has flexed its muscle in the face of regional and global powers.

b) Emerging Global Economic Power

Brazil's economic networks have moved beyond the Latin American countries. It has reached the

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shores of Africa, Asia, Europe and North America. The market size of Brazil makes it more competitive than others and by the measurement of World Economic Forum (2009) Brazil has improved well enough above many economies within Latin America and beyond (Sala-i-Martin, et al., 2009). It is less likely that other emerging or small economies in the region can compete with Brazil. The competitiveness of Brazil is not limited to its economy alone; rather it has also absorbed diplomatic and political power which other countries in the region are far from to acquire.

Being a member of global forums like the BRIC, G-20, ABC, BASIC and regional organizations like Mercosur and UNASUR and having both bilateral and multilateral treaties with different countries, Brazil enjoys outstanding edge. The regional and global economic engagements turn out to be important for Brazilian industries and companies (Polaski et al., 2009). The height at which these industries and companies have contributed to regional and global economic transactions got the attention of the U.S financial monitor. The Forbes noted these performances and added as part of Forbes Global 2000 list. The list compared and rated the performance of Brazil's companies with other developed and developing economies, showing strengths of Brazilian economy.

c) Social Implications

As a result of improving political and economic conditions, key social indicators in Brazil have improved over the last decade. The last two governments have paid profound attention for combating poverty. *Fome Zero and Bolsa Familia* are some of the programs for the amelioration of the disadvantaged.

Access to education in the country has ameliorated in the last decade, however regional imbalances still prevail between the North-East and the South and South-East regions, and this is particularly true of higher education. Similarly literacy rates also vary by region and age groups (European Commission, 2007).

Similarly Brazil is spending comparatively higher amount of its GDP on education and health which is gradually getting reflected in the improving social conditions in Brazil. Despite positive signs, there is still lot to be done to raise urban, rural, racial and gender equalities. Similarly access to goods and services should be indiscriminately provided to all groups in society.

Brazil has attracted various immigrants in history. However, in the last decade it has been witnessed that due to better economic opportunities, fresh immigrants are coming to Brazil primarily from the region. This also shows Brazil's economic significance in the region.

V. Discussions

Both the agricultural and natural resources along with the financial institutions have remarkably contributed to the living standard of Brazilians. However, it will be misleading to say that all the four corners of Brazil are reaping the dividends of the economic boom (Torres, 2008). Just like India many parts of Brazil are still not integrated into the economic growth of the country which is distinguished as social apartheid (Hall, 2002). Yet it cannot be ignored that the country's per capita income and gross domestic product have witnessed a dramatic change.

Brazil, a giant among the BRIC countries, has gained remarkable strength in world politics mostly due to its economic clout. Rise in economic power generally encourages newer ambitions and interests. This is true for Brazil as a power in South America and an emerging power in global politics (Kampf, 2009). Pushing forward this argument Richard Haass suggested that military, political and diplomatic influence were reflections of an economic foundation (Haass, 2006). Therefore, if Brazil as an integral part of BRIC and a non-permanent member of United Nations Security Council can look into the eyes of the permanent members in view of Iran's nuclear impasses and at the same time upholding a different independent view outside the apparent U.S global clout that speaks a lot of the new image Brazil has created for itself (Spektor, 2010).

Though some believe that cooperation among the bloc members is indispensable and this will determine the continuity of their economic clout. Nevertheless, Brazil is believed to be at advantage over the rest of the BRIC members on certain grounds. It is having more capacity to remain in the manufacturing and service sector on one hand and simultaneously acting as a concentration for resources to be supplied to the rest of the BRIC, though Russia shares some of these features with Brazil as commodity suppliers to China and India. Argument for Brazil and Russia should not be farfetched in that Brazil is having a productive agricultural sector, of which Soy and Sugar are two important cash crops booming its economy. Added to that is the vast reserve of iron ore.

The United States is undoubtedly the largest economy in the world but it relies on the network of economies it is connected with. Brazil's economy cannot solely challenge the United States, but in Tony Daltorio's view it has shifted from "basket case" to being as solid as a Brick. Therefore, the investment opportunity that Brazil as part of BRIC is creating is bringing about a shift in attention from Wall Street as the centre of trade and finance to Brazil (Daltorio, 2009).

In several respects Brazil is the most balanced state in BRICs. In contrast to China and Russia it is a true democracy. It has no serious conflicts in the neighborhood (Raj, 2008). It is the only BRIC member

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having no nuclear arsenals. According to Heritage Foundation's Economic Freedom Index, Brazil is moderately free with state guaranteeing protection of property rights and free trade (Heritage Foundation, 2011). One of the significant social aspects is that raised demand for industrial workers, forced poor Chinese and Indian peasants to the city, but that it is not true for Brazil having an estimate of 85% of its population residing in the cities. Beside Russia which maintains per capita of $12,000, Brazil's per capita ($8500) surpasses China and India ($3000, $1000) respectively. Brazil has also become a stable democracy after years of authoritarian rule, thus placing it side by side with India. Unlike, Russia, China and India that spend certain part of their budget on maintaining order in trouble areas like Chechnya, Tibet and Kashmir respectively, Brazil is free from such trouble spot, though the fact remains that Brazil like any second country in Latin America suffers the problem of drug related violence.

President Lula has portrayed Brazil as the leader of the third world countries having the gut to challenge the often supposedly unchallengeable U.S hegemony in matter concerning the Middle East, whether in the way it positioned itself between Israel and Palestinians or the way it has been handling the Iranian nuclear issues.

VI. Conclusions

It can be concluded that Brazil will continue to experience economic growth and will achieve its aim on the global economic and political landscape, if people oriented and liberal market economy is merged together. The natural resources, visionary political leadership, penetration of scientific technologies and geopolitical scenarios have provided the required stimulant to Brazilian economy. Though, the policies of Lula sometimes represent a socialist government, yet having the belief and flair for open market which is propelling development in the country. Nevertheless, in order to really translate the economic boom into political influence Brazil will have to do a lot better strategically in competition with other rising economies.

The era of Lula's Brazil is characterized with many issues. As an emerging economy and a country urging to be permanent part of United Nation Security Council, Brazil will have to match economic growth with string diplomatic stamina. Becoming a global player will also require Brazil to have a definite foreign policy consistent with overall global peace and security.

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Global Journal of human social science
Political Science
Volume 13 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2013
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Regional Cooperation: Malay World and the Formation of ASEAN Community

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Abstract - Malay world is an area in Southeast Asia that has trade tradition during Islam entered and established. With the arrival of Islam, the region of the Malay world has become the focal point of trade for merchants from all over the world. Islamic trading centers have spread into many areas of the Malay world; from Pasai (now known as Lhokseumawe, in North Aceh) and Aceh (now known as Banda Aceh) on the east to Celebes and Ternate in the west, from Patani in Southern Thailand and Sulu in Phlippineson the North until Banten, Ceribon and Kudus in Indonesia on the South. These trade centers have dominated economic and trade route in Southeast Asia. The arrival of Islam in the region has been able to grow old port towns as well as emergence of new port cities until becoming influential and important trade center.

Keywords : malay world, archipelago (nusantara), the advance of islam, southeast asia and asean community.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 160699

REGIONALCOOPERATION MALAYWORLDANDTHEFORMATIONOFASEANCOMMUNITY

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Regional Cooperation: Malay World and the Formation of ASEAN Community

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Abstract - Malay world is an area in Southeast Asia that has trade tradition during Islam entered and established. With the arrival of Islam, the region of the Malay world has become the focal point of trade for merchants from all over the world. Islamic trading centers have spread into many areas of the Malay world; from Pasai (now known as Lhokseumawe, in North Aceh) and Aceh (now known as Banda Aceh) on the east to Celebes and Ternate in the west, from Patani in Southern Thailand and Sulu in Phlippineson the North until Banten, Ceribon and Kudus in Indonesia on the South. These trade centers have dominated economic and trade route in Southeast Asia. The arrival of Islam in the region has been able to grow old port towns as well as emergence of new port cities until becoming influential and important trade center. As a result of this is a formation of an Islamic economic power and this is what had to be faced by the western power while expanding their powers in Southeast Asia. This article is focusing on a few important aspects related to the role of trade in the resurrection of the Malay world, different understanding on the concept of Malay world and Archipelago (Nusantara) among the Malaysian and Indonesian society, change or transformation that brought by Islam on the intellectual development of the Malay community, the formation of new association towards the integration of the community in the Malay world under a new entity which referred to as ASEAN community.

Keywords : malay world, archipelago (nusantara), the advance of islam, southeast asia and asean community.

I. Introduction

International trade activity is a major factor shaping the history of Southeast Asia and Malay world. Malay world is exposed to various external influences including Islamization process because it geographical position is surrounded by Indian Ocean and South China Sea which is the trading and shipping routes. Historical researchers also acknowledge the fact that trade is one of the main factors that have led the way and then accelerate the spread of Islam in the Malay world (Reid, A. 1985:14-15 dan Levtzion, N. 1979:15-16). Muslim traders originating from Arabia, Persia, India and China are the most important agents disseminate Islamic entry into the Malay world for the first time around the year 674 AD. Starting from the year of 878 AD Islam has been strong in the area and in the year of 1204 AD Islam had been accepted as a way of life by the Malays society (Fatimi. 1963: 69).

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Historical development of Islam in the Malay world clearly shows that the Muslim traders, kings, chiefs, warriors, scholars and missionaries play their respective roles in spreading of Islam. They all are important agents in the process of Islamization in the Malay world. Each has a strength, integrity and unique features in discharging their duties on the spreading of Islam. They complement each other and through this combination they have made the process of Islamization running in perfect harmony.

All this proves that the groups was initiating and accelerating the process of Islamization in the Malay world. The traders play their role as a pioneer who paved the way towards the advent of Islam (Auni.2001; 4-6). This can be seen in the early development of Islam in Southeast Asia (ASEAN). They open residence together with the scholars who boarded their ship and developing trading center and port city in this region. In addition, they also play a big role in the process of expanding urbanization as well as the teachings of Islam in the region.

The Muslim merchant is able to prove its leadership and their effective management in the course of business, leading the local community and promote business center in the area. This has become an attraction to the ruler and local people who still disbelieve to approach them and thus converted to Islam.

Economic strength and personal excellence of the Muslim merchant has emerged as a major influential political force in the local community until local dignitary like kings and local chiefs also get close to the traders with the aim of making them as business partners and help them in finding wealth which eventually becoming brothers and sisters.

Apart from economic motives, there are also political motives that influence local rulers to convert to Islam. This applies especially to the kings of the rural areas which left behind in terms of advancement and they feel challenged by the political influence of the Muslim merchant which dominates the port towns or coastal business center that is more advanced than them. We can see this clearly in the history of Islam in Giri, Banten, Kudus and Demark, all of which are coastal cities that greatly influenced the development of Islam in the remote islands of Java. Hence, the birth of what has been called as "Civilization Offshore" plays a large role in

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the history of Islamization in Java Island (Pigeaud, TH.G.TH. 1967:6-7).

II. Concept of Malay World

Malay World or Malay realm is a term that contains many meanings depending on its usage. In terms of language (linguistically) the term refers to an area or district whose people speak the Malay language in Southeast Asia which include Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore as well as Southern Thailand. In the geopolitical context, the term Malay World is a term often used interchangeably with the term of Archipelago or with colonial term which call as '*Malay Archipelago*' (Sweeney.2011: 295). Even more broadly the term Malay World also has been defined as an area (region), homeland of the Austronesian tribes that covers Easter Island in the east up to the Madagascar on the west side (Farrer. 2009: 26). However, the definition of Malay World which is very broad in nature has received criticism from some scholars since it only refers to the concept of Malay tribe.

In a cultural context (incultural sense), Malay world term is more accurately refers to as homeland for people of Malay descent historically led by the Malay Sultanate in South East Asia offshore. This area includes the peninsular Malaysia, Sumatra coast, Borneo and smaller islands between the territories (Milner. 2010: 42). However, UNESCO in the use of the term *'Dunia Melayu'* (Malay World) or *'Alam Melayu'* (Malay Archipelago) which also known as *'Nusantara'*. Malay World concept used by UNESCO refers to the countries of Southeast Asia such as islands of Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines in particular. In general it also took into the accountof the whole Malay Polonesia; from Malagasy Island in the west and Easter Island in the east, Farmosa Island, Hawai in the north and the islands of Indonesia and New Zealand in the south. (Wikipedia. 2008: 1, April 15).

In terms of the origins of Malay World term in the history of this region we can refer to the notes of Portuguese history expert in the 16th century AD, Emanuel Godinho de Eredia. According to him, the first of the term is due to the consolidation of the Malay Sea into the Malacca Sultanate around the 15th century AD (Andaya.2008:200). The reference area of Emanuel Godinho which known as "*Malayos Sea*" covering the north of the Andaman sea, the entire Strait of Malacca in the middle, some of the Sunda Strait in the southern part and western parts of the South China Sea. This area was considered to be Islamic trading centers in the international trading system where Malay language is used as a Linqua Franca (Mohamed A O. 2011:28-30). "…. *Starting point by the island of Pulo Catay in the region of Pattane (Pattani), situated in the east coast in 8 degrees of latitude, the pass round to the other or western coast of Ujontana (Malay Peninsula), to Taranda and U Jong Calan situated in the same latitude in district of Queda (Kedah): this stretch of territory lies within the region of "Malayos" and the same language prevail throughout*."(Mohamed AO. 2011: 30).

Emanuel Godinho mention that Malay Sea is a socio-cultural concept of religion (a geo religiosocio-cultural concept), a concept of geographical unity characterized by their common religious beliefs and cultural similarities (Mohamed A O.2011:31). It proved true when the vision of Malay and also the emergence of Malay identity on the basis of Islam take the form of a stronger in the reign of the Malacca Sultanate (Andaya. 1984:55, Timothy P. 2004:7, Mohd Fauzi Y.2009:16). As a result, the expansion of trade influence of Malacca and religious influencethat went beyond cultural boundaries eventually produce the beginning of the Malay process with the development of classical Malay language (Sneddon, Jmaes N. 2003:74), Islam (Milner. 2010: 47) and also Malay customs (Esposito. 1999). This assimilation process continues even after the fall of Malacca in the early 16th century. While the Era after the greatness of the Malay Sultanate of Malacca, some Malay sultanate hasalso grown more widely in the region, starting with the small sultanate like Asahan, Deli, Langkat and Serdangin Indonesia to the larger and more powerful sultanate like Brunei, Johor and Pattani. The existence of these sultanates had resulted Malay cultural influence and a wider trade activities and consequently lead to the development of the Malay World (Mohamed AO. 2011: 31-34).

The absorption of Malay's culture and language that is strong in the area as viewed by scholars and researchers from Europe during the colonial period. This was the basis for the formation of some of the terms of anthropology, geography and linguistics (Ooi, K.G. 2009: 181). Among them is the concept of the Malays and Malay Archipelago and some linguistic terms such as Malay Polinisia and also languages akin to the Malay language. This zenism
is very influential in shaping the modern notion of the vastness of the Malay world.

III. Concept of Archipelago (Nusantara) According to the Indonesian Perspective

We do not deny that the word of '*Nusantara*' Is a compound word derived from two words of ancient avanese language which is '*nusa*' (island or nations) and *'antara'* (cluster and other). The use of this word was more accurate for archipelagic country like Indonesia that located between two oceans and other countries. The word *'Nusantara'* exists in Javanese language literature around the mid 12th century to the 16th century as a national vision that is embraced by the King of Majapahitduring that time. We can value the point ourselves when Gajah Mada declared it in '*Palapa*

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Oath'. "*Sira Gajah Madapepatihamungkubumi tan ayun amunikapalapa, sira Gajah Mada: Lamunhuwuskalah Nusantara ingsunamuktipalapa, lamunkalah ring Gurun, ring Seram, Tanjungpura, ring Haru, ring Pahang, Dompo, ring Bali, Sunda, Palembang, Tumasik, samana ingsunamuktipalapa*" which means "He, Gajah Mada Amangkubumi does not want to relinquish his power. He Gajah Mada; if I have defeat Nusantara, then I will relinquish power. If I have defeat Gurun, Seram, Tanjung Pura, Haru, Pahang, Dompo, Balinese, Sundanese, Palembang andTumasik, thus only I release the power" (Juntus M. Van d.Kroef . 1951: 166-171).

Actually If we review the history of ancient Javanese, Gajah Mada was not the first to introduce the term *'Nusantara'*. Instead the term had already been expressed by Kertanagara, Tumapel king, in the year 1275 by introducing a vision or concept "*Cakrawala Mandala Dwipantara*" (Juntus M. Van d. Kroef. 1951: 166-171). Dwipantara is a word in Sanskrit for "the islands between", which means the same with *'Nusantara'* because 'Dwipa' is synonymous with "Nusa" which means island. King Tumapel, Kertanagara was a king who had a vision to create an association of governments of Southeast Asia under the authority of Tumapel government in its efforts to deal with the potential threat of Mongol invasion which is developing the Yuan Dynasty in Chinese (Tiongkok) at that time. Due to this reason Kartanegara start Expedition Pamalayu to build friendship and political alliance with the government of Malay Dharmasraya in Jambi by giving *Arca Amoghapasa* as a gift to please the ruler and Malay people in Riau sultanate. In return Riau's Malay King send his daughters to Java, Dara Jingga and Dara Petak to be married with Javanese ruler.

In the 1920's, Ki Hajar Dewantara and Dr. Setiabudi have suggested the term *'Nusantara'* to replace the term used by Dutch colonists like Indie (Hindia) for Dutch Indies colonial areas (for Indonesia which was not around then). However the word *'Nusantara'* was competing with the word *'Indonesia'* (Indies Islands) which was introduced by Eduard Douwes Dekker (Juntus M. Van de Kroef. 1951:166-171). Pemuda II Congress in 1928 had agreed to use the term *'Indonesia'* (which means islands of Indies) to be used by country that will be independent. However the term *'Nusantara'* is still used as a synonym for *'Indonesia'*.

Due to the political dynamics after the Pacific War ended around the year 1945 has created Indonesia Raya region covering Bristish Malaya (known as West Malaysia) and North Borneo (Tempo. August 15, 2005). The term *'Nusantara'* became popular among the people of Peninsular Malaysia because there was a spirit of Malay background similarities among the islanders of Indonesia and Peninsular Malaysia. However, when Malaysia gained independence in 1957, the spirit of togetherness under the term *'Nusantara'* was replaced by political hostility Confrontation by Sukarno in Indonesia. When hostilities ended, the meaning of *'Nusantara '*in Malaysia still brings the spirit of equality clumps. Since then, the meaning of *'Nusantara'* overlaps with *'Malay Archipelago'*. If we review the Geographically anthropology or antropo-geographic (cultural geography), *'Nusantara'* is a popular term in the late 19th century until the early 20th century as the very word match with the term Archipelago or Malay World.

IV. Platform in the Expansion of Islam in the Malay World

There are many factors other than trade in the Islamization of the Malay World. The factors that are Muslim missionary run, the role of Sufism, Islamic traders displaced due to the effects of crusades and also the attractiveness of the superiority of Islam itself. Conversion to Islam on a large scale occurred among the people because they were impressed with the superiority of Islam. This is an important factor in the history of Islamization in the Malay World. Privileges contained in the teachings of Islam have sparked "*revolution from within*" among locals after they were able to make a comparison with the teachings of Hinduism. They begin to see the weakness of Hinduism which is fantasy as well as emphasizing the differences among the people based on caste.

Modern sociologists explain that pro-Islamic sentiments among Muslims deep in this area, especially in urban areas which are influenced by strong anti caste system. The lower classes of society realize that their position has no value in the old community. Embrace Islam is an effective way to free them from the shackles of caste. Since Islamic teachings concerned about standard equation among human beings so it has become main factor in the conversion of the Malay World into Islam.

However, we cannot deny that the factors superiority of Islam cannot stand alonewithout the existence of trade channels as a vehicle to spread the teachings of Islam to the Malay world. Trade is not just a channel that accelerates the process of Islamization but also the main principles that are important in strengthen and sustain this process for several centuries. This occurs when trade is recognized as a source of strength that able to produce the power of political Islam in the Malay world.

In the history of politics and government of Malay world we can clearly see that most of the Malay sultanate became famous and well-known for the strength of trade-driven economy. In other words their power is determined by the influence of economic and trading in their grasp. This can be seen through the birth of Malacca, Aceh, Johor, Patani, Banten, Ternate, Makassar, Brunei and Sulu sultanate (Auni. 2001.12). All of these empires have emerged as a strong power when

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they are able to promote and foster trade activities until itbecome the focus of the international traders.

It is not an exaggeration if we say that the entire powerful sultanate that had appeared in the Malay world after the advent of Islam known as a maritime power has economic influence because of their power over international trade traffic. All sultanates were built in coastal areas. We can see clearly the role of trade and shipping that is played by the Sultanate of Malacca, Aceh, Banten, Ternate, Brunei, Makassar, and Sulu. Malacca and Aceh control trade in the Straits of Malacca.Banten dominated trade across the Straits of Sunda and ports in northern Java. Brunei authorized on trade activities in northern Borneo. On the other hand, Ternate dominated trading activity around Maluku Islands and Makassar in the southern part of Celebes Islands. The only government in the interior that can appear to be strong is the Sultanate of Mataram in Java and can be done after dominated the main trading centers on the Java Island coast (Koentjaningrat. 1985:322-323).

With the details descriptions and pictures above, it appears that trading is an important platform with the aim to expand and build Islamic political power in the history of Islamizationof the Malay world. Trade not only as a factor that introduced Islam but more importantly it plays a role in building and further strengthening the foundations of the religion. Trade plays their role from the early stages of Islam arrival until the religion emerged as a political force in the history of some empire in Malay worlds.

V. The Transformation Brought by Islam upon Malay Society

Many western scholars thought that the arrival of Islam in the Malay world eventually does not bring significant changes in the lives of the Malay community. Among these western scholars are Landon, Winstedt and Van Leur (Hussain O. 2009: 68). Landon for example, described that the influence of Islam was only a "*veneer*" over the indigenous culture of the Malay society, and in another instance, Van Leur described the influence of Islam in this region as a " *flanking glaze on the massive body of indigenous civilization* "(Ismail Hamid.1985: 22). Lombard (1998:3) drew the intention on the trend of marginalizing the Islamic period in Malay history among western scholars. For instance, he the book of W. Stohr and P. Zoetmulder, which written about the religions of Indonesia in which it dedicated only 30 out of 390 pages on Islam.

In another group, there were both local and foreign scholars, such as Hussein al-Attas, C.A. Majul, Van Nieuwenhuijzen and Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, who argued otherwise. For these latter scholars, the advent of Islam had indeed affected the whole structure of the Malay society (Ismail Hamid.1985:23). In a nutshell, the views from the former group were based on the wrong perspectives, such as by looking at the Malay Islamic world through the Indian and strict Javanese perspectives. The fact that the decline of Majapahit caused by the emergence of Malacca as a commercial and an Islamic center was often neglected by these scholars (Coedes. 1968: 24). Infact that there were many major transformations occurred around the Malay region due to the Islamization. It was worth to mention some of the transformations which did not exactly concern the Malay intellectual and historical thoughts but were still closely related.

First, it was through the Islamic understanding that enabled the Malays to redefine they "*Malayness*" and their core values. In terms of historical study this was a tremendous change that ever happened to the Malays (Hussin Mutalib.1990:12).

Second, in social and economic areas, Malay Muslims were able to expand their relationship with other outside communities, as Yegar (1979:21) remarked, "*Strengthened their feelings of solidarity with the rest of the Islamic world, and sanctioned many of their basic social and economic codes*". Al-Attas (1969:28) further remarked, "*Through the regents' conversion to Islam, religion then became a new force in the process of social developmen*t".

Third, in politics and government, the substitution from the *devaraja*system into the *Sultanate* system, the identification of Malay Raja with the concept of "*Khalifah* (Caliph)", and the reorganization of the entire political system proved the influence of the Islamization in the Malay world.

Fourth, in terms of the rule of laws, there were tremendous changes when the ancient laws and rules were replaced by the Islamic laws as described by the zof the Malacca Digest, Pahang Digest and also the Terengganu inscription. Last but not least, if we go further, we will find that Islam had transformed almost the entire aspects of the Malays lives (Ismail Hamid, 1985: 23-28).

In a larger extent, the transformation brought about by the Islamization was on the intellectual impacts the Islamization in the Malay world. It is hope this elaboration will provide a firm conclusion on the development of the Malay historical thought. In one of his discussion Syed Naquib al-Attas (1969:3-4) saying that "*Neither the Hindu-Malay nor the Buddhist-Malay, as far as we know, have produced any thinker or philosophers of note*". In fact, for a long period of time especially from the 5th to the 11th centuries, Sumatra according to Al-Attas(1969:3-4), "…seems to have been a great centre of Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy. Yet the influence of the Buddist clergy in Sumatra did not seem to have made itself felt in the realm of philosophy, but again in that of art". Comaraswamy (1985:198) was also clearly aware of the issue of the absence of Buddhist philosophy and art in Sumatra

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when he said, "*Scarcely anything survives of the ancient art of Sumatra, unless we define the art of middle Java in the Sailendra period as such*". Al-Attas' statements sounded strange but historically they were true and nothing so far we knew about the great local philosophers and admirable scholars were produced during the period of *Indianization*. However, when Islam and Muslims began to dominate the intellectual domains of the Malays, several learning centers were established and flourished. Beginning with Samudra-Pasai (now Lhokseumawe in north Aceh)(1280-1400), followed by Malacca(1400-1511) and then Aceh(now Banda Aceh)(1511-1650) and finally Johore –Riau(now West Malaysia) (1650-1800), each of these centers had thereupon produce innumerable excellent scholars, thinkers and philosophers.

The intellectual interest of Pasai (now Lhokseumawe) was led by Malik al-Zahir, the king himself who was surrounded with several prominent scholars hailed from Persia and Isfahan of Iran(Ismail Hamid. 1985:18-22). In Malacca, the intellectual interest was pioneered by a number of scholars as mentioned in Malay Histiography (*Sejarah Melayu)* including Syed Abdul Aziz who was responsible for the conversion of the Malaccan King, Kadhi Yusof and Mawlana Abu Bakar (Brown.1952:102-103).

When Aceh (now Banda Aceh) became known as a learning center for the Malays and other international Islamic communities, it was discovered that many more scholars and intelligentsia emerged and the most excellent among them were Hamzah Fansuri, Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani, Nur al-Din al-Raniri and Abdul Rauf al-Singkili (Al-Attas.1963:22-29). There were also many scholars originated from Johore kingdom in Malaysia including Tun Seri Lanang, the author of the Malay Histiography (*Sejarah Melayu*). In the island of Riau-Sumatra-Indonesia, royal family was seen actively producing the Malay corpuses and the most excellent and most prominent among them was Raja Ali Haji (Siti Hawa.1994:32-34).

Furthermore, with the coming of Islam Malay language was established and flourished as an intellectual language as well as a lingua franca to the Malay region. Comparably similar to the Arabic language in pre-Islamic times. Malay language in ancient times and throughout the period of Hinduism and Buddhism was not regarded as an aesthetic religious and intellectual language. According to Moshe Yegar (1979: 7): "*with the introduction of Islam was a break from the complete Indian dominance of previous centuries. The Arabic alphabet replaced the Indian script, and liturgical Arabic entered the Malay language, dislodging Sanskrit in many cases*". Besides being tolerant to the Sanskrit words such as *puasa, neraka, agama* and*syurga*, Islam had also revolutionized the Malay language by enriching it with Arabic and Persian words and terminologies.

As late as 16th century, the Malay language attained its highest level as the language of literature and religion, overthrowing the Javanese language (Al-Attas. 1990:42 and Hashim Musa.1999: 29). Malay literature was then established especially through the writing activities pioneered mostly by the Malay Muslim scholars and court literati as Taib Osman (1985:46) remarked, "*The literary heritage of the Malays has been exclusively written in the Perso-Arabic script, including those literary works carried over from the Hindu period*". The development was very extensive as described by Riddle (2001:101), "*The Malay world witnessed a body of Islamic literature being grafted on to the literary expression of the existing Malay society. In the process, stories were adopted and extensively recast*". As the Malay language was increasingly being accepted as an intellectual language and as a medium of regional communication during the Islamic period, Malay scholars begin to utilize this language in producing the writing corpuses in various aspects of literature. It was through these writing that enabled the Malay intellectuals to flourish to the highest level ever which had never been achieved. Taib Osman (1985:46) further remarked. "*Of the cultural influence that Islam had brought to bear on the Malays, those in the field of literature have been the most profound*". Numerous forms of literature were produced by the Malay scholars, from the religious to the poetic treatises. In religious treatises for instance, a Malay translation of *'Aqa'id al-Nasafi*, written in 1590 was considered as the oldest know Malay manuscript (Al-Attas. 1988:6-8). However, this fact did not deny that prior to 1590, there were already numerous Malay textual works produced and scattered around the Malay courts.

a) Regional Cooperation in Southeast Asia.

From what has been experienced by the Malay community in this region clearly shows that the cooperation between governments in this region has been practiced since the 13th century through the relationship between the kings (*Sultans*) of Malay Archipelago in Southeast Asia region. However, in the modern context, regional cooperation is regarded as an international political concept which involves cooperation among countries located geographically close to each other. In addition, regional cooperation also does not involve co-operation in the field of military, rather cooperation that focus more on socio-cultural, economic and political order to maintain regional peace and prosperity.

In the context of relations among Southeast Asia communities in the form of co-operation as an independent state (nation states) has been initiated since 1954 through the embodiment SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) which joined by Thailand and Philippines. After the late 1960s, regional cooperation began to develop through the establishment of the ASA

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(Association of Southeast Asia) in 1961 followed by the establishment of MAPHILINDO (Malaysia-Filipina-Indonesia) in 1963. The highlight of this regional cooperation has been realized through the establishment of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) in 1967(Mauzy.1984: 1-8, Wanandi. 2001:25-34).

The establishment of ASEAN through Bangkok Declaration 1967 has opened a new chapter in regional cooperation for Southeast Asia. The main goals of the establishment of ASEAN are to accelerate growth of economic, social and regional cultural development. Participation in ASEAN expanded to other Southeast Asian countries such as Brunei, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar. Therefore we can say that ASEAN is a successful and effective regional cooperation organization in creating good relations between member countries to make the Southeast Asian region of peace and stability. We believe this success is due to the practice of peaceful coexistence policy has been practiced by the Malay rulers in the Malay world since the 13th century. At the time of the Malay sultanate, the mechanism for peace and recognition of the sovereignty of a country is through the delivery of gifts and exchange wedding among family members of Malay's kings in the Malay world. In modern times the practice of peaceful coexistence policy is through the willingness of each ASEAN member states to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a country and not interfere with the other ASEAN countries affairs.

Areas of cooperation have been initiated by ASEAN is very broad and not all areas have successfully pursued. Because the purpose of this article is not to explain each of the areas of cooperation, instead we will just record some areas to alert us on nostalgic collaborations that were initiated by the Malay community during their golden age. Among the fields of ASEAN cooperation that we will mention here is that cooperation in the fields of education and economy.

b) Regional Cooperation in the Field of Education.

It is very clear through regional cooperation that countries in the region can exchange knowledge especially in the areas of education and research. This has been done by the ASA through the exchange of academic staff between the University of Malaya and the University of the Philippines in 1965. This cooperation becomes closer under ASEAN with the establishment of the SEAMEO (Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization) in November 1965 in Bangkok where the charter was signed in February 1968. Further to this the existence of SEAMEO, Indonesia sent 17 lecturers for the first session of National University of Malaysia (UKM) which opened in 1970. In recognition of Indonesia's efforts and contributions in the opening of UKM and implementation of national education policy in this country, two Malay nationalist leaders, Datuk Professor Zainal Abidin Wahid and Datuk Abdul Rahman Yaakup stated that education and cultural cooperation between the two countries (Malaysia and Indonesia) will improve knowledge and understanding as well as helping teachers of both countries so that they can contribute to community development in their respective countries.

c) Regional Cooperation in Economic Areas.

ASEAN leaders believe that good economic growth will be able to reduce poverty gap among ASEAN community. To achieve this, ASEAN has introduced a number of cooperation mechanisms aimed at reducing poverty in the region. ASEAN has introduced several programs anchored economy by regions which are Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia-Filipina East ASEAN Growth Area (BIMP-EAGA), Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore Growth Triangle (IMS-GT) and Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle (IMT-GT) (Christopher M.D. and Peter R. 2011: 29-55). The existence of such mechanisms in the economic restructuring of the region appears to have succeeded in creating the ASEAN region that is stable, prosperous and competitive. Besides that, it has able to reduce poverty and socio-economic disparities. Through this economic development accordance with areas, states member that are involved indirectly will foster cooperation among themselves and the success of this program relies heavily on the efforts among members of ASEAN itself. It has become common, a form of cooperation will embody a good relationship between the states member and deflect any schism.

Besides the concept of triangle, ASEAN also seeks to overcome regional economic problems by implementing some additional efforts. In order to increase trade between ASEAN countries, the Preferential Trading Agreement (PTA) was signed in 1977. We have able to see the results with the success of inserting 14,656 goods into PTA listing. Then in 1982 to encourage all ASEAN countries producing certain components in a large industry such as automobiles, ASEAN launched ASEAN Industrial Complementary Scheme (AIC) (Simon S.C, Jesus P.E, Hadi Soesanto. 2001: 3-309). In its efforts to create a free market among ASEAN countries by paving the way for all products produced by ASEAN countries to be able to penetrate the market among its members without any minimum tariff is by implementing Asean Free Trade Agreement (AFTA). This had been done through Common Effective Preferential Tariff Scheme (CEPT). CEPT have contributed quite significantly to the amount of trade among ASEAN countries with an increase of 34% from about 44 billion USD in 1993 to 59 billion USD in 1994 and has successfully eliminate tariffs on 11 key sectors.

d) Discourse on the Formation of the Asean Community.

Ideas and efforts to create a joint entity have existed since the 1960s and now it is moving towards the establishment of its own community that is strong

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and mutually helps each other. With this, the theme of ASEAN 44th anniversary this year (2012) which is "*Unity in Diversity*" is considered unique and has a deep meaning. Every 10 ASEAN countries has its own characteristics and uniqueness but the disparity is a matter of common compared with the benefits to be acquired through the merger of the commitment of the countries in the entity has been established since the era of Malay sultanate and also through the creation of the ASEAN in 1967.

According to Malaysian Prime Minister ,Dato' Sri Mohd Najib in his statement on November 18, 2012 in Phnom Penh, that Asean leaders has decided that the ASEAN Community be established on December 31, 2015, when Malaysia takes over the chairmanship of the ASEAN Summit that year (Borneo Post, Nov19,2012). It is clear ASEAN is moving towards the creation of a strong community that mutually helps each other. According to Mohd Najib, the Asean Community will be based on three main pillars-Asean Political Security Community (APSC), Asean Economic Community (AEC) and Asean Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC), which will be formed based on the region's norms and values, creation of a single market with a 600 million population and freer flow of trade and investment. As new ASEAN Secretary General Le Luong Minh in his first meeting with the Committee of Permanent Representatives (CPR) to ASEAN on February 6, 2013 at the ASEAN headquarters in Jakarta, stated that although ASEAN has reaped remarkable achievements in recent years, there remains much to be done, including the enhancement of coordination and information exchanges between the ASEAN Secretariat and ASEAN member countries to further effectively implement three plans on building the ASEAN community three pillars by 2015. (Vietnam News Service, Feb 19, 2013). As the Secretary General also shared the view with the ASEAN's CPR that the central role of ASEAN remains a key point in the ASEAN's agenda, adding that narrowing the development gap in each ASEAN member state and among the states is one of the top priorities.

Recognizing the importance of the ASEAN to make changes from an institution or mechanism that domain is the 10 ASEAN member countries, Dr. Susilo Bambang Yudoyono, the President of Indonesian Republic, at ASEAN Summit in the last August of 2012 mention of the need to transform ASEAN into a community-based organization in South East Asia (Dewan Masyarakat. 2012:2-4). This is done with hope an ASEAN single market will exist. As the Malaysian Prime Minister, Mohd Najib added that the communication strategy should be focused also, so that the people understood the meaning of the Asean community. He also added that relationship that involves people to people, goods and services are also very important (Berita Harian, Ogos 4, 2010). Thus it is clear that the launch of the ASEAN charter at the end of 2006 is an initiative to create progressive and equitable communities in order to face current challenges of globalization. Of course to create community-based ASEAN and single ASEAN market, there are many challenges to be faced by societies in the region especially among ASEAN civil society that does not understand what is meant by the ASEAN economic community.

Obviously, the role of ASEAN as an umbrella to Southeast Asia harmony should be maintained because it is still relevant even if not able to par with the European Union which was established 24 years after the establishment of ASEAN. The whole world must accept that liberalism notion in ASEAN region in all its aspects needs to be done carefully in order not to drop eastern values upheld by all member states.

VI. Conclusion

From a variety of meetings and declarations which have been made by ASEAN leaders yet to see a real effort and shape heading towards ASEAN community although it is exactly three years before 2015 where ASEAN Community was aspired to be realized. The decisions of leaders from member countries still in the concept level and only a few are accepted and followed by community from this region. Nevertheless, the ideal is not impossible to achieve. Together we hope that the ASEAN community is able to produce an identity for ASEAN citizens that in the end create a bond between the ASEAN countries and communities that are integrated as a single entity in international interactions.

Neighbors are the closest relatives. Although having wealthy and good family members but if they are far away from our home certainly it will be hard for them to help if we are facing any difficulty. Based on this rationality ASEAN community becomes a relevant matter to be expanded. Regardless of the technological advances that make distance trivial, regional community is very strategic to be developed in terms of security, economic, educational and cultural. A simple example of this is when forest fires in Sumatra and Kalimantan that led to protests in Singapore and Malaysia. However as neighboring country Malaysia still provide assistance to Indonesia.

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Global Journal of Human Social Science
Political Science
Volume 13 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2013
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Female Prisoners in the US: HIV/AIDS and Opportunistic Co-Infectious Diseases

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Abstract - Objective : This study is an overview of the most current state of the US prison system relative to incarcerated women, focusing specifically on the risks of HIV and opportunistic diseases that affect women's health and lacking concerted interest in understanding and addressing women's specific needs by policy-makers and managers of our prison facilities.

Methodology : Conducted by an interdisciplinary team of socio-behavioral scientists in epidemiology, social work, policy, and education, the study relies on the most updated research data provided by federal and state government agencies, hospital registries, biomedical, public health, and socio-behavioral databases, relevant and peer-reviewed research studies published in journals and other accepted information sources, using a comparative national and global approach to the subject of female prisoners and the impact of infectious diseases.

Keywords : HIV/AIDS, prisons/jails, rape and physical assault, "zero tolerance" laws, "War on Drugs," "law and order."

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 920109

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Female Prisoners in the US: HIV/AIDS and Opportunistic Co-Infectious Diseases

Mario J. Azevedo [α], James S. Madiralla [σ], Shonda Lawrence [ρ] & Kira L. Johnson [ω]

I. Introdcution

Abstract - Objective : This study is an overview of the most current state of the US prison system relative to incarcerated women, focusing specifically on the risks of HIV and opportunistic diseases that affect women's health and lacking concerted interest in understanding and addressing women's specific needs by policy-makers and managers of our prison facilities.

Methodology : Conducted by an interdisciplinary team of socio-behavioral scientists in epidemiology, social work, policy, and education, the study relies on the most updated research data provided by federal and state government agencies, hospital registries, biomedical, public health, and socio-behavioral databases, relevant and peer-reviewed research studies published in journals and other accepted information sources, using a comparative national and global approach to the subject of female prisoners and the impact of infectious diseases.

Conclusions : This study confirms, strengthens, and validates many previous less definitive studies on the issue of women's health, lack of adequate care, and lax safety measures in our prison facilities. It provides new figures and expanded reasons for the phenomenal rise in the US prison population, the unprecedented rates of HIV/AIDS (almost two to one compared to men) and other infectious diseases in women prisoners, stemming from male-dominated prison management practices, the disproportionately unacceptable cases and risk factors that contribute to the daily rape, physical assault, and bullying of women in prisons perpetrated by both inmates and prison officials, especially in certain regions of the country, and the under-rating of women's biological, psychological, and socio-mental needs. This study warns of vicious and destructive increasing spillover rates of the diseased inmates from our community into our prisons and the constant revolving door of infected individuals who return to the general population. The inequities associated with the war on drugs, tolerance of unsafe practices in the prison facilities, such as intravenous drug use, a culture of violence, and exchange of goods for sexual favors that feed into our prison system, constitute a heightened health and safety risks of its female population, which ought not to be a part of our prison system.

Limitations and Recommendations : As others have done so, the authors strongly recommend a review of our prison system and conclude that now is the time for our federal and state legislatures to take the specific needs of women more seriously. The researchers simultaneously point to the need for the enactment and strict enforcement of policies that are designed to better protect women's safety in jail. Finally, while the authors urge school officials and policy-makers to minimize the unacceptable rates of incarceration of juveniles that have not committed serious offenses, they ask the academic community and service providers to ensure that future studies of women prisoners be preferably conducted by interdisciplinary teams involving both men and women researchers, community representatives, and current and former inmates.

Keywords : HIV/AIDS, prisons/jails, rape and physical assault, "zero tolerance" laws, "War on Drugs," "law and order."

a) Study Objective

The following article is a state-of-the-art analysis of the condition of women in jails and prisons in the United States in relation to the risk of exposure to HIV/AIDS and other co-infections while serving their sentences. Basing the analysis on available data published by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, state archival information, and the work of scholars and activists, such as Human Rights Watch, the authors focus their attention on the profile of women who end up in our jails and prisons, the environment where they come from, the types of offenses that land them in confinement facilities, the health hazards, the violence, and the constantly bullying sub-culture to which they are subjected daily, and the mechanisms they use to cope with the prison health conditions. In the process, the authors also look at the impact women's health conditions have on their communities once they are released from confinement. The four authors argue that imprisoned women are by and large victims of a system that punishes the weakest and the poorest of our society through laws that are exponentially harsher than they deserve to be and that jails, state and federal prisons, although improving, are cluster epicenters of contagion from the most deadly diseases man has ever known, often associated with violence, rape, and little consideration for the specific biological, social, and psychological needs of women. Often, these conditions are fed by a lack of clear and enforceable national policies in regard to incarcerated women incarcerated.

Currently, each state and locality or county has its own prison laws or statutes, some resembling practices of centuries past, at times bordering on the inhumane, which allow one jurisdiction to impose harsher sentences for a similar offense or crime, in such places as the South, where resilient institutional racism, discrimination, and gender prejudices cannot be easily shaken. The article ends with a series of recommendations based on the study findings, the

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existing prison guidelines, and internationally-accepted principles aimed at protecting the human rights of all prisoners, with special attention to women and female adolescents who find themselves confined and languishing in correctional facilities. Finally, the authors include, as well, suggestions about the direction future research might take to improve the plight of women in our primarily man-designed jails and prisons.

b) Historical Overview of Retributive Versus Utilitarian Justice in America

The issue of punishment or non-punishment for offenses perceived as harming the individual or society has been with us for many centuries. As Pollock (2005) notes, punishment is defined generally as a specific way of inflicting pain in the offender. Is such action wrong or a legitimate means for society to rid itself of "criminals" or offenders, be it in reference to horrendous crimes or petty infractions of the law, for which people in the US are sent to a life behind bars? Some thinkers see inflicting pain as a punishment that is not "inherently wrong" because the offender deserves it; justice based on this thinking has been commonly known as "retributive" justice, which supposedly balances the wrong and the right through punishment, as long as it is administered as an impersonal and a fair act against an individual who broke the social code or rule, expressed in the traditional concept of a "social contract." In this context, the criminal or offender deserves punishment or, in the words of Pollock, quoting past philosophers, "has the right to be punished" (2005: 4).

On the other side of the spectrum lies the utilitarian theory and approach to the prison system, which sees punishment as unjustifiable unless it is conceived for and results in a "greater good" using means that are often described as "deterrence, incapacitation [physical or psychological inability to repeat the crime], or rehabilitation" [state of re-adjustment to society, making the offender a productive individual] (see Weaver and Nicholson, 2012: 9-16). Under utilitarian philosophy, punishment is always evil, except if it benefits both the offender and the community, or the "many in society." From this perspective, adds Pollock, "if punishment did not deter or incapacitate or facilitate rehabilitation," then "the many" (all society) would not benefit, and punishment would not be good" (2005: 6). Expressed differently, "cruel" incarceration is unjustified if it is not intended to make the individual a better human being rather than a monster, as some of our prison systems have been accused of doing today.

The early American experiment and debate over prisons or penitentiaries made it difficult for politicians and thinkers to reconcile the two philosophies, but, as the years and centuries elapsed, the retributive element seems to have triumphed. In fact, as Faulkner notes, it has always been hard to "reconcile demands for more rigorous enforcement of the law, longer sentences, more people in prison and less regard for offenders' rights with providing more help for offenders' rehabilitation, more and earlier intervention, a greater emphasis on reconciliation and restoration and fewer people in prison" (Faulkner, 2012: 3). Calvinistic dogmatic teaching undoubtedly influenced the concept of retributive justice in America, as it viewed the poor and the unemployed, many of whom ended in jail or prison, as unblessed by God because they did not adhere to a work ethic preached by the first Calvinists in Europe and the US. Recent occurrences, however, as the debate over the use of marijuana as a criminal act, decriminalized now in states such as Oregon and Washington has demonstrated, have revived the old controversy over the worth of harsh methods for society to rid itself of those who break the laws or our cherished traditions. Indeed, the more the American penal system tries to eliminate crime by sheer force and prison fortresses, the more we see crime and our prison population on the rise, especially after the 1930s, while the few prisoners released have, in general, found it hard to adapt to society, as the following discussion will show. Many of the so-called "released offenders" re-engage in criminal conduct and are forced to return to the same unforgiving and threatening correctional facilities.

The nature of the U.S. prisons with their intended and unintended social and individual consequences, especially for female inmates, are imbedded in an almost 500-year history. Therefore, understanding prison history in the US helps one grasp the intended role of the prison system in its frustrating and unending effort to clamp down on the criminal element or the unacceptable social behavior of its citizens. History also helps one to understand the current controversy over how society should run its prisons to ensure punishment is a deterrent and a rehabilitating process, which, at the same time, facilitates a smooth social re-adjustment of its incarcerated populations once they have served their sentences. As a backdrop to the following historical section, it was important for the authors to draw attention to the distinction between a "penitentiary" and a "jail," and between a state and a federal prison. In official settings, jails are defined as "locally operated, or managed, institutions that detain individuals who typically are serving short sentences, of one year or less," for a certain "crime" (Dwyer et al., 2011: 1). Jails are reserved for people called in for arraignment and trial, those who are on parole after being convicted of an offense, or parole violators, or awaiting sentencing by a judge. A jail is, therefore, a temporary institutional facility and "is short in its application of the laws against 'crime,'" which may be a misdemeanor or a felony.

As a result, a jail does not provide long-term care, such as prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS, TB,

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Hepatitis C, and other infectious diseases to its inmates, nor does it have the rehabilitative resources for its inmates, particularly women. Prisons, on the contrary, are long-term correctional facilities, which may be run or managed by the state or the federal government.

It is on these institutions that most of this article focuses, even though, when numbers of incarcerated populations are referred to, jails are also included. Penitentiary, a word derived from the Latin and a Catholic Church tradition going as far back as the Middle Ages, when prisons or "workhouses" were also run by the clergy, religious institutions, and the monks, meant a facility where the criminal or offender was kept in to repent from his sins, fulfilling a specific task designed to induce remorse or penance, before being allowed back into the community to resume his normal life. Currently, the term is still in use, especially in reference to specific federal prisons, the British at times calling the penitentiary a *gaol* (cage) in their popular vernacular. As a result, it may be said without hesitation that the church has played a major role in shaping our prison system (Whitehead, 2012: 23). The Romans were the first to use prisons as a system of governance, a tradition that was carried on to the middle Ages, the Enlightenment, and the modern era. However, in the US, the controversy over the running of the correctional facilities and their intended mission became a major issue during the 18th century, mainly as a result of the teachings of the Quakers or the Society of Friends, who were quite influential in Pennsylvania in general, and Philadelphia in particular, as well as in the northeastern colonies and, later, in the United States itself. The colonies attempted first to replicate the correctional system adopted in England as early as 1557, where the prisons were known as "workhouses," designed to house "strumpets, vagrants, rogues…manacled, flogged, and forced to carry out hard labor" (Editors, *Monthly Review*, 2001: 1).

c) US Prisons and their Growth

Historically, prisons, as loci of punishment for a crime or offense committed, started in the US between 1789 and 1848, sometimes known as the "Age of Revolution," spreading thereafter to Western Europe, particularly in industrial Britain and revolutionary France. Europe, indeed, became the first continent to admire and subsequently adopt the American prison system. In the American colonies, Pennsylvania, spurred by individuals such as Benjamin Rush, surgeon and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, through his ""An Inquiry into the Effects of Public Punishments upon Criminals and Upon Society" (1787), systematized the first houses of repentance. Influenced by Quaker teachings, Philadelphians believed that a criminal could find what the preachers of the era called "introspection" and be rehabilitated through exposure to the Bible, prayer, solitary confinement, and labor. The first correctional facility of this type, which the *Monthly Review* calls the era's First Experiment, emerged at the Philadelphia Walnut Street Jail in 1787, replicated thereafter at Auburn and the Sing Sing Penitentiaries.

These emerging prisons were conceived and organized into "solitary systems," at times called "congregate systems," where the correctional facilities and their inmates were isolated and secluded from the community. Inmates lived separately, day and night, in single cells, except at meal times, but had to remain in total silence, under the watch of the guards, while working during most of the day. The original intent was to punish the inmate per se through the conditions of the facility itself which was architecturally designed to inspire awe from the vindictive activities occurring inside its walls. The US system drew such attention from Western Europe that it prompted the French Foreign Ministry to dispatch young Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave Beaumont to visit America and report primarily on its prison system, even though de Tocqueville expanded his curiosity to examine and write on American society, emphasizing its independent spirit and its embrace of democratic principles.

Tocqueville and Gustave praised the American prison system, but also saw its inhumane side, criticized by many as leading to mental insanity, suicide, and inmates' inability to re-adapt to society following their prison term. In Europe, the purpose of a prison had been primarily to rehabilitate the inmate, using, except for capital offenses like murder, such perverted methods as torture, mutilation, forced labor, corporal punishment, and personal embarrassment. The "second experiment," initiated in America around 1925, saw the physical and psychological prison facility as the epitome and epicenter of punishment, strengthened by the intent to "incapacitate" the criminal, eventually resulting in "a massive" and sanctioned incarceration program. Prisons were no longer designed for the prevention of crime alone but became almost solely reserved for the lower classes, the poor, and for ethnic and racial minorities.

d) From the 1930s to the Present

During the Great Depression (1929), the number of inmates in the US grew at an unprecedented pace, at the rate of 137 per 100,000 persons, a trend that declined during World War II (1939-1945), apparently as a result of the boom in employment both from military enlistment and civilian job opportunities at home. However, during the 1970s and thereafter, as a result of an economic slowdown that allegedly led to heightened poverty and "crime" among the lower classes, the prison system entered its own second boom period. Thus, by 1990, the inmate population peaked to 458/100,000, and, including offenders on probation, rose to 6,000,000, five to eight times higher than in Europe. In 2001, the number of inmates in state and federal prisons stood at 2,000,000, most of it concentrated in the South, where the remnants of the

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Jim Crow tradition, the laws and the new initiatives of the Nixon and Reagan Administrations, expressed in such coded language as "War on Crime" and the "War on Drugs," took root. However, the unprecedented building of mega, fortified prisons by the federal and state governments began during the 1930s, following the creation of the Bureau of Prisons through Public Law N. 71-218, 46 Stat. 325 (1930) within the Department of Justice. The Bureau of Prisons, which became responsible for the "management and regulation of all federal penitentiaries and correctional institutions," turned the US into a formidable machine in the prosecution of criminals and offenders. In 1930, large and massive facilities were in operation, housing 13,000 inmates. Ten years later, the number of federal facilities spiked from 11 to 24, housing an estimated incarcerated population of 24,360 offenders. Between 1940 and 1980, some 44 correctional facilities were home to 24,252 inmates (Bureau of Prisons, 2001). As of 1998, there were 94 federal prisons, 1,378 state prisons, and 2,994 local jails. Four of the 94 federal prisons were for women only, and four designed to house men and women inmates, while 9 were administrative correctional facilities. Nationwide, the number of women-only state facilities stood at 65, while 56 were co-educational (ACA, 1998).

The most impressive act of inmate housing and correctional extravaganza was the federal government's erection of Alcatraz "fortress" in San Francisco Bay in 1934 designed to house the worst criminals in the nation. Prisoners worked here, but the conditions in the so-called "D Block," the prison solitary wing or the prison's "solitary confinement hallway," was frightening. The cell, called "the hole," was a room consisting of "bare concrete with a hole in the floor," with no light, where the inmate was kept naked and fed bread and water "shoved to him through a small hole on the door." Even though the cell was designed for short periods of solitary confinement, some of the inmates remained in for years. However, in the history of the prison system, the year 1983 has gone down as infamous. That year, two correctional officers were murdered on different occasions at the Marion, Illinois, Prison, which forced its "permanent lockdown," 23 hours a day, with no "communal yard time," no work, no educational programs, and no inmates' joint cafeteria meals, with sentenced criminals being kept behind the almost militarized and fortified bars. During the 1940s, many build a huge and growing complex of durable *totalitarian* institutions. This massive use of imprisonment has made American society highly dependent on prisons both economically and politically as well as socially.

These conditions were reinforced by the coded language of "Law and Order" and "War on Crime" of the Nixon and the Reagan Administrations, as noted, and the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984, which prescribed states, including Mississippi, Virginia, Indiana, Ohio, Oregon, and Wisconsin, following the example of the federal government, began a massive build-up program of "Supermax or control unit prisons," new "free-standing, isolated units," numbering altogether 40, which, by 2005, were designed to accommodate 25,000 inmates. As a result of the massive prison building initiative, by 2008, the prison population had grown to 1,600,000, making America the only country in the Western world where one out of 100 citizens was incarcerated in federal and state prisons, while some 723,000 people accused of crimes languished in "local jails."

e) Incarceration and Gender and Racial Inequalities in US Prisons

Racially and by gender, in 2006, one in 36 people in confinement facilities was Hispanic, one in 15 adults was African American, and one out of 19 black men, between the ages of 20 and 34 years, was in prison. Women were not spared either. That year, the number of female inmates grew to one out of 355 women, ages 35-39 years, and one out of 100 black women was in prison, the states spending then about 7 percent of their annual budget to sustain the prison system (Liptak, 2008: 14). The noted prison boom of the 1970s and 1980s, which witnessed the doubling of the capacity of the correctional facilities in the South, forced some states to spend, by 1996, as much as $234-$454 per capita on inmates, diverting the scarce resources from education and welfare towards feeding and punishing incarcerated "misfits." Consequently, an overwhelming number of prisons were filled to capacity. Overcrowding in correctional facilities prompted a judge in Alabama to complain that, in 2001 alone, some 2,000 innocent people were being sandwiched behind bars in the state's small county jails. Another judge characterized one jail that housed a large number of black inmates in the same state of Alabama as a "slave ship" (*New York Times*, 2001). By 2012, the number of inmates per capita in the nation had risen since the 1930s by more than 500 times, 5 to 8 times more than Western Europe, and 17 times more than Japan. This almost exponential growth of correctional facilities and the number of people put behind bars, severely tainted by the treatment of prisoners, especially in the South, puzzled many observers and incarceration experts, given that America had always proclaimed itself to the world as the bastion of freedom and democracy. Writes Christianson (2005):

This history [of incarceration] helps to explain the paradox of a country that prides itself on being the citadel of individual liberty, yet imprisons more of its citizens per capita than any other nation in the world. It also provides a warning about the future, for even as the US epitomizes and sanctifies democracy, it continues to build a huge and growing complex of durable *totalitarian* institutions. This massive use of imprisonment has

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made American society highly dependent on prisons both economically and politically as well as socially.

These conditions were reinforced by the coded language of "Law and Order" and "War on Crime" of the Nixon and the Reagan Administrations, as noted, and the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984, which prescribed specific sentencing, abolition of parole for many offenses, and reduced good time for inmates no matter how well they might behave in prison. These initiatives were followed by mandatory minimum sentencing laws in 1986, 1988, and 1990, epitomized by the "three strikes you are out" enacted in California. The Editors of the *Monthly Review* wrote in 2001 (1):

Yet, although this is a social crisis of the highest magnitude, it barely causes a ripple in the news media, with their emphasis on issues that concern the elite or the middle class, or in academia, where this sort of research is scarcely encouraged. Nor is this massive incarceration program an issue in the money driven political system, where politicians vie to win the honor of appearing to be "tough" on crime by building even more prisons and lengthening sentences for nonviolent offenses.

There is also an almost sinister reason why the prison population is dominated by racial and ethnic minorities and disadvantaged socio-economic females: The Zero Tolerance Law (Gun-Free School Act--GFSA) passed by Congress in 1994 against children who bring guns to elementary and secondary schools that receive federal assistance. Although it is valid to ask why and who makes the conditions possible for a child to carry a gun to a school environment or anywhere, zealous state and county schools have added their own list of offenses to the unintended provisions of the law, which have included fighting, truance or absenteeism, disobedience, fighting in school, drug and alcohol possession or use, swearing, disrupting a class, and over a dozen other forms of behavior, some resulting in automatic suspension and others in expulsion from school. At a Senate Hearing held on December 10, 2012, Mr. Monty Neill, Executive Director of the National Center for Fair and Open Testing, revealed that the majority of children affected by the law were African American, especially male, male, and students with disability, who once given to the justice system, eventually end up in jail, confirming what has been called the *School-to-Prison Pipeline*. Mr. Neill also testified that: Approximately 8.8 percent of public school children have been identified as having disabilities and are represented in jail at a rate of nearly four times… and that "one in nine black males between the ages of 20 and 34 is behind bars compared to one in 30 for men in that age in general" (See US Senate Committee Hearing on the Judiciary, December 10, 2012). Some states and counties are worse than others in interpreting and applying the expanded provisions of the law. In Lauderdale County, Mississippi, for example, this law seems to have been so abused and applied so much more harshly to African American children and students with disabilities that, in August, 2012, the Justice Department threatened to sue the State of Mississippi, the City of Meridian, and Lauderdale County if negotiations did not result in a an agreed settlement within 60 days that would end school-to-prison pipeline practices (Martinez, *CNN Report*, August 10, 2012).

The US Department of Justice charged that the State of Mississippi was violating the constitutional rights of juveniles. This was corroborated by a 10 year-study by the PERICO Institute and by the Children's Defense' won research that found that nationwide black students accounted for 72 percent of all incidents in the classroom and 71 percent of all dispositions. In the State of Mississippi, the five dispositions were thus ranked: Out of school suspensions, 249,243 or 41 percent; in-school suspensions, 170,918 or 28 percent; corporal punishment, 8,309 or 10 percent; warnings/administrative discipline, 34, 846 or 6 percent; and alternate school, 13,098 or 2 percent (PERICO Institute and Children's Defense Fund, 2009-2011).

Concerned about the implementation and consequences of the *Zero Tolerance* policy, the Children's Defense Fund has determined that one of its top priorities would be to help dismantle the "Cradle to Prison Pipeline," which shows, for example, that, in the lifetime of a black boy and a white boy born in 2001, the black boy had one-in-three chances of going to prison, more than five times the odds of the white boy being incarcerated. Other studies and the vast experience gained since 1994 have also made it clear that the *Cradle to Prison Pipeline* was, in fact:

A trajectory that leads to marginalized lives, imprisonment and often premature death, and is fueled by racial disparities, pervasive educational poverty, inadequate health and mental health care, gaps in early childhood development, disparate educational opportunities, chronic abuse and neglect, and overburdened and ineffective juvenile justice systems. Failures [adds the Children's Defense Fund] of our child serving systems, especially when coupled with race and poverty, increase the likelihood of children entering the pipeline to prison" (Children's Defense Fund, 2013: 3).

The best way to grasp and understand the magnitude of the incarceration of men and women in the US and its impact on the health of inmates, women in particular, is to compare its rates with those of the rest of the world's population and prison systems. This comparison is particularly revealing when one considers that America is one of the most developed, if not the most developed, country in the word, and one that claims also to be "God fearing" and the most caring nation in the world, as one hears often from itinerant Tele-Evangelists and people that live in the so-called Bible belt of the Deep South. Globally, at any given moment, a minimum of 5 percent of the world's

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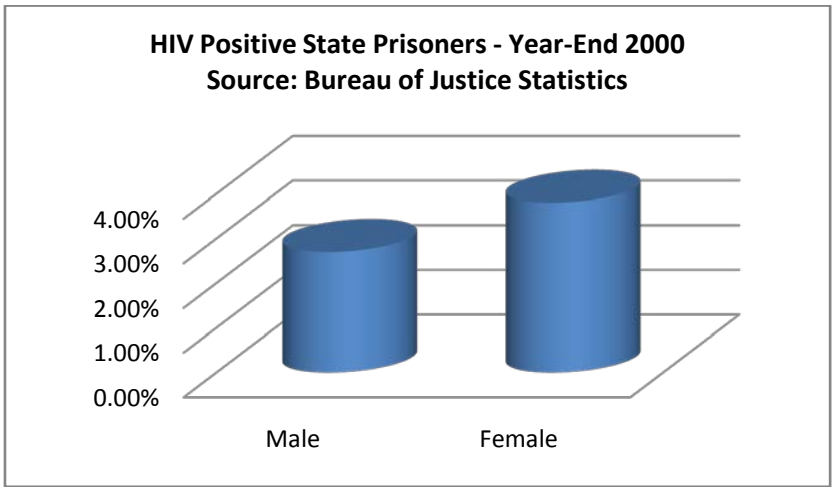
population lives behind bars, while this number continues to rise, particularly as both "illegal" substance use and trafficking spread over the globe. Worldwide, imprisonment per 100,000 persons has thus oscillated: 30 in India, 75 in Norway, 119 in China, 628 in Russia, and 750 in the US (Wilper, Andrew et al., 2009). Experts estimate that in 2005 more than 500,000 people were either awaiting trial in jails or imprisoned, the annual rate being about 1.5 million people imprisoned globally. In the US, specifically, the growth of the prison population has been particularly overwhelming. Statistics show, for example, that at the end of December 2004, the number of US citizens (and non-citizens) incarcerated under our criminal justice system stood at 7 million, while more than 2.2 million remained behind bars (about 1,225,680 in state prisons, 129,196 in federal prisons, with the remaining thousands in local jails) (Wilper et al., 2009), constituting the highest number in one country alone globally. The gender composition of inmates worldwide is also an issue of concern. Presently, 5 percent of the world's inmates are women, particularly in areas where literacy is lowest. Still worldwide, in 2005, to cite one example, 500,000 women and girls were behind bars. The UN estimated then that this number would grow three times faster than any other time in human history (UN Office of Drugs and Crime, 2012).

Worldwide, notes the United Nations further, some 30,000,000 people languish in prisons and jails, while the US houses 2,000,000 or 22 percent of the world's population, at the rate of 714/100,000 annually. Besides the US, South Africa has the largest number of men and women in prison, some 157,402, at the rate of 335/100,000 persons. However, in Sub-Saharan Africa, in 2007, the number of men and women in jails and prisons stood at 600,000, while in Africa, as a whole, female prisoners constituted only 14,000 of the prison population. Five years ago, in other areas of the world, the number of prisoners ranged from 6,000 to 183,000 (UN, 2007: 12).

f) Incarceration of Women in US Correctional Facilities

Until the 1870s, women had not been systematically separated from men in the prison system. It is clear historically, dating back to the time of horse-mounted cowboy justice and hanging trials in the Wild West, that jails and prisons in America were not designed to house women, because rarely were they committed to harsh solitary confinement. Thus, even in our era, jails and prisons have been built primarily to accommodate male criminals, the reason why, today, 40 percent of the correctional facilities are still managed by male officers, wards, or guards. This is likely the reason why the history of prisons and jails is virtually silent on women prisoners and, when mentioned, little is said about the risks they are exposed to when being behind bars (e.g., violence, rape, and inhumane treatment). Indeed, the rate of female incarceration in the US is growing faster relative to its male counterpart, as shown in the figure below.

Figure 1 : Comparison Between Male and Female HIV-Positive State Prisoners



Source: Institute of Correction. "Gemder Responsive Strategies: Research, Practice, and Guiding Principles for Women Offenders"(2003:2).

The proportion of women among people living with HIV/AIDS in the US United States is generally higher among younger people than among older people. Among reported cases of HIV among 13-19 year olds in 2001, 57% were among females. This is the highest proportion of female HIV cases among any age group (CDC. "HIV/AIDS Surveillance Report" 13, No. 2, 2001: 17).

In 2011, some 200,000 women lived as criminals in US prisons, a rate three times higher than

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the previous years, for an estimated growth of 800 percent compared to a rate of 416 percent for men's imprisonment over the previous two decades. From 1990 to 1998, the number of female inmates had increased by 92 percent, with 40 percent being incarcerated on a drug-related offense (Baldwin, et al., 2000). In this respect, the State of Oklahoma has had the infamous honor of incarcerating the largest number of women in the nation, 134/100,000 persons, while Massachusetts houses the smallest number of female inmates: 13/100,000, most of whom charged with illegal possession of drugs or drug use (Stern et al., 2011: 1). Thus, between 1986 and 1991, a span of five years, the number of women in prison in America rose by 75 percent to 139,000. In 1998, the number of men had jumped by 60 percent, while that of women had risen to 92 percent, as noted, in federal and state prisons, the year when most of women's sentences had spiked by 80 percent since 1990 (Beck & Munola, 1999).

Sadly, as recently as 2007, in the US, two-thirds of the imprisoned women have been women of color. During the first part of the 21th century, black women in the United States were twice as likely as Latina women and eight times more likely than white women to be in prison" (Kleinman, 2007: 1). Over the centuries, most incarcerated women have also tended to come from poor backgrounds, lacking marketable job skills, and from certain racial and ethnic groups," namely, African American and Hispanic, population "subgroups" that are already at an increased risk of incarceration" and, therefore, exposed to a variety of problems in an already hostile environment when they enter prison. It should also be noted that, currently, 25 percent of black women are considered to be poor by the US census, and it is known that jail and prison incarcerations are often associated with low socio-economic status. Thus, Kleinman adds to the discussion by noting that poverty and the oppression of women "play a huge role" in the high HIV infection rates found among incarcerated populations (2007: 2).

From 1993 to 2008, the arrest of women for drug/alcohol use in the country increased by 19 percent compared to 10 percent for men. In 2007, this number climbed to 93,000 in federal and state prisons, representing 6.6 percent of the total incarcerated population in the country. The size of the prison population reflected a growth of 5 times over the previous 20 years (Groot, 2007), distributed as 7.5 percent for women and 5.7 for men, a difference of 1.8 percent, which represented a significant tilt towards an increase in the number of women sent to languish behind the prison bars. During the same period, the rate of women offenders committed to state and federal correctional facilities was 5.2 percent of the prison population--up from 4.7 percent in 1986 (Stern, 2011). The highest incarceration rate for women occurred in the Bible belt, where it reached the 790/100,000 person-mark. Currently, within the South, incarceration rates have remained about the same for rural and urban counties (1,194 and 1,160 people, respectively). In this context, it is instructing to remember what Stephenson and Leone (2005) note in their study in relation HIV infections, namely, that: "Although prisons in the northeast [have had] the highest rate of HIV infection, 4.6 percent, southern prisons have had the highest number of HIV cases by geographical region," and the situation has not changed since then.

A study conducted in 2001, found that women of color, particularly those between the ages of 14 and 24, constituted 42 percent of the inmate population. That year, in Minnesota, for example, 25 percent of women incarcerated on sexual charges were black. Studies further reveal that most incarcerated women are over 30 years of age; tend to be high school graduates or "holders of a GED"; are, as noted, from racial or ethnic minorities; mostly unmarried; are mothers of children under 18 years of age; and grew up in households with just one parent, most having experienced physical or sexual abuse in childhood. The other characteristic observed of women in prison is that 17 percent of those serving in state prisons tend to be repeat offenders, on probation or incarcerated, including 20 percent who were once housed in Juvenile facilities (Snell, 1991). Also, most of these women were under the influence of drugs when they were arrested, of whom 36 percent were habitual users of cocaine or crack prior to committing the offense that landed them in prison. In 1991, about 10 percent of the women were arrested and convicted of fraud, although this represented a 17 percent drop from 1986.

II. HIV/AIDS Infections and Women in US Prisons

a) *Theoretical Framework*

As we proceed to discuss the issue of women's health in our prison system, it is instructive to point out that historically, women have been systemically excluded from prison design and policy development and implementation (Reyes, 2001). As a result, little consideration has been given to the healthcare needs of incarcerated women (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2007). The absence of rigorous prison policy/mandates that address health care provisions for women exhibits a lack of concern for their well-being and state of health while incarcerated (Reyes, 2001). In addressing the issue of women and HIV in the prison setting, it is therefore imperative to look at the systems and feminist theories frameworks. In general, examining these frameworks provides some insight as to the historical oppression of women. However, more importantly and specifically, the theories help one to understand how the prison system, an institution designed for men, has not concerned itself with

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providing for the needs of women and how this lack of concern promotes increases in the number of HIV cases among women in prison.

Over the years, the number of women involved in the criminal justice system and the rate of incarceration of women has increased (Snell & Morton, 1991). During the period of 1977 and 2007, the women's prison population grew by 832% (West & Sabol, 2007). Although these numbers are staggering, few corrections/criminal justice policies focus specifically on women. Fewer focus on incarcerated women and health related issues during incarceration. Although incarcerated women are 80 times more likely to be HIV positive than non-incarcerated women (Correctional Association of New York, 2012), few policies address the issue of incarcerated women and HIV. The most recent piece of legislation in the nation, signed by Governor Patterson of New York in 2009, mandates the New York Department of Health to monitor HIV and Hepatitis C in prisons and jails (Correctional Association of New York, 2009). However, even this legislation does not provide for treatment or specific considerations for women.

Social control theorists posit that, when individuals are threatened with punishment, they become socialized and learn to control behaviors that warrant direct or implied punishment (Hirschi, 2002). Much of the mass incarceration of women during the 1980s and 1990s can be attributed to the "War on Drugs" legislation (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2007). The legislation was formulated to punish drug users in the hope that individuals would become socialized and learn self control and not indulge in drug use, thereby, putting the drug cartel and distributers out of business. These white house policies and mandates could be seen in some form or another throughout the institutions of justice at state, local and federal agencies and governments. Community, court, policing, and prison systems readily implemented these criminal justice laws and policies without considering the massive numbers of women that would be caught in this wide net legislation.

The systems theory examines interrelated relationships between institutions/organizations, the impact those relationships have on individuals, and how each component contributes to the well being of the individual while promoting holistic change (Turner, 2011). Since most prison systems are male dominated in prison population, staff, and administration (Mazza, 2012), most prison policies are not inclusive of the needs of women (Covington, 1998). Unfortunately, women now make up a large number of those involved with the criminal justice system. However, the prison "system" has failed them in terms of providing adequate health care and education to combat sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV, although the increase in the numbers of incarcerated women can partly be attributed to criminal justice/corrections legislation and the lack of preparedness to receive women in this system.

The feminist theory aims to understand the totality of gender inequality by examining social roles of women, their experiences, and politics, by critiquing social relations through analyzing and the promotion of women's rights, interests, and issues (Turner, 2011). Prison systems in the United States have mirrored the traditional social and moral norms of society that posit that, if an individual commits a crime, he or she is, therefore, forever a criminal (Marcus-Mendoza, 2004). Incarcerated women are then viewed as individuals who have failed society and considered inept (Marcus-Mendoza, 2004). Prison programs have replicated this stereotype and designed programs that address the stereotypes instead of the underlying causes that led to being imprisoned (Marcus-Mendoza, 2004).

The aforementioned theories come together to highlight the lack of preparedness of prisons to house women in institutions developed and designed for men and outline why it is important to look at systems and how they affect individuals. The underlying assumption of each of the preceding theories is that relationships with systems/institutions influence behavior and outcomes for individuals. These relationships can be positive or negative depending upon whether the treatment of women is considered. However, the theories do not address the issue of how systems intersect to create a system of oppression for women involved in the criminal justice system. Intersectionality is a feminist sociological theory that supports the use of multidimensional conceptualizations (Crenshaw, 1991) when attempting to understand "the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relationships and subject formations" (McCall 2005).

Instersectionality theorists posit that individual indentifying markers, such as race and gender, do not operate alone as targets of oppression but intersect to contribute to systematic oppression (Crenshaw, 1991). In the case of incarcerated women, for example, identifying markers of being a woman, drug user, HIV+ and African American simultaneously intersect on multiple levels. Each of these markers intersects with the criminal justice/corrections system, legislation, community, and themselves to contribute to inequality/oppression within the prison system. The theory lends itself to the explanation of how and why prisons and policy-makers fail to provide adequate health care for women and why this lack of concern promotes increases in the number of HIV cases among women in prison. The authors expect that the reader of the following sections of this work have these theoretical perspectives in mind if the wish to better understand why, overall, women are in such precarious conditions in prisons whose primary concern and focus of care are men.

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b) Women and HIV Infections in Prison

Regarding the disease factor, as a mirror of the general population, women tend to bear the brunt of the HIV/AIDS burden, confirming what Nelson Mandela, former President of South Africa, once said, that, globally, the HIV epidemic was taking the "face of a woman" (Groot, 2005). It is no secret today that HIV/AIDS prevalence in US prisons is high, even though studies' statistics vary considerably. A UN study notes that women are at least twice as likely as men to contract HIV through sexual contact, of which the likelihood is increased by pre-existing sexually transmitted infections (STIs). This is also true of incarcerated men. In US prisons, the rate of HIV infection seems to be 1.7 percent among men and 2.4 percent among women. In New York, the prevalence is more alarming as it is estimated at 14.2 percent among women prisoners and 6.7 percent among male inmates. For 2003, one statistic reveals the rate of the female prison population as having been 5-10 percent, with an accompanying rate of 2.8 percent in HIV cases, compared to 1.9 percent for men.

It is generally accepted that, from a sociological, psychological, and environmental perspective, women are at a higher risk of being infected with HIV and other opportunistic sexually transmitted infections and diseases than their inmate counterparts. However, biological factors make women, especially those in prison, more vulnerable to the devastating effects of HIV. Other statistics show that, in 2007, state and federal prisons combined housed some 21,987 HIV-positive offenders, the worse states being Florida, New York, and Texas. Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson's study in *The Journal of Prison* (2000: 379) found that:

> Twenty percent of the inmates had experienced at least one episode of pressured or forced sexual contact since incarcerated in their state, and 16 percent reported that an incident had occurred in their current facility. At least 7 percent of the sample had been raped in their current facility. Seven percent of the sample had experienced sexual coercion, and at least 4 percent had been raped during the most recent 26 to 30 months. Factors that appeared to increase sexual coercion rates were large population size, racial conflict, barracks housing, inadequate security, and having a high percentage of inmates incarcerated for crime against persons.

In the following section, we discuss the risks to which women are biologically more predisposed to HIV than men, summarizing what is known, as presented in Herman Reyes' work. First of all, Reyes stresses the point that, in general, sexually transmitted infections, "quite often in female prisoners, and often undetected," are major contributors to the spread of HIV, "as they enhance transmission as well as diminish general resistance to the patient" (Reyes, 2010: 193). It is important to note that the symptoms of HIV infection in women are generally gynecological. Thus, problems with cervical dysplasia (pre-cancerous changes in cervix or uterus cells) are generally associated with "infection with the human papiloma virus (HPV) and enhanced by HIV, resulting in complications during pregnancy and child birth." As known, HIV appears in infected males' semen, in the semen fluid and mononuclear cells, whereas, in women, the virus is found in the cervico-vaginal secretions. Noted by experts is the greater volume of semen compared to the cervico-vaginal secretions, which means that the virus associated "with AIDS is found in greater concentration in men, and …the Langer-Hans cells of the cervix may provide a portal of entry for HIV." Studies also stress that men transmit HIV infections easier than women do, due to "increased genital shedding of HIV-1 in them," even though, in Uganda, a study of the transmission pathway showed that "plasma HIV RNA levels and genital ulcer disease, *but not gender*, were the main determinants of HIV transmission" (Groot, 2005: 2). Finally, the 2007 figures released by the Bureau of Justice Statistics put the number of HIV-positive inmates at 21,987 and an overall rate of confirmed AIDS cases in federal and state prisons at 0.41 percent, more than double the rate of cases in the general population, estimated at 0.17 at the time.

In the case of minorities, the HIV situation has always been grimmer. Thus, even though African Americans and Hispanics represent 61 percent of all AIDS cases in the US, put together, African American and Hispanic women represent less than one-fourth of the US female population, but, since 1986, they have represented three-fourths of the total number of AIDS cases for women in America. As a result, AIDS has become the leading cause of death for African American women ages 25-44 years, most of whom having contracted the disease through heterosexual contact. Telling was a recent finding by the CDC that concluded that characteristics associated with prisoners' HIV sero-conversion were "male-male sex in prison, tattoing in prison, age older than 26 at entry, more than 5 years served of the current prison sentence, *the black race*, and a body mass index less than 25.4kg/m2 square on entry into prison" (CDC Report: 3). Additionally, some HIV experts believe that the overall rate of HIV among women in America is 0.2 percent, but that among incarcerated women, the rate stands at 15 times higher, corresponding to almost one in 10 incarcerated females, a 3.0 percent rate in 2002, compared to 2 percent among male inmates. This is in contrast to the figures from previous years (e.g., 1996), when the number seems to have been 3.5 percent among female and 2.3 percent for male inmates. Studies further claim that one in 10 prisoners who have HIV is a woman, and a woman in prison is three times more likely to contract HIV while

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there. Kleinman's study suggests that as many as 20 percent of females in prison are HIV-positive, while only 9 percent of the men are so. The 2012 report of the Bureau of Justice Statistics reveals that 3.6 percent of all female inmates in the US are HIV-positive compared to a 2 percent sero-prevalence among incarcerated males. For illustrative purposes, in Nevada, estimates are that 30.6 percent of women prisoners are HIV-infected, while, in Connecticut, the rate among incarcerated women is 15 percent.

Some reports claim that New York prisons and jails show an HIV rate of 20 percent among female prisoners contrasted to 7 percent among their male counterparts. In southern and northeastern state prisons, the rate of HIV infection may be as high as 8 percent among inmates, while, Washington, D.C., shows a rate of 6.0 percent, and Massachusetts 4.0 percent. In fact, for 2003, figures on AIDS prevalence in prisons were estimated to have been higher than in the general population, namely, 0.51 percent and 0.15 percent, respectively. During the late 1990s, HIV rates among inmates released from prisons in the South were estimated at 26 percent, with 15 percent found among released former female inmates (Hammett, 2006: S17). In New York, authorities claimed then that two-thirds of their state prison population was HIV-positive. Notwithstanding these frightening and differing numbers, on one hand, the US is not the worse place on earth with high HIV rates among female prisoners. South Africa, on the other hand, is believed to house as many as 41.4 percent HIV-positive female inmates, a mirror of the three times higher general population rate of 17.8 percent. In Canada, as a whole, as recently as 2009, 4.1 percent of the incarcerated women were HIV-positive, contrasted to 1.7 percent in the male prison population.

III. Rape, Intravenous Drug use (IDU), Tattoing, and Hiv stigma

Stigma is an issue that all inmates, especially women, fear. The persistent stigma stemming from such an infectious disease as HIV/AIDS, disproportionately plagues women in prison because they know that, while in "captivity," they remain outcasts among both their male and female inmates, and that, once released from prison, society will continue to ostracize or avoid them if their health conditions are known. On this, the United Nations (1995-2012) notes that "upon release, the stigma of imprisonment weighs more heavily on women than on men." In some countries [continues the UN], "women are discriminated against and are unable to return to their communities once released from jail," even if they are not infected with HIV/AIDS or with another sexually transmitted disease (UNAIDS, 1995-2012: 2). In fact, argues Zaitzow (1999: 78), "stigma and privacy concerns [are] prominent prison context barriers to [the delivery of] HIV prevention services during incarceration." Separating, isolating, or quarantining infected prisoners is something all inmates fear. In the general population, often wealthy people are able to hide their condition through effective medication and, when they die from it, the reasons given are not always revealed. In the States, people often characterized the causes or associated factors of death euphemistically as pulmonary or respiratory complications. In Africa, for example, deaths associated with HIV/AIDS are often described as resulting from "a long illness." Within the African American community, sometimes family members may say that their relative died from sickle cell complications, such as anemia, rather than from HIV/AIDS (*New York Times*, 2004). A case highlighting the lingering stigma from HIV/AIDS allegedly occurred to an Indian woman charged in court of "fraud, cheating, criminal conspiracy" under the Indian Penal Code and Passport Act, which mandates the imprisonment of anyone involved in providing false passports and visas, of which the accused was charged in New Delhi, Haryana, and Punjab. The woman claimed in court that the wardens "beat her up badly, and got the AIDS patient to *scratch her with her nails*" (*Times of India*, 2012).

Even though HIV/AIDS is contracted mostly through sexual contact or the sharing of needles and contamination through particular body fluids, ignorance causes many people to completely avoid the infected, just as all prisons tended to isolate lepers in Biblical times and people with tuberculosis during the 19th century. In March 2010, the ACLU filed a complaint against Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina, because they segregated prisoners based on their HIV/AIDS-positivity. The ACLU (April 2010) argued that the practice was inhumane, cruel, and degrading, as it unnecessarily stigmatized individuals and violated international law. As a result, the Commission of the Mississippi Department of Corrections stopped its prisoner segregation policy. South Carolina and Alabama did not reverse their policy. One would think, however, that stigma from a disease would be much less widespread in the United States, where knowledge of the mode of transmission of HIV is expected. What contributes to the level of the HIV/AIDS stigma is that most information obtained from the tests performed in the doctor's office or at hospitals is supposed to remain confidential. In most states, however, HIV-infected inmates do not work or attend educational or vocational programs, and are usually kept "in maximum security facilities irrespective of their crime at a tremendous cost to taxpayers" (Edwards, 2010).

a) Rape and Assault of Women in US Prisons

Few Americans realize that, in the United States, even in such a confinement as the prison cell, rape is a common occurrence. According to Culture of Prison Sexual Violence (*Lockwood, 2008),* 5 percent of women say they are aware of rape occurring in the institution in which they were housed (Fleisher and

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Krienert, 2006: 15). The Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that annually 216,000 inmates are sexually abused by other inmates and prison guards" (Guerino, 2008: 11) and that the rate of rape of female inmates is 10 times higher than in the general population. This speaks volumes about the vulnerability of female prisoners to rape and sexual assault perpetrated by their fellow inmates and the prison personnel. The rate of inmate-on-inmate sexual victimization is estimated to be at least 3 times higher for female (13.7 percent) than for male prisoners (4.2 percent) (Beck and Johnson, 2008: 5). Female prisoners report not only that that staff-inmate mutual sexual relationships are common (Fleisher and Krienert, 2006: 17) but also that the relationships are similar to a barter system in which contraband or other goods are exchanged for sex. The Review Panel on Prison Rape cites the Fluvanna Correctional Center for Women as an example of what happens inside America's prisons. Of the 1,200 women in the facility, 11.4 percent said they were sexually abused by another inmate and 6 percent revealed that they had been sexually abused by staff (Kaiser & Stannow, 2012). Studies stress that such behavior is often tolerated by the prison staff, which results in female inmates not trusting the prison personnel, creating an environment that is threatening, scary, and psychologically damaging. "If we cannot trust staff to obey the rules [say the women], why should we?" (Fleisher, 2006: 17). Given the confined environment of the prison setting, the raping incidents between inmates occur often in the corner of cells, stairwells, showers, laundry rooms, and bathrooms. Staff-on-inmate rape may take place in a closet, an office, or in any locked room (Beck et al., 2008). Stories of guards watching women disrobe or use the bathroom are very common (Rosen, 2012). In instances where women and male inmates do not live in separate facilities, or where cells are adjacent to men's, women are much more vulnerable to rape and violence from both male inmates and prison guards. During the early 2000s, estimates were that 16 percent of male prisoners were "pressured or forced into sexual contact." By 2003, statistics indicated that some one million inmates "had been sexually assaulted" during the previous 20 years (http://www.org/prisons-hiv-aids.htm). While some studies also show that inmate-inmate rape occurs regularly in jails and prisons, others indicate that, even in federal prisons, the number of rapes among inmates oscillates between 9 percent and 20 percent.

Lockwood's work identifies the characteristics of sexual behavior in the prison sex culture. The book reveals that the targets tend to be white inmates, who are younger and unfamiliar with prison life, and that the aggressors are usually black. On aggressive behavior and its tactics, Lockwood writes that black women tend to be more aggressive in the prison system and that white women show aggression mainly for safety reasons (Fleisher and Krienert, 2006: 52). Research also indicates that many incarcerated women are desensitized to sexual coercion. First, some may have already been sexually assaulted prior to prison and often do not know they are being forced into a sexual relationship. Second, others participate in such behavior because they seek protection or use the relationship in an exchange for economic favors. In prison lingo, these women are known as "box whores." At this point, the coercion fades into a consensual relationship. Kaiser and his colleague add that 78.7 percent of the rapes committed by staff are often characterized as "consensual." However, it must be noted, as the two authors do, that "all sexual contacts between inmates and staff are legally nonconsensual" (2012), because there is a disproportionate imbalance of power between the inmate and the corrections officer. Over half of the women said to be willingly to have sex with staff do so to ensure that they are protected from other inmates or seek drugs/alcohol and economic favors.

Unfortunately, there are consequences to reporting rape. Many women do not report or retaliate and learn to accept the violation and may end up becoming a part of the homosexual lifestyle in the prison (Fleisher and Krienert, 2006: 178). Yet, even when a woman accepts this lifestyle, she may still be abused because she remains a victim (Fleisher & Krienert, 2006: 178). When she dares to report the rape, a woman runs the risk of being further abused by the system. As Fleisher and Krienert point out, often "Correctional officers blame victims for their victimization and officers stigmatize inmates by their failure to believe victims" (Fleisher & Krienert, 2006: 178). Indeed, if a victim does not fit into the prison officers' definition of a victim, the officer listening to the complaint does not believe that he/she was raped. Obviously, the rape of women by men always happens within a context of physical or psychological violence, which puts them at a great disadvantage. Sadly, prison experts also report that "available data indicate that rape is a disciplinary tactic and a control mechanism by prison authorities who not only ignore or do not prevent rape, but encourage it as a punishment tool" (UNAIDS, 2007: 8). Currently, there is a case under review by the Justice Department of the only women prison in Alabama, *Julia Tutwiler*. The case was brought up by the civil rights group *Equal Justice*.

Equal Justice alleges that, with knowledge by the authorities, "male corrections officers have repeatedly abused and even raped their female inmates" regularly, in exchange for "banned goods," while other guards remain on the lookout to protect their fellow ward(s). These factors place women at higher risk regarding intimacy because, as is often the case with prostitution, the paying male partner may refuse protected sex, particularly if he pays extra" for her services. Of course, we cannot overlook the prison life sub-culture, which is replete of bullies who physically

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and mentally torment their fellow inmates. Bullying is often presented in the form of physical abuse, like placing a mop on a prisoner's head and setting fire to it; making practical jokes on someone; intimidating or threatening, for example, by pouring gasoline over a prisoner's feet and "threatening to set fire to them"; sexually abusing an inmate, for example, by "masturbating another prisoner" in plain view; verbally abusing another inmate; and gossiping, spreading rumors, and ostracizing a mate (Ireland, 2002: 130).

Given that some men are already infected prior to entering prison or jail, the likelihood of transmitting HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases and infections to others is high. In 2005, Maryland and New York, for instance, housed women prisoners with an HIV rate of 10 percent partly because of a prior history of drug injection use. Such women had "sexual partners of IDUs, [had] supported themselves through sex work, and, more often than not, [had] been forced to have (unprotected) sex or [to] trade sex for housing and food" (Groot, 2005). These factors place women at higher risk regarding intimacy. Studies have also shown that female prisoners who were previously prostitutes, participated in intravenous drug use or had contact with someone who was HIV positive are keenly at risk for the AIDS virus (Kantor, 2006). Female inmates, have a higher rate of HIV virus than male inmates (2006).

Texas prisons, in particular, are notorious for sexual assaults on inmates, having been classified by the Bureau of Justice as among the 10 US prisons where between 9 percent and 16 percent of all inmates have reported incidents of rape by fellow prisoners and prison personnel (*Equal Justice*, 2012). A former prison guard, Scott L. Anderson, who lives in Port Townsend, Washington, and has conducted research on rape and sexual assault incidences in jails and prisons, estimates that 30,000 such instances occur in American prisons every year: 196,000 on male prison inmates, 123,000 on men in county jails, 40,000 on boys "either in adult prisons or juvenile facilities or lock ups," and 5,000 on women. Globally, this tool of submission is more pronounced in some countries than others. Of Africa, for example, UNAIDS says: "Rape and other forms of sexual violence among male and female prisoners are rife in African prisons, between prisoners of the same or different sex, and between staff and prisoners" (2007: 16).

b) Risk of Disease Transmission: Practices of Tattoing, Piercing and Syringe/Needle Use

Tattoing is an old practice that goes back to ancient times and must be distinguished from masquerading, whereby on paints his body or part of his body, such as the face, for group or ethnic identity, usually done on special occasions, as during the initiation of the young men and women among many African societies or in warring practices in Asia. However, tattoing resembles scarification in that it is physically intrusive and, once done, it may be almost impossible to remove the marks or incisions it leaves. In American society, especially among the young, tattoing is quite common and serves several purposes: group identity, as is the case among certain motorcycle "gangs"; attempts at looking different or a sign of rebellion against tradition; and a way of portraying meanness, machismo, unusual physical strength, or striking muscular appearance. The problem with tattoing, if not done with the proper instruments and if carried out without concern for cleanliness and one's health, may be harmful to the body. The crude "operation" is known to be a conduit of sexual infections and diseases, including HIV/AIDS, even though the rate is still being debated. The CDC study in a Georgia State Prison concluded that "Findings from the investigation demonstrated that risk behaviors such as male-male sex and tattoing are associated with HIV among inmates" (MMWR, 2006).

Unfortunately, tattoing has been allowed in virtually every prison in the US, without insistence on the part of the authorities that the practice be stopped unless certain safety precautions are taken to prevent physical injury and disease transmission. Studies conducted in prison have shown that this growing practice, which can also be a result of boredom from living behind bars, has caused or been associated with transmission of disease (MMM, 2006). As such, therefore, it endangers the health of the incarcerated population and becomes a health hazard once the inmate is released to the public. Piercing, popular among young women and certain segments of our society, can also be a health hazard, if not properly handled. Quite often, makeshift unclean instruments are used in the process, especially in a prison setting, where sharp instruments, such as needles, scissors, and syringes are not allowed. As a result, desperate inmates improvise tools from a variety of materials available on the prison premises or in the cell, using "multiple punctures" with such "recycled, sharpened and altered implements" as knives, staples, guitar strings, sewing needles, paper clips, empty plastic writing casings from pens, or plastic ink tubes from ballpoint pens (Kantor, 2006). A popular process, known as the "pluck method," involves "inserting ink with a single shared needle, which is not sterilized," proven to be a transmitter of the AIDS virus from one tattoed candidate to another, even though the rate of transmission has not been established by HIV studies.

As commonly known, most of the syringes used in prison tend to be used and re-used without sterilization, and may also carry and transmit deadly viruses to the injected individual(s). Bleach or disinfectant substances used in prisons outside the US, as is the case in some 20 European nations, including Austria and Canada, are often not available or provided in our federal or state prisons, even though these have

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been proven to reduce the use of illicit drugs through unsterilized implements. Just like careless tattoing, the use of non-sterilized syringes in prisons and our communities increases the rate of transmission of infectious diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, especially in confined quarters as the prison environment, with women inmates being at a greater risk of vulnerability to potentially deadly practice because of their already compromised health condition in jail. Given that, in most cases, women in our prisons have been incarcerated as a result of the use of illicit drugs, sometimes intravenously injected, in their communities, the prison setting heightens the chances that they will continue their habit with their new mates. This is confirmed by many research studies, including several conducted by the UN, that confirm that more women than men with drug addiction are in prison (UNAIDS, 1995-2012). Other studies indicate that "women arrested for drug-related offenses or for prostitution are at high risk for already being infected with HIV when they enter the prison system." Thus, the use of unclean syringes to satisfy the craving for being "high" seems to be riskier for female inmates. Incidentally, clean syringes are provided to inmates in many European countries but not in US prisons.

The intravenous use of drugs, especially in prison, presents at least two greater risks: Sharing unclean needles, which makes infection transmission more likely and impairs one's judgment when a decision has to be made as to whether or not to engage in risky health behavior, especially among younger and middle-age women prisoners. In fact, those familiar with the lives of women in our prisons believe that needle sharing constitutes the greatest risk for women prisoners to contract the virus associated with AIDS. Says one Prisoners' AIDS Commission member:

[Wanting] the drug is compounded by 'secrecy' and this often means that sterilizing goes out of the window. Women are depressed; they have little self-respect and feel worthless. They often come from "crisis" situations and intense pressure, especially for younger women, means respectability is lost, as are the educational messages. Only a handful bother to go through the two times water, two times bleach, two times water method and usually the same fit (needle) is used throughout; so God knows! (Walsh, 2011: 270).

The relevant question is why these unhealthy practices are allowed in prisons. Common sense would indicate that, if allowed, the responsible authorities ought to provide the proper "gear" and implements to protect the health of the inmates and the public to which these careless individuals will be eventually released. This seems more urgent particularly now that the numbers of former inmates has increased, as the absolute number of incarcerated offenders continues to rise. On releases from prison, in 1998, for example, some 11.5 million former offenders, violent and non-violent, were released from our correctional facilities and "dumped" in communities across the nation.

Many prison care advocates note that the prison environment would be much healthier if clean needles and other injection drug use equipment, such as bleach, condoms, dental dams, and lubricants, were available. Additionally, if information on safer tattoing and piercing practices were provided, and if the mental status of some prisoners, were taken into account in the process of caring for the inmates, especially the most vulnerable population, namely, women, the conditions in jail would improve. Unfortunately, the rate of infection from unclean implements in prison is not entirely clear. We only know for certain that drug use is common in prison. During the time period between 1994 and 1996, 61 percent of US inmates injected drugs into their veins compared to 27 percent of the total cases outside the prison environment (Kantor, 2006). It might be illustrative to include the following information regarding the use of needles in prison:

…Needle sharing goes on regardless of the reality of AIDS. The prisoners' peer educators seem to suggest education can only be effective if issues of self-esteem, boredom, and peer pressure and drug addiction are also addressed. They suggest, too, that the type of prison—maximum or medium security--may have a bearing on the effectiveness of HIV/AIDS education (2011: 271).

Currently known is the fact that both drug use and HIV infection are more prevalent among women in prison than among imprisoned men (UAIDS, 2012). Known also is that drug use itself, with or without sterilized needles, is a practice that many women begin engaging while in confinement, under pressure from peers, male drug users (UNAIDS, 1995-2012), and out of boredom. A Canadian study found that alcohol consumption and drugs during incarceration is significantly higher among men than women. However, it is also suggested that "length of incarceration, security level, pre-incarceration drug use, and prior regular drug use are risk factors associated with substance use during incarceration" for both men and women (Plourde et al., 2012: 506).

c) Sexual Activity and Reproductive Health in Prison

Even though most US prisons control and prohibit sexual activity on the facilities premises, it is allowed in some jurisdictions, e.g., between an inmate and his/her special visitor, such as a wife, a husband, or a boyfriend. Some US prison facilities even allow marriage ceremonies in prison. Pregnancies and child births in prison also occur frequently. Cases of pregnancy, as a result of sexual encounters or rape in prison, are also common: 4 percent in state correctional facilities, 3 percent in federal prisons, and 5 percent in jails. Unfortunately, most prisons do not provide pre- and post-natal care to expecting mothers, nutritional diet to pregnant inmates or breastfeeding mothers, or AZT

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and other modern therapies, to prevent mother-to-child vertical HIV transmission. We should mention here that vertical HIV transmission can be easily detected in the new born through simple tests and thus trace the infection to the mothers. The new rapid HIV test is done "either through a blood specimen obtained by finger stick or venipuncture or an oral fluid specimen obtained by a swab," with results being available in 20 minutes." These, however, need to be "confirmed with a Western blot essay" (Beckwith et al., 2012: S184). Unfortunately, many young women imprisoned for drug and sexual offenses never reveal that they inherited the habits or the infections from their mothers, afraid of exposing their closest relatives to the public. As noted in a United Kingdom House of Lords' report, "by putting out there that they acquired [HIV] from their mothers [or fathers], infected young women would also be exposing the fact that their mothers were injecting drugs or were engaged in sex work" (Sopha Forum Round Table, 2011: 2).

Related to family upbringing, studies from Framingham correctional facilities have found that women with a history of childhood sexual abuse are 4.5 times more likely to have participated in three risky behaviors (sex work, drug use, and non-condom use) and 2.8 times more likely to be HIV infected than women who did not report such personal history (HEPP, 1996: 2). Overall, it appears that 59 percent of women in a maximum security facility were sexually molested at home or elsewhere during childhood. Another study confirmed the association between early childhood sexual and physical abuse, drug use, and sex work (prostitution), with risky behavior in prison and the prevalence of HIV infection among inmates. Kleinman writes:

According to self-report data, as many as one-third to two-thirds of incarcerated women report prior sexual abuse and, as many as five, report a history of childhood sexual abuse. More than 80 percent of incarcerated women have experienced significant and prolonged exposure to physical abuse by family members or inmates (2007: 1-2).

One study suggests that the rate of physical sexual abuse against women ranges from 43 percent to 57 percent in state and federal prisoners some time while serving their sentences (National Commission on Correctional Health Care, 2005)

Returning to the issue of reproductive health, apparently, there are still prisons in the US where pregnant women are handcuffed in bed while in labor, or where prison guards use leg iron implements to prevent them from escaping or as punishment when they are en route to a baby delivery facility. Some states, such as California, New York, Connecticut, Illinois, and the District of Columbia, have passed statutes prohibiting the practice, which seems to be a violation of the 8th Amendment. Between 1998 and 1999, the number of children born from incarcerated mothers was estimated at 1,400, with 150 women having entered the prison system pregnant. Among all incarcerated women, in 1998, 70 percent of those in jail, 65 percent in state prisons, and 59 percent in federal prisons had a least one child born outside or inside the correctional facility. Also, in some jurisdictions, prisons allow mothers to keep their babies on prison grounds, if the latter are not given for adoption. Incidentally, women in prison still have the right to abortion, as this is the law of the land. Yet, it appears that prison authorities, depending on location, often make it difficult for women to exercise this right.

IV. HIV/AIDS and Opportunistic Sexually Transmitted Infections

a) Gonorrhea, Chlamydia, Syphilis, Trichomoniasis, Tuberculosis and Hepatitis C Virus

Sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) in general are also a major health risk in our jail and prison systems. Studies conducted in 2003, revealed that, at that time, the inmate infections rates were: gonorrhea 1.8 percent; Chlamydia 6.3 percent; and syphilis 7.5 percent. Untreated gonorrhea and Chlamydia "can lead to pelvic inflammatory disease, ectopic pregnancy, infertility, or chronic pelvic pain in women" and are "associated with increased risk for contracting HIV" (CDC, MMWR, September 1999). A study conducted by the National Commission on Correctional Health Care found that, in Rhode Island, 49 percent of the women who had contracted infectious syphilis "had been incarcerated at some point between 1992 and 1998" (National Commission on Correctional Health Care, 2005). Globally, the rates are higher, as expected, among developing and some "developed" countries. Thus, in Brazil, for example, 13.9 percent of the inmates have the AIDS virus; 16.2 percent have hepatitis C; and 22.8 percent suffer from syphilis. In 2005, in Moscow, 50 percent of the juvenile detainees had at least one form of STI, as did almost two-thirds of women "at the temporary detection centre, and three quarters of homeless women," with those at the center "showing an HIV infection rate of 4 percent, compared to 1.8 percent of the homeless men" (UNAIDS, 1995-2012: 2).

Numerous studies show higher rates of syphilis, Hepatitis C and other STIs (Cu Uvin & De Groot, 2005). We noted that the rate of HIV infection among women who are in prison is 15 times higher than that of the general population. Several other studies have indicated that STIs in women increase the risk of HIV infections from sex by two to five times than among those who do are not sexually engaged. Genital herpes, cancroids or syphilis (primary chancre stage), Chlamydia, trichomoniasis, and gonorrhea increase the risk of HIV infection, because "any genital ulceration or other disruptions of the normal mucosal defense mechanisms

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make it easier for HIV to enter the bloodstream." Trichomoniasis (or "trick") is a sexually transmitted infection caused by a protozoan parasite. This micro-organism infects at least 3.7 million people in the US annually, particularly women, who do not know they are infected. Some of its symptoms include pain during urination, discomfort during intercourse in both men and women, and vaginal itching and irritation in women. It has been confirmed that women with STIs "also have an associated diminished immune response, making infection with HIV more likely" (Reyes, 2010: 4). Furthermore, scientists know that lowered immunity from STIs, "combined with the presence of genital ulcers, creates additional likelihood of HIV infection, if exposure takes place."

The incidence of tuberculosis (TB) has been increasing at an alarming rate worldwide, affecting 7-8 million people at present. TB contagion is a common occurrence in prison settings, including the US, where medical advances are capable of eliminating or reducing its spread to a minimum. Known as the most common opportunistic disease in its relation to HIV/AIDS, due to its ability to further weaken the immune system, TB has also been associated with drug use, common in US prisons, where one–third of the women inmates are serving sentences for drug offenses compared to only one-fifth of the male inmates. Obviously, the reasons why men and women are incarcerated vary, but, between the two, "injecting drug users and sex offenders are overrepresented," circumstances that favor the spread of related illnesses, such as TB, among both men and women. However, given the prevalence of "multiple-risk factors" among the prison populations, including, generally, lower inmates' socio-economic status, overcrowding, poor ventilation, poor light, and poor hygiene settings, all of which enhance the spread of TB, women are more vulnerable to its contagion than men. The rapid spread of TB in prisons is also attributed to delay or absence of testing, lack of isolation of infectious individuals "during diagnosis," absence of adequate "supervision or of medication and treatment, lack of follow-up," non-compliance, frequent transfers from prison to prison stemming from repeated offenses, overcrowding and the resulting turn over, and inadequate screening or testing of both the facilities' personnel or staff and inmates (Kantor, 2006). Studies conducted on HIV and TB co-infections among released prisoners between 1993 and 2003 revealed a prevalence of 3.8 percent among former inmates, comparatively three to four times higher than it is within the general population.

Hepatitis C Virus infection (HCV) is also becoming a major problem in our prisons, some studies suggesting a rate of 40 percent among inmates, even higher than the HIV infections, and is common among injection drug users (Hammett et al, 1999). In 1999, New York, at times called the "epicenter of HIV infections" in its prisons, housed women inmates whose rate of hepatitis C was 20 percent, the same state prison system showing higher rates of such chronic ailments as asthma, diabetes, and heart disease than the general population. In California, the rate of HCV infection among incoming inmates was 41 percent in 1999, and its prevalence was found to be higher among women than men (Ruiz and Mikanda, 1994). Female inmates hit by HIV/AIDS, TB, Hepatitis C, and other diseases, often including chronic ailments like diabetes and heart problems, should be a concern for all involved and ensure, to the extent possible, that, when released, they adjust to community life, particularly in cases where no relative comes forth to claim them. Transmitted through contaminated blood, Hepatitis C is a viral disease that causes liver inflammation and damage. The disease can remain asymptomatic for years. A nationwide study on women's HIV and Hepatitis C prevention needs in prison by the Prisoners' HIV/AIDS Support Action Network (PASAN) in Canada, a country that, in general, tends to provide better health care than the US, revealed that:

> …Current programs and services were plagued by inconsistent implementation and accessibility. This was found within individual institutions and across the national systems as a whole. The study also identified that confidentiality was a major concern of inmates seeking harm reduction of HIV-related services. New and innovative approaches to meet the HIV and Hepatitis prevention needs of women across Canada are crucial (Mc William et al., 2005: 1).

b) Women Mental Illness and Prison Life

It is estimated that some 450 million people worldwide experience mental or behavioral disorders, "especially prevalent in prison populations" (Brinded, 2001: 35). Prison health experts are convinced that, among incarcerated women, the rate of mental illness is high, some calling it "a common co-morbidity for the HIV infected," obviously complicating the issue of handling HIV/AIDS. In 2004, for example, 37 percent of female inmates in the US were diagnosed as mentally ill or showed mental illness symptoms, compared to 55 percent among incarcerated men or those receiving professional treatment the year prior to their incarceration. Prevalence of serious mental illness in prisons appears to be high also, "ranging from 7 to 16 percent, or... four times higher for men and eight times higher for women than rates found in the general population" (Abram, K.L., & Teplin, L.A. 1991). One study also found that, among the mentally ill inmates who were never treated, only 25 percent of federal, 29.6 percent of state, and 38.5 percent of local prisoners were under psychiatric medication when they were arrested (Wilper, 2009: 1). The rates on mental illness in prison seem to be worse in New York, where, at the beginning of 2007, over 42 percent of the female inmate population had "serious mental illness, compared to

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only 12 percent among the male prisoners" (Stern, 2011). This situation is expected, given that the US has had a long history of neglect of the mentally ill, often relegating their care and treatment to relatives or private organizations such as the church.

c) Homosexual and Lesbian Sexual Activity in US Prisons

It is also common knowledge that tearing and bleeding, as might occur during "rough intercourse," particularly with younger males or during rape, dry sex (i.e., sex without natural or artificial lubrication), anal intercourse without lubrication, and sexual activity without a condom are high risk activities. Anal intercourse, for example, common among homosexual partners, is particularly risky, "as the anal mucosa is fragile and can easily tear and bleed" (Reyes, 2010: 198). Studies have also shown that HIV heterosexual transmission is "more likely man-woman than woman-man," the rate being as high as eight times likely from man-woman than vice-versa;" and "taking vaginal intercourse into account, anal sex enhances the risk of transmission for both man and woman." Clearly, the higher the number of men infected, as in a prison setting, the riskier it is for female sex partners. It is also common knowledge that, in prison (as well as outside prison), women are sometimes forced to engage in intercourse with an HIV-infected man during menstruation or when bleeding from other causes. Under such conditions, sexual contact presents a higher risk to the female involved. It is also important to note that certain HIV "sub-types," (e. g, HIV-2 in parts of Africa and HIV-1 in the West) do have a bearing on the degree of risk for women. Finally, younger women are at a higher risk of contracting HIV because their genital tract is not fully developed, especially the "immature cervical epithelium," and the "scant vaginal secretions in adolescent women," which present as an enhanced port of entry for the virus to the genital area. Under normal conditions, the genial tract functions as a strong barrier to the most devastating destroyer of the human immune system, HIV.

It is natural, then, that, in prison, as well as outside prison, the question arises as to whether woman-woman sex might be safer. Unfortunately, lesbian sexual activity, especially now that the laws discriminating against lesbians, homosexuals, and trans-vestals, are being eliminated and marriages allowed by a growing number of states--reducing the need for one to relegate his or her sexual orientation to the closet--requires further and more in-depth studies chronicling the frequency and the rate of HIV/AIDS and opportunistic infections. Some experts believe that oral sex seems to constitute "low risk," even though the evidence is debatable. However, sex toys or dildos are a risk, as they may be contaminated by vaginal secretions and may also cause "trauma to the genital tract." The same can be said of such latex barriers as dental dams," or the "newer user-specific items encouraged in woman-woman sex." The so-called dental dams, popular among lesbian partners, are defined as "latex sheets that are used by dentists to cover the mouth while working on one tooth," believed to prevent contact with HIV concentrated fluid during oral sex. Reyes ends his remarks by stressing that "what makes the risk for HIV transmission difficult to assess is that woman-to-woman sex individuals often inject drugs, engage in commercial sex, and often have sex with bisexual and heterosexual men as well" (2010: 200). Unfortunately, dams have not been available in correctional facilities, and many women who use them, consider them uncomfortable and "an obstacle to sexual pleasure" (Walsh, 2011), just as many men feel about a condom.

Homosexuality is a common occurrence in US prisons where men forcibly congregate and where women as inmates are fewer (see Eigenberg, 2000). A 1982 study concluded that 30 percent of males in federal prisons engaged in homosexual activity while serving their sentences. In 1984, figures in Tennessee prisons suggested that 17 percent of the inmates engaged in homosexuality, and that, in most cases, the victims and perpetrators come from economically low backgrounds. Additionally, one study found that one-fourth of the HIV-positive individuals in the US have been inmates once and that, when released, present a major risk to the general population. In New York, where the frequency of sexual activities is known, inmates avail themselves of "makeshift devices" for safer sex, including latex gloves, when condoms are not available. Mississippi, Vermont, and some major metropolitan centers such as New York City, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and the District of Columbia, distribute condoms to their inmates. It is also interesting that, so far, evidence suggests that virtually no HIV infections have been found among prison staff from their inmate contact. Methadone, unlike in the US, is made available to prisoners in most Western such as Canada and Austria, and in some Eastern European countries. In 2009, some 2,195 [HIV infected women] and 19,808 infected men were in prison, representing 7 percent of inmates nationally. The relative large number of women behind bars prompted researchers to posit that "…high incarceration rates increase risk behaviors associated with HIV by skewing the ratio of women to men, worsening economic conditions and increasing the social capital of men who are not imprisoned" *(New York Times*, 2004).

In confinement settings, such as jails and prisons, the following HIV infection symptoms, which most often differ between men and women, may provide further awareness of the state of the virus in the human body and perhaps help protect the health of vulnerable female inmates. These include, but are not limited, to: The rate of Kaposi's Sarcoma (KS), more frequent in homosexual and bisexual men, much less seen in

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heterosexual men, and said to manifest in less than 2 percent of infected women; "invasive" cervical cancer often associated with HIV; fever, muscular and joint pain, diarrhea, vomiting, and swollen glands in women (according to doctors, swollen lymph glands, if found elsewhere in the inguinal region, "is the only physical finding that may be more common in women with HIV than men") (Reyes, 2010: 201). However, it is important to emphasize that as many as 40 percent of HIV infected women do not present these clinical symptoms at the onset of the infection. Other symptoms in women may include, beside swollen lymph nodes: Bacterial pneumonia, acute retroviral syndrome, and oral thrush (oropharyngeal *candidiasis*). Finally, for prison inmates, "bacterial infections, particularly respiratory ones with Streptococcus pneumonia and *hemophilus influenzae,* occur more frequently in intravenous drug users with HIV" (in both men and women), gynecological disorders, particularly pelvic inflammatory disease (PID), infections resulting in abnormal pap smear (called cervical dysplasia, as noted above), and chronic yeast infections.

d) Other HIV Prison Risks

Furthermore, due to the association of violence and rape in prison, women (and men) may face instances of biting, splattered blood, and partners' or rapists' body fluids, lacerations, bleeding in two or more participants, and more frequently when there are two or more inmates in a single cell, as is the case in many of the overcrowded prison facilities in the US. Naturally, such conditions may contribute to the spread of HIV infection. Experts also say that women face far more risks from natural and man-caused calamities, seem to take monogamy more seriously than men, who may engage in extramarital relationships with impunity, feel disproportionately the impact of wars and refugee conditions, as well as the devastating effect of rape and other types of violence, and divorce. In most cases, however, sexual activity in prisons is considered a crime, and is usually non-consensual, at least at the beginning. Yet, this does not deter inmates. Such conditions, have led many women into a state of despair and behavior that is sexually risky, and drug use and abuse, all of which have landed some in jail or prison in the first place, and, in many cases, into prostitution or sex work. All these factors increase a woman's risk of incarceration and getting careless about her health while in prison. It is clear that the prison environment tends to reinforce women's previous behaviors, which might make them easy preys of their aggressive male and female inmate sexual predators

e) HIV/AIDS-Related Deaths in US Prisons

Given the contradictory statistics and incomplete research on AIDS-related deaths, discussion of the issue is brief in this study. Even though some data on causes of prison deaths are available, in most cases are only estimates, which have to be revised by the Bureau of Justice Statistics frequently. Also, quite often, data are not segregated by gender and, at times, the federal government might provide state prisons' death numbers and rates per 100,000 persons, but not report deaths in its prisons. Overall, it appears that, in 2007, 130 state and federal prisoners died from AIDS while confined to correctional facilities. Gender-based rates in federal statistics have not, as well, been as consistently reported. For example, the report put out by the Bureau of Statistics in September 2012 notes that, in 2010, "the estimated rate of HIV/AIDS among state and federal prisoners dropped to 146/*10,000* [sic] inmates from *194/10,000* cases in 2001, representing a drop rate of 3 percent each year. The report then inconsistently adds: "Whereas *male death rates* from HIV/AIDS declined from 19,337 at the end of 2009 to 19,027 at the end of 2010, the number of *females with AIDS* decreased from 1,853 to 1,756. This is "fuzzy" math, given that the comparison should focus on absolute numbers and deaths, and comparative death rates between *male and female prisoners*, as the first statistic data noted here suggested. The first HIV/AIDS- related death was announced in New York in 1981. Since the 1980s to 2012, official statistics have shown that 619,000 Americans have died from AIDS complications, with one million people currently living with AIDS. One-third among them are unaware of their condition. Also, currently, the incidence or rate of new AIDS cases stands at 40,000, with African Americans and Hispanics experiencing six times and three times that rate, respectively, compared to whites.

V. Discussion

a) Criminal Activity among Female Offenders

Statistics on women offenders who have been imprisoned give us a clear idea of how men and women differ in the commission of "crime," as summarized by Kimberly Cellica. This known researcher informs her readers that, among women who are charged with drug/alcohol use infractions, only 1 percent are chronic adult criminal recidivists, compared to 6 percent among the men. Overall, only 10 percent of women are charged with negligent manslaughter, 12 percent of larceny, 12 percent of Larson, 31 percent of fraud, 14 percent of drug possession, 11 percent of drug trafficking, and only 1 percent of sexual assault. In other words, most female inmates have been incarcerated for crimes related to "drug use, property, or public order." Indeed, of the 14 percent violent crimes committed by women in our society, 75 percent are "simple assault" cases, and 28 percent are committed by female minors. It is also known that, in most cases, or in 75 percent of the infractions, women victimize other women (rather than men) whom, in 62 percent of the cases, they knew.

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Statistics also show (Cellica, 2013) that homicides committed by women against an intimate partner or relative (60 percent of the cases) have been on the decline since 1993. Revealing is also the fact that "women who kill are much less likely than men to have a criminal history, they are more likely to have killed as a result of domestic violence," and often play only an ancillary role to men even on drug crimes. In Cellica's findings, women "occupy the lowest levels of the economic drug ladder" by serving as the "look outs, steerers, or sellers" (Cellica, 2013: 5). Given their minor role in drug crime, Cellica notes, women are more prone to be caught by law enforcement because they are more visible on the streets and their arrest is much easier than that of the actual perpetrators of drug trafficking, i.e., the men. Noteworthy also about women offenders is that, unlike men, the limited role they play in these types of crime "precludes them from obtaining information on higher-ups'" which might "help them to plea bargain." In fact, a August 10, 2012 CNN Report noted that "While women's own drug use is often assumed to be a major co-factor for both HIV and incarceration…, most women offenders are arrested because they couldn't or wouldn't snitch on boyfriends, husbands, or casual acquaintances" (Martinez, *CNN Report*, August 10, 2012). It is under these difficult conditions for women that male drug users refuse protection during sexual activity and prevail over their female partners who might insist on safe sex, reflecting what often goes on in the general public and the prison environment. For women, cultural norms and practices have a strong bearing on men's imposition of their will and use of physical force to obtain what they want. These include: gender inequalities in most societies, to the detriment of women; lack of employment and lower educational levels for women generally; and higher levels of poverty among women, even in the US. Indeed, most women offenders have not had steady employment, and 30 percent are said to rely on public assistance. Reports are that over 50 percent of women inmates and some 75 of women in jail have been unemployed and, in fact, some women state that "they committed their offense to finance purchases" (Baldwin, 2000: 2). Studies and experience have suggested that women who were not involved in rehabilitation programs "were 10 times more likely to be sent back to prison within a year." One-third of those who were not in any program returned to prison in six months (*Free Alcoholism Newsletter*, 2011: 1).

b) The Minorities Issue and Specific Women's Needs

The debate over the optimal set up and proper management of prisons and their populations are unending and have attracted the attention of the best minds and the most ardent defenders of human rights over the past centuries. This work, could not, therefore, purport to provide solutions to the issues plaguing our jails and prison facilities. However, like others before, it has exposed what is lacking in the system regarding the conditions under which some of the most vulnerable members of our society, children, and young adolescents, female citizens, and the mentally-ill live when incarcerated. Studies and experience have made it crystal clear that the so-called "war on drugs" has been overplayed, committing to prison confinement an untold number of law-abiding citizens who are prosecuted daily for the possession and use of ridiculously small, insignificant numbers of "illicit" drugs. Unfortunately, the prosecutions have fallen unevenly on minorities, especially African Americans and Latinos, women, and the poor.

The unmitigated rush to incarcerate targeted society's sub-groups, hoping to solve crime and maintain pristine the social environment from which it grows, while protecting white collar crime, for example, has resulted in blatant social injustice, unfairness, and overcrowding in our correctional facilities, a bonanza complex that feeds private corporations and state operations, assisted by the failure of an educational system that, in many ways, has turned, at least in some states and poor counties and cities, into prison pipelines. Our prisons have become the breeding ground for sexually transmitted infectious diseases and violence, and cesspool clusters of horrendous consequences from the rape of women, sexual assault, deprivation of one's privacy and confidentiality, and female prisoner's physical and psychological insecurity coming from both the inmates and the very individuals chosen to protect them, the prison authorities and the wardens, especially in such states as Florida, New York, South Carolina, Texas, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Oklahoma, all done under the banner of ridding society of the "wretched of the earth."

The issue of a clear separation of facilities for women and men, especially when dealing with hard core criminals, such as rapists, incorrigible intravenous drug users, violent drug dealers, and murderers, is no brainer: A humane and realistically implementable separation of inmates to protect women and female adolescents ought to be one of the top priorities of prison policy and the daily concern of prison authorities. To protect the health and safety of the female prisoners, testing for HIV seems to be a reasonable step, as recommended by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, particularly among entering inmates. Experts argue about the merit of prisons' "voluntary" versus "mandatory" testing-screening or none for HIV/AIDS, TB, Hepatitis C, and many sexually transmitted infections, of which some can result in deadly diseases for a number of prison inmates. National statistics seem to indicate that, of the reporting 51 facilities, 16 state prisons screened all inmates, five only at the request of the inmate, 27 screened for HIV, and three had a random screening policy (Hammett et al., 1999). A study published in the *American Journal of Public Health* (2012) recommends that "Correctional facilities should

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provide detainees with routine opt-out HIV testing, unless the prevalence of previously undiagnosed HIV infection has been documented to be less than 0.1 percent" (Van Handel et al., 2012: S201). The cardinal principle ought to be the protection of the most vulnerable in the "human jungle" society has created, with a view towards preserving the welfare of the community and society-at-large through effective rehabilitative programs for those accused of insignificant acts classified as "crimes."

HIV testing in jail or prison protects the general public when inmates are released. To illustrate this point, we might mention that New York released 630,000 inmates in 2005, with at least 50 percent of them not tested for HIV while in prison or prior to "unleashing" them to the general public. Finally, testing is particularly useful to minorities, black women, in particular, as long as these are not specifically targeted and singled out and thus stigmatized, given that studies show that, in the US, "64 percent of new HIV infections occur in black women, who are also disproportionately represented in correctional facilities due to overwhelmingly institutionalized racism" (Kleinman, 2007: 1). What contributes to resistance from female inmates against screening and testing is the often intrusive nature of the process and the fact that the prison system seems to be unable to explain clearly the purpose and the manner in which tests are performed. Alarmingly, reports indicate that guards harass, degrade, grope and sexually abuse female inmates during body searches (Rosen, 2012). When, for example, the prison personnel carries out the type of search sometimes called "digital body cavity search," which allows the guard to land his fingers in "a prisoner's nose, mouth, anus, or vagina," with such disregard for individual privacy, can only be characterized as intrusive. Critical searches should be held on a case-by-case basis and reserved for specific individuals suspected, for example, of concealing weapons, and not as a random act of intimidation and breach of sanctioned authority (Stern, 2011). In fact, on the issue of testing, studies have shown that women prisoners are less opposed to it when they understand the reasons. In North Carolina, for example, 680 or 84 percent of 805 female inmates consulted did not mind revealing their medical history to researchers, and 71 percent accepted being tested. Regrettably, until 2004, only 19 states had mandatory testing of HIV for their inmates (Stern, 2001).

Conducted in 1991, this same study noted that "HIV testing was associated with accepting money or drugs for sex and conviction for a drug but not with drug injection, drug injecting sex partners, and a history of sexually transmitted disease" (Colten-Oldenburg et al., 1991: 28). Significantly, the North Carolina prison researchers added that testing was becoming more acceptable even among female prisoners "potentially at risk for HIV, especially women inmates who exchanged sex for money or drugs." Understandably, testing should always be accompanied by counseling, open discussion of the modes of transmission of infectious diseases, sexuality, condom use, safe forms of sexual activity, and other important information related to health, female reproductive health, follow-up compliance, and treatment through such protocol as AZT. AZT has been found to be effective in studies conducted in Africa and elsewhere, where treatment of STIs decreased HIV transmission by 4 percent.

VI. Recommendations on Female Prisoners' Care and Direction of Future Research

a) *Health Care Services for Women and Human Rights*

The latest figures on the rate of HIV/AIDS in the US among prisoners are said to have declined considerably since 1999, even though prison populations are "disproportionately represented in the HIV epidemic." Overall [says the Bureau of Justice Statistics], 2.2 percent of state inmates and 0.8 percent of federal prisoners are known to be HIV-positive, and, by the end of 2000, 5,528 of them were diagnosed with AIDS (Maruschack, 2002). However, studies have also found that women who are at highest risk of HIV infection are "unaware of their risk, have little or no access to HIV prevention, and are afraid, for fear of violence, to ask their partners to use condoms."

The advancement of women's rights, health, and safety in jails and prisons, which are clearly being violated by some in our prison system, requires implementation of steps and policies that have been upheld by the international community. Women's needs in jail and prison must be a consistent concern for the authorities. In fact, these should be "categorized" and separated from men's needs, as several experts have advocated. For centuries now, prisons have essentially catered for the needs of male prisoners. It is high time that prison facilities provide women with the health services that are equivalent to those available in the community, and actively involve them, including the mentally-ill, in "HIV prevention, treatment, care, and support programs…" that will positively affect their lives. Obviously, in correctional facilities, female inmates must have greater access, e.g., to showers, clean toilets, sanitary napkins, as well as to doctors, especially during the most critical months of their biological cycle, and be allowed to spend quality time with their babies.

It is also important to demand, on the one hand, that women continue to receive adequate health care, even though they may have tested negative for HIV and other sexually- and non-sexually transmitted diseases, such as AIDS, tuberculosis, hepatitis C, and be provided "non-judgmental education around risk and prevention methods." On the other hand, prison staff need to be thoroughly familiar with the social, psychological and

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physical hazards facing women in jail and prison--what the United Nations calls "increased professional capacity-building opportunities on HIV in prisons," through counselors, social workers, doctors, nurses, staff, and pharmacists--and be mindful of the principles of respect and fair treatment of all inmates, particularly women. Naturally, some cultural competence training should be required of prison wards so that they can provide "a more ethical response to the cultural differences of offenders and reduce conflict between personnel and offenders" (Myers, 2000: 184). The Association Nurses' AIDS Care laments that "A by-product of the recent 'confinement era' within the criminal justice is the influx of ill and generally unhealthy female offenders into this nation's correctional institutions," a situation that can only be remedied through gender-appropriate programs and facilities that meet women's health needs (Zaitzoo, 1999: 78).

It is also incumbent upon our prison authorities to help women follow-up on their medical and prescriptions appointments and coordinate schedules with such care providers as pharmacists, physicians, social workers, counselors, and psychiatrists. Additionally, and more importantly, our society and those charged with the responsibility of running our prison system must never cease to tap into better evidence-based alternatives to incarceration or imprisonment, and ensure that inmates who commit violent acts such as assault and rape against women, are appropriately punished, while enacting "gender-sensitive legislation, penal policies and prison rules," as recommended by international community. Finally, the penal system should never cease to "monitor and evaluate HIV risks for women in prison and responses."

b) Community Re-Adjustment Rehabilitative Skills

It stands to reason that, even though release from prison should be a happy moment, finding a home and a proper location to live, a safe environment enhanced by medical facilities, and work opportunities, ought to be a responsibility shared between the former inmate and the prison authorities or other appropriate agencies prior to and following release, as specified by policies and practices. We know that the average sentence time for all offenses is three years for women and five for men and, for violent offenses and illicit drug use, is four and seven years for women and men, respectively (Greenfield and Snell, 1999). It makes sense, therefore, that prisons provide opportunities for inmates to acquire skills that will help them find gainful employment once they are released. In fact, what Cellica characterizes "invisible punishment" for released inmates, that is, the disenfranchisement, limited access to employment, loss of parental rights to foster care, if involved in drug trafficking, unavailability of state and federal assistance for college, and loss of public assistance they face, must as well be a concern of our prison system. Scholars have clearly demonstrated that "having a job directly influences whether an ex-offender commits further crimes. Other studies show that, former prisoners who land a job, "are between 30-50 percent less likely to re-offend" (Murray, 2012). Unfortunately, most of the hardships noted here are the result of the "one strike" rule, which keeps the inmate's prison record until she/he does not recidivate. One study conducted on substance abuse offenders concluded that:

One-third had lost parental rights to a child, these mothers were young, but had more children, were less likely to have ever worked or been married, initiated regular drug use at a younger age, and were more likely to have been in foster care or adopted themselves and to have engaged in sex work. Higher self-efficacy, decision making ability, social conformity, and childhood problems were associated with less risky parental attitudes, whereas depression, lower education, and *non-White ethnicity* were associated with greater risk" (Grella and Greenwell, 2006: 89).

The New York Times (6 August 2006) reported the adventures and opinions of two HIV–infected former inmates as they described the first weeks following release from jail. One confessed that "the first weekend after release is consumed with sex—with prostitutes, old flings, fresh one-night stands or a combination of thereof" [sic]. Another, who had been infected through heterosexual sex and had served a four-year sentence, provided this information about the women he knew:

A lot of women, they are looking for a man to give them a sense of strength, a sense of authority… Men come out of prison; they are all big, great muscles, looking good. And the women, they're all up on them. It's not like people don't' know they are putting themselves at risk. They just don't care.

If this is true of men and women just released from prison, what happens to women who leave jail or prison and have no one to welcome them? Interviewing women ex-prisoners on such issues might provide an insight into prison life.

c) Special Needs of Women Populations in Southern Prisons

Researchers have pointed out that, since more women with HIV/AIDS and STDs are incarcerated in rural southern prisons, a special and concerted effort should be made in this region to "deploy programs for prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of infectious diseases and other health problems" because "such interventions, as well as interventions focused on the rural communities themselves, would benefit not only males and released prisoners, but also the larger public health" (Hammett, 2006: S17). In addition, women's support groups in the prison facility, such as the well known Texas' *Love Me Tender,* can also play a crucial role in building self-confidence among women inmates, provide emotional support, and suggest safe activities

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while in prison and upon release. In Walsh's view, these activities can also serve to inform "*gaol* superintendents about HIV-positive prisoners' needs" (Walsh, 2011: 271). Support group programs should focus on issues important to women, as suggested by Cellica, including: HIV and the immune system; stigma and blame; transmission of HIV and STIs; risky behavior and risk reduction; contraception; self-esteem; nutrition; women's issues; medications; HIV testing and partner notification; opportunistic infections; living with HIV/AIDS; video viewing and discussion; and anything else that will empower women to take control of their lives and negotiate sexual behavior that protects both partners. Additionally, if well handled, the prison facility could be the place where destitute and unhealthy poor inmates and future freed prisoners have an opportunity to receive needed health care and counseling (Reyes, 2010: 193). Important are the studies that have shown, in fact, that "…incarceration itself has no adverse impact in clinical outcome when inmates are given adequate clinical care and provided an opportunity to access it" (Stephenson and Lore, 2005). Southerner prison authorities need to take the findings of recent studies seriously and realize that using prisons or jails as a deterrent to intravenous drug users, for example, does not work, unless specific and effective alternative programs are provided (Freedman et al., 2011: 344).

d) Future Research

On future research, it is obvious that, given the various statistical contradictions floating around in the literature on HIV and female prisoners, more in-depth and better organized interdisciplinary studies are needed. These ought to be conducted by scholars and practitioners in public health, social work, psychology, and sociology, to enhance the myriads of assessments of the lives of women prisoners on such issues as HIV/AIDS and opportunistic infections and diseases. Former inmates' rates of success in re-adjusting to life in the community also deserve special attention from researchers, as we know that, unable to cope with the new realities, many revert to the same offenses that landed them in a confinement facility, and more so if they are infected, sick, and abandoned by relatives and friends.

Continued careful studies of innovative prison policies in various US states would go a long way toward our understanding and reduction of the violence perpetrated against women in prisons and the personal coping mechanisms they use to survive in such a hostile environment. Indeed, as Welch et al. note, "Scholarship over the past three decades has generated considerable insight into the roles of the media [e.g., *The New York Time*], politicians, and law enforcement officials in constructing images of criminal justice; still, that body of research has rarely ventured into the realm of corrections" (Welch et al., 2000: 245). She suggests that current research in this area, which began during the early 1900s (Hensley et al., 2000), has been biased toward the official view of our prison system and has not focused on the conditions prevailing in the prisons themselves. Only now, for example, is the issue of sex in prisons being brought to light. Mental health is certainly an area that needs considerable research. Why is it, for example, that "Us-born Caribbean black fathers [have] alarmingly high rates of most disorders, including depression, anxiety, and substance disorders?" (Doyle et al., 2012: S222).

Important also are study projects that deal with second-time offenders who are forced to return to a life in prison, comparing their previous and new survival techniques, attitudes, and approaches to risky behavior, their views on testing for infections and diseases, and their attitudes toward sexual violence and the rape of women. Last but not least, since we live in a shrinking world, given the rapid technological advances, instant and fast travel modes, and the rising overcrowding conditions that breed the conditions for both chronic and infectious diseases vividly reflected in our prison systems, ecological or global comparative studies of HIV/AIDS among female inmates would help drive across the urgency for nations to work together and enact national and international policies that address the health and human needs of the largest segment of the human population, women. On this issue, in 1992, the United Nations (WHO) announced that the US was one of the four of 19 states in the West that did not have a national policy on HIV management in its prisons at the time. Unfortunately, till today, America still does not have a comprehensive national policy on its prison system.

We could not end this work without noting the nefarious consequences of the Zero Tolerance Law [Gun-Free School Act (GFSA)] passed by Congress in 1994, mentioned in the first section of this work. Can the American public, federal and state legislatures, and our justice system wonder why our prisons are the way they are in terms of the racial, ethnic, gender, and age composition of their prison populations, and the precarious safety and human conditions prisoners face, especially women inmates, fairly or unfairly, behind bars? Considering the best practice-based alternatives to children's incarceration being suggested and adopted across the country, no valid reason seems to justify why racially- and ethnically-skewed approaches continue to poison our educational system.

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Global Journal of Human Social Science
Political Science
Volume 13 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2013
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Age of Security and Democracy, Nigerian Example: The Way Forward

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Abstract - This paper deals with the travails of national security in the context of democracy and urbanism. It argues that the securitization of democracy has undermined democratic freedoms. Central to the arguments is that the constrain of democracy in Africa has been the reduction of its principles to serve sentiment of the developing community. It further argues that democracy should be seen as an essentially contested concept, not in ways that denies its core values but that recognize its pluralism. It is this pluralism of democracy that creates the lacuna that in many cases contravene some basic security values such as force and precision particularly in city centers. Democracy in Nigeria attempt compromising security into face saving agenda. This constitutes threat to its essence and commitment to order and obedience. This unfortunately caught most African police napping helplessly. The paper concludes with some ways forward.

Keywords : national security, democracy, security, democratic values, security values, pluralism, social conflict.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 810107p

THE AGEOFSECURITY AND DEMOCRACYNIGERIANEXAMPLETHE WAYFORWARD

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The Age of Security and Democracy, Nigerian Example: The Way Forward

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Abstract - This paper deals with the travails of national security in the context of democracy and urbanism. It argues that the securitization of democracy has undermined democratic freedoms. Central to the arguments is that the constrain of democracy in Africa has been the reduction of its principles to serve sentiment of the developing community. It further argues that democracy should be seen as an essentially contested concept, not in ways that denies its core values but that recognize its pluralism. It is this pluralism of democracy that creates the lacuna that in many cases contravene some basic security values such as force and precision particularly in city centers. Democracy in Nigeria attempt compromising security into face saving agenda. This constitutes threat to its essence and commitment to order and obedience. This unfortunately caught most African police napping helplessly. The paper concludes with some ways forward.

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I. Introduction

Since the acts of violence that destroyed the Twin Towers and a wing of the Pentagon building on September 11, 2001; freedoms and liberties have been restrained around the world in Europe and the US, citizens have become used to stories of extraordinary rendition of foreign detainees, of torture of prisoners, of Guantanamo Bay, as well as a host of new and increased policing powers all in the name of protecting democracy. This is the politics of exceptionalism, where the suspension of liberties and rights is just in the name of defending democracy. As the UK Prime Minister at the time, Tony Blair, put it: 'Here in this country and in other nations round the world, laws will be changed, not to deny basic liberties but to prevent their abuse and protect the most basic liberty of all: freedom terror' (Blair, 2001).

The theme of democracy promotion has not been absent from the 'climate of fear'. On the contrary, in some ways in the age of security democracy has been presented as more imperative than ever – to be promoted everywhere, even if it requires force, as Iraq and Afghanistan illustrate. Understandably, this has caused a lot of unease. As Carothers argues, democracy promotion has been tainted by its association with the war in Iraq and in large part of the world has come to be understood as a codeword for 'regime change' (Abrahamsen, 2000).

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In Africa too democracy and security have proved awkward bedfellows. Invocations of 'security' have helped justify restrictions on freedoms and liberty, and suspicions abound that they allies in the 'war on terror' escape international criticism and sanctions against their less than perfect elections and democratic practices. Such concerns come on top of widespread disillusionment with democracy's achievements on the African continent, leading some to speak of Africa's crisis of democracy', or Africa's 'non-transition'. For example, a recent edited collection where African intellectuals reflect on the fate of liberal democracy on the continent concludes with the rather despairing observation that 'current democratic practice and process have been dysfunctional in Africa'.5 Across the continent, the authors contend, liberal democracy has been hijacked by existing political elite in order to preserve their own power and privileges, reducing electoral processes and elections to mere charades where people are as powerless and as poor as they were in the day of authoritarian rule. Their words; not mine- and of course, it is dangerous to generalize too much, and while it is definitely possible to point to beacons of hope and to countries that have achieved genuine improvements in terms is of democracy and poverty reduction, it hard to escape a pervasive sense of disappointment with Africa's democratic experiment.

In the face of such challenges and critiques, some might be tempted to give up on democracy altogether, to say that it is not for Africa. Others might want to side with those in the so-called 'sequencing debate' that hold that democracy must wait until economic growth and reform has reach a certain level, that democracy is, so to speak, a luxury to be deferred (Chua, 2004).

This is not my approach-on the contrary. More than ever it is crucial to defend democracy, and democracy as a value in itself. As such, I side with Nigeria's great political scientist, the late Clauda Ake, who more than ten years ago in 1996 observed that 'Africans are seeking democracy as a matter of survival' (Ake, 1996). Importantly, for Ake, democracy was not simply a matter of multi-party elections, but also fundamentally about the democratisation of economic opportunities and social improvements. As such he draws attention to the notion of democracy as an essentially contested concept, a concept whose meaning is not set in stone, is not everywhere and always the same, but is always in a process of becoming, always under construction, open to

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transformation, adaptation, innovation and improvement.

As we enter the post-Bush era, we should seize the opportunity to explore the extent to which democracy can be loosened from security concerns and the politics of exceptionalism. In other words, we should seek to rethink democracy and democracy promotion in ways where it is no longer constrained and undermined in the name of security. But that in itself will not be enough.

I develop this argument by first focusing on the conception of democracy in develop discourse and foreign policy, showing that the manner in which democracy has been defined is part of the explanation for Africa's troubled democratic experiment. I then turn to the fate of democracy in the age of security, and the outline some of the anti-democratic effects of the securitization of development. It is here that I think the notion of democracy as an essentially contested concept is useful.

To be clear at the outset: while I do focus on the role of external actors, and more particularly the impact of international development discourse and practice, this is not to say that donors and creditors are to blame for whatever democratic shortcomings we may see in Africa, or that the local political elites that Ake also mentions are without responsibility for the current situation. Far from it! But it is important to consider Africa's democracies in their global context, not only because the initial transitions to democracy in the early 1990s were profoundly influenced by changes in development policy, but also because contemporary international practices continue to have an important impact on the conduct of elections and politics on the continent. Thus, while development and democratisation are frequently presented as the external solutions to Africa's domestic problems, it is crucial to consider the extent to which these two realms – the internal and the external- are intrinsically interwoven. In other words, it is crucial to consider the possibility that the so-called 'internal' problems that democracy and development are intended to solve are in fact related to those 'external' conditions in the first place.

II. The Changing Outcome of Democracy in Development Discuss

Democracy, when it emerged as a central tenet of development in the early 1990s was presented as an uncontested concept, its meaning clearly defined and delineated. For that reason alone, it is worth revisiting the changing fate of democracy in development discourse especially its status in developing countries such as Nigeria.

Early theories and models in the 1950s and 1960s perceived development as a relatively unproblematic process of transition from 'traditional' society to 'modernity'. History was seen as a linear progression, and the counties of the South were expected to follow the same development path as the already industrialized parts of the globe. Inspired by the structural functionalism of Talcott Parsons, these early development models were mainly concerned with stimulating economic growth, as all the essential features of modernity were expected to spring from economic prosperity. As societies developed, their various economic, social, cultural and political properties would adjust to of development had been reached, it was assumed that democracy would materialize in the same way as it had in conjunction with capitalism and the process of industrialization in the West. As Gabriel Almond put it in 1970, 'in the new and modernizing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The process of enlightenment and democratization will have their inevitable way' (Almond, 1970).

The status of democracy as an unquestionable goal and inevitable outcome of the process of development was, however, short-lived and soon gave way to a new normative perspective that upheld political order and stability as its main values. This transformation must be seen in the context of the intensification of cold war rivalries in the mid-1960, which provided the conditions of existence for discourse about developing countries in the following decades. In the light of cold war competition, the realities of Third World economic stagnation and social discontent were reinterpreted. What was previously regarded as a primarily economic challenge and a testing ground for various growth models now became a breeding ground for Communism. To allow political freedom to flourish in such conditions came to be seen as a potentially hazardous strategy, and a fundamental of modernization was replaced by the perception of an essential conflict between the process of modernization and political development. The social transformations associated with rapid economic change, such as urbanization. Increased social differentiation and the provision of education were participation. And while such pressures were recognized as intrinsic features of the modern polity. They were simultaneously feared as potentially destabilizing and detrimental. In a classic contribution to this literature, Pool reasoned that 'in the Congo, in the Dominican Republic, it is clear that order depends on somehow compelling newly mobilized strata to return to a measure of passivity and defeatism from which they have been aroused by the process of modernization. At least temporarily, the maintenance of order requires a lowering of newly acquired expectations and levels of political activity' (De Sola, 1967) by placing such a high premium on order and stability, the central dilemma became how to achieve praise, but the most inconspicuous aspects of development were treated with suspicion. Education, Huntington in relation to India: 'political participation by illiterates …may well…be less dangerous to criteria for judging the desirability of

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social reforms can be seen to change from their perceived socio-economic benefits to their capacity to enhance political stability. Accordingly, measures that entailed curbing the privileges of the elite were to be avoided, as were reforms aimed at enhancing the liberties of urban middle classes. In sum, 'reforms directed at the peasantry are a substitute for revolution' (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2005). We see here then, an early linking of democracy and security in development discourse and practice.

Although the intensity of superpower rivalries gradually faded, democracy continued to occupy a subservient position within development discourse. Many donors, especially the Nordic countries, expressed their concern for the poor human rights record in recipient states, but liberal democracy was not a main priority of development aid. Rather it was treated as irrelevant to the development process, banished to the sideline by more immediate concerns like famine, hunger, and over-population. Child mortality and illiteracy. Faced with such a plethora of daunting problems, the absence of civil and political freedoms seemed only a small oversight and an influential body of opinion held that strong, or perhaps even authoritarian, government was more important to developing countries than 'adherence to the niceties of liberal democratic constitutionalism' (Emerson, 1971). African countries were accordingly expected to 'forgo the luxury of conventional democratic institutions and processes' for some time to come (Hodder, 1987).

III. Democracy as Security Strategy

While many aspects of democracy promotion have reminded unchanging, the 'climate of fear' that followed September 11, 2001 has seen a subtle re-interpretation of the meaning and status of democracy in development. We need to pause here, and distinguish between the acts of violence that took place on the day and the politics of insecurity that they gave rise to (Cambell, 2002). The two are not the same, in that acts of violence do not speak for themselves, but are interpreted and given meaning by political actors. The events of September 11 has been interpreted so as to result in a general politics of insecurity and fear, and a policy response that paradoxically threatens the very democracy it claims to defend. As Timothy Garton Ash has observed, the conduct of the 'war on terrorism' and 'this atmosphere of menace' might end up being as much a threat to our own freedoms as terrorism itself (Garton, 2002).

How has this played itself out in relation to development and democracy in Africa, and with what consequences? While there were few, if any, direct links between the attacks of September 11 and African, the continent was quickly draw into a new discourse of security and has increasingly come to be seen as a potential security threat. This has centered on a discourse of 'failed' and 'failing' states, and underdevelopment and poverty have become increasingly securitized. Whereas in the past, 'weak', 'failed' or 'fragile' states were regarded as unfortunate development failures, humanitarian crises or low intensity conflicts, the fight against terrorism has elevated them to the status of international security threats, a danger not only to their own neglected and poor populations, but also to world stability. the view was most clearly and straightforwardly stated in the 2002 Security Strategy Of the United States of America, which maintained that the 'events of September 11 2001 taught us that weak states, like Afghanistan, can pose as great a danger to our national interest as strong states' (US Government, 2002). 'In Africa', the document continues, 'promise and opportunity sit side by side with disease, war and desperate poverty. This threatens both the core values of the United States-preserving human dignity- and our strategic priority-combating global terror'.

Similarly, the former UK Foreign Secretary Jack Straw argued 'that turning a blind eye to the breakdown of order in any part of the world, however distant, invites direct threats to our national security and well-being' (Straw, 2002). Tellingly, Straw's comments then turned directly to the DRC, and he also specifically mentions Somalia and Liberia as security risks. From the perspective of many rich, Western countries, poor and badly governed states have come to be seen as potential breeding grounds and safe havens for a murky underworld of international terrorism and criminal networks, and in this way development assistance becomes not merely about helping others, but also about defending 'ourselves'(Blair, 2005). Democracy and democracy promotion likewise risk becoming subservient to the perceived security needs of the donor countries and a vaguely defined notion of world stability.

Democracy, in other words, has become part of a broader security strategy, and risks being seen not first and foremost a value in and of itself, but a means to the end of security. My suggestion is not that Western donors have abandoned democracy altogether-that would be way too exaggerated a claim. As part of the securitization of development, Western leaders extol liberal democracy as a solution to international insecurity, echoing the Kantian notion of democracies as inherently more peaceful and reliable international partners. Former Prime Minister Tony Blair, for example, argued passionately that 'if we can establish and spread the values of liberty, the rule of law, human rights, and an open society then that is in our national interests too. The Spread of our values makes us safer' (Blair, 1999). And while much has been made of the Bush administration's emphasis on pre-emptive action, one of the pillars of the US security strategy is to 'extend the peace by seeking to extend the benefits of freedom and prosperity across the globe'. In short, democracy,

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accountability, and freedom are seen as the basis of security, and must therefore be spread to all corners of the globe, (if necessary by force, as in Iraq).

There is much to commend this view, and the UK Department of International Development might well be right when it claims that 'development and security goals can be pursued in a mutually reinforcing way' (DFID, 2005). The common observation that poverty might lead to radicalization and hence, subsequently, to terrorist violence might also capture important elements of contemporary social and political dynamics, and should not be dismissed lightly. But care is needed: democracy and security might well be two sides of the same coin, in the sense that they are mutually constitutive and reinforcing. But the analogy can be put differently; flip a coin, as it spins in the air both sides are visible, but when it lands, one side is up, the other down. The fear, in other words, is that development assistance might end up being driven by the security interests of donors, regardless of the recipient's records on democracy and human rights, or that we might witness the emergence of a 'new cold war' in development aid, where assistance is rewarded in exchange for allegiance in the 'war against terrorism' and access to natural resources, as feared by several NGOs (Cosgrave, 2004). The EU's Declaration on Combating Terrorism, which states that 'the commitment of countries to combat terrorism on an ongoing basis' would be an influencing factors in EU relations with countries, is a case in point (Gaves, 2006).

A look at recent developments in parts of Africa seems to confirm these concerns: continued and increasing development assistance to Algeria, a key North African ally in the 'war on terro', for example, is a case in point. In Algeria, democratic space has been gradually closed down and civil society-trade unions, political parties, associations and the media-have been subjected to stringent surveillance by the security services, all in the name of the 'war on terror'. In another key ally-state, Ethiopia, the recent local elections were seriously flawed and marked a return to electoral authoritarianism (Aalen and Tronvold, 2009). Yet the international community has been entirely silent. Neither supporting, nor deploying election observers, the donor community could keep quiet in the aftermath, as they supposedly had no substantial and independent observations as a basis for judgment (Aalen and Tronvold, 2009). The US has continued its strong support for Meles Zenawi and his government, who play a key role in the 'war on terror' in the Horn of Africa. The opposition parties have come to recognize that they cannot depend on the international community for help in pushing for democratisation, and lament that with continued US support for the Zenawi government, prospects for anything like a free and fair election in 2010 are very bleak indeed.

More examples could be given; of particular interest perhaps is the establishment of AFRICOM and also the British counter – terrorism initiative, launched in 2003 and designed to develop the 'counter-terrorism and security capacity of weaker nations so as to best support them in protecting our share interests (Whitaker, 2008).

My key point is that securitization of development is replete with dangers for democracy in Africa. There is the danger that it gives African political leaders another justification for restricting freedom and clamping down on dissident voices; there is the danger that aid might be redirected towards countries and groups that are believed to pose the greatest security threat, rather than towards those in greatest need, and there is the danger that key allies are allowed to substitute democracy and human rights for support in the 'war on terror. It is perhaps in this context that we can make sense of the concept of 'good enough governance', now so popular in discussions of 'failed' and 'failing' states (DFID, 2005).

IV. In Defense of Democracy

In the age of security, we could do well to remember Benjamin Franklin's statement that 'those who would give up essential liberties to purchase a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety'. Similarly, in the age of security it is more important than ever to defend democracy and to restate its value as a goal in and of itself, and not as a means to an end (security). But at the same time it is clear from this brief historical overview that we cannot simply go back to the kind of democracy promoted in the 1990s. If we accept my argument that the linking of democracy to economic liberalization is in important ways part of the explanation for the widespread disillusionment with democracy on the African continent, then we need to think afresh. If this understanding of democracy has led to the emergence of fragile and exclusionary democracies, then what many Western governments today perceive as 'security risks', i.e. 'failed' and 'failing' states are in fact linked to development policies in the first place in the sense that decades of structural adjustment polices and state curtailment led to a gradual weakening of the capacities of the African state both to serve and to secure its citizens. As such, development policies have been part of the problem of 'failed' or 'weak' states, and this alerts us once again to the necessity of a more inclusive approach to democracy in Africa.

The key question of our time is thus how to defend a democracy that is not allied to an economic liberalism of inequality and not subservient to the demands of security? Let me say at once, that I do not think the answer is to b found in some predefined model of democracy, that exists somewhere in prefabricated form, ready to be exported and assembled anywhere in

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the world. Instead, my argument is for a re-engagement with the notion of democracy as an essentially contested concept, one of those concepts where a neutral definition is impossible as rival definitions embody different and indeterminate social and political allegiances and operate within a particular moral and political perspective (Abrahamsen, 2005). It is precisely this notion of contestability that has been banished from contemporary debates about democracy, and that we need to bring back.

To say that democracy is essentially contested, however, does not mean that it has no core features, but instead that these features may differ in time and place. Nor does it necessarily entail a complete relativism, where any practice or system can be labeled democratic, but leads instead towards a greater plurality and contestation of forms and models of democracy. Following Charles Tilly, it is instructive to approach democracy as a particular form of citizenship, and as such it combines broad and relatively equal citizenship with (a) binding consultation of citizens in regard to state personnel and policies as well as (b) protection of citizens from arbitrary state action (Tilly, 1997). Two points follow from this understanding. First, this approach to democracy takes the focus away from particular institutional arrangements, and opens up the possibility that it might be about more than simply elections and institutions, whereby democracy becomes a political system divorced from its broader social and economic settings. It does not imply that elections are unimportant, but allows for the possibility that different forms of institutional arrangements-not only party political competition-can promote democracy, participation and accountability. As such, it allows us to see the possibility of different forms of democracy, perhaps drawing on established democratic theories or models, or perhaps developing what some might want to call a specific African democracy, or different African democracies.

Second, this understanding of democracy does not specify a particular distribution of wealth, or absolute equality, but it specifies instead equal claims on and from the state in a person's capacity as citizen. As such, it refrains from linking democracy to a specific economic policy, but instead leaves that open to democratic negotiation, something for each polity to decide. We are thus back to democracy and development policy, in that it highlights the need for development actors and democracy promoters to allow and even support democratic negotiation over economic policy to take place. In such a setting, we can see the possibility of the emergence of economic policies that are more inclusive and more responsive to the needs of the majority of citizens.

My claim is not that this is a perfect understanding of democracy, nor the only one. For example, this understanding ties democracy to citizenship, and thus leaves open the question of global democracy, the democratisation of global institutions, and also the democratic rights of migrants as non-citizens. These are important questions for democratic theory, and again highlight the need for debate on the very meaning of democracy.

I began by saying that these have been hard times for democracy. Perhaps, as we enter the post-Bush era, we are also looking forward to better times for democracy. Of course, security imperative are not likely to disappear overnight, nor am I suggesting that some of these concerns are not also real and important. But this is an opportune time to challenge the dynamics whereby democracy has come to be bound to security in ways that whether intentionally or not have undermined and threatened democratic freedoms. If this is the case, then this also an urgent time to restate the possibility of rethinking democracy and its relationship to development in a more inclusive ways, and in ways that allow for multiple and plural ways of constructing democracy. As Ake reminds us, 'Africans are seeking democracy as a matter of survival'. I believe this is still the case, and even if in some countries public confidence in democracy is declining, most surveys confirm that African people show a high degree of enthusiasm for democracy and that they believe the democratic form of government to be more legitimate and more desirable than all other forms of governance.43 However, we need to ask the question of what kind of democracy, or 'whose democracy'? In order to do so, it is useful to remind ourselves about the contestability of democracy: Liberal democracy procedural democracy linked to market liberalism is only one of many possible democracies in political theory. Africa's democratic experiment shows that much is to be gained from exploring these alternatives.

V. The Way Out of Security Threats Across the Sahara

The revolutions in the north have inspired sub-Saharan Africans. We can only hope the region's leaders take note. Women demonstrate in the Ivory Coast to condemn the killings at last week's rally and demand Laurent Gbagbo steps down. Photograph: Sia Kambou/AFP/Getty Images. As protests against authoritarian rule spread throughout North Africa and the Middle East, I've been asked whether similar pro-democracy protests could take place in sub-Saharan Africa too. At first glance, the conditions appear ripe. Many sub-Saharan Africans also struggle daily with the consequences of poor governance, stagnating economies and dehumanizing poverty, and rampant violations of human rights.

It's difficult for an outsider to know the local reasons why people in any society finally decide they've had enough of their leaders and rise up against them. It's also dangerous to assume that revolutions occurring

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simultaneously have the same root causes. But certain factors do help explain the volatility in North Africa and the relative quiet to the south – and why that may not persist indefinitely. The first is the idea of the nation itself, along with regional identity. Because the great majority of peoples of North Africa and the Middle East are Arabs, their ethnic, linguistic, religious, and cultural connections provide a degree of solidarity within and across national boundaries. The majority think less along ethnic and more along lines of national identity. Al-Jazeera provides a wealth of information in the region's common language, Arabic, and allows one country's news to reach a broad regional swathe practically instantaneously.

Many in the younger generation are well-educated professionals, eager to make their voices heard. And in Tahrir Square, we heard the protesters chant: "We are all Egyptians," no matter where they came from in Egypt, their social status, or even their religion (Egypt has a small but significant population of Coptic Christians). That sense of national identity was essential to their success. But that national spirit, sadly, is lacking in much of sub-Saharan Africa. For decades, under colonial rule and since independence, many leaders have exploited their peoples' ethnic rivalries and linguistic differences to sow division and maintain their ethnic group's hold on power and the country's purse strings. To this day, in many such states, ethnicity has greater resonance than national identity. Instead of encouraging inter-ethnic understanding and solidarity, leaders have set communities against each other in a struggle for resources and power, making it difficult for citizens to join together for the national interest.

A second factor is the role of the military. The Egyptian army's decision not to fire on protesters was key to the success of the February revolution. Sadly, we couldn't expect the same in sub-Saharan Africa, where in many – if not most – nations both police and army are sources of instability and rancor. Quite often soldiers are hired, paid and promoted by the man in power. As a result, their first loyalty is not to the nation, but to whoever is in the state house. In addition, the majority of the army's recruits may be drawn from the leader's ethnic group, especially if the leader has been in power for many years. Since it isn't likely that the soldiers' micro-nation (tribe) would be demonstrating in the streets, it can be relatively easy for them to open fire on protesters with a certain sense of impunity. More tragic evidence of this was provided last week when unarmed women expressing their opinion about the disputed election in Ivory Coast were mown down by troops loyal to the incumbent president. Not only was this a clear violation of human rights, but evidence of recklessness and impunity, and the extreme lengths to which leaders will go to protect their power.

A third factor is the flow of information. North Africans' geographic proximity to Europe and the ability of significant numbers to travel or study abroad have exposed them to other influences and horizons. Many have access to the latest technology and the wherewithal to use social media to communicate and organize to great effect. But the large majority of people in sub-Saharan Africa don't have access to the same levels of education, or information and technology. It may be that their media are controlled by the state, or independent voices are so worried about being harassed or shut down that they censor themselves or shy away from politics altogether. These constraints make it difficult for ordinary citizens to understand how their governments operate, and less able to calibrate the power of a united and determined people.

Finally, our people tend to tolerate poor governance and fear both their perceived lack of power and their leaders. This year in North Africa enough people shed their fear of losing jobs and property, of reprisals, detention, torture and even death. Until a critical mass does the same, its unlikely sub-Saharan Africa will emulate the kind of "people power" we've seen in the north. Even so, many sub-Saharan leaders must be paying close attention and asking themselves: "Could it happen here – my people rising up against me?" Some will make changes, perhaps cosmetic, to appease their populations; others may take bigger steps. One lesson I hope all will draw is that it's better to leave office respected for working for what they believed was the common good, rather than risk being driven out, repudiated and humiliated, by their own people. Even though internet-organized pro-democracy protests earlier this week in Luanda, Angola's capital, were broken up by security forces and the protesters threatened with harsh reprisals by a senior member of the ruling party – tactics we have seen used in numerous African regimes over the years – the truth is that people are not rising up without reason. They are unhappy with how they are being governed and have tried others methods to bring about change that haven't worked.

A wind is blowing. It is heading south, and won't be suppressed forever. In Ivory Coast, despite last week's brutal attack, on the eve of International Women's Day hundreds of women marched to the spot where their colleagues were killed, a clear demonstration that, slowly but surely, even Africans south of the Sahara will shed their fear and confront their dictatorial leaders. The women's bravery will be an inspiration to others in Africa and elsewhere. Eventually the information gap in sub-Saharan Africa will be bridged, partly because the world is not closed anymore: al-Jazeera, CNN and mobile phones – all available in sub-Saharan Africa – mean information can be transferred instantly. There is no doubt that those in the south are watching what's happening in the north. I also hope that the extraordinary events in the north encourage all leaders to provide the governance, development, equity and

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equality, and respect for human rights their people deserve – and to end the culture of impunity. If its member states are slow to recognize the inevitability of change, let us hope that the African Union encourages heads of state to acknowledge that Africa cannot remain an island where leaders continue in office for decades, depriving their people of their rights, violating their freedoms, and impoverishing them.

The way forward is that since in conflict and war, Africa and all its peoples lose. It would be so much better to see Africa awake and have revolutions brought about by the ballot box in free and fair elections, instead of by tanks and bullets. After all, this argument may not always apply to urban crime and violence, which, while considerably more complicated, both at the individual and societal level, is nevertheless not a preferred occupation if people have other opportunities that allow them to earn incomes to meet their needs.

VI. The Threat of Urban Crime in Africa

Violent crime in Africa's cities is endemic and in many places worsening. Africa as a whole has a homicide rate of 20 per 100,000 (in Europe it is 5.4, in North America 6.5, and in South America 25.9) (Henderson, 1993). The problem is particularly severe in some urban areas. Kinshasa's homicide rate is estimated to be as high as 112 homicides per 100,000. The Nigerian police have recorded consistently rising rates of murder and attempted murder over the last 20 years (Federal Office of Statistics (FOS), 2006). Rates of armed robbery in Africa are also very high. In Nairobi, 37 percent of residents reported being victims. The rate is 27 percent in some Mozambican cities and 21 percent in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (UNDP, 2005). Research at a Cape Town hospital revealed that 94 percent of patients had at some point faced exposure to violence. South Africa Police Service figures also show an alarming rise in sexual crimes, with 27 percent of men indicating they had committed rape (Beall, 2008).

Whatever the accuracy of crime statistics in Africa, the perception of growing danger has generated widespread anxiety. In Lagos, Nigeria, 70 percent of respondents in a city-wide survey were fearful of being victims of crime. In Nairobi, more than half of the citizens worry about crime "all the time" or "very often (UNDP, 2005)." A World Bank study in Zambia uncovered such a significant fear of crime that it affected the work decisions of teachers.8 Anecdotal accounts among city dwellers across Africa indicate that urban crime rates have increased rapidly in the last two decades, contributing to pervasive fears that impede commerce, fray social capital, and undermine normal urban activity. Violent crime is a daily threat for many city dwellers.

Such high crime rates have many contributing factors. To a large extent they are not surprising given Africa's poverty coupled with its proximity to wealth in cities. The continent's many protracted conflicts have also undoubtedly played a role. Many African cities have either directly faced war or suffered the social and economic consequences of conflict elsewhere in the country. These conflicts have produced violent political cultures and have traumatized, divided, and further impoverished societies. They have also fostered the availability of firearms. The percentage of city households claiming to own firearms in 2005 was 18.3 in South Africa, 22.1 in Namibia, 31.1 in the DRC, and 56.3 in Burundi (Sachikonye, 2002).

Global processes also lie behind Africa's rising urban crime. While the continent's growing integration with international trade has introduced new commodities and market opportunities, it also has attracted illicit businesses, protection rackets, smuggling, and money laundering. New understandings of acceptable practices of livelihood formation have accompanied rising organized crime (The Economist, 2008). Now, the path to success is often perceived as having less to do with education and hard work than with criminality, illicit deals, and trickery.

Africa's weak security services and large numbers of unemployed or underemployed people desperate to earn a living make it an attractive base for international criminals. The United Nations (UN) Office on Drugs and Crime has identified West Africa, with its ineffective policing and bribable governments and security forces, as an emerging narcoregion that provides a convenient halfway stop for Latin American drug traders exporting to Europe. Such international crime offers insurgents, militias, extreme political groups, and terrorist organizations opportunities for financing their activities. For instance, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) is reported to allow, at a price, heavily armed convoys transporting drugs from West Africa across territory it controls (Hodder, 1987). Other terrorist groups based in Africa support themselves by kidnapping.

The upsurge in urban crime is aggravating other sources of instability. It deters the building of sustainable political institutions, economic growth, and social reconciliation (Igwe, 2010). High crime rates similarly undermine trust in and respect for government, constraining its ability to provide leadership and foster popular participation. These concerns, in turn, depress both domestic and international investment and further weaken economic prospects. The growing threats to stability posed by these internally focused security challenges underscore the expanding importance of Africa's police forces for national security. Indeed, there is a growing recognition that Africa's security forces need to be realigned toward the police to better meet its contemporary internal security challenges.

VII. The Weakness of Africa's Police

The sobering reality, however, is that the police in Africa have not had great success in dealing with urban crime. A difficult environment, the police force's

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traditional disinterest in the poor, and lack of resources both in terms of personnel and in skills and equipment hamper its ability to be effective.

Too often police presence in the high-density locations where most city dwellers live is only sporadic and the number of officers available is very small. Those who are available are commonly undertrained and may even lack literacy skills. Moreover, African governments often severely lack resources, institutional capacity, and in some cases control of territory. Available resources have commonly been tilted heavily toward the military over the police. This preference for the military has weakened the police, who lack management and technical skills, interagency coordination, communication equipment, transport, and even lighting, office space, filing cabinets, stationery, computers, uniforms, and forensic labs-all undermining effectiveness.

Compounding these challenges is a long history of police neglect, corruption, and impunity common in Africa, having its roots in part in coercive colonial policing practices. One continent-wide analysis argues that the police in most African countries are "significantly brutal, corrupt, inefficient, unresponsive and unaccountable to the generality of the population (Kruijt and Koonings, 1999)." Indeed, multiple reports from Amnesty International, the International Bar Association, the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, and other respected international research institutes have frequently documented and criticized police behavior across the continent (HRW, 2008). *Afro barometer* data found that only a minority of citizens in countries such as Benin, Zambia, Nigeria, South Africa, and Kenya trusted their police force "a lot" or "somewhat."

When police agencies in Africa are working in post conflict situations, they face an even tougher environment. Commonly, in the immediate aftermath, it is found that police personnel have abandoned their posts, been killed, or are no longer suitable for further employment because they committed human rights abuses. For instance, during Sierra Leone's civil war approximately 900 police officers were killed and a considerable number suffered amputation. As a result, the size of the police force was reduced from 9,317 to 6,600 such that for years after the civil war, police commanders across Sierra Leone reported a serious lack of officers, vehicles, land phones, and accommodation for the officers (HRW, 2008). Thus, in a post-conflict situation there is a double dilemma. On the one hand, mechanisms of social order have been undermined, poverty has been exacerbated, and there is a surfeit of weapons and unemployed excombatants. On the other hand, the available resources and security personnel have been reduced, and respect for the agencies may have been diminished still further because of conflict abuses.

Many African governments have introduced new police restructuring, training, and oversight bodies but with limited success. Accordingly, few citizens expect a rapid transformation of policing and police forces. Rather, many continue to doubt their governments' ability and willingness to finance the necessary steps that promise police availability, accountability, and integrity, effectiveness, and community partnership. Their scepticism is reinforced by continuing media accounts of police abuse and collaboration with criminals and citizens' daily encounters paying bribes to police to allow them through traffic check points (Alemika, 2004) or to investigate crimes.

This experience has driven many citizens to look elsewhere for protection. As one Nairobi citizen said, "If you do not make an extra arrangement for security beyond what the state provides, then you are vulnerable to attacks (Agbaje, 1999)." In short, official police protection is insufficient to address the growing violence experienced in many African cities. Even local police commanders recognize the need to supplement their weakly performing personnel.

VIII. A Program for Tackling Urban Crime

Programs for addressing urban crime in Africa must take into account two facts: One, the state police are too weak to undertake the task of crime prevention and investigation by themselves. Two, there are in fact many non-state actors who currently provide the majority of everyday policing in cities. To establish a state police service sufficiently large and equipped to serve all citizens would take years and would be beyond many African state budgets to achieve or to sustain. Conversely, supporting non-state actors already on the ground and who meet certain standards is much less costly and likely to be more sustainable. What is needed, then, is a coordinated program of targeted assistance for community-based and commercial non-state policing in addition to the support given to state policing (Paddy, 1999).

Such a program would not need to start from scratch with unfamiliar actors but could draw on existing though often overlooked successful local partnerships that contribute tangible results and efficiencies. By facilitating such partnerships, international donors can also help address concerns of poor and marginalized communities that make up sizable portions of Africa's growing urban areas. Partnerships also prevent non-state actors and state police from being totally autonomous and acting with impunity. Through semiformal partnerships, non-state actors more often integrate and conform to generally accepted policing standards (Paddy, 1999). State-non-state policing partnerships also boost efficiency and performance. Some might fear that support to non-state actors will divert precious resources away from formal policing.

However, most non-state actors require fairly minimal support. They do not use expensive buildings, computers, and vehicles or pay high salaries. A small

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investment in non-state actors produces benefits for the state police in terms of increased personnel on the ground and enhanced intelligence. Moreover, this can be done alongside state police capacity building initiatives. As such, it constitutes no significant threat to police productivity. On the contrary, partnership permits a division of labour where the police can concentrate on their most essential functions and make use of their special skills, authority, and expertise while non-state actors can undertake their own low-level and everyday policing needs (with backup support from state police in cases where they cannot cope). To better capitalize on these advantages, several priority steps should be taken as *ways forward such as:*

1. *Know the actors and set benchmarks for partnership.* It is vital first to map non-state policing groups, for it is not always obvious who is working in the field, what they are doing, and how. From such a mapping exercise it is important to identify the policing groups who should be supported. Reliable and effective non-state partners will be those groups most open to reform and, above all, those that enjoy widespread local support. Non-state police actors will perform best when they are perceived as legitimate and effective by those they are policing. However, the bar of acceptability should not be set so high as to require a non-state group to meet current international standards. After all, few police forces in Africa would qualify by that criterion. What is important is that a policing group has local credibility, is not criminal or abusive, and is open to reform.
2. *Devise performance guidelines and supervisory mechanisms.* An overarching framework of policing standards to guide performance, procedures, jurisdictions, interventions, and other regular activities of non-state policing actors should be developed. An accreditation program that acknowledges demonstrable knowledge and skills of non-state actors would also be beneficial. It could offer a degree of legitimacy to the non-state actors and opportunities to monitor and improve their performance. Accredited non-state policing groups that sign up to a framework of standards could also be held accountable by city-wide structures. Drawing on the Cape Town Partnership model, state police would play a city-wide supervisory and coordinating role. They would receive reports of threatening activity, request a response from non-state policing groups, and determine when the situation demands for the state police to be called in.

It is important to acknowledge that it is not just the non-state actors that should have their standards raised. The skills of both partners need to improve. Both sides are then likely to increasingly respect and trust one another and both will gain the support of the people when they demonstrate that they are responsive to local needs and skilled in their respective areas of specialization. This would entail non-state actors solving routine local problems of crime and disorder. The police, in turn, will focus on specialized or more complex criminal investigations and handling major problems.

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Global Journal of Human Social Science
Political Science
Volume 13 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2013
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Addressing the Insecurity Challenge in Nigeria: The Imperative of Moral Values and Virtue Ethics

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Abstract - The insecurity challenge in Nigeria has assumed a formidable dimension that not only requires a multistakeholder approach, as it is being touted in various quarters, in quelling this conflagration threatening Nigeria's statehood, but also necessitates a revival and reinforcement of moral values and virtues. The thirst for blood and the preference for violence in expressing pent-up frustration and disenchantment with the state, its citizens and national totems may be a pointer to the need to revive moral values and virtues within the socioeconomic, political, religious and educational institutions in the country. Nigerian leaders, politicians and their amen corners must be forced to evince and uphold moral values and virtues in all their conduct in order to lead by example and to avoid heating up the polity unnecessarily by their conducts and comments which sometimes incite violence in their followers.

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GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 750404, 220199

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Addressing the Insecurity Challenge in Nigeria: The Imperative of Moral Values and Virtue Ethics

Onifade Comfort [α], Imhonopi David [σ] & Urim Ugochukwu Moses [ρ]

Abstract - The insecurity challenge in Nigeria has assumed a formidable dimension that not only requires a multi-stakeholder approach, as it is being touted in various quarters, in quelling this conflagration threatening Nigeria's statehood, but also necessitates a revival and reinforcement of moral values and virtues. The thirst for blood and the preference for violence in expressing pent-up frustration and disenchantment with the state, its citizens and national totems may be a pointer to the need to revive moral values and virtues within the socio-economic, political, religious and educational institutions in the country. Nigerian leaders, politicians and their amen corners must be forced to evince and uphold moral values and virtues in all their conduct in order to lead by example and to avoid heating up the polity unnecessarily by their conducts and comments which sometimes incite violence in their followers. This study advocates that the country should begin to live by the credo that no leader's political ambition is worth the drop of any Nigerian's blood. It also argues that when moral values are subscribed to by leaders, they will not be involved in the manipulation of the electoral process, official corruption and other vices which fester the deep wounds already nursed by different segments in the polity. Consequently, the security challenge in Nigeria throws a moral challenge to all and sundry to live by high moral standards that place a value on life, that seek peaceful means to conflict resolution and that promote justice, equity, fairness and empathy in the country.

Keywords : insecurity; politics; moral values; virtue ethics; moral leadership.

I. Introduction

Lately, Nigeria has been enmeshed in a firebox of insecurity leading to scores of deaths of innocent civilians, foreigners, some members of the nation's security personnel, elected officials and many government workers. The insecurity challenge has assumed formidable dimensions forcing the country's political and economic managers and, indeed the entire nation, to rue the loss of their loved ones, investments and absence of safety in most parts of the country. The number of violent crimes such as kidnappings, ritual killings, carjackings, suicide bombings, religious killings, politically-motivated killing and violence, ethnic clashes, armed banditry and others has increasingly become the regular signature that characterises life in Nigeria since 2009 (Imhonopi & Urim, 2012). Government has tried everything from "force-for-force" to carrot-and-stick approach to diplomacy but the problem seems to rise with greater monstrosity like the proverbial phoenix. There has also been strong advocacy for a multi-stakeholder intervention to the insecurity question rather than lean on military options alone (Imhonopi & Urim, 2013; Open Society, 2012; Ujomu, 2001), but the problem has defied the present medication it is getting. This may not be unconnected with the increasing ethnic hate, religious bigotry, political rivalry and a growing population of disgruntled citizens in the country who feel that they have been short-changed and given very limited or no access to the common patrimony. Egwu (2001) had made this observation when he argued that the primordial tendencies of various ethnic groups towards violence, the perennial eruption of various ethnic militias and the preponderant religious fundamentalism in place, given expression to by some sections of the dominant religious establishments in Nigeria, have inevitably aggravated the scale and propensity of insecurity and widened its scope in various ramifications.

Not only has the continued state of insecurity threatened the very fabric of national integration in the country and created the ecology of fear, disquiet and anxiety, it has also meted a deadly blow or what Imhonopi & Urim (2012) call "spectral bite" to industrial development. The destruction of the badly needed infrastructure has taken the country many years backwards. The government has continued to trudge on in the face of this daring challenge and has continued to evolve strategies to contain or douse this conflagration. Meanwhile, academic writers, social researchers, scholars, security experts and consultants have also not rested in making diverse recommendations and probable solutions to address this national blight. In this paper, focus is on examining the contributions moral values and virtues can make in tackling insecurity in Nigeria. This study is helped by the groundbreaking scholarly work of Ujomu (2001) where he argued that examining the moral foundations of national security was all the more significant because the trend of events in the history of military and economic growth in Nigeria, especially under the erstwhile military regimes of Babangida and Abacha, pointed to a familiar pattern of ethical degeneration and moral depravity which led to the systematic and institutionalised erosion of personal and collective peace, safety, stability and harmony within the Nigerian society. Close to this, the need for an

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examination of the ethical basis of the problematic social relations in Nigeria was accentuated by former President Obasanjo in his October 1999 National Day speech, where he drew the attention of an anxious nation to the need to regenerate the moral foundations of all actions and to continue to search for the conditions that would make Nigeria a just, free and wealthy society (Obasanjo, 1999). His statement revealed that Nigeria was yet to achieve the much desired ethical conduct requisite for sound social relations which could guarantee the maintenance of security, peace and order in the country (Ujomu, 2001). This paper therefore seeks to widen this conversation by investigating the role a reawakening of moral values and virtues in the country can play in subduing the monstrosity of insecurity in the country.

II. Conceptual Analysis

To ably define insecurity, it is pertinent to have a brief discussion on what security is. The first duty of a government is to keep its citizens safe because like Hobbes observed, only the state has the wherewithal to guarantee security and save society from anarchy (and since government represents the state), the state through its government should provide adequate security to justify its raison d'être (Gaskin, 1996). In this wise, Omede (2012) sees security as a dynamic condition which involves the relative ability of a state to counter threats to its core values and interests. McGrew (1988) holds that the security of a nation hangs on two important pillars which are (1) the maintenance and protection of the socioeconomic order in the face of internal and external threat and (2) the promotion of a preferred international order, which minimises the threat to core values and interests, as well as to the domestic order. For Nwolise (2006), security is an all-encompassing condition which suggests that a territory must be secured by a network of armed forces; that the sovereignty of the state must be guaranteed by a democratic and patriotic government, which in turn must be protected by the military, police and the people themselves; that the people must not only be secured from external attacks but also from devastating consequences of internal upheavals such as unemployment, hunger, starvation, diseases, ignorance, homelessness, environmental degradation and pollution cum socio-economic injustices. Citing Rothschild, Nwagboso (2012) argues that in the long sweep of history, security has been about people and without reference to the security of the individual, security makes no sense at all (McSweeney, 1999). Dike (2010) and Omede (2012) have taken this argument a step further by emphasising that Nigeria's security should be based on a holistic view which sees the citizens as the primary beneficiaries of every security and developmental deliverable that the state can offer. Thus, Nigeria's security will involve efforts to strengthen the capacity of the Federal Republic of Nigeria so it can advance its interests and objectives to contain internal and external aggression, control crime, eliminate corruption, enhance genuine development, progress and growth and improve the welfare and quality of life of every citizen. As Omede (2012) pontificates further, the nation's security should include the preservation of the safety of Nigerians at home and abroad and the protection of the country's sovereignty.

Conversely, insecurity is the antithesis of security and has attracted such common descriptors as want of safety, danger, hazard, uncertainty, want of confidence, state of doubt, inadequately guarded or protected, instability, trouble, lack of protection and being unsafe, and others (Achumba, Ighomereho & Akpor-Robaro, 2013). Achumba *et al* argue further that these common descriptors point to a condition where there exists a vulnerability to harm, loss of life, property or livelihood. Therefore, they consider insecurity to be a state of not knowing, a lack of control, and the inability to take defensive action against forces that portend harm or danger to an individual or group, or that make them vulnerable. For Beland (2005), insecurity is "the state of fear or anxiety stemming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection." It refers to lack or inadequate freedom from danger. This definition reflects physical insecurity which is the most visible form of insecurity, and it feeds into many other forms of insecurity such as economic security and social security. In this paper, insecurity is conceived as a situation where human and national security of a state is compromised by internal or external forces or interests exacerbated by the former's weak or poor economic, military and/or human resource development conditions.

III. Aetiologies of Insecurity in Nigeria

Drawing copiously from existing literature on insecurity in Nigeria, the aetiologies of insecurity within Nigeria is twofold: remote and proximate causes. The remote factors include such causes as follows:

a) *Absence of Institutional Capacity Resulting in Government Failure*

Fukuyama (2004) calls this the breakdown of institutional infrastructures. The foundations of institutional framework in Nigeria are very shaky and have provoked a deterioration of state governance and democratic accountability, thus, paralysing the existing formal and legitimate rules nested in the hierarchy of social order (Achumba, *et al,* 2013). This view is collaborated by Igbuzor (2011) who sees the state of insecurity in Nigeria as a function of government failure. This manifests in the incapacity of government to deliver public goods to its citizens. This lack of basic necessities by the Nigerian people has created a growing army of frustrated people who resort to violence at the slightest provocation or opportunity. Although

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Nigeria has the resources to provide for the needs of its people, the entrenched culture of corruption in public service has resulted in the dearth of basic necessities, leading to what Hazen & Horner (2007) call a "Paradox of Plenty". Because of this situation, the crime rate shoots up and the security of lives and property are no longer guaranteed.

b) The Gaping Chasm of Inequality and Absence of Fairness and Justice

The perception of marginalisation by many Nigerians is informed by the ostentation showed by the political class and elite vis-à-vis the grinding poverty to which citizens are subjected. Even security has been bourgeoisified by the elite. As Egwu (2000) contends, the security of the Nigerian nation-state has been reduced to that of the ruler and his immediate supporters, thus, the security calculus of the Nigerian state has failed because it does not include vital aspects of social and national development supported by the provision of basic social, economic or even military conditions necessary for effective national security. This state of inequality, unfairness and injustice has toughened the people, forcing them to take their destiny into their hands.

c) Ethno-Religious Conflicts

Ethno-religious conflicts have been identified as a major source of insecurity in Nigeria (Ibrahim & Igbuzor, 2002; Hazen & Horner, 2007; Salawu, 2010; Igbuzor, 2011). Ethno-religious conflicts exist when the social relations between members of one ethnic or religious group and another of such group in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society is characterised by lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion and fear, and a tendency towards violent confrontations to settle grievances. These conflicts have also revolved around who gets what and how in the state especially as it concerns the distribution of scarce resources, power, land, chieftaincy titles, local government councils, control of markets and expansion of religious territories. These conflicts have resulted in large-scale killings and violence among ethno-religious groups in the country (Adagba, *et al*, 2012).

d) Disconnect between the People and Government

Over the years, there has been a growing disconnect between the people and government. Governments, whether military or civilian, have not tried to bridge this chasm, thus creating misunderstanding, mistrust and resentment. Consequently, because the people do not understand government or have a perception that government does not care about their welfare, they become easy prey to centrifugal forces who co-opt/incite them to vent their anger on perceived enemies of the people and sometimes go to the extent of destroying national totems.

e) Weak and Poorly Funded Military Establishments

In spite of the high security vote state governments receive on a monthly basis, there is greater insecurity in many states. Some of these monies find their way into the pockets of some highly-placed private citizens and the Chief Executives of the states, leaving the hapless citizens to the mercy of criminals and sociopaths. Also the armed forces, paramilitary establishments and the police under federal control are weak institutionally, heavily politicised and poorly funded. This status quo makes it easy for the nation's security to be compromised.

f) Interagency Rivalry

The failure of security agencies such as the police, the military, state security services and paramilitary units to share intelligence information has been identified as one of the factors negating the quick apprehension of culprits (Omede, 2011). Also, the failure of intelligence gathering by the security agencies as well as the near passivity of security operatives in proactively policing the country, coupled with the non-apprehension of culprits, is also a contributory factor to the rising tide of insecurity in Nigeria. Of course, when the armed forces and paramilitary agencies are not well-tooled with modern fighting and security gadgets and their welfare is not given priority attention, they may not want to make any sacrifices for the nation. All of these factors point to a passive national security team that is not really committed to fighting crime or stopping the merchants of violence or terror envoys from having the field day in the country.

g) Non-Prosecution of Perpetrators of Violence In Nigeria

The lack of arrest and prosecution of perpetrators and sponsors of violence has encouraged many more social deviants and their godfathers to throw caution to the wind to perpetrate evil in the land. The Nigerian society has become a rigout of powerful fiefdoms controlled by feudal lords who are almost as powerful as the state and maintain a rental economy within the larger national economy.

h) Loss of Socio-Cultural and Communal Value System

The collapse of moral values within Nigeria is one critical factor to the continued security challenges that the country is faced with. The disintegration of communal value system which placed high premium on human life and despised greed, oppression and exploitation of the weak, among others, has also contributed to the unpleasant security environment in the country. New values that are zero-sum, paternalistic, narcissistic, chauvinistic and corrupt in nature and that preach that might-is-right have all taken over. Endearing social values and morals have been traded off for western values.

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i) Immediate and Proximate Factors

According to Achumba *et al*, the proximate factors that have contributed to the state of insecurity in the country are porous borders, rural-urban drift, social irresponsibility of companies resulting in negative externalities which provoke social unrest within their host communities, unemployment and poverty and terrorism, among others.

All these factors combine to create the sultry security situation in the country.

IV. Selected Areas of Nigeria's Security Challenges

In existence are copious literature materials that chronicle elaborate case studies of insecurity in the country from different informed prisms (see Achumba *et al*, 2013; Adagba *et al*, 2012; Adesoji, 2010; Ibrahim & Igbuzor, 2002; Igbuzor, 2011; Imhonopi & Urim, 2012; Mijah, 2005; Nwagboso, 2012; Nwolise, 2006; Ogundiya, 2009; Ogundiya & Amzat, 2006; Okafor, 2011; Omede, 2011; Omotola, 2010; Onifade & Imhonopi, 2012). This study will not duplicate such efforts but will single out selected cases of insecurity in the country. Some of these security challenges have been briefly highlighted as follows:

a) The Niger Delta Crisis

According to Nwagboso (2012), the Niger Delta conflict arose in the early 1990s due to tensions between international oil companies (IOCs) and some representatives of Niger Delta minority ethnic groups who felt they were being exploited without due compensation from the IOCs (Osungade, 2008). Thus, ethnic and political unrest continued in the region throughout the 1990s and persisted despite the enthronement of democracy in 1999. However, competition for oil wealth in the region gave rise to agitations, violence and subsequent extra-judicial killing of Ken Saro-Wiwa and nine Ogoni leaders by the Abacha regime (Urim, 1999). This extra-judicial killing of Ogoni leaders by the Abacha regime was condemned both within the country and by the international community. This was followed by sanctions placed on Nigeria during the period. As Nwagboso (2012) observed, the inability or failure of the government, particularly during the military era, to address the root causes of the agitation (environmental problems, poverty, unemployment, lack of basic amenities, etc.), in the Niger Delta region, resulted in the spawning of ethnic militias of Niger Delta origin leading to the militarisation of nearly the entire region. Thus, the foundation was laid for the wave of insecurity that beleaguered the entire region and spread throughout the tentacles of power. Although in order to ameliorate the environmental degradation and the absolute poverty in place, the government established some institutions or agencies to douse the tension in the area such as the Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission (OMPADEC), Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) and Ministry of Niger Delta (MND); these intervention remedies, notwithstanding, the conflicts and insecurity in the Niger Delta region persisted. In fact, the region witnessed severe security threats and the emergence of other agitating groups affiliated to the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) like the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF) led by Mujahid Dokubo-Asari and the Niger Delta vigilante (NDV) led by Ateke Tom. These groups purportedly joined the struggle to address the injustice by the Federal Government against the region and this move exacerbated the security problems not only in the region, but also in the entire Nigerian state (Nwagboso, 2012). While the leaders of the agitating groups were from the Ijaw nation, the two groups (NDPVF and NDV) eclipsed a plethora of smaller militias supposedly numbering more than one hundred in the Niger Delta region. These groups comprised mostly the disaffected young men from Warri, Port Harcourt, Yenegoa and their sub-urban areas (Aderoju, 2008). The Federal Government used a mixture of carrot-and-stick approach and force to cower the militants into accepting its proposal for amnesty which happened under the leadership of the late President Umaru Yar'Adua, who had announced the granting of Amnesty and unconditional pardon to militants in the region (Rotimi, 2009). The militants were given between August 6 and October 4, 2009 to surrender their weapons to the federal government in return for training and rehabilitation. During the 60-day period, the militants led their groups to surrender their weapons which included rocket-propelled grenades, guns, explosives, ammunition, gunboats, among others. Although the federal governments' Amnesty Programme reduced the rate of militancy in the region, the incessant kidnapping activities in the Niger Delta region eventually spilled over into some states in the South-East geo-political zone of the country.

b) Kidnapping in the South-East Zone of Nigeria

The history of kidnapping in the South-East zone of Nigeria could be traced to hostilities, conflicts and violence in the Niger Delta region (Nwagboso, 2012). Kidnapping, which is the act of abducting somebody and keeping him/her as a prisoner in order to get a ransom for his/her release, suddenly took on a whole new economic attraction in the South-East of Nigeria. This new black economy thrived in the South-East zone, especially in Abia and Imo states, where prominent indigenes and residents of the states were easy targets. Following the 2007 general elections in Nigeria, this social problem became virulent in the South-East as youths that were used as political thugs by politicians during the 2007 general elections subsequently diverted their guns, skills and energy into the ugly trade as a new means of economic survival

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after the elections. As Nwagboso noted, confessions by those apprehended indicated that some politicians in these states supplied guns to youths for the purpose of rigging the 2007 general elections. Unfortunately these guns were not retrieved at the end of the elections. Consequently, kidnapping transmuted into a profitable business mostly among the youths in Abia, Imo, Ebonyi and other states in the zone. Thus, the increasing rate of kidnapping activities in Abia state, particularly in Aba metropolis, resulted in several foiled attempts to kidnap the Abia state Governor, Chief Theodore Orji, in 2008 (Nwogu, 2008). Thus, from 2007 to 2010, several prominent residents and indigenes in Aba and its environs were kidnapped for ransom. This adversely affected the economy of Abia state as many businessmen and manufacturing companies relocated to other states like Enugu and Anambra. Kidnappers went as far as abducting school children, traditional rulers, innocent citizens while attending church services or village meetings. According to Nwagboso (2012), the kidnapping of school children forced all the commercial banks in the area to close down for several days in 2010. It is pertinent to note that prior to this period, many commercial banks were robbed in Aba which is the commercial fulcrum of Abia state. To address the spate of kidnapping in the South-East zone particularly in Abia state, the federal government, by the invitation of the state government, deployed soldiers to Aba metropolis and its environs and this action minimised the reported cases of the menace, especially in Aba and its environs. This was partly as a result of intensive attacks launched by the army at the hideouts of kidnappers in Ukwa West Local Government Area of Abia State (Sampson, 2010).

c) The Jos Crisis

This is another internal security threat that started as a sectarian violence but has mutated into very radical but ugly shapes in 1999. Oladoyinbo (2010) observed that the crisis in Jos, Plateau state was a very complex one as it had ethnic, religious, sociopolitical and economic undertones. In his words:

> There is no need for some people to use all means to dominate others or use people to subjugate others ...the government in Nigeria has no courage...the government is not the solution but rather the problem...the government knows those behind all these riots, those importing arms into this country... Thus, the Jos crisis has claimed numerous lives of Nigerians and property worth millions of naira. However, the Jos crisis has resulted in several attacks on Christians by Muslims. Indeed, from 2007 - 2010, over 10,000 Christians were slaughtered during the Jos crisis. In 2010 crisis for instance, about 500 Christians lost their lives (Oladoyinbo, 2010: 15).

Precisely, the Jos crisis has resulted in unimaginable confrontations, killings, bombings and other forms of violence. Many observers have argued that the root causes of the crisis were the inordinate desire by Muslims to forcefully convert Christians in the area as Muslim faithfuls (Nwagboso, 2010). Others assert that the root causes of the Jos crisis are cultural and land disputes. Thus, whatever the argument over the remote causes of the frequent crisis in Jos may be, the fact is, it has emerged as one of the greatest internal security threats to the corporate existence of Nigeria as it had claimed the wanton killings of a large number of Nigerians. This unjustified pogrom committed by Nigerians against Nigerians must have prompted the late Libya strongman, President Muammar Gaddafi, to suggest that Nigeria should be bifurcated into two separate countries, which is Muslim and Christian. The crisis in Jos has adversely affected the economy and unity of Nigeria while available evidence has shown that the crisis in Jos which has been fought on sectarian lines, may be traced to the "sour relationship" between the Christian and Muslim communities in the area. This is crucial because as the Human Right Watch Report argues:

> ...Jos lies on the border between Nigeria's Muslim majority North and Christian majority South. Access to land resources is often determined by whether one is a native or 'indigene'... Jos is historically Christian city... Settlers are most often Muslims from the North... (Human Right Report, July 10, 2010).

d) The Boko Haram Terror Machine

This is another major security challenge in Nigeria which has adversely affected the Nigerian economy. According to Olugbode (2010), the word "Boko" is a Hausa word meaning "Animist", "western", otherwise non-islamic education; and the Arabic word "Haram" figuratively means "sin" or literally something "forbidden". The Boko Haram is a controversial Nigerian militant Islamist group that has sought to impose Sharia law or its radical interpretation of Islam on the northern states of Nigeria and then to other parts of the country like what the Malians Islamists almost succeeded to do in Northern Mali. Dunia (2010) rightly holds that the group opposes not only western education, but also western culture and modern science. The ambiguous goal of the group (and this point to their level of education) became evident when they kicked against the widely held opinions that the world is sphere and that rain comes from water evaporated by the sun (Nwagboso, 2012). The Boko Haram group also promotes a radical form of Islam which makes it "haram" or forbidden for Muslims to take part in any political or social activities in the society. This includes voting in election, wearing of shirts and trousers or receiving secular education (BBC News Africa, 2010). Founded in 2002 in Maiduguri by Utaz Mohammed Yusuf, the death of their leader in 2009 turned the group into a killing machine that has put paid to the economic development of the Northern geopolitical zones. The

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activities of Boko Haram have constituted a serious security challenge in contemporary Nigeria as the group has even been linked to the dreaded Al-Qaeda terror group. It has been accepted in many quarters that the criminal and evil agenda of the Boko Haram terror envoys in Nigeria, including the introduction of suicide bombing on Nigerian soil, has not only paralysed economic and social activities in Maiduguri, Abuja, Suleja, Damaturu, Minna, among other cities, but has also made Nigeria unsafe for investment and tourism (Imhonopi & Urim, 2012; Onifade & Imhonopi, 2012; Nwagboso, 2012).

V. Theories and Discussions on Moral Values and Virtue Ethics

In discussing morality and ethics, there exists a challenge bordering on relativism or absolutism. In this sense, some theorists belonging to the Indic and Confucian school of thought argue that morality is relative and should never be treated as absolute or universal. On the other hand, western scholars including those sharing the Abrahamic faiths, i.e. Judaism, Christianity and Islam, believe that certain moral values are concepts that have and should have universal application. For instance, human dignity, right to life and value for human life are concrete rights and values that human beings are supposed to enjoy and uphold when engaging in any form of relations within society. This must have informed the content of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) by the United Nations in 1948 to deter the exercise of absolute powers by states or their representatives or by groups or individuals within them against individuals or groups within the same state. Although, the moral power of the content and ideals of the UDHR and its embracement by many UN member-nations make it the most authoritative UN text to this day, some countries such as Iran have dismissed it as a document based on secularised Judeo-Christian values (Cairo, 1990). However, the UDHR as a text advocates for the universalisation of some rights which every human being should enjoy in spite of their colour, race, language, gender or social class. Rai, Thorheim, Dorjderem & Macer (2010) have summarised the 30 articles that make up the Declaration as follows:

Article 1) All humans are born free and equal in dignity and rights; 2) entitlement to rights without distinctions of race, colour, sex, language, religion, politics, nationality, property, birth or other status; 3) right to life, liberty and security of person; 4) prohibition of slavery and servitude; 5) prohibition of torture and inhuman treatment; 6) right of recognition before the law; 7) equality before the law; 8) right to an effective legal remedy; 9) prohibition of arbitrary arrest, detention and exile; 10) right to an impartial tribunal hearing; 11) presumed innocence until proven guilty; 12) protection against arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home, correspondence, honour or reputation; 13) freedom of national and international movement; 14) right to foreign asylum from political persecution; 15) right to a nationality; 16) right to consenting marriage and protection of the family unit; 17) right to own property; 18) right to freedom of thought and conscience, choice of religion and freedom to teach, practice and worship; 19) right to freedom of opinion and expression and right to seek, receive and impart information through any media; 20) right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association; 21) access to government, public service and genuine elections expressing the will of the people; 22) right to social security; 23) right to work, free choice of employment, equal pay for equal work and trade union membership; 24) right to rest and leisure; 25) standards of living adequate for health, well-being, security and child protection; 26) free elementary education and access to higher education on the basis of merit; 27) right to participate in the arts, science and cultural life, with protection of author interests; 28) right to an international social order able to realise these rights and freedoms; 29) everyone has duties to their community and is subject to laws which respect general welfare and the rights and freedoms of others; and, 30) discouraging any act aimed at the destruction of these rights and freedoms.

The above rights as enunciated by the UDHR are driven by ethical virtues and moral values because they indicate what character or behaviour states and their citizens should have towards each other or among themselves. It is the view of the authors that only tyrannical regimes or weak states with weak institutions, where might is right and where some groups have become supreme overlords, will try to play down on the universality of the application of these principles/rights.

In this work, four theories have been adopted to give paradigmatic interpretation to the whole concept of morality and virtue ethics and the role these could play in mitigating insecurity in Nigeria. These theories are as follows:

a) Consequentialist or teleological approaches (utilitarianism)

Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) and John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) developed this approach. Its chief premise implies that the morality of an act is to be determined by its consequences. In other words, people should do that which will bring the greatest *utility* (which is generally understood to mean whatever the group sees as good) to the greatest number affected by a given situation. For example, military contractors may be faced with ransom demands for kidnapped employees. The UK government was embroiled in such a situation in 2004 in the case of a UK citizen who was taken hostage in Iraq. His captors demanded economic and political concessions to win his release. His family pleaded with the prime minister to meet these demands. The government argued that to do so would jeopardise the

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lives of many more UK subjects in Iraq and globally (Greenwood, 2002). In doing so, the government was appealing to utilitarian arguments. Critics however suggest that in practice it is very difficult to accurately determine what the maximal *utility* would be for all affected by a situation because people may not have the necessary information. Furthermore, the notion of utility is very vague because does it refer to the short, medium or long term? These may lead to differing conclusions. More questions border on what makes up a majority? Can a situation be accepted where the benefits of the majority might mean the exploitation, and suffering, of the minority? Thus, this propensity could foster huge income disparity or marginalisation, or even slavery, as long as it is perceived that it would maximise the benefits of the majority. Thus, Greenwood acknowledges that some very morally repugnant acts might be condoned on the grounds of utilitarianism.

b) Non-consequentialist or deontological approaches

This approach is the antithesis of the utilitarian approach. This theoretical paradigm is associated with Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and is sometimes referred to as "duty ethics". Kant sought to establish a set of absolute moral rules, developed through the application of *reason*. He also put forward an acid test for evaluating the quality of moral rules and this is termed: the *categorical imperative*. This states that: "I ought never to act except in such a way that I can also will that my maxim should become a universal law" (Hart, 1993). In other words, moral rules should follow the principle of *reciprocity,* i.e. do to others as you would want them to do to you. This premise can be found in the moral principles of the dominant religions like the Ten Commandments. Kant further stated: "Act in such a way that you always treat humanity . . . never simply as a means, but always at the same time as an end" (Hart, 1993). The defining characteristics of this approach are the universal *applicability* of principles to all humanity, and basic respect for human beings. A key notion for Kant was that of *intentionality*. It might well be that the outcome of an act leads to very bad consequences for people – for example, the attack of Boko Haram strongholds which leads to stray bullets killing innocent citizens or the death of a terrorist which leaves the wife a widow and the children as orphans.

c) Human rights approach

This influential approach is built on the fulcrum that every person deserves to enjoy basic *human rights*. In this sense, there is the recognition of a core set of human rights which every individual in a society is entitled to enjoy. However, where a human right exists, there must also be a duty or *responsibility* to recognise, support and acknowledge that right. John Locke (1632-1704) was the groundbreaker of this approach. He held that it is not so much the application of reason to acts that is important to morality, but an *appreciation* of the fair and equal treatment of all people, enshrined in the recognition of basic human rights (Greenwood, 2002). According to Locke, the key rights included freedom and rights to property. However, attempts have been made to codify and amplify these rights including the declaration of the *Rights of Man* (1789), the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) and the *European Convention on Human Rights* (1950). In 1998, the UK has passed the *Human Rights Act* in an attempt to codify rights within British law. There is the need to go beyond paying lip service to sections of the Nigerian constitution which stipulate the rights of Nigerians to codifying these rights into a separate legislation like what has been done in the European Union and the UK so that citizens' rights would not be violated by any political potentate or by self-righteous and opinionated individuals or groups who have a grouse to settle with the state.

d) Virtue ethics approach

The Greek philosopher, Aristotle (384–322 BC), originated the virtue ethics approach. Macintyre (1981) has further popularised this theory through his very fecund contributions to the subject. In defining morality or ethics, Aristotle did not aim to identify the qualities of good acts, or principles, but of good people. As Macintyre suggested, acting as a good person is the state of being well and doing well which makes a complete human life lived at its best, but for Aristotle, the virtuous man has to know that what he does is virtuous; and a good man has to "judge to do the right thing in the right place at the right time in the right way" (Macintyre, 1981). These virtues include both intellectual and character virtues. Macintyre adds that there is the need to *feel* that what one is doing is good and right; to have an *emotional* as well as a *cognitive* appreciation of morality is an essential component of virtue. The critical divergence between this approach and others is that it focuses on the issue of *agency* in ethical conduct. It suggests that neither good intentions nor outcomes, codes and the recognition of basic rights will necessarily ensure "goodness". In the final analysis, the effectiveness of an ethical system depends on the nature of the people who employ it. And are people essentially good or bad? Without sounding optimistic, if the moral foundation on which the Nigerian state is built is to be regenerated, then efforts must be put in place by the state especially, supported by non-state actors like faith organisations, civil society groups and other social agents like the school system, family, media and others, to develop a moral culture that will be inculcated in every Nigerian child and citizen. What this theory suggests is that if the individual can be changed, his actions will change. If his/her behaviour can be modelled to fit accepted cultural norms, values and virtues of good people and good societies, then virtuous individuals can be raised.

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VI. Regeneration of Moral Values and Code in the Fight Against Insecurity in Nigeria

As Ujomu (2001) rightly observed, the moral basis of Nigeria's security is a vital imperative for national reconciliation, national survival and national development in this new millennium. He argues further that the need for the regeneration of the moral foundations of national security is all the more significant when the trend of events in the history of military and economic growth in Nigeria especially under erstwhile military regimes of Abacha and Babangida is examined. For him, he considers those regimes and the ones before them, as having contributed immensely to the grotesque pattern of ethical degeneration that led to the systematic and institutionalised erosion of personal and collective peace, safety, stability and harmony within the Nigerian society. Tied to this, the accumulation of morally bankrupt leadership that is brazenly corrupt, incredibly inept, peremptorily high-handed, snobbishly elitist and apathetically disposed to the distressful plight of the majority of Nigerians, shows the pillory that moral values and ethic virtues have been subjected to in the country. Indeed, the history of Nigeria shows that the practice of genuine moral conduct and the guarantee of adequate personal and national security for all segments of the society have been otiose.

A peek into the spectrum of national life reveals the incidence of distended corruption and avarice as expressed by Nigerians in high and low places, conflicts and confusion in various communities and regions, selfishness and pervasive lawlessness in the conduct of daily life as the guiding principles of human social interaction (CDHR, 2000). The Nigerian society has become a theatre for the promotion of everything vice, immoral, venal and bloodthirsty. The absence of moral leadership even with the advent of civilian and democratic administration has contributed incalculably to the polluted environment of moral depravities. Thus, the quality and quantity of social deliverables the people are expected to get from government have plummeted while the transfer of a culture that lacks morality and virtues by military politicians that had occupied the Nigerian political space for almost four decades (Imhonopi & Urim, 2011) has continued to plague the moral sanity and integrity of the polity. The state of insecurity in the country has been sustained by a regressing economy, unviable hospital facilities and health services, lack of good pipe borne water, transportation and fuel problems, unemployment and a growing sense of disenchantment that government and its representatives have not been fair to the people, thus pushing some citizens into criminal activities including violent crimes to make a living and to take out their anger on a passive society. Consequently, the state of increased lawlessness, violence and criminality, that has become characteristic of life in Nigeria, has further increased the dismalness of insecurity challenges facing the country.

Onyegbula (2000) holds that the diminishing standard of living and the deteriorating social infrastructure like roads, refineries, hospitals and the educational system have all contributed to a nation of desperate people. Moreover, the existence of a poorly-trained police force has compelled the abdication of the security of lives and property of Nigerians to ethnic militia groups and other dubious cum ill-equipped private and civil defence and vigilante associations. These security agencies and groups are part and parcel of the moral rot in the country; they show disregard for citizens' rights and promote institutionalised brutalisation, extortion and repression of the people.

Also, religious fundamentalism in the country has arisen as a result of multiple problems including lack of education of the adherents, strongly held misconceptions by religious zealots that the only way to expand their religious territories is by killing those who refuse to be proselytised by their arm-twisting tactics, misinterpretation or literal interpretation of Scriptural demands, economic deprivation which forces them to vent their anger on the state and an insensitive and irresponsible government that has failed consistently to provide the people with the basic necessities of life. Consequently, understanding insecurity in predominantly military or defence terms in Nigeria, as suggested by Lodge (1995), is short-sighted and begs the question. As some writers have observed, to address Nigeria's insecurity, there is need to examine the military, economic and human resource development dimensions (Ochoche, 1998; Galtung, 1982; Heywood, 1997).

In other words, until the military is equipped to play their constitutional roles alone, recruits qualified Nigerians and personnel to carry out its assignments without recourse to ethnic, religious or other subjective considerations and remains an apolitical organ of the state, insecurity challenges will continue to dog the peace, tranquillity and development in Nigeria. Even then, how can there be peace, when the moral guideposts that provide conscientious and healthy social relations have been put aside for filthy lucre? For instance, corruption has remained one of the major drawbacks for national growth and development in Nigeria and the war arrayed against it seems a lost one as more and more public officials and their ilk in the private sector are caught red-handed every now and again in acts of corruption. Honesty, sacrifice, patience, hard work and personal honour, including honourable family name, which were very important cultural values in Africa, have been thrown through the window. The implication is that the monies that should have been spent on the provision of basic infrastructure and social amenities or used for human resource development

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purposes or even for equipping the military and other armed forces and paramilitary agencies so they can provide adequate and timely security for the Nigerian people, are "colonised" by a thieving and amoral minority, whose only qualification is access to governance and the national till. The resultant effects of these unethical practices creates resource squeeze forcing citizens to compete for the anthropogenic scarcity in place; jobs become scarce as they are few existing employment opportunities; social amenities are absent throwing society into confusion and anxiety; and politicians continue to recruit unemployed youths and vulnerable citizens, arming them with dangerous weapons to pursue and track down their political foes and to sustain a climate of repression, fear and cowardice so they can continue in their political offices "world without end". Therefore, the high and sustained rate of violent crimes such as kidnapping, armed banditry, ethno-religious agitation, religious fundamentalism, ethnic pogrom, human sacrifice for money rituals and terrorism is the response that such an invidious governance environment gets.

The painful part is that the merchants of violence have continued to wreck havoc on society, without any feeling of moral qualms and have continued to paint the land with the crimson of innocent Nigerian blood.

Regenerating the moral values and codes that should guide the actions and behaviour of citizens is an urgent task that must be done to safeguard the future of the country and raise passionate and ethical citizens committed to the welfare and betterment of Nigerians and Nigeria. According to Agrawal (1998) a true moral value is one that upholds respect for human life and personal freedom. And the sum total of the moral values of a society is its image of humanity. The ultimate value is recognised as the sanctity of human life and derivatively, as the supreme worth of the individual person, or as the value of human life.

Arising from the non-consequentialist or deontological approach, human rights approach and virtue ethics approach, there is need to regenerate the moral values in the country and even codify these so as to guide the conduct and social relations of Nigerians.

These values should be built on the following principles:

1) Every Nigerian deserves to be treated with dignity and rights;
2) No Nigerian should be treated differently because of his ethnic origin, colour, sex, language, religion, political affiliation, property, birth or other status;
3) Every Nigerian deserves to enjoy right to life, liberty and security of person anywhere in the country;
4) Every Nigerian should be saved from undeserved torture and inhuman treatment anywhere in the country;
5) Nigerians should be protected against arbitrary interference with their privacy, family, home, correspondence, honour or reputation;
6) Every Nigerian is to enjoy freedom of thought and conscience, choice of religion and freedom to teach, practise and worship;
7) Nigerians deserve to enjoy freedom of opinion and expression and right to seek, receive and impart information through any media;
8) Government should be responsible for the welfare of the citizens and should be committed to acts that would eliminate extreme poverty, hunger and deprivation;
9) Moral leadership undergirded by competence and accountability to the people should form the major guiding criteria for the selection of leaders into position of higher responsibility;
10) Nigerians should recognise that they have duties to their community and are subject to laws which respect general welfare and the rights and freedoms of others; and others.

VII. Recommendations and Conclusion

The insecurity challenge in Nigeria has become a formidable challenge for the Nigerian government and peoples. The governance challenges facing the polity have trickled into the society, resulting in moral decadence. The growing dissatisfaction, discomfort and distress within the larger society coupled with the unabating official corruption, high unemployment rate, economic crisis, pauperisation of the masses, decaying infrastructure and a futile national integration project have heated up the socio-political environment. Consequently, armed conflicts, terrorism, ethno-religious holocausts, kidnapping, political assassination and other violent crimes have become the leitmotif of Nigerian social relations. The government has made efforts to contain the insecurity inferno raging in many spots in the country, but until the moral foundation on which the Nigerian state is fulcrumed is regenerated, Nigeria may be walking the precipice.

This paper argues for the need to revive and reinforce moral values and virtue ethics in the country and that the country should go a step further by codifying these values/principles so that Nigerians, small and old, can begin to imbibe these virtues to guide their conduct, behaviour and social relations with others. First of all, government carries a moral burden to lead by example. Providing moral leadership that eschews evil, corruption, vices, inequity, injustice and wickedness will compel the people to model the character of their leaders and vice versa. In addition, the democratic system in place must begin to deliver the needed social goods so as to improve the standard of living of Nigerians and deliver many citizens from the state of absolute poverty to which they have been

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subjected for a long while. Third, there is need to identify the moral values and ethical virtues that should guide the conduct and behaviour of Nigerians. These values should be built on the respect for human life, the regard for human dignity and the right to life, liberty and security of the people; the freedom of worship, religion, thought and conscience; and the freedom of opinion. Fourth, there should be a codification of the moral values and virtues the government and Nigerian peoples subscribe to for the good of the larger society. Fifth, government should plug all the holes through which scarce resources are been siphoned so as to free resources for national development and equipping of the military to fulfil its functions. Lastly, there is need for a national conversation or dialogue where Nigerians can release their pent-up anger and frustration against the state and fashion out the blueprint for the engagement of all the component units that make up Nigeria.

Paying lip-service to the matters of insecurity in Nigeria by government and its representatives is sitting on a time-bomb that may soon explode. Sustaining personal or regime security will not secure government or its representatives if this challenge is not nipped in the bud. The governance process must be erected on the pillars of moral values and virtues and the Nigerian people must be led by a moral leadership that will strive to secure the commitment and support of all citizens to make the Nigerian project a true success.

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4. Manuscript's Category,

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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.
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- Present surroundings information only as desirable in order hold up a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read the whole thing you know about a topic.
- Shape the theory/purpose specifically - do not take a broad view.
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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

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

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- 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.
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Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
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References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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Index

A

Absence · 21, 42, 56, 78, 89, 99
Absorbed · 9
Admirable · 22
Advancement · 6, 14, 65
Aerospace · 7
Although · 5, 26, 37, 42, 43, 78, 92, 94, 96
Apparently · 34, 55
Applicability · 98
Approximately · 37
Archipelago · 14, 16, 17, 18, 23
Arrayed · 100
Assertion · 8

B

Behavioral · 29, 57
Beyond · 1, 8, 9, 16, 86, 98
Bilateral · 8, 9
Building · 20, 26, 35, 36, 37, 66, 67, 75, 84, 87

C

Characteristic · 42, 100
Collaborations · 24
Conflagration · 89, 90
Consequently · 36, 89, 93, 95, 99, 100, 102
Considered · 3, 5, 16, 23, 26, 41, 44, 60
Contaminated · 57, 58
Corroborated · 38

D

Deferred · 76
Demonstrated · 32, 52, 67
Disproportionately · 29, 47, 60, 64, 65
Dissatisfaction · 102
Distinguished · 9, 51
Dynamics · 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 104
Dysfunctional · 75

E

Embrace · 18
Emerging · 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13
Emphasizing · 3, 18, 34
Enforceable · 30
Enlightenment · 33, 70
Equipping · 101, 103
Equivalent · 4, 65
Eschews · 102
Especially · 14, 18, 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 45, 47, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 63, 64, 65, 69, 77, 78, 82, 90, 93, 94, 95, 98, 99
Estimated · 3, 5, 35, 39, 41, 45, 46, 47, 49, 55, 57, 61, 84
Ethics · 89, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 101, 103, 104, 105
Evaluate · 66
Exclusionary · 80
Extreme · 82, 84, 102

F

Faulkner · 31, 32, 70
Flourished · 22

G

Genuine · 76, 91, 97, 99

H

Hegemony · 11
Homicides · 62, 84
Homosexual · 58

I

Impunity · 60, 82, 84, 86
Incapacitation · 31
Incumbent · 66, 82
Infrastructural · 4
Inmates · 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69

Integration · 12, 105
Intravenous · 29, 51, 53, 60, 63, 68

L

Lacuna · 75
Latitude · 16
Legitimate · 4, 31, 81, 87, 91
Lesbian · 58
Lhokseumawe · 14, 22
Livelihood · 84, 91

M

Macroprudential · 11
Majapahitduring · 17
Manifestation · 2, 4
Marginalized · 38, 86
Mechanisms · 25, 30, 55, 68, 86, 87
Menace · 78, 88, 95
Militarized · 35
Moderately · 11

N

Narrates · 5
Negotiation · 81
Nieuwenhuijzen · 20
Notorious · 51

O

Offenders · 39, 61, 70, 71, 72
Opportunistic · 29, 45, 56, 58, 68
Oscillates · 49
Overcrowded · 60

P

Passionate · 101
Peninsular · 18
Penitentiaries · 31, 35
Portuguese · 3, 16
Possession · 37, 41, 61, 63
Precludes · 62
Prisoners · 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, 39, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 75
Prohibit · 54
Proselytised · 100
Proximate · 94

R

Racial · 9, 34, 37, 38, 41, 42, 45, 69
Reconciliation · 32, 84, 99
Redistribution · 7
Regardless · 26
Rehabilitating · 32
Reinforcing. · 80
Reinterpreted · 77
Relevant · 26, 29, 53
Religious · 16, 22, 23, 33, 82, 89, 93, 95, 100, 101, 102
Reproductive · 54
Respiratory · 48, 60
Retributive · 31, 32
Rigorous · 32, 42
Rivalry · 93

S

Secularised · 96
Simultaneously · 9, 29, 44, 77, 82
Snobbishly · 99
Sovereignty · 24, 91
Stimulating · 77
Strengthening · 20
Sultanate · 16, 20, 21
Superiority · 18
Swollen · 60
Synonymous · 18

T

Terrorism · 78, 80, 94, 101, 102, 103
Tocqueville · 34
Torture · 34, 75, 83, 96, 101
Transformed · 1, 21
Tremendous · 21, 48
Trichomoniasis · 55, 56
Tuberculosis · 48, 56, 65

U

Undoubtedly · 1, 5, 9, 32, 84
Unjustifiable · 31
Unmitigated · 63
Uranium · 6

V

Virtue · 89, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 101, 103, 104
Vulnerable · 45, 49, 54, 56, 59, 63, 64, 86, 91, 101

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ISSN 975587

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